INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TAJIKISTAN

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This Promotional book is a result of researches done by researchers of the Research Institute of Culture and Information and it was published by finance assistance of the International Information and Networking Center for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under auspices of UNESCO (ICHCAP). The Promotional book contains of elements of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Tajiks described in seven chapters with fresh and colorful illustrations.
This book is dedicated to the 20\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary of the National Unity Day.
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Foreword by Director-General of The Tajikistan National Commission for UNESCO

Culture is the “key” to understanding human life and death, when it is understood as the concept of the way human life is organized. When it is possible to learn what culture (history, present, future) means, it may be possible to find out what meaning life can have for human beings. In this sense civilizations are special forms of cultural organizations. Societies are social forms enabling people to live together.

Histories is witness that the governments that rely on their rich culture and its diversity always overcome development obstacles and forges newer relationships and make significant contribution into development of global cultural life. One of the important point of strength of the government of Tajikistan since the declaration of its independence is its precise attention to the cultural aspect of the country including sustaining and preserving the century old cultural traditions and assisting new emerging cultural phenomenon.

Tajik culture is at the core of Tajik national identity and its spiritual-moral development. Tajik nation is proud to be recognized by its unique culture and forms of cultural expressions.

In the two and a half decades of Independence years with the initiatives and cultural policies of the Founder of Peace and National Unity, Leader of the Nation, President of the Republic of Tajikistan, Emomali Rahmon became an intellectual force contributing to the further developments of various aspects of the cultural sector, such as cultural diversity, heritage, tradition, ethics, and other national cultural values.

The Government of the Republic of Tajikistan has established regulatory and legal framework for the development of the national culture. For example, the Decree of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan has declared and set the March 20 - the «Day of Culture», May 12 - the «Day of the professional music «Shashmaqom»» and October 10th – the «Day of the traditional music «Falak»», which are annually celebrated throughout the country by holding academic and cultural events e.g. conferences, concerts and other cultural programs.


Some significant results achieved in the framework of the above mentioned laws and programs are the ongoing publications of multivolume book series such as «Tajik
National Encyclopedia», «Encyclopedia of Traditional Culture» and «The Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Tajik People». Additionally, in 2014 «National Inventory List of Intangible Culture Heritage» was prepared and published by the members of the Research Institute of Culture and Information, which includes 286 titles of the traditional culture expressions and forms. In 2016, this register has been updated with the new materials gathered in result of art and ethnography expeditions undertaken by the members of the mentioned institute. The second updated publication contains 515 titles of cultural expression from the intangible cultural heritage sector. The work in enriching and cataloguing the intangible culture heritage elements are is still in process.

In addition, organization of the annual festivals and competitions, exhibitions related to the intangible cultural heritage has become a regular norm. The Republican cultural contest «Andaleb», International «Falak» festival, «Taronai Vahdat», folk-ethnographic ensembles contest, «Khandai husn – Jilvai chakan» republican contest, «Navoi Badakhshon» republican contest, «Chakomi Gesu» republican contest, «Oshi palov» republican contest and festival fairs such as «Korvoni Navruz» and «Sairi guli lola» significantly contributes to the awareness and development in the intangible cultural heritage sphere.

Cooperation between the state and non-governmental organizations and Tajik experts and International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (ICHCAP) of South Korea is very significant and effective in implementing the projects relevant to intangible cultural heritage sphere. With a view to increasing the visibility of cultural heritage of Central Asia in collaboration with the Tajikistan National Commission for UNESCO’s affairs local experts has organized a working group and the series of documentary films are being filmed that focus on promotion of study, sustaining and preservation of intangible cultural heritage of Tajikistan.

This new initiative, that is publication of the book dedicated to the «Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan» is one of the measures aimed at safeguarding and promoting the history, and intangible cultural heritage of the Tajiks, which has also been developed and published as a result of cooperation with the International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (ICHCAP).

Shamsiddin Orumbekzoda
Minister of Culture of the Republic of Tajikistan

Director-General of the Tajikistan National Commission for UNESCO
FOREWORD

I would like to offer my congratulations on publishing *Intangible Cultural Heritage of Tajikistan* and to extend my gratitude to my Tajikistan colleagues who were involved in this publication.

Since 2010, ICHCAP and four Central Asian countries have carried out cooperative projects for promoting, understanding, and raising awareness about ICH and ICH safeguarding in Central Asia. This project, *Publishing an ICH and Society Book in Tajikistan*, was implemented as a part of the second three-year project, *Raising the Visibility of ICH in Central Asia*, in collaboration with the Research Institute of Culture and Information in Tajikistan.

This book, which has a significant meaning for safeguarding ICH, would not have been possible without the dedication of numerous people, and I would like to express my appreciation to those ICH practitioners and communities who contributed. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Mr. Sh. Orumbekzoda, Director-General of the Tajikistan National Commission for UNESCO, for his efforts from the very inception of the project. I am also grateful to Dr. Rahimov D. who contributed to editing and categorizing various articles and wrote the introduction.

I am certain that all the articles under the seven themes, Oral Tradition, Performing Arts, Traditional Celebrations and Ritual, Traditional Knowledge and Social Practice, Traditional Folk Crafts, Traditional Food, Traditional Sports and Children Games, will help our readers to understand more about Tajikistan intangible cultural heritage that is transmitted through generations and is still much a part of Tajikistan people’s lives.

I hope this book will be recognized as an important resource of Tajik ICH and used not only by Central Asian researchers and educators but also by anyone interested in safeguarding and transmitting the Tajik ICH.

Kwon Huh
Director-General
International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (ICHCAP)
INTANGIBLE HERITAGE OF
THE TAJIK PEOPLE

1. CONCISE HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TAJIKISTAN

Tajiks are one of the oldest inhabitants of the Central Asian region owning many multifaceted cultural expressions and elements with a many centuries old of cultural interactions history with their nomadic and settled neighboring nations. The intangible heritage of the Tajik culture is rooted in the history of esoteric and folklore of the Arian people. Some of the grandeur examples of the intangible heritage of the Tajik people include the “Avesta” and many other written monuments in Pahlavi, Sogdian and other Iranian languages. The medieval examples are “Shahnameh” of Firdousi, “Athar al-baqiya” of Biruni, “Navruznameh” of Khayam, “Ta'rikhi Bukhoro” of Narshakhi, “Badoe’ ul-vaqoe” of Vasifi and many-many other writing. Of course one should name also the continuity of this intangible heritage in the writing of the 19th and 20th century Tajik writers such as Sadriddin Ayni.

However the academic study of the aspects of intangible cultural heritage in Tajikistan begun in the last decades of the 19th and early decades of the 20th centuries. In this period Russian scholars of Oriental Studies N.V. Khanikov, A.A. Semenov, M.S. Andreev, A.P. Babrinskiy, D.N. Logofet, G. A. Aranderenko, A. Shishov and many others have made great contribution in the study of cultural heritage and gathering immense ethnographic material, including art, history and languages. The works of the aforementioned scholars and their other contemporary academic colleagues reflect the great wealth of customs, traditions, aspects of life and vocation relevant to mode of living, social structures and regional characteristics of Tajik people. From the establishment of the Soviet rule in Tajikistan to the middle of the 20th century nearly all research expeditions and academic undertakings were directed by the famous research institutions based on Leningrad (St. Petersburg) and Moscow.

In 1951 at the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan specialized research Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography named after Ahmadi Donish was set up and henceforth major ethnographic and historical expeditions and special researches were conducted employing local scholars.

The research members of staff of the Ethnographic Department launched large-scale expedition and research projects on various aspects of the Tajik culture encompassing, family life, customs, ceremonial and festive celebrations, traditions, folklore including dances and singing, languages, agriculture and horticultural production, etc., and since than many publications emerged featuring the results of these academic endeavors in form of monographs, individual academic pieces and photo albums.

In addition, in 1958 in the Rudaki Institute of Language and Literature a special folklore studies department was created, which specifically has aimed and continues researching in the field of the folklore and traditional oral compositions and literature. Through many years expeditions and field visits has been undertaken to collect the oral literature and folklore material, both within Tajikistan and outside of the country in other Central Asian countries. The folklore archives of the Rudaki Institute contains more than 225000 pages folklore materials, including 21000 proverbs and sayings, 8200 riddles, 30000 traditional quadrants and couplets, 20000 traditional songs, 6100 tales, 3200 anecdote and 140 poems of the traditional epic song «Gurghuli». There are also more than 200 field notes and expedition diaries of the academic researches that have worked in the department.

This treasure of material has been basis of many academic dissertations and large studies devoted to the topic of folklore and ethno linguistics. In particular, in 1970s and in 1980s a multi volume publication
of the «Tajik Folklore» was prepared and eventually printed in 5 volumes. The most recent publication of the academic endeavor of the members of staff of the folklore department is «Encyclopedia of the Tajik folklore studies».

2. CURRENT STATE OF SAFEGUARDING THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TODAY

The intangible cultural heritage of the Tajik people has seen a long history of formation and development and has grown in multiple ways and expressions and forms. These intangible cultural forms have always played significant functional role both in past and today. Indeed, in the course of history as society developed from ordinary ways to more complex some of the cultural forms and expressions being affected by different factors (for instance industrial development) have either ceased or transformed (for example, paper making, glass blowing, needle making, Hut festival, etc.). It was also the case that changes in social habitat has made it possible for the new cultural genres and expressions to be born and these new elements has either substituted the old ones or have added to the exiting baggage of intangible cultural elements. An example is emergence of Mavrigi singing cycle or emergence of teahouse culture. There were also cultural elements that were acquired and adopted from the other cultures with which Tajik people had close intercultural relations e.g. buzkashi game has entered Tajik culture from Turkic-Mongolian culture.

On August 17th in 2010 Majlisi Oli of the Republic of Tajikistan has ratified the protection of the country's intangible cultural heritage law and Tajikistan has officially become the UNESCO Convention member on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Tajikistan has unique and rich culture of both tangible and intangible expressions. In 2012, the Program of Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Tajik People for 2013-2020 has been approved by the Government of Tajikistan with the purpose and focus on research, revitalize, protect and promote of the traditional intangible cultural expressions.

In the context of researching Tajikistan's cultural heritage in the framework of the «Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Tajik People for the 2013-2020» the State Organization «Tajik Encyclopedia» has taken an initiative to publish an «Encyclopedia of Traditional Tajik Culture» and to date the two volumes of this work has been printed. In addition special volume of «Encyclopedia of Navruz» and «Encyclopedia of Traditional Tajik Cuisine» is being prepared to be published soon.

It is important to note that in the study and research of the intangible cultural heritage of the Tajik people there are several non-governmental organizations, including «Odam va Olam», «Ilm va Maorif», «Mino» and «Haftpaykar», which are making a significant contribution.

It is matter of proud that on the basis of the initiative of the Republic of Tajikistan and some other countries in 2010 and according to the special resolution of the United Nations the Navruz (Nowruz) festival have been recognized as an international holiday i.e. «International Day of Nowruz». It is also due to the cultural policies of the government of the Tajikistan that several other intangible culture expressions from Tajikistan has been included into the UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Currently Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity include three nominations from Tajikistan; these are «Shashmaqam music» nominated jointly with the republic of Uzbekistan, «Oshi Palav – a traditional meal and its social and cultural contexts in Tajikistan» nomination of 2016, and «Nowruz» also nominated in 2016 jointly with Afghanistan, Iran, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Azerbaijan, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan and India. At the moment there are two other nominations proposed to be considered for inscription in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity these are «Falak» and «Chakan - an embroidery art».

3. CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF CULTURE AND INFORMATION IN THE FIELD OF SAFEGUARDING, RESEARCHING AND PROMOTING OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Research Institute of Culture and Information (RICI) in the field of safeguarding, researching and
promoting of intangible cultural heritage is an institution of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Tajikistan with a designated center for «Tajik Cultural Heritage».

Prior to the establishment of this center, research and data collection on traditional cultural expressions and particularly the intangible cultural heritage was undertaken by the individual research workers of the institute’s folklore and methods and research departments. In particular, one of the currently main ongoing research projects executed by the members of the Center is «Current situation of the intangible cultural heritage in the country: challenges and perspectives (for the years 2016-2020)». This large-scale project is distributed among the Center’s members who conduct field work, data collection and analysis following the terms of reference laid out in the state initiated program «Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Tajik People for the 2013-2020».

Data collections methods employed in fieldworks include multimedia recording such as photos, audio and visual records and field notes. The gathered materials after analysis are archived in the Institute and post-fieldwork materials are than used for updating and completion of the «National Inventory List of Intangible Cultural Heritage», which has been printed twice already. In addition the gathered material allowed organizing a catalogue of the traditional craftsperson in the country that are the main agents of continuity, revitalization and transfer of intangible national cultural expressions.

The intangible cultural heritage of any nation is always in development and improvement. With the influence of different factors, they cease, change and become partially active, they expand and the circles of their function also expand.

According to the requirements of the UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), part 3, Article 12 each of its member states must maintain one or more national registers and archives of the intangible cultural heritage in its territory. In connection with in 2010, the first register of the «Elements of the Cultural Heritage» was prepared, which included 48 elements of the intangible cultural heritage of the Tajik people.

After four years of research, the scholars of the Research Institute of Culture and Information in the field of safeguarding, researching and promoting of intangible cultural heritage compiled the «National Inventory List of Intangible Cultural Heritage» containing 286 elements of traditional culture, which was published a year later. In 2016, a new edition of this inventory in Tajik and English languages was published, which covered 515 elements of the intangible cultural heritage of the Tajik people. In compilation of the inventory and its content many national experts including members of non-governmental organization working the sphere of culture and heritage and members of various craft communities played active role.

The updated Inventory of the intangible cultural heritage consists of sections devoted to oral tradition, Performance Art, Celebration and Rituals, Customs and Social Practices Folk Crafts, National Food, Traditional sports and children games etc.

In updating this Inventory the recent gathered ethnographic data by the members of the Research Institute of Culture and Information in the field of safeguarding, researching and promoting of intangible cultural heritage including secondary academic sources on culture and heritage has been used. Research members of the Institute for the academic research and information in the field of safeguarding, researching and promoting of intangible cultural heritage regularly work on revision and adding new material to the Register and the next improved and updated edition is planned to be printed in 2018.

In the Institute for the academic research and information in the field of safeguarding, researching and promoting of intangible cultural heritage, since the beginning of 2016, the book series on «Intangible Cultural Heritage of Tajik People» is being published, which reflect the breadth and variety of the result of the painstaking work of the research members of the institute. So far, two volumes in this series were published and the third volume is in preparation. Additionally, in collaboration with the State Entity «Tojikfilm» in 2016, the book-album titled «Samples of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Tajik People» was released. In short, all of these initiatives are targeted to facilitate promotion, preservation and protection of the cultural heritage of Tajik nation.
4. STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

This book «The Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan» is one of the results of the research of the members of the Research Institute of Culture and Information in the field of safeguarding, researching and promoting of intangible cultural heritage and a number of researchers from the academic and cultural institutions of the country. Materials presented here are directly based on the first-hand data gathered by the members of the Institute as well as archival data and recently published relevant secondary sources.

The book is comprised of seven sections and each section contains series of articles pertaining each section. The first part includes essays on the oral traditional expressions, the second section is devoted to performance art and third section covers traditional ritual and celebrations; the fourth section is devoted to the traditional knowledge and practices and the fifth section covers the traditional folk crafts; the sixth section is on traditional cuisine and the final seventh section is about the traditional sport and children games.

Some of the sections have also subsections, for example the second section has subsection devoted on traditional dance and other forms of performances. Thus, the book in total covers 117 essays describing various forms of cultural expressions in concise and comprehensive manner.

Indeed, there are much more spiritual and intangible cultural expressions in Tajikistan, which one book cannot contain all of them. However, the aim is that what has been included in this book will provide enough descriptive information on what was selected be in this book and remainder what has not been included will appear in future publications. It is hoped that in the future publications there would chance to include more examples of the intangible cultural heritage expressions of the Tajik people.

At the end of each section, a list of publications or a short bibliography related to the subject is mentioned that readers may refer to for more information.

5. ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The development of the publication of this book would have been impossible without consultation and leadership of many scholars and here we wish to take opportunity to acknowledge and express our gratitude to some of them. First of all, our deepest gratitude goes to the Minister of Culture of the Republic of Tajikistan, Director-General of the Tajikistan National Commission for UNESCO Mr. Sh. Orumbekzoda and the General Secretary of this Commission, Mavjud Nurova, for all their importance of useful advice and instructions.

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In the course of the development of the book we have also greatly benefited the consultation of experts and scholars such as Dr. Sharif Komilzoda, professor Jurakhon Obidpur, Dr. Kurbonali Buriev, Dr. Murod Murodi and many other researchers and consultants, which we sincerely thank them.

Dr. Dilshod Rahimov
Director-Deputy of the Research Institute of
Culture and Information
CHAPTER ONE

ORAL TRADITION

• LULABY
• FAIRY TALE
• ANECDOTES
• RIDDLE
• TONGUE-TWISTER
• PROVERBS
• EPIC STORY OF GURGHULI
• RUBOI (QUATRAINS POEMS)
• NAQŠ AND NAQŠXONĪ
• TRADITIONAL SONGS
Lullaby

Alla (lullaby) is a soothing cradlesong, which is sung when the child is put to go to sleep in the cradle. It is through the lullaby that mothers express their emotions and love by singing them out softly and rocking the cradle gently. It is also through the alla that mothers express their well wishes for the future of the child and prayers of blessing for a child to grow strong and be a honorable person with profession, job and great health and wealth.

The song of Alla in Tajik is composed of variety pieces taken from quatrains, couplets or masnavī. Mothers compose their own alla although some are created by grandmothers of even elder sisters in the child's family. Alla songs are passed generation by generation and acquire folklore nature. Sometimes mother's in alla songs add their own child's name or change certain words to make it personalized, which gives rise to a totally new alla song.

Alla songs have their own specific tune and it is possible to assert that children get to know song and singing for the first time through the alla. The tune for alla is synchronized to the rocking of the cradle.

Hey alla, darling alla
Hey alla, darling alla,
My sweet-tongued alla,
O comfort of my soul alla.
May your bad fortune struck me to spare you,
Alla, alla.

May you grow and may you be active,
May you become intelligent and wise,
May you become my support,
May you be patient and strong,
May you be my aid at the old age,
Alla, alla.
Fairy tale

Fairy tale (afsāna) is one of the most loved folk genre among the Tajik people, which contains many aspects of human life, their dreams and wishes at the same time expressing ones love to the native land, natural worlds etc. Fairy tales are fictions story based on esoterical allusions of the old age attracting people's attention.

Fairy tales are based on the deep emotional expectations often unmet and it is in a fairytale that justice always overcomes injustice, the evil is destroyed, a poor becomes rich, separated lovers join again, a kind person is rewarded and bad person receives punishment deserved. In short the fairy tales describe whatsoever dreams and desires that people seldom achieve in real life. Thus the fairytales becomes a comforting idea for people to carry on.

Tajik fairy tales can be grouped into three categories; the first group is that of imaginary fairy tales. In these fairy tales central heroes primarily animals of all kind, natural world e.g. trees and bushes are portrayed like humans, they live together and have they own social orders and so on. For example fairy tales like such «Khari zirak» (Wise Donkey), «Ruboh va palang» (Fox and Tiger), «Kadui sayoh» (Traveling Pumpkin) and so on are such tales through which people portray their perspectives on social relationships and dynamics.

It is clear that these fairy tales have very ancient roots and is based on totemic beliefs that existed among people. Those animals portrayed in these tales behave like humans and represent various human character and nature. For example, fox represent a cunning and sly person, whereas rabbit represents a timid person and bear is representation of the big human with little knowledge and so on.
The second groups of fairy tales are those magical tales, which narrate stories involving magic and sorcery. In these tales humans are subject to the power of magic and evil magicians turn other popular into sorts of animals or objects or vice versa that is animals or objects are turned into humans. The main heroes in these tales usually portray positive character by fighting against magical animals, such as dragons or devas and save commoners from the threats and power of these magical animals. There are cases when main hero also makes peace treaty by marrying fairy princes etc. The central figure in these tales gradually attains the super hero status through his noble heroic deeds. Among Tajik people magical fairy tales such as «Farishtamohi ziraku dono» (Wise fairy-beauty) «Eraji devafkan» (Eraj demon slayer), «Dukhtari jasur» (Brave girl) are some of the most popular tales in this category.

Third group of fairy tales are those dedicated to the social and realistic themes. These tales do not possess the same magical and supernatural character as the second category mentioned above. These tales portray the ordinary life of ordinary people in the same way and manner as it is. The core events in these tales are real life situation lived by people across all time and ages. It narrates about unjust people, suffering of the poor people and different sociological and economic problems. Some of the most popular representative tales in this groups are «Se barodaron» (Three brothers), «Boyi zolim va kali zirak» (Oppressor rich man and wise bold youth), «Yatimcha va khoja» (An orphan and his master) and so on.

Through these tales the positive characters such as Kali Zirak or Orphan expose injustice, confront the evil and try to achieve justice by their wisdom. In such manner they are heroes that people always look unto for inspiration and they fulfill the oppressed people dreams.
Anecdotes

Anecdotes in Tajik called latifa refer to short humorous sayings that usually are exchanged and shared in cultural events and in casual conversations among people. Today it is one of the most productive humor genres and by popularity surpasses the other form of folk traditional stories or fairy tales.

Anecdotes portray almost any aspect of real life in the light of humor. It contains smallest details about various events witnessed or thought about and that is normally based on real observation of people.

The famous figures in Tajik anecdotes are Nasriddin Afandi, Mushfiki and Kali Zirak. These anecdote heroes are usually portrayed to solve, confront and discuss various moments lived. The heroes of anecdotes present situation in which they had masterfully responded to a challenge solved a difficulty faced by them or the happy life that was granted to a kind people after suffering. The anecdotes also depict negative characters in the face of unjust and mean persons and those who take advantage of the poor and disadvantaged people.

One day Afandi’s wife was doing laundry and suddenly a raven comes and snatches the soap and flies away. She cries to her husband and says:

- What sort of man are you that seeing the raven taking away my soap did not do anything about it?

Afandi replies to her by saying:

- Why are you crying so loud about this? Cannot you see that raven's clothing is much darker and dirtier than ours! Let her go and wash her clothes.

Anecdotes are usually brief and contain short humorous reaction to a certain situation or silly questions. For example:

Afandi was asked why people walk to different directions?

Afandi answers: Because if everyone walked or went to one direction that side of the earth would become heavy and would tip over.

Anecdotes are composed almost instantly and the inspiration comes from daily situations and involve humorous about famous people, such politicians, artisans and in sum represent a reaction of human mind to its sociological context.

Anecdotes are published in collections and different daily papers and in their context are much wider than being folklore genre. Some, of the anecdotes are products of prose writers or comedians. There are also television shows containing humor and anecdotes either by comedian or from folklore. For example television shows such as «Lahzahoi guvoro», «Khandinkamon», «Shakarkhand» and some on a comedy shows where anecdotes are played and demonstrated.

In addition anecdotes are also found and shared across different social media platforms that facilitate them to be widely popularized.
Riddle

Riddle is a smallest oral composition, which is widespread among the youth and children. A riddle is a statement or question or phrase having a double or veiled meaning and could include any object seen by human eyes, including the natural world, humans etc. Riddles are composed in question and answer style and the person who proposes or says the riddle expects the answer from the recipients.

We had a plot of land
We sowed black seeds
We have seen it with our own eyes
We have realized it with our own mind.
(Book)

There are riddles covering many aspects of social life of the Tajik nation. This includes the labor tools of all kind, natural occurrences the physical aspects of the human environment in short any object or notions that has place in human life.

A gold-thread embroidered curtain, that is full at night and empty in the day.(Sky with starts).

***
Daytime in trip, nighttime at the door.
(Shoes)

***
Five maidens sitting around one table. (Palm and fingers)

***
It flies without wings and sits but has no feet. (Snow)

***
There are two lines of saw and in the middle lamb. (Teeth and tongue)

Tongue-twister

A tongue-twister is a small folklore unit and is one sentence structured saying or a phrase that is designed to be difficult to articulate properly, and can be used as a type of spoken or sung word game. Tongue-twisters may rely on rapid alternation between similar but distinct phonemes (e.g., s [s] and sh [ʃ]), combining two or more different alternation patterns, including use of the loaned words or foreign words of a spoken language in order to be difficult to articulate. For example, šastu šaš asp az man ast, or yoli aspam loyaltyd.

Tongue-twisters have extremely simple meaning and are speech-activity type that elder siblings or grandparents do when young children start to talk. It is thought to help with speech development and articulation. Some produce results that are humorous when they are mispronounced, while others simply rely on the confusion and mistakes of the speaker for their amusement value. For example, čalpak, čalabu čalab, labu lab čalačalpak etc.

The speaker must pronounce and tell the tongue-twister with clear articulation and without mistake and in occasion of confusion in saying people would laugh. So the right pronunciation and the speed of tongue-twister recital depend on the memory and spelling skills often children organize a completion among themselves on tongue-twister saying.

Boloxona, tagxona.
Angur xurdem dona-dona,
Anguri mo širindona.

***
Dar boghi mo yak tutča,
In tutča čitu tutča.

***
In či dastambū, ki dastam bu zi dastambū girift.

***
Dar dasti oča bača, dar dasti bača kulča.

***
Šastu šaš šiša doštam, šast-to šišaaš šikastam.
Proverbs

Proverbs are short traditional folk sayings and are one of the most widespread folklore genres among the Tajik people. A proverb (from Latin: proverbium) is a simple and concrete saying, popularly known and repeated, that expresses a truth based on common sense or experience. They can often be metaphorical and those that describe a basic rule of conduct may also be called as a maxim.

Proverbs reflect the historical reality and are resulted on the specific real-life social-cultural and moral experiences owning their own contexts.

For example:
The sun cannot be hidden under ones shirt.

The tree branch full of fruit bends.

Water cannot roll away the heavy rock.

Primary function of the proverbs is evidence proving someone point of view. People usually quote proverbs in their speech as a witness to their own reflections or words giving them historical grounds and proof.

Proverbs in education and training of the youth play important role thus many writers and scholars have also set proverbs and educational sayings.

For example:
Wrong goods never reach the right destination.

If you sit with the moon you become like moon, if you sit with the cauldron you become like soot.

Cow who does not give milk has a laud voice.

Some people use proverbs in their talks as a stylistic device to make their speech look elegant. Often the right use of the proverbs makes what has been said stronger and pleasant. In such manner some people can communicate much of their own thoughts and philosophies through the proverbs implying that what they say has historical grounds.

Proverbs are also metaphorical device and only in the context of the conversation or a written piece the complete meaning of them are found.
Epic story of Gurghuli

Gurghuli is one of the noble intellectual products of Tajik folklore dedicated to heroism, defending one’s native land and social justice. It consists of series pieces expressing big dreams of people about a certain ‘thought country’ Jambul where justice and rule of law is practiced fairly and brotherhood of population and peaceful life is a norm.

The central hero-figure in Gurghuli is called Avaz-pahlavon, who defends his native land from the enemy’s attack and extends protection and justice to the poor and working population at the same time fighting against the injustice and lawlessness. Gurghuli in his turn is the name of a just king whose domain is called Jambuli Maston and this king shows great care to his subjects.

Jambuli Maston is a utopian kingdom reflecting the sentiments of Tajik people to live in the just kingdom and have a just king. Just kingship and utopian kingdoms is of course very well recorded through the classical Tajik authors and is a prevalent topic in Tajik literature, both written and folk.

Gurghuli epic has very many ‘fairytales’ characters, such as black demon, white demon, phoenix and fairies, which are central figures in many Tajik traditional stories. Also there are great deal of narratives on divination, witchcraft, diviners and how ordinary people fought against the demonic powers and certain heroes changed to another type of character etc. This demonstrates that those stories encompassed in Gurghuli epic have a deep root in ancient Iranian folktales and stories.
Structurally Gurghuli epic is similar to “Shahnameh” of Firdawsi, a folk novel of “Samaki ayār”, “Jame’-ul-hikāyat”, “One thousands and one night” and “Abu Muslimnāma”, which are popular folktales.

In the Folklore archive of the Rudaki Institute of Language and Literature are kept 140 Gurghuli epic dastans or pieces recorded from 20 reciters; these are also voice records, transcribed in text as well the recitation captured in video.

Gurghuli recital is accompanied by dutor a Tajik string musical instrument and several different notes are played. The tune in Gurghuli recital depends on the theme of the epic whether it is sad or joyful.

The Gurghuli reciters among people are called as gurghulikhon, gurghuliguy that is Gurghuli singer or guyanda. These men who recite Gurghuli will know from 40,000 to 60,000 couplets of Gurghuli epic and usually in different traditional ceremonies would perform in presence of guests.

Most famous Gurghuli singers in Tajikistan were Hikmat Rizo, Kabudi Haknazar, Talbi Zamir, Odina Shakar, Jalili Kurbon, Boboyunus Khudoydodzoda and Sherali Mulokoni. Nowadays Awazbegi Ziyo, Hotami Hokim, Islomi Najmiddin and some others continue this tradition performing single pieces among fan of Gurghuli.

Due to different socio-cultural factors Gurghuli today is in decline and a few people attend the Gurghuli performances.
Ruboi (Quatrains)

Quatrain (ruboi) is one of the popular oral poetry forms, which also has established literary standing in the book culture. It consists of four lines and is composed according to 24 aruz rhythmic meters. The compositional structure of the quatrains makes them easiest form of poetry to be sung and put into a melody. As such it constitutes major part of the traditional singing such as Falak.

Tajik quatrains are lyrical and include also variety of social and cultural themes. Traditional quatrains as such have been a mirror of the social and cultural events and depicting emotional standing and feelings of people in different period of their lives.

Quatrains were a poetic form of communication expressing different emotional and physical conditions of humans to each other. The quatrains contain images and imaginary of the real life situations and portray real humans. For example the lyrical quatrains portray an idealized lover either positive or negative. The figures portrayed in quatrains are contextualized in their real life situations and contexts and represent a villager, a city dwelling lover and portray qualities unique to girls, boys, old and young people that can be identified and related to.

The quatrains also communicate cultural and traditional events and phenomena true to the society where it is composed. It represents events that are inherent to the culture and society of a given culture.

You are going upward there are winds.
Flowers bloom and poppy swings.
Merchant is trading his goods,
Affected soul bleeds unaffected flourish.

River of Elok I hold dreams about you.
My white rose is on your tides.
On one side of the waters lives one lonely,
On the other side lives another lonely.

One can identify that the theme of separation and living afar from ones loved once takes central position. These quatrains demonstrate the situations and feelings that one who is separated and away has to go through.

I am leaving my house with wet eyes,
My eyes wet and heart burdened.
People ask what pain in on your heart?
Living afar is a storm of pain.
Naqš and naqšxonī

Naqš is a type of wedding song that is performed by the groom’s friends during the wedding procession. Naqšxonī that is performing a naqš singing is popular in Sughd region of Tajikistan and consist of three types: big naqš, middle naqš and small naqš. The naqš singing is current in Isfara, Konibodom, Khujand, Istaravshan and Mastcoh regions of the Sughd province. Naqš singing is also performed during the spring festivals in Navruz and Sayri Lola festivals. The naqš singing performed in the weddings is called naqshi šam’ (candle naqš) and is sung during the wedding by a lead singer and the group back-singers. The core of this naqš is based on the traditional folklore quatrains and couplets on the wedding, happiness and love themes.

For example:

Lead singer: We are going to far road.
Back singers: Yor-yor-yore.
Lead singer: We brought a flower.
Back singers: Yor-yor-yore.
Lead singer: Where should we plant this flower?

Back singers: Yor-yor-yore.
Lead singer: In the Mirzogul garden.
Back singers: Yor-yor-yore.

Other form of this song is Naqši mullo that is has very jolly tune and is sung during the wedding celebrations.

No flower garden, no flower no garden.
Who can pluck a flower from the garden?
There is news that just was announced,
Don't you know about it?

During the wedding celebration naqš is performed in the yard of the groom by his friends and may last for some hours before, during or after the wedding.

The term naqš was first used in the treatise of the musicologists of the 14th century Abdul Qadir Maroghai and later in Kavkabi Bukhori in the 16th century. There is however another form of the singing also known as naqš which is structures primarily by the folk quatrains.
Traditional songs

Song (surūd) is one of the ancient folk genre of the Tajik people and popularly it is known as she’r, ašūlā, tarona, badēhā, ghazāl, nakš, ruboī, muxammmas, bayt and so on. On the genesis of Tajik songs scholars believe it to have roots in the Avestian Gathas.

Traditional songs are accompanied by the melody and are composed on basis of literary genres like ruboī, dubaiti, ghazāl, mukhammas, masnavī, qit’a and so on. Central functional purpose of the traditional singing is expressing individual aesthetics and emotions; social relations and ones love to his native land etc. Thus, the songs cover wide array of themes including love, humor, laments and complaints, mourning and other aspects of human life. And this very characteristic of songs i.e. being expression of social emotions makes them prevalent and popular and are sung continually.

On the basis of their themes scholars have identified the following categories in Tajik traditional songs:

Lyrical songs
Historical songs
Religious songs
Festive and happy songs
Mourning and lament songs
Humor songs
Children songs
Songs dedicated to the nature
Songs devoted to specific profession and type of craft.

Lyrical songs are composed on themes of love, uniting of two lovers. This kind of songs are sung in festive and traditional ceremonies and are accompanied by lively musical tunes.

Historical songs narrate specific historical events or historical heroes such as «Šuriši Vose’» (Vose’s revolt), «Šuriši Qalandaršo» (Qalandarsho’s Revolt), «Šuriši Usmōn» (Usman’s Revolt), «Niyoz-Konchi» etc.

Happy songs are usually performed in festive events and have lively, dance music. These songs are often performed in weddings including ‘circumcision parties’, which is a type of ‘wedding’. Within this category however according to the scholars there are songs specifically called ‘wedding songs’, which are devoted to the theme of wedding, bride and groom etc. For example, some popular representative of this group are «Sartarošon», «Ustoi langi sartaroš», «Šah meoyad», «Saršuyoni arūs», «Burox-burox xušruša» etc. Despite being very old and historical these songs are still current and performed in the wedding ceremonies.

Another group of folk songs are mourning and lament songs, where the main themes are complaint of separation, being away from native places, forced marriage etc. The larger group in this genre is known as «marsiya», which is mourning songs. There are mourning songs in Tajik that have come from old days in specific
musical and thematic format. To this category the main ones are «Yo mavlon», «Dodaram», «Usmonjonume», «Abdulmajidjonam balam», which are sung by people to this day.

The humor (comedy) songs are performed by the comedy singers and are performed in funny tunes. These songs are accompanied by gestures and body movements expressing various aspects of the comedy. Some of well known in this groups are «Uşturbacha mond dar bandalı», «Yalali bobo» and «Bale murghak». The humor songs are also expression of social discords and condition by medium of comedy.

Religious songs are dedicated to the praise of God, the deeds of the prophets and other religious events and topics. Among the populace these types of songs are also called «na’txoni».

Children songs include very broad topics and are sung in multiple contexts and events. For example, «alla» (lullaby) songs of comfort, songs dedicated to natural world and songs dedicated to different children plays and games.
CHAPTER TWO

PERFORMANCE ART

TRADITIONAL DANCES
- Clown Dance
- Horse Puppet Dance
- Dance with Jug
- Poymal
- Dance with Ghizhak (Violin)
- Dance with Nay (Flute)
- Dance with Wooden Spoons
- Sleeve Dance
- The Cook's Dance
- Ground Squirrel Dance
- Battle Dance
- Stick Dance
- «Jum Jahe, Jum-Jahala»
- Knife Dance
- Dance with Headscarf

TRADITIONAL THEATRE
- Traditional Drama
- Rope Walking
- Bobopirak

FOLK MUSIC
- Traditional Musical Instruments
- Mavrigi
- «Shashmaqom»
- «Falak»
- Maddah
Clown dance

The clown dance is form of the humorous dance performed by both genders. It is one of the most ancient traditional theatrical humorous dance performed by means of nonverbal communication e.g. gesture, body language and facial emotions. It is performed in the weddings and has great regional varieties, which testifies of its historical and contextual development and evolution.

The themes in clown dance are drawn from the societal occurrences and it involves also habitual practices of the people in their environment. For example, the obesity, laziness, being lame or bold is some forms of the social shortcomings that are performed by the dancers in metaphorical and realistic critical way. The performer wearer old costumes and headgears with soot being used to decorate their faces.

In different parts of Tajikistan clown dances are designated according to the geographies of their origin e.g. Kulobi, Badakhshoni and Hisori etc. Further the clown dance is divided into mountainous and valley. The clown dance is accompanied by the music of different metrical units e.g. in Kulob 2/4, 5/8, 6/8, 7/8 in Sughd province in 2/4, 3/4, 4/4 and in Badakhshon province in 2/4, 6/8.

In Badakhshon province this dance is performed by two male dancers one of whom performs a female personage wearing women clothing. The man imitates the women's dance and makes gestures and movements specific to women with a veil covering part of his face leaving only his eyes visible. In this dance the impressions of women form of walking small steps, shaking head and blinking eyes.

The whole philosophy of this dance is humor. For example, there is a theme of a horse rider meeting women in the road. The rider moves his horse towards the women and tries to remove the veil from her face to see her and she tries resisting it. Soon she will involve in dancing with him and will try hard to hold her veil and at the end she will let the veil go and of
course the dance is a man and this is a climax as in this clown dance both dancers are men. And of course in addition to being humorous this dance also has a moral story line.

There is a similar dance where women dance wearing men's clothing and obviously in this form of dance they do impressions of men. The movements in this dance are that of men's dance displaying braveness and other masculine qualities including the odd nature. During the dance the audience will join in making comments or trying to dance with a 'man' dancer.

One of other forms of clown dance is that «Kočbazai» which can be performed in pair by either gender.

The clown dance in recent years has found their place in republican theatrical contests as well.
Horse puppet dance

Horse puppet dance is one of the humorous dances where performers in horse puppet demonstrate the horse riding skills. This dance can be performed by a group of dancers and both men and women can dance this. The horse puppet dance is conducted under the frame drum music. The central element in the dance is a horse puppet. The most common is a horse puppet from a wood and decorated with shiny fabrics.

Each dancer in the dance tries to demonstrate his or her dancing skill. The famous horse puppet dancers in long years have preserved traditional dance motions of Tajik people and have also developed new movements enriching it by new impressionist’s elements. Horse puppet dance can be performed under all sorts of music and in the dance the puppeteer and horse marionette become single object – that is a horse. So, horse listens to the music first and after a short pause begins dancing.

In the group horse puppet dance the theme is identical to the buzakashi (goat-snatching); a girl appears and she throws her headscarf on the ground and the group of horse puppet dancers come and try to get it by imitating buzakashi competition.

Horse puppet dancer during the performance plays two roles; first the brave and skilled rider and than a clever horse who likes music and can dance. In horse puppet dance one can observe the elements of pantomime, lyrical themes and humor.
**Dance with jug**

Dance with jug has regional varieties and in Badakhshan province is performed by male dancers whilst in Rasht valley, Kulob and Sughd province women perform it. It can be solo dance and also group dance. It is performed in accompaniment of frame drum as well as other musical styles and singing. In Badakhshan province it is performed under the «Rahpo» music. The theme for this dance in Sughd province is that a girl and her friends holding a water jug in her shoulder goes to fetch water from a spring. The dance begins with her walking to a spring, where in the spring she washes her face, make her hair splashes water and play with friends and also meets her lover. The ending episode is when she returns home dancing with a water in jug.

In Badakhshan province dancer puts some walnuts and during the dance uses it as a shaker to give sound. This dance in Badakhshan has juggling elements where dancer throws the jug in the air and catches with his hand in the back or puts the jug on his head and spins.

Dance with jug performed by women in Rasht, Sangvor and Kulob has much more feminine elements in it and it is lyrical. In twentieth century this type of dance became part of the professional dance categories and famous choreographs Gh. Valamatzoda, A. Islomva and A. Protsenko have created a long segment group dance which was performed by the «Lola» dance group.

This dance is also known as «Vokhuri» and «Kuzabozi».
**Poyamal**

*Poyamal* is one of the rare forms of a ritual traditional dances preserved till today in certain regions of the Badakhshan province. It is performed in the mourning period. It can be performed in two specific moments during the mourning periods: first on the funeral day and is performed by the closest kin of the deceased e.g. wife, sister or mother. The performer comes with her hair open and applies soot in her face. The dance is accompanied by a special frame drum rhythm and singing mortuary songs. The relatives and neighbors can join the dance a sign of condolence. The second moment when this is performed is after the funeral prayer finishes during the procession when the body is taken to the cemetery. It is performed in 10-15 meter distance from the house of the deceased and behind the procession till the place where women are allowed to go. Afterwards they return and perform it in the house of the deceased.

In the past this dance was performed by men wearing their headgears and coats inside out. In Bartang valley today some ancient elements of this dance is still preserved.

The motions in this dance are very reflective of the inner conditions of the mourning person and cry huge symbolic representation as well. It also has a component of dialogue with God when the mourning person with raised hands towards the sky kneels in the middle of the yard and sing lament song or please a prayer for the deceased e.g. “God accept the spirit of this deceased” etc. afterwards the performer sits on the ground and hits the ground with his or her hands three times, which means “O Earth accept the body of the deceased”. Than follows to perform the anguish and distress of the one who lost a dear person by moving the body parts as it has an acute pain.

During the performance the dancer makes semi circle move while holding one hand over hear heart and another in the hips, which symbolizes “broken heart and body” in the next round he places his hand liver than heart and in his back meaning “my inner being is burning and back broken”.

The *poyamal* on the funeral day is performed by female siblings and has slow motions and performer let her hair loose and scratches her face with hand movements showing distress.
The performer will wear torn and old clothing as a symbol of grief. In past the performer would tear her garment from the neck and would pool her hair.

Today in majority of the regions of Badakhshan the poyamal has ceased and the grief is depicted by wearing plain old clothing and the khalifa would pray and or maddah would perform a devotional song.
Dance with ghizhak (violin)

Dance with ghizhak a national violin is performed under the music accompaniment where the dancer himself plays the main part with violin. It is a solo dance performed by men and is chiefly popular in Badakhshan province. The dance can be performed accompanied by singing and can include playing frame drum and other types of musical instruments by other performers.

The dancer during dance plays a tune in accordance with the rhythm of other players. In the begging he faces the music players by holding his violin up above his head and than turns to the public and bows. Than he begins singing simultaneously playing his violin. During the dance he makes series of motions including playing violin in sitting position. He performs various tricks using his violin including playing it behind he back or above his head. The dance ends by performer when his makes whirl dance and finishes his song in a high stretched tune.
Dance with nay (flute)

Dance with nay or flute is a traditional men solo dance and it is widespread in Badakhshan and Kulob provinces. Dance with a flute has two main parts: one is the «slow» and the second «fast» or more festive. In Badakhshan it is performed by a professional flute player. In the begging the flute player appears on the stage playing a slow tune and starts making dance motions in a part-siting position. After in vertical position he makes various body movements under the tune accompanied his flute music. He will move from end of the stage to another and performs whirls. In the ending segment of the first part the frame drum and other musical instruments join the music and play a lyrical festive music.

The second part of the dance is most «active» part when performer dances faster and the frame drums play louder and speedier music. The second part of the dance consists of series of whirls and body movements.

Dance with flute can be sometimes performed by two dancers, 2 male and 2 female. This kind also has two parts where in the first part a male solo player would come and starts dancing in soft motions and play lyrical melody. In the second part when the first dancer sits in the middle of the stage the second, female performer will appear and with responds to the melody of the first performer. Than they team together and dance.

The paired dance performed by the flute players is accompanied with the drum and other musical instruments and is very joyous dance including elements of whirl and lyrical motions of the body movements. They stand in their backs whirl from one end of the stage to the other end and than facing each other represent and a lyrical dance.

In Kulob the dance with flute has its own peculiar features. The dancer does not play the flute but rather uses it as an accessory to his
dance making impressions as he is playing the flute. The dance is performed under the flute and other musical instruments accompaniment. In the 80s of the last century this type of dance was also commonly performed by the solo and group dancers of the dance groups. It was performed in the republican dance and theatrical talent contests.

Today dance with flute is performed in gala concerts by professional dancers as a team of two dancers or solo male dancer under the accompaniment of the pop or traditional music.
Dance with wooden spoons

Dance with wooden spoons is a female dance, which in Badakhshan province is known as a čeb bazai or čeb raqqosi and is performed by men. This dance is performed under the frame drum accompaniment or other musical instruments and the wooden spoon here are used as accessory to make click sound but not melody. The performer in this dance uses wooden spoons holding them between his fingers in his two hands and makes motions in accordance with the music rhythm played. It is danced in speed and is festive dance including multiple elements of a regular traditional dance such as whirl hand movements.

Since the wooden spoons are part of the household tools during the dance performers can mimic different things that can be achieved with the spoon.

This dance has greatly developed in the 20th century and become iconic for some of the dance groups like «Lola», «Gulrez» and «Jahonoro» dance groups. It is also performed by the ethnographic music group «Ganjina» and is also part of the regional theaters’ repertoire.
**Sleeve dance**

Sleeve dance is an ancient Tajik female dance performed under the frame drum music. The main movement is performed by the long sleeves of the traditional female dress thus it gets its name from. It is performed during major traditional festivals and weddings and is widespread in Mastchoh, Ayni, Kulob, Istaravshan, and other areas of Zarafshon valley. The dance begins by the performers holding their arms on their sides and moving their sleeves in rhythm with their steps and melody played. Than they make various motions by moving their arms but holding their sleeves. The sleeve dance carries huge symbolic elements such as feeling shy when the dancer holds one sleeve with one hand covering her face or she appears on the stage holding her arms in front of her face with her face covered and slowly opens her face making facial mimics. The dance motions in this dance are repetitive.

In the version of the sleeve dance popular in Mastchoh ladies use a separate sleeve extension made from a colorful or embroidered fabric of 20 cm long which would be kept out from the underneath of their special overcoat used in this dance. This dance is performed under the drum music or melody of 6/8 rhythmic tact. The dance
involved using hand in movement from one side to another or separately by spreading the sleeves. The sleeves in dance are moved by the hands to produce different motions.

Long sleeve in the costume of the mountainous population is a significant element used as a hand fan or as a pocket. In the past, the sleeve dance was performed on the wedding day. The older women in the family would normally perform this dance, which would symbolize that the large and long sleeves were full of happy life and blessings for the new family.

This dance at the end of the 20th century was officially included in the repertoire of the professional dance groups and is performed widely with keeping its regional nature.
The cook’s dance

The cook’s dance is a form of traditional humorous dance performed either by man or a woman during the wedding or other joyous events. It is performed under the frame drum music or full orchestra accompaniment with a wooden or porcelain plate. The theme of the dance is preparation of certain traditional dishes such as oši palav or oši burida. This dance incorporates elements of the clown dance, pantomime and circus. In Zarafshon valley the dance is performed by a man wearing traditional costume, white knee length shirt with his waist tied by a traditional kerchief, square hat and leather socks. In the dance the man makes impression of cooking oši palav. The dancer here performs a juggling moves by placing a plate over his head a gradually will lower it into his neck and than upper part of his back. Afterwards he takes the plate in his hands and dances moving the plate up and down on air and makes impression of preparing a food. After the food is ready he sits and puts the plate in his front and mimics eating palav by hand. As he «eats» he makes varied motions some humorous and eats...
in dancing manner. After he finishes «eating» he takes the plate in his hands and dances.

The female cook's dance, which is common in Rasht and Kulob makes impression of making oši burida, a pasta dish. The dancers by means of gestures in the dance mimic the whole process of preparation of this traditional dish, including the various tools that are required in cooking this dish. It begins with a dancer coming to the stage making slow dance and than she will begin the preparation of the noodles by mimicking taking the flour and sifting it making dough and flattening it and than cutting it into noodles. She then sets out dancing to make fire and put the cauldron to «cook» the dish. The dance is solo but as the «dish» is prepared the dancer will gesture and «call» guests who join her in dancing and «eating» the dish.

Whilst the «dish» is being «cooked» the ladies dance around the oven where the cauldron is and than the dish is served and after being eaten they dance and slowly leave the stage.

These days the cook's dance is included into the main repertoire of the dance groups and performed widely. The men also perform this dance but mainly as the festive oši palav is cooked by male cooks they will depict in their dance only pilaf cooking process.
Ground squirrel dance

Ground squirrel dance is a dance imitating the movements of this animal. It is one of the traditional men’s dance performed in festive events such as wedding or in Navruz – spring holyday. It is in the category of the humorous dance. The performer during the dance imitates various movements that the ground squirrel makes including standing on his toes or moving his shoulders in particular manner as the squirrel coming out from his hole or watching around.

This dance is performed under the frame drum music of 6/8 rhythmic tact. The dancer in his motions tries to the best to depict the funny motions of the ground squirrel in different positions like sitting, or making forward and backward moves or by holding his arms in his
front and shaking his shoulders.

The dancer begins by tiptoeing and arms into two sides. He then bends slightly forward and spins rising and going down manner. Afterwards he makes fist and holds his arms in front of his chest moving his head and dancing in jumping manner.

Majority of the pantomime dances depicting animals has ceased but happily the ground squirrel dance is still performed and living in some regions of Tajikistan.
Battle dance

This stick dance is called as chub-bozi or «battle dance» performed by men and usually it is danced in pair. This dance depicts the war, hunting and various wrestling elements typical of heroism and epic traditions involving men. It incorporates elements of heroic battles. The performers hold sticks as a sword and depict a battle scene involving also wrestling. It is danced under the drum music and shows sportsmanship.

The dancers during the performance depict the battle as two fighting party as well as depict the heroism of friends during the battle. They move in the stage in the manner as they are in a battlefield. In addition the dancers demonstrate their skill of handling sword by imitating the sword fight. It also shows the juggling and acrobatic skills of throwing the stick on the air and spinning fast and catching the stick. The choreography includes elements of martial art and is very entertaining.

This is a dance popular among the populace of mountainous regions. Given their geographical habitat people in the mountain regions always carried a stick with them, which they used as defense instrument against wild animals etc.
Stick dance

This dance involves wooden sticks and is similar to the Rajashanai Gair dance. It is traditional men dance depicting battle elements. It is performed either by two men or a group of men forming two parties and dancing using their wooden sticks both a «weapon» to show battle or as a music instrument by heating them in rhythmic manner to make melody.

This dance is performed either in a semi circle order or in horizontal lines. They dance it either in kneeling position or semi standing) or by standing facing each other.

It is very active dance showcasing the braveness and skillfulness of men.
«Jum jahe, jum-jahala»

«Jum jahe and jum-jahala» – is traditional male group dance performed under the dashnobodi frame drum rhythm. The dance’s name comes from the chorus that is loudly repeated by the dancers during the performance i.e. «oh jahe, jum jahe! Jum jahala! Jum jahe, jum jahala».

This dance is known among the population of Zarafshan and Hisar valleys, including Rudaki, Shahrinav and Vahdat districts. The performance begins with the frame drum music and then the drum stops and the rest of it is performed under the clapping and loud shouts of the dancers.

It is said that in medieval period this dance had ritualistic nature and was primarily performed by the dervish communities. However, from what is known from the 20th century records it has became a popular male dance performed during the festive events such as wedding and other ceremonies. It is performed by a group standing in a circle and clapping and shouting «o jahe» meaning «to jump». Once someone jumps in the middle the rest of the group would bend forward and under the loud rhythmic clapping would sing out «jum jahe, jum jahala» with their right leg forward. Afterwards they will stand and start jumping and leaping in one foot making left and right motion. The dancer dancing in the middle would raise his hands upwards and shake his shoulders responding to «jum jahala» shout to the group’s «jum jahe» shout.

This dance incorporates a great amount of varied body movements including facial emotional gestures. As the dance progresses the rhythm and speed of the clapping, movements and shouts of «jum jahe, jum jahala» increases.

From the middle of the last century this dance has also made its way into the professional theatrical stages and is performed by the professional dance groups.
Knife dance

Knife dance is one of the oldest forms of the male battle dance. It is a solo dance performed under the frame drum music or other cheerful music in weddings. The performer dances holding two knives, one in each hand. Knife dance is performed in high speed and dancer makes quick motions sometimes giving impression that he is cutting himself. Under the music the performer circles around amusing the audience with his knife skills. At the end he stands in one corner and by aiming some object he throws his knives.

On the professional stage the knife dance was first performed by the USSR people's artists Ghaffor Valamatzoda. The characteristics of the dance performed by this artists was that he has given a great combination of traditional moves and elements in his dance in addition to the fixed moves that existed in folk version of this dance.
Dance with headscarf

Raqs bo ruymol refers to a traditional dance performed by women in family celebrations under the frame drum, drum or other national musical instruments. It is performed both in small and big celebrations, such as weddings or other traditional festivals.

The theme of the dance is stitching an embroidery headscarf. A woman with an embroidery headscarf under the melody will dance pretending she is stitching a headscarf. During the dance she displays her work and makes various moves and steps in different positions.

In this dance performer tries to depict her skills both by showing her dancing skill and also demonstrating various stitching moves. In the end of the dance she presents the headscarf to someone. Usually in lyrical dance the scarf is a man's handkerchief, which is part of the traditional Tajik costume, and man wears them tying their waist. So, the women in dance perform the role of a young woman in love who is preparing handkerchief for her beloved and at the end of the dance she presents it to him.

In the 20th century Raqs bo ruymol became part of professional dance ensemble's repertoire and is danced both as solo and in-group and there are several types of this dance. One particular performed as group dance is imitation of stitching wall hanger embroidery where dancers while imitate stitching also display the whole ceremonial nature of the embroidery execution. The dance by the professional dance ensembles is performed in republican festivals and events.
Traditional drama

Tajik traditional theatre has its root deep in the history springing out from the esoteric, animistic, and totemic worldview and perceptions of forbearers of Tajiks. Certain elements of the traditional theatre of Tajiks have been also recovered by the archeologists as depicted on various material culture objects including artistic works. The high-developed period of the traditional theater found its print also in medieval miniatures paintings. Tajik folk theatrical plays similar to other nation's folk theater had no real authors. Authors and actors in folk theatre were those from among the populace with natural acting skills and talent such as clowns and comedians for whom this was their day job. The core style on traditional theatre was improvisations and word-play skill, which again had its roots in folk compositions comprising the elements of social and cultural activities and themes. Theatrical performances included variety of formats for instance impressions (animals, certain people), dance imitating animals, puppet show, anecdote telling etc.

Traditional dram provided a context for people to showcase their natural talents and exercise their singing, story telling, joking and dancing abilities as means of earning as well as performing in front of public. The occasions when traditional theatres performed also was closely connected with the local traditional events such as weddings, festivals or any public events such as market fairs. Accordingly the traditional theatre was not bound to a building but was held under open air in streets, gardens and people's yards. Theatrical performances included many nonverbal acts such as gestures and other humorous forms of bodily language.

The characters performed in dramas were inspired by both mythology and real life situations; such as judges- were portrayed as greedy and unjust or mullah was always hypocrite where peasant and farmers as just and people seeking justice and kindness despite being subject to harshness of life. Many dramas displayed the real struggle of ordinary people against class distinctions.
and social unfairness. In traditional drama plays representatives of a various vocations and classes were incorporated to represent their daily life for example the dramas «Arzankori» drama about an oat-sower farmer; «Karbosbofi» drama about cotton fabric weaver, «Devonabozi» drama about a mentally challenged wise person. In these dramas the main figures were either praised or criticized. In «Karbosbofi» play a weaver is criticized for taking advantage of his suppliers and also claiming other people's goods for his own benefit.

The role of the clowns in traditional drama was significant as through their jokes people were entertained and received mental relief from their hard life. The depiction of unjust people and criticism of such through the drama was a sort of comfort to those subject to injustice. As such traditional drama projected the deep emotional and realistic conditions of ordinary people. These dramas were also instrumental in educating people to take the best examples portrayed and not to follow those criticized.

Traditional theatres in Tajikistan ceased in mid twentieth century after the development and establishment of a professional theatre. The only surviving elements of the traditional folk theatre survive in forms of special joking events during the weddings or cultural events particularly among the rural population.
**Rope walking**

Rope walking is considered as one of the ancient traditional custom of the Tajik people, which is believed has started 2,5 thousands years ago in the ancient near east and gradually spread all over the world. Tajik held tightrope walking events during the celebrations of Navruz and Mehrgān festivals including weddings and other traditional joyful events where a local people's circus would have been invited to perform tightrope walking.

Rope walkers would travel wide and perform in big cities, such as Khujand, Konibodom, Istaravshan, Isfara, Panjikent and Hisar. The tightrope walking teams would normally include 2 or 3 rope walker, 2 clowns and 3 or 4 music players (drum and horn). Traditionally in tightrope walking a rope made from wool was used, but starting from the twentieth century they iron wires are employed instead. The height of the pole to which the rope is pooled together for walking can be 5 to 6 meters or even higher.

The rope walking events are very lively and accompanied by a loud music, which mainly is played to attract the crowd. After the viewers are gathered the music will stop and an elderly man will pray blessing over the players. The music will starts again when a tightrope walker would appear in the scene who would not just walk but also perform different sorts of the tricks. Some tightrope walkers would perform dance on the rope or some would walk with their eyes blindfolded or walk with the copper plates attached to their feet. To excite the viewers they would walk by holding jars filled with the waters or wearing amusing shoes with high heels or elaborate designs, including covering themselves in a sack.

After the tightrope performance the turn is given to clowns who would recite humorous songs, poems or tell anecdotes, including imitating the voice of animals, birds or famous people. The clowns would do juggling, knife throwing to the target or dance with the lit fire sticks.

Tightrope walking is a skill, which is taught from an early age. The training for tightrope walking includes many features of gymnastics and the trainer would normally watch over the diet of their students. The tightrope walking practice is at first conducted on rope pooled in a short height and if it is high above the grown a string is tight from two side of the waist of the student to help him balance while walking.

After finishing their training as a tight ripe walker students would organize a party to honor his tutors and ask their blessing for his new vocation.

Due to the establishment of a professional circus the people's circus, including traditional tightrope walking has seen great decline.
Bobopirak

Bobopirak is a traditional musical combining theatrical, singing and dance elements. It is one of the widespread forms of the folk musical in Badakhshan province also known as «Pirak» or «Pirakbazai» in Bartang valley, «Prakbozi» in Vanj region and «Bobopirak» in Rushan region.

Bobopirak is performed during the wedding by a group of 2 dancers and 3 or 4 musicians. Bobopirak performance consists of two parts. The first part is largely singing and dancing and has lyrical nature and the second part includes humorous songs and it is more like comedy.

One of the two performers plays Bobopirak and the second one plays a woman role. They sing in quatrains taking turn and after finishing each quatrain they make a short dance.

A person playing Bobopirak wears a make-up and artificial moustache and beard. He wears a big overcoat and ties up bulky things in his body to make him look having a «big bely». He wears his hat inside out and holds a stick.

The woman role is played by a man wearing female costume and covering her face with a veil and only leaving her eyes open.

The musical takes place indoor in the home of the person who has wedding. At the begging of the musical Bobopirak figure comes into the house walking in a «duck» manner. Once he comes into the house he begins boasting proudly about his wealth. Than he raises his stick and will try to threaten someone from the audience. The audience familiar with the context of Bobopirak would imagine him being in the garden of certain princes. He sings some quatrains sited and the musicians will repeat the chorus and play the motif.

The female figure appears with her face covered. Bobopirak seeing her rises up and greets her and they sing to one another. During the singing Bobopirak and the woman change their position moving around and singing. Bobopirak walk in funny manner to make the audience laugh. When singing he points to the woman with his index finger and makes different hand gestures. As the singing progresses the woman choses a random audience and hugs him. In this moment Bobopirak approaches him and sings:

- Hey brother! Give my woman back
- The man replies: Where is your woman? And pushes Bobopirak's belly
- Bobopirak answers: This man has got my woman and points to a man who is hugging a 'woman' dancer.
- The audience responds that «I am young and you are old; why do you need a woman?»
- Bobopirak than replies: You wished a wife and snatched my woman? Pay me for my woman.

Then a man gives Bobopirak either traditional sock (jurab) or some dried fruits. The woman than goes and clings to another audience and the same dialogue is repeated. After the performance finishes the performers divide the collected presents between themselves.
Musical instruments demonstrate significant cultural developments of every nation. In his history humans invented and made different musical instruments and these has seen a long typological evolution including shape and form. Some ancient musical instruments has been abandoned and new ones replaced them so has seen changes in their structure and use.

Tajik people have a rich musical history that goes hand in hand with the musical instrument production and innovations.

The famous scholar Belyaev has divided Tajik musical instrument into two main groups:

1. Musical instruments of the mountainous region;
2. Musical instruments of the people living in the valleys and cities.

In their turn the musical instruments are classified by categories:

Mountain regions musical instruments:
1. Wind instruments: nay (flute)
2. String: ghizhak (violin), dumbra (two-stringed guitar), rubobi Pomiri.
3. Percussion: doira (frame drum), tablak (drum)

Musical instruments of the people living in valleys:
1. Wind instruments: surnay, karnai;
2. String: ghizhak (violin), dutor (two-stringed guitar), tanbur and rubob;
3. Percussion: doira (frame drum), qayraq (flat rocks) and naghora (drum)

Tajik traditional musical instruments follow the same classification as in other cultures that are in the similar grouping as in a Western orchestra: strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion.
a. String instruments - musical instruments that produce sound by strings that vibrate. The most common string instruments are tor, tanbur, rubob, dutor, dumbera, dutori bam, and soz. These instruments that played by plucking technique.

b. Bowed string instruments that are instruments played by bow and this include ghizhak, gobuz, and sato. The bow consists of a stick with many hairs stretched between its ends that make the string vibrate.

c. Struck string instruments. Instruments defined by a method of sound production such as chang (santoor).

d. Woodwind instruments. These are
musical instruments, which produces sound when the player blows air against an edge or a thin piece of wood called a reed. Most of these instruments were originally made of wood, but some are now made of other materials like metals or plastics. This includes nay, *dunay*, *surnay*.

e. Percussion instruments. A percussion instrument is any object, which produces a sound by being hit with an implement, shaken, rubbed, scraped, or by any other action which makes the object vibrate. This include *doira* or *daf* (frame drum), *tablak*, spoon and *gayroq* (flat stones).

Development of the musical instruments industry is closely attached to the development of fine arts, music and traditional modes of art.
Mavrigi

*Mavrigi* is a song cycle typical for musical traditions of Bukhara, and has its own distinctive features and performance style. *Mavrigi* songs are performed by women-sozandas or men-khonandas in accompaniment of *doira*. It initially emerged and got widespread on the territory of Bukhara Emirate in the Middle Ages (in the XVI-XVII centuries) as a distinct type of music creativity of Iranian people. Later on, it became popular among Uzbek and Tajik peoples.

The term “mavrigi” is derived from word “ma-vri”, which is used in relation to Iranian peoples, who came to Bukhara from various parts of Khorasan (mainly from Marv, Turkmenistan) at different times and settled. Music-related creativity of Iranian peoples became quickly widespread among population of Bukhara. Consequently, it got improved and changed under influence of local traditions. As a result of these, *mavrigi*, a new musical style in singing practice, emerged.

*Mavrigi* is a cycle of folk songs, which intensively evolved in Bukhara during XIX and beginning of the XX centuries. These types of songs were mainly accompanied by playing on *doira*. In addition, these types of songs have a couplet form, are very laconic and emotional. Their typical features are: singing in a small range, existence of recitative-melodious. Poetic texts (for the most part, these are examples of folk poetry), which are used in these songs, are mainly in the form of distiches or quatrains. Sometimes, poems in the form of pent-stich (“mukhammas”) are declaimed in *mavrigi*. Another feature is presence of an improvisatory musical and poetic text. As a rule, in *mavrigi* there is a first (or lead) singer who begins
singing a song, while the others sing along the verses or words-refrains. Mavrigi opens with a part called “Shahd”, which is a small song of songful-lyrical, improvisatory-recitative nature, and which is based on the poems of Hafiz, a classicist of oriental poetry. Then, as the singers move from one song to another, the tempo gets accelerated with songs becoming more cheerful and energetic. Traditionally, the songs have different contents; but mostly relate to love-related and lyrical themes.

Mavrigi songs represent an artistic piece in which it is possible to observe a change of emotional and spiritual state. Also, performance of a song is accompanied by dances. By the end only rhythm-usuls on doira are performed – “Zangbozi” (literally, “playing Zang”, i.e. “dance”; “zang” is a little bell or hand bell. It represents a percussion instrument in the form of a bracelet with jingle-bells).

Main parts in mavrigi songs are called Shahd (“Sweetness”), Garden (“Progress”) and Furovard (“dénouement”), which are organically connected with each other as a chain. Introductory part, “Shahd”, begins with singing of lengthy lyrical songs of improvisatory nature. This is followed by songs of different characters (such as Yakkazarb, Daromadi Chorzarb, Corzarb, Garden, etc.), which have their own tempo and rhythm and which remind of a small poem. In it, the songs of lyrical and dramatic character, acquire peculiar harmonious fusion, which gradually leads, to the beginning of emotional rise. In Garden a change of various spiritual states is observed, while songs are performed impetuously and impulsively (Maydakhoni, Mayda ghazal, Mukhammas, etc.). The structure of songs is laconic, and is diverse in terms of internal as well as external tempo and rhythm. The melodies of these songs evoke somewhat an elevated emotional state. Furovard represents a culmination part, in which songs are rhythmically more energetic and lively, and usuls of doira are more complex.

Outside its traditional context mavrigi is also part of the repertoire of the professional music and dance groups such as «Zebo», «Lola», «Ganjina» and ethnographic song groups or «Qaratogh» in Tur sunzoda city, «Nasimi Qratagoh» group in Shahri nav district and «Bonu» in Panjakent. The mavrigi singing is also accompanied by dances, which is performed by both male and female dancers.
Shashmaqom is a Central Asian musical genre, (typical of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan). Shashmaqom means the six maqams (modes) in the Persian language, dastgah being the name for Persian modes, and maqams being the name for modes more generally. The six maqams include Buzruk, Rost, Navo, Dugoh, Segoh and Iroq.

It is a refined sort of music, with lyrics derived from classical lyrical poems starting from Rudaki to the poets of medieval and late medieval period.

Shashmaqom includes more than 250 sung pieces from two categories that is instrumental and voiced singing. These further can be classified as the music pieces with cheerful melodies (Tarona and Ufar) as and the long complex «devotional» pieces (Sarakhbor, Savt and Talqin).

Starting from the XX century Shashmaqom was recorded and published in the form of separate collections, was scientifically studied and integrated in the new system of music education, and was actively used in composers’ activities in Tajikistan.

The instruments of Shashmaqom provide an austere accompaniment to the voices. They consist, at most concerts, of a pair of long-necked
lutes, *doira* – frame drum, and the *tanbour*.

A number of people’s singers of Tajikistan such as Boboql Fayzulloev, Shohnazar Sohibov and Fazliddin Shahobov had made huge contribution in development, preservation and popularization of the Tajik Shashmaqom music. One of the greatest undertakings by these singers was establishing an academic Shashmaqom group in 1946. Between 1950 and 1967 under the guidance of the Sadriddin Ayni and Bobojon Ghafurov many Shashmaqom pieces were published in music note-sheet in 5 volumes. The endeavor of these scholars was also great in training the younger and next generation of Shashmaqom performers such as N. Aminov, B. Niyozov, B. Ishokova, L. Barakaeva, A. Soliev and many others.

Shashmaqom singing is taught and transmitted in «ustod-shogird» (tutor and disciple) style and each maestro who has his unique singing school or style teaches his own disciples who will continue his teacher’s school.

On the 12th of May in 2000 his Excellency President of the Republic of Tajikistan Emomali Rahmon signed decree to re-structure the Shashmaqom ensemble function at the state Radio and
Television Committee and named it after one of the distinguished Shashmaqom maestro Fazliddin Shahobov. Now on every year on the 12th of May Shashmaqom Day is celebrated across the country. In the following up of this decree in various regions of the country new Shashmaqom groups have been organized, including the National Conservatory of the Tajikistan, «Nuri Khujand», State ensemble of Shashmaqom, “Shashmaqom Academy” and etc.

In 2003 “Shashmaqom” was recognized by UNESCO as the “Masterpiece of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity” and in 2008 was included in the Representative List of ICH of UNESCO (joint nomination by Uzbekistan and Tajikistan).
Falak is a traditional folklore music genre of the Tajik people. Falak means «heaven, fortune or universe». Falak primarily draws its verses from the oral tradition of folk poetry and stories, and secondarily from classic Tajik-Persian general classical poetry. The structure of falak is most often in one section and can form an interlude within a performance. The quatrains or couplet sung by the falak-singers are emotionally expressive and are rich with the philosophical and expressions of destitution of human life.

When used with the word dashti, as in falaki dashti, it refers to a performance by the voice alone with no instrumental accompaniment. Thus falak is distinguished by its mode of performance.

Instrumental falak, without voice, also exists, which is often performed on the nay, in Badakhshan in funnel-shaped flute nayi Pomiri; or the ghizhak. It can also be performed on one of the lutes of the region - the Pamiri rubab (falaki Badakhshoni is performed with this instrument), or dotar.

Falak is most often performed in Tajik with its dialectological varieties, i.e. dialect is expressed through the quatrains of different regions such as Kulob, Rasht or Badakhshan. In Badakhshan falak singers are often maddahs who incorporate in their singing themes of mystical/Divine love, separation, and reunion. However, falak themes most often relate specifically to human love, pain, suffering, familial separa-
tion and hope of reunion - between a parent and child, or a lover and beloved.

Falak as a unique traditional music genre in Tajikistan in the last century has seen significant development. The development of this due to the great contribution of the many professional falak-singers such as Bobokhalili Odina, Rajabmadi Vali, Madali Barot, Karimi Shish, Akasharif Juraev, Hoshimi Qosim, Odina Hoshim, Gulchehra Sodiqova, Abdul Nazri, Ibrohim Kobuliev, Musavvar Minakov, Mammadato Tavalloev, Navruzshoh Qurbanhusenov, Mohjon Nazazardova, Nusayri Odinaev, Hakim Mahmudov, Fayzali Hasanov, Davlatmand Kholov, Safarmuhhammad Murodov, Dona Bahromov, Asliya Iskanadarova and Panjshanbe Jorubov. These maestros of flak music have also established their own singing schools and have trained many disciples who continue the work of their teachers.

The first professional “Falak” ensemble was established in 1989 under the guidance of Davlatmand Kholov. In 2001 by the decree of the President of Tajikistan the “Falak” ensemble was given state institutional status and since 2007 every year 10th of October is celebrated as Falak Day.

Falak genre is taught formally in the music colleges, including in National Conservatory of Tajikistan named after T. Sattorov and Tajik State Institute of Art and Culture named after M. Tursunzoda.
Maddah

Maddah or maddahi is a kind of sung religious poetry, accompanied by rubabs and/or tanbur with at least one daf, which is spread among the people of Rushan and Shughnan of the Badakhshan province. In area of Ishkashim this type of song is known as qasoid and the Ismaili of the Darvoz region called it haidari.

Maddah poetries are religious and devotional in nature dedicated to the praise of God, prophets and other individual saint for instance devotional songs in praise of Ali – one of the companions of the prophet of Islam.

Maddah is performed in the religious events such as the first day of mourning, Friday night gatherings, celebration of significant religious festivals and ceremonies, inauguration of the religious venues, including the commemoration evenings. In particular maddah is performed on the funeral days and the subsequent ceremonies following after the funeral. The content of the maddah songs are on morals, justice, holiness, and tolerance, cherishing the life, human dignity and performing good deeds topics.

According to the traditional tales maddah gets its origins in the work and writings of the Nosir Khusrav. However, its popularity among the
inhabitants of the Badakhshan region points to its larger Persian-Tajik literary contexts and origins. The maddah repertoire includes many poetry and prosaic samples from major literary figures of the Persian-Tajik literature such as Attar, Jami, Mavlana.

There are few prosaic tales of philosophical and religious nature such as «Panj kishti», «Jamjama», «Invasion of Khaibar fortress», «Sakhovati Murtaza Ali» and other which are sung in traditional tunes specific to maddah singing.

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CHAPTER THREE

TRADITIONAL CELEBRATIONS AND RITUALS

CALANDER FESTIVAL AND RITUALS

- FLOWER-VISIT (GULGARDONI)
- NAVRUZ
- SUMANAKPAZI
- ASHAGLÄN
- RAMADAN AND THE EID-AL-FITR
- IDI QURBON (EID AL-ADHA)
- MEHRGAN FESTIVAL

FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD RITUALS

- WEDDING
- GULBAZM (FLOWER PARTY)
- OILING THE HANDS
- SALOMNOMAKHONI
- CRADLE-LAYING
- CIRCUMCISION RITUAL
- OSHI NAHOR
- MOURNING AND MORTUARY CEREMONIES
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan

Among Tajik people there are series of ceremonies and events that preceding the Navruz – a New Year. One of the first such traditions when young children would from house to house to announce that the Navruz is coming is known as *gulgardon* (taking flower around). This takes place in one or two week before the Navruz when young children in groups will go to the hills and collect the first flowers of the spring such as winter snowdrop, crocus and netted iris and bring these to the village and towns. Afterwards they go from house to house singing merry songs to tell the household owners that the spring has arrived. In their turn the households where children take the flowers will give them sweet and savory treats. When they get to see the first spring flowers they rub them gently in their eyebrows and cheeks making wishes.

The *gulgardon* ceremony has varied songs and in total these songs contain well wishes and congratulatory words for the new year and new spring.

Spring has come, spring has come
The spring of tulips and poppy has come
The season of work for farmer has come
May it be well with you in the new spring.

Spring has come, spring has come
The parade of flowers is in process
Fields has turned into flower gardens
May it be well with you in the new spring.

Spring has come to be your guests
You must value it
If you value you are Muslim
May it be well with you in the new spring.

Spring has come with multiple colors
Half of time is rain half is snow
Parrots are crying out in cages
May it be well with you in the new spring.

It should be noted that the gulgardoni custom is also widely known among Tajiks of the Central Asia. In Khatlon province winter aconite and crocus are taken from house to house. In Hisar valley a yellow netted iris blooms in this period, which people call it Navruz flower. In Sughd province and Zarafshan valley they gather blue bell (boychechak) and the ceremony is also called «boychechak» or «boychechakgui».

Snowdrops and crocus bloom around the 21st of January to 20 of February. Depending on the time when these flowers bloom the gulgardoni ceremony takes place accordingly. In majority regions the period for the gulgardoni ceremony occurs in the end of February and early march.

In Bartang valley of Badakhshan gulgardoni ceremony is called «gulkhkuft» meaning «flower has bloomed» and this is usually in April. In Bartang people will cook different dishes and go to visit holy places and shrines.

It is known that in distance past the gulgardoni custom was celebrated by the adults. However, now this is primarily children spring ceremony.
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan
Navruz

Navruz is one of the well-known and oldest festivals of the Iranian-speaking nations. Its long historicity is evidenced by the fact that it has been integrated into cultures of Asia, Caucasus and the Middle East. Verbatim the word “Navruz” means a new day and it is celebrated on the first day of the Farvardin the first month of the Solar Hijri calendar and as such it is also called “New Year”. Navruz coincides with major natural events that are significant among the agriculturalist societies, such as start of the spring when the new agriculture season commences and it is also on the spring equinox – when the day and night reach the equal length.

Many ancient and medieval sources inform about the history and significance of the Navruz and modern scholarship also abound with academic publication on different aspects of this festival. Some sources where one can find direct illustrative information on Navruz are “Shahameh” by Firdawsí, “Navruznama” by Khayam, “Osor-al boqiya” and “At-tafhim” by Biruni, “Zain al-akhbar” by Gardezi, “Almahosin val azdad” by Kisravi. According to this and other sources king Jamshed of the Peshadi dynasty has instituted the Navruz.

There are many rituals and customs that are hold prior to celebration of Navruz, such as “Gulgardon” that takes place in one or two week before the Navruz. During this young children in groups will go to the fields and collect the first flowers of the spring such as winter aconite, crocus and netted iris and bring these to the village and towns. Afterwards they go from house to house singing merry songs to tell the household owners that the spring has arrived.

In the same timeframe i.e. one or two weeks before the Navruz people will start spring cleaning by putting their carpets and matrasses out and wash the household utensils and belonging. This is believed that a clean house signifies peace and prosperity in the coming New Year.

In the past there was also one tradition called “Chorshanbe oakhiron” (the last Wednesday) this was celebrated in the last Wednesday before the Navruz. During this ceremony a fire was lit in garden and community would gather and jump over it and saying: “take my yellow and withering color and give me your red and blooming color”. It was commonly believed that this ceremony helped them to purge their sins and they would start a new year with clean soul and spirit. Nowadays this ritual is observed only symbolically.

During the Navruz celebration Tajik people cook and prepare multiple types of food and beverages to decorate the Navruz table on the feast days. For example one of the central dishes is sumanak, which is prepared from the juice of sprouted wheat.

Another tradition of the Navruz festival is preparing a table containing seven dishes. In ancient Zoroastrian tradition holding such feast was to offer food sacrifices, however later this was transferred to be a celebratory feast where people would gather and eat those items prepared.

Among Tajik people there is tradition known as “haftmeva” (seven fruits) when during a festival people will put seven types of locally grown fruits to be shared. These were pomegranate, apple, pear, grapes, walnuts,
INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN TAJIKISTAN
TRADITIONAL CELEBRATIONS AND RITUALS
almonds and dried apricots. The types of the fruits were not arbitrary and could be changed by other types of the fruits, which the household could afford. From beverages the apricot compote was most popular as it is nutritious and healthy. In some parts of the Hisar and Zarafshan valleys people would prepare compote from seven types of dried fruits. In addition, many dishes in the Navruz season contain fresh herbs, spring vegetables and grains.

One other tradition that is observed during the Navruz with ancient history is reconciling those who were in tensed relationships. This carried huge symbolic weight as people believed that the New Year had to be started without hurt and sadness and reconciliation with those who hurt us was beneficial.

On the Navruz celebration day, which would last from seven to fourteen days many sport activities such as wrestling, running and other games among young adults and children are organized. The most popular game is perhaps wrestling, which is held in almost every county across the country.

Tajik folklore abounds with poetry dedicated to Navruz, which are than sung during the Navruz celebrations. The central theme of these songs and poems is about the beauty of the spring contrasted by the coldness of the winter and how Navruz resurrects the sleeping nature after the winter and brings light and brightness in the nature and people's lives.

Navruz is a connecting bridge between the current generation with the rich tangible and intangible history and culture of their ancestors. It is perceived to be an international and global event bringing together people of different ethnic and language groups together both in Tajikistan and elsewhere.

Navruz today is an international festival and since 23 of February 2010 it was included into the UN's list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and each year now the 21st of March is celebrated as an International Day of Navruz.

Navruz is also included into UNESCO's Representative List of intangible cultural heritage.
Traditional Celebrations and Rituals
Sumanakpazi

Sumanakpazi refers to the cooking of sumanak, a dish prepared during the Navruz festival. Sumanak is made of juice extracted from the wheat sprouts and is cooked in flour mixture and oil. The process of sumanak preparation is as follows: certain amount of wheat is taken and washed and soaked in the water than the extra water is drained and the wheat is left under the rain (if it is rain season) and is kept in the shade or a humid place for few days until the wheat sprouts.

When the wheat has grown to a desired size then 3 or 4 women will be gathered in the house of one who hosts the sumanak cooking. The preparation starts by extracting juice from the wheat sprout by means of hammering it in a pounder. The juice than is poured through a sieve to clean it. Afterwards a fire is lit and big cauldrons are heated with the oil in them. Than the wheat juice is poured into them and seven small stones or walnuts are added. The later elements has both practical and symbolic significance: the seven is a perfect number and is meant for the new year to be perfect it also helps during the mixing the sumanak in the cauldron it helps the substances not to stick in the cauldron. After the sumanak is in cauldron the women take frame drums and begin singing the traditional sumanak song, which is sung by everyone present:

Sumanak dar jush mo kafcha zanem,
Digaron dar khob mo dafha zanem.
Sumanak bui bahor ast,
Sumanak avju baror ast,
Melai shabzindador ast,
Idi Navruz muborak!

Sumanak is being boiled and we are clapping.
Everyone goes to sleep we play our frame drum.
Sumanak is a scent of spring,
Sumanak gives strength and prosperity,
Sumanak is a fruit cooked in sleepless night,
Happy Navruz!

Sumanak is cooked overnight i.e. 8 to 12 hours. When it is ready one of the elderly women prays over the dish and pours it into bowls for the host family. Afterwards than sumanak is distributed in the neighborhood and it is believed that it counts as a good merit for distributing it widely among elderly, sick, and poor families.

Sumanak is exclusively prepared in the spring in Navruz season and it is never prepared in other seasons. There is variety of modes of how sumanak is cooked, such as small bread backed in the charcoal, as a soft paste in the cauldrons.
Ashaglān

Tajik culture has rich and ancient ceremonies and beliefs associated closely with the natural world. When there is a need for a supernatural intervention people have devised a ceremony and ritual, which enabled them to ask gods for assistance and intervention. One of such ritual (ceremony) that is performed during the draught; ritual for calling the rain is «Ashaglān». In different parts of Tajikistan this ritual is called by different names, for example in Khatolon province and Rasht valley it is called «ashaglān» whereas in Hisar valley and Sughd province it is known as «Sus-khotun», «Chilla-khotun», «Yalkon-khotun» and «Tuyi sus-khotun».

Ashaglān ceremony is celebrated by the advice of the council of elders of the community that is when it is needed. On a chosen date a woman is decorated to represent ashaglon, putting in her old loose clothing normally worn by old ladies. Than the lady holds her arms up lifting above hear head a puppet. The puppets head is covered by a headscarf. The puppet transformed into Ashaglān is than accompanied by women and taken from house to house and water is sprinkled in her as it is moved. The women crowding ashaglon will sing, clap and dance during the procession. When ashaglon procession is going a song dedicated to her is sung which is:

O true Ashaglān
Shake your sleeves gently
My green pastures have dried out
Once again pour the rain
I have a brother who is farmer
I have desire for rain

In the regions where Ashaglān is known as «Sus-khotun» the following song is performed:

Sus-khotun hoy sus-khotun
Make the rain pour fast
Pour the rain drop by drop
Nourish the earth with water
Make the grain grow in abundance
Birds are left thirsty
Farmer women left hungry

As the procession goes loud singling is heard across the village and everyone comes out to splash water on ashaglon's face. People go up their roofs to observe the procession and all join in asking and calling for the rain.

Ashaglān procession has an officiator who is rewarded as he takes the ashaglon from house to house; usually people give him grain products i.e. wheat, beans etc.

Every household who receives the ashaglon in his or her home must splash it's face with water and give grain product to the officiator. As the procession moves from one house to another people keep joining the procession sometimes reaching the amount of the whole villagers and can navigate from one village to another as well. It is very festive ritual and people go splashing water on one another in celebratory mood.

After the procession ends women gather in one house and cook dishes with the grain products, such as gandumkucha (soup with wheat) or noodle soup with grains and the food is distributed as a alms to everyone passing by or among the villagers themselves.
Traditions and Rituals
Ramadan and the Eid-al-Fitr

Eid-al-Fitr is one of the traditional Islamic festivals celebrated in Tajikistan as in any other Muslim societies. It is celebrated at the end of the month of Ramadan. The significance of the Ramadan and the Eid among Tajik people has seen centuries old development and evolution process and has it own local peculiarities including its poetical expressions. The Ramadan first of all is accepted as holy month and as one of the compulsory religious practice during which the faithful communities fast and spend much of their time in prayer and devotions.

The Ramadan fast lasts from sunrise till the sunset and is a complete fast that is no drink or eats or other bodily enjoyment must be refrained. There is also a special midnight prayer called taroveh, which is performed every night during the 30 days of Ramadan.

One of the unique features of Ramadan month in Tajikistan is recital of «Rabi man» (My Lord) poetry cycle by young adults and children. Often the singing of the «Rabi man» includes going from one house to another house.

*Rabi man yo rabi man yo Ramazon.*
*Rabi man Alloh mohi Ramazon.*
*Rabi man, chand ruz mehmoni man ast,*
*Shabako oshaki yavgoni man ast.*

My Lord, my Lord, O Ramadan.
My Lord is Allah it is a month of Ramadan.
Ramadan is my guest for some time,
My Lord is my meal of delight at night.

The «Rabi man» cycle encompasses many devotional and religious quatrains from both folklore and Sufi poets and is sung with worship tune. The children who go around singing «Rabi man» are given gifts of all sort of eatable items. After their finish their cycle they gather in one place and share together the collected food.

Another tradition related to Ramadan is the Lailat-al-Qadr – the night of Appreciation,
which falls in the 27th night of the Ramadan. At this night many people who fast during the Ramadan would not sleep but spend the night awake in prayer and praise of God.

In the last three days of the Ramadan preparation for the Eid begins when households will buy and prepare festive and traditional food such as bread, fried pastry etc. On the Eid day the most cheerful are children, who one the break of the morning will go from the door-to-door wishing people happy Eid and receive gifts.

On the Eid day there are public communal prayers are organized especially dedicated to the end of the Ramadan. After the prayer finishes people will be going to visit the cemeteries to offer prayers for their deceased kin and than afterwards would visit the homes of their relatives wishing them happy Eid and reciting from the Quran.
Idi Qurbon (Eid al-Adha)

Idi Qurbon - eid al-Adha (Arabic), also called the «Sacrifice Feast», is the second of two Muslim holidays celebrated worldwide each year, and considered the holier of the two. It honors the willingness of Ibrahim (Abraham) to sacrifice his son, as an act of submission to God's command.

*Idi Qurbon omadu qurboni cardan lozim ast.*

*In tariqi yodgor az hazrati Ibrohim ast.*

The Eid of Qurban came and it is time to make sacrifice.

It is honored remembrance from his holiness Ibrahim.

In the Islamic lunar calendar, Eid al-Adha falls on the 10th day of Dhu al-Hijjah and lasts for four days until the 13th day. However, in the Gregorian calendar, followed by the Muslims of Tajikistan the dates vary from year to year drifting approximately 11 days earlier each year.

In Tajikistan men in the early morning of the Eid take a bath and puts on new and nice clothing and go to the mosques for special Eid prayer. Before the Eid prayer the preachers would usually remember the traditional story of the Eid al-Adha and call on people to do good deed.

Women on the Eid day would be busy baking and cooking and setting up traditional feast tables. Children on this day would go from
house to house wishing people happy Eid in exchange households will give them eatable and other types of small gifts.

The ceremony of sacrificing an animal takes place after the Eid prayer ends. The community on this day will first the cemeteries to pray for the souls of their departed kin and relatives afterwards they first visit the households who has lost someone recently. In these visits usually they prayer for the souls of the deceased and their restful journey into the Afterlife.

Only those who are financially capable and wealthy are allowed to make sacrifice on this Eid. The animal accepted for the sacrifice is a lamb or ram, but other clean animals such as goat or even cow is also permitted. According to the requirement of the Islamic law the sacrificial animal must be clean, and has no physical defects. The lamb or ram must be not younger the 6 month and the cow or other large animals must be 2 year or older.

Some people distribute the meat of the sacrificed animal among the poor people or feed orphans.

This Eid has not just the ritualistic features but it is also an occasion, which brings people together around a festive table and helps in communal organizations and coexistence.

The Tajik folklore is rich of quatrains and couplets dedicated to the Eid al-Adha, which demonstrates the religious and heart-felt sentiments of the Tajik people to this religious feast.

*Idi Qurbon omadu qurbon kunem,*
*Jon fidoi hazrati Rahmon kunem.*
*Hojiyon andar tavofi Ka’abaand,*
*Mo ba ustodoni khud ehsan kunem.*
Mehrgan festival

Mehrgan festival is one of the ancient seasonal festivals of the Tajik people. This festival is celebrated according the Old Iranian solar calendar on the 16th day of the month of Mehr and the day is called the day of Mehr as well. The date for the Mehrgan festival according to Gregorian calendar it falls on the 8th of October. The word Mehr according to the Iranian mythology is the name of the Zoroastrian deities Mithra who is considered to be the god of contract, friendship and light. The name of this festival in ancient sources is also mentioned as Mitrakana. Mehrgan festival has an ancient history and possibly had been celebrated among the Arian people at the time when Mehr was worshiped as central deity.

About the genesis of the Mehrgan there are multiple information found in ancient sources. For example on of such sources Bundehishin informs that when on the day of Mashi and Mashyana the first male and female from the lineage of Gayumarth were born marked the Mehrgan day. Other sources mention King Faridoon as a founder of the festival.

Mehrgan is an autumn festival and relates to the agriculture and gardening. During the Navruz farmers sow and in autumn they gather the harvest; in the spring they plant trees and prune them to be fruitful and in the autumn they gather the harvest. In such manner Mehrgan festival is an event when people bring their thanksgiving offerings to God for the abundance of the harvest gifts.

In past Tajik people in celebration of Mehrgan would set up a festive table-clothe where they would put variety of fruits and objects such as lemon, sugar, water lily, apple, grape, pears, wheat, a mirror and scales. Each of the elements put on the table carried they own individual unique symbolic meanings. The agriculture products to decorate the feast table ought to have golden, white and bright colors signifying the happy heart and abundance. The mirror and scale was signifier of the Mithra's attributes as god of brightness, commitment and justice.

During the Soviet period when the agricultural societies were united in collective farms they celebrated Mehrgan as «Idi hosilot» (Harvest festival). On a certain day in the month of October the heads of the collective farms with the members of farms would organize massive fair to display the samples of the year's harvest. These fairs would have very celebratory nature and music was played and people congratulated one
another for the abundance of the harvest.

After gaining its independence Tajik government is directing its attention to revive the traditional cultural festivals and as such Mehrgan has been inserted into the event calendar in Tajikistan by the decree of the president of the Republic of Tajikistan, Founder of Peace and National Unity, Leader of the Nation his Excellency Emomali Rahmon. The first Mehrgan festival in independent Tajikistan was officially celebrated on 8th of October 2011 in Sh. Shotemur Agriculture University with participation of the head of state and thenceforth every year on this day it is celebrated across the country. The festival is marked by organization of agriculture fairs accompanied by musical festivals.
Wedding

Wedding in Tajikistan is celebration in accordance to the geographical, cultural and religious contexts where it is held. The weddings are complex events encompassing ritual ceremonies and cultural and cheerful elements such as singing, dance and sometimes sport and other forms of communal activities.

Weddings have different segments and it starts by the choosing a bride, match making or bridal proposal, engagement family party called nonshikanon followed by fotiha that is religious event when prayers are made for the future of the bride and groom. In run up to the wedding day than is the ceremonies of bringing gifts to the bride that is a dowry given by a groom, nonbandon (baking bread for the wedding) oshi nahor (breakfast feast given on the morning of the wedding day), sarshuyon (washing the hair of bride and putting on her make up) sartaroshon and salabandon for the groom (trimming the hair and beard of the groom and putting on him his special wedding clothes), shahbari (when groom comes to take his bride), arusbiyoron (wedding procession when the bride leaves her paternal home and goes to the groom’s house).

All the ceremonies involved during the wedding have their own special songs that are sung by those present. The Tajik folklore is rich of the poems, quadrants and long song cycles dedicated to the wedding. For each ceremony that takes place individually either in the bride’s or groom’s house there are set of established and fixed rituals and singing that accompanies these. One of the most popular singing is called «Sartaroshon» (hair grooming). The «Sartaroshon» cycle includes themes of happy life, parent’s prayers, separation of the bride from her kin, establishing a new family etc.
Traditional Celebrations and Rituals
«Sartaroshon» is performed by a lead singer and chorus is sung by those present.

In the past this song was performed in the groom’s house when someone honorable or elder of the family would stand by the groom and clip edges of his hair whilst those present, groom’s friends and family would sing. At the end of the ceremony the man performing the ceremony is given gifts. In the song the singers would encourage those present and the groom’s family members by naming them to do certain things such as bestowing money on his head as sign of prosperity or putting a hat on his head as sign of him becoming the head of the family.

Chorus:
Ustoi langi sartarosh,
Sara pokiza tarosh.
Lead singer:
Khohari shah ba tu megum,
Ba sari shah tanga buchosh.

There is similar in function a song which is sung during the bride leaving her paternal home, which is called «arusburor» (going out of the bride). The friends of the bride sing this. The theme of the song is devoted to the bride being taken away and her home being deprived of a helper, cook and someone kind etc.

Singer:
Buror, buror kholae,
Zudtar burorush kholae.

Chorus:
Sari degdoni baland,
Buzgholabon ochae.

Weddings in Tajikistan have great regional characteristics each distinguished by certain cultural events performed. Many of the events carry great symbolic meanings and represent deep philosophical perceptions of the Tajik people about wedding and what it means. For example, the new bride is kept behind a special curtain where she and her groom is given a sweet tea – symbolizing a sweet life or when the bride comes to her husbands home she circles a fire symbolizing a bright and warm life that awaits her.

Weddings involve lots of the expenditure and sometime hard for people with lower income to compile with the expenses traditionally expected for the wedding. Thus in 2007 (updated in 2017) the government of Tajikistan has accepted a special law on regulations of the traditional events and function which is directed towards the limited excess expenses and instead spending money towards things which would greatly benefit the new family. However, the cultural aspect of the wedding that is singing and dance and other rituals still continue in the same manner as these do carry huge economic loss.
**Gulbazm**  
*(Flower party)*

*Gulbazm* is a recital party in form of poetry challenge competition mainly taking place during the weddings by the young men and girls. During *gulbazm* participants will hold a flower and when one participants challenges the other will go give him or her the flower. *Gulbazm* is organized after when few songs have been sung during the wedding and the wedding Master of Ceremonies (MC) by taking a flower will recite the following line to launch gulbazm.

Gulbazm muhabbatgahi yoron boshad,  
Az yor ba yor she’rboron boshad.  
Donandai abyotu sukhan burd kunad,  
Maghlub shavad har on ki nodon boshad.  

*(Gulbazm is the the loveplace of the friends,  
It is when friends pour poem to one and another.  
Only those who know poems will win,  
Those who don't face the defeat.)*

Afterwards under the joyful music he takes the flower and gives it to any random girl in the wedding. The young lady in her turn with dance comes forward and has to respond to the couplet recited by the young man. It can be any sort of poem or couplet dedicated to love, wedding or a simple well wish for the newly weds. Afterwards she takes the flower and goes to pas the flower to the next person, usually girls to boys and boys to girls. In this manner the recital event would go for 15 or 20 minutes when the flower will be passed from had to hand by those young ladies and gentlemen present. To call the end of the recital the MC will take the flower and read the following:

Gula mondem boloi bom,  
Gulbazma kardem tamom.  

*(We left the flower on the rooftop,  
We call the gulbazm finished.)*

Given the romantic nature and context where the recital is performed it is believed this tradition was invented by people deeply in love, who otherwise could not engage in communication explicitly in public. And such event would allow them to express their feelings through poetry in public.

In gulbazm event poetry pieces recited represent a wide range of genres from both classical poets as well a folklore compositions.
Oiling the hands

Oiling the hands in Tajik «ravghanrezon» is a feminine ceremony celebrated during the wedding, which takes place after the bride’s arrival in the groom’s house. This ceremony is also known as «dastcharbon» and «surfabaroron». The principal goal of this ceremony is extremely symbolic and based on the meaning of imagery of elements used in the ceremony. At the heart of the ceremony is performing a ritual invoking a life full of happy and blessings to the newly wed bride.

The structural process of the ceremony goes as following: on the wedding day groom’s mother invites her lady neighbor and relatives and spreads a tablecloth used for making bread dough (surfa) with flour on the yard. One of the elderly and respected women from the gathered will take the new bride’s hand and circles around the surfa three times in each step bestowing special prayers of blessings on her. After the third circling the bride sits at the surfa and she is given milk, oil and flour to prepare dough. While she is mixing the dough someone from the groom’s family or the same elderly lady will be pouring oil in her hands streaming into the dough. From the prepared dough a bread will be baked which is called «kulchai arus» (bride’s bread).

In Faizobod district a new bride makes soft dough, which she uses to knead noodles and chapatti. Those gathered for the ceremony will cook the noodle soup (ugro) and taste the bread and in exchange invoke well wishes and prayers to the new bride.

The same ceremony in Panjakent city is called «dastcharbon» and it takes place on the second day after the wedding party. In this area on the surfa bride is given sheep fat-tail to chop. There is a custom that until this ceremony is performed a new bride is not permitted to engage in any of the house chores in her husband’s house.

In its other meaning ravghanrezon is an inaugural ceremony initiating newly arrived bride to her new life and chores that she will continue in her life. After the ritual women will play frame drum and sing and dance and celebrate a birth of new family.
Salomnomakhoni

Salomnomakhoni refers to a special ceremony that takes place on the occasion of arrival of the new bride to her husband's home. Salomnomakhoni verbatim means «greeting recital». In this ceremony a cycle of traditional song called «salomnoma» (salutation) is recited by a female folk singer. This ceremony is widespread and common in Dushanbe, Panjakent, Hisar, Khujand and other cities of Tajikistan.

Salomnoma song include couplets consisting of prosaic poetry greeting to God and Prophets and following them the rest of the household and community named one by one in chronological order. This ceremony is also sometime referred as ruybinon that is «unveiling the face of the bride» when the family members and close relatives of the groom, primarily women gather together to greet the new bride. The ceremony is accompanied by bringing the mirror and asking bride and groom to look at together and also bringing a lit candle or making the new couple to drink from one cup a sweet tea.

Salomnomakhoni is a joyous ceremony and women during this ceremony dance and join the lead singer to repeat the chorus. After the ceremony ends they sit together round the table and eat the meal. This way the women of the community welcome a new member as the married women attains a new social status after her wedding.
Cradle-laying

Cradle-laying (gahvorabandān) is a ceremony celebrated within a family on occasion of putting a newborn child to his or her cradle. It is celebrated at the birth of the first child in the family after the newborn turn forty day old. It is usually women's parents who look after the logistics including purchase of a cradle for their grandchild. Cradle-laying is celebrated by a feast where relatives are called in a chosen day.

After the feast meal a cradle is brought into the room where the young mother and her baby is and put in the middle; a elderly and revered woman, who has her own children, grandchildren and her offspring are of good manner and health, is chosen to officiate the ceremony. A lady from the family circle brings hazorispand (Peganum harmala herb believed to fumigate from the evil powers) and smokes it around the cradle. When the cradle is set up an elderly woman pick up the child and puts him (her) in reverse order and asks «should I lay down to sleep this way?» next she repeats laying child in different odd positions and each time asks «should I lay down to sleep this way?» and women present in the room answer «No» and urge by saying «grandmother put him/her to sleep in correct way!»; once she puts child in proper order everyone answer «Yes». Than child is tied into the cradle and afterwards she points by her index finger to child’s mouth and spells out «I give my sleep to you». In some places the woman also pray that «may you posses the sleep from wolves, dogs and all neighbors».

When the ceremony finishes child mother brings some gifts to the elderly woman and some sweets, dried fruits and bread is poured to the presence of those gathered and they take those with them.

In some regions during the ceremony child's mother takes seven bites of bread and puts them under the child's bedhead signifying that child should have abundant life. There is also a tradition of putting knife or other iron tools under the cradle matrasses to ward off the child from the evil powers. A type of bead from evil eye is knotted in the cradle's handle to protect child from the evil eye.

Cradle-laying ceremony is a widespread traditional ritual and has great variety among Tajiks in both Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.
Circumcision ritual

Circumcision ritual is a traditional event of the Tajik Muslims organized on the occasion of circumcising a male child in the family. According to the Islamic law every male child before reaching puberty must be circumcised. Traditionally the circumcision in Tajik is called «dast halol kardan» (making hands ritually clean) that means a male child who is circumcised becomes a man and whatever he does or performs is ritually clean. Thus circumcision ritual belongs to rites of passage.

A child is circumcised by a «khatnagar» a traditional man who has inherited the skill of circumcising from his forbearers. The traditional circumcision is conducted without anesthesia the wound is sealed with burned cotton. The circumciser uses special knife called «poku» similar to a Swiss knife very sharp and thin.

After a child has been circumcised his relatives and parents gave him different gifts and care for him until he recovers. According to the local beliefs a child who has been circumcised should not be left alone and for the period of forty days people he is accompanied and looked after. To ward him against evil spirits his parents will put chilly paper, garlic or keep Quran in his room.
These days the circumcision ritual is held in the circle of family members and close relatives without concert and invited feast as it was before the Law on regulation of traditional rituals and celebrations in the territory of Republic of Tajikistan.
Oshi nahor

Oshi nahor refers to the breakfast feast thrown early in the morning by the household where a wedding takes place. It is organized for the members of the community and as such sometime it is called «oshi qavm» (feast for community). It is held on weekend morning and lasts for 2 or 3 hours.

As this event marks the official start of the wedding preparation for it takes place in 2 or 3 days in advance including inviting the community and relatives. The event proceeding it is called «sabzirezakunon» (cutting the carrot) when the men of the community get together to help peel and cutting the carrots used for cooking the wedding or oshi nahor meal. The owner of the house will either buy meat or slaughter a cow for its meat to be used for the meal. The close relatives will contribute towards this event or simply bring either cash or other forms of gifts.

According to the Law on regulation of the traditional customs the number of invitee for the oshi nahor should not exceed the norm.
TRADITIONAL CELEBRATIONS AND RITUALS
Mourning and mortuary ceremonies

Mourning period is observed after the passing away of someone dear and it is observed for up to one year. There are series of activities and physical and visible expressions of the mourning observed by the household members of a deceased. This includes type of clothing their would wear, ceremonies conducted and how certain usual habits in the household is transformed with a stark visibility of grief and lament. In the last decades the mourning period encompassed wide range or ceremonies; these are funeral and burial, oshi sari taxa (a meal given to the funeral participants on the day), sebegaha (commemoration of the third eve), dushanbegi and jumagi (commemorative feasts given on Mondays and Fridays), bist – commemoration of the twentieth day, chil – fortieth day, shashmohagi – sixth month, eleventh month and first anniversary. Currently after the funeral only the third, fortieth and annual commemoration days are observed in large scale by inviting friends, relatives and members of community. The remainder observances are limited only to the close circle of the family of the deceased. In general the mourning ceremonies, particularly commemorative feasts are known as khudoi, oshi khudoi and nondihi.

Mourning starts from the event of the death with the lamenting howling of the members of the family. In the past there were known when during the lament women would unite their hair, strike themselves in chest and face, pull their hair or scratch their faces. Young women and elderly ladies would cut the fringes of their hair short as demonstration of their deep grief.

In many regions of Tajikistan there were a practice of professional mourners-lamenters – a ladies who would come to the deceased house and join the family to lament by singing songs of lament and mourning. These professional mourners are known as «ovozandoz» (Regar region), «güyanda» (Hisar region), «nolakun» (Faizabad, Ramit and Rasht regions), «haidaregh-khon» (Darvaz region), «kushovoza» (Hisar and Obi Garm regions).

One of the ancient forms of the mourning ceremonies of Tajik people was mourning dances called «sadr», «sama'» and «sudur» which were performed on the funeral day at the home of the deceased. «Sadr»-dance was a group dance performed by women during the funeral of a young adult person.

In Badakhshan province a mourning dance is known as «pāyamal», which can be performed a group or individual by both men and women. The motions in this dance are very expressive and demonstrate the deep grief and unhappiness.

Prior burring a funeral namāz (ritual prayer) is performed by men and after the burial these return to the home of the deceased where they will perform dedicatory recital of Quran.

In the deceased’s household cooking is prohibited for three days and only after the performing the «sebegoh» ritual cooking can be permitted. This ceremony is also knowns as «halolkunon», «siyohburoron» and «siyohshuvon» during which a small animal is slaughtered and a meal is cooked. Usually close relatives and neighbors are called for this ceremony. This is followed by the «haft», «hafta» or «oshi sari haft» ceremony commemorated on either the fourth or sixth day after the burial.

The «chil» ceremony (commemoration of the fortieth day) is observed between the 35 and 37th day after the burial and it is big event where members of community, far immediate and distance relatives are called. Usually a big cattle is slaughtered to cook soup or pilav. Women cook «atalai safed» (unfried flour porridge with milk) and kalama (fried bred). Among the population of Hisar and Rasht regions the fortieth commemorative day is called «khātit-
Traditional Celebrations and Rituals

Traditionally, the spirit of the deceased is settled through various rituals and ceremonies. After celebrating the fortieth day, members of the deceased's family gradually discontinue mourning. In some parts of the Zarafshan valley, men would not shave till the fortieth day and for women, listening to the music or even participation in festive events were prohibited.

Women mourning clothing during one year is typically made from plain fabrics of white or dark colors and they will not adorn themselves with jewelry. Those mourning will refrain from participating in festive, such as wedding parties and wearing different type of clothing and attending festive ceremonies becomes possible only after the first anniversary ceremony is observed. In contrary, the mourning period is 'lighter' for men and usually lasts till the fortieth day and afterwards they can participate in social gatherings.

The first death anniversary is celebrated similar to the fortieth day where all distance and close relatives, members of community, coworkers etc. are invited to the feast. After celebrating the first anniversary all the practices withheld during the mourning year will be permissible again.

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CHAPTER FOUR

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND SOCIAL PRACTICES

- TRADITIONAL CALENDAR SYSTEMS
- GASHTAK
- BRAIDING
- TEAHOUSE
- HASHAR
- TAJIK NATIONAL COSTUME
- TRADITIONAL MEDICINE
Traditional calendar systems

Ancestors of Tajik people similar to other ancient nations had developed their own different calendar systems helping them to identify and measure the passing of time and seasons. Prior to the current established calendar systems has evolved and matured Tajiks people has focused on natural world around them to determine the system for measuring and observing the time and season, such as constellation movement, determining the length of the day and night and various natural events.

In ancient times in the urban centers, which were centers of development and leaning, people followed different forms of calendars based on the Solar or Lunar system, whereas in the rural regions followed the order of the natural world and systems inherent to the environment in which they lived and functioned.

One of the unique calendar systems recorded among the population of Badakhshan of Tajikistan and Rasht valley is that of «khirpichor» (Sun on man). This system of measuring time is based on the man's body parts. This system has been noticed also among Tajiks of Pakistan and Afghanistan. According to this time measure system the sun pauses on each body part during the day for a certain measurable moment and according to those following this system the new year or the start of the year is when the sun pauses on the area of heart i.e. on the chest. This solar pause lasts for three days and during this period Navruz or the New Year festival is celebrated.

Another manner of determining the periods of the day in the mountainous regions was according to the position of the sun in different (physical) parts of the environment e.g. on certain pick of the mountain, certain woods or tree, a built environment or rocks. These positions of the solar movement during the day would help them to identify sunrise, sunset or other time segments. The year segments were also determined depending on the position of the sunrise and sunset during the year or in different time space falling of the sun ray on certain parts of the house, through the window or reaching certain domestic animal.

In Ishkoshim district solar movement is observed by means of «sangi oftobbin» (sun showing rock). This stone object was located on the flat area and has a hole in the size of a bowl in its middle part. The person in charge of observing the «sangi oftobbin» in kneeling position would look through the middle hole towards the north on the upright mountain picks. If the sun during his observation will rise from the 'window' between the picks it would mean that the year has reached spring or autumn equinox i.e. the day and night has equal length and the Nawruz can be celebrated.

Another form of calendar system is called «chilashumori» (counting the year in forty day segmentation). This form of calendar is still spoken and observed by older generations, which according to some scholars is a remnant of the Arian calendar system. In accordance to this system the year consists of certain number of «chila» (forty days) and the year commences from the «chillai kalon» (“big forty” days starting from December 21). Followed by this «chillai khurd» (small forty) that lasts for twenty days. In such manner there are «chilla» (forty) to each season of the year i.e. spring, summer and autumn.

Another current calendar system among Tajiks is that «muchal» or «muljar» an animal cycle calendar that has been incorporated from China. The muchal has 12-year cycle and each year has its unique animal representations and the year cycles every 12 years. In this calendar the position and order of the animals is as following: mouse, cow, tiger, rabbit, fish, horse, sheep, monkey, hen, dog and pig. This system is also used in determining person’s age that in each muchal cycle a person grows in 12 years.

Tajiks based on their century old observations of this cycle has also developed their own
interpretation and hermeneutics of the «muchal» calendar. This basically is based on the quality and nature of each animal representing a year. For example, the year of sheep is warmer year as dictated by the nature of the sheep or the year of cow is considered to bring abundance in resources. In such manner the year of hen is considered to be contrary to that of cow and the year of fish as water animal will be rainy year helping the nourishment of soil.

In addition, there are also certain beliefs and worldview current that are attached to muchal calendar. For example a person based on the animal year born would inherit certain qualities of that animal. As such those born in the year of sheep are tolerant and not hyperactive whereas those born in the year of mouse would be contrary i.e. fast, clever and curious etc. This would apply to the entire animal cycle where quality and nature of the animals are transferred and seen in the action and nature of the person born on these animal years.
Gashtak

Gashtak is a traditional social event also called «gap» or «gapkhuri», which is usually popular among people living in the Sughd and Hisar regions. It is a social event organized by a group of people with something in common e.g. same profession, childhood friends, coworkers or relatives. They agree on a number of people would like to be part of the group and than every month each member of the group by taking turn organizes a meal and invites the rest of the group to get together. Gashtak is largely a men social get-together event although young women or elderly women also occasionally organize such events.

The central purpose of gashtak is sustaining relationships and growing in communal spirit of mutual understanding and friendship. In gashtak people will discuss various topics of a common interest or discuss the issues relevant to the group or larger society where they live. Of course another aspect of gashtak social is spending a restful time together and this particularly in mountain areas during the long winter nights people in gashtak will share stories and legends to help them to regain new visions of the future and live a hopeful life.

It is also possible for gashtak to be organized among the youth who have finished the same class from school or university; this also includes people from the same professional background or skills. The gashtak among professionals also include women groups or mixed gender groups.

Gashtak among the relatives are not very common but they are very sustainable form of the gashtak. This primarily focuses on intergenerational and interrelation support and sustaining relationships.

Gashtak is organized or held by the decision of the gashtak’s host. In the rural areas it is at homes of people where in the cities it can take place in a teahouse or a restaurant.
Braiding

Braiding called *muibofi* is an ancient tradition among Tajik people attested by the archaeological finds and murals of ancient time. The braiding skill was perhaps in high demand as the aesthetics of the braided hair was important in decoration. It was and is possible for women to braid one’s own hair or there were people hairdressers who would do this.

In the families girl’s hair is braided by other women in the household such as mothers, sisters or aunts. According to the style preferred by the girl the hair braids can be of different styles either very fine braids or two big. In addition hair braids are distinguished by the occasion that is if for the wedding or events or regular.

Hair braids will include also all sorts of the accessory that would be attached to them. The style is defined by the where the braids begins that is whether from the forehead or at the back of the head. The thickness of the hair and the occasion also dictates the style in which the hair must be braided.

Although the traditional hair braiding takes place in the homes the procedure is similar to that of hairdresser salons. The women wash their hair nicely before the braiding and towel dried. To nourish the hair or make it softer oil is applied. For braiding the hairdresser uses two or three different combs, first for brushing it then for diving it that a much finer comb to divide the hair into an exact amount to make same size braids.
The hair accessories are also traditional elements that made by the women and have great regional diversity. The most common is called jamolak (hair extension) usually made from white, red and black cotton threads. This is braided with the hair for both decoration and also the jamolaks have beads and other decorative items attached to them which will keep the hair braids at the back and won’t let them fall forward.

Hair braids are distinguished also by age and role of the women that is if it is bride, young teenage girl or little girl.

According to the local traditional beliefs women wash their hair on Mondays and Fridays. Young women can wash their hair up to four times in a week. When braiding hair they take care not to let the hair fall on the ground or taken away by the wind as it is thought to be a bad fortune. The women speared a big head scarf and sits in the middle and braids her hair and the hair fallen during the process is collected and kept in safe place, sometimes are buried.
Teahouse

Teahouse in Tajik called choykhona is one of the traditional social spaces for having lunch, tea or simply gathering for conversation and meetings. Teahouses are common among Tajik people and in the last two centuries they have been integrated into the city’s landscape as an official dining place.

Traditional teahouses consists of two separate spaces that is kitchen and sitting space. Some teahouses have traditional kats – trestle benches on which up to 10 people can sit on it the furnishing consists of a table and padded mattresses for sitting and pillows to relax. Teahouses outside the city are usually located by the streams or rivers banks. These places are used by the populace for rest and dinning. The city teahouses have fountains or other ponds to add it relaxed mode.

Teahouses are built in crowded places such as market places or the main streets. In some teahouses table board games including nard and chess are provided for the customers to play and rest. Traditional teahouses served only limited types of food and mainly concentrated on tea and varieties of traditional baking and sweets. The person serving in teahouse is called choykhonachi – that is teahouse host. In teahouses they serve different types of tea according to the request of the customers.

Teahouses also perform social function for holding meetings, announcing special events and or public discussion of certain issues relevant to the social life of the community. Some teahouses are furnished with TV and radios as well. The street or traditional performers also often come to teahouses to perform for the public and earn money. Forms of the traditional singing performed in teahouses include national epic songs and folk music.

In the northern regions of the Tajikistan the social event gashtak often are held in the teahouses. Usually for such occasion those organizing gashtak would bring their own ingredients and cook their own meal where teahouse host provides them with a space to conduct their event.

Tajikistan is rich with the beautiful teahouses such as «Rohat», «Saodat» and «Istaravshan» teahouses in Dushanbe. Across the country there are many teahouses owned privately or as joint venture corporation.
Hashar

*Hashar* refers to a collective gathering to do a large-scale job such as digging a water channel or planting a big garden etc. Usually *hashar* is organized for the event that benefits the entire community as such nobody is paid for their volunteer participation and labor. The *hashar* tradition witness the ancient culture of mutual assistance that Tajik people have had in the past and it continues to this day.

There is also *hashar* organized for a benefit one individual for example building a house or collecting harvest. For such work those who come to help are given small token from the harvest or a fed a meal. Whereas for the social *hashar* people will come eating their own food at homes and now rewards are given. It is possible that during the *hashar* few of the community members would contribute towards cooking a big meal like oshi palav or other food.

The *hashar* was also common during the collective farm days when those assigned a big plot of land to sow or irrigate or harvest would call for *hashar* and the community would come to help him. People for *hashar* also bring their
own tools needed for the job, which means that when invitation for *hashar* is sent it is declared what type of job is supposed to be achieved.

*Hashar* is collectively planned-in-advance event that is people would first discuss it and chose a date when majority can participate. These days *hashar* are organized for the big and small jobs directed towards to the wellbeing society and improving the environment of the community such as fixing the roads, planting trees or empowering the river banks.
Tajik national costume

Tajik costume has seen a long historical development and evolution and represents cultural and beliefs system. In particular should be noted that Tajik people pay special attention in the color of the fabric from which costumes are made. Ancestors of the Tajik people – Sogdian and Bactrians made their clothing from the cotton and silk fabrics. The white color was particularly common as it symbolized happiness and cleanness. In addition, for the special event clothes colorful fabrics were used. This tradition has been preserved for centuries and today also people make clothes for different occasions based on the century old styles of color and patterns. The female clothes for special occasion are made from adras or atlas, in additional there is a rich tradition of embroidery clothes made from cotton fabrics.

Traditional Tajik female clothes include tunic dress, a hem, vest coat, overcoat, yaktah (a robe), headscarf, head, woven socks and shoes. Traditional female dresses of Tajiks have long sleeves and around the neck and edges of the sleeve and skirt are embroidered. Underneath the embroidered dresses women usually wear a white plain dress. In Rasht, Darvoz and Badakhshan female dresses are also adorned by colorful had woven ribbons. The front peace of the dress, often the chest part is fully embroidered and that is called peshak. The hems are made either from the matching fabric or other fabrics are ankle long with a hand woven ribbon attached in the lower part.

The city dwelling Tajik women usually worn dresses made from adras, shohi (a form of silk fabric) or atlas and they wore overcoats or robes made from velvet.

Women hats are also common element in Tajik costume and have specific regional characteristics in the northern regions are square and in other regions can be round-shaped. There are types of hat called toqi in Tajik, which are worn by young girls and newly wedded. Elderly women would put a scarf on top of their hats.

Tajik women headscarf is called a ruimol and has very rich types, such as shol, farang, zargaroni and rubast. These are made from silk or cotton fabrics sometimes hand embroidered or sometime with tapestry pattern. Elderly women usually wear darker color headscarves. The way women ties their headscarf also have age characteristics that is younger and older women would tie their headscarf differently. The style of wearing or tying headscarf known is tagi manah.
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan
(the scarf tied from the front under the chin), *peshoniband* (from the forehead) and etc.

Traditional men’s clothing among Tajiks were short tunics made from cotton fabrics, overcoats, cotton filed coats, *toqi* – hat, turban. In mountain regions men also used to wear *chakman* - an overcoat made from animal skin.

Traditional male tunics were not richly ornamented as female one and they were exclusively made from cotton fabrics. The overcoats were worn with a handkerchief tided in the waist. Men *foma* – overcoats (robe like) were made from colorful horizontal lined pattern cotton fabrics such as *alocha* or *begasab*.

The early 20th century the European men wear was introduced and this gradually replaced many traditional men’s clothing except few such as overcoats or robes or hats. Today Tajik men were the traditional clothing in mixed with the European.

Traditional Tajik costume has great regional diversity and are easily distinguished by their type, stitching style and types of fabrics used. In rural areas majority men still wears traditional coats, robes and heats.
traditional knowledge and social practices
Traditional medicine

Traditional medical knowledge and practices are a part of intangible cultural heritage of the Tajik people. Ethno medical knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation and in the course of the time new methods and means are discovered, documented, preserved and practiced. The most common aspects of the traditional medicine are traumatology, herbal medicine, clay therapy, honey and mumiā (mummy). Traditional medicine of Tajiks also includes spiritual-ritual methods such as ruhfarori when a healer invokes prayers dedicated to certain spirits and saints or exorcism. In traditional medicine the core of the illness is determined to be attached with the natural elements such as cold, heat or physical effects of the environment.

Traditional healers prior prescribing the treatment would inquire about the symptoms and conditions of the sick person to determine the cause of the illness. They also by means of questions determine the physical or natural typology of a sick person. The knowledge of the four major substances of the environment that is air, soil, fire and water and also the animal cycle calendar in which the person is born are important in determination of illness and the required treatment.

According to the traditional medical knowledge the healer is able to determine the typology of physical structure of a sick by touching; if he senses the hot energy the person is of warm nature or cold etc. The examination of the sick person’s skeleton, hair, skin etc. also informs of his natural original typology.

Determination of the sick person typology helps in prescription of the medical herbs or other substances. Usually the opposite elements are prescribed. If the sick person is of a warm na-
ture than he cannot consume the herbs or other eatables of the same nature, this includes also animal products such as meat, fat or dairy products.

The division of the warm and cold nature also applies to entire natural products. For example, sour-sweet apple is of neutral nature whereas sweet apple is first degree warm and also humid in nature.

Phytotherapy is distinct from homeopathy and anthroposophic medicine, and avoids mixing plant and synthetic bioactive substances. Phytotherapy is regarded as a main aspect of the traditional medicine. In this plants are used in different forms such as dried, fresh, cooked or burnt. Traditional healers prepare medical properties from various parts of the plants that is roots from certain plants or leaves from certain plants etc.

In medicine, traumatology is the study of wounds and injuries caused by accidents or violence to a person, and the surgical therapy and repair of the damage. Traumatologist in the Tajik traditional medicine is called *shikastaband* that is one who bondages the broken. The traditional practices in folk traumatology are not very different from the mainstream medicine.

Honey is a natural product that has been widely used for its therapeutic effects. It has been reported to contain about 200 substances. In Tajik traditional medicine it is used to cure the illness caused by the cold both taken internally and applied on the skin.

Therapy involving substances extracted
from animals is also widely practiced. Usually the healer depending on the illness prescribed different properties from the animals, wild and domestic alike. For example, the freshly taken out skin of rabbits or sheep is used to as bond-
age on the parts of the body or the whole body for someone who has sever cold. It is believed the warm skin would absorb all the cold related effects to itself. In similar manner the fat from various animals are also used.
CHAPTER FIVE
TRADITIONAL FOLK CRAFTS

- ADRAS AND ATLAS WEAVING
- RAGHZABOFI
- CARPET WEAVING
- FELT RUG/CARPET MAKING
- ZARZUZI
- GULDUZI
- CHAKAN
- PATCHWORK
- HAT MAKING
- BEADWORK
- SHEROZBOFI
- JUROBBOFI
- SHOE MAKING
- CHITGARI (ORNAMENT PRINTING ON TEXTILE)
- JEWELRY MAKING
- COPPERSMITH
- KARNAY MAKING
- KNIFE MAKING
- BLACKSMITH
- METAL SHEET MAKING
- POTTERY MAKING
- MINIATURE PAINTING
- MILL
- DUGHKASHI
- TANUR MAKING
- LEATHER MAKING
- COMB MAKING
- MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKING
- WOODCARVING
- WOOD-PLATE MAKING
- BABY CRADLE MAKING
- STRAW MAT (REED MAT) MAKING
- BASKET WEAVING
Adras and atlas weaving

Adras and atlas weaving refers to the traditional textile making technique. These textiles are made from silk and cotton threads. Tajikistan silk fabrics had their own names: shohi, khan-atlas, zaratlas etc. These types of fabrics were produced from pure silk. The fabrics made of cotton weft and silk warp was called adras, bekasab, banoras and in English is commonly called ikat.

Ikat (adras) is a dyeing technique used to pattern textiles that employs resist dyeing on the yarns prior to dyeing and weaving the fabric. In ikat the resist is formed by binding individual yarns or bundles of yarns with a tight wrapping applied in the desired pattern. The yarns are then dyed. The bindings may then be altered to create a new pattern and the yarns dyed again with another color. This process may be repeated multiple times to produce elaborate, multicolored patterns. When the dyeing is finished all the bindings are removed and the yarns are woven into cloth. In other resist-dyeing techniques such as tie-dye and batik the resist is applied to the woven cloth, whereas in ikat the resist is applied to the yarns before they are woven into cloth. Because the surface design is created in the yarns rather than on the finished cloth, in ikat both fabric faces are patterned.

The adras and atlas is used to make male and female clothing including home fabrics such
as curtains, pillow case etc.

The _adras_ and _atlas_ are woven in various sizes regular or also called _odmiyona_ which has a width of 40 cm the _serbar_ ikat has 70 cm width and _kambar_ is woven in 26 cm width. The ikat (_atlas_ and _adras_) workshops either buy ready dyes threads. In traditional workshops they use natural dyes extracted from plants and they resistance is improved by adding different oil or fats.

Ikat fabrics are produced in both traditional small family-owned workshops as well as in industrialized factories. Usually the quality of the fabrics differs from the weaver's skills, dyes and size. The traditional workshops in addition to the weavers also have dye-master who is responsible to dye the loom according to the pattern he has in mind. The patterns are taken from the natural world and also traditional jewelries of the Tajik people.

In industries about 30 types of ikat both pure silk loom and mixed or cotton threads are made. The ikat fabrics depending on their origin have their individual names such as «Tajikistan's spring»; «Rainbow» and «Wedding» etc.

Ikat fabrics are found in every household and that is considered to be traditional fabric to make traditional costumes. In recent years in Khujand city a new tradition Atlas Festival was born where the traditional and workshops and factories bring the samples of their ikat fabrics for display and sale.
Raghzabofi

Raghza refers to a felt textile made from sheep wool. Unlike felt the raghza is woven. Raghza is widely known among the mountain societies of Tajikistan. The sheep-wool yarns are made during the winter when the women have less work around the farm. Than raghza is woven using these yarns in frames.

After the fabric in knitted it is kept on steam to soften it. Afterwards it is stretched on a board to make it even and flat. Once it is dried it is removed from the board and than used to make various clothing primarily outer garments.

The raghza fabric is used to make special overcoats called chakman worn by the shepherds or other people during the winter on top of their clothing. The raghza fabric sometimes it is
waxed to make it water proof. *Raghza* is used as foot wrap for the winter or in Darvoz they make special trousers worn by the hunter in the winter during the hunt.

*Raghza* fabrics have natural color depending on the color of the yarn that is white, brown or black. The white *raghza* sometimes made from processed wool are used for special vests worn on top of the shirts. Sometimes the *raghza* clothing is decorated by means of applique forms made from felt or other embroidery.
Carpet weaving

Carpets are one of the primary items in any household used for covering the floor and decorating the walls.

Depending on the weave techniques employed carpets can be very colorful or ordinary. Carpets are made from cotton, wool, silk and other artificial threads. However, majority of carpet weavers use cotton threads for the structure of cotton threads allows producing better quality rugs. In rural areas felt making is practiced as opposed to carpet weaving where they would use sheep or goat wool.

Carpets are made in many ways, and most widely used form of carpet making is tufting and weaving. The tufting procedure involves the sewing or punching of face pile yarns into a backing by a special machine that is equipped with numerous needles. The tufts are inserted lengthwise into a primary backing. In finer carpet the tufts are close together, giving the finished product a denser quality and appearance. The tufts are then set in place with the use of a latex compound that is laminated to the secondary backing. This final backing or layer gives the carpet additional strength.

Woven carpet has been available for many centuries. Before the invention of machines, the products were hand woven. The process for both is virtually same, with different types of weaves used for specific appearances and qualities. Basically, to produce a woven carpet, two sets of yarns are intertwined. These are the pile yarns, commonly referred to as face yarns, and backing yarns that result in a single “fabric.”

Weavers who weave on a regular basis have a very good speed in knotting. They tend to develop this speed over a span of time. One or more weavers work on a loom depending on the size of the carpet. Each weaver makes individual knots row after row.

In carpet weaving there are four types of knotting, these are: Persian knot, Turkish knot, Persian jutfi (pair) knot and Turkish jutfi (pair) knot.

The most important tool in carpet weaving is called loom. Traditional loom is made usually
of wood, but recently metallic looms are also utilized and is in prevalent, due to its advantages. Other tools used by the carpet weavers are scissors, iron rod, levers and comb beaters.

Nowadays the traditional art of carpet weaving is developing across the country where young women are attracted to learn and revive this form of traditional craft.
Felt rug/carpet making

Felt rug/carpet making refers to traditional production of a rug or carpet with felt. Felt is a textile material that is produced by matting, condensing and pressing fibers together. Felt can be made of natural fibers such as wool. In Tajik felt rug making is called *namadrezi* and it is widespread among the pastoralist communities of mountain areas of Tajikistan. The size of the felt rugs depends on the purpose for which they are made and usually can be 2x3 m or even bigger with the thickness of 0.5 to 1 cm.

Felt from wool is considered to be the oldest known textile. Many cultures have legends as to the origins of felt making, such as at the time when the first sheep was domesticated etc.

Felt making is still widely practiced by semi-nomadic peoples across the world. In Central Asian cultures felt rugs are used for tents and clothing and home furnishing.

Traditional felt in Badakhshon province is made in this manner: first a sturdy cotton blanket is spread out. Than dyed pieces of wool is spread following a pattern the felt maker has in mind Afterwards the «designed» wool pieces is covered by dark color dyed felt this is than covered by another layer of wool. After the layers has been placed a hot water is sprinkled evenly on top of the wool and then the sheet is taken from end and rolled tightly and tied up in places so the wool pieces inside does not roll-out
or mix. Afterwards the 'rolled' wool is placed on the floor and few people sit and begun rolling it against the surface by their hands. There are usually five people who take part in rolling the felt. After rolling it for sometime the roll is opened and soap is applied to give the wool sticky texture and the wool is again rolled as in the first instance. After this the wool is rolled among the sheet for 3-4 hours. After this it is unrolled and left in the sun to dry and to be used.

The wool for the felt making is dyed from naturally extracted elements that are from tree peels or plants. According to the local tradition every household must own a felt carpet. The plain felt is used to cover the floors and on top another rug is spread. This is to make the floor warm and soft. There is also a tradition to lay a newborn baby on the felt or also to cover the dead body with the felt rug on the funeral.

In Ishkoshim district when a felt carpet is made for the wedding usually an elderly women who has healthy marriage and children is invited to decorate the felt carpet that way she transfers her happy life into the bride to-be girl. There is also a special prayer dedicated to the felt carpet making, which is recited prior to starting felt making process. This prayer is always recited by a felt maker who his ancestors are known to be following this profession for several generation.
Zarduzi

Zarduzi refers to a form of embroidery with gold and silver thread - a very ancient kind of needlework. Historical records give the evidence of the existence of gold embroidery as early as in the medieval times. This kind of needlework was widespread in many parts of the world, and Tajikistan was not an exception. However, its special embroidery techniques and national patterns make the golden-embroidered products a unique and original.

The design and patterns for gold embroidery is first drawn on the cardboard than cut and put on the surface of the fabric than covered with the god thread. Another technique was to make patterns from the thick cotton threads.

There are wide varieties of the patterns used in gold-embroidery items; these are natural floral patterns or other abstract patterns.

In Bukhara and other cultural centers of the Central
Asia the art of gold embroidery applied to costume design has a centuries old history. Written sources inform on existence of the gold embroidery from the 14th century, and in its own turn, ornaments and colors of wall paintings related to the 6th - 7th centuries prove that gold embroidery had already existed in the Early Medieval periods.

Gold embroidery had reached its blossom in the 19th century. It decorated the costume of rich citizens. Particularly in the courts of the local rulers there were special workshops supplying the court with the items.

This golden-embroidered technique differs much from other kinds of embroidery, since a golden thread is difficult to run through a material and therefore masters of gold embroidery have to apply thoroughly the thread smoothly on the surface of the fabric. Meanwhile, the gold should not be erased from the threads. This labor-consuming process takes a lot of time (sometimes years!), so hand-made golden-stitch embroidery is highly valued products and much more expensive those of machine embroidery.
**Gulduzi**

*Gulduzi* — a form of embroidery is widespread handicraft among the Tajik women. It is one of the oldest forms of handcraft stitched by using needles and special hooks. For gulduzi embroidery, various types of threads made of silk, cotton, wool, synthetic and metal based material. Although traditionally *gulduzi* embroidery was made by hand, these days there are also embroidery-sawing machines used in production of traditional patterns.

*Gulduzi* embroidery is widely applied for decoration of nearly any objects made from fabric and leather. Most common items where *gulduzi* embroidery is applied are home textiles, clothing including slippers and shoes. The coverings for horses and camels are also decorated with *gulduzi* embroidery. *Gulduzi* embroidered home textiles are of different functionality such as tablecloth, tea towels, curtains, bed cover, head gears etc. These objects can have different size such as bed cover can be quite big and such items are embroidered by a group of women whereas smaller items are made by one person.

*Gulduzi* embroidery has different forms of stitching such as *chapduzi, kandakhayol, khomduzi* and *iroki*.

*Suzani* is one of the types of embroidered and decorative textile made in Tajikistan and other Central Asian countries. *Suzani* is from the Persian *suzan*, which means needle. *Suzanis* usually have a cotton (sometimes silk) fabric base, which is embroidered in silk or cotton.
thread. Chain, satin, and buttonhole stitches are the primary stitches used. There is also extensive use of couching, in which decorative thread laid on the fabric as a raised line is stitched in place with a second thread. *Suzanis* are often made in two or more pieces that are then stitched together.

Popular design motifs include sun and moon disks, flowers (especially tulips, carnations, and irises), leaves and vines, fruits (especially pomegranates), and occasional fish and birds. For large *suzanis*, several of the fabric strips are first sewn loosely together and the pattern is drawn on
them; then they are taken apart so that two or more family members or friends can work on the embroidery simultaneously. Later when the panels are rejoined, the pattern parts may not match perfectly, and extra stitches may be added in the areas along the seams. It's the old, traditional approach in this handcrafted art form.

The suzani embroidery threads are silk. Two traditional stitches are used in a majority of the pieces: primarily basma stitch, sometimes called Bukhara couching, and less often, chain stitch. An unbelievable amount of time and care goes into the making of each piece.
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan
Chakan

Chakan refers to a form of embroidery that includes variety of imaginative floral and abstract designs and patterns. Chakan embroidery similarly to suzani and gulduzi has silk or cotton base fabric and for stitching cotton, silk and synthetic threads are used.

Chakan is distinct in its colorful patterns and it is used to decorate home and other decorative textiles, including clothing.

Chakan is the traditional form of embroidery of the Southern Tajikistan, Khatlon province and has a wide areal in major cities such as Vose’, Muminabad, Danghara and etc.

In Kulob city chakan dress is considered as a form of bridal dress. In addition every girl getting married would have a special chakan chodar (a curtain divider used during the wedding behind which a new bride will stay for few days). Young men also would wear special commissioned chakan hat for the wedding. Although, in Kulob men usually would wear various types of the toqii chakan – traditional hats distinct with
its colorful patterns. The big size chakan wall hangers are prepared by the women to decorate their houses.

Chakan dresses are worn by women in Tajikistan for both regular days and special events. Sometimes specifically for certain occasion masters make chakan dresses. The chakan dress and hat is not however bound to the Khatlon province but it is these days widespread in many parts of Tajikistan. Chakan embroidery is also used to make pillows and cushions.

Chakan dresses are also popular costume worn by the dancers and it is one of the most festive forms of dress. Being considered as a national heritage the promotion of chakan embroidery lately has highly developed. There are national contests such as «Taronai chakan», «Jilvai chakan» and concentrating on creativity and innovation in chakan embroidery and also transmission this form of traditional craft to the new generation and introducing it to the world.
Patchwork

Patchwork in Tajik called quroqduzi also is known as tarkduzi, poraduzi, malofaduzi and kalamrezgi.

Patchwork essentially is a form of needlework that involves sewing together pieces of fabric into a larger design. Often the remnant pieces of fabrics after making clothing or other items are converted into something different through patchwork needlework. The larger design made from pieces of fabric is usually based on repeating patterns built up with different fabric shapes, which can be different colors harmonized into group. These shapes are carefully measured and basic geometric shapes making them easy to piece together. Overall patchwork designs are incrementally pieced geometric shapes stitched together to form a larger random or composed design. The colored shapes can be randomly pieced or follow a strict order to create a specific effect, e.g. value (light to dark) progressions, or checkerboard effects.

Evidence of patchwork – piecing small pieces of fabric together to create a larger piece and quilting layers of textile fabrics together – has been found throughout history. In Tajikistan also it has a long history of evolution and use. In choosing pattern patchwork designers chose either imaginative pattern or something from the environment. The patterns are called according to what their represent such as quroqi chashm – black and white patchwork resembling eyes.

In Tajikistan variety of home textile and clothing are made by patchwork such as matrasses, quilts, waistcoats, tablecloth and so.

Among Tajik patchwork items also carry symbolic meaning. For example, people hold belief that the patchwork clothing would ward off the person from an evil eyes or other super-
natural causes. There is also a traditional practice to make a patchwork coat for cradles of newborn babies, especially if the family has seen child death prior. The patchwork coats for children are usually made from the fabric pieces of elderly people in the family as a mean of evoking their blessings and protection to the child. Mothers would also make special patchwork sheet to cover the cradles to protect children from evil forces including illness. The same attitude applies to the newlyweds; mothers would make patchwork matrasses for the bride and groom. Sometimes they would make patchwork tablecloth from the bridal curtain or even with embroidery pieces.

The patchwork is obviously very innovative approach towards to recycling old fabrics into a new object, but also new fabrics are used to make patchwork. These days patchwork objects made from new fabric pieces are fund in every household, especially in the homes of newlywed women.

Patchwork also has great aesthetic nature and many fashion designer use patchwork style to design costumes and clothing. In some families patchwork items are passed from generation to generation and revered as a memory of ancestors.
Hat making

One of the traditional and widespread types of hats among Tajik people is called *toqi*, which is also common across the Central Asian landmass owning its peculiarities in shape, color and designs. Hat making or literary hat stitching is a craft primarily followed as profession by women. In northern Tajikistan *toqi* is called *tuppi*. *Toqi* has gender specification and women’s, men’s or children and elderly people wear different types of *toqi*. In addition, *toqi* has great regional and interregional diversity in types, forms, design, fabrics used, and stitch patterns. Certain *toqi* has also specific names, such as *chakan*, *iroqi*, *zarduzi*, *torduzi*, *chortark*, *chust*, *chamgul*, *muhrador*, *kuluta*, *arusi* and *araqchin* and so on.

*Toqi* is not worn only for protection against natural elements, but also has deep root in local beliefs. Until the 60s or 70s of the last century men always worn *toqi* and without that no one would sit at the table to eat as eating meal bare head was considered to be sin. In addition, men had to wear *toqi* during the mourning period at least for 40 days after the funerals. Today the tradition of wearing *toqi* among the youth has greatly diminished and usually elderly or middle age men wear it.

*Toqi* consists of 7 parts: *tora* (top of the toqi), *girda* (a belt that goes round it), *astar* (inside lining), *pilta* (cotton or paper filling to give the toqi desirable structure), *sheroz* (decorative hand weave or stitched ribbon attached round the toqi), *magzi* (a plain color ribbon used in certain types of toqi e.g. *chusti* or *iroqi*) and *pupak* (pom-pom attached in one side of the toqi). *Toqi* is made both manually and also using sowing machine. The fabric for stitching *toqi* is chosen
in accordance to its type and initial form is cut depending on its shape. For example chusti toqi is square whereas else gulduzi toqi is round. While for chusti silky black fabric is chosen for gulduzi toqi plain cotton fabric where the patterns are embroidered using colorful thread and normally has vegetal and floral designs. The sturdiness and structure in toqi is given by cardboard or cotton threads inserted between liner and upper piece.

First of all the upper and liner are cut and stitched than the belt to which the upper part is attached after these two are joined and stitched together the first stage of toqi stitching is finished. Afterwards the external decoration is applied such as decorative ribbon woven from colorful threads or plain black silk or velvet ribbon.

In past women would worn head scarf on top of their toqi, but these days toqi is worn also without extra covering on top of it.
Beadwork

Beadwork is the art or craft of attaching beads to one another by stringing them with a sewing needle or beading needle and thread or thin wire, or sewing them to cloth. Beads come in a variety of materials, shapes and sizes and beadwork is widely applied in making decorative items and is used to create jewelry or other articles of personal adornment. It is also used in creating art pieces and wall decoration.

Based on the techniques employed, beadwork techniques are broadly divided into loom and off-loom weaving, stringing, bead embroidery, bead crochet, and bead knitting.

Beads, made of durable materials, survive in the archaeological record appearing with the very advent of modern man, and contemporary beads are continuity of this ancient tradition. Beads are made from natural materials, such as seashells, mother of pearl or plant seeds and stones. There are also beads from precious and semiprecious
metal and stones as well as synthetic material such as plastic or glass.

Bead workers use different beads of different color to create colorful patterns and sewing jewelry or decorative items. In Tajikistan choker (*khafaband*) is traditional female adornment, which is made from beads. There are multiple types of personal adornment jewelries, which are made from beads. Some of this personal adornment items can be very long or big for creation of which a months is spent.

Beadwork is particularly widespread in Badakhshon province where variety of decorative jewelry is made from beads. The patterns created by beads of different color are both simple geometric as well as more complex patterns.

The beadwork items are sold as souvenirs and also made for personal use or exchanged as a gift. Beadwork is also used in embroidery where patterns are contoured by a thread and than filled with beads.
Sherozbofi

Sheroz is a braided straps used for decorating edges of costumes and other textiles. It is one of the popular female craft also known as jiyakbofi. The straps are braided in the frame or knitted than patterns are stitched on them or patterns are designed when braided in the frame. These braided straps are used as decorative elements in the edge of sleeves, round the edges of the men's coats, round the edge of the hats. The braided straps, which are used to be stitched over, are knitted from the monocular threads.

Color of the braided straps is chosen depending the purpose of they use. The black hats have white or red braided straps or braided straps used for the female trousers are black base knitted straps on top of which colorful design is stitched leaving two sides black and between the colorful stitching white threads are used to highlight the pattern.

The braided straps used for coats or sleeves are usually braided by hand using multiple threads of different color. The base braided straps are knitted from the cotton threads and the silk threads are used for stitching applique designs.
**Jurobbofi**

*Jurobbofi* refers to *jorab* that is “socks” knitting. *Jurobs* are multicolored socks with intricate patterns, knitted from the toe-up. They are usually worn in such a way as to display rich decoration.

*Jurobs* are made of wool, silk, nylon or sometimes cotton. Other materials include acrylic and blends of wool and cotton. *Jurobs* can be knee-high, regular length, ankle-length, or made as slippers.

*Jurobs* are usually knitted with 5 double pointed needles. In Tajikistan *jurobs* are knitted as well combination of knitting and crochet techniques. In Tajikistan *jurobs* are specific to Badakhshan province and in common culture they are called Pamiri *jurobs*. The *jurobs* in Badakhshan are made by using crochet technique only, although needles are also used. The historical sources witness the presence of this craft in Pamir from 19th century. The needles for knitting are made from tree branches. *Jurobs* knitted with needles have specific pattern making techniques and for this purpose up to 5 or 6 needles are used. These days generally metallic needles are used.

The Pamiri *jurobs* have a very unique character and pattern. The manufacturing technique is a special kind of crochet. The socks are very common in local everyday life as well as popular among tourists.

In Pamir *jurobs* are made primarily from the sheep wool although wools from goat and yak are also used. Wool processing for preparing threads have also special place in traditional craft of the Pamir region and it is manually processed and dyed.
Jurobs are season specific and the thickness and layers of looms in weave and height of the jurob reflects the season when these jorabs can be worn.

Jurobs have multiple decorative patterns. Some jurobs are decorated only from the ankle high but some fully decorated. Jurobs are given name based on the pattern and decoration used in them. For example «azhdapajkar» (dragon body), «pari tovus» (peacock feather) and many alike names that reflect the design used in decoration of the jurobs. Among the existing decorative patterns used in jurobs the «dragon body» is most ancient reflecting the traditional old beliefs of the Arian people.

Jurobs are generally unisex, but some of them on the basis of the decorative patterns can be distinguished. The women jurobs would have more elaborated patterns and vivid bright colors whereas men jurobs would be much simpler in their decor. Similarly children jurobs are less decorated or jurobs made for a special occasion such as wedding or birthdays would have special ‘souvenir’ nature where tinsels are used to make them shine.

The continuity of this craft perhaps best can be explained by the fact that the raw material for this craft is plenty in mountainous regions and also there is a real market for it both among local population and also visitors.
Shoe making

Shoe making is one of the traditional and ancient crafts of the Tajik people still being practiced to this day. Prior to the 1920 it is known that there were shoe making workshops in every cities where up to twenty or forty people used to work. These traditional workshops produced shoes for all purposes and for everyone e.g. men and women or children shoes, winter shoes for working in the field shoes for horse riding etc. The shoemakers also made mahsi – a type of knee-high slippers without hard sole worn to keep the feet warm during the winter and also for religious purposes. Mahsi was made from very soft leather. Shoemakers were given names depending on the type of shoes they made such as muzaduz- shoemaker specialized in making boots or kafshduz – shoemaker specialized in making outdoor slippers.

Certainly the traditional shoes made for local market were also designed after the imported prototypes as witnessed by the names given to these shoes, such as Iraqi i.e. shoes from Iraq. Quality and type of shoes also depended on the social status and the wealth of the person.
commissioning it or buying it. For example a shippak shoes, which is a type of women outdoor slipper were made using three layers of fine leather and had also a heel.

The basic traditional shoe making toolbox included a pair lasting pliers, shoemaker’s knife, awl handle, welting awl blade, sleeking bone, spool of hemp thread and ball of thread wax.

One of the most common footwear worn in old days was muki, which was worn by men, women and children alike. This type of footwear was worn during the warm and dry season. It was light weight and ankle high made from un-tanned leather.

Second most common shoes were that of choruk or also commonly called khomak. In contrast with muki the choruk was worn during the humid, wet and cold days. It had flat sole and was made from un-tanned and unprocessed cow or sheep skin with the furry part from outside. Inside it a layer of linen grass was let for insulation purpose and foot wrap was used to add extra comfort. This form of footwear was mostly won by impoverished population. It was higher than ankle and had strips attached to it in order to tying it up on the foot, which was called chorukband. Choruk was not made by professional shoemakers but ordinary people would make it themselves.

Although making certain traditional footwear has discontinued due to the mass industrial productions, but still making boots and mahsi is continuing. In Khujand and Istaravshan there are two type of traditional boots made which has elaborate high heel used for horse-riding especially during the buzkashi game or horse polo.

Mahsi is a soft leather knee high slipper worn primarily in the cold and humid seasons and outdoors it is worn with rubber slippers called kalush. Similarly to boots it is handmade using special frame and can have decorations or be simple.
Chitgari (ornament printing on textile)

Ornament printing on textiles is the process of printing patterns on textiles, usually of linen, cotton or silk, by means of incised wooden blocks. The widespread material used for wood-block printing is called «chit» a pure cotton fabric thus in Tajik the craft of ornament printing is widely known as «chitgari» (production of chit). In the past this form was widespread but today it is practiced in Istaravshan city in the workshop of master Saidov Miramin.

Ornament printing process starts with choosing a pure cotton fabric, which is boiled for one or one and a half hours in order to make it thoroughly clean from any sorts of extra elements that it has absorbed during the weaving process. In addition after the boiling process the fabric becomes extra soft attaining high absorbance quality. After boiling it is soaked in fresh clean cold water and left to dry. In separate pot a mixture from pistachio tree or mozu (seed of a tree) is prepared. Afterwards the fabric is soaked in
the 800 gram mozu mixture and dried. A dried fabric than is hammered by kudung (wooden hammer) and woodblocks with pattern chosen is laid over it.

First a black color patterns is laid and left to dry, afterward red and than yellow color prints are laid. After patterns are printed and dried the fabric is washed in clean water and dried. The final process is when red ochre is sprinkled all over it and dipped into boiling water and kept for some time. Once the red ochre is absorbed into the spaces without pattern the fabric is dried. The usual and common patterns used are vegetal, geometric and imaginative designs.

Only natural organic pigments are used in woodblock print fabric making, which are extracted from the mixture of different vegetable and fruit peels and black pigment from iron. During the process all pigments used are kept separately in set bowls.
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan
traditional folk crafts
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan
Jewelry making

Jewelry making is one of the ancient applied art and form of traditional craft of the Tajik people. According to archaeological data the earliest samples of jewelry belongs to the middle Bronze Age period. Of course the jewelry items in addition to being a piece of adornment have also been perceived to carry cosmological powers and protect the one who warn them.

Artistic forms and shapes of the pre-Islamic jewelry among Tajiks were inspired by the natural world and consisted of animal, bird and vegetal designs. The distinctive feature of the Tajik jewelry in Islamic period abounds with the natural, geometric and imaginative designs, including elements of Arabic calligraphy.

There are multiple ways and methods of jewelry making used in making jewelry items such as cast, engraving, gold plating and stamping. The act of separating gold from other metal like silver is known as «ganjbandi». Depending on the methods and type of metal chosen where gold or silver or by cast or appliqué, masters would proceed in making the jewelry items requested from them. The principal type of metal used in jewelry making was alloy containing silver and gold, which was called «tilloi jurghoti» (yogurt gold) consisting of 4/5 silver and 1/5 pure gold.

Should be noted depending on the type of item jewelers would use a wide array of alloy and precious and semi-precious metal, including wide range of precious and semi-precious stones for adorning the jewelry items.

Most common jewelry items used by Tajik women such as ring, ear ring, diadems, bracelets, armlets and other specific forms of complex jewelries are still current and used.

Tajik jewelers in their craft widely use beads made also from precious or semi-precious metal, which are called zaghirak or gavarsa.

Different jewelry items would had specific
names; for example these are names of earrings «Muhammad», which is made in style of masters from Bukhara, «segusha», which could be made from both silver and gold and had hanging parts which were adorned by corals; «zirak ear ring» which usually made of silver and «sarigush», «qubador», «qafasi» that are made from silver as well.

Rings were made usually of silver and were adorned by various semiprecious stones.

Bracelets were also made of silver and had varieties, some of which were adorned with stones. For example bracelets called «donador» or «gandumak» was a type of bracelet, which had special safety pin to lock it. The safety pin used for locking the bracelet in arm had a chain that often was decorated by coral or other stones.

In addition, there are types of jewelries such as «tumor» special cylinder form jewelry used to keep amulets inside or «peshovez» large rosette form pendants which were decorated by engraving or appliqué.
Tradational Folk Crafts
Coppersmith

Coppersmith is part of the art of metalworking and is one of the most ancient crafts and only yields the superiority to ceramics. The art of copper working is attested from the Samanid Era and attained perfection in the late medieval period.

In the middle of the 19th century the manufacturing of embossed copper articles in reaches the highest level. In big cities there were big quarters of coppersmith craftsmen – called guzari misgaron. The centers of copper working were the northern, central and the southern regions of Tajikistan. Masters made different kinds of embossed articles using copper – from household stuff to vessels for execution of religious ceremonies. Among them were ablution jugs (oftoba), tea pots (choyjush), various bowls (miskosa), trays caskets, smoking devices (chilim), inkwells, pen cases censers, and lamps all decorated with embossed ornaments. Today these traditional forms are also included into the range of goods produced by embossers. The researchers note that varied embossed copper ware of Tajikistan has analogues among the similar stuff created by craftsmen in East Turkestan, India, Iran, Turkey and the
recessed relief. Moreover, to make details of lids, lugs and saucers for vessels the Tajik masters apply a cut-through engraving shabaka. Following the ancient techniques, a kandakor (embosser) uses a copper or brass sheet to manufacture embossed articles. Brass constitutes an alloy of copper and zinc with addition of some other metals.

The tools and equipment in the embosser’s workshop hardly differ from what handicraftsmen in the Middle Ages used. By means of simple, plain tools the copper-smith creates works of art shaping the articles into any possible freakish forms and decorating them with fine figures.

Caucasus. This fact evidences the century-old trade and cultural contacts of Central Asia with the countries on the Great Silk Road. In 19th century a Tajik coppersmiths also began using infusing semiprecious stones and glass into copper items, which has made these more attractive and pleasant. The copper items made by commission were richly ornamented

The Tajik embossing, actually, constitutes various techniques of engraving. The deep engraving kandakory or kalamkori has a more
Karnay making

The karnay is a long trumpet made of copper or bronze. It consists of the following parts: mouthpiece (dahana), the middle part (torsak), middle joining tube (nil), central air part (miyonajo), lower part of the end-piece (kaba), faucet (qubba), decorative piece (jiyaki oroishi). Karnay is 190-210 cm long with the central and middle pipe having 3.3 cm diameter and weights 1 kg. For example, mouthpiece and middle joining part is 85-90 cm, central air part 55 cm and lower end piece is including faucet 57-63 cm long.

Karnay is made from a bronze sheet where all constitutive parts are first drowning on the sheet by incision than these are cut, assembled and brazed together. Each part of karnay is assembled separately and than joined together. After the assembling process the instrument will be thoroughly cleaned by various safe acids to give it polish, shine and remove any roughness it got during the assembling process. Afterwards, it is tested by the chief master to ensure the sound and workmanship quality.

The craft of karnay making was widespread in major cities of Central Asia, but from the second part of the 20th century it has gradually demised. In contemporary Tajikistan there is one master in Istaravshan region, Mirzo Mansurov who still holds the skill of making of at least 8 variety of karnays, such as kajkarnay, shikasta, govdum etc.

Playing karnay has become popular in wedding and alike ceremonies in Tajikistan.
Knife making

Knife is one of the most used household items made from iron or other alloys. It has three main parts: tegh (blade), guluband (bolster), dasta (handle) and sarband (butt). Knife makers usually use two types of metal, white metal for household knives and black metal for hunting knives or knives used for heavy works. Knife bolster is usually made from four different types of metal and alloys e.g. copper, bronze and even silver, while the handle is made from animal horns, bones, glass fused with different alloy and wood. The most expensive knives are those with ivory hands. The knife butt similar to the bolster is made of different precious and semiprecious metals.

Knife making starts by choosing a piece of suitable metal and identifying type of knife to be made. Than chosen metal is 3 to 4 times put into fire and hammered for the blade to be prepared. After the blade is given desired shape it is than polished by rough and soft sand. More the blade is fired sharper and stronger it becomes. The final polishing is done by using leather or an animal skin with finer hair.

Knife handle is made of bone or animal horn. The chosen material is polished and sanded and measured to have right proportion in relation to the blade. Bolster and butt function as main elements to hold the handle fast together.

In decoration of knife various types of ornamentation such as geometric and vegetal patterns are used. The ornaments are used on the blade, bolster, handle and butt by using incision technique or scratching.

Knife cases are made from leather or man-made leather substitutes. Inside the cases carton paper is used to prevent the blade cutting the case or for safety in carrying it. Knife cases are also decorated from the outside and a strap is attached for hanging it in the belt or carrying it.
**Blacksmith**

Blacksmith a profession in Tajik called *ohangari* literary meanings someone who works with iron is one of the widespread crafts among Tajik people. In almost every corner of the country it is possible to find a blacksmith workshop as iron objects such as household items, various tools for agriculture activities, including accessories for the house is needed on daily basis. Thus blacksmith in according to the objects they make are given name for example «kalidgar» (key maker), «kulfsoz» (lock maker), «degrez» (pot maker) and so on. In the light of technological development nowadays blacksmiths produce only objects otherwise not produced in factories.

Each blacksmith workshop will have 2 masters. The chief master will be one heating the metal and his associate will help him to hummer the iron and help it to get a shape of the objects they wish to make.

In distant past the charcoal used in blacksmith workshop was that from hard wood trees for example mountain cedar and oak. In contemporary condition coal is used instead of wood charcoal. In addition today new technology instead of manual bellows are used to keep the fire in the forge.

The blacksmith workshop usually consists of the following set of tools, objects: hearth or forge, bellow, hammers of varied shape and functional use, chisels, sets, hardy, tongs, drifts and fullers and so on.

Blacksmiths make vast array of iron products used for different purpose in daily activities of populations including object used in kitchen, gardening, agriculture and animal husbandry.
Metal sheet making

Metal sheet making is part of the general blacksmith craft, which became popular among Tajik craftsmen in mid 20th century. Metal sheets due to their flexibility and also durability is used widely in many aspects of the people’s life. If before the 20 century traditional craftsmen made metal sheets from copper or iron for use in their profession in small amount the increase of import of the raw material from the industrially more developed countries such Russia made it possible to increase the local production and use of metal sheets widely.

Metal sheets are used for making pipes used in firewood burners; they are used for making frames for a smaller object such as sifts. Higher quality and thicker metal sheets are used for production of kitchen utensils and also large waterproof tables and articles.

Metal sheets are also used for roof covering and drainage systems for making fences around the builds etc.

Metal sheets in Tajikistan are also used for production of interior decorative items such as appliqué patterns for gates, special decorative covers for walls.
Pottery making

Pottery making is one of the widespread traditional crafts of the Tajik people. Potteries produced in the workshops located in the urbanized centers and cities always had a distinctive feature in quality and variety. In rural places pottery making was practiced mainly by women. They produced various household objects by hand without using wheel or other professional tools employed in city based workshops. The pottery items in villages were dried in the shade and baked in regular oven, which usually were for baking breads. For firewood the main fuel used was a cow patty.

Pottery making was a popular thing-to-do in the summer season. The clay was chosen from special location where the dirt would have the texture and component for making pottery. The soil was brought and dried thoroughly afterwards than a mixture was prepared. To give the pottery sturdy texture sometimes sand was added too. If the pottery objects were large jars or pots the masters would add also goat hair to add the strength to the structure of the clay.

When the pottery mixture (clay) was prepared, usually by mixing with hand and stomping; the clay than was wrapped and left in the shade for up to ten days. When the clay was ready it was taken than to the preparation table where different objects were crafted and refined on the wheel by coating and ornamenting them.

Main tool for pottery making is pottery wheel, which has following parts charkh (wheel), tir (shaft), sandon or sumba (fly wheel). When the clay was put on the wheel a think liquid mixture of clay was poured on it that would help when the clay was shaped into an object. When the object was shaped various sharp objects including strings were used to ornament the object prior it was set to dry and baked. The ornaments of the local potteries are not very complex and primarily consist of geometric patterns. More decorative elements and designs were applied after the objects were baked using different natural pigments.

Prior to the initial drying of the object before it being baked it would be processed with
a cloth soaked in red loam slip, which is called «maimolkuni» or «gilobchakuni». In workshops they would also use different types of glazing elements of different color. After initial drying process the objects are rubbed by a dry and than dump cloth a process which is called «saqalzani». After this process than the objects is left in the sun for complete drying before they are taken to the oven for baking.

The pottery firing ovens are called «khumdon» and depending on the size of the potteries fired on them they were designated as «kalon» (big) or «maida» (small) khumdon. These ovens had special hole on the top «dahani khumdon» (a mouth of oven) used to put the pottery inside and the walls had multiple small holes called «murghak» for the smoke to come out. Pottery objects were either piled on one another during the baking or held in a metallic net to allow the fire go through. The «khumdon» during the frying process would be sealed completely to allow the temperature to rise into the maximum possible.

The pottery objects prepared based on the surviving samples includes a vast array of the household and luxury objects of diver functionality. This included also pots and dishes for cooking food or storage of large quantity of liquid or grain products.

Pottery making was practiced among the local population of Tajikistan till the middle of the twentieth century and gradually it has declined and the ceramic products were replaced by china or other porcelain objects.

**Miniature painting**

The miniature painting is one of the traditional forms of the fine arts of Tajik people. Miniature is a small, finely wrought portrait executed on vellum, prepared card, copper, or ivory. The name is derived from the minimum, or red lead, used by the medieval illuminators. Arising from a fusion of the separate traditions of the illuminated manuscript and the medal, miniature painting flourished from the beginning of the 16th century down to the mid-19th century.

In Tajik culture it has a very old history, attested in early medieval rock painting, wall murals and other material culture products. In the history of the Tajik statehood, many different miniature schools have emerged and are known, such as the miniature school of Herat, whose famous representative is master Kamoluddin Behzod. Miniatures are significant for the traditional and classical Tajik poetry and book culture and it is impossible to imagine the Tajik literary sources without their elaborate and rich miniatures. In particular, the medieval Tajik book culture employed miniatures to decorate the manuscripts and works of poets and philosophers and these miniatures depict the nature, landscapes, sport games, martial arts, entertainment, music and cuisine etc.

Miniature art still continues in modern Tajik fine art. In Dushanbe, the famous miniature school is that run by famous Tajik artist Olim Kamolov and his students. In Olim Kamolov's school miniatures are depicted on ceramics, wood panels and other material the artistic features presented are imitations of the medieval miniature school but also fusing them with contemporary themes.

In the past miniature painting would have a two-layer ground. The bottom layer would be a mixture of glue, plaster, and grape treacle; on top of that would be a layer of white lead and oil-varnish. Currently, artisans are actively involved in the introduction of ancient traditions of miniature executions with use of the modern technology. O. Kamolov's miniature pieces, «Navruz», «Silk Road» and «Race» are among the best miniatures, which has received international awards and recognition.

The miniature execution knowledge and skills today in Tajikistan are transferred through the school of O. Kamolov called «Mino».
Mill

Mill refers to a building equipped with machinery for grinding grain into flour and occasionally also used for grinding dry fruits. Due to the natural conditions in Tajikistan watermills and in some places hand grain mill is also used.

Watermills are built next to brooks and rivers. Typically, water is diverted from a river or impoundment to a water wheel, along a pipe of 6 or 7 meter. The force of the water's movement drives the blades of a wheel, which in turn rotates an axle that drives the mill's flat stones which grinds the grain.

On the top of the flat mill's stones is located doull (a wooden container where the grain is kept). It is located 90 to 120 cm above the grinder stones and can contain up to 150 kg grain products. Grain falls from hole at the bottom of the doull into the middle holes of the grinding stones and turned in flour. The flour than in every movement of the grinder stones falls into another container called okhar, which is set lower than the grinder stones and accumulated there. This than is taken and bagged.

Grinder stones for the watermill are crafted by the rock artisan masters. It has round shape and has hole in the center. Depending on the capacity of the watermill the grinder stones can weight from 300 kg to 800kg. The thickness of the grinder stones: lower from 8 to 10 cm and upper stone from 4 to 5 cm.

Any types of the grain products can be grinded in the mill whose flour is used for baking bread or other type of food. Dried mulberries are also grinded in the watermill.

Another way to grind the grains is using hand grain mills, which is a large rounded rock. This hand grain mill rock in Badakhshan province is called «bulbulok», which is used for grinding grains and dried fruits such as walnuts, apple
and mulberries. The hand grain mill is used against the surface of another flat stone in rolling motion. Hand grain mills in Tajik called «dastos» or «osiyoi dasti» was widely used in the olden days, but extremely rare in our days.

In similar manner mortar, in Tajik called «ughur» or «hovan», is also used to grind grain products. Mortars are made from wood, rock and metal. Mortars are used for grinding smaller amount of products and sometimes for extracting juice from soaked wheat to cook sumanak.
Dughkashi

Dughkashi is a process of separating butter from yogurt, which in some regions of Tajikistan it is also called maskakashi, guppizani or kupizani. The process of separating butter from yogurt manually involves using special equipment such as guppi or big wooden hand mixer with its special pot.

*Guppi* a bowl used to extract butter from the yogurt has a conical shape with 0.8 to 100 cm height and 30 to 40 cm diameter with capacity of ten to fifteen liters. *Guppi* is made from clay, wood or metal and has lid and guppichub (a stick with a cross shape end; similar to a mixer). *Guppichub* is about 1 to 1.2 meter long.
The process is to add yogurt into *guppi* and add some water afterwards move *guppichub* in stabbing motion. The temperature of yogurt and water is important in extracting butter, thus if yogurt is cold a warm water if it is too warm some cold water is added. Once the butter begun separating from yogurt some colder water is sprinkled and the butter is gathered into separate bowl and then rinsed with cold water in order to wash the remaining yogurt from it. Butter is than kept in cold room after being salted and is ready to be used as soon as the water and yogurt is drained off it.

The processed yogurt after butter is extracted is called *dugh* and it is poured into a sack to be drained and the remaining will be fat-free yoghurt cheese. In some regions dugh is also boiled for water to be separated and the remaining yoghurt is rolled into yoghurt balls, which is called *kurut*.

In addition, the other way to extract butter from yoghurt, which is widespread in Hisar, Kulob, Vakhsh, Rasht and Darvaz regions, is by means of *charkhchub* and *charkhdeg*. The mixer is called *chakht* (*chakhnik*) and *charkhdeg* the size and capacity of these tools are similar to the *guppi*. The only difference is the mechanism of extraction: the *charkhchub* is tied to a poll and the charkhdeg with yoghurt is put next to it and a piece of string is rolled on the *charkhhub* which is used to pull it forth and back in mixer effect. After the butter is separated it is taken and kept in clay bowls called *khurma* or *ravghanjogah*.

There are traditional views and beliefs that are observed during *dughkashi*. For example, in some regions like Khovaling green herbs and grass is put around the place where dugh is prepared. In Rasht valley around the *guppi* and *charkhdeg* ashes are spread, which is believed to ward off the miracle of butter extraction. In *Hisar* and Ayni branches from evergreen trees are brought and put in the corner of the house where butter is extracted or the scented herbs are smoked. These all are to protect the butter and yogurt from the evil spirits.

Butter is not eaten in large amounts and thus the butter often is boiled to make ghee (fatty oil) which is than used in winter time for cooking.
Tanur making

The term *tanur* refers to a variety of ovens, the most commonly known is cylindrical clay used in cooking and baking. *Tanurs* are installed subterranean or above the ground. *Tanur* making belong to the same category of craft as pottery making as it is traditionally made from clay.

For *tanur* making choice of clay is important and usually clean soil is chosen. When the mud is prepared for making *tanur* some animal wool is added to it so that it won’t crack or be too fragile. It is stomped thoroughly for hours until a homogenous mixture is achieved and than it is covered with a cloth and left for two days to mature.

*Tanur* has three main parts. The first part is called “takhtai avval”, which is 300x35 or 40 cm. This piece after being flattened is attached from two extremities into a round shame. After leaving
it for 3 or 4 hours to get semi-dry it is than shaped and hammered softly to smooth and strength the wall capacity. Than a second layer “takhati duvum” is also shaped and attached to the first part. The second layer will be cone-shaped and than also hammered to attach into the first layer. Afterwards the third layer, called mouthpiece is prepared and attached from the topside of the conical figure. All the joint sections are worked out thoroughly to prevent cracking or breakage and the “mouth of tanur” is given a rolled-up round shape. The tanur’s mouth is usually 50 cm in diameter and tanurs used for baking sambusa has 65 to 70 cm diameter. In addition, depending on the request of the customer the size of the tanur can be adjusted.

Tanur after the first stage of shaping is than left in the sun to dry and to enforce the drying charcoals are used to burn slowly from inside. After 4 or 4 days tanur is elevated and put on top of bricks for the lover part of the tanur also dry and the air circulate through it.

Tanur installation has also its peculiar requirements. Usually two parallel brick walls of 80-90 cm tall are laid. The perimeter of the wall will be 100 cm and the space between them 120 cm. It is usually installed horizontally with the back of tanur directed towards Kaaba (Mecca) so that the baker when working will be facing the Kaaba.

After installation firewood is lit and kept burning for 15 to 18 hours. After it is completely baked and dried another 6 hours high fire is lit in tanur to heat it to the highest temperature possible after which tanur will attain red ceramic color. In one hour after the firing procedure than the first bread in the new tanur is baked.

Depending on its workmanship and quality one tanur can serve from 10 to 15 years in a household.
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan
Leather making

People from the dawn of civilizations needed sturdy clothing and for this purpose used leather obtained from various domesticated and wild animals for making shoes and garments. Thus the leather production as one of the most ancient crafts has a long historical development history.

In Tajikistan leather making was widespread in ancient cities and town such as Khujand, Hisar, Panjaket, Istaravshan, Kulob and so on where to this there are place names survived as «charmgaron» where the leather producing workshops existed. In these areas leather was produced from cow, horse, camel, goat and sheepskin, including wild animals hunted by the local populace. The leather was used for making warm winter clothing, shoes and other wearable accessories. It was also employed for making horse and donkey equipment. Those involved in leather making craft were divided into three groups each named after the products they made such muzaduzon- those making boots; mahsiduzon- those making sock-like leather soft footwear and kafshduzon- a slipper style or ankle high shoes.

In our days the leather making process is in the following manner: an animal skin such as cow is soaked into water for one or two days. Afterward it is taken out from water and the hide is shaved and cleaned. It is than soaked in another large container where lime and sodium acid is added; this is usually 20 or 30 liters of mixture and 20 liters of fresh water. This container is usually buried in the ground so it makes it easy to fetch out a wet and heavy skin.

The skin is kept in this mixture for two days and after it is taken out its obverse side (the hairy side) is shaved and peeled and it goes back to the mixture container for another 48 hours. When it is taken out salt is applied on both sides of the skin and left for four days. When it is semi-dried it is shaved and polished. Afterwards it is soaked in salt and sulfate mixed water for another day. After passing one day sugar, chromic acid is added and the skin is kept for one hour. Then the skin is taken out washed and kept in water another day and rinsed off from all the different mixtures it has been soaked into. Finally the skin is tanned and left to dry in the sun.

After it is dried it is put on the equipment called peshkor and polished with the tool called chom. This process is mainly for softening the leather and afterwards it is pulled straight into for sides and left to dry as a flat sheet. Another mixture made from milk, sugar and negrozine acid, which is used to apply on the leather to make it soft and give a shiny color. Before the chemical tanning techniques evolved leather tanning was done by natural colors, such as from almond bush tree.
Comb making

Comb making belongs to the woodcraft profession and it is also called as «shonataroshi» (crafting a comb) or «shonagari» (combmaking). Comb making starts by choosing a right wood and the best wood is considered to be that of walnut tree. Wood from apricot or pear trees is also employed. First a piece of wood is chopped and made flat into a piece of board and left in the sun to dry. To make it evenly flat the material is shaved to give a smoother surface twice; the first is called «khomtarosh» and the second «pukhtatarosh». The teeth are cut out using a saw. The teeth and surface are rounded off and the surface refined further. A vegetable oil is than applied and kept for 2 to 3 hours for the wood to be softer and a fine sanding tool is used to make it delicate that it won’t scratch head skin when used. If it is two-sided comb the middle part is made to be little thicker for holding purpose.

The next stage is decoration procedure when
the surface of the comb is decorated with different geometric or vegetal designs. The ornaments are done by incision technique and after than pattern is finished it is sanded on top so the ‘scratch’ patterns are smooth. In the distant past after finishing the comb making its teeth was thoroughly cleaned and polished with the bird feathers, which was known as «parzani». After the entire process is over again more oil is applied and left it to dry. For certain decorative combs honey honeycomb is used to give it extra shine.

According to the craftsmen and those using wood combs, it is considered to be medicinal. For example if the comb is made from the inner part of the walnut tree it is useful for dry hair if it is from the ‘upper’ surface of the tree than it will help to regulate the oily hair. A comb crafted from the pear tree wood is softer and can be used for head massage.
Musical instrument making

First musical instruments were made in ancient times on the territory of Central Asia. The evidence of this is pictures of that instruments that were found on rocks and sculptures in forms of instruments. There are also images of musical instruments on other pieces of art that are dated back to the existence of ancient cities Bactria and Sogdiana. Poetry of that time also mentions the presence of musical instruments. Writings of historians and ethnographers of our time and diaries of people of that time also describe different musical instruments in Central Asia.

When the instrument is approved for production, technical questions should be decided. Technical processes are very significant. Depending on what type of timber is used and how it was processed, the instrument changes its qualities. Usually masters variety of wood types. Most popular are: walnut, mulberry, apricot and some other fruit trees. If masters use fruit tree as main material, the instrument will have even and clear.

Before the timber could be used for instrument production, it should go through different, time and labor consuming processes. Not every tree can be used for production. For this purpose it is better to use timber of not too old trees. First of all trees are sorted and selected trees is cut to make timber. After that timber is left in water for some period. Water should be running. In this case, water penetrates the timber deep inside and cleans it from insects, pests, gum, etc.

When timber is clean, it should dry up. The degree and quality of dryness shows the quality of the timber. The higher the degree, the better is considered to be the quality. The higher the quality, the higher is the price. Classical way of drying is in natural conditions. For more effectiveness timbers are positioned vertically. The process seems easy and quick. But actually it requires a lot of attention and takes on average between ten and fifteen years.

Quality of the timber is one of the most significant criteria of instrument quality. That’s why great attention is paid to this timber
preparation stage. When timber meets high standards requirements, the instrument that is made out of it will serve for a long time and will produce beautiful sound.

After instrument’s body is ready, masters work on the sound of the instrument. This process is requires high concentration from the master. This work is very labor consuming. To tune the instrument, masters should distinguish every subtle difference of a sound. Without this ability tuning does not make sense. Everything depends from the master here. That’s why talented masters are so appreciated.

Musical instrument making craft is hereditary and it is a craft passed from generation to another generation. It is also possible that the masters of musical instrument take disciples who in 12-14 years will learn and master the craft of his teacher and than can work independently.
Woodcarving

Patterned wood carvings often cover architectural elements – pillars, beams, cornices, doors, as well as smaller objects, such as tables, trunks, boxes, Koran stands, book-holders, musical instruments.

The few extant samples of the ancient woodcarving impress us with their beauty and perfection of execution. Among those of the ancient Sogdian woodcarvings which testify to the high skills of ancient masters are the fragments from the upper Zarafshan River such as ancient Panjakent and Istaravshan. As a matter of fact, in Tajikistan and across the ancient cities of Sogdiana images of various creatures had been carved on wood till the 10th century, even after the Arabian invasion. It was only in the later period that they were fully replaced by geometric and floral patterns.

Everyone who has been in Tajikistan knows how important the art of decorative carving for local residents is. It decorates the monuments of architecture, household objects, musical instruments, utensils, doors, frames, souvenirs and so forth this is one of the most ancient and widespread crafts in Tajikistan. There are woodcarving (utensils, furniture), stone carving and gajkori (architectural monuments, houses, interior decoration).

The three main ornamental styles are distinguished in Tajik woodcarving: baghdadi, islimi and pargori. The deep-background islimi style has richer artistic qualities than no-background one does. It is used in decoration of both architectural elements and smaller objects, usually in combination with baghdadi and pargori. As a rule, islimi style has one background, though experienced carvers sometimes make two- or three-plane carving when the pattern of the second layer becomes a background to the upper one. The prevailing patterns in islimi style are twisting, regularly intertwined plant vines, stalks with flower buds, flowers and leaves – all very in-
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tricately combined. Sketches for *islimi* patterns are first drawn on a piece of paper and then copied on the work-piece by pouncing. The art of the master then lies in creating the proper background and revealing the natural beauty of the wood. The flat surface of *islimi* relief and its deep background are finished by applying a set of techniques called *pardozi*: the edges of the relief are made a little curved or right-angled; its surface is either polished or covered with diagonal notches; the background is left plain or is made dot-textured, thus creating the patterned basis for the ornament. In each region of Tajikistan they use their own *pardozi* techniques.

Tajik carvers use several species of trees for their works. Among them is *karagach*, a local species of the elm-tree. This tree grows thick and high and has hard fine texture feasible for fine intricate carving. *Karagach*, as well as *chinor* and walnut, are used for making fretted pillars and doors. Walnut is also used for making tables and boxes which, if polished, look really exquisite. For *panjara* composite lattices local soft species of willow are preferable. Mulberry tree, so common in Tajikistan, is used for making musical instruments. Linden and apricot-tree are chosen mostly for inlays. Poplar, though being soft and light, is not strong enough, and is usually used for only very simple carving designs.

To find and cut down the required tree is only one part of the business. Fresh wood does not fit for woodcarving. It needs seasoning in a dry and warm place, with logs and planks being placed in a vertical position to prevent deformation.
Wood-plate making

Wooden plate making craft is one of the wide spread form of traditional craft among Tajik people that has been practiced throughout the centuries.

In old times wooden plates were produced in special workshops, which were situated by the brooks where water was used to move the carving machines – special turner where pieces of wood are attached and as it spins the master uses chisel to shape the wood. The wooden plate-making workshop operated in similar manner as a water mills just that these workshop dealt with wood.

The log from a chosen tree trunk is cut into 40 cm height with 40 or larger diameter. The primitive shape is given by using axe and chisel than it is put into a turner to polish the shape. Afterwards it is taken and the depth is cut by special inverted axe. When working with the wood craftsmen use sheep tail fat or other ointment so that the wood does not crack.

Usually almost all Tajiks, and in particular the rural population in the family have wooden plates which are used in everyday life for the particular type of food specialties such as “Kurutob” or “Faturshurbo” and «Shakarob». As we know from wooden dishes eat food hands instead of spoons and it has its own specific causes. Tajik wooden plates are elegance kitchen Tajiks and highly respected if it is used for the preparation of special dishes for guests. Wooden plates (tabaki chubi) in Tajikistan are often found in the kitchen of mountain residents of such areas as the Kulob, Khatlon, Hisar, Rasht, Badakhshan, etc. It is no secret that the wooden plate in ancient times there were also other
peoples of the world.

Tajik wooden plates create by hand from wood, particularly from walnut, plane (*chinor*), apricot and poplar tree timber. Thus the yellow plate is made of wood of walnut and red of *chinor*. In ancient times all dishes prepared by hand, but with the advent of electricity now they create in special machines. The wood that is used in the Tajik dishes selected by the criteria of resistance to it does not burst out of the dryness. Each type of wood has its own smell, weight and value.

In modern days masters use electric turners and more sophisticated tools tat make the process of plate making faster and less time consuming.
Baby cradle making

*Gahvora* or cradle is a special item in every Tajik household, so is the art of making baby cradles called *gahvorasizi*. Babies are put into cradles when they are 5 or 7 days old and they sleep in these cradles up to the age of two. The length of cradle is about 1.2 meters with 50 cm width and up to 60 cm height.

The cradle corpus in Tajikistan is made from the willow tree as it is very lightweight and some of the parts can be made from the timber taken from walnut or apricot tree. Nowadays craftsmen also use timber from other trees as well such as pine tree.

In two sides it has a semicircular feet attached to an arch-like upper parts, which are connected with the long handle in the middle horizontally.

The semicircular feet allow the cradle to rock and not fall. The depth of cradle is about 12-14 cm where the matrasses will be placed. Cradle is also furnished with the potty; where the child’s bottom comes, the mattress and the wooden base have a round hole pierced in them, under which an earthen pot stands. For urine to go to the potty there is used a pipe shape utensil and for the girls a flute shape is used.

The *gahvora* provides a place for the baby to sleep safely away from physical harm and is covered with layers of coverings called *gahvorapush*. This can be made from a light fabric for a warm season and with the thick fabric or sometimes with cotton-filled quilts for the cold seasons. Often further spiritual security is given
by keeping a knife, garlic, pepper, onion and bread underneath to scare away evil spirits intent on harming the child. Triangular charms are usually hung on top, stuffed with cotton and verses from the Koran.

The related ritual to gahvora is called gahvorabandon that is laying baby on gahvora for the first time after birth. Gahvora is bought by the bride’s parents and its furnishing is prepared at home.
Straw mat (reed mat) making

*buryobofi* or Straw-mat making is a craftsmanship, which has changed very little with the passage of time and is still being practiced today. There are very few tools required and the raw material is reed, wicker or straw. It is one of the old forms of crafts among Tajik people. Straw mat in Tajik is called *buryo* and it is made exclusively from the reed. The size of the reed mats is usually 1x1.5 m.

For making reed mat certain amount of reed is taken and soaked overnight in water than it is cleaned from any leaves left and afterwards smashed by a heavy object to make it flat. Then the strips are taken to weave a mat by hand.

Reed mat is used in houses as an under-mat for carpets to protect them to get humid and also are used to give feeling of softness on the floor. It is also widely used for construction purposes. In modern days when people do not use reed mats for covering the floors they have become a decorative material for making dividers in the restaurants or to cover the roofs during the summer to provide shade.

Related to reed mat that is *buryokubon* – another name for the housewarming party often celebrated when people move into a new house.
Basket weaving

Basket weaving is an ancient craft that uses naturally grown materials and a few very simple tools. This is one of the widespread forms of traditional craft practiced across Tajikistan. Baskets are made from young branches of trees or cane. The tree branches used are willow, mulberry, pomegranate and other similar trees that have smooth long branches. Baskets in all sorts of shapes and sizes and used for varied purposes. For example baskets for carrying breads from the bakery are round or baskets used for collecting fruits or vegetables have handles.

Basket weavers make baskets by commission according to the need of the customers. Baskets needed for carrying heavy items would be woven from slight stronger and thicker branches and have flat bottom.

Before weaving the basket branches should be soaked thoroughly before using to make them easy to manipulate and to prevent them from breaking or cracking badly.

Branches that are intended to be used for stakes should be kept straight during this process but weavers can be soaked only straightened out before to be used. It will also be necessary at some stages in the work to soak a half-finished piece. This would commonly be necessary when a basket base is ready and extra stakes have been inserted into it and are then going to bend them up at right angles to form the skeleton for the basket sides. It is obvious that the bottom of these stakes will have to be very malleable and damp so that they can be kinked with pliers and bent up without breaking. Extra dampening may similarly be necessary when you are about to bend down the ends of the stakes to make a final top border to your work.

Bird’s cages in Tajikistan are also made using basket weaving techniques. The cages are used for keeping quail or partridges.

The industrial production of baskets also has greatly limited the growth of traditional methods of basket making. But both traditional and made in factory baskets are used widely for carrying items or simply for holding items in them.
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CHAPTER SIX
TRADITIONAL FOOD

- BREAD AND ITS VARIETIES
- DOUGH-BASED DISHES
- MILK-BASED DISHES
- MEAT DISHES
- OSHI PALAV
- SOUP (ŠŪRBĀ) AND ITS TYPES
- TRADITIONAL BEVERAGES
- TRADITIONAL DESSERTS
Bread and its varieties

Nān (bread) is one of the essential stable foods in Tajik food culture consumed on daily basis. It is hard to imagine life among Tajiks without bread, thus in popular culture bread is highly valued as a 'holy food' and revered.

In traditional gatherings foremost the nān is put on the table. Ladies who come to different functions, such as wedding, mortuary ceremonies bring bread with them. Whenever a guest comes to a Tajik home he is given bread first.

In Tajik traditions there are many Ceremonial gatherings that are closely attached to the bread. The ordbēzān (sifting a flour), ravghānrēzān (pouring of oil), kulchāpazān (baking kulcha), nānshikanān (breaking the bread), nānbandān (bread baking) ceremonies are some of such cultural events to name.

During their long history Tajik people have invented various types of bread and there are multiple regional variations of bread present today as well. Different types of bread are given names based on their content and form, such as nōni čapāti or tunuk, girdačā, fatīr, āraica kurak, āraica varakā or kad-kad, kalamā, kumāc, kulča, nāni kordī, kulčāi kalān and so on.

Čapāti or tunuk is type of bread made from the leavened dough. It contains yeast thus it
Traditional food requires resting three to four hours prior being baked. The dough for čapāti compare to other types of bread is kneaded softer. It is than stretched flat into thin sheet and baked in one or two minutes. Due to its texture and substance čapāti is baked very quickly in high heat and among other types of breads known among Tajiks is the only one, which is not baked till it is red and it keeps white, flour-like color after being baked.

Čapāti is a sort of ceremonial bread, which is baked in large quantities during various cultural traditional events. Usually it is prepared and consumed in weddings, festival parties and mourning ceremonies as well.

Girdača is a type of widespread bread in Khatlon province, Hisar and Rasht valley. It's dough is made with yeast and when put in oven few holes are made so the hot air get through and while baking it does not burn. The girdača is thinker than čapāti and before taken out of the oven small amount of water is splashed on it to help it get a glossy texture.

Fatīr is perhaps an oldest bread type across Tajikistan. The main differentiating feature of fatīr from the leavened breads is that it contains milk and oil and it is much thicker compare to the regular breads from three to five centimeter. Fatīr is decorated by the needle bread stamp throughout making cross-through fine holes. Main local dishes such as ḵurutob, šakarob, fatīr šurbō is all consumed and made with the fatīr. During the fieldworks people carry fatīr to be eaten as it is considered to have more calories and being healthy. It has different types such as ḵad-ḵad, jazaddar (with the tail fat), gardmāl,
kurāk and piyāzdār (with onion).

Kalama, it's preparation is similar to fatīr. In olden days it was baked over the coals or heated pans, but now it is deep-fried in cooking oil. Kalama is ceremonial form of bread and is made in weddings or other cultural events. For example, six to eight kalama is exchanged between the bride and groom's family during the wedding ceremonies.

Tahmāl is similar to kalama, the only difference being that in tahmol dough sugar is added and it is also deep-fried. The dough for tahmol is made with the cream. It has round shape and can vary in size. It is also used as a gift offering in ceremonies.

Kulča is prepared for both festive and mourning ceremonies. Usually close relatives
during the weddings bake kulça and bring it to the wedding as a gift. On basis of its size kulça is differentiated as kalân (big) and maida (small). The small kulça can be round and large as a regular bowl mouth with the thickness varies from two to three cm. To ensure it is baked through the middle part of kulça is stamped with the needle stamp. The dough for kulçai kalân also referred as nōni kalon is made with milk and oil only. It has 60-80 cm diameter with the thickness up to seven centimeters. Among population another name for it is kulçai tuyāna (wedding kulça) as it is made and used from the proposal offering ceremony to the wedding day in both bride and groom’s families. The bakers decorate kulçai kalân by using appliqué patterns from the dough or using knife making floral designs.
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan
Dough-based dishes

The most complex and biggest part of the Tajik cuisine consists of the dough-based dishes. Below are the description and preparation recipes of some of the wide-spread and common dough-based dishes of Tajikistan.

*Oshi burida*- is a dough-based dish common to all regions of Tajikistan in some areas also called *oshu tuppa*. It is in essence a noodle soup with its own specific local features. The noodles for the *oshi burida* are prepared 20 minutes before the dish is prepared. Noodles are plain: flour, water and some slat. To make noodle soft dough is prepared and left to rest for sometime and than it is rolled into thin sheet and accordion folded. Then on a long chopping board called *takhtai zuvola* it is laid and cut finely. After finishing the cutting it is than taken and some flour is poured on it so in process of stretching the noodles do not break. After the noodles are stretched to the desired length and they are put into sift to remove the flour remainders on them. While the noodles are prepared in cauldron the soup ingredients vegetables and grain products such as beans, peas etc. would be cooked. Sometime to give the *oshi burida* extra flavor some onions are fried before adding water and the grain products. Once the grain products are cooked the noodles are added and stirred so they do not stick together. It is boiled for 10 minutes and is removed from the fire. The ready dish is served in large plates seasoned and with salads. *Oshi burida* is eaten also in bowls and yogurt is added into the soup. The other variation of the *oshi burida* is when the noodles are cut into square resembling lasagna pasta. *Oshi burida* also can be prepared with meatballs.

*Umoch*- is another dough-based dish prepared for people who are on special diet. The cooking method for *umoch* is similar to *oshi burida*. The main ingredient for *umoch* is a dough-crumbed mixed by hand with little water and some salt. Depending on the taste and appetite of the person various grain products and vegetable can be added into the broth in which *umoch* is cooked. It is served hot with yogurt.

*Mantu* is another dough-based dish which is most common and popular in Tajik cuisine. *Mantu* in Tajik cuisine and Central Asia are usually larger in size. They are steamed in a multi-level metal steamer called *mantupazak*. It consists of layered pots with holes, which are placed over a boiling stock and water.

In Tajik cuisine, *mantu* are usually made of one (or a combination) of the following ingredients: lamb, beef, herbs, on-
ion, potato or pumpkin, with fat often added to meat mantu. Steaming, frying and boiling are all common.

Mantu is prepared from water based dough, which is unrolled in layers 4-5 mm thick and cut in squares of 12×12 cm. Meat, vegetables or spices can make up the stuffing. Mantu is steamed for 35-45 minutes in a special pot. Mantu is served with sour milk or sour cream.

Depending on the season mantu can be prepared also with herbs only or vegetables only.

Tushbera- is similar to mantu only different in cooking mode. If mantu is steamed tushbera is boiled and also tushbera is much smaller in size than mantu. In other Central Asian cuisines it is also known as chuchpara, chuchvara, tushpara or barak, which is a small dumpling typical. It is made of unleavened dough squares filled with meat and it is similar to the Russian pelmeni, but in observance of the Islamic dietary rules, the meat filling is strictly halal. The dough for tushbera is made with flour, eggs, water and salt, unrolled in a layer 1-1.5 mm thick, and cut into squares. A dollop of meat filling, seasoned with chopped onions, pepper, salt and thyme, is placed at the center of each square, and the corners are pinched and folded. Tushbera is boiled
in meat broth until the dumplings rise to the surface. It can be served in a clear soup or on their own, with vinegar or sauce based on finely chopped greens, tomatoes and hot peppers. Another popular way of serving tushbera is topped with chakka (strained yogurt) or with jurghot (sour cream).

Sambusa - is another Tajik dough-based dish or snack consisting of flaky or plain pasties with various fillings, both served at ceremonies and eaten in an everyday life. Sambusa may have different shapes (square, round or triangle) and forms and be cooked in a multiplicity of ways, such as in firewood tanur or electric oven.

Today’s sambusa is usually filled with meat (mutton, chicken or beef) either chopped into small pieces or minced, vegetables (pumpkin, potato or onion), eggs, peas, herbs. However, as in most of the Tajik dishes, it is the spices, such as zira (cumin), black and red hot pepper, and sesame (covering sambusa on the top), that make the taste of the pasties really unique.

In the former times sambusa was cooked only in a tanur oven. Sambusa baked in a tanur has specific taste and flavor and is filled with small pieces of meat, onion and some amount of fat from a sheep’s tail. Nowadays, some sorts of sambusa are cooked in gas or electric ovens, which is faster and more convenient and, at the same time, makes samosa retain its original qualities.

In Tajikistan and other Central Asian countries, sambusas are often sold on the streets as a hot snack. They are sold at special kitchens, where only sambusas are made, or alternative-
ly, at places where other fast foods are sold.

**Bichak** - is another *sambusa*-like pastry, which can have potatoes, meat or herb fillings. The only difference between *bichak* and *sambusa* is that *bichak* is deep-fried in oil whereas *sambusa* is baked in the oven.

**Chagaldak** - is a dough-based savory snack food served hot or cold. The dough for *chagaldak* is very soft and onion, paper and green herbs (spring onion, coriander, parsley, dill and basil) are added. *Chagaldak* is deep fried in hot oil and since the dough is very soft like doughnut it can have irregular shapes. It
is fried until turning dark red.

Orzuk is savory and sweet snack cooked by deep-frying. The dough for orzuk is unleavened and is prepared in similar way as fatir dough with milk and oil. Once the bread is prepared it is pierced through with fork or other sharp object, than it is cut into rectangular or square pieces and deep-fried. If the dough does not contain sugar after taking it from fryer sugar powder is sprinkled on top. It is usually prepared for festivals and ceremonial occasions.
Milk-based dishes

Milk-based dishes and dairy products are large part of the Tajik cuisine from the old days. Geographical conditions of the country allow both animal husbandry and agricultural activities providing food from different sectors. The main dairy products in Tajikistan are yogurt, chakka (type of yogurt which kept in sac for water to drain), kurut or kashk (dried yogurt balls), cream, soured cream, clotted cream, dugh etc. Milk-based dishes in Tajikistan are the dishes eaten for breakfast largely.

Shirchoy is prepared from milk and loose-leaf tea. Other additional ingredients that maybe added are salt, pomegranate peel or willow tree peel and walnut. It is prepared by boiling the milk and adding to it loose leaf tea, which would be moisten in some hot water beforehand. After it boils and the tea color turned the milk slight red it is salted and taken off the fire. Shirchoy is served with butter.

Shir rughan is similar to shirchoy the only difference is that it is boiled with butter. It is served in the wooden plates and eaten by putting bread in it.

Shirbirinj is a milk dish similar to rice pudding. It is cooked with milk, rice and salt is added as needed. When the dish is ready it is served
on the plates and sugar, butter and or linseed oil is added on top. Among Tajik people shirbirinj is referred to as the «prophet’s food» and is prepared both regularly and during the rituals or other occasions.

**Shirbat** is a type of porridge prepared with milk and flour, and in some regions of Tajikistan it is also known as «otalai bo shir» or «otalai safedak».

To prepare *shirbat* some milk is brought to boil and than some flour is added it while keeping it stirred continually until it gets thick. Slat and sugar is added as required and served with butter.

**Shirkadu** or also called *kadubashir* is a dish prepared with milk and pumpkin. First a ripe pumpkin is taken, peeled and cleaned and than chopped into fin small pieces that it is added to milk and cooked together for 20-25 minute until pumpkin is soft.
*Ordbiryon* is a dish prepared from milk and flour like *shirbat*, but in this dish the flour is fried in linseed oil or butter before the milk is added to it. Thus in some places it is called as *gardsuz* or *ordob*. It is also slightly liquid than *shirbat* and served in bowls. To make it extra tasty additional linseed oil is added on top of it when served.
**Meat dishes**

In Tajik cuisine meat dishes are most diverse and got a significant place. Meat dishes in Tajikistan are prepared by frying, steam cooked and boiling. Tajik meat dishes are primarily prepared from domestic animals e.g. sheep, goat and cow and poultry and bird meats. Tajik cuisine similar to other Islamic cultures follows dietary laws given in the Quran.

Before preparation of meat dishes first of all meat is selected in accordance to receipt of the food it is needed for, it is washed and salted. For example, for cooking *khomshurbo* (clear soup where vegetables are not fried before cooking) only ribs and parts of meat with bone is used whereas for kebabs primarily boneless and lean meat is used.

*Tandur kabob* or *tanur kabob* is prepared from mutton by steaming-smoking technique in the firewood oven. A leg or large shoulder of the mutton is taken and after seasoning it is hung in the bread baking fire oven (*tanur*), which is preheated and has some charcoals left. Than the *tanur* is sealed completely and left for 6 to 7 hours before the *tandur kabob* is ready. It is served cold or hot.
Lulakabob is a meat dish prepared from mutton, beef or chicken. Only minced meat is used and additional ingredients can include breadcrumbs, onion, seasoning spices, rice or even processed potatoes. It is a traditional form of cutlet. It is fried cooked.

Jigarbiryon is a meat dish prepared from the cow, goat or sheep liver. However, in this dish regular meat, heart, kidneys and lung is also added. It is prepared on the cauldron in the high fire. First the meat ingredients are fired and than onion, bell paper, tomatoes and some potatoes are added and left to simmer to cook until soft.
*Seekh-kabob* is a popular dish of skewed and grilled cubes of meat. The word kebab denotes a wide variety of different grilled meat dishes. *Shikh-kabob* is popular in the whole of Asia. It is similar to a dish called *shashlik*, which is found in the Caucasus region. The meat prior to be grilled is marinated overnight and in skewers is put with sheep tail fat for making the meat moist and soft. It is grilled on the charcoal and served with onion and green herb salad.

*Murghbiryon* refers to poultry dishes prepared either by frying, boiling or steaming. If the whole chicken is prepared the traditional method is to hum-
allows meat to cook even and have a flat form. Some people call that also *tobagi* or *tabaka*.

**Kalapocha** is a traditional dish prepared from the head, foot, tongue, stomach and intestine of the goat or sheep. All the ingredients in this dish go very through cleaning process by boiling and bleaching them. It is cooked by boiling and together with grain products, tomatoes, onion and variety of the scented herbs. It takes long hours to prepare it as the products of this meat dish take longer time to cook and become soft.
Oshi palav

Oshi palav (pilaf) is a traditional highly valued dish of communities in Tajikistan which is referred to as “shohi taomho” (king of dishes). Oshi palav is a central and main dish of all traditional gatherings of Tajik people and is prepared in all types of social and cultural gatherings. Palav is cooked in different varieties at home and is served also in public restaurants and teahouse. It is host’s duty to prepare oshi palav when a guest arrives.

Oshi palav has a long historical root among the Tajiks and considering that the ancestors of the Tajiks. It may be postulated that the tradition of rice growing was transferred to the ancestors of the Tajiks i.e. Sogdians and Bactrians in 2 century before the Common Era from India. It was hence developed among them since one of the main parts of their economy was agriculture.

Oshi palav is prepared from a set of ingredients such as carrot, rice, meat, oil, and onion and additional fragrant spices such saffron, cumin, black paper, lemon, including grains such as chickpea. Oshi palav has three-stage preparation recipe: frying the main ingeminates, preparing zirbak (a both in which rice is cooked), the simmering of the rice. Each of these stages has their own timing and oshi palav is cooked in cast iron pots.

In the course of its century long development history oshi palav among Tajik people has evolved different types and varieties that each is unique to the type of additional ingredients used. For example, palavi bargitoki (palav prepared using vine leaf) oshi za’faroni (saffron palav), oshi mavizi (raisins palav) and also depending on the type of meat used such as bedona palav
TRADITIONAL FOOD
(quail palav), *murghpalav* (chicken palav) and so on. In addition depending on the regions where certain forms of palav or recipe has reached the types of palav would carry those region’s name such as *oshi Uroteppa* (Urotepa palav- a region in the north Tajikistan), *oshi Uyghuri* (Uighur palav) and so on. In total there are close to 200 types of the palav prepared among Tajik people. Nowadays, the types of palav is also attached to the restaurants and canteens where they are prepared such as *oshi Tayga*– latter being a name of a restaurant in Dushanbe city or *oshi Sariosiyo* – osh prepared in the area called Sariosiyo etc.

In Tajik culture different type of the *oshi palav* prepared for certain specific events would called after the event for which it is prepared. For example *oshi nahor* – an *osh* prepared for the early morning feast given in the weddings, *oshi tagi chodar* – *osh* which has been prepared to be eaten under the bridal curtain during the wedding or *oshi sebegaha* – *osh* prepared to commemorate the third day after the funeral etc.

Oshi palav as a nomination file in 2016 has been included on UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.
Soup (šūrbā) and its types

Šūrbā – soup is one of the widespread dishes in traditional Tajik cuisine having many varieties. Soups are cooked from vegetables, meat, and grain products and are seasoned with various scented herbs and spices. This is how regularly the soup is prepared: first the cooking oil is heated and meat, which usually takes longer to cook, is fried first. After the meat is moderately fried other ingredients such as onions, potatoes, carrot, turnip and depending what type of soup is additional vegetables are added. The ingredients are seasoned with salt and spices and stirred every 2 or 3 minutes to give them regular fried texture, particularly the care is given not to burn the onion, which more delicate than other vegetables. The final taste and texture of the soup depends on the degree of initial 'light' frying of the ingredients. Water is added after the frying of the main elements and it is left to slowly simmer and bring to boil. When the vegetables and meat are nearly cooked chickpea, beans, lentil and other types of grain products, again depending on the type of intended soup, is added and cooked by simmering.

The way of cooking all types of soups is identical and the distinguishing features are types of main products, which are added. In the Tajik cuisine there are nearly twenty types of soups, of which most popular are being xomšūrbā (clear soup), murgh-šūrbā (chicken soup) būdana-šūrbā (quail soup), dum-šūrbā (oxtail soup), kabk-šūrbā (partridge soup), rezā-šūrbā (finely cube-cut vegetable soup), lūbīā-šūrbā (beans soup), nakhud-šūrbā (chickpea soup) nāsk-šūrbā (lentil soup) and so on.

From the types of soups named only the cooking method of only murgh-šūrbā (chicken soup) and rezā-šūrbā (cube-cut vegetable soup) is slightly different. Murgh-šūrbā (chicken soup) is considered to be most nutritious and is advised to feed people with internal organ (digestive system, stomach) illness. In this soup cooking oil and potatoes, which has high starch content is not used at all.

In cooking rezā-šūrbā all ingredients are finely cube-cut, thus the name rezā-šūrbā literally meaning 'finely cut'. In its content rezā-šūrbā is similar to that mastāba (rice soup). The main difference being that the latter has rice but rezā-šūrbā contains only vegetables.
Traditional beverages

In line with the traditional dishes Tajik people from ancient times have also been known for types of traditional seasonal and regular beverages. If some beverages are made for quenching the thirst in the hot seasons some of them are meant for refreshing and nutritious purposes. Traditional beverages for the warm season are compotes (from fresh or dried fruits), *dugh* (yogurt drink), *sharbat* (type of juice without carbonate) and tea. Compotes are prepared from the local grown fruits either single fruit or mixed fruit. In addition, various medicinal herbs are used to prepare beverages, such as rose, hip rose, basil and mint etc.

Fruity beverages are prepared from both dried and fresh fruits through boiling them. Since sweet beverages in the summer season makes one thirstier the summer beverages are less sweet. Compotes are also prepared to be preserved for the winter period in cans and jars.

*Cholob* or *dughob* – refers to a yogurt drink made from natural yogurt either fat free or full fat. Usually *cholob* is achieved after processing the yoghurt to extract the butter. For what is left after the process than fresh green herbs and some vegetables such as bell paper or cucumber is added with seasoning. It is a healthy drink for quenching the thirst and contributes to stamina and balanced health.

*Sharbat* is prepared by extraction of juice from the fresh fruits or by boiling fruits. All sorts of fruits are suitable for preparing *sharbat* and some are compatible for being mixed together with another fruit or even vegetal, such as carrot and apple. Traditionally people prepare *sharbat* from overripe fruits by collecting them into a piece of fabric and squeezing the juice out of them; the piece of fabric played a role of filter. After the extraction they also sometimes boiled the juice once to make it extra sweet. Then *sharbats* were kept in jars and served
chilled or room temperature.

Wine is another widespread form of beverage produced and consumed. Tajik wines are made from local grapes. Production of wine is common with other cultures of the world, starting with selection of the grapes or other produce and ending with bottling the finished wine. After the harvest, the grapes are taken into a winery and prepared for primary ferment. At this stage red wine making diverges from white wine making. Red wine is made from the must (pulp) of red or black grapes and fermentation occurs together with the grape skins, which give the wine its color. White wine is made by fermenting juice, which is made by pressing crushed grapes to extract a juice; the skins are removed and play no further role.
Intangible Cultural Heritage in Tajikistan
Traditional desserts

Desserts and sweet dishes make a significant part of the Tajik cuisine. The most widespread forms of desserts are halva, crystallized candies, nishalo - a frothy sweet made from egg white and sugar and herbs, grape syrup and jams. In addition, each types of desserts and sweet dishes are sub grouped by the main ingredients that they contain, for example for there are multiple types of halva distinguished by its main ingredients such as white halva (which has not been caramelized when baking), red halva (caramelized or with food coloring), milk halva, walnut halva, almond halva, carrot halva etc.

Nabot is one of the kinds of national candies of yellowish color as well as representing the craft of producing glassy crystals. The producing way is the following: two parts of sugar and one part of water are put into a cauldron and are boiled on a very slow fire. Syrup is formed from them. Syrup is stirred and boiled till foam appears, then the foam is put off and some egg is added into the syrup, the syrup continues being boiled and appearing foam is constantly put off. Then, in special cauldron, cotton threads are parallel tightened, gluing the ends of the threads to the cauldron. These threads are poured with syrup boiling. In an hour, a thin layer appears on the syrup. Cauldron is shut with a special lid. In this condition, the cauldron is left for some seventy-two or eighty hours. During this period sugar crystals are formed around the threads, which gradually will be increased for account of the parts newly added to them. Crystallized ingots are put in the dish to be dried.

The remainder of the sugar syrup that has not crystalized are called parvarda is used in culinary.
White halva is one of the widespread forms of halva prepared for festive days, including commemorative feasts for departed. It is common to all the regions of Tajikistan. It is made from sheep tail fat or butter, flour and powdered sugar. First butter or sheep fat is added into cauldron and after melting flour is added in slightly fried. After it begins to boil up it is removed from the fire and let to cool down a bit. After it cools down powder sugar is added and then it is thoroughly mixed until the entire mass turns white and sugar melts into the fat and flour mix.

Red halva is usually prepared for the weddings. When the groom’s family brings presents to the bride’s house they will bring red halva. Red halva is prepared in cotton seed oil. Than soft dough is prepared and added to heated oil and is mixed and cooked until it begins turning red. This, in common language is called «blooming of halva». Afterwards the cauldron where halva is prepared is taken off from the fire and sugar syrup is added and mixed thoroughly. If needed it is put on the fire again for a short time to allow all the ingredients to mix and absorb thoroughly. It takes 3 to 4 hours to prepare the red halva.

*Nishalo* is one of the frothy desserts prepared for both festive and mourning feasts. In
particular, *nishalo* is regularly consumed during the Ramadan month. In this month *nishalo* is sold in halva markets. *Nishalo* is prepared in the following manner: first some licorice root is boiled in water and after being filtered it is let to chill. The licorice water than is added some egg whites and beaten well until it become foamy. The warm sugar syrup is than added to the foam produced from licorice root and egg white and beaten further until it becomes thick and frothy.

The sweet table of Tajik cuisine is very specific, variable and extensive. Tajiks as well as other nations of the Central Asia, do not know a dessert as a final dish. Sweets, drinks and fruit which in Europe crown any meal are served twice during meals in Tajikistan, and sometimes even three times - they are served before, after and during meals.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

TRADITIONAL SPORT AND CHILDREN GAMES

- WRESTLING
- ARCHERY
- CHAVGONBOZI – POLO
- BUZKASHI
- KITE FLYING
- CHILIKBOZI - FINGER GAME
- STONE GAME
- «WHAT A GARDEN» GAME
- «QUAIL FLEW»
- GACHABOZI
- KADUDUZAK
- PALABARAK
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- PLAYING WITH STONES
- PUPPET PLAY
- NARD GAME
- BUJULBOZI - KNUCKLEBONE GAME
- EGG KNOCKING
- ROPE PULLING
Wrestling

Wrestling is one of the ancient forms of sport, which has been described in many written sources as well as oral traditions. Among Tajik people there two forms of traditional wrestling known namely free wrestling (widespread in the southeastern regions) and national. The latter is also known as kurash or “Fergana style” wrestling.

Wrestling events and competitions in Tajikistan is organized for occasions of traditional festivals such as Navruz, Mehrgon and state official holidays. Wrestling parties take place in the fields and attract a big number of wrestlers from around the country.

At first the wrestlers come out to the ring and walk around it to sort of introduce themselves to the audience. Than the wrestler who wants to throw a challenge comes forward and sits in the
middle. The respondent would come and take a sit next to him. The chief of the event, usually elderly gentlemen will than give them blessing and they will begin to wrestle. Prior to start to wrestle the wrestlers will together make a round the ring with a dance movements and come to the middle to greet one another only after this they wrestle. The party who has been thrown flat at his back is considered defeated and the winner gets some presents and prize.

The judges for the traditional wrestling events are the crowd and usually the audience determines who has been defeated or not.

There are many traditional mechanisms of wrestling employed among Tajik wrestlers such as “dastpech”, “surun”, “tob”, “koki” (kokma), “popech”, and “duk”.

Nowadays the wrestlers train in special gyms and learn and practice different types of wrestling. The best wrestlers also participate in regional and international competitions as well.
Archery

Archery is one of the famous national types of sports with along and ancient history. The main instrument for this type of sport is bow and arrow. The bow is made from tree branches and strings can be from hard silk or animal intestines.

Bow and arrow among Tajiks were primarily used for two purposes: hunting and warfare. Particularly hunting was important as majority of inhabitants of mountainous regions need to learn how to aim with precision and shot animals in a distance.

There are also traditional games and festivals involving archery competitions. Of type of such competition is called zarbuzi when the archer in kneeling position would shot to get the arrow to a designated aim. Another form is called saraspa when archer has to reach the aim while riding one the horse.

In the military context, there are infantry and cavalry. The infantry solders would use larger bow as he could aim by kneeling on ground and they used longer arrows as well; the cavalry bows were smaller and lighter in weight. The infantry bow could reach the distance of up to 200 meters.

In modern condition hunting with bow and arrows is not practiced as this type of weapon has been replaced by mechanic or automatic guns.
Archery competition. Artist S. Imodinova
Chavgonbozi – Polo

*Chavgonbozi* or polo is one of the ancient types of the sports practiced among Tajiks. On this type of sport there are abundant literary and historical sources, for example “Shahnameh” of Firdawsi provides plenty of examples and narrative report about polo as central sport event. According to the “History of Sistan” in Registan Square, in Samarkand once a polo game was organized in which 12,000 horse riders have participated. Among Tajik people two type of polo is known: polo played on horseback and on foot. The polo mallet is 120 cm long and the ball made from wood, wool or fabric but wrapped and coated with leather.

Polo players on a horseback will form a team of four players and line up facing each other in the square and each team would attempt with a mallet to score a goal by heating the ball into the opposite team’s gate. In recent history it has been recorded that polo game was organized for major traditional festivals and significant cultural events such as Navruz, Mehrgan including weddings where the game would have taken place between team from different villages or towns.

Polo on foot is played by teams of six players and follows the same rules as polo played on the horseback.

In our days polo game played on horseback is played professionally in Sughd province and foot-polo, too is developing and being played in various regions of the country.
Buzkashi

Buzkashi, which literally translated means “goat grabbing” is the national sport of Tajikistan. Many historians believe that Buzkashi began with the Turkic-Mongol people, and it is indigenously shared by the people of Central Asian region, including Northern Afghanistan.

In Buzkashi, a headless carcass is placed in the center of a circle and surrounded by the players of two opposing teams. The object of the game is to get control of the carcass and bring it to the scoring area.

Although it seems like a simple task, it is not. Only the most masterful players, (called chapandoz) ever even get close to the carcass. The competition is fierce, and the winner of a match receives prizes that have been donated by a sponsor. These prizes range from money, to finer and more expensive prizes. In order for someone to become a chapandoz, one must undergo a tremendous amount of difficult training.

The players are not the only ones who undergo arduous training; the horses that participate in buz-
kashi must train for five years before ever making it to the playing field. Buzkashi, is indeed a dangerous sport, but intensive training and excellent communication between the horse and rider can help minimize the risk of injury.

In buzkashi games up to 300 horse riders – or chapandoz will gather to play to make it most competitive game.

In Tajikistan, buzkashi is played in a variety of ways. The most common iteration is a free-form game, often played in a mountain valley or other natural arena, in which each player competes individually to seize the buz that is the goat and carry it to a goal. Forming unofficial teams or alliances does occur, but is discouraged in favor of individual play. Often, dozens of riders will compete against one another simultaneously, making the scrum to retrieve a fallen buz a chaotic affair. Tajik buzkashi games typically consist of many short matches, with a prize being awarded to each player who successfully scores a point.
Kite flying

Flying kite (bodbarak) is one of the children's games known from the ancient times. Kite is made from cardboard of 45x65 size attached to a wood sticks, a piece fabric, called «tail» which is to support kite's balance and can be 2 to 3 meter; and a long piece of string of flying and holding the kite. Kites are flown when there is wind with desirable speed. Children hold to their kits by one hand and hold the string by another and run against the wind flow and as soon as the kite «catches' the wind it is let to fly and no need to run but hold the string and navigate the kite, which can go up as high as 40 or 50 meters.

There is a type of kite called «stork» and is popular in Khujand and Istaravshan cities. During the Navruz celebration in Istaravshan a competition called «flying storks» is held from the heel where the Mugh fortress is. Young
adults from the surrounding areas come together to compete in kite flying i.e. «stork flying». This festive competition is hosted by the branch of the Ministry of Culture of the Istaravshan city and the winners are given prize.

In Khujand the stork (a local name laylak) and kite flying is believed to be symbol of the arrival of the spring and Nawruz. Local beliefs state that stork (laylak or lklak) is a holy bird and when it comes and makes nest, lays egg and its chicken comes out is considered to be sign of productive, peaceful and abundance year. It is also known that in past day people would organize kite flying in Navruz and at night time they would attach a candle into their kites and flown at night it would give a pleasant site.
Chilikbozi - Finger game

Chilikbozi is a popular children and youth game that in some of the regions of Tajikistan is also known as chilik-dangal, chilik-pilik, alakimomoki, likakbozi, lashkuv, lashbekht and so on. It is particularly popular among those of 6 to 16 years old and it is usually played during the spring especially during the Navruz festival season.

This game can be played in teams or individual. The object of the game are two pieces of sticks one 30-40 cm called «chubdast» and another 15-20 cm called «chilik». In team game there would be two sets of these sticks used.

The game takes place in the field where a circle of 1.5 to 2 meters diameter is drowning on the ground. They will choose which team will go first to the middle of the circle to protect the «circle» from the sticks to be thrown by the opposite team. A highest possible scoring mark is chosen e.g. 400 or 600. Then the playing team will take a «chilik» stick and shoots it by hitting with the «chubdast» as far as it can fly. From the place where the «chilik» stick has fallen the competing team will try to throw it back to the circle and the player standing in the middle of the circle has to hit it back. Once the «chilik» stick has been shot away the person takes his «chubdast» and measures the distance between the circle where he stood and where the «chilik» stick has fallen. For example he measures 25 «chubdast» lengths from the circle to the place where the «chilik» stick has fallen and...
and that is counted as 25 score and so on.

The person in the middle of the circle changes only if the competing team gets the «chilik» stick thrown back into the circle. And the game restarts.

During the game the teams keep record of the scores each team makes in every round in order to determine the winner. In case if the «chilik» stick is caught by the opposite group before it hits the ground, any scores made by the team that shot it will be annulled. Any team that scores the pre-determined highest score will win the game.

The winners of the game will impose a penalty to the team that lost the game. It is usually that the winner team will nominate a distance which the defeated team has to run and while running have to say «zu-u-u». In Maschoh region instead of saying «zu» and running they ask the defeated team to leap with one leg from the distance to the circle. In Shughnon region the defeated team has to carry the winner team on their backs to the circle.
Stone game

Stone game (donakbozi) a children game involving stones from drupe is played during the summer by children of 8-12 years of age. This game is also called «dulbozi», «kandakbozi» and «kharakbozi». To play this game a small pit of 5-6 cm deep is dug with a diameter of 10 cm X 10 cm and this pit is called dul. The main game object is either four apricot stones or four small rocks of the apricot stone size. The players will draw a line in 1,5 meter distance from the pit and by standing behind the line they throw their stones into a pit. Whoever gets one stone into a pit get title of «donkey», whoever two «horse», whoever three «vizier» and whoever four «shah». Each of the player according to his title earned by throwing the stones than can demand certain things, for example «vizier» can ride on the back of a player who got «donkey» title whereas «shah» can ride on the «horse». There can be five players in this game and the fifth player determines how long the others can reserve their titles.

If happens that the fifth player get only one or two stones into the pit than the «vizier» or «shah» will change their «donkey» or «horse» accordingly. In case when no stone is got to the pit by a player he get chance to repeat throwing and than the game restarts and those who in the first round got certain titles will also start playing again when «donkey» may attain «horse» title or «shah». It is a fun game when children playing it will share anecdotes or sing humorous songs about «donkey», «horse» or a «shah» who turned into a «donkey» by bringing grass and straw to the «donkey» and «horse» or bowing to the «shah» and «vizier».
«What a garden» game

This game is popular among children of nursery age or elementary school. The players will stand in a semicircle (horseshoe) order. The players will hold one hand stretched and waving. The game commander stands in the middle and with a loud voice will say «what a garden full of grapes and raisings and wow a hornet came and bite me!». In saying these words the game commander will touch one of his body parts e.g. nose, ear or hand etc; and the players standing has to follow by holding the same part of their body. This game is similar to that popular «Simon says» game known in Europe or elsewhere. The player or players who will not repeat the gestures of the game commander or are slow will be losing the game. For those who lose the game will be a penalty imposed and they should bring some treats such as dried fruits or nuts etc.
«Quail flew»

This game also popular among children and youth is played during the summer in the fields or outdoors. Players in this game sit in circle close to one another with their legs stretched towards the center. While sitting the players hold one of their hands in their back. A game commander is chosen who will announce that «quail flew» and will raise either of his hands and the players have to repeat the same action. In occasion of both hands are raised the players may fall in their back. If the players fall or raise the wrong hand it is considered to be losing the game.

Although the name of the game is called «quail flew» the game commander may call another bird. The other name for this game is «par-par» that is «fly-fly». 
Gachabozi

In «gachabozi» game players stand in circle and choose a leader. The object of the game is a small rock or a button which is called «gacha». The game commander passes the «gacha» to one of the players and with the command of «one, two, three» he asks them to raise their hands and than puts them in their back. After this he asks «who got the gacha?» the players in once voice will reply «I got the gacha. In which hand am I holding it?». At the same time the person who initially had «gacha» in his hands will be pass it discreetly to another player. Player must not betray who has the «gacha» and the game commander will be searching it by guessing. In whoever's hand the «gacha» is found he will be the game commander next. This game greatly contributes to team building and fast reaction of the children.
Kaduduzak

*Kaduduzak*, which verbatim means «stealing pumpkin» is a children game played by boys of 8 to 14 age. It is played outdoors in the fields. A group of boy will gather and bring several rocks of varied size and weight and put them around the field to be a pretend pumpkin. One of the players is chosen as a guard and others will be robbers. The guard will pretend as if he is working in his pumpkin field making the ground soft and enjoying to see his pumpkins grow. After getting tired he pretends to fall asleep and this instance the robbers come.

The game aims in speed and intuition. As the «robbers» tries to get the pumpkins the guard tries to protect them and the one get a rock and runs and guard cannot catch wins the game. The «robber» who is caught by the guard will be playing the «guard» role in the next round of the game.

In the case when the «robbers» manage to steal all the pumpkins the same player will play the guard's role again.
**Palabarak**

*Palabarak* is children's team game. In old days in villages this game was played on the rooftops nowadays it is played on the grounds and fields. The game is simple and fun.

Children gather on the field and divide it by drawing a line in the middle. One side of the field is called «pal» and the other side «chal». The aim is that players in the «pal» side of the field must break through and get into the «chal» side. The opposite team guarding the «chal» side will be pushing them or holding them and bringing them to the «pal» side.

The game starts similarly to the rugby when the teams will stand in the middle where the line is facing each other. Once the referee gives the command they will begin pushing one another to the sides.
Jambul-jambul

_Jambul-jambul_ is one of the recently recorded children's game played by both girls and boys of 7 to 15 years of age.

To play first a rectangle is drawn on the ground with each side 1 meter. Than this rectangle is divided into another 4 squares of equal size and in the middle of the rectangle a circle is drawn which is called «jambul».

Six piece rocks of the same size (round and to the size of a tennis ball) is chosen and a put in the middle of the circle on top of one another. Than players chose a distance and from the chosen distance will aim to hit the rocks with a small ball. One of the players is chosen to be a «jambul» guard. When the ball hits the rocks and they fell down the next task is for the players quickly to spread them in those squares. The «guard's» task is to protect the “jambul» so that players wont be able to spread the rocks into the squares and in doing so he will be throwing the ball to them and whoever gets hit by the ball is out of the game. If it happens that the ball rolls away far and by the time the «guard» gets it back the players put the rocks into the entire square the game restarts.

_Jambul-jambul_ is played also in teams when one team competes against another. It is also possible to draw triangles instead of rectangle etc.
Walnut game

Walnut game is a popular children, mainly boys, game played in the fall when the walnuts are harvested. Usually this game is played by children of 7 to 18 years old. In some ways this game is similar to knucklebone game and sometimes can be played in mix with shagai bones. The game is played in different way in different parts of Tajikistan, for example in Darvoz and Rash region there are «walnut game» known as «chorpai» and «zangul» and these types are played in mix with shagai.

In «chorpai» game boys draw a line on the ground and each player puts one walnut on the line. Than they throw shagai on the ground and depending on which side the shagai lands they chose who plays first. Whoever's shagai lands on the «horse» side he goes first to attempt to shoot the walnuts with his shagai from a chosen distance. The walnuts that roll further from the line where they were put are «lost» that is the player wins them. The «zangul» type of the walnut game is played in similar manner.

In Istaravshan and Ghonchi regions walnut game is played in the following manner; players draw two parallel lines on the ground and leave a 4-5 centimeters distance between them. Than they put walnuts between these two lines and each player tries to heat him or her from the 2-4 meter distance with another walnut. The player who succeeds to heat two or more walnuts and they roll out from the lines continues the game and the players take turn after one another. The winner gets the walnuts he hits and rolls out from the line.

In Hisar region this game is played by kicking the walnuts over the ground. The first player will kick his walnuts and the next has to aim the first player’s walnut and hit it with his walnut by kicking it.

This way each player will be attempting to hit each other’s walnuts. The player who manages to strike the previous player’s walnut wins that walnut and this way the game goes on. If the game takes place by the brook and the player's walnut falls into the stream he takes it out and he called it «obash» and leaves it away from the brook to dry before it can be played with it again.

Another type of walnut game is called «ghelon», which is played by 2 persons. In this game players take their walnuts and role them along the steep and whoever's walnut hits the other is than considered to win.

There is yet another type of the walnut game called «davarabozi». In this game players will draw a circle everyone will put their walnuts in the middle of the circle. They than determine a distance from which one by one will shoot at the walnuts. Whoever manages to hit the walnuts and bring it out of the circle wins the game.
**Hide-and-seek**

Hide-and-seek is a popular children's game in which any number of players (ideally at least three) conceal themselves in the environment, to be found by one or more seekers. The game is played by one player chosen (designated as being «it») closing their eyes and counting to a predetermined number while the other players hide. After reaching this number, the player who is «it» calls «Ready or not, here I come!» and then attempts to locate all concealed players.

The game can end in one of several ways. In the most common variation of the game, the player chosen as «it» locates all players as the players are not allowed to move; the player found last is the winner and is chosen to be «it» in the next game.

The same way you play tag; another common variation has the seeker counting at «home base»; the hiders can either remain hidden or they can come out of hiding to race to home base; once they touch it, they are «safe» and cannot be tagged.

This game can be played in large groups as well.
Playing with stones

*Sangchilik-bozi* refers to a game played with set of small riverbed rocks. It is a game played during the warm seasons in the streets, gardens on in homes by girls of 6 to 15 years old. The game is played with up to 5 or 6 small round and smooth rocks of same size.

The game is played in 6 rounds and each round has its own specific names such as one-by-one, two-by-two etc. or kappa, kulfak, arus, kaychi, boron, barf and zhola. The names basically refer to the style of how the game should be played.

*Sangchilik* game is played with one or two hand. It is played on the flat surface e.g. ground, table etc. The players either team as a group or individually play against each other. The player depending on which round it is will through the rocks on the air and tries to collect the rocks on the ground and also catch the rock she throws on air before it heats the ground. In one-by-one round one rock is thrown and the player has to collect the remaining four rocks one by one before the main rock, which she throw on air heats the ground.

When playing with two hands, with one hand the player makes obstacles and tries to throw one rock on air and collect the other rocks and put them through the obstacle. For example, in «gate» mode the player holds her two fingers on the ground making it the same of arched gate and than by throwing one rock on the air tries to collect the remaining rocks one by one and push them through the «gate». Although she won’t lose the game until the rock falls on the ground, but in this mode she has 3 chances only to attempt to get the rocks through the «gate».

When the rock that was thrown on air heats the ground and the player did not manage to collect the rocks on the ground she looses and the turn goes to the next player.

It is a game concentrating on speed, reflex and reaction.
Puppet play

Playing with puppets is one of the favorite things to do by little girls. Puppets are made by older women in the family i.e. mothers, grandmothers or elder sisters for the young girls. The simple puppet making process is such: two sticks are taken one with 15 or 20 cm and another 8 or 10 cm. These two is than attached together in the form of cross with elongated vertical the short horizontal stick will be puppet’s hands. Afterwards a coin or any round object is taken and placed on the upper part of the stick to form puppets’ head. The round object is covered by a piece of white cloth and than with a colorful threads a pattern is made on the face of the puppet by crisscrossing the colorful threads the image will be like two or three rhombus-like mosaic. Than with other pieces of fabric dress and headgear is made.
The puppets are gender distinct and the types of clothing made for them and the thread colors chosen to decorate the puppet's face are signifiers whether the puppet is a «man» or a «woman».

Young girls will make several puppets of different gender and sizes and can 'organize' a puppet family or a neighborhood. In their playtime they will decorate the puppets in varied form of accessories and will play a pretend-wedding game or some sort of social gathering.

Puppets outside the children's games also are significant in theatrical context. There are puppets of different type and size used in big stage theatres or in ordinary playtimes by children in the street. There are puppet's made and used for specific ceremonies for example Ashaglon, which is used in rain calling ritual.

The patterns woven on the puppet's face and its structure carry varied symbolic meanings. The rhombus shape patterns with colorful threads are primarily woven on the face of female puppets whether as male puppets will have a much simple pattern with one color. The form of making stick puppets in the shape of the cross is believed to signify the unity between man and women etc.

Historically it is known that handmade puppets had also other functional use rather just being an object for children to play. For example puppets were used amulets to ward off the family from an evil eye or other evil and demonic powers. It was believed that the puppets would take the evil powers and save the household.

There are puppets that are made from clay, which are called ajuba. The ajubas are made in shapes and forms of imaginary and fantastic
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creatures. After the *ajuba* is designed from the clay it is first dried in the sun and than later fired in the oven. The fired *ajubas* are than decorated with colors. *Ajuba* puppets are used as household talismans to protect the family from evil spirits and evildoers.

Historically puppets played important role in development of the traditional puppet theatres. For different types of performances different puppets were made e.g. puppets moved by the strings, puppets worn in hands or large puppets animated by a person wearing it a costume or stick puppets and paper puppets used in shadow performances etc.

The puppet making tradition and used of puppets in cultural events is still current and there are puppet theatres functioning across the country, which produce and perform traditional plays or academic dramas through puppets for young audience.
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Nard game

Nard is a tables-style board game for two players in which the playing pieces are moved according to rolls of dice. It is similar to backgammon in that it uses the same board, but it has different initial positions and rules.

According to “Shahname” nard was invented in Persia during the reign of the king Nuširvan by his vizier Buzurgmehr. The setup and movement are the same as in regular backgammon. Each player starts with two checkers on the opponent's one-point, five checkers on the opponent's twelve-point, three checkers on their own eight-point, and five checkers on their own six points.

The object of the game is to move all of your checkers into your own home board and then bear them off. The first player to bear off all his checkers wins the game. The first player to bear off all fifteen checkers wins the game. If the losing player has borne off at least one checker, he loses only one point. If the losing player has not borne off any checkers, he loses two points.

The roll of the dice indicates how many points, or pips, the player is to move his checkers. The following rules apply: a checker may be moved only to an open point, one that is not occupied by two or more opposing checkers. The numbers on the two dice constitute separate moves. For example, if a player rolls 5 and 3, he may move one checker five spaces to an open point and another checker three spaces to an open point, or he may move the one checker a total of eight spaces to an open point, but only if the intermediate point (either three or five spaces from the starting point) is also open. Doubles are played twice. For example, a roll of 6-6 means the player has four sixes to use. You must use both numbers of a roll if possible, or all four numbers in the case of doubles.
**Bujulbozi - Knucklebone game**

Knucklebones or in Tajik bujul refers to the astragalus of the ankle of a sheep or goat. The bones are collected and used for traditional games among children and youth. It is also used for fortune telling and divination.

Bujulbozi may also be referred to by the name of the bones that are used in the game. They may be painted bright colors. Such bones have been used throughout history, and are thought to be the first forms of dice. It is believed that it was played in ancient Babylonia and other Ancient near Eastern cultures. In Turkic nomadic cultures knucklebone was perceived as a symbol of pastoralism and used also for protective charms.

Certainly there are abundant mentions of the knucklebones in Tajik folk stories and ancient beliefs, which may be indicative of its prevalence among the Tajik people for the long time. As Sadriddin Ayni wrote during the festival of «Sairi Darveshabad» knucklebone game was organized. Tajik knucklebone game is similar to that of «saqqa» and «chormaghzbozi» games.

There are various ways to play knucklebone and most popular among Tajik children and youth is called as «chuk and puk». When the knucklebone dice is thrown on the ground, the rolled knucklebone generally land on one of four sides: horse, camel, sheep or goat. A fifth side, cow, is possible on uneven ground. The player whose knucklebone lands on horse normally will have right to start shooting other player's knucklebone. Each player has 3 chances and they take turn in playing.

The winner of the knucklebones either takes the knucklebone dices he won or there may be other compensations, such as among children is that the party which looses has to carry the winner in his back for certain distance etc.
Egg knocking

Egg knocking in Tajik called *tukhmbozi* is a traditional game popular among children during the Navruz festival, and religious holidays of Ramadan and Qurban. On holidays children would go from house to house to congratulate and receive gifts. Often on holidays households will boil eggs to give to children. So, once children gather eggs they begin game among themselves.

The rule of the game is simple. One holds a hard-boiled egg and taps the egg of another participant with one’s own egg intending to break the other’s, without breaking one’s own. As with any other game, it has been a subject of cheating; eggs with cement, alabaster, and even marble cores have been reported.
Rope pulling

Rope pulling is one of the traditional sport games popular among Tajik people. Rope pulling is a sport that directly puts two teams against each other in a test of strength: teams pull on opposite ends of a rope, with the goal being to bring the rope a certain distance in one direction against the force of the opposing team’s pull. The game is played in any flat ground not necessarily stadiums and can be played both professionally and just for fun.

Two teams of eight, whose total mass must not exceed a maximum weight as determined for the class, align themselves at the end of a rope approximately 11 to 14 centimeters in circumference. The rope is marked with a «center line» and two markings 4 or 6 meters either side of the center line.

The teams start with the rope’s center line directly above a line marked on the ground, and once the contest (the «pull») has commenced, attempt to pull the other team such that the marking on the rope closest to their opponent crosses the center line, or the opponents commit a foul (such as a team member sitting or falling down). Whichever team that pulls the other side over the marked line wins.

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