

«SIGNS OF NEWLYWEDS»: PECULIARITIES OF WEDDING PARAPHERNALIA DECORATION AMONG TURKIC PEOPLES

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Abstract. The complex of wedding attributes of Turkic peoples includes: yurt, carriage or riding animal, as well as the costume of newlyweds. Sufficient attention has been paid to the decoration of the wedding costume in science. However, the other attributes have not received due comprehension and illumination. We are sure that artistic and aesthetic labelling of wedding attributes in traditional culture was undoubtedly made with a special intention and carried certain information, representing the status of newlyweds. Hence, the purpose of this article is to investigate the meanings and values of the decoration of wedding paraphernalia in Turkic peoples, which is considered as visual “signs of newlyweds”. The sign nature of wedding attributes is investigated from the point of view of color symbolism, constructive features and ornamentation. The sources of different periods (pre-revolutionary and modern), as well as archival photographs and artefacts from museum collections (late 19th - early 20th centuries) served as materials for the study. The main methods of research are comparative, semantic and art history analysis. In the opinion of the author of the article, the synthesis of these approaches in the future may contribute to the analysis and reconstruction of the lost meanings of the decoration of other traditional products. The study allowed us to find out some features of the decoration of wedding paraphernalia, reflecting layers of archaic beliefs and ideas about the universe in Turkic culture, characterized by a common fundamental basis and differing in ethnic variants.

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Keywords: signs of newlyweds, meaning, significance, decoration, wedding attributes, ornament, Turkic culture

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Introduction

The wedding attributes of Turkic peoples include a special yurt and all its decoration, a palanquin (arba/carriage) and the decoration of the riding animal, as well as the costumes of the newlyweds. These artefacts are, on the one hand, one-of-a-kind works of traditional art and, on the other hand, part of a single complex.

The author of the study suggests that the structural unity of wedding rituals, expressed in cosmology as the original creation, reflected in the works (Ayyzhy et al.; Lamazhaa; Naurzabayeva) is reflected in the artistic design of wedding attributes. This is indirectly confirmed by the works in the field of analyzing the costumes of newlyweds in the peoples of the Turkic-Mongolian area (Ayyzhy, Khovalyg; Volodeva et al.).

The research materials were sources from different periods (pre-revolutionary and modern), as well as archival photographs and artefacts from museum collections (late 19th - early 20th centuries) on wedding attributes of Kazakhs, Nogais, Kara-Kalpaks and Uzbeks from the collections of the Russian Ethnographic Museum (REM), the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences (MAE RAS, Kunstkamera) and museums of Kazakhstan.

Thus, the focus of this article is the little-studied decoration of wedding attributes - yurt, palanquin (arba/carriage)

and riding animal of the newlywed. Their study was based on sources from the pre-revolutionary and modern periods, as well as folklore data.

Methods of research

Hypothesis of the study, which consists in the idea that the wedding decor of Turkic peoples preserved echoes of the deification of the Great Mother, worship of the World Tree (tree of life), astral cult, fire cult, cosmic union of Heaven and Earth and other elements of the most ancient beliefs, which in artistic terms is expressed in color, ornamentation, etc., and other elements of the most ancient beliefs. The article presents an attempt to reconstruct their meanings and values on the basis of comparative, semantic and art history analysis. The comparative approach allowed to identify the common and specific in wedding decor; the semantic approach to establish the meaning of color and ornamental decoration, and the art history approach to trace some stylistic features of the encoded images of wedding attributes.

Discussion

Wedding yurt as a process of creation of the “New World”: peculiarities of exterior and interior. According to many researchers (Fielstrup; Kuftin; Margulan; Argynbaev) and others, the wedding yurt was used by many Turkic peoples and was characterized by a special decoration and was the main

part of the bride's dowry. It is clear that the wealthier the bride's family, the richer and more exquisite her dowry.

The Kazakh yurt for newlyweds "otau" (Argynbaev) - fig.1.1 was set up before the wedding, accompanying the process with rites and rituals (gifts for raising the dome circle "shanyrak koterer", for covering with felt "otau zhabar", for looking "otau korimdik", etc.). In Kazakh folklore it is poetically called "ak otau" (white yurt). Some information on the decoration of the wedding yurt is found in the epic *Koblandy-batyr*. It was first mentioned by Shahizada Tokhtabaeva (21), who quotes the following lines from the epic:

He ordered to build a white yurt for the young men before dawn,

With the bright glitter of gold coins,
To colour it from within,
To cover it with silver on top.

To some extent, the information from the epic may seem hyperbolic. However, the tradition of decorating the wooden frame of the yurt and interior items with inlays of silver and gold in steppe culture can be traced in steppe culture since the 13th century. To confirm this, let us cite the information of Mashkhur Zhusup Kopeyuly, who describes the wedding otau of the daughter of a wealthy man of the Younger Juz, a bai named Baisakal. In this yurt, some components of the frame were richly inlaid with silver: the upper and lower part of the kerege, uyks, shanyrak and others (Negimov 2018: 26).

The name of the wedding yurt of the Nogai people is identical to the Kazakh one – "otav/otau". It is an unassembled round structure, which was used by newlyweds until they had children (Gadzhieva 1979) - Fig.1.2. The Kara-Kalpak wedding yurt was similarly called "otau ui" and "ak ui" (white yurt) by semi-settled Uzbeks.

The Kyrgyz yurt "yerge" is considered the main part of a bride's dowry, which was distinguished from the surrounding yurts by its beauty. Folk craftsmen decorated it with special diligence and love

(Alymbaeva 101). Fedor Fielstrup wrote: the wedding otau of the Kazakhs and the Orgo of the Semirechiye Kyrgyz...is distinguished by its ornamentation inside and outside, and is covered with a light-coloured felt as far as possible - it is not without reason that some nationalities call it ak-ui, i.e. a white yurt (112). In the Caspian Iomut people, wide cloth ribbons of white color were sewn on the dome of the yurt of newlyweds, hence the yurt was called "ak bavuly ei" (yurt with white ribbons) (Vasilieva 113). Sometimes the yurt of the Kipchaks of the Fergana Valley "ak ui" (white house) was covered with patches of white cotton cloth instead of felt. Thus, the presence of white (the whole through the particular) in the decoration of a wedding yurt was obligatory. According to Gleb Bonch-Osmolovsky, "white kibits of Turkmens and Kirghiz have full resemblance to the decorated wedding dwellings of Nogais and Kara-Nogais" (107).



Fig. 1. 1 - Wedding yurt otau. Kazakh. (Fielstrup 1926);
2 - Wedding yurt otau. Nodais. 1903. Collection REM № 333 (Durmenova 2008)

The most complete information about the decoration of the yurt of newlyweds is preserved in the Nogai people. Researchers (Kanokova; Kanokova; Kuzeeva, Zelnitskaya) include 8 types of single and paired small felt hats sewn on the wedding nomad tent otau: man'laisha, esik kiyiz, iyinik, biyala, oyzek basar, etek bav, tabansha bav (Kuzeeva, Zelnitskaya 198).

Regarding the “man'lashai” (Kanokova 2018 and others), it was repeatedly noted that its shape is close to the anthropomorphic figure and correlates with the image of the guardian of the home hearth, the goddess of fire “Tamyz” - Iskra or, according to other sources with the ancient Turkic ancestor Goddess Umai, whose symbol was a triangle (Kanokova 134). As represented in fig. 2.3, the shape of “man'lashai” is indeed similar to a female figure and, to some extent, resembles the shape of a sab (a leather burden for koumiss) associated by Zira Nauryzbaeva (Nauryzbaeva) with the image of the Great Mother (fig. 2.4).



Fig. 2.3 - Elements of «manglashay». Nogais (Kanokova 2021);
4 - Saba. Capacity for the preparation and storage of kumis (fond of CSM of RK)

Of particular interest in the wedding yurt of the Nogai people is such an attribute as a flag “tunglik”, the size of which was 62 x 97 cm. According to Fatima Kanokova (135), such a flag was richly covered on the front side with applications in the form of horn-shaped curls, spirals, circles, triangles, cross-shaped and other figures cut out of cotton fabric of red, blue and black colors.

The copy of the flag (REM No. 333-44) shows a cross-shaped figure in the center, below on the sides of the main figure are two triangular patterns, and at the bottom of the piece is a succession of triangles. One of them is located in the center and inverted with the base upwards. The static cross-shaped figure (“Turkic palmetto”) is interpreted in two senses: a sign of the supreme deity Tengri (a symbol of stability and steadiness) or a reflection of the ancient cult of the “space ram”, and the triangles are a visual sign of the goddess Umai (in an earlier version, the bosom of a woman).

Describing some types of wedding flags, Fatima Kanokova notes that S-shaped motif was often used in such products. According to the researcher, it could be interpreted as “a symbol of lightning and water, guardians of moisture, messenger of rain”, as well as associated with the symbolism of the snake “patron of the house, mediator between heaven and earth” (102-103).

Unfortunately, no information about the use of wedding flags among Kazakhs has been preserved. According to one of the oldest traditions, the migration to the place of a new seasonal pasture, perceived as a great holiday, was invariably led by the recognized beauty of the aul, necessarily with the banner of the clan in her hands.

According to Fatima Kanokova (237), each color of the Nogai wedding flag ornamentation had a symbolic meaning, and any attribute necessarily contained the pattern “duva” - an amulet often found on the flag, felt carpets and clothes. In turn, the door curtain – “esik kiyiz” was a rectangular felt cloth richly decorated with geometric and zoomorphic ornaments made in the applique technique. On both sides of the wedding yurt door were hung “iyinik” - ornamented rectangular strips, next to it were hung “biyala” - decorative strips, “o'zek basar” and “etek bav” - wide woven woollen ribbons, one for tying the felt to the yurt frame in the upper part and

the other in the lower part. Many of the above-mentioned decorative elements are decorated with rhombuses, triangles, various stripes, S-shaped figures, i.e. the oldest iconic symbols of the universe in Eurasian art. According to Anna Dyurmenova, such magical signs were not only to protect the newlyweds from evil, “but could also be used for imitation magic: the sacred union of heaven and earth is embodied in the union of a woman and a man on earth” (34), the scientist writes.

In Kazakhs, the first wedding day is called *otau zhabar* - the day of “covering the nomad tent” as opposed to the “big feast” (*ulken toi*). For covering the nomad tent women receive gifts (Grodekov 67). Boris Kuftin (Kuftin 1926) correlates the etymology of “*otau*” with “*from*” - fire, which is quite in line with the traditional ideas of Turkic peoples about its sacredness (*auliye*), raised to the cult of the First Mother (*Ot-Ana*). Rustem Dosmurzinov writes: fire (“*from*”) is not only a mediator, but also an embodiment of the patron spirit...in wedding rituals fire as an embodiment of the master spirit and the spirit of ancestors ‘sanctioned’ the bride’s entry into a new home and the formation of a new family (172).

One of the very few visual evidence of the Kazakh *otau* is a photo by F.E. Fielstrup (IEA RAS No. 2535) from the early twentieth century. The photo shows a yurt in light-colored felt, decorated with wide ribbons with applications in the form of a tree-like pattern in a wide band divided structurally into two levels. A fragment of this decoration is shown in fig. 3.5, where the ornament is built according to the traditional scheme: equality of positive-negative. The *tundik* (covering of the *shanyrak*) shows a similar ornament to the band ornament - a tree-like element enclosed in a triangular shape. According to the established tradition, the ornamentation of the band of the *otau* exterior can be interpreted as a reflection of representations of the World Tree (Kazakh

baiterek). However, Elena Tsareva, studying the iconography of felt curtains of Karachais and Balkars “*dzhygych kiyiz*” in comparison with petroglyphs of the Chalcolithic period, develops the idea of “syncretisation of the motif of birth mothers with the subjects of the World Tree and goddesses of all animals and plants” (30) in Eurasian art. This idea finds confirmation in the design of the Kazakh *otau* (figs. 3.5; 3.9).

The figuration in Kazakh culture of the visual image of the Great Mother (the pattern “*Uly Ana*” fig. 3.10) is confirmed by the research of Alibek Kazhigali uly (Kazhigali uly), and the combination of positive-negative of the ornamental ribbon motif can be interpreted as a ritual connection of two beginnings: male and female (*steppe yin-yang*) by the example of the iconography of the felt *sirmak* of the wedding ceremonial gift.

The described decoration of the wedding yurt led to the spread of the Kazakh expression “*oyuly ak otau*” (“ornamented white yurt”). Interesting information about the decoration of *otau* is found in folk folklore. Eraly Ospanuly (Ospanuly 2021) quotes the lines of akyn Makhambet (19 century) “about the high yense of the white yurt” and notes the existence of such decorative elements of the yurt as “*yense*” and “*kusmuryñ*” among Kazakhs.

Yense is a U-shaped woven item that was hung in front of the entrance to the yurt. The sample of the twentieth century presented by Eraly Ospanuly (Ospanuly 2021) shows that it is made in two techniques: *pile* - the main horizontal slat and two strips on the sides, made in the technique of wool less carpet weaving. The lower edge of the strips is decorated with a number of tassels made of woolen threads (*fringe*). The ornamental decoration of the horizontal slat is geometric curls in the form of a zigzag. On the side strips, alternating diamond pattern. The color of the product is saturated, harmoniously combining red, white, dark burgundy,

yellow, green and brown colors. Their combination from the point of view of color symbolism can be interpreted as a wish for long life, youth and endless blessings from heaven.

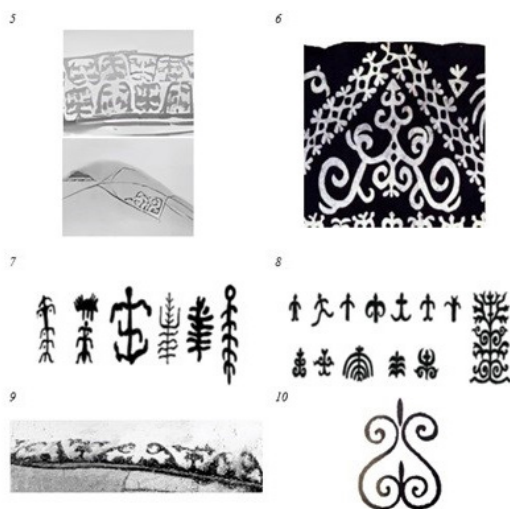


Fig. 3. 5 - Decorative elements of the Kazakh wedding yurt on a photo by Fedor Fielstrup (Kazakhs. Peoples and Cultures 2021);

6 - Fragment of the decoration of the curtain Jiygich kiyiz. Balkars. Beginning of the XX century. REM No. 6086-7 (Tsareva 2013);

7 - Drawings of petroglyphs with images of women in labor and mother-producers on monuments of the Eurasia Age of Eneolithic by Novgorodova (Tsareva 2013);

8 - Drawings of the motif “Adam Surat” on felt shelves of the Karachayeys and Balkars by Eugenia Studenetskaya (Tsareva 2013);

9 - Decorative element of the Kazakh wedding yurt by Boris Kuftin (Kuftin 1926);

10 - Pattern “Uly Ana” (Kazhgali uly 2003).

Another element of the otau exterior is a curtain called “kumuryñ” (“bird’s beak”), which was hung over the entrance door of the yurt. It should be reminded that Kazakhs have a maiden ring with the same name. The curtain itself is not wide strips (embroidered or woven), joined in a triangular shape, decorated at the ends with fringe or tassels. They were usually placed on either side of the door. The very shape of the product and, of course, the name goes back to orthomorphic images, which, according to Tatyana Bernshtam, in folk culture refer to “means of magical influence of a productive or protective nature” (22).

The Kazakh yurt, as well as the Nogai yurt had a felt door curtain “kelinshek esik kiyiz” (“felt door of a young woman”), decorated with horn-shaped patterns. A sample of felt door curtain of a Kazakh yurt can be seen on the photo of ethnographer Boris Kuftin (Kuftin 1926). It is designed in the form of two large rhombuses with cross-shaped figures inscribed in them. The entire compositional space of the door curtain is completely filled with a pattern without voids. This formal technique, most likely, as well as in the iconography of suzani, is connected with the ideas about the relentless creative power of the Supreme Forces.

There is an interesting detail of the exterior of the otau of Semirichiye Kazakhs on the photo (Fig. 4.11) presented by Vasily Shupeikin (3), where, besides the border on the edge of the dome covering in the form of tree-like patterns, there are two wide monochrome woven strips with fringed tassels (shashak). On the upper band, textile rectangular inserts are attached at regular intervals. On the side visible to the viewer the pattern of the inserts is different (not repeated). The Kazakh yurt presented at the World Industrial Exhibition in Paris (1867) has a similar design.

The process of preparing the contents of the wedding yurt by the girl and her assistants began long before the ceremony itself, which was a kind of presentation of her skills to the future husband’s family and numerous relatives. According to Karim Shaniyazov the interior of the wedding yurt of the Kipchaks of the Fergana Valley included: ornamented articles of woolen or cotton fabrics, specially woven tutum carpets, the edge of which was richly decorated with fringe. Their coloring was predominantly dark red or burgundy. This color scheme predetermined the name of the process of decorating a new yurt, called “uini kizil kilish” (225), which means “to make the yurt beautiful”. Perceived as sacred, the red color in wedding paraphernalia speaks for itself. It is a

symbol of fire, life-giving ray of the sun, prosperity, life, strength, etc.

The color scheme under consideration is dominant in Kazakh lint-free carpets “Arabs kilem”, which according to experts (Tsareva; Bazhenova, etc.) almost completely convey the iconography of wedding carpets of the Arabs of Central Asia “jihezi”. Such a carpet was an invariable attribute of the bride’s dowry and “was considered an amulet, a talisman ensuring family happiness and well-being” (Tsareva 284). In the Kazakh variant of “Arabi kilem” two motifs are leading: alabas (variegated top) and ormekshi (spider), the latter pattern most likely correlates with the image of the Great Mother Spider, once widely used in Eurasia. According to Natalia Bazhenova (Bazhenova) the ornament “alabas” is a vertical rod, the base and top of which are decorated in the form of multilayered multicolored stepped triangular figures. This motif is associated with images of the world mountain or the world tree.

Carpets with world tree or stem motifs are often found among Kazakhs and symbolize the formation of a new family and the beginning of a new stage of life. According to specialists ([Kazakh carpets... 2012: 353), the semantic meaning of such patterns is interpreted as a wish for future increase of offspring. Researchers write: “young families were given such carpets with the wishes “Orkenin ossin!”, which means “May there be many children and wealth!”” (Kazakh carpets... 353). The presence of fringe in carpets or other wedding paraphernalia in traditional culture was perceived as a wish for abundance and prosperity. It was customary for Bashkirs to decorate even cattle (part of the bride’s dowry) with fringe. The most interesting attribute of the wedding yurt of the Kungrat Uzbeks is the decoration of the atma, which is a garland of multicolored woolen tassels sewn on many red homespun ribbons diverging from one center - a felt (tunkarma) hanging from the rim of

the yurt, cut in the form of a circle and ornamented with white and red cloth appliqué (Karmysheva 267). 4.12. The scholar interprets the symbolism of the jewellery as protection from the evil eye.

One of the most sacralised attributes was the wedding curtain: Kazakh - shymyldyk, Nogai – shymyldryk’y, Uzbek - gushanga (or chimildik), Kyrgyz - koshogo, and others. Gleb Bonch-Osmolovsky interprets the functional load of this attribute of the wedding ceremony (110) as a “temporary shelter for newlyweds”, the role of which began to increase with the gradual disappearance of the wedding dwelling itself. That is, the disappearance of the wedding dwelling as a vestige of maternal and ancestral orders led to an increase in the role of the curtain and, of course, there was a transfer of functions. Unfortunately, very little information about the Kazakh shymyldyk has also been preserved, and Kazakh museum artefacts belong to the time when their traditional iconography was practically lost.

Only a few precedents can be presented: one photo by Sergei Dudin “Scene of a Wedding Rite” (MAE No. 1199-81), which shows a wedding curtain of Kazakhs of the Semey region made of a solid-colored fabric with two strips of fringe sewn on the upper edge (the latter is most likely factory-made). An interesting lithograph by Vasilii Timm (fig. 4. 13) was published in the Russian Art Leaflet No. 34 of 1852.

It shows a Kazakh curtain - a shymyldyk, a bride in an outfit and a saukele, and a young man (apparently the groom). It is impossible to determine the color of the ornamentation from the almost black-and-white drawing, but the general iconography of the piece is easy to read. The curtain is a rather voluminous screen made of light-colored fabric with an upper bar in the form of a wide strip (frieze) of twelve squares with tree-like patterns visible to the viewer, alternating light and dark colors.

The frieze is framed by alternating

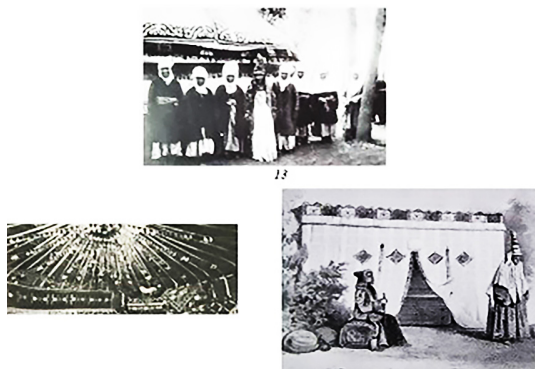


Fig. 4. 11 - Women of the Medeu Pirmanova clan (Shchupeikin 2009);
 12 - Decoration of the Uzbeks-kungrats wedding yurt – atma (Karmysheva 1998);
 13 - Lithograph by Vasiliy Timm (Kazakhs. History and Culture 2018)

light and dark ornamented triangles (sewn upwards). In the central field of the shymyldyk on two sides of the entrance there are horizontally arranged four rhombuses and two vertical stripes, in turn, the entrance behind the curtain is also framed by an ornamented band. Unfortunately, due to the specific features of the lithograph, it is difficult to judge exactly how the decoration of the curtain is executed. Most likely, the decoration is made using patchwork or embroidery.

There are much more descriptions of wedding curtains of the Nogai, Uzbek and other Turkic peoples preserved in the collections of different museums. Thus, the Nogai curtain was made of red cotton cloth. A distinctive feature of these curtains was applique in the form of rhombuses and triangles. A copy of one Nogai curtain from the REM funds (No. 333-34) is made of red fabric, where the upper plank consists of two horizontal strips of square flaps of approximately the same shape, and the central space is made of five vertical strips combining rhombuses, squares and triangles. These strips are made in patchwork technique, combining a variety of colors: green, blue, white, etc.

On this and other typical Nogai curtains (Fig. 5.14), elements of patchwork technique, namely, a strip of

three rhombuses sewn with ends to each other and tassels on the edges, attract attention. The details of decorative belts of biyala (ill. 5.15) are similarly arranged among the Nogai people. The meaning and significance of the given, most likely correlates with the understanding of the rhombus as the female beginning (a universal symbol of fertility and fertility), and its repeated variation in the wedding attributes once again emphasizes the predominant role of the image of the Great Mother Goddess.

Uzbek wedding curtains (REM No.



Fig. 5. 14 - Fragment of the wedding curtain of shymyldyk. Nogaiyans (The Foundation of the Grigorii Prozritelev and Gregory Prave Stavrapol Museum-Reserve);
 15 - Biala Decorations. REM Foundation (Kuzeyeva, Zelnitskaya 2020)

9373-124) were made entirely in patchwork technique, making a bright composition of large and small geometric shapes: squares, triangles and rhombuses. The use of flaps (Turkic kurak) in wedding paraphernalia can be explained by the traditional Kazakh concept “zheti zhut”, which means “seven troubles”. In the folk understanding these are: an unclaimed word; a depopulated land; a lake without birds; a people without a leader; a brave husband deprived of his homeland; an old man deprived of his peers and unstitched quilts.

According to Elmira Gül, it is the “unclaimed” flap (“unstitched” into the system of the universe) that is perceived as the destruction of ties - kinship, social, natural. In turn, a sewn kurak is a model and guarantor of the integrity of the

world (84), i.e. the kurak in the wedding curtain can be understood as a process of modelling a new world (a new family) from a variety of patchworks (two families, two clans).

In general, for the bearers of traditional culture, 'the erection of a new yurt was perceived as a symbolic construction of the microcosm, the creation of a new world for a young family (Azhigali, Naumova 530), which was echoed by the decor of the exterior and interior of the wedding yurt.

The way to the groom's yurt: decoration of the ritual carriage and riding animal. The most ancient attribute of a Turkic wedding is an arba with a felt. Often it was a dome-shaped structure mounted on a cart. In Nogai people it is called "kuyme". Nikolai Kharuzin (Kharuzin 2006) gives information of G. Ananyev about such peculiar arbas with tent - the ritual carriage of the bride (Nikolai Kharuzin's expression). They were made "not of burlap or felt, but of planks; the arba tent is attached to the arb from behind and in front with planks painted in different variegated colors. Behind the arba there is a small square hole in the front with a double-leaf door" (Kharuzin 49). Information about kuima is found in Kazakh epics. In the poem *Kyz Zhibek* there are lines telling that the heroine left on a "kok kuima" - a blue arba/yurt.

The blue yurt of the ancient Turks is mentioned by Lev Gumilev, who cites a poem by the Chinese poet Bo Ju-yi (eight century) describing its merits. Here are a few lines:

The prince has covered his palaces with carvings,

That they are in front of the blue yurt!

I will not give the yurt

to noble princely families for their palaces (73).

The scholar believes that the poet calls the yurt "blue", emphasizing the color that symbolized the Turks (Gumilev 176). But, "kok" in Turkic color symbolism denotes quite a wide range: blue, blue, green, white,

blue and gray (this phenomenon is called "Turkic colorblindness" in science). Also, this lexeme can be used as an intensifying degree, emphasizing the significance of something. Perhaps, the name of the wedding harness "kok kuyme" is not only an "intensifying degree" denoting its ritualized character, but also the color itself - blue, blue. We find explanations about the color of the carriage in Alkei Margulan, who cites the information of the Arab traveler Ibn Batutta that the women of Desht-Kipchak ride in an arba with a canopy "made of gilded silver" or "painted wood", and the horses carrying her arba are decorated with "silk gilded covers". Moreover, "the whole of it (the arb) was covered with good blue cloth; the windows and doors were open" (Margulan 13).

A relic of the ritual understanding of blue in wedding ceremonies can be considered a wedding dress of Kara-kalpak women "kok koylek" (blue dress), and the color itself is popularly called "boz" (gray). Here an interesting detail emerges, once again demonstrating the peculiarity of color perception in Turkic culture, perfectly demonstrated by Almira Naurzabayeva on the example of comparing Kazakh and Kyrgyz yurts ("boz ui" - gray yurt). The author notes that this "factor in naming the yurt is associated with the peculiarities of the natural picture of Kyrgyz residence, with the predominance of mountainous and foothill landscape, with a rich color palette, the dynamics of which is variable during the day and season" (73).

The Karakalpak people also used "bogenek arba" wagons in wedding ceremonies, and the term "ak bogenek" (white arba) appears in the epic "Alpamys" (Karakalpak version). According to scholars, it was "arranged from the usual one by building a small canopy on it, closed with a curtain" and perhaps the very fact of its presence "reflects the relics of matrilineal marriage, when women and girls accepted men in their dwellings" (Zhdanko, Kamalov 1980: 29). In another

study, Tatyana Zhdanko writes: a newlywed Karakalpak woman always made her ritual wedding journey to her husband's aul to her husband's village on an arb, as opposed to Kazakhs and Turkmens, who specially decorated a camel for this purpose (549).

Referring to the field materials of Anna Morozova, the authors (Zhdanko, Kamalov 29) suggest that the Karakalpak wedding carriage - arba could represent a kind of house - a canopy *ui*, installed on the platform of three interconnected carriages. Such houses were used during folk festivities by a group of mourners and musicians.

In this context, materials on Turkmen wedding paraphernalia are of considerable interest. The caravan of the bride "Gelin Aladzhi" usually consisted of 11-12 camels; one of the camels was used to carry the bride to the groom's house in a palanquin "gedjebe" (or kedjebe). According to Ata Dzhikiev, the gedjebe imitated the Salyr dwelling and resembled a yurt. The lower part of the palanquin consisted of felt (yurek) and the upper part of woven comb. The outside of the "gedjebe" was covered with white cloth, on which pieces of cloth of different colors were sewn. A bundle of fringe "purchukly khupba" was attached to the top of the palanquin (156).

The decor of the palanquin corresponded to the solemnity of the moment: bright and colorful, and its main function was magical protection of the newlywed from harmful forces. The permanent exposition of the REM on Central Asia and Kazakhstan presents one of the variants of the white gedjebe, where elements of patchwork technique are present in the decoration. On the dome of gedjebe is placed a cross-shaped composition of patchwork, which can be considered in two contexts: a symbolic picture of the world (horizontal projection - the four sides of the world) and a symbol of the heavenly dome, protection and patronage. A number of diamond-shaped patterns (female signs) are organized along the circle of the palanquin

dome.

Let us turn to the decor of the bride's riding animal. Kazakh samples are depicted in the drawings of Aleksandr Dokuchaev ("Bride's send-off and Kazakh aul"), in the photo of Konstantin de Lazari ("Arrival of the bride to the groom's house") and other visual materials. One of the original samples of traditional Kazakh art is a bride's horse blanket (MAE RAS № 439-12), which is richly decorated with applications and embroidery on a red background. The embroidery decoration includes a rare type of solar sign (the sun) with inscribed inside motifs of volute (horn-shaped curl), pinnately dissected foliage and tulip motifs. Solar signs, celestial luminaries and, in general, the celestial sphere in the folk understanding had great power, which was expressed in asking for their blessing for a young family: "ayyn tusyn - onynan, zhuldyzyn tusyn - sonynan - let the moon enter blessedly on the right, let the stars bless on the left" (Nurlanova 218).

Results

The study showed that the Turkic wedding yurt, despite the different ethnic variants had a number of common features. It is obligatory covering with white - a symbol of purity, purity and holiness. In this case, white color marks the sacral space-territory (a kind of shrine), and decorative elements of the wedding yurt can be considered as signs of distinction and boundary markers, magical prohibition, protection from penetration.

The exterior of the yurt was supplemented by various sign elements: flag (Nogai); door curtain (Kazakhs, Nogai, etc.); details above the entrance to the yurt: "manglashay" (Nogai), ense (Kazakhs), etc.; curtains hung around the door "kusmuryñ" (Kazakhs), biyala, iyinik, etc. (Nogai); wide curtains hung around the door "kusmuryñ" (Kazakhs), biyala, iyinik, etc.). (Nogai); wide woven strips framing

the yurt (Kazakhs, Nogai, etc.).

These elements of wedding yurt exterior decoration in most cases demonstrate the female hypostasis, i.e. there is a pronounced focus on the presentation of tree-like patterns in these products - the image of the Great Mother, preserved among the Turks in various variations: Ot-Ana, Tamyz and the goddess Umai. The multiple strengthening of this image is most likely connected with even more ancient representations of the dwelling as a female womb, in this case contributing to the “birth” of a new family. Thus, the decoration of the exterior of the wedding yurt with the predominance of “female motifs” confirms Ivan Lepekhin’s (151) conclusions about it as a place of “axillary visitation” and Gleb Bonch-Osmolovsky’s judgment (109) as an archaic “symbol of the forms of marriage regulations”, i.e. an echo of the ideas about the vestiges of maternal and ancestral orders.

The exterior of the wedding yurt is echoed by its interior. The whole creative potential of the bride herself, her mother, grandmother, sisters and friends was directed to the process of “making the yurt beautiful”, expressed in a bright symbiosis of life-affirming red and various benevolent patterns. In this case, the interior of the yurt can be considered as a set of signs and symbols of protection, amulets and all kinds of good wishes, projecting harmonious and happy coexistence of its future inhabitants. The decoration of the palanquin and riding animal, the purpose of which was the safe “delivery” of the newlywed to the place of her new residence, are presented first of all as signs of protection and protection.

Main points

The article describes the decor of wedding paraphernalia of Turkic peoples, which the author tends to consider as “signs of newlyweds”. In the process of research it was found out that many components of

the decoration of wedding paraphernalia have ancient roots and go back to pre-Islamic beliefs. The image of the Great Foremother is especially pronounced, which is expressed in the ornamentation, predominant color and other elements of decoration, reflecting the ideas of fertility and abundance. The cosmogonic symbols (solar signs and celestial luminaries) are of no small importance in the decoration of wedding attributes, which emphasizes the understanding of the wedding in general as a cosmogonic act, i.e. the wedding is a reactualization of the act of creation of the world.

Conclusion

To summarize, let us cite the words of Elmira Gül: “in any traditional society, adherence to certain ceremonies serves as a kind of guarantor of stability, prosperity and “correct” course of life” (28). This statement has a direct relation to the decoration of wedding attributes, which according to popular beliefs depended not only on the successful conduct of the ceremony, but also on the further happy life of the newlyweds. Therefore, the wedding decor invested not only the maximum of labor effort and skill, folk understanding of beauty and harmony, but also coded sacred meaning.

In general, the wedding decor of Turkic peoples has preserved echoes of the deification of the Great Mother, worship of the World Tree (tree of life), astral cult, fire cult, cosmic union of Heaven and Earth and other elements of the most ancient beliefs, which occupy a special place in the well-coordinated mechanism of colorful and original ceremonial action. We are inclined to consider the “signs of the newlyweds”, which in the past and, in some cases, now are peculiar markers, demonstrating the status and special state of the initiated marriage, which is nothing but a cosmogonic act.

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ЖАС ЖҰБАЙЛАРДЫҢ БЕЛГІЛЕРІ»: ТҮРКІ ХАЛЫҚТАРЫНЫҢ ҮЙЛЕНУ ТОЙЫ АТРИБУТТАРЫНЫҢ БЕЗЕНДІРІЛУ ЕРЕКШЕЛІКТЕРІ

Аңдатпа. Түркі халықтарының үйлену салтанатының атрибуттарына киіз үй, күйме немесе мініс жануары, сондай-ақ, жас жұбайлардың киімі жатады. Ғылыми зерттеулерде үйлену киімінің безендірілуіне жеткілікті көңіл бөлінген. Алайда, қалған атрибуттар тиісті деңгейде қарастырылып, жеткілікті назар аударылмаған. Біз дәстүрлі мәдениеттегі үйлену атрибуттарының көркем-эстетикалық белгіленуі арнайы мақсатпен жасалып, белгілі бір ақпаратты жеткізіп, жас жұбайлардың мәртебесін бейнелегеніне сенімдіміз.

Осыған байланысты, бұл мақаланың мақсаты – түркі халықтарының үйлену салтанаты атрибуттарының мағыналары мен мәндерін зерттеу, оларды «жас жұбайлардың визуалды «белгілері» ретінде қарастыру. Үйлену атрибуттарының таңбалық табиғаты түстің символикасы, құрылымдық ерекшеліктері және ою-өрнек тұрғысынан зерттеледі. Зерттеу материалдары ретінде әртүрлі кезеңдердегі дереккөздер (революцияға дейінгі және қазіргі заманғы), сондай-ақ, XIX ғасырдың соңы – XX ғасырдың басына жататын мұрағаттық фотосуреттер мен музей қорларындағы артефактілер пайдаланылды.

Зерттеу әдістері ретінде салыстырмалы талдау, семантикалық және өнертану талдауы қолданылады. Мақала авторының пікірінше, аталған әдістердің синтезі болашақта басқа дәстүрлі бұйымдардың безендірілуіндегі жоғалған мағыналарды талдау мен реконструкциялауға көмектесуі мүмкін. Зерттеу түркі мәдениетіндегі жалпы іргелі негізбен сипатталатын және этникалық нұсқаларда ерекшеленетін ғалам туралы архаикалық сенімдер мен түсініктердің қабаттарын көрсететін үйлену тойы атрибуттарының безендірілуінің кейбір ерекшеліктерін анықтауға мүмкіндік берді.

Мақала Қазақстан Республикасы Ғылым және жоғары білім министрлігінің Ғылым комитетінің AP23488164 «Қазақстанның дәстүрлі және заманауи өнері көрнекі зерттеулердің назарында: иконография, семиотика және дискурс» жобасы аясында дайындалған.

Түйін сөздер: жас жұбайлардың белгілері, мән-мағына, безендіру, үйлену тойы атрибуттары, ою-өрнек, түркі мәдениеті.

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«ЗНАКИ НОВОБРАЧНЫХ»: ОСОБЕННОСТИ ДЕКОРА СВАДЕБНОЙ АТТРИБУТИКИ У ТЮРКСКИХ НАРОДОВ

Аннотация. К комплексу свадебной атрибутики тюркских народов относятся: юрта, повозка или ездовое животное, а также костюм новобрачных. Декору свадебного костюма в науке уделено достаточное внимание. Однако, остальные атрибуты не получили должного осмысления и освещения. Мы уверены в том, что художественно-эстетическая маркировка свадебной атрибутики в традиционной культуре без сомнения производилась с особым умыслом и несла определенную информацию, репрезентируя статус новобрачных.

Отсюда, целью настоящей статьи является исследование смыслов и значений декора свадебной атрибутики у тюркских народов, который рассматривается в качестве визуальных «знаков новобрачных». Знаковая природа свадебных атрибутов исследуется с точки зрения цветосимволики, конструктивных особенностей и орнаментики. Материалами для исследования послужили источники разных периодов (дореволюционный и современный), а также архивные фотографии и артефакты из музейных коллекций (конца XIX – начала XX вв.).

Основными методами исследования служат сравнительно-сопоставительный, семантический и искусствоведческий анализ. На взгляд автора статьи, синтез обозначенных подходов в будущем может способствовать анализу и реконструкции утраченных смыслов декора других традиционных изделий. Исследование позволило выявить некоторые особенности декора свадебной атрибутики, отражающей пласты архаичных верований и представлений о Вселенной в тюркской культуре, характеризуемой общей фундаментальной основой и различающуюся в этнических вариантах.

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Ключевые слова: знаки новобрачных, смысл, значение, декор, свадебная атрибутика, орнамент, тюркская культура.

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