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Research article

## Clothes as a marker of otherness in traditional Kazakh culture

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**Abstract.** The concept of “otherness” is derived from the word “other”, non-identical. The problem of otherness in humanitarian science has attracted the attention of researchers since long ago and has been considered from a variety of perspectives. In the opinion of the authors of the article, the visual expression of otherness is the least developed issue in science, but it is clothing (costume) and the image as a whole that reflects it most vividly and distinctively.

The main focus of this article is the reflection of otherness in clothing, viewed through the prism of Kazakh culture. In order to compare and clarify some data, the article draws on materials on the clothing of other Turkic ethnic groups (Kyrgyz, Altai, Uzbek, Karakalpak), as well as Iranians.

As it is known, clothing in traditional culture was conceptualized as a receptacle of the soul and the “second” shell of a person. By wearing certain clothes, a person could present his “specialness”, his difference from all others, i.e. there was an expressive demonstration of his “I”, “I am the Other”.

The article provides an interpretation of some elements of the costume of steppe nobility, people of creative professions, as well as shamans and other category of people with the status of “otherness”.

It is assumed that the meaning of some visual markers of clothing was not only that they showed the society the substance of the Other, but also contain even more profound grounds. In our opinion, most of these attributes (markers) demonstrate the syncretism of the unity of Man and the Cosmos, or rather express the belonging of the wearer to a certain level of the universe.

Having considered the visual markers of otherness given in the article on the example of Kazakh culture, we can conclude that the iconography of the other was a well thought out and balanced system, understood and accepted by the community.

**Keywords:** clothes; marker; Otherness; Self – Other; tradition; Kazakh culture.

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## Introduction

Otherness in traditional society has different forms and types of expression, i.e. it can be characterized by different forms of fixation in external configurations. “Other” (otherness) in Kazakh culture can be people who have anomalies of body components or altered physique (bodily or physical otherness), who are characterized as possessing signs of otherworldly spirits or supernatural abilities, which was comprehended in the work of D.K. Saikeneva (Saikeneva, 2023). If the first refers to the “innate” signs of visual otherness, the second kind or form that is considered here refers to the “acquired” ones. This is primarily achieved through a person’s “second shell” - clothing.

The Kazakh traditional costume as a whole is the subject of quite a large volume of scientific works. The most significant among them are the works of I.V. Zakharova and R.D. Khodshayeva (Zakharova, Khodshayeva, 1964), U. Dzhanibekov (Dzhanibekov, 1996), N. Zh. Shakhanova (Shakhanova, 1998) and a number of articles by modern researchers who present it (costume) as a mythopoetic model of the world, a reflection of social status, an element of historical and cultural heritage and regional peculiarities, etc. However, the study of Kazakh costume elements in the context of signs of otherness is made for the first time. Clothing or some elements of costume in such a reading appears as a special kind of language, a sign system that is in structural unity with other phenomena of the cultural whole.

Clothing (costume) at all times and in all cultures is very informative, it serves as a means of achieving social recognition, a constructor of identity formation, as well as a peculiar expression of individuality. As a zone of contact between the personal body and the environment, it is a significant communicative resource and contains rich semiotic potencies due to its medial position (Avanesov, 2016: 37).

In any aspect, otherness is first and foremost a concept of difference. Therefore, in this article, otherness is a reflection of the inner opposition to others: “I am Other”, “I am not like everyone else.”. The basis of this dichotomy becomes the alienation of one group of individuals from other groups, of one subject from another. That is, the costume (or some of its elements) of the other cannot unambiguously be everyday, it must be altered, at least different from the everyday, and in some cases even extraordinary.

Thus, otherness in our case is a union of internal and external opposition, and externally the motive of otherness is manifested primarily in the visual image.

Representatives of the steppe elite (khans, sultans, warriors); people of creative professions (akyns, sal-sery, etc.), as well as “chosen spirits” (shamans-bakysy, duana, healers, etc.) have always been considered “other” in Kazakh society. The attire of the Kazakh bride, a kind of marker of her “special” state in the wedding cycle of rites and rituals, can be attributed to this series at a certain/concrete moment of life. Even a simple enumeration of the types of visual representation of otherness demonstrates the vast field of its functioning in the bosom of traditional culture.

Hence, the focus of this article is the study of the problems of reflecting Otherness in traditional Kazakh culture on the example of clothing (or costume elements) and some components of the visual image as a whole. By labelling clothing as an expresser of otherness, the authors of the

article do not mean the whole set of clothes as such, but in many cases, they refer to one of its characteristic elements, which concentrates tangible Otherness in itself.

In order to concretize some points on the clothing of otherness in the article, materials from other Turkic ethnic groups, as well as Iranians, are attracted. This made it possible to understand and present the special role of clothing elements in reflecting the problems of otherness, as well as to clarify their significance in the worldview and mythological picture of the universe.

In this article, the authors sought to answer the main question: how is the Otherness organized and how does it work on the example of male characters, or rather their clothes? Or, to put it differently, the authors proceed from an understanding of costume/clothing as a phenomenon with a dual nature: pragmatic and semiotic - clothing always serves for something and means something. And, how is the notion of Otherness reflected in all this?

The answer to the main question of this study, as it seems to us, is based on the global idea of the syncretic fusion of Man and the Cosmos (identity of the macro- and microcosm), and this identity is reflected in the sphere of dwelling, utensils and, of course, clothing, especially through the prism of Otherness.

## **Materials and methods**

The article describes the visual images of the otherness in Kazakh culture on the basis of historical-ethnographic, cultural and art history literature. In addition, the article uses materials of field studies of artefacts of clothing and costume elements of the steppe elite representatives collected by the authors over a number of years during the research of Russian REM - Russian Ethnographic Museum, MAE RAS - Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography named after Peter the Great of the Russian Academy of Sciences) and a number of Kazakh museums (Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan, etc.). An additional source of the study are the works of artists and photographic documents of researchers of Kazakhstan and Central Asia in general, made in the pre-revolutionary period and until the beginning of the 20th century.

The main scientific methods of this research, in addition to the traditional ones (analysis, synthesis) are structural-semiotic and cultural-artistic approaches. Comparative analysis is also significant for this study, which allowed us to clarify and specify the visual image of some of the categories of otherness. By and large, these approaches determined the foundation of the evidence base of our hypothesis.

## **Discussion and results**

*Costume of the steppe elite: "sun-like" lords.* The costume (clothing) from the position of semiotics according to S.S. Avanesov contains several functions: adaptation, identification, sovereignty and manipulation (Avanesov, 2016: 37-38). At the initial stage we are interested in the last function, the function of manipulation, "when clothes act as a means of acquisition and as a direct "instrument" of power" (Avanesov, 2016: 38). Any power (even modern power) generates codes of power, including in the field of dress code. In this function, clothing is a means of influence. The traditional costumes of the steppe aristocracy, or rather the ethno-

cultural specificity of the total look of Kazakh khans and sultans, are such a means of great interest.

In general, the steppe or nomadic elite is a rather broad concept, our focus is on some elements of the costume of Kazakh khans and sultans. Traditional costumes of all classes of nomadic society were unified in terms of style, simplicity of cut and were characterized by the absence of constructive excesses. However, in a particular case, the costumes of khans and sultans were distinguished by a careful choice of combinations of fabric, its colour and ornamental decoration, which served as an understandable “language” for everyone around.

Here we will focus on the most characteristic elements of their costumes.

In the clothing of khans and sultans, importance was attached to colouring, eye-catching elements (embroidery, ornamentation, etc.), i.e. everything that visually distinguished representatives of the steppe elite “at a foreseeable distance from the group of nomads in order to recreate the honors due to the owner of high rank” (Erofeeva, 2014: 644).

The leading colour of the robe-chapan was red and its derivatives (crimson, dark maroon, bright scarlet, terracotta), i.e. “the red colour was perceived as a class symbol” (Yatsenko, 2010). Gold embroidery on a red background was a favorite among the Genghisids. Gold was associated with the sun - heavenly grace farn. In general, according to B.O. Yuzefovich, embroidery with gold and silver threads in Kazakhs was done by women exclusively from wealthy families “... embroidery on velvet and silk - with gold, silver and silks - should be counted among women’s works” (Yuzefovich, 1880: 805).

Gold embroidery decorated not only clothes, but also shoes. “The tradition of shoe decoration with solid gold embroidery, metal inserts like festoon, stripes of geometric shapes in Kazakhs reached the beginning of the 20th century samples of which are stored in the Kazakh collection in Urumqi” (Toleubaev, 2016: 671).

The Kazakh elite’s love for gold was manifested in the use of expensive Iranian brocade fabrics for sewing camisoles (sleeveless men’s and women’s clothing sewn at the waist) and sewing chapans. The Iranian brocade - zarbaft - a complex patterned silk fabric with gold or silver threads was a sign of elitism, luxury and was perceived as a royal fabric. Due to the combination of silk-matte and metallized areas in the light, the fabric gives an incredible shine. Such clothes made of brocade fabrics especially expressively and vividly demonstrated the high social status of their owners.

The status of a khan or sultan was emphasized by the murak headdress, a marker of royal otherness. It was customary to wear this headdress on solemn occasions and at important meetings. The significance of the headdress is emphasized by a folk proverb: “Khandar kier murakty, karasha kier kurakty” (“Khans wear murak, and commoners wear kurak”). Kurak in Kazakh tradition is a thing sewn from patchwork. Traditionally, murak was sewed from velvet of Iranian or Samarkand manufacture, mostly of burgundy colour on a felt base and richly embroidered with gold thread (Dzhanibekov, 1996: 21).

Copies of these headdresses are kept in REM No. 8762-23540 and in the collection of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The latter belonged to Abulkhair Khan’s son Aishuak and is a high cone-shaped hat with bent upward fields, and the decoration is a synthesis of vegetal and floral motifs, compositionally aspiring to the top (Fig. 1). The ornamentation is

distributed on four wedges (is it not a symbol of the four sides of the world?), separated by a lilt. The cone-shape (mountain/elevation), red colour (symbol of fire), gold (symbol of the sun), plant and floral ornamentation (fertility, prosperity) of this headdress pointing to the famous headdress of the Issyk chief with the same characteristics: cone, predominance of red, gold, but instead of plant and floral patterns - zoomorphic images - the main myth logically meaningful figurants of the Saka culture.

This fact demonstrates the continuity of ancient artistic traditions in the design of the textile “crown” of the steppe nobility and emphasizes their otherness from all others, their chosenness. That is, the conical shape of the headdress, red colour (symbol of fire), golden embroidery (projection of the sun) “presented a man-holder of power, symbolically connecting earthly and heavenly substances” (Erofeeva, 2014: 656).

Thus, with any artistic variations of costume design and personal preferences of representatives of the nomadic elite, a common basis clearly emerges - the desire to demonstrate, as A.K. Akishev wrote about the famous Golden Man, the khan or sultan as “the centre of the world, the hub of society, the living embodiment of harmony in the universe. He is like a god - a creator and ruler. His costume is sacred, it protects the leader from everything hostile; and with the leader, the Cosmos from Chaos” (Akishev, 1984: 53).



Fig.1. Ceremonial male headdress - murak. Early 19th century.  
Belonged to Sultan Baimukhamed Aishuakov.  
Fund of the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan

*Uniform clothing: “protected” warriors and servants.* Under the designated clothing it is accepted “to understand clothing of a certain pattern, cut, style, colour, obligatory for a certain category of people” (Goncharova, 2020: 269). We have already noted that traditional Kazakh costume is in principle identical for all strata of the population, but some have interesting details that allow us to talk about otherness. In this case, clothing according to S.S. Avanesov performs the functions of sovereignty, which is perceived and “read” as a kind of visible text about the invisible, as a series of hints about its inner “content” (Avanesov, 2016: 38).



As it seems to us, such a costume detail and original markers of belonging to ancient male unions of hunters, warriors, participants of sports competitions and servants are embroidered men's trousers (Kazakh "shalbar") widely used in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The genesis of such a costume detail goes back to the clothing of participants of Iranian ritual wrestling koshti (Popova, 2023: 77). As is known, the meaning of a fight, any duel in traditional culture is broadly attributed to the struggle of two Initialities - dark and light.

The history of traditional koshti wrestling, more often called pahlavani, is closely connected with the history of martial arts and martial arts of the peoples of Central Asia, India, Iran and Pakistan. Some experts attribute the origins of this wrestling to the ritual practices of the ancient Parthians. The external "attribute" of koshti wrestlers are special trousers made in the form of shortened breeches supplemented with a belt and strong cuffs. These trousers, judging by the photographs taken in the early 20th century by the court photographer of the Qajar dynasty, A.V. Sevryugin, are richly decorated with traditional ornaments almost all over the surface. The decoration of such trousers usually consisted of a synthesis of geometric or floral patterns.

The analysed, Central Asian trousers were sewn from the finest suede of traditionally yellowish-ochre colour, originally produced by nomads and depicted in the paintings of V.V. Vereshchagin (Fig. 2-3). Later these shalbars were sewn from velvet and dense cotton fabrics. Samples of Kazakh shalbars with slightly different ornamental iconography than on suede ones are presented in the collection of the MAE RAS (No. 414-3 and No. 2528-1). Similar to the last two specimens are still produced by the Kazakhs of Xinjiang.



Fig.2. Vereshchagin V.V. Rich Kirghiz hunter with a falcon. 1871. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow



Fig.3. Vereshchagin V.V. Looking out. 1873. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

Several copies of suede trousers belonging to the Kazakhs are kept in the REM (No. 8762-23497/1), the State Museum of Oriental Art and Kazakh funds. These trousers were decorated

with ornamentation on the sides in the form of rosettes and the sacral bottom was especially decorated. Their decoration consisted of embroidery of plant and flower patterns made with silk threads: red, green, blue and partly white colours.

It seems that the configuration of the pattern and the choice of colours here are not accidental, but have a specific symbolism. If we assume that any ornament in traditional culture has a protective function, then the combination of embroidery colours could have a very specific meaning. Perhaps, the colour of embroidery of this product has a connection with the three sacral colours of ancient Iranian costumes (red-white-blue) noted by S.A. Yatsenko, which were markers of the three zones of the universe - the upper, middle and lower (Yatsenko, 2010).

Some information about the costume of Kyrgyz wrestlers is presented in the study of G.N. Simakov (Simakov, 1984: 65-66). The scientist notes that wrestlers during a fight wore only leather trousers kandagai, whose pant leg could be up to 1.5 metres wide. The wider the pant leg, the more beautiful the trousers were considered to be. Significant fights were carried out exclusively in such a "costume", as evidenced by lines from the epic "Manas" (variant Zhusup Mamai [Mamai, 2012]). The story tells that the khan Koshoi "did not have leather trousers to go out to fight" (Mamai, 2012: 146). The same version of the epic further mentions marvelous and incomparable kandagai with patterns of Kokche Khan, sewn by his wife, the skillful woman Akerkech.

The epic emphasizes that fighters of high rank had no right to fight without special clothes - patterned sharovars (wide trousers). We can assume that if the attitude to the military caste was indicated by "patterned" trousers, then probably their first dressing had a ritualized character and was once part of the rite of military initiation. Unfortunately, so far we do not have more detailed information proving our hypothesis.

L.F. Popova considers the production of suede trousers with embroidery to be a product of urban handicrafts practiced by men - yurmaduz, and Tashkent was one of such centers for their production (Popova, 2023). It seems that by the time of fixation of these trousers among Kazakhs and Kyrgyz (late 19th - early 20th centuries), Uzbek craftsmen had already established a wide distribution of such market goods in the nomadic environment and displaced local original production (for example, in the southern regions of Kazakhstan). Moreover, Uzbek craftsmen were based on the preferences of nomads in their production (cut, ornamentation). These facts are mentioned in the famous "Report on trips to Central Asia in 1900-1902" by S.M. Dudin (Dudin, 2021).

*Exquisite style of creative people in Kazakh culture.* Extravagant dress of representatives of creative professions in Kazakh culture is a particularly interesting topic. Creative people at all times have been understood as giving others the Holiday meaning, which is a rapprochement with God, and their activity is an imitation of cosmogonic action. Even M.Y. Lotman wrote: special clothes, special - festive-playful or solemn - behavior stands out in a special sphere in time and space...a hierarchy of behavioral styles, shades and transitional forms emerges, which creates extremely complex and peculiar systems of social communications (Lotman, 2002: 403). In the studied context, the sal-sery outfits stand out, which, according to S.S. Avanesov's typology, can be attributed to the types of clothing that fulfil the functions of identification of social status, in this case professional affiliation (Avanesov, 2016: 37).

First of all, these are representatives of the traditional institution of sal-sery, who in domestic science are considered not only as representatives of the creative profession, but also as representatives of the ancient brotherhood of warrior-musicians. A.H. Margulan (Margulan, 2007) and E.D. Tursunov (Tursunov, 1999) wrote about the specificity of the sal-sery institute, considering them not only representatives of the creative profession, but of the oldest Eurasian brotherhood of warrior-musicians. A.H. Margulan noted that by European standards sal is eccentric: onyn bir armani sylkyymdyk, kerbezdik, kiimdi ademi kiinu; ozimen qatar zhurgen adamnyn barinen de qiyapatymen de, kiimimen de artyk bolu, asyp tysu. Er-tokymnyn ozi de baskanikindej bolmajdy, altynmen, kumispn ornektegen, erekshe saltanatpen zhasatady. He dreams of being a dandy, to dress beautifully, to be different from people like him, to be better in face and clothes. The saddle itself is not like everyone else's, it is decorated with gold and silver and made with special splendor (translated from Kazakh). (Margulan, 2007: 14). Even the term "sal" itself was considered by the academician to be derived from the manner of dressing the sal in incredibly wide clothes, and the scientist considers the following to be qualifying details of the costume: a red or green-coloured chapan made exclusively of dense silk; a fur coat - zhargaq ton, which was sewn from nine sheep skins, and their wide trousers from four; red-coloured leather boots on the feet, and a high telpek (traditional headdress) made of silk on the head (Margulan, 2007). All details of the costume were richly embroidered with multicoloured embroidery.

A.H. Margulan's opinion is supported by O.B. Naumova: the sal were eccentrics, breaking out of the framework of ordinary life with their appearance and behavior; it is them who can be spoken of as extravagant personalities without reservations. The sery, on the other hand, did not violate traditions in their external manifestations, although they also differed from "ordinary", "normal" Kazakhs (Naumova, 2020: 178).

In the image of sal O.B. Naumova specifies a number of features. This is a special headdress (for example, a conical eight-link multicoloured hat with a bunch of feathers), very long shirts or trousers of such width that an adult could fit into one of their trousers, or jewelry of unnaturally large size. Sal could wear women's clothes or huge dressing gowns, fur coats inside out, etc. (Naumova, 2020).

G.J. Abylkasov holds a similar opinion, believing that the term "sal" originated from hanging, loose cut clothes (Abylkasov, 2018: 198). Sometimes a plume of expensive fabric (usually silk) was stretched behind the sal with a ribbon for 3-4 metres. That is, the whole image of sal was always flamboyant, fantastic - absolutely Other, fully corresponded to his inner desire to stand out, to amaze. Sometimes this aspiration was expressed in the manufacture of quite extraordinary clothes, for example, A.H. Margulan gives information about the chapan of once famous Tolebai sal, on which were stitched painted sheep lint or astragals (Margulan, 2007). Thus, the goal of Tolebai sal was achieved in a peculiar way - to stand out, to distinguish oneself from all others.

In turn, the visual image of sery is deeply interesting. According to G.J. Abylkasov, the word "sery" originated from cheer up, stroll, serper equally with this word, exult, exalt (Abylkasov, 2018: 198). In turn, E.D. Tursunov attributes the origin of the term "sery" to the Old Turkic "cherig" (army) and believes that the original meaning of the word "sery" is "warrior", "vigilante" (Tursunov, 1999: 196).



The sery came mostly from a background of highly educated people (Margulan, 2007). Sery's very demeanor and manner of speaking was stressed aristocratic, which was echoed in the visuals as well: they wore the most fashionable clothes and were distinguished by refined taste. For the sery as a "co-partner" of the members of secret unions, "bright, flashy masquerade costumes" were inadmissible, but "their proximity to the members of the union allowed them to adopt the "aristocratic" behavior and bohemian orientation of the sery's creativity" (Tursunov, 1999: 196).

Another interesting form of expression of otherness in clothing - rudiments of the swan image - can be traced in the clothes of sal-sery, Genghisids and shamans-baksy. Z.J. Naurzabay notes that the former could dress up in a swan costume, and when a cavalcade of sal-sery approached an aul (village), he would circle round the aul on horseback, shouting in the swan way. In the old days, Kazakh warriors used to shout swan-like when they went into mortal combat (Naurzabay, 2014: 208). Representatives of the Kazakh aristocratic estate "tore" - Chingizids - had the right to wear coats made of swan skin by birth. That is explained by the notions about the mythical origin of Genghis Khan from the union of "sunlight" and "swan". This fact, to all appearances, also determined a special attitude to the "ancestral" bird (Kukashev, 2002: 41).

As the researchers rightly point out, if the artistic heritage of the sal-sery is a special kind of creativity, their visual image is a vivid reflection of the national mentality (Azi, Azap, Saduakas, 2022: 153) and worldview.

Sal-sery clothes emphasized the image of the chosen ones of destiny and people of a special profession, whose activity went far beyond the poetic, composer and performer components, and represented a bright cultural and artistic phenomenon - a whole nomadic theatre and a special philosophy of the members of the secret warrior community.

*Visual image of jesters and fools in Kazakh culture.* Other carriers of otherness in Kazakh culture are representatives of the steppe institute of buffoonery and foolishness - saikymazak. People's memory has preserved the names of great "ku" (ku-cunning): the collective image of Aldar kose and Kozhanasyr, as well as specific historical personalities - Zarubai, who performed the hare dance; Rakhimberdy, nicknamed agashayak (wooden leg) for performing dances on wooden poles; Kulakai-Eleusiz, who portrayed people and animals in a virtuoso form. Unfortunately, historical data on the appearance of "Kazakh" jesters have not survived. In this context, we relied mainly on folklore materials and tried to reconstruct their image on the basis of data from other cultures of the Turkic area.

Assessing the functions of the jester, M.M. Bakhtin emphasized: "The very being of these figures has not a direct, but a figurative meaning: their very appearance, everything they do and say has not a direct and immediate meaning, but a figurative, sometimes reverse, they cannot be understood literally, they are not what they are; thirdly, finally - and this again follows from the preceding - their being is a reflection of some other being, and not a direct reflection. They are the face-actors of life, their being coincides with their role, and outside this role they do not exist at all" (Bakhtin, 1986: 194). That is, the image, words and actions of the jester always have a figurative, indirect, other meaning.

To clarify the visual image of the jester in Kazakh culture, let us turn to the image of the Altai Tastarakai. In Altaic folklore Tastarakai is the second hypostasis of batyr Aлып, into whom he turns in cases when it is necessary to outwit the enemy, to put his vigilance to sleep.

The main visual difference is baldness. In the Turkic epic, mac (“bald, plump”) appears as shepherd, servant or slave. Standing outside, the framework of society and culture, he is endowed with all the attributes of a different being, and his “hairlessness” only emphasizes this. That is why the hero, coming to the possessions of a foreign khan, often takes the guise of a tastarakai - a beggar, an unsightly vagrant, a bald man, a creature of that zone of the cosmos where the laws of culture do not apply (Golikova, 2010: 55). The visual image corresponds to its purpose in culture: to “blow up the complacent world of the common man”, to break custom.

Studying the cultural definition of “taz” S. Kondybay believes that the representations associated with “baldness” form an integral, complex, multi-level, multi-vector mythological complex (Kondybay, 2008: 416). And, it can be comprehended on at least two levels: one of the additional names of the new dynasty and the name of a certain priestly group. Hence, this image should be considered in the following logical chain: batyr - taz (“bald, plump”) - priest. The image of Tastarakai is characterized by squalor: canvas clothes, a hat made of birch bark, a saddle made of willow twigs, a skinny horse, etc. These should be regarded as sign of otherness.

Tastarakai is similar to Tazsha bala (literally bald, bald teenager, young man), a popular image in Kazakh folk tales. As a rule, in tales Tazsha himself is the object of ridicule or, on the contrary, the surrounding people become the object of his ridicule and pranks. He is represented as a boy or a young man with a cunning mind and skill, in some versions - he is the owner of mysterious knowledge. The hero is necessarily bald, with a sheep’s bladder stretched over his head, and he is dressed in the skin of some animal. “Tazsha” is a man on the lowest rung of the social ladder. People alienate him, consider him unwise and a bad man, for ‘his head is covered with parsha and his body with scabies’ (Kaskabasov, 1970: 117). The whole image of Tazsha-bala demonstrates his otherness, behind which experts see in one case one of the incarnations of the beyond (Kondybay, 2008: 414), in another case “sewn” into the image and actions of Tazsha-bala are initiation rites and echoes of matrilineal marriage (Kaskabasov, 1970: 116).

A slightly different image is represented by the hero of Kazakh fairy tales - Aldar-Kose. His main visual characteristic is beardlessness, and S. Kondybay gives him the following characteristic: Aldar-Kose is a comic-demonic figure, a negative version of a cultural hero and a mythological trickster with a distinct chthonic-shamanic colouring (Kondybay, 2005: 64). That is, here visual otherness - unkempt, ugly or funny clothes, rags, animal skin, etc. is necessarily accompanied by bodily otherness - bald, beardless, etc. We see a similar picture of otherness in the image of Slavic jesters, called “pea jester”, whose main attributes were a pea break on the head or a three-pronged cap with bells and clothes in the form of a “garden scarecrow”.

The image of a jester and a fool in Kazakh culture is characterized by theatrical behavior, some mannerism, peculiarly active gesticulation, including ridiculous and outlandish clothing, which is often combined with certain external data, for example, “baldness”. The characteristic features of these “heroes” are representatives of another world, most often otherworldly, where everything is built in complete contrast to the earthly world.

A more specific picture of the visual image of jesters, which is of interest in terms of reconstruction of the image of Kazakh jesters, is represented by the actors of the skomorokh theatre - maskaraboz, used by Uzbeks, Karakalpaks and others. (Fig.4). Its name comes from Arabic maskhara - mockery, joke, mask + affix boz denoting predilection or profession, i.e.

maskara-boz - one who jokes, mocks, comedian, actor (Baskakov 1984: 32). In the Kazakh version, the word “mascara” is used in a similar meaning.

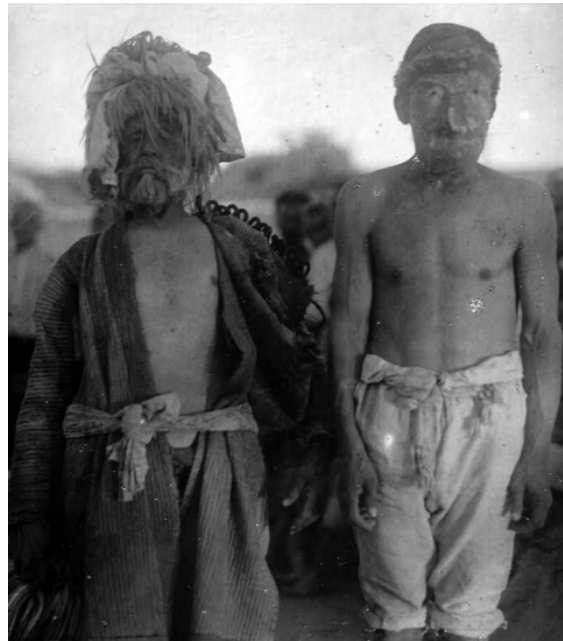


Figure 4. Performance of mascarabozoans. Negative, photographic print. Karakalpak ASSR, Chimbay. Karakalpaks. A.L. Melkov 1928-1929. MAE NO. 1381-286 (Kubel, 2019: 81).

Specialists distinguish several schools: Bukhara, Khorezm and Fergana. Theatre masters were united in a single workshop called mekhterlik, and they considered Khazret Jabrayil their patron. That is, there is an understanding of the sacredness of the profession.

The repertoire of maskarabozs included comedy plays, domestic scenes, humorous stories, anecdotes, fairy tales, tall tales, acrobatic numbers and dances. For all the entertaining nature of the performances, they had a social character and often ridiculed the vices of rulers and the rich, human stupidity, greed and avarice.

The otherness of folk theatre masters was of course emphasized by their costume. For their performances, the artists dressed up in ridiculous hats, goat skins, glued goat beards or painted their bodies and wore masks. The latter mainly conveyed the appearance of animals, birds, and the characteristics of the comic character (Kubel, 2019:81). The masks could be full or half masks. As is known, a mask in traditional culture is one of the ways of embodiment of mythological ideas and representations, a symbol of mystery and illusions.

In our opinion, in the costume of maskarabozs a significant function is performed by goat skin and goatee, which probably carry the ideas of demonic nature, being a hypostasis of unclean force. That by and large correlates with the conclusions about jesters and fools in Kazakh culture as representatives of the Lower World.

*Baksy's clothing as a visual reflection of travelling through the Worlds and possessing “inhuman” abilities.*

The exotic appearance and ritual clothing of Turkic shamans has more than once become the subject of scientific research (Prokofieva, 1971; Basilov, 1992, etc.). E.D. Prokofieva notes that in some peoples of Siberia the shamanic costume was a whole set (shoulder garment, breastplate, headdress, footwear, mittens and trousers), others could have only a headdress, others only a bandage, etc. (Prokofieva, 1971: 5). But, in any case, whether it was a detail of clothing (insignia) or a whole costume, it was radically different from the household costume. Of course, such a costume (or a piece of clothing) could be worn only by a shaman.

The whole costume of a shaman was an embodiment of bird and, or animal elements: shoulder garment recreates the image of a bird, headdress most often the image of a beast (deer, elk, maral or bear), shoes were designed in the form of the feet of a beast, etc. Sometimes clothes could be whole animal skins. E.D. Prokofieva identified several groups characterizing the specifics of the shaman costume complex: Altai, Khakass, Tofalar, Yakut and Nanai (Prokofieva, 1971: 89). Thus, the Altai, Tofalar, Khakass and Tuvan costume symbolizes a bird, while the Yakut and Nanai costume symbolizes a syncretic image of a beast-bird. The shamanic costume in the functional aspect performs the functions of identification (professional affiliation) and sovereignty (visible text about the invisible).

In any case, “the garment is consonant with the deed” (Avanesov, 2016: 44), i.e. the shamanic costume demonstrates the bearers’ possession of non-human abilities and the ability to travel through the Worlds of the Universe.

Unlike the shamans of Western Siberia and the Altai including, there is very little information about the ritual dress of Kazakh baksy. But, nevertheless, there are insignia in it. R.Sh. Kukashev provides information about an element of ritual clothing of Kazakh baksy in the form of headdresses and capes made of swan down. Such a costume, consisting of a headdress in the form of a whole removed swan skin (akku borik) and a short jacket made of swan down, existed among baksy and duan - two main figures of Kazakh shamanism - up to the end of the 19th century. The ritual attire was a mark of distinction of a Kazakh shaman and an indispensable attribute of his cult activity. The shaman’s costume was endowed with sacral power and considered a sacred object in the folk consciousness, and after the death of the shaman it was passed on by inheritance (Kukashev, 2002: 43).

Akku borik could be supplemented by “a head made of corals, cowries or snake heads and so on” (Kukashev, 2002: 15). By the way, cowrie is a favorite decorative element of children, girls and women of fertile age in Kazakh society. The semantics of the image of the swan in Kazakh culture (waterfowl) is connected with the understanding that it is subordinated to three worlds (mediator, intermediary): the upper - the sky, the middle - the earth and, of course, the lower - water. This ability of her not only predetermined the socialization of the image, but also the shaman’s ability to “travel” through these worlds in the process of shamanistic rituals.

The fact that Kazakh baksy (meaning men) wear women’s dresses also serves as a sign of otherness in the context of visibility. V.N. Basilov associated this tradition with ritual gender reassignment in the shamanic practices of Central Asian peoples. The scientist presents a number of facts: Oraznar-porhan wore a red dress during a shamanistic ritual, and Tashmat bola strove to imitate women in gait and manner of speaking (Basilov, 1992). The people explained this by the influence of the spirits of these shamans, who allegedly demanded to wear women’s clothes.

A headdress with female (maiden) elements was recorded in one of Kazakh shamans and is described by a scholar as follows: “the top of the hat is decorated with bird feathers...it resembles the features of male and female headdress” (Basilov, 1992: 92).

Further V.N. Basilov provides valuable information about the costume of Kazakh baksy on the basis of photographic data and brief descriptions from the Hamburg Museum (Basilov, 1992: 91-92). According to the scientist’s data, a hinged dressing gown of a baksy (No. 427: 06) was sewn of variegated multicoloured cloth along the collar, which had metal plaques; metal discs of about 150 pieces were sewn across the chest up to the waist, and in the front below the waist dangled thread tassels with sequins - more than 30, in turn, the same threads in the back of the dressing gown in the amount of about 40 pieces. No less extravagant was the headdress of the baksy: a low kalpak (No. 921-06) made of variegated chintz, covered with lynx fur. The part of the headdress not covered with fur is abundantly decorated with ribbons, a plaque, a triangular amulet and 15 tassels. The costume was purchased in the vicinity of Semipalatinsk (now Semey, East Kazakhstan region). Both the dressing gown and the hat combine features of male and female costume (Basilov, 1992: 92).

Another visual representation of the binary essence of Otherness is demonstrated by the blacksmith’s costume during the rite “Zhylyan kaiys” (“snake skin”), described by T. Asemkulov and Z. Nauryzbay (Asemkulov, Nauryzbay, 2020: 18). Briefly, the essence of the rite consists in the initiation of the boy as a future warrior by none other than a blacksmith - a sacral figure of Kazakh mythopoeitics, who has magical, shamanic functions in the folk perception. According to scholars: the blacksmith wore a grey wool-knitted chapan resembling a snake skin (Asemkulov, Nauryzbay, 2020: 27). In Kazakh culture, the snake is firmly connected with the ideas of fertility, femininity, and also reflects the ideas of the Primordial, the owner of the element of the underworld, who controls fire and metal.

The visual “reincarnation” of men-baksy and blacksmiths into a swan (the swan is one of the hypostases of the female goddess Umai), or wearing women’s dresses, or into a “snake” correlates with the desire to possess “powers” or properties not previously inherent in them. In any case, the image of a swan or a woman’s dress on male shamans, of course, and the “snake” chapan on a blacksmith are among the main signs of otherness, a visual distinctive sign.

A separate theme is the vestments of persons equated by Kazakhs with saints. R.M. Mustafina writes about Koktondy-ata, who treated children from whooping cough. He was nicknamed “Koktondy” because he wore a blue dressing gown all the time. ...The blue dressing gown of Saint Koktondy-ata seems to be not accidental, it reflects the witch doctor traditions of the population of South Kazakhstan, close to other peoples of Central Asia, which go back to ancient magic techniques, in particular, to imitative magic (Mustafina, 1992: 90).

The steppe soothsayers of duana (wandering dervishes), whose image, according to R.M. Mustafina, merged Sufism and shamanism (Mustafina, 1992). According to many historians, the institution of duana was most widespread in the southern regions of Kazakhstan. Ya.P. Haverdovsky wrote about the Kazakh duana: “...a tattered shirt, thin and pale face, cloudy eyes and wild features of the physiognomy served as signs of his rank... thus they wander from aul to aul all their lives. Some Kyrgyz recognise them as inspired people with knowledge of the future” (Haverdovsky, 2007: 224-225).

The duan's path is a wandering. Hence its appearance: dervishes had special clothes - a cap, a dressing gown, a staff made of sacred wood (Mustafina, 1992). They could also wear a swan cap.

The recorded image of Kazakh duana can be presented in the photographs by S.M. Dudin, which are stored in the collections of the MAE RAS (No. 1199-74, No. 1199-414). The photographs were taken on the territory of the modern Pavlodar region in 1899. The first photograph shows a duana in a costume of Central Asian striped fabric: a robe-chapan, under the dressing gown is a skirt-type garment almost in the floor, on his hands the diviner is wearing mittens made of the same striped fabric. The headdress has a large bundle of feathers. The clothes of the second one are not so exotic, but the whole look is rather shabby: a shabby dressing gown, ridiculously large shoes, a low turban on the head.

The modern image of the Kazakh duan is presented by R.M. Mustafina. The scholar writes: according to Aman, the urge to wander determined his status as a duan. The white dressing gown he wore when going to "holy places" obviously has a connection with the traditional costume of a Sufi dervish (Mustafina, 1992: 145).

To a certain extent, materials on Central Asian dervishes provide clarification of the visual image of the Kazakh duana and its deeper understanding. Among the illustrative materials, the famous painting by V.V. Vereshchagin "Dervishes in festive attire" attracts attention. Vereshchagin's famous painting "Dervishes in festive attire. Tashkent" (1874). The painting depicts three praying dervishes (probably sheikhs or feasters). First of all, their costume attracts attention: a patchwork hirka dressing gown with a multicoloured belt with ornaments - kamar, a cone-shaped cap with fur trim - kulokh and a long white scarf - taylasan (Fig.5).



Fig.5. Vereshchagin V.V. Dervishes in festive outfits. Tashkent. 1870. State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow

Z. Rakhimova writes about the Sufi dervish costume: "... Sufis did not introduce anything new into the clothing ... Sufis only changed its semantics, filled it with new content, and through its



details revealed their worldviews, and for the initiates their clothing and its details became an indicator, an important sign of joining the mystical mystery of the Sufi, an indication of a certain stage in their journey" (Rakhimova, 2008).

P.A. Pozdnev (Pozdnev, 1886) notes with regard to the clothing of the dervishes that some of them walk practically naked, others are dressed in a long chlamys made up of colourful pieces of cloth, wearing a ragged turban on their heads and carrying a stick with colourful rags in their hands. It is the rags, or rather their number in the costume of dervishes play an important role. It is believed that the number of patches is equal to the number of prayers (suras) recited by the dervish. Accordingly, the more patches on the dressing gown, the higher the status of the dervish.

The cone-shaped kulakh headdress deserves special attention, the genesis of which R.A. Rassudova attributes to the Saka time to its perception as the World Mountain (Rassudova, 1989: 173). It seems that the same semantic context is inherent in the duana headdress depicted by S.M. Dudin (No. 1199-74), where feathers should be understood as the World Tree growing on the top of the World Mountain.

The unattractiveness and even some squalor are the main characteristics of the image of the Kazakh duana to some extent brings them closer to the images of fools and jesters. However, the accents placed in the image pursue a different goal - to show that in his endless wanderings to holy places from the Kingdom of the Dead, he (duana) draws Knowledge and tells them to people. In any case, visually the duana could be easily distinguished from an ordinary person.

So, in the materials of the discussion we found out that externally the motive of otherness is manifested primarily in the visual image, and even more precisely through some elements of clothing. That is, clothing as an extremely significant cultural marker (Avanesov, 2016: 36) is fully capable of reflecting the otherness of this or that subject, which was understood and generally accepted by the carriers of this culture. It turned out that in the bosom of Kazakh culture, the elements of other people's clothing fulfil a number of functions identified by S.S. Avanesov (Avanesov, 2016): manipulation and means of influence, sovereignisation and identification of social status.

## **Conclusions**

This research represents one of the first steps in the study of the problems of otherness and its visual reflection in clothing on the example of Kazakh culture. Each of the categories of visual markers outlined here needs more detailed research with the involvement of a wide range of sources, including folklore data, which, in the opinion of the authors of the article, can reveal new facets of the problems under research.

However, the materials presented here allow us to assert that the costume or certain elements of the Otherness/Other in Kazakh culture was a well thought-out and balanced system. Clothing has been turned into the most important visual marker - a universal sign understood by the whole community, which reveals the essence of otherness or, to put it another way, allows us to see the semantic content.

Of the functions of clothing as a sign system proposed by S.S. Avanesov (Avanesov, 2016: 37-38), three functions are clearly expressed through the problematics of otherness in Kazakh culture: manipulation, sovereignization and identification of social status.

The first, being a means of influence, is the function of manipulation peculiar to the clothes of the representatives of the highest nobility, Kazakh khans and sultans. They with the help of specific visual markers - colour, headdress and in general the decor of clothes demonstrated their belonging to the upper world and presented themselves as sun-like, the centre of the world and the centre of society.

The second is the function of sovereignization, which was reflected in the elements of clothing of warriors and various categories of servants, who also used a specific marker, in this case “patterned” baggy pants, to demonstrate their belonging to the once secret community, the male union.

And, finally, the third function - identification of social status is the most extensive and is represented by the following categories of persons: representatives of creative professions - sal-sery; representatives of different models of deviant cultural behavior - jesters and fools, as well as carriers of sacred experience - shamans and dervishes (duana). Each of the designated categories in its costume necessarily had one or another visual marker that distinguished it from all others. Sometimes it could be reflected in quite absurd phenomena from the point of view of modern people, for example, making a robe-chapan out of lamb shoelaces. But in all variants of expression it achieved its goal - reflection of otherness.

As can be seen, clothing and visual image in general played not the least role in Kazakh culture for expressing otherness. It is clear that the study of visual markers of otherness, expressed in clothing and its details, allows us to learn something very important about the Other, namely how and in what way the inner understanding of the self is expressed in the external.

It is believed that further in-depth study of the functions of clothing as a sign system through the prism of otherness on the example of Kazakh culture with the involvement of a wider range of sources will make it possible to specify and expand the angles outlined in this research.

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#### **Authors' contribution**

**Shaygozova Zh.N.** – development of the idea of the article, conceptualisation and choice of methodology, literature selection, collection and processing of empirical data, writing the text of the article, design and correction.

**Nehviadovich L.I.** – consultation in the construction of the theoretical and methodological basis of the work, recommendations in the selection of bibliography on the topic of the article, participation in the final editing of the text of the article and in the generalisation of the research results.

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### **Киім дәстүрлі қазақ мәдениетіндегі өзгеліктің маркеті ретінде**

**Андатпа.** «Өзгелік» ұғымы «басқа, ұқсас емес, басқаларға ұқсамайды» деген сөзден шыққан. Гуманитарлық ғылымдардағы өзгелік мәселесі ұзақ уақыт бойы зерттеушілердің назарын аударып, әр қырынан қарастырылады. Мақала авторларының пікірінше, өзгеліктің визуалды көрінісі ғылымдағы ең аз дамыған мәселе болып табылады, сонымен қатар оны киім (костюм) және жалпы образ айқын әрі ерекше көрсетеді.

Бұл мақалада қазақ мәдениетінің призмасы арқылы қаралатын киімдегі өзгеліктің көрінісі басты назарда болады. Мақалада кейбір деректерді салыстыру және нақтылау мақсатында басқа түркі этностарының (қырғыздар, алтайлар, өзбектер, қарақалпақтар), сондай-ақ ирандықтардың киімдері туралы материалдар зерттеледі.

Белгілі болғандай, дәстүрлі мәдениетте киім адамның жаны мен «екінші» қабығы ретінде түсіндірілді. Белгілі бір түрдегі киімді кию арқылы адам өзінің «ерекшелігін», басқалардан айырмашылығын көрсете алады, яғни оның «Мен», «Мен басқамын» деген экспрессивті көрінісі болады.

Мақалада дала ақсүйектерінің, шығармашылық кәсіп иелерінің, сондай-ақ шамандардың, диуаналардың және «өзге» мәртебесі бар басқа да санаттағы адамдардың киімінің кейбір элементтері түсіндіріледі.

Киімнің кейбір көрнекі белгілерінің мағынасы қоғамға өзгешіліктің мәнін көрсету ғана емес, сонымен қатар одан да терең себептерді қамтиды деп болжанады. Біздің ойымызша, бұл атрибуттардың (маркерлердің) көпшілігі Адам мен Ғарыш бірлігінің синкретизмін көрсетеді, дәлірек айтсақ, киім киіну әлемінің белгілі бір деңгейіне жататынын білдіреді.

Мақалада келтірілген өзгеліктің визуалды белгілерін қазақ мәдениетінің мысалында қарастыра отырып, оның иконографиясы қоғамда түсінікті және қабылданатын мұқият ойластырылған және мұқият теңдестірілген жүйе болды деп қорытынды жасауға болады.

**Түйін сөздер:** киім; маркер; Өзгешілік; Мен-Басқамын; дәстүр; қазақ мәдениеті.

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### **Одежда как маркер инаковости в традиционной казахской культуре**

**Аннотация.** Понятие «инаковость» производное от слова «иной», неидентичный, не похожий на других. Проблематика инаковости в гуманитарной науке привлекает внимание исследователей с давних пор и рассматривается в самых разных ракурсах. На взгляд авторов статьи, визуальное же выражение инаковости наименее разработанный вопрос в науке, но ее наиболее ярко и самобытно отражает именно одежда (костюм) и образ в целом.

В настоящей статье основной фокус – отражение инаковости в одежде, рассматриваемой через призму казахской культуры. С целью сравнения и уточнения некоторые данные в статье привлекаются материалы по одежде других тюркских этносов (кыргызов, алтайцев, узбеков, каракалпаков), а также иранцев.

Как известно, одежда в традиционной культуре осмысливалась вместилищем души и «второй» оболочки человека. Облачаясь, в определенные одежды человек мог презентовать свою «особость», отличие от всех остальных, то есть происходила экспрессивная демонстрация своего «Я», «Я – Другой».

В статье приводится интерпретация некоторых элементов костюма степной знати, людей творческих профессий, а также шаманов и другой категории людей, обладающих статусом «инаковых».

Предполагается, что значение некоторых визуальных маркеров одежды состояло не только в том, что ни показывали обществу субстанцию Другого, но и содержат еще более глубинные основания. На наш взгляд, большинство этих атрибутов (маркеров) демонстрируют синкретичность единства Человека и Космоса, а вернее выражают принадлежность носителя к определенному уровню мироздания.

Рассмотрев приведенные в статье визуальные маркеры инаковости на примере казахской культуры, можно заключить, что иконография другого была хорошо продуманной и сбалансированной системой, понятной и принятой сообществом.

**Ключевые слова:** одежда; маркер; Инаковость; Я – Другой; традиция; казахская культура.

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