Amulet and Relic Motifs
Case Study: Lor Bakhtiari Hand-woven*

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Abstract
This article tries to identify symbolic motifs associated with “Amulet and Relic” in Bakhtiari hand-woven.
Main questions are; how motifs have been related to “Amulet and Relic” and how they have been woven on these applied works and what have been reasons of these mysterious motifs?
It seems that answer to this question must be investigated on Lor Bakhtiari culture and its symbols like its materials and spiritual function which were inspired by customs, traditions, habits, perceptions and insights.
The results of the present paper, which has been obtained through content analysis method and its data were collected using library and field studies, indicates that: in supernatural forces of “Amulet and Relic” in motifs with their decorative and practical aspects, are medium for conveying their messages and recorded historical values -which are very important for their weavers –and they are a way to reflect their desires and wishes. During years, for their value and belief, they have entered into folk arts of Bakhtiari as decorative motifs.

Keywords
Amulet, Relic, Talisman, Motif, Hand-woven, Lor Bakhtiari tribes.

Introduction
Popular beliefs are full of mysteries, metaphors and allegory that are deprived of culture and tradition which inherited from past to present. They exist in human thought from birth to death, and these beliefs are passed down from generation to another.
Cognition of these beliefs, rituals and traditions can be a useful way for communicating between...
human beings and civilizations. The beliefs and folk arts have always been encrypted and they should be referred to knowledge of their mystery, because the origin of this mystery is cultural treasure of our ancients. There are many symbols in the culture of Iranian ethnicities, including “Lor Bahakhtiar” which is inspired by the material and semantic functional of their customs, traditions, habits, perceptions and insights, and ultimately their rich and productive culture. Folk arts, mainly by using native initial materials for all or most of the basic stages of production, by hand and tools, manufacture products which have an aesthetics and creativity. This character particularly in tribal hand-woven, and especially for Lor Bakhtiari, is as part of the applied arts and ethnic identity and indicates -at high level - national and artistic identity and cultural and civilizational heritage.

The aim of producing tribal hand-woven especially Lor Bakhtiari have been resolving of their daily needs. In fact, the functional and self-consuming aspects were the most important reason or only proof to weave them. Lor Bakhtiari hand-woven are the most important manifestation of their thought, desire and skill. These are an important source for studying tribal Iranian art and culture. The statistical population of this research includes Lor Bakhtiari’s hand-woven in order to extract motifs are related to “Amulet and Relic”.

The location of this group is Lor Bakhtiari tribe, which is 60 samples collected from this area based on the types of hand-woven of this tribe including Rug, Carpet, Saddle bag (Khorjin), Salt bag (Namakdan), Veris and so on. To achieve “Amulet and Relic” motifs, both field and library searching have been accomplished.

Finally, 30 samples were studied as sample population based on age and abundance with the aim of extracting patterns related to “Amulet and Relic” and derived from the beliefs of the Lor Bakhtiari.

Meaning of Amulet and Relic
One of the ways to stay safe from disasters and evil eye is Relic. It refers to object, text, image, prayer, and word that possess magical-transcendental power, and hanging it on objects and places, and being carried by humans or animals, dispel of cholera, disease, and invasion of evil creatures and forces. On the other hand, talisman has been known as a kind of “Amulet and Relic” that can increase the power and fortune of the bearer and owner against the abusive forces. “Relic” usage is repulsive, talisman attracts desirable matters. Relic usage has been common among different tribes (Arabestani, 2008, 635). Although in ancient cultures, mainly various objects (whether raw or natural) such as pieces of rocks, plants, mussels, teeth, and bones, etc or even in forms of sculptures, figures, metal or wooden handicrafts and clay and etc…) have been used in the evil spirits, demons and maleficient. Probably, Usage of written Relic -with a few precedent- has also been common in the past (Ibid, 636, 638).

In order to study of “Amulet and Relic”, it is necessary to present a precise definition of them. “Amulet” is an object like “Relic”, possessing supernatural forces, which accompanies it, avoids disaster (Ibid, 596). Nevertheless, there are some differences between them. In some cases, “Amulet” is preventative object and “Relic” treats.

The position of all kinds of talismans (Amulet and Relic and dispelling disaster) in the Bakhtiari tribes:
In the past, there have been various aspects to the transmission of evil. Humans have always tried to do something like sacrifice, shed blood, pray, and wrap it around the arm, pray, to ward off evil and diseases (Freezer, 2007, 597). The philosophy of transmitting evil has been common for mankind for two reasons. One is that the primitive man did not know the nature around for his mysterious and
strange thought and he was not ready to accept the domination of nature. So, for its elaboration and explanation, there are different solutions, including sacrifice, prayer, etc and it was a way to achieve objects which could be easily accessed through pain and suffering. (Kharazmi, 2013, 3&4). In some cases by illustrating on applied works of daily life, he has sought to repel evil and so we can see examples of “Amulet and Relic” in nomadic culture.

Beliefs of nomadic tribes are intertwined with people’s life and all their daily routine and attitudes are based on these beliefs. Beliefs (superstitious or non-superstitious) are part of culture of every tribe and these are sources of movement and reflection their lifestyle. A glimpse on motif and color of their hand-woven, up to now, we can understand; not only motifs were not for filling carpets or other hand-woven but also they were a way to bring joy and color by embellishment to their surroundings, bring to the environment. This character is one of the characteristics and factors of creation in the tribe life.

The main reason for usage of “Amulet and Relic” among Bakhtiari people is the belief on evil eye. Evil eye is one of the oldest human beliefs, and probably the most pervasive and common supernatural belief, probably this was the most universal supernatural belief which have always remained in Iran as yet. Nowadays, evil eye which is used as a feature for some people, has existed since ancient times in the society that Moghans and their cultures and religions ruled. Anybody who were known for such a devilish illness, were rejected and despised by society (Razi, 2002, 985). During their travels throughout Iran, many travelogue writers have reported various instances of Iranian beliefs about evil eye and they said that Iranian always carry things that are considered fetishes in order to ward off evil eye, because they believe that they will be safe from the evil and passionate with these objects. For example, William Jackson reported that “In Iran, evil eye talismans are carried on by children. He described that it was an ancient custom, even dating back to pre-Islamic era (Jakson, 1978, 432). As a result, pregnant women, children, and all beautiful, precious or joyful things are at risk of jealousy and evil eye. Therefore, it is necessary to guard children and their valuables from the sight of those who are unlucky. They are not sure that they will always succeed, Therefore, they will be protected by “Amulet and Relic” (Masse, 1976, 63). Different types of these “believed objects” (fetishes) are common among Bakhtiari tribes such as salt rock. In the religious beliefs and traditions of Iranian, such as Lor Bakhtiari, salt is an element that has a dual meaning. Those who repelled the goblins with the help of the incantations, or those who released people from talisman (like soothsayer and exorcist). They used salt to fight against evil, as well as against witches and sorcerers. According to their beliefs, if salt is fallen on the table, it brings misery.

Types of motifs related to “Amulet and Relic” on Bakhtiari hand-woven:

Motifs on applied arts is known as a decorative element that can be realistic, abstract, symbolic, or a sign of something else.

On Lor Bakhtiari hand-woven, motifs related to “Amulet and Relic” can be divided into geometric motifs (Swastika, Stars) and animal motifs (Gol-gozdin (Scorpion), Morge-ghokhaki (Bird-Ram), Ti xorusi (Rooster eye), Xal-e nal (Horseshoes), Mari (Snake), shir (Lion), plant motifs (Gol-e ghandom(Wheat flower), Tree) and human motifs (Al, Eye).

- Geometric patterns
  1. Chalipa (Mehraneh, Mehr-e-gardun, Swastika)

Mehraneh, or Swastika, was a universal religious symbol of the ancient world. This symbol derived its name from the combination of Sanskrit meaning “joy” and “good fortune”. It has been expressed in
Indian and European cultures throughout Asia. It has many meanings, such as joy of the Buddha’s heart and rituals in the Buddhism, the hallmark of masculinity and the power to illuminate Ganeshe (goddess of wisdom) in the Hindu religion.

“Mehraneh or Swastika” had a special place in early Aryan civilization in Europe. In China, it was a symbol of the sun and its short arms which were tilted to right and counterclockwise and daily movement were from east to west. In the Caucasian and Mongolian civilizations, it meant moving towards the light.

An image depicting a Swastika with short arms to the left and in favor of clockwise movement, as opposed to the daily movement of the sun and in Hinduism, symbolizes the forces of evil and darkness and the goddess Kali of the soul and death, the guardian of darkness and the sanction of wisdom (Allane, 1996, 53).

It was a symbol of happiness or fortune and infinite expansion in most carpets, sometimes it meant “ten thousand joys” and “thousand years of life” (Lorentz, 1972, 63). This motif was essentially a sacred symbol, including longevity, piousness or pure nature. According to evidence of symbol’s presence in daily objects, showed the belief of magic and talisman, and sometimes in conjunction with the manifestation of the philosophy of the cosmic system (dependent on the moon, the sun, etc.) (Quinn, 1994, 105).

The shape of swastika was interpreted as the sun’s cycle with an infinite beam of light extending. Believing that the sun symbolized movement and power, it was a symbol of Mithraism, it could extirpate darkness, bringing light, joy and life to mankind. Thus, up to the Aryans’ era, the sun was a sacred symbol. Elements such as the sun have always been respected in ancient tribes, especially historical Bakhtiari tribes, and the sun - this vital element in elementary life with its spiritual culture - had a particular appeal to the beliefs, myths, and beliefs of the tribe. The Bakhtiari elementary and pastoral lifestyles in ancient times have provided a spiritual link with the sun element followed by the sun sign (swastika) (Madadi, 2007, 40).

Swastika had many usage in Bakhtiari culture, for example in women’s tattoos (forehead, fingers), on some objects such as knives, scissors, spindles, Etc… This mysterious symbol could be found On carpets, Mehraneh or Swastika was first seen in one of the earliest examples of the thirteenth century, a fragment found in the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya. This was a form of the intersection of the two straight lines plus (+). This shape was woven by adding frills to the arms and in various and deformed forms. Mehraneh was understood as meaning the sun and Venus, the symbol of symbolism, the four states of being, the four elements, water, fire, soil and wind (Daneshgar, 2005, 164).

This motif was applied to Lor Bakhtiari carpets with identical arms or with a little change also in their fields (image 4) or with some motifs on saddlebag or salt bag or pendant with protection usage (Amulet); (Figs. 1-4).

2. Star

There are some representations of symbolism about stars in Bakhtiaris’ culture which show magic beliefs and they are used as symbols of fortunate
and unfortunate. Bakhtiar people often decide to do, such as moving or planting and harvesting, as many stars observed.

In Bakhtiaris’ belief, every person had a star in the sky that was somehow tied to his fate and destiny. Star was frequently used in Bakhtiar handwoven, which were generally in the form of an eight-pointed star, and it related to “Relic” (Qaziani, 1997, 178); (Figs. 5-7).

**• Animal motifs**

1. Gol gazdin (Scorpion)

Gol-e- gazdin (scorpion) is one of the most beautiful
and evolved motifs in Bakhtiari’s handwoven and it is known for symbolic motif. The beautiful movement of this motif activates negative border and is caused interaction of the positive and negative space especially on borders. This stylized motif was woven as a protection against bite of this poisonous beast on borders of Lor Bakhtiari rugs (Fig. 8).

2. Morghe- ghochaki (Bird-Ram)

One of the oldest and most common motifs which were used on most Bakhtiari handwovens for Relic usage have been called Morghe- Ghoochaki (Bird-Ram)

This motif could be considered stylized motif of a “Ram”, which was similar to that of the simplified bird and ram head and transformed into a triangle in the Bakhtiari handwoven (AfzalTousi, 2012, 65).

In most Bakhtiari hand-wovens, bird’s head like head of a horse, ram and goat were drawn to simple triangle and most of them had horn or ramus (Dadvar & Moazen, 2009, 50). Repetitive bird icon on the sides of “Lachak and Toranj” and many of the Middle Eastern carpet’s patterns possibility show that this motif was a kind of talisman for Rain demand far from pre-historic times (Ibid, 51).

On the one hand, similarity of form and design of this pattern with the Lorestan bronzes is also important. This similarity is for tribal divisions in present Lorestan territories and the ancient beliefs of Bakhtiari artists are like beliefs of bronze artifact’s artists, so, they were ancestors of the Bakhtiari artists.

The ram and its horns, which have long-standing roots in Iranian cultural beliefs, in artistic expression reflects fetishistic belief that original Iranian have believed it. Occasionally, Bakhtiari people use horn of goat in their ritual (Figs. 9-12). The dual identity of this motif and merging of bird and ram motifs were historical reality and alliance these animals in this culture. The bird and ram had

![Fig. 8. Bakhtiari, The rigid edge of the scorpion flower. Photo: Azadeh Yaghoubzadeh, 2017.](image)

![Fig. 9. Bird_Ram. Source: Dadvar & Moazen, 2009, 50.](image)

![Fig. 10. Loristan bronze artifacts. Source: Dadvar & Moazen, 2009, 50.](image)

![Fig. 11. Bird_Ram. Source: Dadvar & Moazen, 2009, 50.](image)

![Fig.12. Ram motif and repetative “Bird- Ram” on saddlebag. Source: Opie, 1992, 65.](image)
both symbolic implications, especially they were related to symbolic and astrological principles between these heterogeneous animals which were related to each other in cultural context of the peasant-pastoral society and mythological beliefs. Ram icon since the third millennium BC, have been an element of solar calendar and in the first half of the first millennium, it have been in constellation (Aries) of ancient Iran also it was a sign vernal equinox in agricultural and pastoral civilization. The bird was also a sign of cloud and rain courier from pre-4th millennium BC in Mesopotamian and Susa and Elamite civilization, such as eagle was called “bird of the sun”, and peacock was called “Nahid (Anahita) bird” (water goddess).

Unlike vernal equinox - where the sun is passing - seasonable raining is not definite so praying is required. Therefore, repeated ram motifs do not have symbolic concepts, Whereas repeated bird motifs can be a sign of prayer for rain. Because repeating a word, a picture, or a song has long been one of the main pillars of magic and ritualism and perhaps these repeating motifs were visualization of rain alike motifs on pottery dating from the fourth millennium BC. Bird’s wings were depicted as jag and under their legs, running water motif was depicted. It is also thought this motif have been emerged from bird and ram.

Phyllis Ackerman, who has done research on symbolic and mythological patterns of ancient civilizations of Iranian plateau and land of Mesopotamia, pointed out that pre-historic Iranian potters used to depict birds in honor of their religious-magical rituals for rain. Among the prehistoric pottery, pottery taken from" Nahavand" Hills were more expressive than others because it depicted clearly relationship between birds and clouds and rain. We can see flock of birds like integrated clouds and it was raining from their head and neck.

The ultimate goal of this hidden and figurative style is creation of raining talisman motifs. Hiding of this talisman between lines, shapes, and volumes have been a way to protection. Because hiding prayers and talisman kept them out and they has always been a part of magic art (AfzalTousi, 2012 , 64)

3. Ti xorosi (Rooster eye)
Rooster sound reminds of sun’s rays . It was said that his voice was frightening evil at night. This bird was associated with goddess of war (Bahram) and its symbol of manhood. Some relatives brings it to marriage ceremony and sacrifice it (Ghanbari adivi, 2007, 95).

This motif is woven on Bakhtiari hand-woven, such as saddelbag and Li, because of precious objects are placed inside them. Its function is protection (Amulet) of evil eye and disaster and it seems to have the same function of sacrificing a rooster for them.

Sacrificing animals such as cows or sheep (for the rich) and rooster (for the poor) and pouring blood on ground in some rituals such as going to a new home, during a wedding feast, childbirth, preventing of disasters and to repel evil and to please God and thus save their species are common in Lor Bakhtiari (Hashemibaba Heidari, Sadeghi, & Aghakhani bijani, 2016, 55); (Fig. 13).

4. Xal -e-Nal (horseshoes)
Horse has been so important in Iranian life and it has been noteworthy for its feature and behavior. Sign of this attention can be traced back to widespread popular beliefs and perceptions of people. These beliefs have, in most ancient texts, been related to praiseworthy qualities of horse.

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Fig. 13. Ti xorosi motif. Source: Qaziani, 1997, 142.
Horses, on the other hand, have always been regarded as animals with magical powers. For example, human believed them—especially white horses—were repulsive of elf (jinn), demons. They believed that horses could protect from “Al”. Horseshoe has also been considered as a protection (Amulet). Hence, in most cities people installed horseshoes at the entrance, either on the porch or at the front of the ship.

Horse has been important in some aspects for Bakhtiari, and its horseshoe has had a special importance. Nall’s motif was repeatedly woven as “Amulet” on borders of “Sofreh Ardi (Bakery’s Tablecloth)” and “Saddelbag (Horzhin)” and (Voris) (Figs. 14 & 15).

5. Mari (Snake motif)
Snake in “Avesta” is called “Aji.” Aji Dahak” or “Zahak” is the same (Oshidari, 1991, 421). If snake is alike a dragon, it is a symbol of horrifying and destructive force; of course, snake has many symbolic meanings, such as a symbol of resurrection, rebirth and death for acdysis. In Elamite religion, snake have been repeated, especially in jars. Snake motif which have wrapped around tree of life is sign for blessing (Bahar, 1997, 70).

This motif on Bakhtiari hand-wovens such as “Veris” and “Sofreh”, is a protective way for safeguarding their valuable assets. The snake can be considered a treasure keeper, and a snake is a treasure keeper for flour which gives blessing (Qaziani, 1997, 155); (Fig16).

6. Lion
Lions are symbols of Bakhtiari culture, including motifs and symbols related to mourning. Bakhtiari usually put statues of lions on tombs of their youth, heroes and elders. Shir sangi (Stone lion) are stone statues were carved in the shape of a lion, symbolizing their courage, bravery, for hunting and shooting in war and skill in horseback riding. Bakhtiari area is land to stone lions. These statues are still found in the old cemeteries. When a child suffers from Asphyxia or Sore throats, parents pass him or her thrice or seven times beneath a stone lion’s foot, they believe that mysterious forces that caused child’s illness will go away. This symbol is also woven on Bakhtiari rugs and carpets (Fig. 17).

Different Lion motifs on Lor Bakhtiari’s hand-woven were woven occasionally geometrically or sembolic and sometimes realistically and they were related to other ritual symbols, or other...
animal components such as horn and wing, or in combination with abstract and merged elements such as swastika and sun. The combination of various forms of mythical, animal and plant symbols in various artworks which is based on ritual attitudes to increase their effectiveness and transfer their power can be seen in different civilizations of the Iranian plateau from the Bronze Age onwards. This motif had an important role in carpet weaving. On oldest carpet “Pazirik”, the lion was depicted with other parts of animal such as eagle’s wing and, griffin. The lion has been used in rural and nomadic carpets with semantic meaning. Also, it is a symbol of guy who has gone to journey or battle. Their usage shows man’s spiritual and permanent presence (Figs. 18 &19).

On the one hand”shir dang” motif (Fig. 1) is a common motif on the Bakhtiar Hand-woven- and it is related to “Amulet and Relic” like stony lion. “Shir dang” is combined with two words “Lion”(shir) and “Dang”. It means lion roar which is dispels any evil spirits (Qaziani, 1997, 141).

It’s a protection talisman (Amulet) for a newly born woman or a child has suffered from disease, for lonely child, and especially for fortune for new bride’s home, and generally for repulsion of disease and also for blessing.

Weavers have wanted to represent a symbol, not indicate that lion image physically or reality. They have used the imaginary form of a lion to indicate it’s visualize power and masculinity and courage. They wanted to indicate bravery as “Amulet”(Fig. 20).

- Plant motifs
  1. Gol-e ghandom (Wheat flower)
  Farmers sprinkle water on a few clusters of wheat after harvesting and then they rotate them
around their heads with salavat, and then sprinkle them on ground to relieve pain and misery. At the end of harvest, Bakhtiari farmers unpacked a few bunches of wheat after they sprinkle it with water, respectfully rotate it around their heads, and then sprinkle it on ground for blessings. This symbolic action shows honor and gratitude which is derived from fetishism and represents a kind of “Amulet”. This motif, which includes stem and cluster called wheat flower, is found in various forms of Bakhtiari’s life, such as khorjin1 and varis2 (Fig. 21).

2. Tree

Tree and its image has many mysteries that is originated from myths and religion in various nations.

In the Bakhtiari culture, there are many sacred trees that Bakhtiari believe that they are problem solvers and have a healing role; sacred trees have the power to produce rain, to increase flock of animals and shining sun. Some of these beliefs derived from magical beliefs that still have remained like” Dakhil”. On the one hand, tree is important in mourning ritual, especially its branches, is one of cases of fetishism in Bakhtiari culture. When a dead will be buried, they will cut two small and new branches and will put them beside dead. They thought these branches will bring new life. These symbolic action were derived from fetishism and indicate that allegorical power of talisman for animals and things (Madadi, 2007, 60).

The tree, has a mythical and symbolic role in Bakhtiari’s handicrafts and artworks. Tree and its pictorial symbols are so important in Bakhtiari handicrafts, especially Xeshti carpets (Figs. 22 & 23).

For example, Motifs of willow tree has a lot of meaning in Bakhtiari thoughts and beliefs. So they are interacting with this tree, (health transplant, returning transplant, reuniting transplant)
Fig. 23. Lor Bakhtiari Carpet with Tree motif. Source: Opie, 1992, 148.

Fig. 24. Motif of pomegranate tree on Bakhtiari carpet. Photo: Azadeh Yaghoubzadeh, 2017.

(Alimoradi & Ashori, 2009, 16). This motif on Xesti carpets has been specially designed and woven in a very simple and abstract form.

Motif of cedar in the Bakhtiari rugs has been associated with sacred beliefs. Even today, Bakhtiari’s wife wants to have a husband so strong, free and also she wants to have a child who become brave, tall, and ready to serve as a cedar (Ibid, 19).

The pomegranate tree and its fruit had a special and mysterious place and initially symbolized fertility and blessing since pre-historic times. There are many motifs in pre-historic and historical civilizations of Iran. Any symbols have existed in the middle of the third millennium; as the solar year progresses, pomegranates find another symbolic expression and become famous symbols of the sun. An immediate association between the sun and this red round fruit could be a visual similarity (Pope & Akerman, 1999, 1056); (Fig. 24).

• Human motifs:
  1. Al
   In Bakhtiari culture, they are many symbols related to rituals of birth. At birth, the Bakhtiari draw a circular line around newly born woman to prevent “Al”. This line is called “Mary’s line. They use it to prevent «Al» from coming in, such as putting garlic and onions, etc. in baby and mother’s room, also wolf’s hair or claws or nails in the cradle or on kids clothes (Madadi, 2007, 53) Also they use scissors, skewers, salt, hawk leg, leopard claws, and blue beads, Etc... over the baby’s head. On the other hand, iron is a symbol of “resistance ”also a symbol of repulsion to dispel evil. Almost, there are motif “Al-Bavari” on most Bakhtiari borders of hand- wovens. “Al” is a tall female, with tousle hairs and big breasts, which is always a danger to newly born woman. If «Al» comes and catches the baby, the baby or mother will die (Qaziani, 1997, 159); (Fig. 25).

   2. Eye
   Iranian believe in evil eye and they attend it in their life. In ancient Iranian culture, evil eye has been regarded as a demoniac phenomenon and they had punishments for whom were like this. In Zoroastrian creed, There are three groups of people who do not forgive, and its third group is people with evil eye.
   This belief was interwined with all Bakhtiari daily

Fig. 24. Motif of pomegranate tree on Bakhtiari carpet. Photo: Azadeh Yaghoubzadeh, 2017.
work. In Bakhtiari culture, the wolf’s hands, feet, eyes, and hair keep them out of the danger evil eye. If wolves were hunted, everybody would try to get the wolf’s hands, legs, hair and eye because it would remove them from the danger of any diseases and wounds. To relieve evil eye from a child, they burn a part of relative’s cloth or Salt is poured on the left baby shoulder or, on sleeve of child’s dress, he or she is bitten by a white bead and alum. The white alum is poured into fire to melt and it becomes like eye and then they tie a beat to baby’s hair.

The visual symbol of evil eye is alike eye with centrality form to the shape of eye with a centrality. This is usually alike diamond shape (Fig. 26), but sometimes it is also seen as a square or triangle or a combination of shapes: gole gardeh (Fig. 27) and moshaiijo (Fig. 28).

**Conclusion**

There are many beliefs among the nomadic Bakhtiari tribes that are intertwined with their life and reflect their lifestyle. The Bakhtiari are creating symbolic, visual and figurative motifs that are often seen in their artworks. One of these beliefs is “Amulet and Relic” that have also been symbolically existed on their hand-wovens. These talismans and magical elements have helped human imagination and then they have led to emerge of these motifs that has been great importance to their culture. The results indicate these motifs are simple but full of aesthetic values and have importance of belief for Bakhtiari.
Endnote
1. Horjin: The saddlebag (khorjin) is pronounced in Bakhtiari’s language “Horghin”, a box in which everything is contained and placed on the cattle when they move (Qhaziani, 1997, 88).
2. Veris: A woven band with various widths which is used in nomads’ lives (Ibid, 94).

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