

MYTHOLOGICAL IMAGES IN EMBROIDERY OF TURKIC PEOPLES (TO THE STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM)

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Abstract. The embroidery of Turkic peoples is a unique phenomenon in all respects. More than one generation of scholars has been studying it step by step, reconstructing the semantic context of both the thing itself, its role in rites and rituals, and its form, ornamentation and colouring. The problem of reflecting archetypal motifs and mythological images in the art of embroidery occupies a special place in scientific research. With all the diversity of ethno-variants of embroidery: Uzbek, Karakalpak, Kazakh and others, it traces common images: Heavenly Father (deified Cosmos), the Great Mother in different variations - Umai, Ot-Ana, Zher-Su and other significant semantic constants of culture. In the process of research it was found out that the visual representation of archetypal images and motifs could be expressed from concrete anthropomorphic images to abstract word signs, i.e. had direct or indirect expression. The traditional practice of embroidery shows that “communicants” in the foreseeable period used indirect strategies much more often than “direct” ones, which is quite understandable by the Islamic paradigm - the prohibition of depicting living beings. These indirect statements in the most general form are characterised by a divergence of form: graphic and colouristic design. But, they were always understandable and clear for others. Of course, the main factor influencing the interpretation of indirect “statements” is the context in which embroidery is involved. This can be both the decoration of clothes, and the ritual and ceremonial function of embroidery itself in the bosom of culture.

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Keywords: embroidery of Turkic peoples, mythological and archetypal images, motifs, ethnic parallels.

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Introduction

Embroidery never ceases to attract the attention of researchers from different perspectives. In some cases, it is seen in the context of anthropological design (Sofie Verclyte and Catherine Willems), in others as part of the creative industries and a source of livelihood for women in India (Rinku), in the following as a way of socio-cultural tool for women's empowerment (Justine Dol and Helen Hambly Odame), as an archaeological artefact and a piece of historical information (Emanuela Cristiani and Dušan Borić), gold embroidery as a propaganda of the power of holy Islam (Juan de Lara). The functions of zoomorphic images in embroidery are also considered (E.F. Fursova). A richly illustrated catalogue devoted to Uzbek embroidery (Kate Fitz Gibbon and Andrew Hale) is also attractive.

The focus of this article is aimed at identifying the features of some common motifs and images reflected in the art of embroidery of the Turkic peoples. Hence, the hypothesis of the study is based on the idea of the global basis of embroidery of Turkic peoples - common archetypal motifs and images. In turn, the latter (a certain set of them), albeit in coded form, are manifested in different variants or variations. The attempt to substantiate this position is the main goal of the present study.

For the first time the problem of reflection of archetypal motifs and images in the Kazakh embroidery ornament in the context of world culture was raised by the famous ethnographer Sh.J. Tokhtabaeva (2020). Relying on her work, as well as researches of no less famous scientists such as: N.R. Akhmedova (2021), K.B. Akilova (2015), E.F. Gul (2013; 2018; 2019), I.V. Bogoslovskaya (2019), A.A. Shevtsova (2007), etc. we tried to isolate the most universal archetypes and see their functioning in different ethno variants of Turkic peoples.

However, the traditional art of embroidery of the Turkic peoples as a bright holistic artistic phenomenon is still an understudied issue. There is practically no comprehensive approach to the analysis of embroidery of Turkic peoples, although some Uzbek and Karakalpak embroideries have been studied at a high methodological level and can serve as an example of productive study and comparative analysis, which will allow us to reach new horizons of research.

The present study, as already mentioned above, sets itself a more modest task - to try to identify common mythological and archetypal images and motifs in different ethno-variants of embroidery of Turkic peoples and, in general, to point out the need for the prospectivity of such studies.

Methods

For us, a priori embroidery plays a significant role in traditional culture and represents a historical heritage, a way of artistic expression and narrative, the transmission of traditions, and even more importantly as a way of visual representation of archetypal images and motifs of Turkic culture.

Hence, the research methodology is based on stylistic analysis, semiotic and comparative approaches, which allows us to approach the consideration of the phenomenon of embroidery as an artistic text.

Of course, the study also used general scientific methods of observation, comparison, analysis and synthesis.

The material of study in the field of traditional embroidered items was the field research of the author of the article on the study of the funds of the Russian Ethnographic Museum (2019-2021) and a number of famous museums of Kazakhstan - the Central State Museum of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the A. Kasteev State Museum of Arts.

Discussion

Anthropomorphic images and attributes of gods. The archaic and universal pair of ancestor gods are Heaven-father and Earth-mother. In view of the lack of specific and proven images of Turkic deities in embroidery and textiles in general, let us turn to archaeological materials. One of the earliest visualizations of the divine pair is the Sulek scripture, the rarest case of the depiction of Tengri and Umai (Kyzlasov 49). The rock art plot is a drawing of two faceless images in three-horned headdresses (conventionally) in a tent (Fig. 1). In the foreground are two large rams, comprehended as carriers of divine grace, *hvarna*. The left character Tengri sits on a throne-tent, and the female figure is located on the right. The shape of the tiaras on the heads of the characters varies.

A woman in a three-horned headdress, playing an obviously significant role in the life of the community, is depicted on a famous boulder from the Kudyrge burial ground (Altai). A similar image of a woman in a similar headdress is found in the Chullii interfluvium (Kazakhstan).

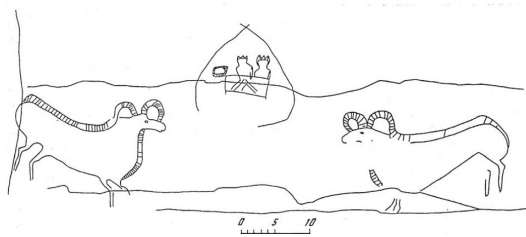


Fig.1. Sulek scripture. Scene with heraldically opposing mountain rams. Drawing by I.L. Kyzlasov (Kyzlasov, 1998: 41)

Another visual representation of the divine couple is presented on a wooden carved composition from the settlement of Kuiryktobe in the Otrar oasis (excavations by K. Baipakov). According to M. Kozha, Tengri and Umai are represented on the carved board. On the left side there is a male deity on a throne in the form of a

figure of two winged camels. To his right is a female deity sitting on a throne (34). In the palace interior, the carved composition was located under the arches in the central throne room of the main hall, behind the ruler's back. Tengri is depicted on the throne wearing a crown with stepped teeth and holding a rod in his hands. The zoomorphic throne of the character attracts attention, where the legs are represented in the form of lion's paws (lion guardian and symbol of royalty), the body of a bird with raised wings (heavenly sphere) and probably the head of a wolf (universal totem of the Turks).

To the left of the central figure is a goddess holding a bow in a quiver. The headdress of the heroine resembles horns. Umai is depicted with a human head "in the form of a fantastic animal with a horse torso and horse legs, wings of a bird and heads of a goat and a ram" (Leather 40), i.e. a man (woman) fantastic animal (dimorphic creature). Tengri's throne, as noted above, is an artistic synthesis of different "animal" elements (Fig. 2).

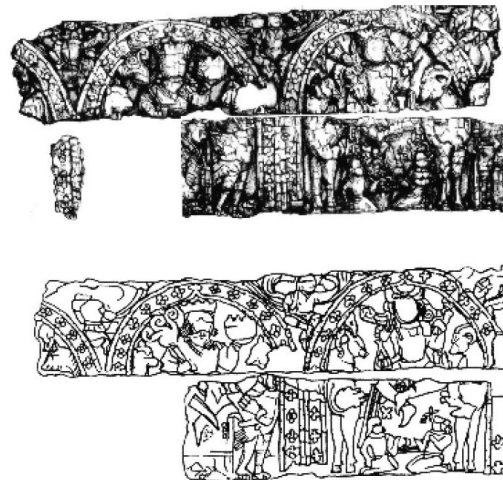


Fig.2. Ancient Turkic deities Tengri and Umai on zoomorphic thrones. The central composition on the north-west wall of the main hall of the palace Kuyructobe. Otrar oasis (Leather, 2015:38)

Anthropomorphic images, mostly female are found on embroidery. I. Bogoslovskaya, studying Karakalpak embroidery writes:

“although the depiction of female figures is quite rare for embroidery, nevertheless, we can associate them with the image of the Goddess-Mother, known from ancient terracotta plastics”, and “the lower part of these figures depicts a drop-shaped element, which is associated with the foetus of a newborn baby coming into the world” (183).

A. Morozova mentions a realistic depiction of a woman-goddess on the embroidery of Turkmen women’s wedding dressing gowns - *igdyrok* (REM No. 5975-5): the figure stands full-length in full-face with her hands and fingers spread out in a long dress, with a ray-shaped headdress on her head and massive pendants in her ears (67).

From the indicated realistic images (rock art, wood carvings and embroidery), though different in time, attributed by experts to the depiction of the main Turkic gods, we can see that their attributes are most often crowns with horns and stepped teeth (or headdress in general), throne, rod (Tengri), bow and arrow (Umai), and their divine power is emphasised by the presence of ‘animal’ elements. These attributes logically should be reflected in the embroidery ornament.

Results

Ornament and the pantheon of Turkic deities. The image of Tengri. According to S. Ayazbekova one of the most ancient signs depicting the sky god Tengri, preserved and now in the Turkic peoples, is the sign “aji”. Presented in the form of an equilateral cross, it denotes the pro-beginning, the Universe, the indestructible World, from which everything originates and to which everything returns (10). If this interpretation is correct, then it follows with all certainty that the cross-shaped figure with horn-shaped curls is widely used in the art of Turkic peoples, poetically named by E. Gul and E. Smagulov “steppe mandala” can be called the image of Tengri - it is “a

model of the world, a divine ideogram, a symbol of fertility and protection. Turned to the cosmos, this symbol was a kind of incantation to the world and reason” (273).

The semantics of the cross-shaped figure with horn-like curls is associated with the motif of the sun (rosette), often depicted on men’s clothing. Richly decorated clothes were worn mostly by the young, which could reflect ideas about age. For example, the Kazakhs say about the age of a 40-year-old man: “*laulap turgan oopen ten*” - the age of “flaming fire”. The decoration of men’s costume with the motif “*tabaksha*” can be read as a reflection of the idea: “sun - circle (rosette) – fire”, i.e. the owner of the *chapan* is a man in the prime of life. In turn, the Khakas considered the rosette as a symbol of the Sun goddess *Kun* and it was used to decorate festive women’s coats of the *Sagai* and *Kyzyl* people.

One of the attributes of Tengri according to Bashkir mythology is a fiery whip-zipper. The latter in Turkic embroidery is expressed through the pattern “*snake-kamcha*” (whip), considered a powerful amulet. In archaic man is understood as sky, rain, lightning and thunder, i.e. everything that is connected with the sky, heavenly forces.

Solar and astral symbolism in embroidery of Turkic peoples is expressed through numerous ornaments. Nomadic culture itself implied a deep knowledge of the map of the sky. K. Akilova sees in the very name of the Tashkent school of embroidery “*palyak*”, which means “celestial”, a reflection of the echoes of the artistic picture of the world of Tengrianism. These are “*togora palyak*”, “*yulduz palyak*”, “*oi palyak*”, which are based on the circle motif and different modifications of large embroideries of Tashkent and Tashkent region with astral motifs (26).

In Kazakh art, the “star” theme is expressed in the patterns “*zhuldyz*” (star), “*zhuldyzgul*” (star flower), “*ai-aishyk*” (moon), “*aigul*” (moon flower), “*tort aishyk*” (four half moons), “*urkerkul*” (Pleiades constellation) and others. That

is, all of the above is nothing but the ornamental language of the celestial and, according to E. Gul - Tengri, not having a specific anthropomorphic appearance may have been depicted with the help of derivatives - stars and other celestial bodies (2012).

The next level is totemic representations. God and totem are one and the same (Freidenberg 27). According to ancient Turkic ideas, the totems are sacred animals: the celestial wolf - kok bori, deer - bugi, ram - koshkar, bull - buka, camel - tuyie, etc. This row is continued by birds: swan - akku, crow - karga, golden eagle - burkit and others. However, they were depicted in embroidery on the principle of part instead of the whole (pars pro toto): neck, eye, ears, etc., i.e. the most characteristic feature. "These signs-traces can be interpreted as an amulet, the presence of the patron animal hidden from the uninitiated and, accordingly, protection from its side" (Gul 2019: 115).

According to N. Aristov, the clan tamga may be the original image of clan gods or spiritual patrons, which later turned into signs of clan property, adopting for this purpose the forms of geometric figures as the most convenient for carving or burning (282), as well as embroidery and weaving. Hence it is not surprising that tamgas are also found on embroideries. For example, one of the embroidery patterns "shanyshky" ("trident") is a clan tamga of the Karakalpaks - Muitenovs, tamgas of the Chingizids trident ("tarak-tamga", "three-legged tamga", "khan-tamga" or "sultan's tamga") were embroidered on children's patterned skullcaps of totem representatives.

An interesting hypothesis concerning the image of Tengri is expressed by the researcher of Kyrgyz saima V. Kadyrov. He believes that Tengri could be depicted in the form of the ornamental motif "toguz dyobyo" ("nine hills"), which is a nine-petalled flower. According to nomadic beliefs, Tengri lives on nine hills (15). Perhaps the comprehension of this pattern

as the abode of the god Tengri is connected with the veneration of the sacred Otjuken mountain range, which appears as an accumulator of the vital energy of Turkic ale. Mountains for the nomad are a symbol of immortality, his ancestral home, a symbol of height and purity of spirit, as well as the birthplace of the Hero. The pattern "togyz tobe" or "tobe" is popular in the arts and crafts of the Kazakhs.

This is briefly the image of Tengri in embroidery ornament, which as represented could have different variations of images, which is associated with his identification with celestial bodies and natural forces, totemic animals, spirits of ancestors or patrons of the family.

The image of Umai: the goddess as a birthing goddess, guardian of children and women. Umai is a syncretic female archetype of Turkic culture, who was not only considered the patroness of children and women, but also absorbed the entire previous pantheon of images of female deities.

The etymology of "umai" ("ymai") in Turkic languages is attributed to the meanings of "womb", "wame" and "child's place". The motifs with a female "beginning" are present in the decoration of bags ("uuk kap") of Uzbek-Lakai people, on one of which E. Gul sees an image of two women at once. Gul sees the image of two female organs (uterus) at once and considers them to be a doubled magic programming for the continuation of birth (2013). Inside the pictorial "uterus" there is a small figure – an embryo.

The archetype of the Great Goddess, expressing signs of female fertility, is associated with the techniques of decorating children's clothes and women's headdresses (kimeshek, takiya, etc.) with cowrie shells. The Kazakhs called kauri "zhylan bas" ("snake's head"), the shell itself and the image of the snake symbolized femininity and fertility. Y.I. Ozeredov believes that the semantics of kauri is connected with the magical

power attributed to the amulet due to its belonging to the sacral essence of the Goddess (Ozeredov 126).

Another visual representation of the goddess is considered to be a triangle facing downwards - the most ancient sign of the childbearing organ. Perhaps from here this sign is found on Kazakh embroidery in kimeshek and the open skirt - beldemshe. According to the materials of Kyrgyz and Kazakh cultures, it is known that the clothes of older women were not heavily decorated with embroidery and looked much more modest than those of younger women. Rich decoration corresponds to the clothes of women of fertile age (Fig. 3).



Fig.3. Beldemshe - open skirt.
Collection of the Turkestan Regional Museum of
History and Local Lore

Some scientists note that the projection of the goddess is also considered such a geometric figure as a rhombus. S. Rzayeva writes: “the rhomboidal shape of the head is an archaic sign of the female deity, the sign of the female goddess merged with the sign of the tree, crowned with solar signs, which shows the merging of her image

with the solar cult” (64-65). Rhombus and rhomboidal figures are found in the embroidery of many peoples of Eurasia. An example of indirect reflection of the “seal” of the goddess Umai is a Karakalpak children’s doll (REM № 2388), whose face is decorated in the form of embroidered, inscribed in each other rhombuses (reinforced formula).

The motif “kuirshak auyz” (literally “doll’s mouth”) in Karakalpak embroidery is associated with the doll. It is used in the decoration of the amulet zhauryynsha, sewn on children’s and women’s clothes. We believe that kuirshak (traditional Turkic doll) genetically goes back to the images of female patron spirits, or rather to the Great Mother. This is proved by the etymology of the word “kuirshak”, which goes back to the Turkic “korsak – belly”, korsaklu - pregnant (kursaklu), korsaklu qal - to get pregnant” (155). The coincidence of the phonetic form of the words “kursak” and “kuirshak”, in our opinion, has underlying coincidence of another level - the level of symbolic-semantic meanings. Here is a multilevel system of intertwined concepts, expressed in a long-forgotten mythological image. Probably, the pattern “kuyrshak auyz” so specifically encoded the image of Umai.

Many Turkic peoples have preserved ornaments with the specific name “Umai”. This is the Khakass palmette “Ymai hoos”, which is considered to be an ornament of protection. Other symbols of the Old Turkic goddess are the Khakass ornaments prata and tartkhana, embroidered on women’s festive clothes shuba-ton and robe-sikpen. For example, the Kachins embroidered an odd number (three or five) of pratas with hanging tassels from the stitched tartkhans, which were considered symbols of the goddess Umai, on the cut line of the coat belt (Chebodaeva 2021: 132). Simplified, a tartan is an assembly on the back of a fur coat, and the threads that constrict the coat form multicoloured tassels. Prats were made - in the form

of cloth applications (from brocade, silk or velvet) or embroidered with smooth (Chebodaeva 2021: 132).

The “Umai” pattern is represented in Kyrgyz folk embroidery in the form of a highly stylised naked woman with wings. The image of “Umai” is included in the pattern of “amulet” (“tumar”) protecting infants (Ryndin 642). The latter is one of the variations of a trefoil with two outspread wings and a head in the form of a volumetric point. Another variation of the Umai-ene pattern is represented in the form of four petals pointing in different directions. It was most often embroidered on children’s clothes, believing in the protective power of the Universal Mother. Sagai people embroidered trefoil on the patch pockets of fur coats, considering it a symbol of the goddess Umai. The shamrock “ush zhapyrak” is very often found in the arts and crafts of Kazakhs and especially in embroidery.

Goddess and the World Tree. Similar to the Kazakh ornament “Uly Ana” pattern (lyre-shaped figure) is used on Sakha embroidery of bailer and kychims. According to T.P. Tishina, this pattern is associated with the triad of goddesses of the Yakut pantheon: Ayysyt, Iyekhsit and Aan Alakhchyn (107). The latter, according to Sakha beliefs, dwells on the sacred tree “Aal-Luk-Mas”. Consequently, the images of the goddesses are connected with the motif of the World Tree.

We can see the identity of the mother-goddess and the world tree in the motif of embroidery “drawing of the tree of life” on a Karakalpak wedding dress “kok koylek” – “blue dress” (REM No. 8762-22773). The colour itself refers to the Celestial sphere, the world of the gods. The symbolism of such an embroidered dress, along with its protective function, was connected with the idea of fertility and the wish for continuation of the family (Bogoslovskaya 76). In contrast to the wedding dress (mastered by embroidery), a simple blue dress without embroidery (unembroidered)

was considered by the Karakalpak as a mourning dress. In both cases, the blue colour spoke of the celestial sphere, in one it guaranteed the mistress the protection of heaven, and in the other it marked the period of grief. The moment when the deceased (“aruak”) fly to meet Heaven, to Tengri.

Various variations of the tree-like pattern, most often in the form of the “orken” (“stem”) pattern are popular in Kazakh art. This pattern represents a tree or even a sprout. “Semantics of the pattern is a wish for growth and increase of offspring. The centre is a symbol of the main hearth, the sprouts are the offspring. Young families were given such carpets with the wishes “Orkenin ossin!”, which means “May there be many children and wealth!” (Alimbay 353). Stylised trees made by the technique of grid background filling (rows of rhombuses) with branches diverging at the bottom were used to decorate Karakalpak women’s dressing gowns “ag zhegde” intended for elderly women.

E. Tsareva, studying Uyghur embroidery “merap yapku” (similar to Kazakh tuskiiz and Kyrgyz tushkiiz) writes: cross-shaped figures have commonality in style and configuration. The most obvious of them are the tree-shape, pairing and symmetry of “scrolls” departing from the axial rod, as well as the presence of a top at each motif and “trefoils” at the ends of some pairs of “scrolls” (162). One of the variants of these figures E. Tsareva correlates one of the variants of these figures with members of the “family of makers” (male gender), and the second one is considered to be a depiction of “women in labour: daughter - mother - grandmother and further into the depths of time” (163).

Goddess-Bird. The image of a bird perched on its crown is also associated with the World Tree. Cultural scientist Z. Nauryzbaeva, using Kazakh material, singles out the images of Samruk, Shynyrau, Alyp Karakus, and in the

Siberian Turks - Mother Bird of Prey. This giant bird in its nest at the top of the World Tree nurtures the souls of unborn children. She is sometimes described as a bird with two heads, one of which is human (213).

The “bird theme in the form of a bundle of owl feathers is present on the Kazakh girls’ headdress “ukili takiya”, embroidered with plates (plaques), coins, carnelian, malachite. A. Kazhigali uly considers this headdress to be a model of the World Mountain, from the top of which the World Tree grows (361).

Uzbek women wore a similar takiya with feathers but made of metal. A tall soft cap embroidered almost without gaps in the form of twisted branches coming from a single trunk or horn-shaped curls with tufts of owl or owl feathers on the top was worn by Turkmen girls before marriage. It was called “otogo boric” or “otogali boric”. The “kapsyrma” clasps for Kazakh women’s camisoles were made “with motifs of birds symmetrically depicted in the halves of a circle with wings spread in flight” (Shklyayeva 40).

The ideas about the winged goddess Umai can be traced in the worldview of the Altai, Khakas, Bashkirs and other Turkic peoples. Wings are the main attribute of the Divine world. One of the translations of the Uzbek wedding jewellery “tilya-kos” in the form of wings means “golden bird”. A plaque in the form of a bird with outstretched wings is found on the headdresses of representatives of the highest nobility in Scytho-Saxon times. It was a subject of a special investiture sign. The image of the female bird Garuda (Khan-Hereti) is known to the ornamental art of Tuvinians. In Mongol and Tibetan legends, Garuda has a bird’s head, wings and legs, while her breasts and body are female.

Umai was also associated with waterfowl (swan, goose, etc.). “Bird” motifs in the form of the ornament “kaz moyin” or its Karakalpak analogue “gaz moyin” (goose neck) were mostly

embroidered on women’s clothing.

For example, on the Karakalpak white dressing gown “ag zhegde”. The Kazakh ornaments “kusmurin”, “kustumsyk” (“bird’s beak”), “kus zholy”, “kuskuiiryk” (“bird’s path”, “bird’s tail”), “kuskanat” (bird’s wing), “kustandai” (“bird’s sky”) are the rudiments of the image of the Goddess. The bird motifs themselves are among the oldest in the history of world ornamentology.

The image of the Mother Bird of Prey in Kazakhs is reproduced in the pattern “tyrnak” (“claw”). The mythical two-headed bird Semurg was depicted by the sign “samuryk tanba”. That is, the craftsmen only had to apply one of her numerous symbols to the image of the Goddess and the presence of the Mother became tangible.

Umai as the goddess of fertility.

S.I. Morozova connects the wedding headdress of iomut women “khasaba”, a tiara-shaped headdress, with the cult of the Mother Goddess, the goddess of fertility, prosperity and abundance. The image of multicoloured embroideries of flowers and branches on the headdress (a detail of the wedding costume worn on this headdress) is not an accidental phenomenon. As the scholar writes: “embroidered with a stylised ornament in the form of a branch with seven, nine or eleven diamond-shaped leaves, the collar frames the woman’s face and descends to her shoulders and chest, as if symbolising the descending garlands of flowers and grains worn at festivals in honour of the goddess of fertility” (109).

The female headdress “kasaba” was widely used among Kazakhs, the shape of which slightly increased towards the top, resembling a basket. The kasaba was richly embroidered with gold or silver threads, and sometimes the same bundle of feathers was sewn on the top. This headdress was worn exclusively by young women. Hence, this headdress can be considered a symbol of fertility and, more broadly, a prototype of the Goddess of fertility.

The decoration of the wedding headdress of Kazakhs *saukele* (REM No. 1643-1) bears the ideas of fertility and abundance. For a long time scientists have long correlated its cone-shaped form with the image of the World Mountain, where every detail played an important symbolic role. The abundance of beads, beads, all sorts of metal pendants, coins in the decoration of headdresses were comprehended as earthly analogues of stars. This is another reference to the Celestial Sphere. Describing one specimen of a Kazakh *saukele* (MAE No. 439-21), E. Rezvan notes that the decoration of the forehead diadem of this *saukele* shows the image of a multi-armed mother goddess - the patroness of marriage and procreation, and the bundle of feathers goes back to the image of a lord (304). Examples of images of the multi-armed goddess on Kazakh products are presented in Fig. 4.

In our opinion, the whole set of wedding headdress, including a cape on the shoulders in the form of a tail richly decorated with embroidery is the image of a bird, which can be judged by the preserved sets of Kazakh brides in museums.

Patterns with the prefix “gul” (“flower”) are associated with the cult of dying and

resurrecting nature. O.A. Sukhareva associated images of tulips “lola” in Uzbek and Tajik *suzane* with the holiday of dying and resurrecting nature. Sukhareva associated the tulip festival (“lola saili”) in Isfara (1983). This series includes the feast of the red flower “kyzyl gul” of the Uzbeks of Khorezm (“kyzyl gul saili”), the feast of the rose (“saili guli surkh”) of the Uighurs of Xinjiang, etc. In other words, red-coloured flowers, which in turn were understood as the blood of a once dead deity.

The holiday of tulips (“kызgaldak”) was also held in the south of Kazakhstan. During the celebration of this flower in Nauryz, youth festivities, round dances with songs, mass games, etc. were arranged. Here, tulips and wider red flowers are a personified sign of Spring.

The root of the tulip’s name “qyz” (translated as “girl”) is itself elevated to the feminine, and the name of red “kызyl” is not accidental. The rarest surviving example of visualisation of this holiday is an embroidered composition of a festive dressing gown of Zhetysu Kazakhs of the second half of the 19th century from the Hermitage collections, which is presented in the book (Bimedinov, Uskenbai). On



Fig. 4. Image of the multi-armed goddess on the example of Kazakh products

this chapan (wend) a whole realistic plot composition unfolds. On the back in the centre is a large star-shaped figure in the form of a flower on both sides of which the craftswoman has arranged two pairs representing boys and girls holding hands. The pair on the left is a boy dressed in a blue dressing gown, holding a catching bird, the girl is depicted in a red dress with a high headdress. The second couple on the right are also holding hands. Below them are large tulips, and below them is a scene with animals and birds; a man apparently hunting an animal (judging by the spots on his body, it is a snow leopard) and a rider on horseback, around the tulips. The plot composition is also represented on the front plank of the dressing gown: the scene of a duel, tiger hunting, riders on horses with birds of prey, grazing animals. The sleeves of the dressing gown also depict a rider with a bird and a hunter on the other. The craftswoman used different colours for embroidery: red, black, blue, green, etc., which look spectacular on the yellowish background of suede. It is the abundance of tulips (big and small), young couples holding hands, elements of folk festivals and hunting that indicate the holiday “qyzgaldak”. “Gul” patterns and “qyzgaldak” ornamentation are often found in Kazakh traditional embroidery.

Tulips are present in the decoration of at-turman (horse blanket) of a Kazakh bride (MAE No. 459-12). Four flowers are depicted on the sides of this capon, two of them with their heads upwards and the others with their heads downwards. This reflects the cyclical nature of time, events, the change of seasons and concepts close to them.

The deity Zher-Su – “sacred water-earth”. Another famous deity of the Turkic pantheon is Zher-Su (Yer-Su). According to T.P. Tishina, the rich floral ornamentation of Yakut embroidery “personifies the country of wondrous primordial beauty, with unique lush vegetation, evergreen trees and unfading

herbs” (105). The pristine beauty of “landscape” plant ornamentation is demonstrated by Karakalpak ornamentation, where the alternation of patterns creates the impression of a multitude of plants and dense thickets. V. Chepelev aptly noted about Kazakh landscape ornaments depicting trees, hills, ditches and herds: “these patterns are incantation formulas associated with the need for water and pastures, without which cattle breeding is unthinkable” (6).

In our opinion, the “landscape and vegetation” character of Turkic embroidery is nothing but a reflection of the significant deity of the human world from the Turkic pantheon of Zher-Su - Yer-Sub (“sacred earth-water”). Earth-water is always the root cause of fertility (gives birth to everything around - plants, animals and people), so it can be expressed by the most different attributes: the horn of plenty, flowers, stems, petals and, of course, water.

Indirect reflection of the deity Zher-Su in Kazakh embroidery is revealed in the solemn richness of its polychrome, multicolour and beauty, which is reflected in the saying “kyzyl-zhasyldy” literally translated as “red-green” or “red and green”. And, here the main thing is not the colour itself, but the semantics embedded in it - the expression “zharkyn duniye” (“shining world”) of the world of the living, which in general seems to be the philosophical concept of Kazakh embroidery.

The Khakas deity “Chir-Su” (Earth-Water) is associated with masculinity and is the God of the Middle World. According to M.P. Chebodaeva, its visual projection in embroidery on festive coats is the back seam and the seam connecting the sleeve to the back “argazy”, which was embroidered with silk threads in the technique of “aldryp” (“goat”) and most often expressed in geometric ornamentation on shirts, dresses, coats in the form of dotted lines, waves, zigzags, ovals, etc. (141).

Kyrgyz bashtyks - wall bags for storing utensils - decorated with embroidery are unique. According to L.F. Popova, the bashtyk with its square shape symbolises the horizontal projection of the world, and its central decoration is based on the oblique and straight cross - the sign of Tengri. The border of such bashtyks is decorated in the form of the pattern "suu" (water). "Water was mythologically thought of as the boundary of the worlds, and in Turkic folklore it was part of the twofold deity Yer-Sub ("Earth-Water")" (181). The base of the bashtyk is felt, and similar Kazakh articles "ayak kap" also use mainly cross-shaped figures in their decoration. The pattern "irek", 'irek su' (aquastic symbolism) is widespread in Kazakh embroidery and was understood as a boundary between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Therefore, it was most often placed on the peripheral zones of the decorated plane. Items like the described bashtyk demonstrate the excellent skills of Turkic masters of embroidery on felt (CSM No. 10400 and No. 10039; SMA RK No. 181).

With the deity Zher-Su in Kazakh culture is associated, on the one hand, the concept of "Zheruyyk" promised land, a mythical place where all people will be happy on Earth as in Paradise. On the other hand, the symbolism of "zharkyn duniye" through the prism of embroidery can be understood as the possibility of endless continuation of life, expressed not only in colour, but also in the structure of the ornament (unfinished stitch or knot), as well as in the technology of execution (unfinished tuskiiz).

Goddess and Heavenly Luminaries.

The Sun-Moon pair is an echo of female archetypes. K. Murataev attributes a whole series of patterns of "lunar" themes in Kazakh ornamentation to the veneration of the moon as the ancestor: "aituu" - the birth of the moon, "ai tanba" - lunar sign (or seal), "aibas" - the head of the moon, etc. All of them are a visual reflection of folk

ideas of the moon as the "ancestress". All of them are visual reflections of folk ideas about the moon as "the ancestor of the human race on earth,... it was once a deity and possesses certain powers and magical charms" (68). All these signs-symbols are echoes of solar and lunar myths.

One of the most ancient female archetypes - Kokten kempir (heavenly old woman) image is associated with the celestial sphere. This mythological character in folk mythopoeics was conceptualised as the ruler of lightning. She can "command not only lightning, thunderstorms and clouds, but also has the gift of foresight, the ability to send rain, blizzard, fog, blizzard and frost, and knows the languages of animals" (Sembi 11). The Kazakh pattern "kempirkosak" (rainbow), the main means of communication with the other world in folk beliefs, is its visual reflection.

The goddess as the mistress of fire.

Closely related to Umai is the image of the Mistress of Fire – "Ot ije" (according to Khakas mythology, the mistress of fire is Umai's sister), and her visual presentation is a five-leaved leaf with "flaming" branches (Kidiekova 67). The Kazakh analogue "Ot Ana" ("mother fire") is a symbol of the home and the connection of generations.

Fire in many peoples was considered a sacred substance, and in Turkic culture a great number of rites and rituals are associated with it. The word "otau" denoting a wedding yurt in Kazakhs experts tend to raise to "ota", which means to light a fire, to make a fire. Thus, the creation of a new "otau", a new family is semantically connected with fire, the sun. All the creative potential of craftswomen was involved in the creation of wedding ottau, and the literature repeatedly states that ottau is the most ornate and beautiful.

Red colour is associated with the image of the sun and fire. In some Turkic peoples, the use of red in women's clothing was understood on the one hand as a defence against evil and the influence of dark forces, and on the other hand as a symbol of life.

Technique, form and attributes of the Goddess. E. Ospanuly drew attention to a distinctive technical technique of embroidery, called by the Kazakhs “burshik oneri” (patterning with loops). The essence of it is that the contour lines of patterns were supplemented with small “offshoots” resembling buds on the shoots of trees. “burshik” - a bud in Kazakh culture is a symbol-wishing for the soonest arrival of the long-awaited spring and summer abundance (175). The effect of small “buds” was technically achieved with the help of thin braids or openwork loops embroidered with thread. This original style of Kazakh embroidery, although it is referred by specialists to the twentieth century, is probably older and is associated with the ideas of the fertile power of nature. Copies of samples of such items, made in the technique of patterning loops, are stored in the funds of the SMA (2636 - kp; tk-150; pr-480 and others). Tuskiiz with a similar decoration, dating from 1900-1920 is kept in the private collection of S. Bashirov.

There are similar techniques to the “burshik oneri” in Khakass embroidery. This is a stitch *sozirtken*. In the process of fairly complex manipulations with a needle and thread on the front side Khakass masters formed a loop chain, which on the reverse side looked like a line of consecutive stitches. Unlike Kazakh, this stitch fills the contour of the pattern and its inner space. The validity of the meaningful concept of these technical styles in the context indicated by us is emphasised by the decoration of Karakalpak *saukele* in the form of abundant decoration with coral beads-burshik, which is translated from Karakalpak as ‘hail’ and is understood as a wish for abundance.

Indirect connection of Umai with embroidery art can be seen in the comprehension of laminette yarn - gold, silver, white and green, which are symbols of the goddess (Sagalaev 55), and more precisely her hair, which played the role of

a mediator of worlds (the function of the world tree). The Shor people preserved the idea of Umai as a golden-haired beauty, and in Kazakh fairy tales the image of Altynshash (golden-haired) appears, where often their hair was perceived as rays of the sun (Kazakh ornament “shugyla” – “sunbeam”).

Probably, gold or silver thread sewing, which was used by Uzbeks, Tatars, Kazakhs and others, was perceived not only as a sign of distinction of khans and sultans, but also as a kind of protection from the great Umai. A blanket with gold embroidery was used to cover a child’s cradle - *besik* during the first ritual laying of a child, and bedding was decorated in this technique.

The motif of a bow and arrow is closely connected with the iconography of the image of Umai. According to L.P. Potapov, a small wooden bow with an arrow or just a wooden arrow, which were associated with the image of the goddess, is found in the lullaby rituals of the Shor and Chelkan people (268). A bow with an arrow was sometimes included in the dowry of a Kazakh bride. According to ethnographers, the Kazakh bow and arrow was often embroidered on prayer rugs and other textiles. Ornamental embroidery in the form of an arrow is preserved on the armbands of traditional female dress of Crimean Tatars.

In the logic of studying female archetypes on embroidery, of interest is the Karakalpak pattern “*khanim tukirik*” (“spit of the queen”), which is a horizontally arranged S-shaped figure, and according to other versions a figure in the form of a circle. This figure was most often embroidered on children’s skullcaps and women’s clothes. Spitting, spitting in the traditional culture of many peoples of the world carried both protective and malicious semantics. In some cases, spitting has a ritual-magical character, which had the right to people with a certain status - sorcerers, magicians, witch doctors and,

of course, representatives of the gods on earth, in this case the queen. Perhaps, the Karakalpak embroidery in such a peculiar way preserved the protective function of the Progenitor and, undoubtedly, this pattern is endowed with positive semantics.

A unique Kazakh “ayak kap” (in translation “ayak” – “foot”, “kap” – “receptacle”) from the REM funds, dated to the end of the century. This original product is made in the form of a popular leather vessel for koumiss “torsyk” (similar to the Altai tajuur). Generally, the shape of the product resembles a female figure and as a leather vessel-saba is a visual reflection of the Great Mother (Naurzabayeva 2021). Ayak kap is made of dark dense fabric with spectacular and original embroidered composition in the form of curls, flowers and various figures in red, beige and yellow threads. The borders of the piece are decorated with triangles and the edges are embroidered with fringe. The decoration fully reflects its symbolic function, expressing the ideas of abundance and prosperity.

In general, the image of the goddess Umai in the process of historical development has passed a long way of artistic transformation: realistic, the image of a swan or a duck, the transitional image of a woman-bird, the realistic image of a woman in a three-horned tiara with a trefoil or “world tree” in her hands (Chebodaeva 2019: 37). Complementary, and possibly could be expressed in the embroidery technique or the use of certain threads, the shape of the product or otherwise encrypted.

Main provisions

As a result of the research the author:

- studied the materials on traditional embroidery of Turkic peoples, which is presented as a multi-layered phenomenon, the results of historical superimpositions and the fabric of cultural history, reflecting certain aspects of archetypal motifs and

mythological images;

- it is found out that visual representation of archetypal images and motifs in traditional embroidery of Turkic peoples is expressed on the basis of two main ways: concrete anthropomorphic images and abstract word signs (ornament);

- it is emphasised that the author attributes realistic anthropomorphic images to direct ways of expressing meanings, and abstract word signs to indirect ones;

- it is established that in the embroidery of Turkic peoples and Kazakhs in particular, there are common images: Heavenly Father (deified Cosmos), the Great Mother in different variations - Umai, Ot-Ana, Zher-Su and other significant semantic constants of culture;

- further comparative study of embroidery of Turkic peoples as a holistic phenomenon in the context of these and other positions with the involvement of a wide range of materials is proposed.

Conclusion

Embroidery is often seen in terms of technical achievements. However, the interpretation, adaptation and variation of patterns by the embroiderer is far from mere stylistics and technique, but a representation of much deeper phenomena. As it seems to us, they are based on archetypal motifs and mythological images, played over and over again in different variations by each craftswoman. The examples listed here suggest that probably the iconography of the image of Turkic deities in the process of artistic evolution has undergone significant changes and embodied in a variety of forms: from realistic to abstract.

In Kazakh embroidery, as well as in many Turkic ethno variants in direct and indirect form are present in the encrypted form of many archetypal motifs and mythological images under study. It (Kazakh embroidery) in the general Turkic

“family” takes a worthy place and, as any invariant is a unique in its nature syncretic art form, which clearly manifests the centuries-old creative potential of steppe craftswomen who created their rich “cloth world”, seeking to achieve the favour of gods and spirits.

In general, traditional embroidery of Turkic peoples is a multilayered phenomenon, the fruit of historical overlay and the fabric of cultural history. Its analysis once again shows that the many Turkic peoples had largely unified cosmological ideas and a set of beliefs,

expressed in identical archetypal motifs and mythological images: Heavenly Father, the Great Mother in different variations and other deities of the Turkic pantheon. In addition, the embroidery reflects significant events of ritual and ceremonial nature: wedding ceremony, calendar holidays and other, i.e. what was important and needed to be captured in the “text”.

Further comparative study of embroidery of Turkic peoples as a holistic phenomenon in the context of the above and other positions with the involvement of a wide range of materials is a matter of promising future.

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ТҮРКІ ХАЛЫҚТАРЫНЫҢ КЕСТЕЛЕУДЕГІ МИФОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ БЕЙНЕЛЕРІ (ЗЕРТТЕУ МӘСЕЛЕСІН ҚАРАСТЫРУ)

Аңдатпа. Түркі халықтарының кестелері бар жағынан ерекше құбылыс. Заттың өзінің мағыналық контекстін де, оның салт пен ырымдағы рөлін де, формасын да, ою-өрнегін де, бояуын да қайта құра отырып, кезең-кезеңімен ғалымдардың бірнеше буыны айналысқан зерттеу. Ғылыми зерттеулерде кесте өнеріндегі архетиптік мотивтер мен мифологиялық бейнелеу мәселесі ерекше орын алады. Кестелердің этноварианттарының - өзбек, қарақалпақ, қазақ және т.б. алуан түрлілігімен онда ортақ бейнелерді байқауға болады: Көктегі Әке (құдайландырылған Ғарыш), Ұлы Ана әртүрлі вариацияларда - Ұмай, От-Ана, Жер-Су мәдениеттің басқа маңызды мағыналық константалары. Зерттеу барысында түркі кестелеріндегі архетиптік образдар мен мотивтердің көрнекі түрде бейнеленуі нақты антропоморфтық бейнелерден абстракттілі шартты белгілерге дейін өрнектелуі мүмкін, яғни оның тікелей немесе жанама көрінісі ретінде болды. Сирек, бірақ әлі де кездесетін антропоморфтық бейнелер (сақталып қалған мысалдар бойынша) мағынаны білдірудің тікелей тәсілдері болып табылады. Жанамаларға, ең алдымен, ою-өрнектің алуан түрлері, жіптің түсі мен техникалық ерекшеліктері, сонымен қатар кестеленген бұйымның пішіні жатады. Кесте тігудің дәстүрлі тәжірибесі «коммуниканттар» жақын уақытта «тікелей» жанама стратегияларды жиі қолданғанын көрсетеді. Бұл жанама мәлімдемелер ең жалпы түрде пішіннің алшақтығымен: графикалық және колористикалық дизайнмен сипатталады. Бірақ олар әрқашан басқаларға түсінікті болған. Әрине, жанама «мәлімдемелерді» түсіндіруге әсер ететін негізгі фактор – кестенің контекстісі. Бұл киімнің декоры да, мәдениет көзіндегі кестенің өзінің салтанатты-салттық қызметі де болуы мүмкін.

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Тірек сөздер: түркі халықтарының кестелері, мифологиялық және архетиптік бейнелер, мотивтер, этникалық параллельдер.

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МИФОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ОБРАЗЫ В ВЫШИВКЕ ТЮРКСКИХ НАРОДОВ (К ПОСТАНОВКЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ)

Аннотация. Вышивка тюркских народов - уникальный во всех планах феномен. Исследованию, которого обращается уже не одно поколение ученых шаг за шагом, реконструируя смысловой контекст как самой вещи, ее роли в обряде и ритуале, так и ее формы, орнамента и колорита. Особое место в научных поисках занимает проблематика отражения архетипических мотивов и мифологических образов в искусстве вышивки. При всем разнообразии этновариантов вышивки: узбекская, каракалпакская, казахская и другие в ней прослеживаются единые образы: Небесный отец (обожествлённый Космос), Великая Праматерь в различных вариациях – Умай, От-Ана, Жер-Су и другие значимые смысловые константы культуры.

В процессе исследования выяснилось, что визуальная репрезентация архетипических образов и мотивов могла выражаться от конкретных антропоморфных изображений до абстрактно-условных знаков, т.е. имела прямое или косвенное выражение.

К прямым способам выражения значений являются редкие, но все же встречающиеся антропоморфные изображения (судя по сохранившимся образцам). К косвенным относятся прежде всего разнообразные виды узоров-орнаментов, цвет и технические особенности нити, а также сама форма вышиваемого изделия.

Традиционная практика вышивки показывает, что «коммуниканты» в обозримый период пользовались косвенными стратегиями намного чаще, чем «прямыми». Эти косвенные высказывания в самом общем виде характеризуются расхождением формы: графического и колористического оформления. Но, они всегда были понятны и ясны для окружающих. Безусловно, основным фактором, влияющим на интерпретацию косвенных «высказываний», является контекст, в котором вышивка участвует. Это может быть и декор одежды, и обрядово-ритуальная функция самой вышивки в лоне культуры.

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Ключевые слова: вышивка тюркских народов, мифологические и архетипические образы, мотивы, этнические параллели.

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