

O.A. SUKHAREVA  
**Khojent Suzanis**

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**O. A. Sukhareva**  
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The art of large decorative embroideries – suzanis – is one of the most beautiful examples of the traditional culture of the Uzbeks and Tajiks. It came into being in a distinctive environment – in the ancient centers of irrigated agriculture, and achieved its highest development in the cities, both large and small, where a variety of trades were practiced and the necessary materials were available, in particular the silk used to make the embroideries and a sufficient variety of the dyestuffs required to color them. The art of embroidering suzanis was lacking both among Uzbeks who retained nomadic or semi-nomadic traditions (particularly tribal divisions) and among the mountain Tajiks. It was an art of the plains and the areas of urban culture, where the population was agricultural and sedentary. The only region with an ancient system of irrigation where suzanis were not produced was Khorezm.

Suzani art, although it shared many of the general features of Central Asian decorative embroidery as a whole that distinguished it from the embroidery of other regions, nevertheless had a number of locally specific characteristics. There are differences between the suzanis of Tashkent, Jizzak, Samarkand, Shakhrisabz, Nurata, Bukhara, and the Ferghana Valley.

The historical roots of this type of embroidery, and the contributions made by different peoples and ethnic groups to its development, are still inadequately known. Writers on suzanis have either totally overlooked the question of the ethnic roots of this art form, making no distinctions between Tajik and Uzbek embroideries,<sup>1</sup> or attributed all the pieces to the Uzbeks, seeing as the most celebrated local styles were formed in districts of Uzbekistan inhabited by Tajiks, such as Nurata.<sup>2</sup>

However, the lowland Tajiks played a big role in creating this art form. They made up (or make up today) the principal population of cities in Uzbekistan famous for their suzanis such as Samarkand, Bukhara and Nurata. Thus, when we speak about Tajik embroidery and the sources of its traditions, we must not omit consideration of the embroideries of these cities.

Precisely how the art of decorative embroidery came about is unknown. The earliest. For example, G. L. Chepelevetskaya, *Suzanis of Uzbekistan* (Tashkent, 1960)

2. David Lindahl, Thomas Knorr, *Uzbek: The Textiles and Life of the Nomadic and Sedentary Uzbek Tribes of Central Asia* (Basel, 1960); Michael Franses, Robert Pinner, "Large Medallion Suzani from South-West Uzbekistan," *Hali*, vol. 1, issue 2 (1978): pp. 128–33.

est examples seem to date to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, by that time, they already had a fully developed style complete with local variants, as well as an assortment of motifs, which of course could not have come into being instantly, or even within a short period of time. Consequently, its origins must date at least as far back as the preceding centuries, during which the art developed, first, to meet the requirements of everyday life (suzanis were embroidered bedcovers for newly-weds), and, second, evolved in line with folk beliefs, which determined the symbolic meanings of the oldest ornamental motifs decorating these bedcovers. Third, the multicolored embroidery that adorned suzanis also established their importance as a branch of decorative art. Although the first two roles played by suzanis never lost their significance in the daily life or consciousness of the people, it was the third aspect of suzanis that came to the fore in the period when we can begin to study them, i.e., from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The expansion of markets following Central Asia's union with Russia led to big changes in the life of the local population and in their folk art, including decorative embroidery. These changes were felt more in regions that had been drawn more deeply into a more fully developed system of trade relations. The Ferghana Valley including northern Tajikistan became the principal region for high-quality cotton production, and so trade relations developed there especially quickly. Northern Tajikistan, in particular its main city Khodjent, was greatly affected by these new conditions.

The Ferghana Valley was not one of the regions particularly famous for its embroidery art – not as far as suzanis were concerned. They existed there, though. The area developed its own recognizable style which made it possible to classify Ferghana pieces as a separate local type. Its distinguishing factors were rather sparse use of embroidery across the field of the fabric, and delicately detailed motifs, often in the forms of shrubs or branches (sometimes rosettes), executed on colored backgrounds: dark green, dark red, purple and black.<sup>3</sup> A unique variations of the *bosma* stitch was used.<sup>4</sup> The almost complete lack of research into Ferghana embroidery means its history is still obscure. Its subtypes and local variants have yet to be identified, although it is likely they differed from one another in proportion as they developed in environments with differing ethnic backgrounds and cultural traditions; or in Ferghana itself, which is composite and far from homogenous.

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3. Chepelevetskaya, *Suzanis*, p. 40, illustrations 48–50.

4. R. Ya. Rassudova, *Uzbek Decorative Stitches* (Tashkent, 1961), pp. 10–12.

Up to now, no one has found a single example (neither in the field, nor in museums) of a Ferghana embroidery executed in silk on mata [hand-made plain coarse cotton fabric] and colored with natural dyes, i.e., something that could be considered an old piece of embroidery. Chepelevetskaya writes that suzanis on white mata were produced in Ferghana until the 1880s, but she does not give any sources for that information or any description of the embroideries concerned. It is impossible to be sure that the informants supplying these facts ever saw the embroideries with their own eyes. Hence, the origins of suzani art remain unclear. Possibly, we do not know of any old Ferghana suzanis because they disappeared there earlier than in other regions. That is quite probable considering the accelerated pace at which capitalist relations developed in Ferghana and consequently the speedier disappearance of old, traditional, patriarchal customs, which included manufacturing suzani embroideries for oneself and for one's family as mandatory accessories at wedding festivals.

Later Ferghana embroideries that we know of, sewn on colored fabric (often on silk), have distinguishing features which allow us to postulate that suzani art had ancient roots and traditions there.

As for the Ferghana Valley, unfortunately we only know of relatively late embroideries on colored backgrounds, which are much less valuable for the history of this art form – not only because they date to a time when many changes were occurring in everyday life and culture, but because embroideries on white fabrics were the outstanding, defining productions in every region. It is on the basis of these pieces that we can judge a region's level of artistic achievement, and it among them that we find its most outstanding works of embroidery art. First and foremost, these items played ritualistic roles: they were used in weddings and other ceremonies, since fundamentally they were regarded as having the function of amulets, offering protection from magical harm. On old embroideries with white backgrounds, it is most common to find ornamental motifs representing floral elements and various objects considered to be amulets (knives, peppers, etc.).

To understand the meaning, history and origins of suzani art, it is absolutely essential to elucidate the character and patterns of embroideries on white fabrics. However, in the Uzbek areas of the Ferghana Valley they disappeared before they could be studied.

The situation in northern Tajikistan is different: there were suzanis on white mata in

Khojent, Kostakoz and Ura-Tyube. Examples are represented in museum collections, and they can still be found among the population at large.

There are two main distribution centers of suzanis in northern Tajikistan, of which Ura-Tyube is the better known. A small town, far from the railroad, Ura-Tyube adhered firmly to tradition. Many old pieces were preserved here, which dealers started buying up after Central Asia's union with Russia, as they quickly grasped what objects there was a market for. Ura-Tyube embroideries reached museums through them. Khojent embroideries were known as well, but were less famous than those from Ura-Tyube – maybe because new-style embroideries appeared very early in Khojent, sewn on factory-made fabrics or artisanal silk, which connoisseurs of folk art rated less highly and which, in fact, heralded not a flourishing of the artform but its decline. Some people were even of the opinion that suzanis on mata were not produced in Khojent at all, but that the embroideries in use in Khojent had been brought in from the nearby village of Kostkoz, which is closely connected with Khojent. The materials I have collected indicate that this opinion is mistaken. Evidently, Khojent and Kostakoz, with their homogenous populations, belonged to a single historical-cultural zone and constituted one region producing decorative embroideries. In view of people's well-known allegiance in the past to their own local forms of culture, and to arts and crafts items made in their own local style, it could only have been the close resemblance between the suzanis of Khojent and Kostakoz that led inhabitants of Khojent willingly to make use of suzanis purchased in Kostakoz. These facts were established by me in Leninabad. But how common this usage was (which undoubtedly arose only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries during a period of fundamental transformation in everyday life) remains to be determined.

Khojent was one of the areas where, like in Samarkand,<sup>5</sup> it was customary to hang suzanis on the walls of the wedding chamber, but this role which they played in furnishing the newlyweds' room was relatively short-lived compared with what happened in Samarkand. They hung in the bride's home in the evening when the marriage ceremony was over. After she moved to the groom's house they were hung up there, but only three days later, following the completion of the ritual of putting away the wedding bed, on which they were spread. The embroideries hung in the newlyweds' room for 2–3 months (7–12 months in Samarkand). Then came the ritual of taking them down (*tahkanon*), and they were stored away in a chest where they

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5 Here and below, on Samarkand decorative embroidery, see O. A. Sukhareva, "On the History of the Development of Samarkand Decorative Embroidery," *Literature and Art of Uzbekistan*, vol. 6 (1937), pp. 119–134.

stayed until the next wedding or circumcision, often of the children of the married couple.

The practice of decorating the walls of rooms with embroideries (absent in certain other regions, such as Bukhara) stimulated their production. However, in no way were they as widespread in Khojent as they were in Samarkand. In Samarkand the obligatory set of embroideries for a bridal dowry consisted of four items (suzani, bolinpush, ruijo, joynamoz), and the number of sets included in even a modest dowry was rarely fewer than three; among the rich the number could reach nine. In Khojent, though, the set consisted of three items (there was no bolinpush). Modest bridal dowries included only one set; dowries of the wealthy had three. Thus, when a rich man named Mirkamilbai married a woman from a poor family, her dowry had only one suzani sewn on black satin, one ruijo on white factory-made fabric, and one joynamoz from the same material (as was customary, the embroideries were made by the bride's side).

Another dowry – prepared by affluent people for their only, long-awaited daughter, who wanted her dowry to look rich – consisted of one very large suzani on white mata, a second one of purple silk material, a ruijo on red satin, and a joynamoz of yellow factory-made calico.

In a third dowry, considered to be a rich one, there were three sets: a suzani and ruijo on white mata, a second suzani on black satin, and a third one on pink factory cloth. There was a second ruijo made of white factory cloth without embroidery, and three joynamoz, one on green baize, and the others on pink and white factory cloth.

All three dowries date to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., the time when competition was at its peak to increase the number of items in a dowry, including the amount of embroidery, for the sake of social prestige.

Since embroideries carried less importance in Khojent as indicators of a family's wealth, their production never flourished the way it did in Samarkand. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there was a reduction in the number of decorative embroideries being made for families by hand. Now every family, as they assembled a dowry, could count on part of the embroideries being made-to-order or purchased. Embroidering suzanis became a profession for many Khojent women who took in orders or made them to sell on the market. Probably this was the time when the custom arose of traveling to the nearby village of Kostakoz for suzanis on white mata (they were par-

ticularly labor-intensive to make). Nonetheless, suzanis for dowries or circumcision ceremonies were still being sewn in many Khojent families in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; the work was done by women from the bride's family and their close relatives. The art of decorative embroidery did not die out here. They generally embroidered on colored fabrics, particularly silk, although in some cases on white mata. Even if, in the third dowry mentioned above, both of the embroideries on white mata were purchased in Kostakoz, the second dowry was sewn by an embroideress in Khojent as a commission from the bride's family.

The ornamentation on suzanis from Khojent and Kostakoz, as in all the areas where suzanis are widespread, has a vegetative character, especially on a white background, in patterns that sharply distinguish the flower elements from the foliage elements.

In the past, embroideries on colored backgrounds had designs in the form of complex, finely-drawn rosettes arranged in rows. The rosettes were made up of several concentric circles with a densely sewn small rosette at the center. Later there appeared designs in the form of shrubs and branches; only after that was the vegetative character of the patterns on colored fabrics, and their division into flower and foliage elements, fully defined. Thus, the ornamentation of embroideries on colored fabrics underwent fundamental changes.

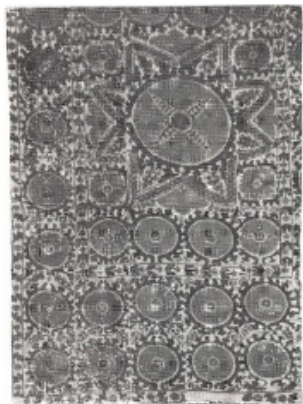
By contrast with suzanis on colored backgrounds, the basic features of suzanis on white ground fabric, especially on white mata, were extremely stable over time and are seen on all the examples known to us. They all have the same basic composition, found in two variants (with a star in the center, or without it), which are similar both in terms of the sewing techniques involved and the design motifs used. The composition depends on compact, symmetrically arranged rosettes that look like large, almost monotonal (dark crimson) spots, which give such suzanis their name *paipoqi shutur* "camel foot (or track)" (illustrations 1 and 2). The leafy decorations surrounding the rosettes are generally very uniform: either a ring around the rosette, or two half-rings, smooth on their inner sides, notched or scalloped on their outer sides. There is an idiosyncrasy about the ends of the half-rings, where they come together at the top: they are bent outwards, away from one another, whereas the ends at the bottom are bent towards one another like a circle. Another feature of suzanis, as characteristic as the *paipoqi shutur*, is the border around it – a wide, black ribbon of foliage executed in double buttonhole stitch.<sup>6</sup> The rosettes are essentially

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6. Rassudova, *Uzbek Decorative Stitches*, p. 19.



a dark crimson monotone, but have a small, bright central core; it is embroidered in different colors, although very sparingly. The larger rosette in the middle (reaching up to 50 cm) is more multipartite (illus. 2). In addition to the colorful central core, it has ray-like shapes extending radially across its crimson nimbus, dividing it into four segments, meeting at the center and forming a tilted cross. These shapes are embroidered in different colors – usually scallop-shaped stripes of two alternating colors, like bright green and purple. This arrangement is often found on old suzanis from Samarkand, where the color combination is called *abri bahor* “spring cloud” (perhaps because the colors hearkened back to a depiction of a rainbow).



Illus. 1. *Paipoqi shutur* suzani with a star in the center, embroidered at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the village of Kostakoz. (Museum of Ethnography of the Academy of Science of the Tajik SSR. Dushanbe, № 382.)



Illus. 2. Detail of illus. 1.



Study of suzanis from Samarkand and many other areas has shown that their decorative motifs were consistently associated with items from the surrounding environment, which served as their models and gave the designs their names. Despite often having abstract vegetative forms, the motifs' connections with the real objects that inspired them were never lost. To those who drew and embroidered them, the names of the designs were never random choices or mere formalities, assigned as a way to distinguish one design from another. Suzanis were exceptionally popular in the past, there were a fair number of them in every house, and the labor devoted to producing them was unceasing; under those circumstances, very many women were perfectly familiar with the names of the designs and linked them in their minds with objects in the real world. That connection began to disappear insofar as embroideries became merchandise and embroidering turned into a profession. Khojent went much farther along the road of commercializing this craft than Samarkand, and it would appear (although our limited information and observations make it difficult to say for sure) that there was less awareness in Khojent of the significance of the imagery of the motifs, the names of which were used just to distinguish different types of decoration.

We only have a few scattered pieces of information about the names of Khojent embroidery designs. During a very short trip to Leninabad in 1976 unfortunately we were not able to find any draftswomen (*kalamkash*) – women who draw embroidery patterns and generally know the designs used in any given place, and their names, better than anyone else. Other conversations could not fully compensate for that missing information – conversations with women who owned suzanis, with elderly embroideresses, and sometimes with draftswomen's daughters who had observed their mothers' work as children. However, we did collect some information that was interesting for our research.

In Khojent, according to this information, the rosettes of suzanis on a white background, particularly on *paipoqi shutur* suzanis, were called *kosa* "bowl (for liquid food)" and *kosai kalon* "big bowl." There is no doubt these are merely formalized names referring not to a concrete object (a bowl) but just its size. The original name of rosettes of suzanis on white mata was *paipoqi shutur* "camel foot or track." This decorative element was one of quite a large number of widespread motifs depicting the tracks of various birds and animals (horse hoof, mouse track, sparrow track). In Khojent, however, these associations had been forgotten, and the name *paipoqi shutur* was no longer connected with the rosettes but had been transferred to the type of *suzani* for which this design was characteristic.

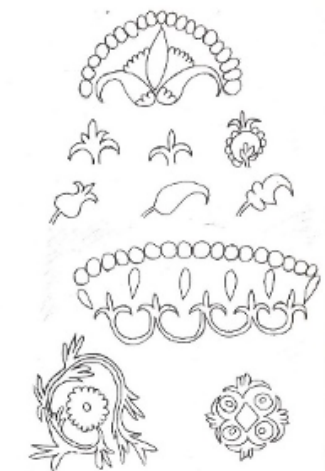
As for the lanceolate shapes, placed crosswise along the radials of the nimbus of the large central rosette on such suzanis: in conversation they were called *bodom* “almond” even though (unlike the regular shape of the *bodom* element) they lacked the typical curve to one side which is characteristic of the motif representing an almond, as it is for the actual nut itself. On other occasions *bodom* motifs were observed on Khojent embroideries, and they were curved. By analogy with Samarkand suzanis, the lanceolate shape under discussion should rather be associated in the popular imagination with a knife or some other sharp object – a very common motif in old decorations, regarded as a protective symbol. But nobody has suggested that idea yet in Khojent.

The finely drawn rosettes found on comparatively earlier embroideries, executed on colored fabrics, formed of concentric circles (illus. 3), were treated not as separate motifs but as entire compositions of their own, with separate names given to each of their individual components. The rings themselves, which always had one side notched and the other side smooth, were called (referencing the smooth side) *oba* (from *ob* “water”), the same name as used for the ribbons running beside the border. Depending on how their patterned, outside edge was decorated, they were called *obi dandona* (with scallop shapes), *obi qal’a* “castle” (if notched), *obi bodomcha* (where tiny almonds were placed on the tooth and scallop shapes). Trefoils adorning the rings were called, in one case, *separra* “three-lobed plant” (the same name as used in Samarkand), and in another case *saddacha* “small tree” (*sadda* is a kind of elm). There are rings formed from shapes representing spatulas set at intervals, with analogous shapes, facing in the opposite direction, inserted between them: in one case these shapes were called *shona* “comb.” In another case were explained as parts of a necklace (*khafaband*).



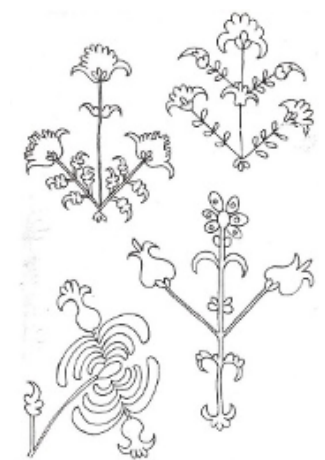
Illus. 3. Finely drawn suzani rosette on black satin, embroidered in Khojent, late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

There was a further motif associated with an item of jewelry called *bargak*, a diadem with pendants; it was a rather complex motif involving several elements, one of which was reminiscent of a string of “pearls” (illus. 4).



Illus. 4. Decorative motifs from Khojent embroideries on colored backgrounds, late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Top and center, elements of a chain (*perloz*); between them, trefoil, pepper or almond motifs; bottom, pomegranate (flower and fruit) motifs.

Suzani and ruijo designs from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century on colored fabrics often incorporated the *shokh* “branch” motif showing a stem or tree-trunk either standing straight or at an angle (illus. 5).



Illus. 5. Decorative motifs from Khojent embroideries on colored fabrics in the forms of bushes or branches. Beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

By analogy with Samarkand, this pattern type seems to have been a late arrival, supplanting a composition that consisted of a row of elegant, composite rosettes. The “branch” composition allowed for many new possibilities to enrich the pattern, diversifying and enlivening it with the shapes, in profile, of various kinds of blossoms, leaves, and almonds. Motifs like *lola* “tulip,” *anor* “pomegranate tree” or *guli anor* “pomegranate flower” are found on these branches. Sometimes it seemed the ornament was depicting the pomegranate fruit (and in one such case it was called *anor*) or else the capsule of the opium poppy – both motifs were typical for many areas where suzanis were common. Similarly, the *bodom* “almond” motif was widely popular and different variations of it appear constantly on Khojent suzanis. It is well-known that the form of this decoration is very close to the *kalamfur* “red pepper pod” motif; the usual name of the motif in Khojent is *bodom* “almond,” even though the ornament’s long shape looks more like a pepper than an almond.

The information that has been presented is, of course, insufficient to make judgments about the meanings of the ornamental motifs on Khojent decorative embroidery. It remains a question whether some of them had the status of amulets, as they so clearly did in Samarkand in the early period (second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the first decades of that period). In Samarkand, also, the old motifs were supplanted by others that reflected new styles of life, and the magical function of the decorations was forgotten. Their significance in Samarkand was discovered thanks to information provided by draftswomen of advanced age who grew up in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, before deep-rooted changes in the everyday life and worldview of the people occurred. In Khojent, where the study of suzanis and their patterns began so late, it is doubtless now impossible to collect any information of this kind, especially since the transformations in the life of the population (and particularly in matter of embroidery production) evidently commenced earlier there than in Samarkand.

An analysis of the materials used in Khojent-Kostakoz suzanis (we are not able to differentiate them at this stage of the research; it is clear, though, that they are very similar) leads to certain conclusions, although these may be only preliminary, in view of the limited amount of data in our possession and the fact that the region is almost completely unstudied. However, the author’s previous research about the decorative embroideries of other districts, particularly Samarkand, conducted in great detail from a historical perspective, makes it possible to establish the following:

1. The decorative embroidery of Khojent-Kostakoz represents one of the local variants of Central Asian suzanis as a whole, having formed its own style, elaborat-

ed its own principles of composition, and built up a repertoire of ornamental motifs. However, when we compare its artistic level, scope of production, and importance in everyday life with regions where the art of embroidery was really developed and the best pieces were made, Khojent cannot be put in that superior category. Evidently, it is for precisely that reason that Khojent decorative embroidery never became widely known and is poorly represented in museum collections.

2. That said, Khojent suzanis must not be denied their due as decorative art. The *paipoqi shutur* embroideries executed on white mata are the most valuable in terms of their artistic quality. Some of them are quite old. The commoner suzanis on colored fabrics, whose ornamentation differs sharply from *paipoqi shutur*, shared features with embroideries from other areas. All known examples date to a later period.

3. The birth of capitalism in Central Asia, especially in Khojent, and the encroachment of commercial and financial relations into all aspects of the life of the nation, did not leave suzani production untouched. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and perhaps slightly earlier, suzanis in Khojent started to be produced intentionally for sale, or to order. Professional embroideresses appeared. Families who had to prepare embroideries for family celebrations now counted on the fact that they could commission or buy them. The custom arose of purchasing the big, more labor-intensive embroideries on white backgrounds in the village of Kostakoz. But in some cases they went on making them in Khojent itself, and the art did not disappear altogether. Even as the production of suzanis became commercialized, it remained in the hands of women, who not only did the sewing but produced the materials for it themselves, feeding the silkworms and preparing the silk to embroider (unwinding the cocoons, twisting the thread, and dyeing the silk at home).

4. The forms used in embroidery ornamentation in Khojent, as in other regions where it was widespread, were predominantly vegetative, depicting any objects that could serve as embroidery motifs. Usually the patterns combine elements interpreted as flower types and foliage. The decorations on suzanis on white mata and on colored fabrics have essential differences; we may think of them as evolving from different sources or at different times. The most traditional and distinctive decoration was *paipoqi shutur*, which should be regarded as characteristic of this region. The significance behind its motifs have still not been studied; in particular, their connection with folk beliefs (revealed from the study of Samarkand suzanis) have not been elucidated.

5. Khojent-Kostakoz suzanis have a number of stylistic and decorative features in common with those from Samarkand and Jizzak. They share with the pieces from Samarkand their palette of generally dark, rather cool colors, and compositions relying on regular arrays of large rosettes. The rosettes are entirely sewn over (without their nimbus being broken up into monotonal concentric sections – divided by rings where the backing cloth, barely noticeable, shows through – a typical feature of the suzanis from Jizzak). Sometimes the rosettes' interior ornamentation is similar to those in Samarkand: elements are oriented along the radii and meet at the center in the shape of a cross. Khojent and Jizzak suzanis share one very distinguishing feature: the special form of foliage surrounding the rosettes, not found in other districts. The rosettes are clasped within two half-rings of ornamental foliage, the ends of which (where they come together) are bent outwards. In Khojent only the upper ends take this shape (at the bottom they are rounded), whereas in Jizzak they turn outwards at both top and bottom. The second feature that suzanis from both districts share is the ornamental border of leafy elements (the borders never have flower motifs anywhere) in the form of a wide, black strip executed in double-sided buttonhole stitch. Borders in double-sided buttonhole stitch can be found on old embroideries from different regions including Samarkand, although there they were thin and green, sometimes olive-colored, not black. The style became obsolete in Samarkand long ago, but was preserved in Jizzak and Khojent notwithstanding the transformations that suzani styles underwent (particularly those from Jizzak) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. A distinguishing feature of both districts is the substitution of other colors for the dark-green of the foliage decorations: dark blue in Jizzak, grey or reddish in Khojent. Changing styles in Samarkand led to black being substituted for green.

The common features that made for similarities among the suzanis of Khojent, Samarkand and Jizzak (especially the shape of the leafy frames around the rosettes, found nowhere else) should not, of course, be regarded as coincidental. Considering how the art lay in the hands of women, and was closely linked with family life, family celebrations and folk beliefs, the possibilities for cultural borrowing were probably minimal. Rather, it is evident that the common stylistic features and uniform shapes of the ornamentation arose from deeper causes than inter-ethnic cultural connections and assimilation. They can be better explained if the originators of this artform had common ancestors among the people who eventually made up the populations

Illus. 3. Finely drawn suzani rosette on black satin, embroidered in Khojent, late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.