

# Far from Kyakhta and Urga

## Photographs by Nikolai Charushin in the Museum of Ethnography's collection related to Jenő Zichy's expeditions

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1.

Nikolai Apollonovich Charushin's work as a photographer is the subject of several articles, describing also his life. (1) Charushin's travels in Siberia and Urga (now Ulaanbaatar) are analysed and mentioned in a number of publications covering, among others, the photographic history of Russia and Mongolia in the relevant period. (2) Viewed more broadly, those publications fit into both the discourse, related to the region, on "orientalist photography" and Russian imperial ethnography, and the history of photography analysing the region. The photographic material available at the Museum of Ethnography in Budapest complements these summations, rich in data and sources, and expands in space a material created over a period of nearly ten years, namely the corpus of photographs linked to Charushin. It also links them to the photographic material of the most significant expeditions of the late-19th-century Hungary, consisting of three travels to Asia, organised by Count Jenő Zichy. What makes the Museum's photographs linked to Nikolai Charushin so special is that, although all of them are the result of the third Zichy expedition of 1898–1899 (3), they were not added to the Museum's collection together with the material from that expedition. Charushin's photographs were inventoried more than a hundred years ago, without the photographer being identified, or sometimes with misleading authorship's details. The identity of the photographer was clarified when the estate of the editor of *Vasárnapi Ujság* (Sunday Newspaper), the most popular Hungarian weekly newspaper in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was processed four years ago (Bata 2020). Subsequently, additional Charushin materials coming from two other sources were also identified successfully in multiple stages (Bata 2022). The first part of this study briefly describes the history of the inclusion in the collection of the photographs linked to Charushin and the thematic units of the photographs. That part is followed by a presentation of Charushin's photographic work, including his photographs available at the Museum of Ethnography.

## Photographic materials of the Zichy expeditions in the Museum of Ethnography

2.

As a result of Jenő Zichy's (1837–1906) three expeditions to Asia (1895, 1896, and 1898–1899), aimed at searching for the ancient homeland and kinship of the Hungarians and also rich in family history research, a large number of artefacts and photographs were placed in the Museum of Ethnography. (4) There are photographs directly received from Jenő Zichy, with some of them taken by members of the expeditions (Mór Wosinsky, the archaeologist member of the group in the first two expeditions (Photograph 1); and Count József Bánhidý and zoologist Ernő Csíki, in the third one), (5) and some others being purchased or received as gifts during their travels.



1. Members of the Zichy expedition  
Dagestan, 1895, photograph by Mór Wosinsky  
Museum of Ethnography, F 14210

3.

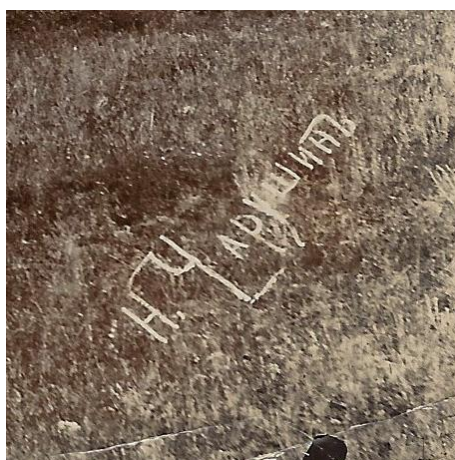
In the travel diary of the historian of the first expedition, Lajos Szádeczky-Kardoss (Szádeczky-Kardoss 2000), one can read many stories and descriptions about the taking of, receiving as gifts, or purchases of, photographs during the journey, which in some cases are detailed enough that the exact picture can be identified. Regarding the town of Kerch, he notes: “The photographer didn’t have any finished photographs, he gave us his address and we can make orders.” (Szádeczky-Kardoss 2000: 40). Among the photographs received together with the artefacts, there are several ones by Dmitri Yermakov, (6) who is mentioned by Szádeczky-Kardoss in his diary in connection with their host in Batalpasinsk: „He has beautiful photographs, taken by the photographer Yermakov from Tiflis, of the old Kabards, the countryside, and the land of Cherkessia.” (Szádeczky-Kardoss 2000: 54). In Tiflis (today Tbilisi), they meet a photographer who “has beautiful photographs of the Cuban countryside. He sells us one for 30.” (Szádeczky-Kardoss 2000: 129), possibly, he refers to Yermakov here. At the current stage of research, 19 photographs in the collection are linked to Yermakov (Photograph 2). (7)



2. Karachay women of high social standing from the Valley of Kuban  
Caucasus, years 1880s (?), photograph by Dimitri Yermakov  
Museum of Ethnography, F 1355

4. As revealed during the identification process of the authorship of the photographs from the Zichy expedition, the relevant corpus includes photographs by Andrey Denyer (1820–1892), (8) Fedor Gadaev (1858–1896), the Georgian Gregori Ivanovic Raev, (9) and the Ukrainian photographer Alfred Fedetsky (1857–1902) from Kharkiv, (10) in addition to the above-mentioned Yermakov. Regarding photographs purchased or taken by members of the expedition during the third travel, there is no other as rich source material as the Szádeczky-Kardoss travel diary. (11) Some data of those photographs may be clarified by relying on the images, and comments attached to them, sent to accompany reports published in the *Vasárnapi Ujság* (Zichy 1898a, Csíki 1899), and on Jenő Zichy's report published in 1905 (Zichy 1905). In this, Jenő Zichy writes about the time spent in the region (Kyakhta, Urga). In Astrakhan, Zichy meets the painter and photographer Vasily Vereshchagin, from whom he receives photographs, which he publishes (Zichy 1905: 164–166). (12)
5. Linked to the third expedition, reaching the most distant location, China, there are photographs that had not directly arrived in the collection together with the materials from the Zichy expeditions. These photographs include ones taken at the Russian–Chinese border and in Mongolian territories of that period: some of them are photographs by Charushin, which were added to the collection of the Museum of Ethnography from three different sources after the death of Jenő Zichy. The first twenty Charushin photographs (13) were placed in the Museum as part of the bequest of Miklós Nagy, editor-in-chief of the *Vasárnapi Ujság*, in 1909 (more details in Bata 2020), without the photographer's name being specified. In 1912, the Museum purchased from Lipót Stricher (14) one hundred and eleven positive photographs, identified in my later research to be relating to the Zichy expedition, and sixteen of them are definitely, and four of them are presumably, produced by Charushin. Sporadic data suggests that Stricher may have been

a trader. In 1915, together with seventy-five other photographs related to Zichy's travels, the photo collection purchased five more Charushin photographs (with unspecified authorship yet) from Imre Hatvani, (15) who was certainly the same person as the Museum's laboratory assistant at the time. Unfortunately, the Museum's documents and other sources do not provide an answer to the question of how the two donors came into possession the two hundred photographs, in total, associated with the Zichy expedition. Research efforts have led to the successful identification of photographs in the collection of the Museum of Ethnography taken by photographers related to Charushin (e.g., Kuznetsov, Petrov). Comparing Charushin's photographs with the data and other sources of the 1898 expedition, it may be assumed that Jenő Zichy, or one of their travel companions, József Bánhidý, could have bought them, or received them as a gift, in Troitskosavsk (now part of Kyakhta). Bánhidý's photos with his own handwriting on them are also part of the bequest of Miklós Nagy, and a writing very similar to them can be found on the photographs linked to Charushin in this unit. Jenő Zichy may have purchased all or some of the photographs on Mongolia even in Urga. Based on Charushin's signature (Photograph 3), captions, and serial numbers, found on photographic positives, and additional source materials, it can be determined that thirty-seven photographs are Charushin's shots (one of them is available in two versions), and four ones are presumably his works (for more details, see the Annex). (16) None of the positive photographs has Charushin's recto signature on it, most of positive photographs are glued to brown cardboard (of the Museum, presumably) and have only Hungarian-language captions on them (sometimes geographic names spelled incorrectly).



3. Charushin's signature

6.

Of the nearly six hundred photographs purchased by, or given as gifts to, Zichy and his travel companions that make up the Museum's complete material relating to the Zichy expeditions, the photographer still needs to be identified for some images. For the purposes of identification, materials related to the Zichy expedition can be found not only in foreign sources but also in public collections in Hungary, including the Wosinsky Mór Museum in Szekszárd (mainly photographs by the eponym) and the Hungarian Geographical Museum in Érd, photographs by Charushin in the latter. (17) Judging from these photographs (in the Museum of Ethnography and the Hungarian Geographical Museum) and the photographs related to the Zichy expedition published in some publications of the time, a total of thirty seven photographs by Charushin reached Hungary through Jenő Zichy's expedition. (18)

## Nikolai Charushin – his photographic work and his photographs related to the Zichy expedition

7.

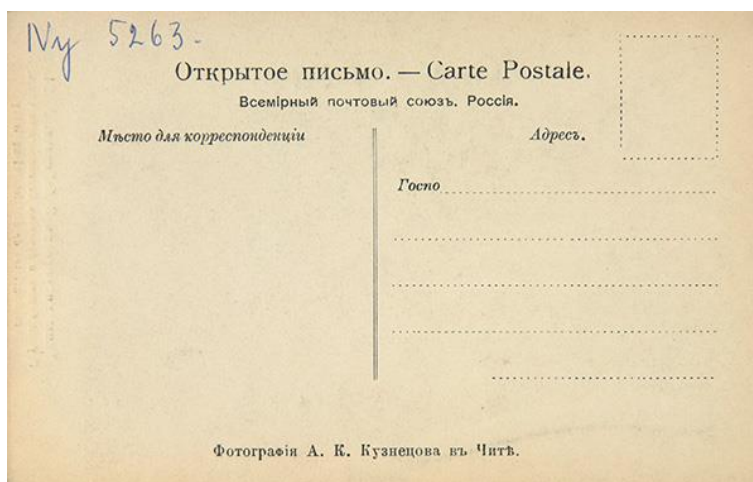
Born in 1851, growing up in Vyatka (now Kirov) in Russia, calling for political and social changes, Charushin joined, at the age of twenty, the populist Chaikovskii Circle, whose members were arrested in 1874. In 1878, Charushin was exiled to the prison of Kara in Transbaikalia and was forced to perform labour service. In 1881, he was allowed to leave Kara with his wife, Anna Kuvshinskaya, who also held populist views, and with their one-year-old daughter. He got a job as an accountant in a gold mine near Chita. In 1882, the family moved to Nerchinsk. Here, Charushin learned photography as an assistant to A. K. Kuznetsov. Kuznetsov was also exiled; it was typical of the period that many Russian intellectuals living in exile in areas of the country far from the capital decided – by necessity – to become a photographer (Eklof–Saburova 2018, Saburova 2020). Before the construction of the Trans-Siberian Express, the towns in the region had few or no photo studios, and the exiles made up for this shortage (19). They were also typically involved in the cultural life of settlements. In Nerchinsk, Kuznetsov and Charushin helped to establish a Library and a Museum. Kuznetsov produced both anthropological type of portraits and landscape photographs. One of his best-known works is the series of seventy-seven items depicting the life and inhabitants of the hard labour camp in Nerchinsk, which he compiled in an album in 1891 (Kuznetsov 1891). Kuznetsov's portraits and photographs of life in Siberia were also published in the form of postcards. In 1987, twenty cards with Kuznetsov's name on them were obtained by the Museum of Ethnography through purchase. (20) The reason for the cautious wording concerning the authorship is that the photograph of the Buryat group, marked by Charushin's sign and allocated the inventory number F 10726, is found also among the postcards registered with the name of Kuznetsov (Ny 5263). This indicates that Charushin may have had independent works even as an assistant to Kuznetsov or that the photocopies were later sold by Charushin (Photographs 4–5). In a similar way, a photograph of Buryats in masks during a religious ceremony is found under Kuznetsov's name as a postcard (Ny 5272) and also in Charushin's album (Charushin 1888b: Photograph 48). After a while Charushin wanted to become independent, however, he thought he would represent competition for Kuznetsov. (21) In 1886, he moved to Kyakhta, a large town near, and later merged with, Troitskosavsk, located at the then Russian-Chinese (later Mongolian) border, on the trade route between the two countries, and famous mainly for its tea warehouses and mines. His wife took a job as a teacher in the administrative and commercial centre of the region, while Charushin, using a loan from a friend, opened his own studio, the first one in the town, as an independent photographer in 1887. His first assignment was to photograph houses in the affluent Kjunts area. He also had an assistant in the studio, Ivan Fedorovich Fedorov, an experienced photographer from Irkutsk. (22) In 1890–1891, Charushin was assisted in his studio by the ethnographer Samuel Martinovich Dudin, also in exile. (23)



4. Buryat persons of high social standing in ceremonial dresses  
 Urga, 1888, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
 Museum of Ethnography, F 10726



Типы влиятельных. Забайкалья. № 24.  
 Ургинская группа. Сидящего узда.  
 Les Bourrats de district Solongouinsky.



5/a-b. Buryats  
 Nerchinsk (?), around 1895, Kuznetsov indicated as the photographer  
 Museum of Ethnography, Ny 5263

8.

As a result of the local connections of his fellow exile, Charushin quickly integrated into the life of the town, and his portrait photography was popular. His studio also provided him with a secure livelihood and enabled him to repay his loans. Charushin captured the landscapes and life of Kyakhta, Troitskosavsk and also the neighbouring Maimachen (now Altan Bulak, Mongolia), under Chinese sovereignty in that period. In 1898, Jenő Zichy described Troitskosavsk as follows: „Troitzkoszawsk [Troitskosavsk], just like Irkuck [Irkutsk], is a town where Siberia's millionaires prefer to live. Most of them are very simple, still semi-peasant persons, enriched apace by the gold mines, or by the tea export and trade, which has huge warehouses in Troitzkoszawsk [Troitskosavsk] and Kiachta [Kyakhta], and also in the small holy town of Urga in Mongolia, located just along the route of the large caravans coming from China.” (Zichy 1905: 217–218). To accompany his account, he published a number of photographs of the town, taken by Charushin and kept in the collection (see the Annex) (Photographs 6–8).



6. View of the city  
Kyakhta, 1887–1895, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 14182



7. Fair  
Troitskosavsk, 1887–1895, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 14206



8. The owner of the big tea house, Si-fai-jun  
Maimachen, 1887–1895, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 10721

9. Charushin left the town on two major trips to Siberia for the purpose of taking photographs. In the summer of 1887, he travelled to Yakutia to take photographs in Yakov Andreevic Nemchinov's gold mine as commissioned by a millionaire from Kyakhta. Charushin and his assistant, Fedorov made their way along the Lena River to the Lake Baikal area. They purchased a large carriage to transport the photographic equipment, „mainly made of glass and other photo accessories”, used in their work. (24) After returning to Troitskosavsk, Charushin compiled an

album entitled *Views of Trans-Baikal Region and of Irkutsk* (Vidy Zabajkal'ja i Irkutsk ), using the photographic material of the trip and the three-month stay at Nemchinov's mine. (25) The album contains fifty-three photographs, mainly of landscapes and towns, bridges, construction sites, and participants in Buddhist rituals at Goose Lake Datsan. There are no photographs from this album in the collection, but Jenő Zichy may have had them in his possession, as he published some of them in the *Vasárnapi Ujság* and in his report (Zichy 1905) (for example, the group photograph next to Goose Lake Datsan, marked by Kuznetsov). (26) Compilation of albums showing the landscapes and types of people of distant regions was typical for the period, and Charushin's albums also fit into this genre (more details in Saburova 2020). His photographs of the artefacts of the Museum of Irkutsk can also be found in the material (two of them are definitely his works, and another three of them is presumed to have been taken by him as well) (Photograph 9). (27) Charushin also undertook another longer journey along the Udunginsky road, a route used by tea caravans between Kyakhta and Lake Baikal (Saburova 2020: 74). Six of his photographs available at the Museum of Ethnography may have been taken during that photography trip (Photograph 10). (28) The photographs related to that travel include his photograph depicting a tea caravan, whose matching pair can be found, in picture postcard format published by D. P Efimov, in the Collection of Drawings, Paintings and Prints, with Otto Renar (Moskow) specified on it as the photographer (Ny 6091).



9. Buryat woodcarvings in the collection of the Museum of Irkutsk, 1887–1895, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 14260



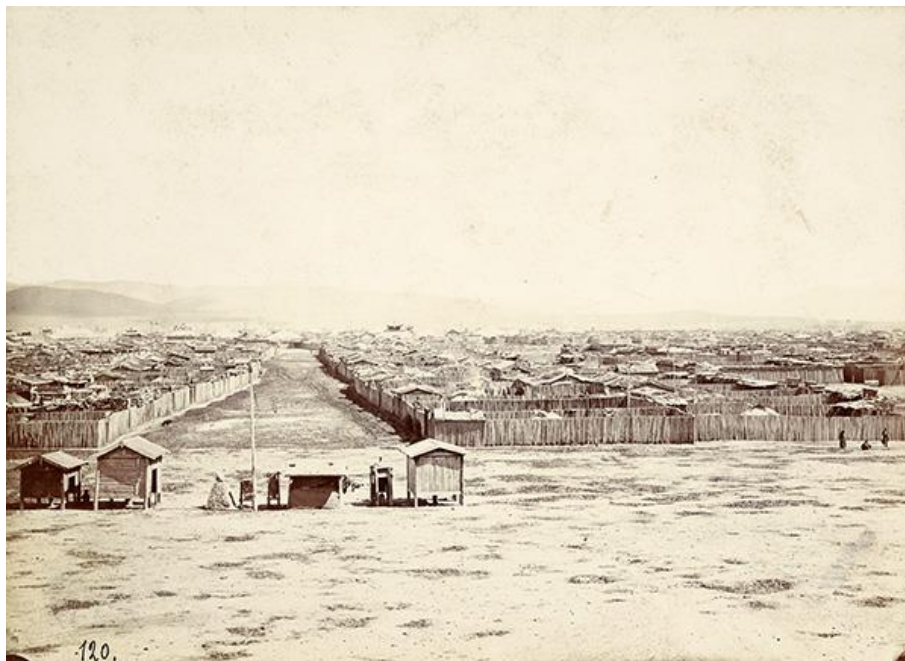
10. Taking over tea at the Gostini courtyard  
Troitskosavsk, 1887–1895, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 14205

10.

In 1886, the Russian ethnographer Grigory Nikolayevich Potanin (1835–1920) and his wife arrived to Kyahta and made friends with Charushin and his family. During his second trip to Mongolia in 1879, Potanin commissioned the ethnologist Andrei Vladimirovich Adrianov, also in exile, to take photographs and he used a „roll holder from bromo silver collodion cassette”. (Konagaya 2021: 5.) For his expedition in 1884, he took with him the military topographer and photographer August Skassi; their correspondence contains numerous comments on the photographic techniques of the time (Saburova 2020: 61). Potanin was committed to photo-documentation, always using professional photographers to that end, despite his own interest in solutions of photographic technology. His wife, Alexandra, frequently accompanied him on his expeditions, and also made sketches and took photographs (Saburova 2020: 62). In 1888, Charushin, on his own initiative, (29) joined Potanin as a photographer on a six-week journey to Urga: „*He hired me also as a photographer to make him a photograph anthropological images, and along the way, Mongolian monasteries and the other characteristic sights of Mongolia.*” (Sergeev 2001: 4). In his book the historian on Russian photography Morozov’s description reveals the amount of contemporary equipment needed for photography, which also explains why an especially large carriage had to be purchased for the work related to Nemchinov’s mine. „*Imagine a photographer of that time going on a trip. There were no portable devices. He took a camera of the same size in portrait pavilions, stocked on portrait and landscape lenes, a heavy tripod with a black blanket completed the equipment. Glass, large-size plates had to be carefully packed in a special box, and if there was a lot to shoot, people took two heavy boxes with plates. In addition, they needed a folding tent for laboratory work. They also took a bottle of collodium and vials for the halide salt to develop the plates. Then a few more developer were poured into vials, all of which were also packed. The photographer’s equipment weighed many puds.*” (Morozov 1953: 20–21. – cited by Sergeev 2001: 6).

11.

Charushin, who arrived in Urga in 1888, had a view of the town similar to that of Jenő Zichy ten years later. Charushin's sentences: „*Nothing like our European cities was here at the memorial. The main buildings of the Mongolian city itself were the same felt yurts as in the rest of Mongolia, occasionally wooden buildings like our henhouses inside a small quadrangle surrounded by a low fence. Among these pitiful buildings sharply stood out white building of Tibetan architecture – the temple of Maitreya and some other idols and palace buildings of Bogd-geegen.*” (Charushin – cited by Sergeev 2001: 6). (Photograph 11) Jenő Zichy describes Urga as follows: „[...] they live in tents of felt, Mongolian 'kibitka's. The whole city is fenced with wooden palisades, the material for which is brought from Siberia; in this great circle there are tents in a line of street, and each tent is surrounded by such wooden fences, each three metres high. [...] here, Kutucha's [Hutuktu] palace, the great pagoda, and the prison house are the tallest buildings, in fact the only ones. These and the wooden one-storey buildings of the two governors dominate the whole town.” (Zichy 1905: 227–228).



### 11. City of Urga

Urga, 1888, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 14259

12.

Charushin's photographs are an important source for the history of photography in Mongolia, as there were hardly any photographers working in the area at that time, and most of the photographs were taken by travellers and researchers arriving from elsewhere. (30) Majority of the Charushin photographs kept in the Museum of Ethnography were taken during this travel, and they complement materials kept in other collections abroad. Potanin collected fairy tales and epic songs in Urga. Charushin built a studio out of transportable supplies he brought from home and photographed local people together with Fedorov. He also captured members of the local Mongolian, Buryat and Chinese aristocracy in the photographs kept in the Museum of Ethnography. The collection contains several photographs depicting members of the above-mentioned ethnic groups, since Charushin may have taken these photos also in Kyakhta; in the absence of incomplete

data related to the photographs, the location of taking them cannot be established with any certainty (Photographs 12–13). Some of the portraits taken in Urga show front views and side profiles of men in casual clothes; the photographs depicting the same person were given the same serial number by Charushin (31) (Photographs 14–15). The latter ones were clearly produced during his joint work with Potanin, and the persons captured may have been the ethnographer’s informants: „The fact is that photography in Mongolia was an unprecedented and there was a serious prejudice against it. even the promise of some kind of reward did not help. Finally, we found the brave ones from Potanin’s acquaintances who decided to take this dangerous operation. The example turned out to be contagious, others followed. By the end of our stay in Urga, despite the obstacles, I managed to compile a very large collection of anthropological types of the Mongols, which fully satisfied Potanin” (Sergeev, 2001: 6). During this period, anthropological photographs taken by Charushin were the standard method of data collection (more in detail Saburova 2020: 68–73, Edwards 1990). Charushin did not add any descriptive comments to his portraits, the setting and the neutral background are characteristic of the genre, yet his photographs reflect the care of a competent photographer. Charushin’s approach, his joint work with Potanin – and the correspondence related to the compilation of the albums after returning home – prove that he also showed an interest in ethnography. He viewed photography as a means of grasping a research area typical of the period, namely anthropological/ethnographic types, and a means of establishing contact with people around him.



12. Mongolian gentlewoman  
Urga (?), 1888  
Photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 10720



13. Buryath woman  
Troitosavsk (?), 1887–1895  
Photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 10722



14. Portrait of a Buryat boy, front view  
Urga, 1888, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 10716



15. Portrait of a Buryat boy, side profile  
Urga, 1888, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 10717

13.

Charushin also photographed the palace and residence of the Mongolian religious leader and ruler Bogdo Gegen (Bogdo Khan, 1869–1924) (Photograph 16), and attended events where the leader was present, some of his photographs are related to this, although he was not given permission to photograph Bogdo Khan (Sergeev 2001: 7). He also photographed other religious leaders, lamas, and their relatives (Photographs 17–18). In his writing, Jenő Zichy refers to the fact that photography was taught in Urga either by Charushin during his stay there, or by his assistant, Fedorov, later: „But here too, they had already got familiar with a certain concept of civilisation; a Lama friend of Tsitsmareffn [Chichmaref] (32) had already got familiar with photography and known how to operate a machine. He had learnt it from the photographer from Troitzkoszawsk [Troitskosavsk], and I made this good little Lama take a photograph of the living god by using one of my little cameras in exchange for a couple of silver rods, and in two different shots: in grand ceremonial dress and in an everyday robe. These two photographs are also presented to our readers. And we also present the photograph showing the Mongolian duchess, two Mongolian ladies, and a Mongolian hunter with a rifle on his shoulder.” (Zichy 1905: 233. Photographs: 231–232.) (33)



**16. Treasury of Bogdo Gegen**  
Urga, 1888, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 14179



**17. Buryat high priest (lama)**  
Urga, 1888, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 10719



**18. Buryat high priest's wife**  
Urga, 1888, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 10718

14.

Earlier, in a letter sent to the *Vasárnapi Ujság*, Zichy also published the photographs of the high priest, in a different selection, without mentioning the authorship: „In the belief that my report will be of interest to your readers, I am sending here a few photographs of the basin of the upper and lower Selenga River, which we have travelled along, the Snezhnaya River, Lake Baikal, two group photographs of the Buryats, two Mongolian groups, and two portraits of the living god: Bogdo Gegen...” (Zichy 1898a: 743). The above-mentioned photographs of Bogdo Gegen are presumably copies of reproductions, several of which are in the Museum’s corpus (F 10785, F 10786). On his journey with Potanin, Charushin took more than two hundred photographs, capturing portraits, landscapes, and monasteries. Three of the latter ones are kept in the Museum of Ethnography (F 14185 – F 14187) (Photograph 19). Two of his group photographs of Buryats used in the *Vasárnapi Ujság* are available in printed versions, the Collection of Drawings, Paintings and Prints, and, unlike the published ones, these versions show Charushin’s signature and captions (34) (Photograph 20).



19. Dambadarjaagin Monastery  
Urga, 1888, photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 14186



20. Buryat women (cliché of Vasárnapi Ujság)  
Urga, 1888, based on a photograph by Nikolai Charushin  
Museum of Ethnography, F 8430

15.

On his return from Mongolia, Potanin submitted Charushin's photographs to the Russian Imperial Geographic Society as annexes to his travel report and later to his publications (Saburova 2020: 62). Following his trip to Mongolia, Charushin placed an advertisement in several newspapers, offering photographs of Mongolian ethnographic types for sale (Saburova 2020: 71). In addition, in collaboration with Potanin, he compiled an album, containing two hundred photographs, entitled *Views of Urga* (35) and another one entitled *Mongolia* (Charushin 1888b, 1889). The correspondence between the two of them also provides a lot of additional technical information, such as the lack of paper used for the album. The available sources suggest that, as with his earlier album (Charushin 1888b), in this one, too, Charushin took care to mark the cardboards with the town of his studio (Troitskosavsk) and his own name. He also allocated his photographs a serial number, a short title, and a signature, which was placed on the reproduced photographs rather than on the cardboards. In 1889, he sent his photographs on Mongolia to the Northern Siberia Branch of the National Geographic Society, which passed on eighty of his photographs to their Museum in Irkutsk (Eklof–Saburova 2018: 174). The success of his pictures is shown by the fact that one hundred and thirty-two of his photographs taken in the Transbaikalian territory and Mongolia were presented at the *Moscow Geographic Exhibition* in 1892. The album of photographs taken in Mongolia was sent to the Russian Imperial Geographic Society, its Irkutsk Branch, and also to the Universities of Moscow and Tomsk.

16.

For Charushin, photography in Kyakhta was not just a job, but also a way to establish local contacts. In his memoirs he writes: „*photography gave me a place as sorts in society, for my services were in considerable demand and this provided both an entry and a role in public life locally.*” (cited by Saburova 2020: 67.) During his stay there, Charushin played an active role in the establishment and operation of the Library, the Museum, and the Geographic Society in Kyakhta. Availing himself of the opportunity offered by the political amnesty of 1895, Charushin left Kyakhta. Having visited the town three years after Charushin's departure, Jenő Zichy recalled his memories of the town, referring to one of the photographer's

legacies, the Museum, as follows: „Here in Kyachta [Kyakhta], there is this terribly big tea warehouse, where huge quantities of tea, of incalculable worth, are stored. There are other places of interest in Kyachta [Kyakhta], and this is the Museum, maintained by some amateurs with the help of the Russian government. The director of the Museum was also its founder, I believe. He was a good gentleman of French descent and great knowledge, Mr Molesson, who caught cold while hunting antelopes a few weeks after my transiting through Kyachta [Kyakhta] and died a short time afterwards.” (Zichy 1905: 219–220.) The position as director was taken over by Aleksander Alekseevich Lushinkov, a member of a wealthy merchant family from Kyakhta, who not only collected artefacts for the museum, but also produced photographs together with his brother.

17.

At the time of his departure in 1895, Charushin sold his studio, his equipment and his glass negatives to Nikolai Nikolaevich Petrov (36) (Eklof–Sabura 2013: 182). The Museum in Kyakhta keeps 71 items of the photographic material of the two of them. (37) The authorship of the glass negatives marked with Petrov’s name is questionable, as Charushin left the negatives in the studio. In the Museum of Ethnography, there is a photograph depicting Chinese persons of high social standing, which is known to have a matching positive pair with a recto marked with Petrov’s studio data (F 14280, Photograph 21). In 1895, Charushin and his family moved back to Vyatka, nearly 6,000 kilometres away, where he did not continue as a photographer; however, he took an active part in the cultural life of the town, undertaking a job in the Library. In his three-volume memoirs, he wrote about his years in exile and also about photography (Charushin 1926, 1928, 1931).



21. Persons of high social standing  
China (Mongolia), around 1895, photograph by Nikolai Petrov  
Museum of Ethnography, F 17280

18.

During his stay in Siberia, Charushin sent his albums and photographs to several institutions, some of which have already been mentioned. Writings on his photographic work mention and analyse several sources: *Kunstkamera* (Russian Imperial Geographic Society St. Petersburg, Irkutsk headquarters), Moscow, Tomsk. (38) Many of his photos are also available online (databases, blogs, etc). Postcards based on his photographs have also survived in many collections.

19.

Charushin's photographic material kept in the Museum of Ethnography is a good example of how photographs of the period reached distant lands: they shaped the visual image of Siberia and Mongolia, helped by the press materials related to the Zichy expedition. These press materials also provide important additions to the photographic material, interpreted in a multi-faceted way and researched, left behind by Charushin in his nearly a decade of work. His photographs capture the settlements, economic life, and streets of the Russian–Chinese border region of the period, as well as the streets, squares, and peoples of Urga, what later became the capital of Mongolia, which makes them significant items of Russian, Chinese and Mongolian photographic history. Charushin's vision, combined with ethnographic (anthropological) photography, is shown in his photographs capturing everyday life and in his portraits. His landscapes are documents keeping with the fashion of the period and produced for the general public and science (geography).

## NOTES

1 Eklof–Saburova 2017:169–179, 2018; Sergeev 2021.

2 Saburova 2020, Konagaya 2021, Ivanov 2014, 2017, 2020.

3 More details about the third expedition: Zichy 1898a, 1905; Csiki 1899; Rusvai 2010, 2013.

4 The artefacts were taken over in several stages. Data for the inclusion of the photographs in the collection: 1897 (Registration number of the Museum of Ethnography (Tkvsz): 1897/0178), 1899 (Tkvsz: 1899/0275, 1899/0278), 1903 (Tkvsz. 1903/0599, 1903/0772, 1903/0817), and 1901 (Tkvsz: 1904/0881, 1904/0889). The collection includes a total of nearly four hundred positive photographs received from Jenő Zichy. The collection preserves the negative and positive versions of nearly three hundred photographs taken by János Jankó, who, during the third expedition in 1898, separated from Zichy en route and explored Finno-Ugric areas.

5 Based on the surviving sources, it is not always possible to identify the members of the expedition who took the photographs, or the images specifically linked to them. The names of photographers are not recorded for the photographs, and descriptions often refer to photographers in the first-person plural: we took a photograph of it, we produced a photograph, etc.

6 More details about Yermakov: Lebedev–Grusman 2019.

7 Of these, 14 have been received directly from Jenő Zichy, and the others from Lipót Stricher and Imre Hatvani.

8 Portrait of Imam Shamil taken in 1859 (F 1176).

9 F 1381, photograph of a stagecoach on the military road in Georgia. Raev published a photo album entitled *Views of Caucasus* in 1900.

10 Portraits of a digor man (F 1220, F 1221).

11 In the diary of one of the members of the expedition, linguist József Pápay, who separated from the members on their way to China because of his research on the Ob-Ugric languages, there is also a note on taking photographs. According to this, he learnt to produce photographs from a photographer in Tobolsk so that he could take photographs himself. Zichy, however, talked Pápay out of it, which the linguist later regretted. Pápay ended up having others produce photographs, or purchasing ones, during his travel (Rusvai 2013: 177–178).

12 The Museum of Ethnography does not have any of these photographs in its collection.

13 F 10711 – F 10728, F 10731

14 The spelling of Lipót Stricher's name is uncertain, it can also be found as Stricker in some sources. Data of purchased photographs: Tkvsz. 1912/1926, items from F 14174 to F 14284.

15 The name of Imre Hatvani appears also with the spelling Hatvany in the Museum's documents. Data of purchased photographs: Tkvsz. 1915/2141, items from F 17444 to F 17519.

16 Photo positives with Charushin's signature and the title of photograph on them: 13 pieces; photographs with only the title on them: 5 pieces; photographs with covered, shaded caption (signature or title) on them: 5 pieces; photographs with a serial number on them: 7 pieces; photographs identified based on some other sources: 7 pieces.

17 Hungarian Geographical Museum, Érd – Inventory No. 5962–2003, 5963–2003, 5964–2003, 7137–2003. A matching pair of one of these photographs can be found also in the collection of the Museum of Ethnography – Buryat woman – F 10722. According to inventory data, Photograph 7133–2003 shows the members of the Zichy expedition, with Charushin's signature in the right corner of the photograph. At the time of the expedition, Charushin was no longer in the region, so the photograph presumably shows the travel companions of Charushin and Potanin.

18 Thirty-seven photographs in the Museum of Ethnography, four (five?) photographs in the Hungarian Geographical Museum, and at least eleven photographs surviving only in press materials (*Vasárnapi Ujság* and Zichy's report from 1905).

19 Additional examples for this: Saburova 2020: 62–64.

20 Inventory numbers: Ny 5259–5278.

21 Charushin's reasoning is surprising, as Kuznetsov had already left the town by that time (Eklof–Saburova 2018: 169).

22 According to the ethnographer and orientalist A. M. Pozdneev, Fedorov trained as a shoemaker and later worked in photo studios in Irkutsk and Kyakhta (with Charushin). He lived in Urga for two years (1896–1898), where he ran Vorobyev's photography business (cited by Konagaya 2021: 10). He also worked with Pozdneev.

23 Ivanov 2020: 3.

24 More details about Charushin's travel in 1887: Sergeev 2001: 4–5.

25 A copy held by Irkutsk State University is available on the website of the Library of Congress (Charushin 1888a).

26 The photograph is given the following – incorrect – title: *Deities in the temple in Urga* (Csiki 1899: 344).

27 F 10256 – F 10257, F 10260 – F 10262.

28 F 10721, F 10725, F 10728, F 14259, F 17454, F 17457 (the same: F 10727).

29 Charushin requested help from Potanin in obtaining the necessary documents for the trip, and in a letter related to that he also wrote about the photography: „*I summer it will be necessary to move somewhere for work and so far my eyes are on Urga. There are some reasons for decent work to be*

done there, and then an opportunity to make an interesting album of scenes and collections of human types. I heard that you are also going to be there this summer, which further strengthens my intention. With your help it would be easier for me to navigate in an unfamiliar place and, most importantly, I could take advantage on your direct instructions when shooting scenes. I believe that it would also be useful for you, as a researcher, to have a photographer at hand, always ready to fulfill your wishes to record the scenes and human types you need.” (cited by Eklof–Saburova 2018: 173; in a slightly different translation Saburova 2020: 68).

30 More details about the Mongolian photographic material of the period: Fedorova 2021; Ivanov 2014, 2020; Konagaya 2021.

31 In the case of photographs F 10714 and F 10715, portraits of a man, Number 205; F 10716 and F 10717, portraits of a boy, Number 206.

32 The Russian Minister-Resident who received the members of the Zichy expedition in Urga.

33 Zichy also published the photographs of the lama and the duchess in his article on Urga in the German-language *Globus* in 1898 (Zichy 1898b).

34 Group photograph showing Buryat women (Ny 8430), and Buryat men (Ny 8431).

35 Some photographs from the album are available on the Library of Congress website – see Footnote 25.

36 According to Ivanov’s data, Petrov, who was also exiled for political reasons, was granted a residency permit in Troitskosavsk in 1899, and left for Paris in 1905 (Ivanov 2020: 4).

37 As a result of a digitalisation project, a set of 71 items kept in the Museum of Kyakhta is available on the Library of Congress website. The series contains a mixture of photos by Charushin and Petrov. The studio photographs are marked with the name of the latter photographer. They include two positive photographs, taken in Maimachen and having a studio recto on them, one of which, a photograph showing persons of high social standing seated in front of a tea shop, also has a version in the collection of the Museum of Ethnography (<https://www.loc.gov/item/2018687397/> and NM F 14280). There are also 22 glass negatives associated with Petrov’s name, which are full-length portraits made in his studio and photographs depicting urban life. Since Petrov bought Charushin’s tools as well, it is possible that the backgrounds and props shown in Petrov’s photographs had been used also by his predecessor in his studio. (<https://www.loc.gov/search/?fa=partof:v.a.+obruchev+museum+of+kyakhta+regional+history+and+folklife>) (Most recent downloading: 10 April 2024)

38 Of these, some were no longer available at the time of writing this paper: the ROSFOTO *Mongolia* (1899) album cited by Tatiana Saburova (Saburova 2020: 71, footnote 60) and the A. O. Heikel collection.

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## APPENDIX

Nikolai Charushin's photographs, related to the Zichy expedition, in the Museum of Ethnography and in Hungarian-language publications of the period:

Inventory number	Title	Photographer	Place	Date	Medium type and size (cardboard)	Data in the picture	Published, reference	Photograph nr. in study
NM F 10711	Buryat priest (lama)	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 9x12 cm	Charushin's serial number		
NM F 10712	The Chinese court of law	Charushin, Nikolai	Maimachen	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 16x21 cm	-		
NM F 10713	Buryat woman	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga (?)	1888	B/W, positive, 9x12 cm	Charushin's serial number		
NM F 10714	Buryat man	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 9x12 cm	Charushin's serial number		
NM F 10715	Buryat man	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 9x12 cm	Charushin's serial number		
NM F 10716	Portrait of a Buryat boy, front view	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 9x12 cm (14x18 cm)	Charushin's serial number		Photograph 14
NM F 10717	Portrait of a Buryat boy, side profile	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 9x12 cm	Charushin's serial number		Photograph 15
NM F 10718	Buryat high priest's wife	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 12x16,5 cm	-		Photograph 18
NM F 10719	Buryat high priest	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 12x17,5 cm	-		Photograph 17
NM F 10720	Mongolian gentlewoman	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga (?)	1888	B/W, positive, 9x12 cm	Charushin's serial number		Photograph 12
NM F 10721	The owner of the big tea house, Si-fai-jun	Charushin, Nikolai	Maimachen	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 17x23,5 cm (24,5x32 cm)		Kyakhta Local Museum	Photograph 8
NM F 10722	Buryat woman	Charushin, Nikolai	Troitskosavsk	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 18x22,5 cm	Charushin's numbered caption	Hungarian Geographical Museum (Budapest)	Photograph 13
NM F 10723	Governor (dzerguisei) Chinese mandarin	Charushin, Nikolai	Maimachen	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 12x17,5 cm	Charushin's numbered caption		
NM F 10724	Buryat priest (lama)	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 9x12 cm	-	Eklof-Saburova 2018: Figure 5.5 (Rosphoto - Russian State Museum and Exhibition Center, St. Petersburg)	
NM F 10725	The measuring of tea	Charushin, Nikolai	Kyakhta	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 12x18 cm	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	Csíki 1899: 345.	
NM F 10726	Buryat persons of high social standing in ceremonial dresses	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 18x24 cm	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	NM Ny 5263	Photograph 4
NM F 10727	Camel caravan carrying tea	Charushin, Nikolai	Mongolia	1888	B/W, positive, 16x24 cm	-	NM Ny 6091	
NM F 10728	Tea caravan	Charushin, Nikolai	Russia	1889	B/W, positive, 16,5x24 cm	Charushin's signature, numbered caption		
NM F 10729	Buryat monastery on the Russian-Chinese (Mongolian) border	Bánhidý József (?)	Russia	1888	B/W, positive, 10x17 cm	-		
NM F 10731	The view of settlements Kiahta and Maimachen	Charushin, Nikolai	Kyakhta, Maimachen	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 16x23,5 cm	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	Kyakhta Local Museum	
NM F 10784	Parade of Mongols accompanied by the prince	Unknown photographer	Urga	1888–1898	B/W, positive, 7,5x16 cm (7,5x16,5 cm)	-		
NM F 10785	The living god of the Mongols, Bogdo Gegen	Unknown photographer	Urga	1888–1898	B/W, positive, 7,5x10,5 cm	-	Zichy 1905: 232., Zichy 1898b: 320., Csíki 1899: 346.	
NM F 10786	The living god of the Mongols, Bogdo Gegen	Unknown photographer	Urga	1888–1898	B/W, positive, 6,5x10,5 cm	-	Zichy 1905: 232., Zichy 1898b: 320., Csíki 1899: 346.	
NM F 14179	Treasury of Bogdo Gegen	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 16x22,5 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's numbered caption		Photograph 16
NM F 14180	Palace of the High Priest	Unknown photographer	Urga	1888–1898	B/W, positive, 15,5x23 cm (24,5x32,5 cm)	-		

NM F 14181	Palace of the High Priest and the mansion of the governor-general of Urga	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 17x23,5 cm (25,5x33 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	Ivanov 2014: 178.	
NM F 14182	The view of the city	Charushin, Nikolai	Kyakhta	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 16,5x22,5 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature	Zichy 1905: 216.	Photograph 6
NM F 14183	Tea storage	Charushin, Nikolai	Kyakhta	1886–1895	B/W, positive, 16,5x23 cm (24,5x33 cm)	Charushin's serial number	Csíki 1899: 345.	
NM F 14184	Western gate of Suburgan (Urgan Mountains), tombs	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 16x23,5 cm (24,5x33 cm)	Charushin's numbered caption		
NM F 14185	Temple / House of the Manchu Governor	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 16,5x23,5 cm (25x33 cm)	Covered signature, caption	Zichy 1905: 225.	
NM F 14186	Dambadarjaagiin Monastery	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 17x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's numbered caption		Photograph 19
NM F 14187	Monastery "Tashi Chonkur"	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 16,5x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption		
NM F 14188	Mongols' rest stop between Urga and Kiachta	Unknown photographer	Eastern Siberia	1888–1898	B/W, positive, 12,5x17,5 cm (25x33 cm)	-	Zichy 1905: 219., Zichy 1898a: 748.	
NM F 14203	Mongolian caravan in the courtyard of merchant Volosatov in the Chalga countryside	Unknown photographer	Eastern Siberia	1888–1898	B/W, positive, 21x27 cm (25x33 cm)	-		
NM F 14204	Tea storage	Charushin, Nikolai	Kyakhta	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 16x24 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature	Zichy 1905: 217.	
NM F 14205	Taking over tea at the Gostini courtyard	Charushin, Nikolai	Troitskosavsk	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 17,5x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption		Photograph 10
NM F 14206	Fair	Charushin, Nikolai	Troitskosavsk	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 12x16,5 cm (25x33 cm)	Covered signature, caption		Photograph 7
NM F 14211	Mongolian yurts	Charushin, Nikolai	Gobi Desert	1888	B/W, positive, 17,5x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	Charushin 1888	
NM F 14212	Mongolian yurts	Unknown photographer	Gobi Desert	1888–1898	B/W, positive, 12x17 cm (25x33 cm)	-	Zichy 1905: 235.	
NM F 14256	Chinese goldsmith products	Charushin, Nikolai	Irkutsk	1887	B/W, positive, 17x23 cm (25x33 cm)	-	Charushin 1888	
NM F 14257	Chinese goldsmith products (Iskutsk)	Charushin, Nikolai	Irkutsk	1887	B/W, positive, 12x17 cm (25x33 cm)	-		
NM F 14258	Inside the tea warehouse	Charushin, Nikolai	Eastern Siberia	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 17x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	Zichy 1905: 222., Csíki 1899: 345. (Ivanov 2019: 1. photograph - MAE1697-153)	
NM F 14259	City of Ugra	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 16,5x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Covered signature, caption		Photograph 11
NM F 14260	Buryat woodcarvings in the collection of the Museum	Charushin, Nikolai	Irkutsk	1887	B/W, positive, 16,5x22,5 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature		Photograph 9
NM F 14261	Buryat and Mongolian jewellery	Charushi, Nikolai (?)	Irkutsk	1887	B/W, positive, 12x16,5 cm (25x33 cm)	-	Zichy 1905: 230.	
NM F 14262	Buryat and Mongolian jewellery	Charushin, Nikolai (?)	Irkutsk	1887	B/W, positive, 12x17,5 cm (25x33 cm)	-	Zichy 1905: 230.	
NM F 14263	Shaman costume	Charushin, Nikolai	Irkutsk	1887	B/W, positive, 12,5x17,5 cm (24,5x32,5 cm)	-	Zichy 1905: 210.	
NM F 14264	Chinese Chief Mandarin visits Mongolia. Caption of the positive image: <i>"Visits by the Mandarin of China (Madzhu) to the Russian Government Commissioner in Kiachta, Tschitchinkoff"</i>	Petrov, Nikolai (?)	China (Mongolia)	c. 1895	B/W, positive, 17x22,5 cm (25x33 cm)	-	Zichy 1905: 218.	

NM F 14280	Persons of high social standing	Petrov, Nikolai	China (Mongolia)	c. 1895	B/W, positive, 16,5x23,5 cm (25x33 cm)	-	Photograph 21
NM F 17452	View of the settlement	Charushin, Nikolai	Kyakhta, Maimachen	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 16,5x23,5 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	
NM F 17454	Buryats transport tea on rafts on the lower Selenga River	Charushin, Nikolai	Selenga-valley	1887–1895	B/W, positive, 16,5x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Covered signature, caption	Zichy 1905: 215.
NM F 17457	Tea transport by camels across the Gobi Desert	Charushin, Nikolai	Gobi Desert	1887–1888	B/W, positive, 15,5x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Covered signature, caption	
NM F 17460	The fair in Urga	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 17x22,5 cm (24,5x33 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	
NM F 17461	View of the settlement	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 16x23 cm (25x33 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	Zichy 1905: 223.
FM 5964-2003	Buryat woman	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 17x22,5 cm	Charushin's serial number	NM F 10722
FM 7133-2006	Travellers	Charushin, Nikolai (?)	Gobi Desert	1888	B/W, positive, 17x22,5 cm	Charushin's signature	
FM 5962-2003	Buryats - studio photo	Charushin, Nikolai or Petrov, Nikolai	Kyakhta	1887–1898	B/W, positive, 9,5x14,5 cm		
FM 7137-2006	Buryat men	Charushin, Nikolai (?)	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 17x23 cm		
FM 5963-2003	Buryat women and children	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	B/W, positive, 17,5x23 cm		Charushin 1888
NM Ny 5263	Buryats	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	postcard, 8,5x13,5 cm		Photograph 5
NM Ny 5272	Buryats in God masks for the Zame holiday	Charushin, Nikolai			postcard, 8,5x13,5 cm		Csíki 1899: 344.
NM Ny 6091	Tea caravan	Charushin, Nikolai	Kyakhta	1887–1895	postcard, 9x14 cm		
NM Ny 8430	Buryat women (cliché of Vasárnapi Ujság)	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	printed copy, 10x14,5 cm (15,5x20 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	Vasárnapi Ujság 1899: 170. Photograph 20
NM Ny 8431	Buryat men	Charushin, Nikolai	Urga	1888	printed copy, 10x14,4 cm (18,5x23 cm)	Charushin's signature, numbered caption	Vasárnapi Ujság 1899: 171.