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Embroidery of Nur-Ata

State Art Museum of Uzbekistan
1938

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Translated by Adam Smith Albion

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Embroidery is one of the most highly developed branches of national art of the peoples living in the republics of Central Asia. At the same time, it is one of the most popular kinds of art that may truly called be called folk art, not only in Uzbekistan but in Central Asia as a whole. In the regions where embroidery was practiced – and it was practiced in one form or another almost everywhere on the territory of Central Asia – it was found at all levels of society, from the richest to the poorest, its quantity and quality reflecting of course the relative prosperity of its owners.

The different kinds of Central Asian embroidery are unusually diverse.

The best-known embroideries, and the ones that most often find their way to museums, are the large pieces called *palyak* in Tashkent. In Bukhara, Nur-Ata, Samarkand and some other places they are called *suzaní*, distorted by Europeans into "*suzanné*." There are a great many other kinds of embroidery apart from them. Examples include *rui-jo* or *joy-push*, embroidered sheets left unsewn in the center (Samarkand, Bukhara);[1] *takiya-push* (Bukhara, Nur-Ata) or *bolin-push* (Samarkand), embroidered covers for pillows; *joy-namoz*, mats to perform *namaz* prayers on (found almost everywhere); *sandali-push,* embroidered covers for a *sandali*;[2] embroidered horse blankets; embroidered kerchiefs with a variety of names, sizes and usages; and different sorts of pendants, sheaths, purses, and small bags.

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The study of embroideries from different regions, especially when their history is taken into account, is very interesting from the standpoints of theory, practice, and art history. At the present time, however, research on Central Asian embroideries has still hardly begun, unfortunately. That is apparent from both the absence of specialized works on the subject in the scholarly literature, and the abundance of errors contained in the descriptions of embroideries by authors, writing on separate topics, who refer to Central Asian embroideries to illustrate their points.[3]

The situation is understandable. Because there is such a wealth and range of decoration in the different regions producing embroideries, a more-or-less correct determination of where and when this or that piece was made will only be possible when embroideries from at least some of the most important regions producing them have been studied and described.

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[1] In Fergana they are called *choy-shab*, a distortion of the Persian جای شب.

[2] A *sandali* is a stool, about 70 cm x 70 cm, placed in winter in a room above a recess in the floor in which hot coals are placed. The stool is covered with a blanket, and people sit around with their legs under it to get warm. In winter the *sandali* functions as a table: people eat at it, work there, etc.

[3] For a bibliography of Central Asian embroidery, as well as an indication of the most serious errors in the listed works, see O. A. Sukhareva, "Decorative Embroidery of Samarkand."

A start has been made in this direction in the large study by O. A. Sukhareva (currently being prepared for publication), "Decorative Embroidery of Samarkand." A short excerpt from it appeared as an article entitled "On the History of the Development of the Decorative Embroidery of Samarkand" in the journal *Literature and Art of Uzbekistan* (No. 6, 1937).

This work, based on a large amount of material meticulously collected and researched over a number of years, gives a picture of the development of Samarkand embroidery over the last century, reflecting the economic and social changes that took place in Samarkand during the period under consideration. It is the first time ever that a study of the arts and crafts of Central Asia has described them in a dynamic rather than a static way, providing an analysis of the factors driving and directing their development.

The importance and value of this work are clear. There is a strong need for similar studies about other regions. This has motivated the present writer, despite her keen sense of the incompleteness of the work she has done so far, to speed up the process of writing up and publishing the material she has gathered about the embroidery of Nur-Ata, famous in the past for its artistic excellence.

The information set out below was collected during two expeditions to Nur-Ata in 1937 and 1938, lasting about three months altogether, to buy embroideries for the Uzbekistan Museum of Art and the Leningrad Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography.

Seeing how the development of Nur-Ata embroidery, like the embroideries of other regions, is closely linked with the totality of the life of the producers and consumers, it is helpful to preface the topic with a short description of Nur-Ata, especially as there is very little information about it in the existing literature, as far as we know,[4] and what there is is spread over many different works.

A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF NUR-ATA[5]

Nur-Ata is a large settlement,[6] 80 km from the railway (Kermine Station), with approximately 9,000 inhabitants, more than half of whom practice agriculture.

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[4] Add bibliography here.

[5] This description is based on the introductory section of M. S. Andreyev's report on the expedition of UzMI [Uzbekistan Museum of Art] to Nur-Ata in the summer of 1937 entitled "Some General Information about Nur-Ata." This information was supplemented by this writer in 1938 through additional interviews with the local population, and by facts from the Planning Department of the Nur-Ata Executive Committee which were kindly communicated by Comrade Kholyushkin, chairman of the Nur-Ata Regional Planning Committee.

[6] Nur-Ata is not considered to be a city nowadays. However, in the past it had the designation and importance of a city. Khanykov in his book *A Description of the Bukharan Khanate* (St Petersburg, 1843) mentions Nur-Ata as one of the 19 major cities of the Bukharan Khanate.

At the present time Nur-Ata is the center of Nur-Ata Region, part of Samarkand Province in the Uzbek Republic. Until the revolution, which took place here (like in Bukhara) in 1920, it was the center of the Nur-Ata *viloyat* [region] of the Bukharan Khanate.

Nur-Ata is situated in the spurs of the Ok-Tau or Kukhi-Safed mountain chain that runs into the system of the Nur-Ata Mountains. One of the last spurs of the chain, with the ruins of an ancient tower on its peak,[7] almost comes right up to the southern (upper) edge of the town. North of the town stretches the steppe that turns into the Kzyl-Kum Desert on the territory of Kazakhstan where it abuts on Nur-Ata Region. A little distance to the west is the Kara-Kum Desert.

In the foothills of the mountain range, and in the area where the town begins, fine, abundant water springs rise from the ground bringing life to the oasis. At the springs' source there is a cemetery with the grave of Nur-Ata, a shrine once famous throughout Central Asia that attracted pilgrims from far and wide and gave the name to the town[8] and even to the entire neighboring mountain range.

The town of Nur-Ata, like the majority of settlements in Nur-Ata Region, is a typical oasis surrounded by desert. There are no rivers anywhere nearby that could feed irrigation canals, such as are found in many other places in Central Asia. Therefore agriculture, the basic occupation of the inhabitants of Nur-Ata town and Nur-Ata Region as whole, depends on rainfed crops (*lolmí*). These crops are not always dependable, however. The low level of precipitation and the proximity of the Kzyl-Kum and Kara-Kum Deserts – off which hot winds (*gar-sel*) sometimes blow, carrying burning hot dust particles – mean that in some years the harvests are completely ruined. On top of this, people in past times occasionally had to contend with devastating swarms of locusts too. Thanks to systematic measures undertaken by the Soviet government, the locust swarms stopped returning 7–8 years ago.

The area of irrigated land in Nur-Ata, and in the whole of Nur-Ata Region, is negligible. It accounts for about 3% of all the area under cultivation (1,940 out of 71,617 hectares in 1938). A small proportion of these fields are irrigated with spring water; the majority of them are watered using *kariz*. A *kariz* is a long chain of wells (the number of wells in a *kariz* in Nur-Ata ranges from two to three dozen to two to three hundred or more), connected via a shared underground aqueduct that collects underground water and brings it to the surface. The construction of *kariz* required an enormous amount of labor, carried out collectively by brigades typically consisting of 30 men who would work on building the *kariz* for a number of years.

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[7] Local folk legend attributes the construction of this watch tower, and the foundation of the town itself, to Alexander the Great. As far as the town's date of origin is concerned, this legend is perhaps not far from the truth. When telling the story of the foundation of Bukhara the 10th-century writer Narshakhi lists Nur as one of the settlements that existed before Bukhara appeared.

[8] The ancient name of the town was Nur, retained to this day by some section of the population.

Nur-Ata is poor in water, but rich in arable land which in large part lies unused due to the lack of water. In 1938 the area of farmable but unexploited land was around half the fields in the whole region. In the past the percentage of unused land was even higher.

These conditions, i.e. huge reserves of uncultivated land together with the high cost of not readily accessible water, created special forms of land use and land ownership specific to Nur-Ata. Agriculture was practiced here in the past with almost no application of fertilizer[9] since no one felt a need for it. As soon as the soil began to get exhausted people would leave it fallow, and the following year plow a different empty plot on non-irrigated land, or channel water from the *kariz* to other unused fields. Fresh land, after it had rested for a few years, yielded an excellent crop without fertilizer, as long as the climactic conditions were favorable. Manure, which was highly prized in other parts of Central Asia that practiced intensive agriculture, was used here as fuel; manure that was not good for that purpose (from horses and sheep) was transported to the edge of town and piled up in heaps which after many years grew to impressive dimensions.

Fertilizer has only been applied in agriculture in Nur-Ata in recent years, after its land was attached to collective farms.

Given the method of land use described above, with different areas under cultivation at different times, fields did not have permanent boundaries, and arable land outside the town[10] could not be bought or sold. Anyone wishing to plant a crop on non-irrigated land was free to plow any unused plot and thereby gained the right of ownership over it until he himself gave it up.[11] Irrigated land could not be sold either. Only the right to receive water from a specified *kariz* could be sold. This right was obtained initially by taking part in the work of constructing the *kariz*, and then could be re-sold to anyone who wanted it.

The main crops planted in the past in Nur-Ata were cereals and (in lesser quantities) oilseeds on non-irrigated land, and alfalfa, wheat and small amounts of local sorts of cotton (*guza*) with non-opening bolls on irrigated land. Melons were planted both on non-irrigated and irrigated land.[12]

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[9] The only crop grown using fertilizer was alfalfa. Manure fertilizer was spread on the field before sowing and then every 2–3 years afterwards a little manure would be crumbled over the top. The alfalfa would stand here without being replanted for 10–12 years.

[10] Land plots treated as domestic yards in the town itself, as well as small cultivated plots within the town, which had fixed boundaries, could be sold, the same as everywhere in Central Asia.

[11] However, this state of affairs certainly did not exclude forms of exploitation common to all of Central Asia. Poor people lacking the means to acquire agricultural equipment and livestock were not able to sow fields themselves and were forced to hire themselves out to the wealthy as farm laborers, or work their land as sharecroppers.

[12] Nowadays on non-irrigated land oilseed crops have expanded at the expense of the cereals, and on irrigated land cotton crops have expanded at the expense of alfalfa.

Overall, Nur-Ata's main agricultural product in past times was bread, which was an object of export. It was mainly exported to Samarkand, which exported rice in return, and to Gijduvan, which provided cotton, homespun cloth, printed textiles, millet, carved and painted wooden items, etc.

Besides agriculture, one of the occupations of the inhabitants of Nur-Ata was animal husbandry, the development of which was facilitated by the huge open steppes in the vicinity of the town and extending across the entire region, overgrown with nutritious camel thorn (*alhagi camelorum*)[13] and wormwood (*artemisia maritima L.*).[14] These plants provide excellent feed for animals in summer, after the more delicate spring "sweet" grasses have dried up, and in winter when animals can dig them up from under the snow.

Cows, horses and camels were bred in Nur-Ata in comparatively small numbers. The most common livestock animals were goats and sheep. Until the end of the 19th century the primary breed of sheep here was the fat-tailed, so-called Kazakh sheep (*gūspandi qazoqí*). Starting in the 1900s, when a brisk trade in Karakul hair arose in Bukhara, the prices for Karakul skins rose several times over and it became more profitable to breed Karakul sheep than fat-tailed sheep. Therefore, the latter were gradually squeezed out by the Karakul breed, the so-called Arab sheep (*gūspandi arabí*).[15]

The Nur-Ata steppes were used for grazing not only by local herds, but by great numbers of herds belonging to Bukharan Karakul breeders, attracted here by the rich pastures. This situation was a cause of dissension between the inhabitants of Nur-Ata and the rich Bukharan Karakul farmers for many years. Only in 1917 did the people of Nur-Ata succeed in getting the Emir to grant them exclusive rights to use their pastures.

Today Karakul breeding in the region is organized. There is a large Karakul breeding state farm here with about 60 thousand head of sheep,[16] covering more than one third of the region's area. Moreover, there are also collective farms, separate collective farmers and private individuals involved in it.

In addition to agriculture and animal husbandry, the population of Nur-Ata were engaged in handicrafts. Mostly this was a home industry producing items for local use. The most large-scale production was of cotton cloth (*alacha*), famous for its durability, delicacy and beautiful patterns not only in Gijduvan, Samarkand and Tashkent, but, according to local people, as far afield as the markets of Mazar-i-Sharif (northern Afghanistan) and Mashhad (northern Persia). The largest market for it was the city of Turkestan, where it was exported on camels by specialized merchants who sold it there for twice or three times more than its local price.

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[13] Tajik *khor* (خار), Uzbek *jantaq* (ينتاق).

[14] Tajik *hezum* "fuel" (it is one of the plants most commonly used as fuel), in Bukhara *javshon*, Uzbek *g'utun* "fuel" and *shuvakh*.

[15] On Karakul breeding in Nur-Ata Region, see Arasimovich, *Studies on the Economics of Karakul Breeding* (Tashkent, 1929).

[16] The data refers to the winter of 1938–1939.

Alacha used to be woven from hand-made yarn, but for the last few decades it has been produced using factory-made yarn. Hand-made yarn was prepared by local weavers. Sometimes it was so fine that it could hardly be distinguished from factory-made yarn.

Besides the production of *alacha*, there was a reasonably large-scale production of shoes, which Nur-Ata supplied to the inhabitants of neighboring settlements.

In describing the economy of Nur-Ata we must not omit noting its importance for trade before the revolution.

Nur-Ata used to be a large center of trade between the so-called Kyrgyz (today, Kazakh) Steppe and Inner Bukhara, the possessions of the Emir of Bukhara. The steppe supplied animal products: wool, leather, and animals themselves (camels, which frequently were sent on south to Afghanistan, horses and rams). Bukhara itself supplied, on one hand, textiles and other handmade products from its local industry, and, on the other hand, silk, dyes, incense and cosmetics from India, English textiles (until they were squeezed out of local markets by the Russian competition), Russian handmade goods, sugar and haberdashery (mirrors, needles, etc.), metals, and kerosene and certain other industrial items transported along the Trans-Caspian Railway.

After the conquest of Turkestan by the Russians in the 1860s – 1880s, as is well-known, the region began to be targeted very aggressively by Russian capital as a market to sell Russian industrial products, and as a source of raw materials.

The Bukharan Khanate, which retained its nominal independence, was also drawn into the network of trade relations established on the territory of this conquered colony. The result, here in Nur-Ata as in Bukhara, was a process of disintegration of the previously existing and rather sturdy system of subsistence farming (although it preserved the old feudal practices of exploitation, usury, etc.), and the penetration of Russian factory products into local markets – slow at first, but steadily expanding from the end of the 19th century. This was greatly facilitated by the customs union of the Bukharan Khanate with Russia in 1894, as a result of which customs offices were removed from the Russian-Bukharan border, while border guard and customs posts were put along the frontier between the Khanate and Afghanistan. Thanks to this, Bukhara's vibrant trade relations with India via Afghanistan stopped almost completely. Russian goods began to spread, forcing out products of Ango-Indian origin.[17]

Nur-Ata did not remain on the sidelines in these developments. It was situated directly next to territories possessed by Russia, and offered great opportunities for selling goods as a consequence of its location on the edge of the Kazakh steppe.

Central Asia's exploitation as a source of raw materials began at the very end of the 19th century, later than the take-over of its market. The effect was seen most clearly in two branches of the national economy, agriculture and animal husbandry, which acquired a

[17] Masal'skii, *The Province of Turkestan*, p. 550.

strikingly mercantile character. The most important agricultural product became cotton; the major livestock product became Karakul hair. As mentioned above, one of the centers of Karakul breeding in the last decades has been Nur-Ata.

Commercial Karakul breeding in Nur-Ata was concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy breeders who owned herds of several thousand Karakul sheep, but quite a large number of more modest concerns also practiced it.[18]

As a result of the Karakul business and an extensive middleman trade in handmade items and assorted Russian factory products, a commercial bourgeois class began to grow rapidly in Nur-Ata in the final decades of the 19th century. Whereas the 1880s a man setting off for "the city" (as Bukhara was referred to before the revolution) with 500 *tanga* in his pocket would still be the talk of the town in Nur-Ata, it had become a common occurrence 15 to 20 years later. "A lot of wealthy *bais* appeared," as the elders say.

This fairly rich and significant layer of society set the tone of everyday life, imitating Bukhara to the extent it could, and being imitated in its turn. As we will see below, this upper class also promoted the development of Nur-Ata embroidery in a certain direction during the last 40 to 50 years.

Concluding our quick overview of Nur-Ata's economy, we must note how it was affected by the fact that Nur-Ata was a religious center and pilgrimage site for a long time.[19] The shrines in Nur-Ata attracted many worshippers from different places around Central Asia.[20] Seeing as each pilgrim setting out to worship carried money with him for the various expenses associated with the journey, and left a good proportion of it in Nur-Ata (whether as charitable donations or direct payments to residents for necessities), it is clear that those performing pilgrimages used to represent a hefty source of income for the local population,

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[18] There are no precise statistics on the relative importance of Karakul breeding in the region's overall economy. In 1927, i.e. before the start of collectivization, Arasimovich determined that the percentage of farms practicing Karakul breeding in Nur-Ata was _____ %: *Studies on the Economics of Karakul Breeding* (Tashkent, 1929).

[19] In his *History of Bukhara*, written in the 10th century, Narshakhi says: "Inhabitants of Bukhara and other places set out for there [Nur] every year to worship the shrines, and they regard the journey as very good for the salvation of their souls. They even say that someone who goes to Nur to worship is performing as pious and redeeming an act as a "Hajji." When the worshipper comes back from Nur, the city is decorated with wreaths to celebrate his return from such a blessed place" (Narshakhi, *History of Bukhara*, trans. N. Lykoshin, p. 19).

[20] Right up to the revolution, three pilgrimages to the shrine of Nur-Ata – similarly, for instance, to the pilgrimage to the tomb of Ahmed Yasawi in the city of Turkestan, or of Baha-ud-Din Naqshband outside Bukhara, or to the legendary tomb of Ali in Gazgan, etc. – were considered equal to one journey to far-away Mecca (the Hajj) in terms of the favor and rewards one would receive in return in the next life. Hence the term *kichik makka* [small Mecca], applied to each of the shrines just mentioned.

first and foremost for the rather large group of sheikhs that received abundant contributions from all the pilgrims in the form of money or in kind (primarily animals).

A few words need to be added on the characteristic features of the local population from an ethnic standpoint, with the reservation that the available information on this question is very sparse.

The inhabitants of Nur-Ata are extremely varied in terms of their anthropological types, which can be explained by the course of Nur-Ata's history and its geographical situation. The area abutting on the Nur-Ata Mountains is a wide passageway which hordes of Turks and other invaders flooded through at different times, heading for the rich and fertile territories of Samarkand and Bukhara to forage. This state of affairs was reflected in the diverse ethnic makeup of the whole area surrounding the Nur-Ata Mountains.

Regarding their national identity, the majority of inhabitants in the town of Nur-Ata usually answer, We are Uzbeks but our native language is Tajik. However, when they are questioned in more detail, it turns out that most of the people in Nur-Ata began to call themselves Uzbeks only after the revolution. Before that, they considered and described themselves as Tajiks; they used the term Uzbeks for people living in surrounding settlements who spoke Uzbek. Those people, in turn, referred to the inhabitants of Nur-Ata as *sort* – that is, Sarts.[21]

There are Uzbeks living in Nur-Ata today whose native language is Uzbek, but they are a insignificant minority.

At present, the majority of people in Nur-Ata speak Tajik amongst themselves but know Uzbek as well. Some 25 years ago it was not rare to find people, especially among the female part of the population, who knew almost no Uzbek at all.

It is interesting to note that the terminology used by embroideresses, both the technical terms concerning embroidery and the numerous names of the ornaments, are, with a few exceptions, all Tajik.

To add to this short general description of Nur-Ata, we must point out one further remarkable feature of the place – the surprising extent to which primitive magical and animistic ideas have been retained (belief in spirits, the evil eye and so on), as well as the survival of certain long defunct social practices, which can be explained by Nur Ata's relative remoteness from the railroad and the preservation of old ways of life in the provinces of the Bukharan Khanate, of which Nur-Ata was one of the *viloyats* (as mentioned earlier) up to the revolution.

[21] For the meaning of this term, see V. V. Bartol'd, "Tajiks" in the collection *Tajikistan* (Tashkent, 1925).

One such vestige of earlier social practices is the division of the entire population of Nur-Ata into groups called *tüb*, *el* and *uruq*, which probably are remnants of patriarchal clans.[22] Nowadays the main factor distinguishing the clans is common ancestral cemeteries (*gūr-khona*). All the members of one group are buried in their own common ancestral cemetery in which members of other groups may not be buried.[23]

Vestiges of a disintegrating clan system were also preserved in Nur-Ata in marriage traditions. There was a preference for endogamous marriages within one patriarchal clan group until very recent times; in fact, the majority of marriages were arranged between *amak-bacha*, the children of two brothers. If there was no suitable candidate from among the children of the paternal uncle (or maternal uncle, if the mother hailed from the same clan group as the father), only then would a marriage be contracted with a member of an outside group.[24]

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[22] The division of the sedentary Iranian population of Central Asia into tribes and clans is noted by M. S. Andreyev in the cases of Badakhshan, Kasan and Panjshir. See M. S. Andreyev and A. A. Polovtsev, "Material on the Ethnography of the Iranian Tribes of Central Asia: Ishkashim and Vakhan," *Journal of MAE* [Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography], vol. IX (1911), p. 5; M. Andreyev, "Expedition in Summer 1928 to Kasan Region/ Northern Ferghana," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Tajikistan*, vol. 1 (1928), p. 109; M. S. Andreyev, *On the Ethnology of Afghanistan* (Tashkent, 1927), pp. 11–12. However, the first researcher to investigate specially the question of vestiges of tribal organization among the Tajiks of Central Asia was N. A. Kislyakov, who discovered traces of clan and tribal divisions among the Tajik population of mountainous Tajikistan and thoroughly studied the entire complex of surviving remnants of the clan system. The results of his observations are presented in his very interesting, comprehensive work entitled *Traces of Primitive Communism Among the Mountain Tajiks of Vakhio-bolo* (Moscow, Leningrad, 1936).

[23] This rule was followed so strictly until very recent times that in 1918, for example, there was a case when a grave was dug up and a body belonging to the wrong group, buried in the ancestral cemetery by mistake, was cast out of its grounds.

[24] Such a system of arranging marriages – totally contradictory to the principles of tribal exogamy, and strictly followed during a period when private property had still not dealt a crushing blow to the clan system – was possible only at a time when the disintegration of the system was already well underway.

In his characterization of Greek gens [clans], which were already at the stage of disintegration, Engels says: "the Grecian gens no longer bore the archaic character of the Iroquois gens… Mother right had given way to father right; thereby rising private wealth made the first breach in the gentile constitution. A second breach naturally followed the first: after the introduction of father right, the fortune of a wealthy heiress would, by virtue of her marriage, fall to her husband, that is to say, to another gens; and so the foundation of all gentile law was broken, and in such cases the girl was not only permitted, but obliged to marry within the gens, in order that the latter might retain the fortune" – F. Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (Partizdat, 1937), p. 95.

In the case that we are examining, the disintegration has gone even farther: here, the obligatory marriage of a girl to her father's very close relative became the law not only for rich heiresses but for all girls altogether. On one hand, the purpose of such a marriage is to

A statement frequently heard in Nur Ata – "Every *guzar* [neighborhood] has its own dialect" (*har guzar laf zar digar*) – takes on a special interest in light of these vestiges of the clan system. These dialects, according to people in Nur-Ata, have characteristic features that allow the local residents to identify which part of the town the speaker comes from.[25]

Unfortunately, it was not possible due to a lack of time to gather specialized material on the dialects of different *guzars*, which would have made it possible to pursue the question of whether these variations in the dialects of separate parts of the town are not remnants of the different dialects of separate clan groups.

In the material that exists on the names of embroidery decorations, sometimes there are differences that could be the result of variations in the dialects of the *guzars*. Even the decoration of embroideries coming from separate parts of the town sometimes shows signs of differentiation.

prevent the transfer of the girl's property to another clan; on the other, it was to make it easier for a member of one's clan to obtain a wife, since marrying a near relative required fewer expenditures than marrying a member of a different clan.

[25] For example, in Machiti Safed *guzar* the first-person plural is *moho*; in Avez-khoja *guzar* it is *mojon*. In Machiti Safed *guzar* the verb "to write" is *kashidan*; in Avez-khoja *guzar* it is *navishtan*. In Machiti Safed *guzar* and Avez-khoja *guzar* "to send" is *guse kardan*, but in Kul *guzar* it is *firsondan*. In Machiti Safed *guzar* the verb "to sleep" is *kho raftan* (aorist: *mekhoravam*); in Kul *guzar* it is *khob kardan* (aorist: *khob mekunam*), etc. There are also differences in pronunciation.

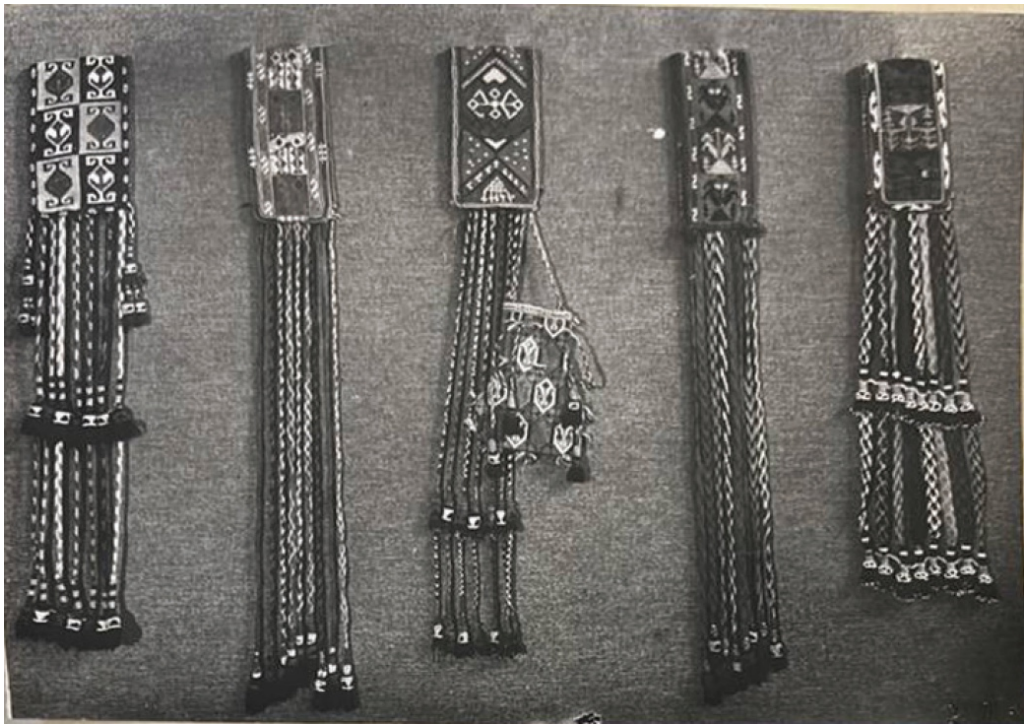

Photo No. 21. Nur-Ata *korbubands.* Collection of UzMI [Uzbekistan Museum of Art].

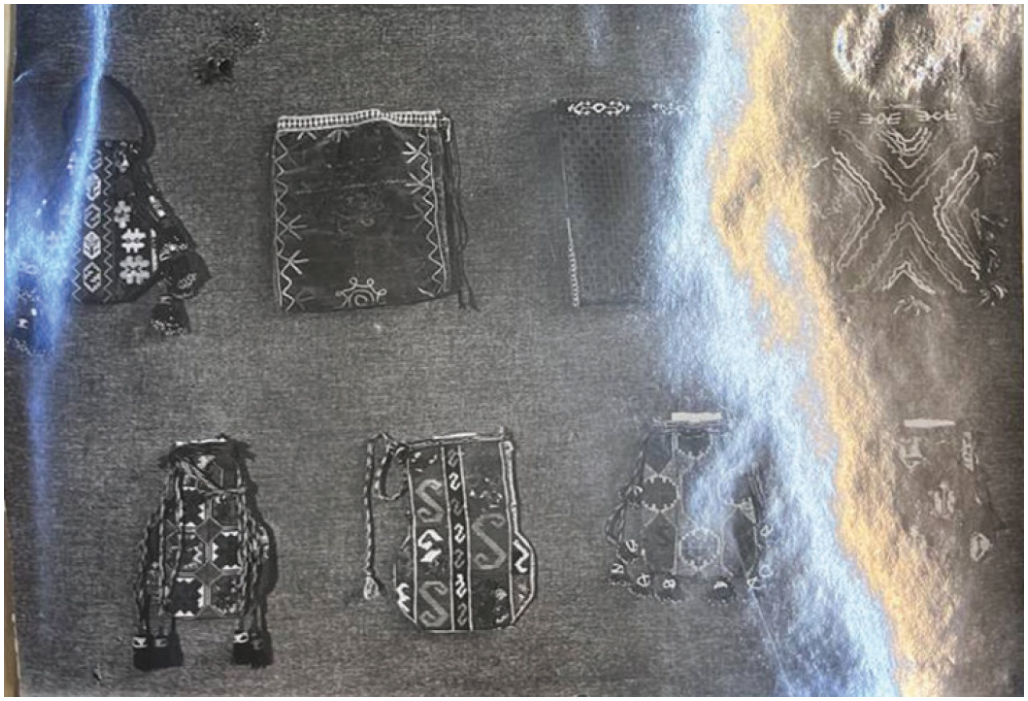

Photo No. 22. Nur-Ata *kapchuks* (bottom row, and top left), *choi-khalta* (top row, three on the right). Collection of UzMI.

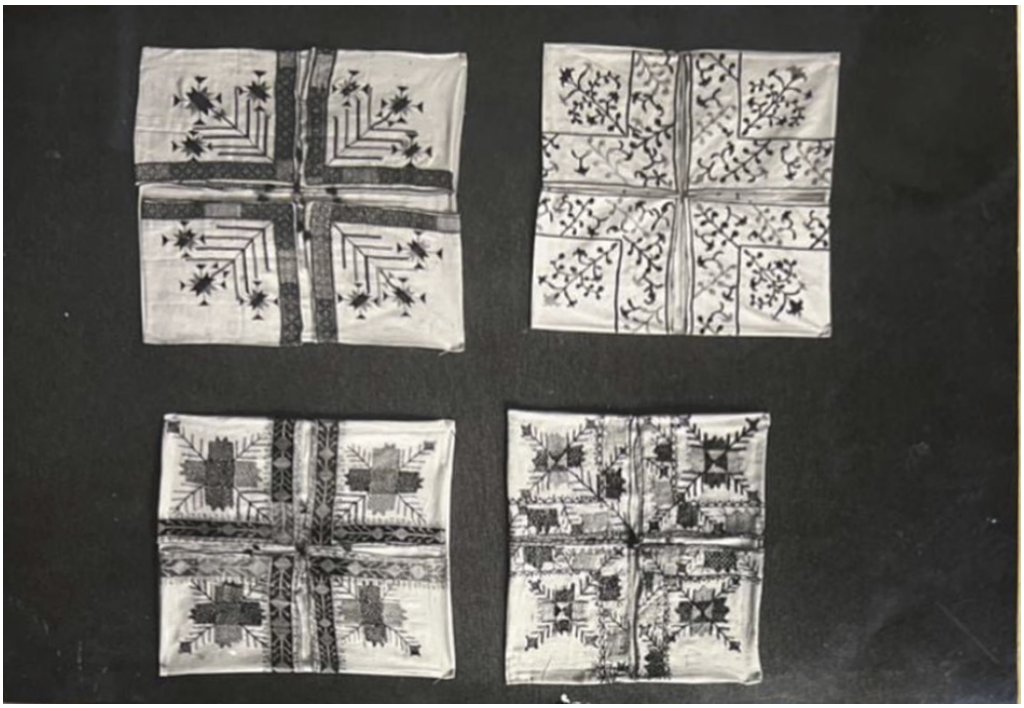

Photo No. 17. Women's headscarves – *chors*. Collection of UzMI.

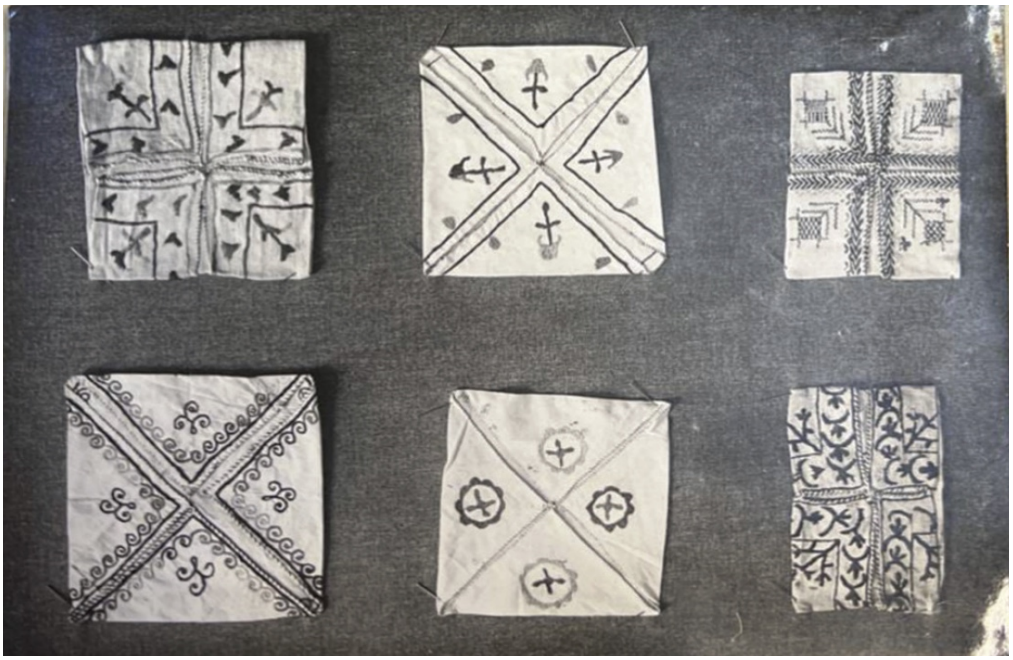

Photo No. 18. Handkerchiefs – *dast-rumol*. Collection of UzMI.

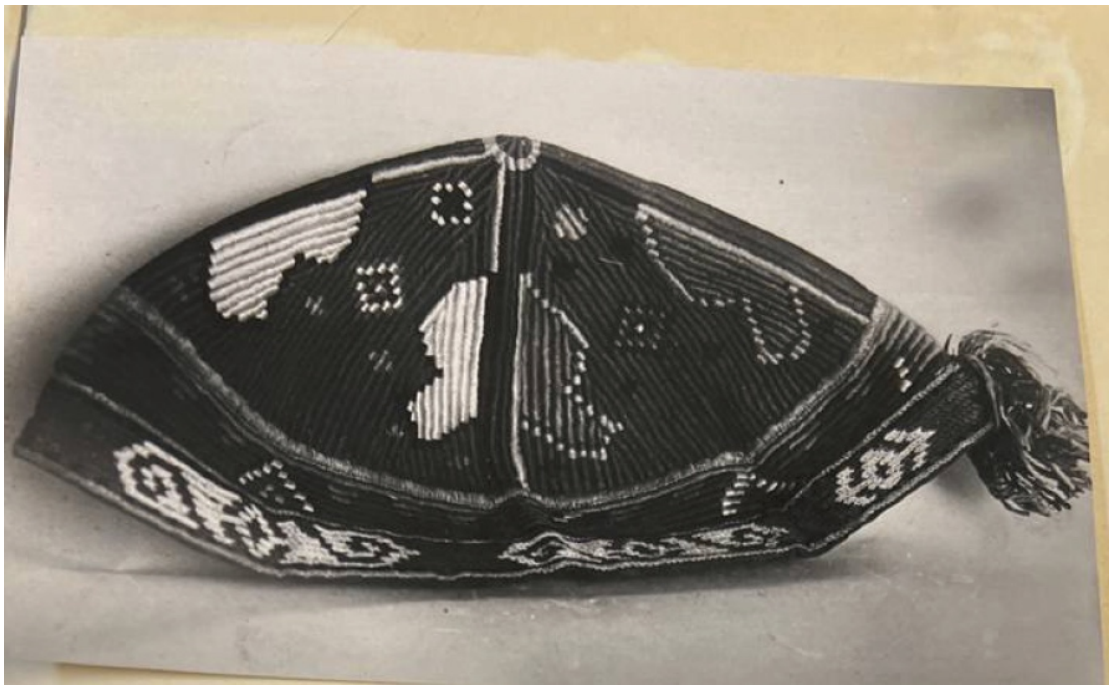

Photo No. 19. *Turakhoní*-type skullcap, made in Nur-Ata.
First decades of the 20th century. Collection of the Samarkand Museum Э-15-68.

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Photo No. 20. *Futa* with embroidered edges. Early 20th century (second decade). Collection of UzMI.