



SYMBOLIC ANALYSIS AND CLASSIFICATION OF KYRGYZ PATTERNS AND ORNAMENTS*

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STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments as an object of tangible culture depicts all the features of the existence of the ethnic group. Kyrgyz ornament represents Kyrgyz identity and culture in all its varieties and forms, which was ritualized by embodying the creative identity for the ethnic group and evolving it in the historic space by means of definite ritual elements transformed into a decorative concept. Therefore it is necessary to use symbolic analysis as a method for effective research on the ornaments in the frameworks of semantic dimension of the ornaments.

According to reviewed scientific and academic literature, the creators of Tagar culture, i.e. the dinlins and the geguns (the Kyrgyzs) were the bearers of Tashtyk culture. Within the frames of the provisions of this hypothesis, we tried to single out the origins of modern Kyrgyz pattern and ornament, referring to Tashtyk culture that had both culturally historic and ethno genetic ties with the culture of the Kyrgyzs from Enisey. Thus, the subject matter of the present study is ornamental patterns on different kinds of items like: architectural monuments, utensils, needle work products, clothes, ceramic items, etc. However, the most frequently used objects on which patterns and ornaments are often seen or decorated with are: **saima** and **tush kiyiz** (needle works, embroidery in satin stitch or a Bulgarian cross stitch), which usually decorate the interior walls of the dwelling: **shyrdak** (decorated carpet, made of felt); and clothes.

Today Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments have acquired the status of a medium communication instrument due to cross-cultural studies. Semiotic influence of ornamental patterns is represented as a means of non-verbal communication in the modern world of globalized fashion and design, which use the elements of these ornamental patterns. It means that any pattern and/or ornament, or its element is not a subject of language barrier. The use of patterns and ornaments in applied art is increasing along with their representation by images and signs which maintain a great variety of meanings. They influence on the subconscious mind rather than on the rational consciousness of a human being. The

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symbolism of colors found in ornaments is also of a great importance. Therefore providing the knowledge of the specifics of interpretation of various elements of patterns is one of the main goals of this study as the issue of the semantics of Kyrgyz ornamental patterns has remained one of the topical and scantily explored problems in national ethnography. It has a significant scientific value and opens new perspectives to investigate ethno cultural values of the Kyrgyz culture.

The perception of semantic structures in Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments is influenced by many components that are involved in them. Many of them represent the nature of the Kyrgyz land, animals, plants and even human activities that carry certain meanings. The principles of coding and/or decoding of these symbols, their ornamental, utilitarian information are generated by differences in the mentality of the ethnoses. Thus, symbols reveal the culture-creating nature of patterns and ornaments, because an individual perceives the society or environment through signs and symbols. In order to reveal issues regarding ornament interpretation, we addressed to the semantics of ornamentally-pictorial patterns and ornaments. This contributed to identification of universal, religious and local stratum in the world outlook of the Kyrgyz.

The similarities in ornaments of Turkic nations prove that they have the same roots and cultural values that are reflected in different works of applied art. Especially it is worth noting the similarities in depicting the ornaments of zoomorphic origin, representing plants and narrative ornaments in Turkish handicraft. For instance, we can witness the similarity of such Kyrgyz and Turkish ornaments as: *koçboyunuzu* (ram's horn), *gül küpe* (rose earrings), *siçan dişi* (rat's tooth), *üzümlü* (grape), *kedi izi* (cat's trail), *tavuk ayağı* (chicken's feet) (Nas 2012, 16-25) and as an ornament with narrative ability, we can refer to such Turkish compositions as *yılanlı bahçe* (garden of snakes), *kuşlu bahçe* (garden of birds), etc. (Nas 2012: 1622-1628).

Kyrgyz ornaments, according to their origin, are generally distinguished and classified into four main groups: 1) Ornaments of zoomorphic origin: "*kochkor müyüz*" (ram's horn), "*arkhar müyüz*" (wild ram's horn), "*bugu müyüz*" (deer's horn), "*it kuyruk*" (dog's tale), "*jylan*" (a snake), "*bürküt*" (eagle), "*ak kuu*" (a swan), "*kochkor bashy*" (ram's head), "*arkhar bashy*" (wild ram's head), "*uy müyüz*" (cow's horn), "*too teke*" (mountain goat), "*kögüçkön*" (pigeon), "*it üyür*" (pack of dogs), "*altyn бүркүт*" (golden eagle), "*kyrgool*" (pheasant), *teke müyüz* (goat's horn), "*jolbors*" (tiger), "*karga tyrmak*" (crow's claws), "*chychkan izi*" (mouse's trace), etc.: 2) Ornaments, that represent plants: "*anar*" (pomegranate), "*balati*" (fir tree), "*joogazin*" (tulip), "*jüzüm*" (grape), "*kyrgak*" (cone), "*baychechekey*" (primrose), "*kyrk shak*" (name of a plant), etc.: 3) Ornaments, that represent geometric figures and images: circle, rhombus, "*kerege köz*" (rhombic grid of the yurt), etc.: 4) Ornaments, that represent cosmogonic objects: "*aychyk*" (the moon), "*kün*" (the sun), "*jyldyz*" (a star), "*suu*" (water), etc.

However, in the process of study it was revealed that this classification should contain more sections. Consequently, it was suggested to include two more sections that would contain far more interesting and numerous patterns that are divided into such categories

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as: 1. Patterns and ornaments, that represent objects and/or items: “komuz tili” (komuz’s runner or “tongue”), “tutkuch” (oven glove), “oimok” (thimble), “kerege” (a round trellis wall of the yurt), “arkan” (lasso), “tarakcha” (comb), “tumar” (amulet), “kishen” (fetter), etc.: 2) Compound ornaments, which represent some action: “A wild ram pasturing on the summer field”, “Let the bird fly into your house’s place of honour” (a wish), “Two villages placed along the both banks of the river”, “People assembling a round trellis wall of the yurt”, “A snake strangling a mountain goat”, “An eagle dispersing pheasants”, “Lucky hunting”, “A tiger that has torn two cows in the pasture”, “A man that is put into irons”, etc.

Also, we provided the list of some ornaments with their interpretations that have been scientifically researched and decoded from semiotic point of view.

On the basis of the sample of the narrative ornament, we revealed that the symbolic analysis of Kyrgyz ornaments and patterns made it possible to interpret the meaning of every element which is a part of the whole, as a sign, object, and interpretant. Also, it contributed to in-depth understanding of the whole story about the life of the Kyrgyz people at a definite period of time in the past and their occupations. Every element that is given next to the picture in the sample is a signifier while the decoded information is a signified object, which at the same time represents a part of the whole. As a result, only in combination of one element with another element(s) and within each other, it is available to understand the represented composition of the ornament through interpretation.

As a conclusion, Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments as well as their elements from which they consist of can be the object of research as they carry definite meanings that can be interpreted. Being represented as symbols and signs (representamen), ornaments become signifiers and the meanings they produce are the signified objects or their interpretation. The difference between sign and symbol is, first, symbol is created on basis of linguistic sign (in our situation – ornamental), and second, symbol represents not only the meaning of the form, but also the cultural-communicative aspect.

Key Words: Kyrgyz ornaments, symbolic analysis, sign, object, representamen, interpretant, signifier, signified, encoded (decoded) information, cultural identity.

KIRGIZ MOTİFLERİNİN SEMBOLİK AÇIDAN İNCELENMESİ VE SINIFLANDIRILMASI

ÖZET

Motifler, somut kültürün nesnelere ve etnik bir grubun mevcudiyetini gösterir. Kırgız motifleri tarihsel alanda yavaş yavaş gelişerek belli geleneksel unsurların da yardımıyla süsleyici kavrama dönüşmüştür. Bunlar, Kırgız kimliğinin ve kültürünün bütün varyantlarını ve biçimlerini temsil eder. Bundan dolayı, motifler üzerinde

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doyurucu bir araştırma yapmak için, metot olarak onları anlam boyutuyla ve sembolik açıdan incelemek gerekir.

Kaynaklara göre, Tagar kültürünün yaratıcıları olan Dinlinder ve Gegunlar (Kırgızlar), Taştık kültürünün taşıyıcıları idi. Bu çerçevede, biz Yenisey Kırgızlarının kültürü ile hem kültür tarihi hem de etnogenetik ilişkiler yönünden Taştık kültürüne bağlanan modern Kırgız motiflerinin kökenlerini belirlemeye çalıştık. Böylece, bu çalışmanın konusu her türlü eşyalar ve nesnelere (mimari anıtlar, kaplar, giyecek ve seramik parçaları vs.) süsleyici motiflerdir. Ancak üzerinde süsleyici motifler en çok bulunan el sanatı ürünleri: *sayma*, *tuş kiyiz* (iğne oyacılığı, özellikle ev içindeki duvarları süslemek için belli kumaşların üzerine motif işlenmiş ürünler), *şurdak* (keçeden yapılan dekoratif halı) ve giyecekler.

Bugün Kırgız motifleri, kültürler arası araştırmalardan kaynaklanmış olup ortak iletişim aracı statüsü kazanmıştır. Motiflerin semiyotik etkisi, evrensel moda ve tasarımın modern dünyasında iletişimin sözlü olmayan aracı olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Desen ve el sanatında motiflerin kullanılması çok sayıda anlamları temsil etmekte olup motiflerin sayısı her geçen gün artmaktadır. Bu nedenle desen ve motiflerdeki unsurları incelemek bu araştırmanın ana amaçlarından biridir. Çünkü, Kırgız motiflerinin semantiği (anlam yükü), Kırgız etnografyasının en önemli konusu olmakla beraber, üzerinde pek fazla inceleme yapılmamıştır. Kırgız motifleri, Kırgız kültüründe önemli bir değere sahiptir ve ileride Kırgız kültürünün değerlerini araştırmada yeni perspektiflere ufuk açacaktır.

Kırgız motifleri ve desenlerindeki semantik yapıları algılamak birçok bileşenler tarafından etkilenir. Onların birçoğu Kırgız yurdunun doğasını, hayvanlarını, bitkilerini, vb. temsil eder. Bu sembolleri şifreleme ve/veya deşifre etme ilkeleri, onların süs ve pratik faydacı bilgileri *ethnostun* zihniyetinde bulunan farklılıklar tarafından oluşturulur. Böylece, semboller, motifler ve desenlerin kültür yaratma doğası ortaya çıkar. Çünkü, bir birey toplumu ya da çevreyi işaretler ve semboller yoluyla algılar. Motiflerin yorumlanması ile ilgili sorunları ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla, biz süslü-resimli motiflerin semantiğine başvurduk. Bu, Kırgızların dünya görüşündeki evrensel, dini ve yerel kesimlerin belirlenmesine katkı sağlar.

Türk halklarının çeşitli el sanatlarına yansıyan motiflerdeki benzerlikler, onların aynı köke ve kültürel değere sahip olduğunu kanıtlar. Özellikle, Türk el sanatlarında karşılaşılan bu benzerlikler, hayvan ve bitki motifleri ile temsil edilir. Örneğin, Kırgız ve Türk motiflerinde koç boynuzu, gül küpe, sıçan dişi, üzüm, kedi izi, tavuk ayağı gibi motif benzerlikleri görülür. Bazı Kırgız motif örneklerinde bir değil, birkaç motiften oluşan kompozisyonlar da görmek mümkündür. Bu tür motifler, gerçek bir olayı hikaye edebilir.

Kırgız motifleri, kökenlerine göre, genel olarak dört ana gruba ayrılır ve sınıflandırılır: 1) Zoomorfik kökenli motifler: “*kochkor müyüz*” (koç boynuzu), “*arkhar müyüz*” (yabani koç boynuzu), “*bugu müyüz*” (geyik boynuzu), “*it kuyruk*” (köpek kuyruğu), “*jylan*” (yılan), “*bürküt*” (kartal), “*ak kuu*” (kuğu), “*kochkor bashy*” (koç başı), “*arkhar bashy*” (yabani koç başı), “*uy müyüz*” (sığır boynuzu), “*too teke*” (dağ keçisi), “*kögüçkôn*” (güvercin), “*it sürüsü*” (pack of dogs), “*altyn bürküt*” (altın

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kartal), “kyrgool” (sülün), *teke müyüz* (keçi boynuzu), “jolbors” (kaplan), “karga tyrmak” (karga pençesi), “chychkan izi” (sıçan izi), vb. 2) Bitkileri temsil eden motifler: “anar” (nar), “balatı” (köknar ağacı), “joogazyn” (lale), “jüzüm” (üzüm), “kyrgak” (kozalak), “baychechekey” (çuha çiçeği), “kyrk shak” (bir bitki adı), vb. 3) Geometrik şekilleri ve görüntüleri temsil eden motifler: daire, eşkenar dörtgen, “kerege köz” (çadırın eşkenar iskeleti), vb. 4) Kozmogonik nesnelere temsil eden motifler: “aychyk” (ay), “kün” (güneş), “jyldyz” (yıldız), “suu” (su), vb.

Ancak, çalışmanın sürecinde bu sınıflandırmanın daha fazla bölümleri içermesi gerektiği ortaya çıktı. Yani, çok daha ilginç ve çok daha fazla sayıda olan motifleri içeren iki bölüm ayrıca tarafımızdan tavsiye edildi. Bunlar: 1) Nesnelere/ürünleri temsil eden motifler: “komuz til” (komuz dili), “tutkuch” (fırın eldiveni), “oimok” (yüksük), “kerege” (çadırı çevreleyen dairesel duvar), “arkan” (kement), “tarakcha” (tarak), “tumar” (muska), “kishen” (pranga), vb. 2) Belli eylemleri belirten/gösteren birleşik motifler: “yaylada otlayan koç”, “talih kuşu başına konsun” (dua, iyi dilek sunma), “dere boyunun iki yakasındaki çadırlar (bozüyler)”, “çadırın (bozüy) duvarlarını kuran adamlar”, “dağ keçisini yutan yılan”, “kanatlarıyla sülünleri kovan/kaçıran kartal”, “başarılı avcılık”, “yaylada iki ineği boğazlayan kaplan”, “kelepçeli/prangalı adam, vb. Dolayısıyla, biz gösterebilimsel bakış açısından bilimsel olarak araştırılan ve deşifre edilen/çözülen bazı motiflerin yorumlamalarının listesini buraya dahil ettik.

Anlatıcı motifler örneği temelinde, Kırgız motif ve desenlerinin sembolik analizinin, onların içindeki bütünün parçası olan simge, obje ve izaha muhtaç olan her unsurun yorumlamasını, çözümlemesini mümkün kıldığını ortaya çıkardık. Ayrıca, Kırgız halkının geçmiş hayatındaki belli bir döneme ait yaşam fotoğrafı ve aynı zamanda onların meslekleri ile ilgili tüm hikâyesinin derin şekilde anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmuş olmaktadır. Örnekteki resmin yanında verilen her unsurun belirtici olduğunu, şifresi çözülen bilgilerin ise aynı zamanda bütünün bir parçasını temsil eden bir belirten olduğunu ortaya çıkardık. Dolayısıyla, motiflerin birleşimi sadece onların içindeki unsurların birleşimi değildir. Bu yolla hikâyeye, dolaylı olarak da olsa anlaşılır hale getirilmiş oluyor.

Kırgız desen ve motifleri ile onları oluşturan unsurlar, bir araştırma konusu olabilir. Çünkü, onlar belli anlamların taşıyıcılarıdır ve böyle de yorumlanabilir. Motifler ya da onlardaki unsurlar, semboller ve işaretler/simgeler (representamen) olarak temsil edilerek, belirtici hale geliyor. Ancak onlardan üretilen anlamlar ise belirtilen objelere ya da onların yorumlanan/çözülen objelerine döner. İşaret/simge ve sembol arasındaki farklılık olarak, ilkin, sembol (bizim durumda - motif) dil işareti temelinde oluşturulur, ve ikinci olarak, sembol sadece şekil anlamını değil, aynı zamanda kültürel-iletişimsel yönünü de temsil eder. Böylece, Kırgız halkının el sanatlarının uygulandığı ürünler faydacı ve ritüel nesnelere olduğu kadar, aynı zamanda Kırgız halkının maddi kültür dünyasını yansıtan bir sembol olarak da algılanmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak, işaretler sistemi aşağıdaki ilkeler temelinde oluşur:

1. Her işaret anlamlı ve nötrdür: her şeyin bir anlamı vardır, yani eğer işaret kültüre, maddi kültürün veya mitolojisinin ritüel düzenlemesi

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aracılığıyla yerleşirse, o zaman önceki sembollerin projeksiyonu aracılığıyla gene talep edilir.

2. Hiçbir şey bağımsız olmaz, her şey bir yolla ya da başka bir yolla kültürel ortamdaki başka bir şeye bağlıdır. Dolayısıyla, her bir işaret belli bir zaman sonra onu gerçekleştiren bir sıra sembollere bağlanır.

3. İşaret ile sembol kombinasyonu kültürel kimliği tanımlayan görüntülerin bir parçasıdır.

4. Görüntüler uzay ve zaman içinde birbirileri ile ilişkilidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kırgız motifleri, sembolik inceleme, işaret, nesne, belirtici, belirtilen, kodlanan bilgi, çözülen bilgi.

INTRODUCTION

Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments as an object of tangible culture depicts all the characteristics of the existence of the ethnic group. Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments represent the Kyrgyz identity and culture in all its varieties and forms, which was ritualized by embodying the creative identity for the ethnic group and evolving in the historic space by means of definite ritual elements transformed into a decorative concept. Therefore it is necessary to use symbolic analysis as a method for effective research on Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments in the frameworks of their semantic dimension and pragmatic.

The origin of the Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments belongs to a most complex and less investigated aspects of the Kyrgyz culture and art. It has significant scientific value and opens new perspectives to investigate ethno cultural relationships of the Kyrgyz, and at the same time to reconstruct different aspects of their spiritual life. However, due to the lack of definite unified idea concerning the origin of the Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments in the Kyrgyz ethno genesis, this situation creates definite difficulties in the process of their study.

According to reviewed scientific and academic literature, we can accept the conception suggested by S.V. Kiselev relating the fact that the creators of Tagar culture, i.e. the dinlins and the geguns (the Kyrgyzs) were the bearers of Tashtyk culture (Kiselev 1951). Within the frames of the provisions of the conception, we tried to single out the origins of modern Kyrgyz pattern and ornament, referring to Tashtyk culture that had both culturally historic and ethno genetic ties with the culture of the Kyrgyzs from Enisey (Savinov 1984). Thus, the subject matter of the present study is ornamental patterns on different kinds of items like: architectural monuments, utensils, needle work products, clothes, ceramic items, etc. However, the most frequently used objects on which patterns and ornaments are often seen or decorated with are: *saima* and *tush kiyiz* (needle works, embroidery in satin stitch or a Bulgarian cross stitch), which usually decorate the interior walls of the dwelling: *shyrdak* (decorated carpet, made of felt); and clothes.

Patterns and ornaments of Tashtyk culture, in their type, are geometrical and include fifteen different basic ornaments: linear, angled, quadrangle, rhombic, direct lattice, skew lattice, chess square and etc. The culture of the Enisey Kyrgyzs came in the VI century after Tashtyk culture, in which just four main basic types of ornaments were noticed: geometrical, vegetative, zoomorphic, and anthropomorphic. Among these four types, the most spread in the culture of the Enisey Kyrgyzs were the ornamental patterns of geometrical, zoomorphic and antropomorphic origin as Kyrgyzs were not closely involved in agriculture at that period. The patterns and ornaments of vegetative origin are noticed only in the VII century when Kyrgyzs had closer ties with agricultural Sogda that had a strong influence on the development of Kyrgyz culture, and ornaments accordingly. As a clear

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evidence of the great variety of the ornaments belonging to that period, we can mention several medieval architectural constructions located in Kyrgyzstan: the Burana minaret (XI–XII c.), Uzgen mausoleums and minarets (XI–XII c.), Manas's Kumbes (XIV c.), Shah –Fazil (XIII–XIV c.) (Malchik 2010).

With all these in mind, it is worth noting that at these very periods Kyrgyz culture and applied art were immensely influenced by neighbouring cultures like Sogda, Samarkand, Bukhara, Herat which were especially famous for their beautiful Timurid architecture. It was one of the outstanding periods of the Turkic tile art by combining the ancient artistic accumulations of the Central Asian Turkic art and the new style and techniques coming from the lands under the Timurid rule (Başkan 2014: 82).

The role of Tamga-signs in the history of Kyrgyz ethnos.

“Tamga”- sign, as an ornamental-pictorial element, is the source of prime importance for the study of the ethnic history and culture of the Kyrgyz people. The term “tamga”, which is translated as “mark, sign, symbol”, means “definite thing, cattle, pasture, a person or a group of people, community's belonging to a definite tribe or person” (Yatsenko 2001). For instance, we can enumerate the following kinds of tribal tamgas as: “jagalmay tamga” – “red-footed falcon”, “bugu tamga” – “deer tamga”, “Kyrgyz tamga”, “Adigine tamga”, “Kypchak tamga”, “Munduz tamga” (Yekeev 2003). Tamga-signs, originated in the process of life mode, contain archaic stratum of religious and mythological beliefs of the Kyrgyz people.

The tamga-signs that have the shape of a circle are known as “kushchu tamga”, “baaryn tamga”, “kypchak tamga”. These very symbols in the shape of a circle are considered as ornaments of Tagar-Tashtyk complex and contain beliefs of ancient Kyrgyzs about the divine power of the sun (Rybakov 1965). Moreover it is known that circle is one of the universal cosmogonic symbols of ancient farmers and nomads. The symbols resembling the image of a horn (“bugu tamga”, “bagysh tamga”, “azyk tamga” and etc.) are closely connected with totemic and cosmogonic beliefs that had existed before Scythian period, and the ancestors of the Scythians – Saks and the Kyrgyz were the bearers of that culture (Artamonov, 1971). One of the most particular features of Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments is the tribal symbol of the Kyrgyzs that has the shape of a flying bird (“jagalmay tamga”- “sign of a falcon”). This symbol was widely spread among such Kyrgyz tribes as: bugu, mungush, sary bagysh, bargy, mongoldor, sart, cherik (Asankanov & Karataev 2003). The symbol of a bird represented the upper zone of the universe for the Kyrgyzs and personified the souls of dead ancestors (Radlof 1885). Another significant ornament, which is frequently seen in Kyrgyz applied art of a new period is the pattern named “Umai”, which has the shape of a flying bird, too (Andreev 1928). After some analyses on this pattern, Abramzon S.M. assumed that the image of a bird might be the personification of the Kyrgyz deity Umai which means “a fairy bird that builds its nest in the air”. Taking into consideration the information mentioned above, we can assume that “Jagalmay Tamga” could mean the personification of Umai-ene – the deity of fertility, patron of children and hearth (Abramzon 1990).

Kyrgyz tamga-signs played a significant role in political and social life of the Kyrgyz both in ancient and medieval periods as they were the attributes of state power. They regulated both tribal and personal relationships of individuals in the society. Apart from all these, tamga in a symbolic form retained ancient Kyrgyz cosmogonic and totemic beliefs. The study of Kyrgyz tamgas also revealed some similarities concerning Kyrgyz ornamental patterns that were widely spread in ancient times, in the middle ages and even nowadays.

Today Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments have acquired the status of a medium communication instrument due to cross-cultural studies. Semiotic influence of ornamental patterns is represented as

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a means of non-verbal communication in the modern world of globalized fashion and design, which use the elements of these ornamental patterns. It means that any pattern and/or ornament, or its element is not a subject of language barrier. The use of patterns and ornaments in applied art is increasing along with their representation by images and signs which maintain a great variety of meanings. They influence on the subconscious mind rather than on the rational consciousness of a human being. The symbolism of colors found in ornaments is also of a great importance. Therefore providing the knowledge of the specifics of interpretation of various elements of the ornament and their colors is one of the main goals of this study.

Semantic interpretation of the Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments: forms and representations

The perception of semantic structures in Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments is influenced by many components that are involved in them. Many of them represent the nature of the Kyrgyz land, animals, plants, and etc., which carry definite meanings. The principles of coding and/or decoding of these symbols, their ornamental, utilitarian information are generated by differences in the mentality of the ethnos. Thus symbols reveal the culture-creating nature of patterns and ornaments because an individual perceives the society or environment through signs and symbols. In order to reveal issues regarding ornament interpretation, we addressed to the semantics of ornamentally-pictorial patterns and ornaments of the Kyrgyz ancestors.

Along with the origin of the Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments, the issue of their semantic interpretation has remained as one of the topical and scantily explored problems in national ethnography. In order to conduct a sound symbolic analysis on Kyrgyz ornaments, it is necessary to carry out a strict scrutiny of vast information concerning spiritual and material culture of not only the Kyrgyz, but also other Turkic nations as well. For instance, mentioning the semantic aspect of handicraft motifs of Konya the author states: “Motiflerin ve kompozisyon biçimlerinin, türleri aynı olsa bile işlenme biçimleri, prensipleri, anlamları ya da üslupları hangi amaç için kurgulandıklarını ayırt etmede en önemli ölçüdür” (Nas 2012:1630).

Consequently, we tried to provide this article with ethno cultural interpretation of some patterns and ornaments of Kyrgyz culture among the overwhelming geometrical ornaments such as: circles, squares, rhombus, triangles, ovals, zigzags and helices (spirals) with which ceramic, wooden, leather and birch items were decorated. These ornaments are the ancient archetypes of universal culture that reflect ancient cosmological notions of nomads and farmers (Brentyes 1981).

Circle, as an ornament or its element, combines notions about the divine power of the Sun in many nations as people associated it with fertility, breeding, plants reviving. By this very element ancient Egyptians, Europeans and population of Asia incarnated the Sun. The square and rhombus ornaments were connected with the notions dealing with the four directions of the world (North, South, East and West) and personified the world, in the center of which there was a Man (Antonova 1984: 69).

The ornaments in the shape of triangle, probably, could denote a mountain. As it is well known, mountain was a cosmological symbol among the peoples of ancient Front Asia (Asian Near East). Mountain was also accepted as a place where gods lived, the container of welfare and good. Even the Earth itself was depicted as a mountain (Antonova 1984: 144). Consequently, such cosmological symbols as: circle, square, rhombus and triangle were frequently found on the monuments of ancient architecture. Wavy lines, found in the motives of zigzags and helix (spirals) are mostly noticed in the pictures and pictographic signs of multitude peoples of the world. They convey the notion of a water. As for helix, it was quite wide spread in the territory of Eurasia and symbolized celestial movement: course of the Sun that denoted the notion of time (Vasilyev 1970).

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Although we do not have complete information about the cosmological notions of Kyrgyz ancestors, the cult of nature played a significant role in religious beliefs of the Kyrgyz: worshipping the heavens, the earth, water, mountains and other natural objects during ancient times, Middle Ages and in new time (Abramzon 1990: 316-322). In ancient times heaven was considered by the Kyrgyz as the highest deity and they worshipped it in difficult situations, saying “Tengir”. The Moon and stars were also considered as integral part of the heaven. Earth and water worshipping – the deity “Jer-Suu” was accompanied with offering a sacrifice in spring and late autumn. Mountains, along with lakes and other water sources were also the objects for worshipping for some Kyrgyz tribes (Bayalieva 1972). Thus, we can conclude that nature’s cult was the consequence of reconsideration of ancient Kyrgyzs’ notions about the world, which found their representation in such universal patterns and ornaments as: circles, ovals, squares, rhombus, triangles, zigzags and helices.

Of a particular interest are also the patterns and ornaments described in the work of a Turkish author Süreyya Eroğlu, who on the sample of Gaziantep Ahmet Çelebi mosque, more exactly, on decorations of women’s mahfils, demonstrated the ornaments, the forms of which were very similar to Kyrgyz ornaments such as: (tulip, star, leaf, etc.). The way of combination of some elements with others, in order to form a complex composition, is also similar to Kyrgyz pictorial ornaments. Along with all these, the specificity of the colors used in decorating mahfils was also explained by the author (Eroğlu 2014: 906-925).

In the needle works of Kyrgyz applied art the most frequently encountered ornaments are the images of a deer, ram, mountain goat, horse, and birds. Additionally, we can find a lot of evidences about these images in many Kyrgyz literary works. Whilst mentioning scientific studies regarding Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments, special attention deserves the work of M.V. Ryndin (Ryndin 1948), who has compiled the album that includes valuable information on Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments. Apart from all these, he tried to give significant knowledge regarding the interpretation of those patterns and ornaments and to which he devoted almost ten years of his life. Thus, he greatly contributed to national culture of the Kyrgyz ethnos by leaving his work as an inexhaustible source for applied art of the Kyrgyz people. In his work, he did not only increase our understanding of the number of main elements of ornaments, but also he provided it with rules and secrets of combination of the elements in patterns and ornaments. This makes possible to define the systems of those combinations and the composition of ornaments along with their narrative purport.

The ethnographic researches on Kyrgyz applied art started to develop in 1907 by the Hungarian scientist Gyorgy Almasy. According to his observations, zoomorphic ornaments originated much earlier than phytomorphic ones, and they had been borrowed from Persians. Special attention of the scientist was focused on the ornament named “**kochkor muyuz**” - “ram’s horn”. Consequently, he distinguished Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments into two definite groups: “Hornmotif” and “Heramotif” (Heart motif). Along with these ornaments, he also mentioned another group of borrowed ornaments such as: helices (spiral) and meander motifs, which were of Chinese and Greek origin (Almasy, 1907).

Historic events that took place in Kyrgyzstan in 1917 significantly changed the country and gave start to scientific researches in all fields of science including Ethnography and applied art. Special investigations devoted to the applied art of the Kyrgyz nation began to appear (Dudin, Andreev, Gavrilov). The works of these authors are considered as fundamental in this field. They have revealed 34 main elements of Kyrgyz ornaments. An in-depth analysis and interpretation of Kyrgyz national ornaments, as it has been mentioned earlier, was made by Ryndin M.V. in his album of Kyrgyz national ornaments that comprised 6 different sections:

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- I. “Samples of Kyrgyz ornaments”, where the author gives information on main raw materials used for ornaments (felt, pattern, wood, metal, ceramics, etc.) and handicrafts with national ornaments: (ala kiyiz- “felt carpet”; shyrdak- “carpet, made of some layers of felt”; tush kiyiz- “wall embroidery”);
- II. “Compositions of colors” that comprises realistic pictures with the effects of painting;
- III. “Principal elements”, this section embraces new samples of ornaments, artistry, and realistic images of those ornaments. Also in this section, he included detailed information on how these ornaments are interpreted;
- IV. “Realistic pictures”, mostly depicts different creatures that have retained since Scythian period and he called them -“Scythian features”. They are mainly noticed in ornaments on fabrics and patches on the felt;
- V. “Evolution of Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments”. The section describes two controversial processes in ornament making. The first process describes the rules of development of the main element’s form in general, and then explains the changes, the hardly noticeable lines, in main elements of ornaments on the products made of felt (carpets –“shyrdak”, “ala-kiyiz”).
- VI. “The system of pictures and combinations” section mostly concerns the ornaments which are rich in pictorial sense and prevailed in the previous eras, or that are disappearing nowadays, i.e. the ornaments of “pictographic” function with rich narrative ability.

Traditional classification and the peculiarities of composition of Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments

Kyrgyz ornaments, according to their origin, are distinguished and classified into four main groups from the point of ethnographers and scholars, who have studied Kyrgyz ornaments:

1. Ornaments of zoomorphic origin: “kochkor müyüz” (ram’s horn), “arkhar müyüz” (wild ram’s horn), “bugu müyüz” (deer’s horn), “it kuyruk” (dog’s tale), “jylan” (a snake), “bürküt” (eagle), “ak kuu” (a swan), “kochkor bashy” (ram’s head), “arkhar bashy” (wild ram’s head), “uy müyüz” (cow’s horn), “too teke” (mountain goat), “kögüçkön” (pigeon), “it üyür” (pack of dogs), “altyn bürküt” (golden eagle), “kyrgool” (pheasant), teke müyüz (goat’s horn), “jolbors” (tiger), “karga tyrmak” (crow’s claws); “chychkan izi” (mouse’s trace), etc.
2. Ornaments, that represent plants: “jalbyrak” (leaf), “anar” (pomegranate), “balati” (firtree), “joogazin” (tulip), “jüzüm” (grape), “kyrgak” (cone), “bayçeçekey” (primrose), “kyrk şak” (name of a plant), etc.
3. Ornaments, that represent geometric figures and images: circle, rhombus, “kerege köz” (rhombic grid of the yurt), square, triangle, etc.
4. Ornaments, that represent cosmogonic objects: ayçık (the moon), kün (the sun), jyldyz (a star), “suu” (water); etc.

However, in the process of the study it was revealed that this classification should contain more sections. Consequently, I would like to suggest to include two more sections that would contain far more interesting and numerous patterns that would be divided into such categories as:

1. Patterns and ornaments, that represent objects and/or items like: “komuz tili” (komuz’s runner or “tongue”), “tutkuch” (oven glove), “oimok” (thimble), “kerege” (a round trellis wall of the yurt), “arkan” (lasso), “tarakcha” (comb), “tumar” (amulet), “kishen” (fetter), etc.

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2) Compound ornaments, which represent some action: “A wild ram pasturing on the summer field”, “Let the bird fly into your house’s place of honor” (a wish), “Two villages placed along the both banks of the river”, “People assembling a round trellis wall of the yurt”, “A snake strangling a mountain goat”, “An eagle dispersing pheasants”, “Lucky hunting”, “A tiger that has torn two cows in the pasture”, “A man that is put into irons”, etc.

A sample of classification of the patterns and ornaments in Turkish applied art is mostly based on the type of the work and the material that was used for creating the ornament. Thus, for example, describing the ornaments symbolizing abundance, on the basis of plants and fruits, the author distinguished the ornaments to the following groups: 1) “Kalem işi süslemler” - stencil works on the walls, cells, etc.; 2) “Alçı süslemler” - plaster works on stones, wood, metal, china, etc. (Gültekin 2008: 14-15).

Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments are usually created around and according to the main element of the pattern and are usually of a symmetric form within the frameworks of the picture, narrated in the embroidery. Therefore, further I would like to focus on the samples of main elements of Kyrgyz ornaments that are described in the section III in Ryndin’s album. Part of these samples comprise the elements that are able to produce another ornaments:



“Kochkor müyüz” (Arkhar müyüz) - “ram’s horn” is one of the most widely spread ornaments among all Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments. One of the main characteristic features of this element is that the horn can be twisted two or more times like a spiral. This makes it more applicable while combining it with other elements in creating not only *shyrdaks* (felt carpets) or other domestic utilities, but also the items of jewelry as well.






“Kochkor başı” (Arkhar başı) - “ram’s head”.



“Ak bugu müyüzü” (on the left) “deer’s horn” is another element that is known by its complex construction than “Bugu müyüzü” (on the right). Although it is frequently used in Kyrgyz ornaments, in most compositions, it is combined with the element of “kochkor müyüz” (in the bottom center of the left pattern). The stylistic image of this element is quite diversified and its component construction mostly comprises the images of animals, plants or domestic utilities.



The element called “kochkor müyüz” (arkhar müyüz) can be combined with almost all other elements including “jalbyrak”- “a leaf” . By combining with a leaf, “kochkor müyüz” produces another element that is called “kögüçkön” – “pigeon” .

The element called “too teke”- “mountain goat”  is another combination of “kochkor müyüz”- “ram’s horn” with “arkar müyüz”- “wild ram’s horn” element and the components of the pattern, as we can see, are placed separately from each other.

Consequently, the pictorial world of the Kyrgyz people has developed in compliance with the mode of their life, reflecting people’s mentality and its perception of the world.

With all these in mind and in accordance with the tasks of this study to give a symbolic analysis, interpretation, overview and knowledge about Kyrgyz traditional ornaments and patterns

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as one of the most vivid arguments of the cultural values of the Kyrgyz, we focused on the ornaments and patterns that are more complex in their construction, i.e. these are the combination of different elements that can create a whole picture of human activities.

Below we decided to shed light on the list of some ornaments and their interpretations that were scientifically researched and decoded from semiotic point of view: “*Four women with thimbles sitting around*” (a thimble is a small hard pitted cup worn for protection on the finger that pushes the needle in sewing; “*Ram (arkhar), pasturing in summer field*” - the composition of this pattern consists of such elements as: a) leaf, b) arkar’s head; “*Let the bird come flying to your house’s place of honour*” (a wish) - a) “kerege köz”, b) “bürküt” – golden eagle; “*A man holding a crow on his hand*” – a) crow’s claws, b) five fingers; “*Yurt*” (bozüy) that is being winded around with lasso” – a) “kerege köz”, b) lasso-“arkan”; “*Two villages placed along the banks of the river*”; “*People mounting (assembling) kerege*”; “*A snake, strangling a mountain goat*”; “*pack of dogs*”, etc.

The similarities in ornaments of Turkic nations prove that they have the same roots and cultural values that are reflected in different works of applied art. Especially it is worth noting the similarities in depicting the ornaments of zoomorphic origin, representing plants and narrative ornaments in Turkish handicraft. For instance, we can witness the similarity of such Kyrgyz and Turkish ornaments as: koçboyunuzu “ram’s horn”; gül küpe “rose earrings”; sıçan dişi “mouse’s tooth”; üzümlü “grape”; kedi izi “cat’s traile”; tavuk ayağı “chicken’s foot ” (Nas 2012, 16-25) and as an ornament with narrative ability, we can refer to such compositions as mektup götüren kuş “a bird, delivering a message”; yılanlı bahçe “a garden of snakes”; kuşlu bahçe “a garden of birds”, etc. (Nas 2012: 1622-1628).

Consequently, we are witnessing the fact that the most efficient way of describing people’s life is depicting their activities, views by means of patterns and ornaments on mountain stones, interior and exterior decoration of buildings, domestic utensils, rugs, traditional handicraft, and especially clothing, which has become a new trend in modern Kyrgyzstan. These patterns and ornaments also bear a deep knowledge and information about the people who have created them. The symbolic value of the patterns and ornaments prove that they hide quite unique information that is encoded in them. For example, the ornament given below represents “Berkut (eagle), dispersing pheasants” that consists of such elements as a golden eagle in the middle and pheasants (on the top of its wings):



The narrative ability of the ornaments is quite interesting as they can tell more than they depict, and the composition of these ornaments is complex in their construction.

For instance, the ornament called “Lucky hunting” tells how a hunter was lucky to chase a mountain goat and a ram. As you can see the ornament is complex and consists of such elements as: a) “goat’s horns”; b) “ram’s horns” and c) “kerege köz”:



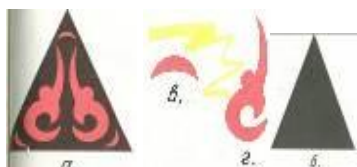
Another ornament refers to the group of patterns that expresses one’s wish and is called “Amulet, that protects infant’s life and brings happiness” (a). The composition of the ornament

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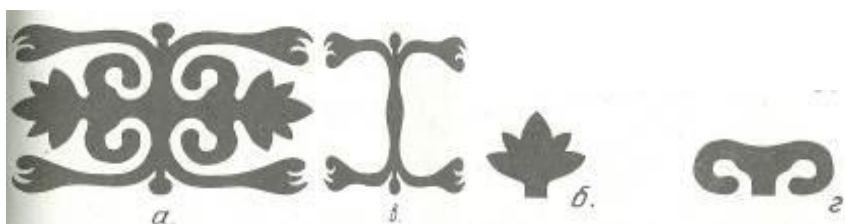
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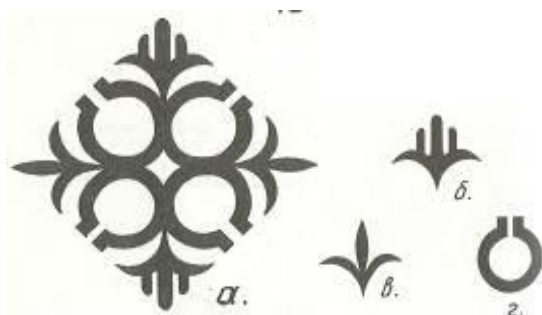
consists of such elements as: b) ascending moon, c) “Umay Ene” (diety for protection of children and hearth); d) amulet:



The ornament of particular complexity and narrativity is the symbolic reflection of the tiger that has torn two cows in the pasture (a). The composition consists of three elements such as: a tiger (b), a leaf (c), cow's horns (d):



The next ornament depicts a plot how crows gether around a man, who is put into irons (a). The composition consists of the elements as: five fingers (b); crow's claws (c); and fetters (d):



Handicraft and ornaments are also frequently mentioned in the epic “Manas”, which is considered as the “Encyclopedia” of the Kyrgyz life. One of the episodes of the epic tells how Kanykey, the wife of Manas, with tailors sewed and decorated amours with ornaments that would protect Manas and his forty warriors from enemies. Of a particular interest here is that the tailors tried to retain the cult of magic power of ornaments by means of different religious “ayats”- “prayers” from Koran whilst making those armors:

Kabuudan murda tigişti	First they sewed thick clothes
Çopkuttun altı katına,	To wear under a chain armor,
Altmış ired kaytalap,	Whispering for sixty times
Kurandan aitıp kelmeni	“Eyatil” from Koran...
«Eyatul» dep şıbrırap	
(Orozbakov, 1946)	(Translated by the author).

This example once again proves that the cult and magic power of ornaments and patterns, interspersed in those armors, existed since ancient times. They carry definite interpretations that combine productive nature of those ornaments, their aesthetic values and richness of their semantic content.

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Narrative ornaments and their interpretation

Another aspect that deserves attention is the inexhaustible narrative ability of ornaments and patterns. Long before Ryndin's statements, another ethnographer Chepelev V.N. who was the first to consider semantic aspect and role of Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments, gave them the name of "narrative ornaments", i.e. the ability of ornament to depict stories. In other words, there is encoded information in every element of the pattern that should be decoded and interpreted.

One of the best examples similar to the nature of Kyrgyz ornaments with narrative opportunities are well described in the Native American epic "The Song of Hiawatha" by H. Wadsworth Longfellow:

<i>From his pouch he took his colors,</i>	<i>Life and Death he drew as circles,</i>
<i>Took his paints of different colors,</i>	<i>Life was white, but Death was darkened;</i>
<i>On the smooth bark of a birch-tree,</i>	<i>Sun and moon and stars he painted,</i>
<i>Painted many shapes and figures,</i>	<i>Man and beast, and fish and reptile,</i>
<i>Wonderful and mystic figures,</i>	<i>Forests, mountains, lakes, and rivers.</i>
<i>And each figure had a meaning,</i>	<i>For the earth he drew a straight line,</i>
<i>Each some word or thought suggested.</i>	<i>For the sky a bow above it;</i>
<i>Gitche Manito the Mighty,</i>	<i>White the space between for daytime,</i>
<i>He, the Master of Life, was painted</i>	<i>Filled with little stars for night-time;</i>
<i>As an egg, with points projecting</i>	<i>On the left a point for sunrise,</i>
<i>To the four winds of the heavens.</i>	<i>On the right a point for sunset,</i>
<i>Everywhere is the Great Spirit,</i>	<i>On the top a point for noontide,</i>
<i>Was the meaning of this symbol.</i>	<i>And for rain and cloudy weather</i>
<i>Waving lines descending from it.</i>	<i>Gitche Manito the Mighty,</i>
<i>He the dreadful Spirit of Evil,</i>	<i>Footprints pointing towards a wigwam</i>
<i>As a serpent was depicted,</i>	<i>Were a sign of invitation,</i>
<i>As Kenabeek, the great serpent.</i>	<i>Were a sign of guests assembling;</i>
<i>Very crafty, very cunning,</i>	<i>Bloody hands with palms uplifted</i>
<i>Is the creeping Spirit of Evil,</i>	<i>Were a symbol of destruction,</i>
<i>Was the meaning of this symbol.</i>	<i>Were a hostile sign and symbol.</i>

(Longfellow, 2001).

Although the words from the extract, i.e. the figures in the picture seem very simple (egg, serpent, circle, straight line, bow, waving lines, footprints, bloody hands), the narrative implication of the phrases is very rich in epical content. The same can be said concerning Kyrgyz epic "Manas". Embroiderers, like narrators of the epic "Manas", build "epical" text of the ornaments and patterns. Thus they could make multitude different elements reach astronomic numbers as the number of elements in Kyrgyz ornaments and patterns nowadays accounts over 3500 samples.

In order to make the narration on the items more picturesque, different shades of colors contribute to making the ornaments more beautiful and vivid. Among great number of colors that are frequently used in Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments are: blue, red, white, yellow, green and black.

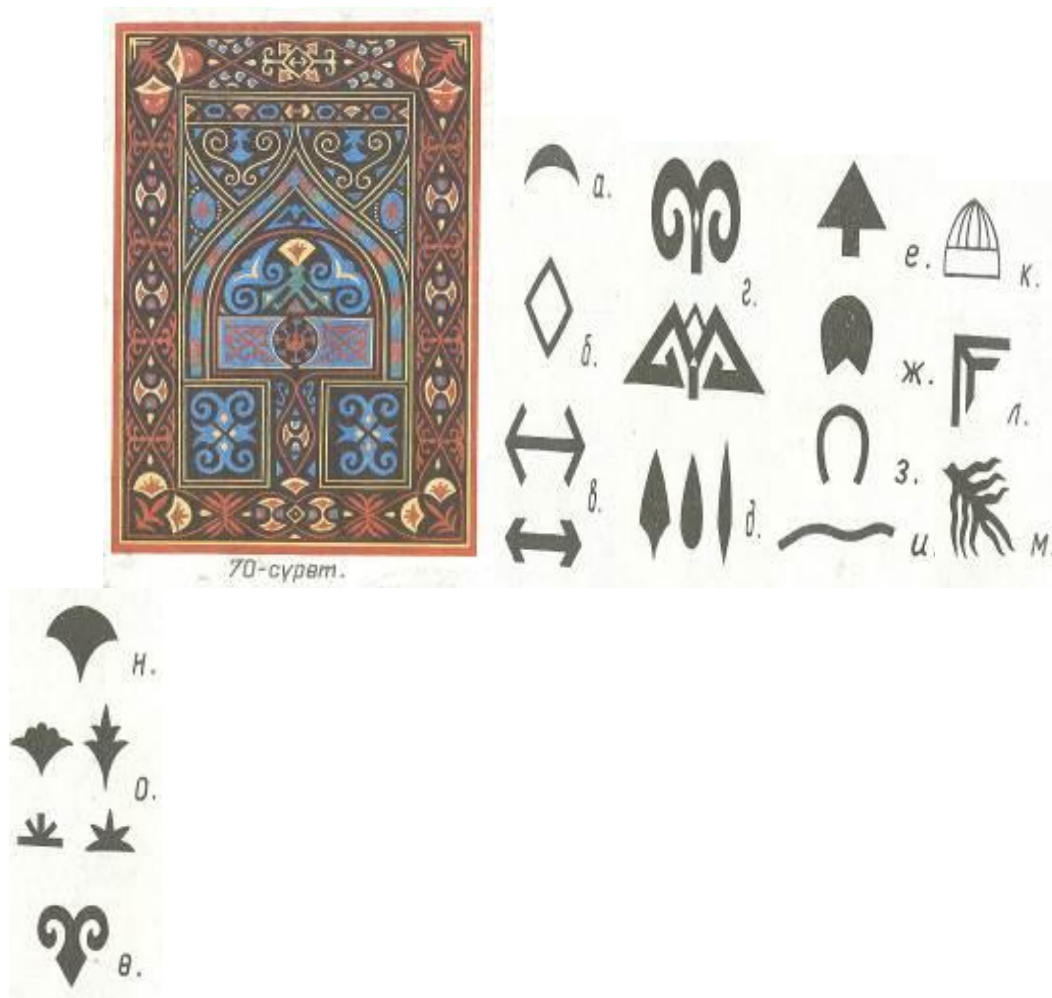
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According to symbolic nature of these colors every of them signifies definite semantic meaning: blue- “sky”, red-“fire”, yellow- “yellow sand” which is the symbol of the desert spread till the south foot of the Kyrgyz Ala-Too mountains (Minorsky, 1938).

It is notable to say that the plot of narrated ornaments can be so rich that it can tell a whole story and its symbolic composition can consist of dozens of elements. As an example for narrative ornament, we would like to describe the symbolic analysis and interpretation of a story that is depicted in the embroidery given below (pic. 70 by Monoldorov, 1993).



The plot of the narrative ornament is as follows:

High in the mountains there was a summer pasture with thick grass, where wealthy man's cattle was pastured. Some of the shepherds at that place already finished sowing seeds by plough down in the valley. A beam of the ascending moon is seen from the half down top cover or crown (tündük) of the yurt.

At this very time shepherds straddled their best-shoed horses and rode up being hidden by rare bushes along the winding road. They came to a village the inhabitants of which were also poor shepherds like themselves. They dismounted from their horses and made a fire using dry branches of trees. They helped the seconds to sharpen their hatchets (ay-balta).

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When the night came and a thick darkness covered the air, poor shepherds mounted on their horses taking their hatchets. Now they started their journey to the white big white yurt (ak örgöö) at the upper part of the pasture. They could see nothing but pasturing wild mountain goats, rams and deer while going up. It was very quiet everywhere. Neither crows on the trees nor goats grassing nearby could hear how the poor shepherds reached the yurt.

A sacred amulet was placed on the top of the yurt, which protected the wealthy man's riches, cattle and property. There were even special amulets that protected his pastures, where his cattle fed and the spring water they drank. The owner of the yurt had a wealthy life. Therefore he always fastened a special sacred amulet on his belt of his decorated with line trousers made of leather. The very amulet with the image of Umay ene (Protector of children) protected him and his children from evil eyes. And the wild goat's head was also fastened to the top of the yurt as the symbol of his richness.

Not far from that big white yurt there were old and worn yurts where the wealthy man kept poor shepherds in jail because they were standing for their rights against the rich bay (lord) and had to eat what remained from the rich man's table. These jailed shepherds, as well as numerous cattle of the man, were guarded by strong warriors with arms and barking dogs.

The shepherds from the valley could easily capture the yurt while guards were going around the cattle and thus approached the rich man's yurt.

A very big feast was being held in the white yurt at that moment and there were late guests at rich man's table. Guests' best shod horses were outside the yurt. The owner of the yurt slaughtered a cow and a sheep for guests. The guests were playing the ooz-khomuz (mouth harp).

As soon as the feast was over a horse with a decorated horse cloth on it was brought to the doorway of the yurt and women with thimbles on their fingers sat down in circle. Everybody was offered kumis (mare's milk).

Suddenly the poor shepherds from the valley rushed into the yurt and punished the rich man and set free the jailed shepherds, who were in fetters.

Thus we have witnessed the consequence of events that took place in the story and represented by means of different elements of patterns and ornaments. In other words, the symbolic analysis of Kyrgyz ornaments and patterns made it possible to interpret the meaning of every element, that is a part of the whole, as a sign, object, and interpretant. Also, it has contributed to in-depth understanding of the whole story about the life of the Kyrgyz people at definite period of time in the past and their occupations, as well. Every element that is given next to the picture is a signifier while the decoded information is a signified object, which at the same time represents a part of the whole. As a result, compositions of such complexity are available for understanding only by means of realizing the system of their combination with other elements.

Results

As a conclusion of the study, I would like to review and summarize the information concerning interpretation of Kyrgyz ornaments and patterns.

Kyrgyz patterns and ornaments, as well as their elements from which they consist of, can be an object of research as they carry definite meanings and still can be interpreted. Being represented as symbols and signs (representamen), they become signifiers and the meanings they produce are the signified objects or their interpretation. The difference between sign and symbol is, first, symbol is created on basis of linguistic (in our situation – ornamental) sign, and second, symbol represents not only the meaning of the form, but also the cultural-communicative aspect. Thus the applied

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products of Kyrgyz people are perceived not only as an utilitarian and ritual objects, but also as a symbol which reflects the idea of tangible culture of the Kyrgyz people.

Consequently, the system of signs is formed on the basis of the following principles:

1) Every sign is meaningful and neutral: everything has its meaning, i.e. if the sign is built into the culture through ritual embodiment of material culture or the mythology, than sooner or later it will be in demand through the projection of the previous symbols.

2) Nothing is independent, everything is one way or another connected with something else belonging to the culturological socium, consequently, every sign is always connected to a series of symbols which actualize it through time.

3) Combination of the symbol with the sign is a part of the images that define cultural identity.

4) The images are correlated with each other in space and time.

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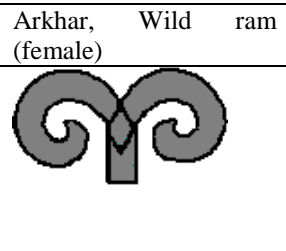
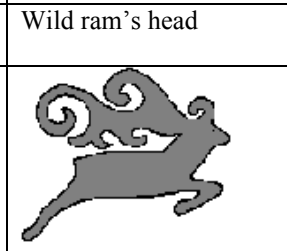
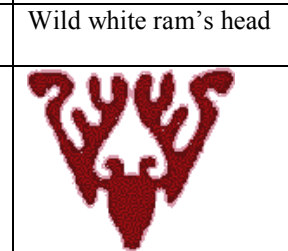
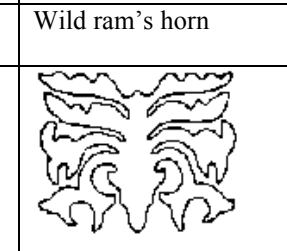
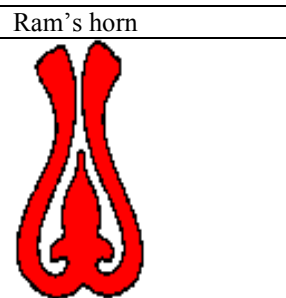
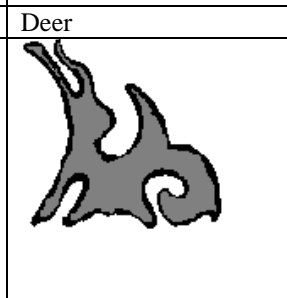
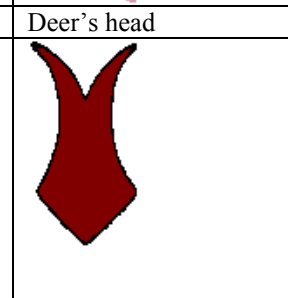
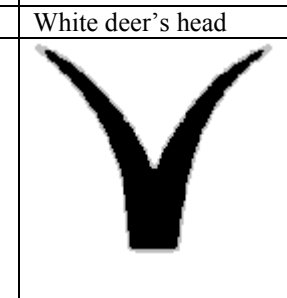
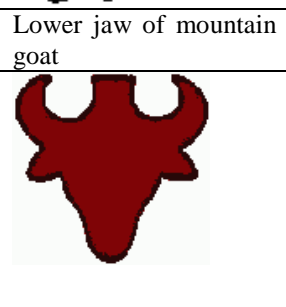

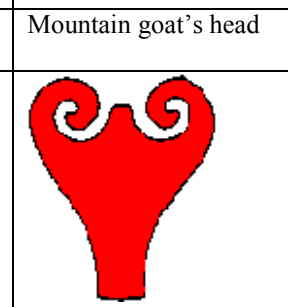
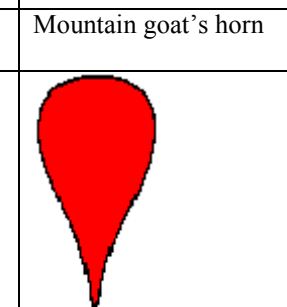
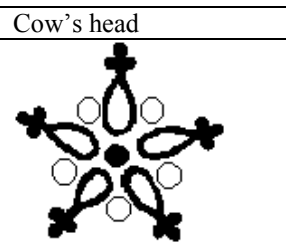
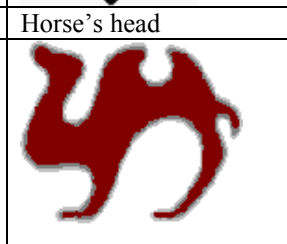
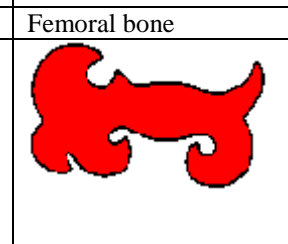
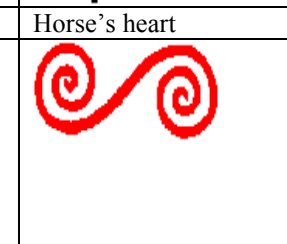
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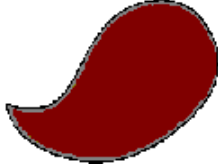




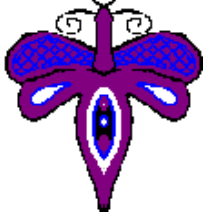












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Figure 1

			
Arkhar, Wild ram (female)	Wild ram's head	Wild white ram's head	Wild ram's horn
			
Ram's horn	Deer	Deer's head	White deer's head
			
Lower jaw of mountain goat	Mountain goat	Mountain goat's head	Mountain goat's horn
			
Cow's head	Horse's head	Femoral bone	Horse's heart
			
Star (on the cattle's forehead)	Camel	Dog	Dog's tale

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Yak	Bat	Tiger	Tiger's claws
			
Tiger's track	Snake's head	Lower jaw of a snow leopard	Fish
			
Leech	Pigeon	Pheasant	Crow's foot
			
Golden eagle	Young eagle	Hunting eagle	Butterfly
			
Crow's claws	Swan	Fly	Space between claws of the crow
			
Saw's teeth	Mouse's trace	Water	Ladle handle
			
Moon	Pomegranate	Fir tree	Primrose

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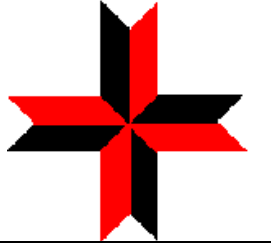











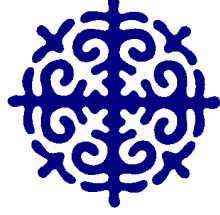
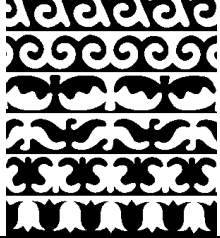

			
Star	Tulip	Heart	Tulip
			
Comb	Wave (dog's tale)	Goose's neck	Komuz's runner (tongue)
			
Kitchen item to hold sth hot	Kyrk shak (Plant's name)	Grape	Four ears (handles)
			
Plate	Ornaments at the edge of items	Dream	

Figure 2



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