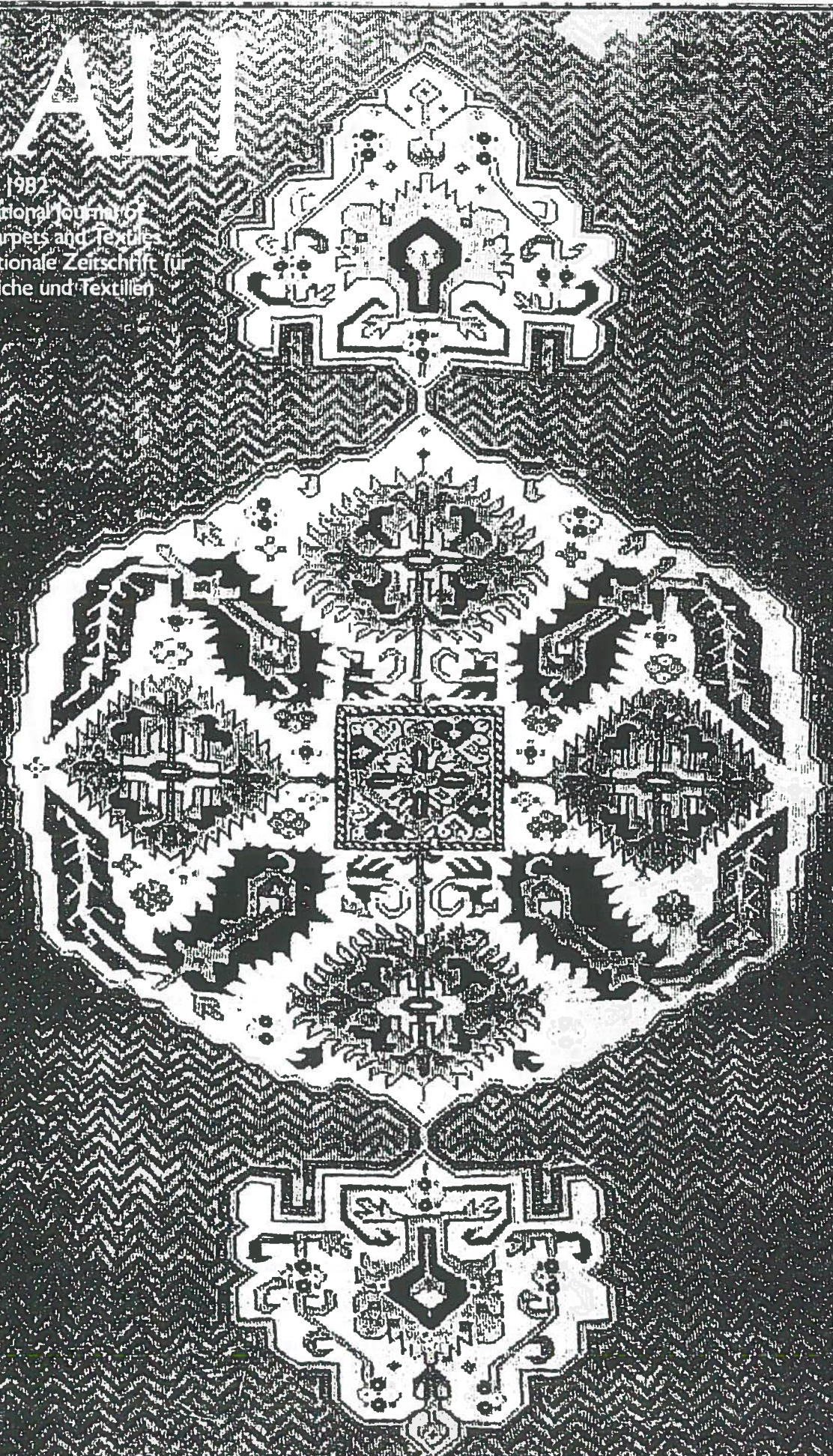


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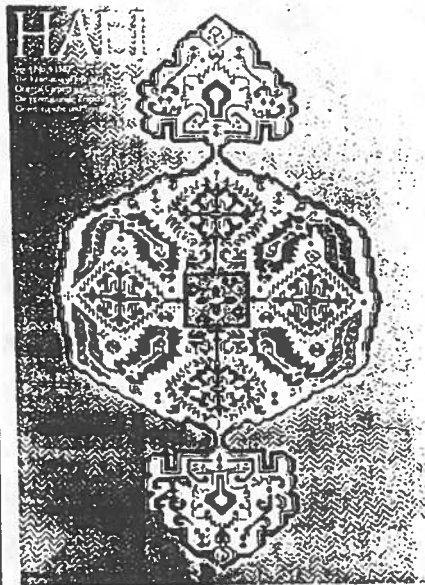
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Cover/Umschlagseite

Detail of an Anatolian medallion rug
(see p. 392)

Detail eines Anatolischer Medaillon - Teppich
(s. S. 392)

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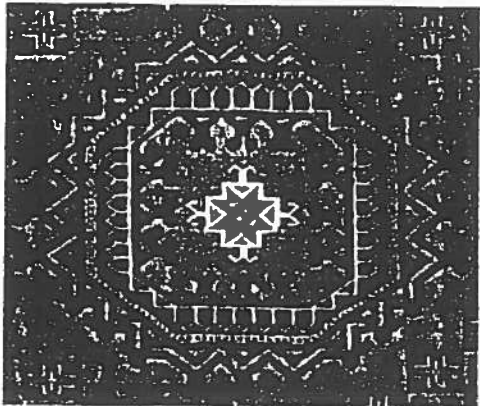
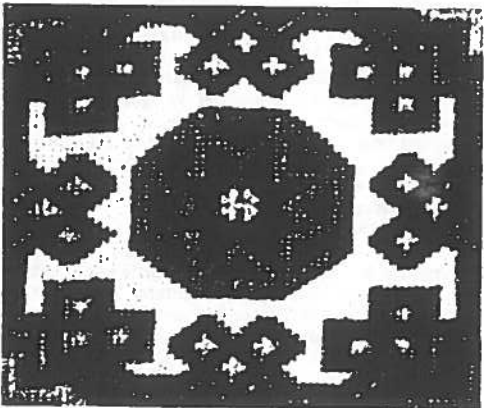
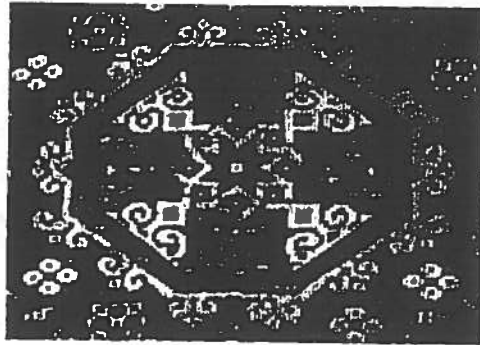
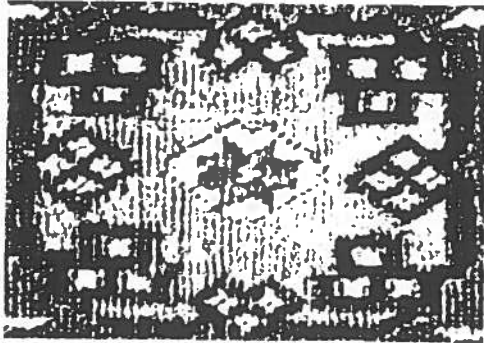
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THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ORIENTAL CARPETS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Türkmen Rugs and Early Rug Weaving in the Western Islamic World

Walter B. Denny



gedanken veranlassung aus unserer Unsicherheit über klassischen Stück

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Frühe turkmenische Teppiche und ihre Erzeugung in west-islamischen Gebieten

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

WALTER B. DENNY
16 CHAPEL ROAD
AMHERST, MASS. 01002

Eines der fundamentalsten Probleme bei der Erforschung der Frühgeschichte orientalischer Teppiche ergibt sich aus dem Umstand, daß es sich hier häufig um Kunstwerke handelt, die nicht mehr existieren. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen stammen die ältesten noch vorhandenen Flor-Teppiche aus dem 13. oder 14. Jh. Obwohl zeitgenössische schriftliche Quellen zahllose Erwähnungen teppichartiger Textilien aus Anatolien, Iran und dem Kaukasus enthalten, stehen uns fast gar keine stilistischen und technischen Informationen über diese Teppiche zur Verfügung. Auch Bildquellen bieten praktisch keinerlei brauchbare Hinweise auf Erzeugnisse aus der Zeit vor dem Jahr 1400.

Der vorliegende Aufsatz hat drei Ziele:

- (1) den künstlerischen Charakter, die stilistische Genealogie und die symbolische Bedeutung der ältesten noch existierenden Teppiche zu verdeutlichen;
- (2) zum Gebrauch, Mißbrauch und Nichtgebrauch historischer Aufzeichnungen, die sich mit Teppichen befassen, Stellung zu nehmen;
- (3) aus der näheren Diskussion der beiden ersten Belange einige nützliche Schlüsse zu ziehen.

Wir beginnen nicht mit dem 15. sondern mit dem 19. Jh. – mit visuellen Gegenüberstellungen von Details relativ moderner Stücke: dem göl eines Saloren-Tschowals des 19. Jhs. aus dem südlichen Turkmenistan (Abb. 1) mit dem ähnlichen Ornament eines gleichartigen westanatolischen Knüpft Teppichs (Abb. 2); einem geknüpften Oktogon eines anderen Salorentepichs (Abb. 3) mit einem ähnlichen Ornament eines anderen westanatolischen Teppichs (Abb. 4).

Für die hier ersichtlichen Ähnlichkeiten gibt es drei mögliche Erklärungen:

- (1) Diese Formen haben sich voneinander unabhängig entwickelt und die Ähnlichkeiten sind rein zufällig;
- (2) eine der Webereitraditionen wurde von der anderen beeinflusst und repräsentiert ein künstlerisches Echo dieser anderen Tradition, oder
- (3) die Formen dieser Vergleichsdetails gehen auf einen gemeinsamen stilistischen Vorfahren zurück.

Die erste Erklärung erachte ich nicht als haltbar, da zwischen bestimmten Gruppen anatolischer und zentralasiatischer Teppiche deutliche stilistische Verwandtschaften bestehen. Die zweite Erklärung lehne ich ab, weil in der Fachliteratur keine Hinweise auf einen weitgehenden Austausch stilistischer Einflüsse während des 19. Jhs. zu finden sind und weil alles, was wir über den Charakter und das Tempo stilistischer Veränderungen innerhalb dieser zwei Webereitraditionen wissen, mit dieser Erklärung im Widerspruch steht. So bleibt uns die dritte Erklärung.

Auf Bildern und noch existierenden Teppichen findet man zahlreiche Beispiele von Dessins aus der Frühperiode: Webmuster, die sich aus der Webtechnik selbst ergeben; geometrische Darstellungen von Tier- und Pflanzenmotiven und polygonale Güls. Diese frühen Gül-Teppiche weisen Ornamente auf, die denen aus dem 19. Jh. ähnlich oder mit ihnen identisch sind. Diese Ornamente waren im 15. Jh. geographisch ebenso weit verbreitet wie im 19. Jh.

Viele kürzlich erschienene Abhandlungen zeigen, wie Experten bewaffnet mit Beweismaterial über ethnische Traditionen, Kirchen- und Moscheenarchitektur, Epigraphik und Paläographie, mit Reiseberichten, Chroniken, Inventaren, Frachtbriefen und vielen anderen Waffen der historischen Rüstkammer nach einer kleinen verstreuten Gruppe weniger Teppiche aus der Frühzeit suchen, die sich bis in die Gegenwart erhalten haben.

Wir wollen uns daher darauf beschränken, die stilistischen Merkmale bestimmter Beispiele dieses Vermächtnisses zu definieren und nach Möglichkeit einen gemeinsamen kulturellen Stammbaum für diese wenigen Exemplare zu proponieren.

Die grundlegende Frage ist: warum sind bestimmte Teppiche einander so ähnlich und warum weisen sie dieselbe fundamentale Ornamentik auf? Ein Grund ist das uralte Konzept der 'Eignung' – d.h. ein Teppich muß der populären Vorstellung des Begriffs 'Teppich' entsprechen. Die Geschichte der Kunst ist voll von Beispielen stilistischer Traditionen, die sich durchsetzen und erhielten, da sie sich als allgemein akzeptabel erwiesen. Wenn wir uns frühe Teppiche ansehen, so entdecken wir, daß dieses 'Konzept der Eignung' im 14. Jh. bereits voll entwickelt war.

Der Eignungsbegriff erklärt also die Langlebigkeit bestimmter Dessins und ihre weite geographische Verbreitung. Diese Erklärung hat aber viele Lücken und Widersprüche. Der Saloren-Göl erscheint bereits in der Teppich-Frühzeit auf 'groß-geteilten Holbein'-Teppichen und der 'Zauber' dieses Ornaments, der die Grenzen des 'Eignungskonzepts' sprengt, läßt es in unerwarteten und voneinander weit entfernten Gegenden auftauchen (siehe Abb. 19-24).

Wie ist es zu so ausgedehnten Wanderungen gekommen? Dafür dürfte es zwei Erklärungen geben: die erste geht auf das oben gebrauchte Wort 'Zauber' zurück – also die Symbolik. Die Menschen haben seit jeher visuellen Formen magische Eigenschaften zugeschrieben und die

anthropologische Fachliteratur weist unzählige Beispiele für solche 'Talismane' auf. Die zweite Erklärung liegt in der Assoziation der Gül-Formen mit ethnischer Zugehörigkeit, ein bekanntes Prinzip in der Teppichliteratur.

Es ergibt sich daher eine einfache Hypothese: die erwähnten Ähnlichkeiten gehen auf eine gemeinsame nomadische, türkische Abstammung dieser Formen zurück. Die an Hand visueller Beispiele so deutlich erkennliche Verwandtschaft ist durch viele weitere Argumente untermauert.

Es besteht jedoch kein Zweifel über den künstlerischen Konservatismus der türkischen Nomaden. Stammessitten haben sich über Jahrhunderte nahezu unverändert erhalten und dieser Konservatismus findet seinen Niederschlag in Stammeserzeugnissen. Daher kommt es hier auch zu einer Verwischung der Grenzen zwischen Nomaden und Siedlern, zwischen städtischer und ländlicher Kultur, zwischen höfischen und alltäglichen Stücken.

Was das sehr umfangreiche schriftliche Quellenmaterial betrifft, so ist es nicht sehr ergiebig, da die Argumente darin meist sehr zusammenhanglos und lückenhaft präsentiert sind. Der vorliegende Aufsatz hat ebenfalls viele Lücken, wir werden aber unsere Argumente hoffentlich in einigen Jahren mit mehr Details untermauert können. Historische Daten an sich sind in der Kunstgeschichte selten beweiskräftig, aber das System der türkischen Stammeswanderungen und Ansiedlungen, das in den Werken zeitgenössischer Historiker beschrieben wird, unterstützt die künstlerischen und stilistischen Argumente, die auf die turkmenischen Weber als Vehikel für die Verbreitung von Teppichornamentik hinweisen.

Das weiter oben definierte Konzept der 'Eignung' kann für eine Rechtfertigung der Ähnlichkeit zwischen anatolischen und ägyptischen Mamlukenteppichen nur approximativ gelten, denn obwohl diese Ähnlichkeiten sehr verbreitet sind, sind sie weder sehr offensichtlich noch leicht zu finden und vor allem die einzigartige Farbgebung der Mamlukenteppiche führt hier zu Schwierigkeiten.

Die Symbolik darf auch in der Klärung der Existenz und dem Charakter der Mamlukenteppiche eine größere Rolle spielen, aber eine präzise Klarifikation ist heute noch nicht möglich. Symbolik ist jedoch ein vielversprechendes und fruchtbares Forschungsgebiet bei diesem speziellen Zweig der Teppichgeschichte.

Einige Schlußfolgerungen

Angesichts des ganz besonderen Charakters der historischen und geographischen Verbreitung noch erhaltener Teppichexemplare und angesichts aller uns bekannter stilistischer und technischer Informationen über Teppiche aus der Zeit vor 1400, ist das Konzept einer eindeutigen Beweiserbringung hier nicht anwendbar und die obigen Ausführungen sollen also nicht als 'Beweise' im streng wissenschaftlichen Sinn gelten.

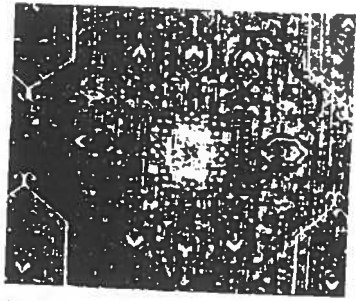
Unser Bemühen ging dahin darzulegen, daß die folgenden Faktoren, nämlich:

- (a) Stil – durch frühere und spätere Exemplare illustriert;
- (b) Zeit – die kulturelle Kontinuität in der Teppichweberei und
- (c) Raum – in Bezug auf Stammeswanderung und Ansiedlung.

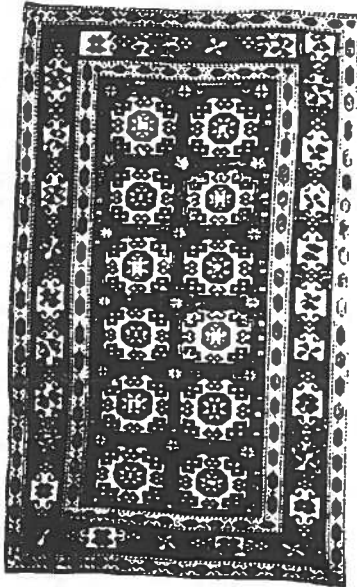
Zusammengenommen daraufhinweisen, daß die in diesem Aufsatz angebotene Erklärung die einfachste und direkteste Beurteilung der stilistischen Zusammengehörigkeit und des stilistischen Erbes einer wichtigen Gruppe früher und späterer Teppiche darstellt.

Diese Schlußfolgerungen mögen bis zu einem gewissen Grad jenen gleichen, die Prof. Erdmann vor 25 Jahren aufstellte. Aber zu ihrer Erreichung wurde eine ganz verschiedene Methode verwendet. Angesichts der Tatsache, daß die zeitgenössischen schriftlichen Quellen äußerst konfus sind und daß praktisch keine der damals erzeugten Teppiche mehr vorhanden sind, haben wir erstens davon abgesehen, Vermutungen über die Bedeutung der Geschichte der Knüpftechnik aufzustellen. Zweitens war es uns möglich, aus viel umfangreicheren historischen Quellen und zusätzlichem Studienmaterial zu schöpfen. Drittens sind wir heute viel weniger durch die kulturellen und ethnischen Vorurteile gegen türkische und islamische Kunst gehemmt, gegen die Prof. Erdmann vor drei Jahrzehnten zu kämpfen hatte. Viertens gibt uns die moderne Technik nicht nur die Chance, schnell und bequem zu reisen, sondern auch, uns viele visuelle Hilfsmittel zu beschaffen.

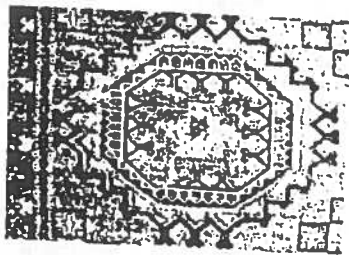
Wir haben es heute also viel leichter als Experten der Generation Prof. Erdmanns und dürfen uns glücklich schätzen, daß wir mit unseren eigenen kunsthistorischen Argumenten und Schlußfolgerungen auf den von unseren Vorgängern errichteten Grundlagen weiterbauen können. Der Wert der vorliegenden Ausführungen für das in ständiger Weiterentwicklung befindliche Wissensgebiet, das wir 'Kunstgeschichte' nennen, liegt nicht in der Niederschrift an sich, sondern in der positiven Nutzenanwendung durch andere Experten der Quellen, die wir fanden, der Methodik, die wir beschrieben und der Erklärungen, um deren Definition wir uns bemühten.



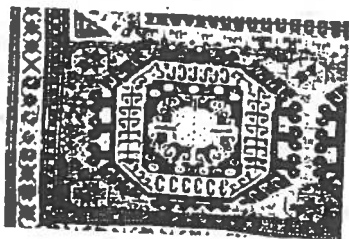
1. Salor animal trapping, detail. Turkmenistan, 19th c./Salor Tierschmuck, Detail. Turkmenistan, 19. Jh. Private Collection



2. West Anatolian rug, 19th c./West-anatolischer Teppich, 19. Jh. Bausback, Mannheim



3. Salor chuval, detail. Turkmenistan, 19th c./Salor Tschowal, Detail. Turkmenistan, 19. Jh. Private Collection



4. Bergama area rug, detail. Anatolia, 19th c./Teppich aus der Bergama-Region. Anatolien 19. Jh. Ostler, Munich

Walter Denny is Professor of Islamic Art at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and Honorary Curator for Oriental Carpets at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts. His distinguished academic career has included many stays in the Middle East which have deepened his knowledge of Islamic art and culture. His best known carpet publication is *Oriental Rugs* (Washington DC, 1979).

In this article, Prof. Denny looks at rugs from a broad spectrum of areas and from the 15th to the 20th centuries. He notes that many of them bear strikingly similar motifs which he ascribes to common prototypes and demonstrates that these common forms are most closely related to those of the Turkmen nomads, and were probably brought westward in the Seljuk invasions of the 11th and 12th centuries.

Through a quirk of history, one of the central problems of rug scholarship involves works of art which no longer exist. With the exception of the Pazyryk finds and a few small fragments which offer little stylistic information, the earliest dateable pile carpets to have survived into our time are from the 13th or 14th century.¹ And while early Islamic and non-Islamic written sources teem with references to carpet-like textiles from Anatolia, Iran, and the Caucasus, we have very little stylistic or technical information about these carpets.² To make matters worse, the pictorial sources which are used to date early carpets, including both Islamic miniature painting and European paintings, show no examples older than the earliest surviving examples of carpets themselves, thus casting little light on weaving from before the year 1400.³

This paper has three purposes. The first is to shed some light on the artistic nature of the earliest surviving carpets, their stylistic lineage, and their symbolic meaning. The second is to comment on the use, misuse, and disuse of historical records dealing with carpets. The third is to draw some conclusions, or at least some coherent hypotheses, both substantive and methodological, from these first two concerns.⁴

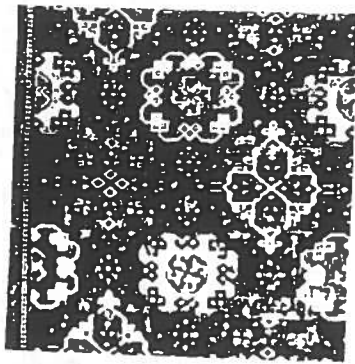
This paper begins, however, not with carpets of the 15th century, but with those of the 19th. Our chain of reasoning begins with a series of visual juxtapositions from relatively recent rug production. The first is that of a *gül* from a 19th century Salor chuval from southern Turkmenistan (fig. 1), with a similar form from a 19th century west Anatolian rug woven near the shores of the Aegean (fig. 2). The second is a knotted octagon (often called a 'small-pattern Holbein medallion') from another Salor rug (fig. 3), and a similar form in another west Anatolian rug (fig. 4).

The art historian, upon seeing these similarities, can choose from three possible explanations. The first is that these forms evolved separately, and that their similarities are simply a coincidence. The second is that one of the weaving traditions was influenced by the other, and represents an artistic response to that other tradition. The third is that the forms in each juxtaposition of images share a common stylistic ancestor. At the outset, I propose that we reject the first explanation as there is a considerable fund of stylistic similarities between certain groups of Anatolian and Central Asian rugs. I further

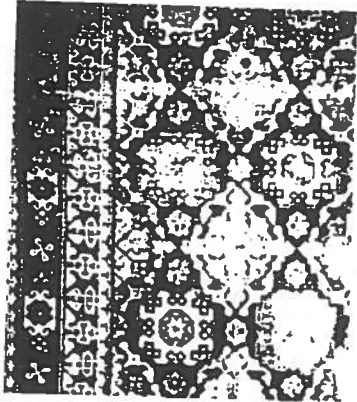
propose that we reject the second explanation, first because no vectors or motives for such a wholesale 19th century exchange of stylistic influence suggest themselves in the historical or art-historical literature, and second, because everything we know about the nature and the pace of stylistic change in these two weaving traditions militates against the explanation. This leaves us with the third possibility: a common ancestor.

However difficult that ancestor may be to explain, it is not particularly difficult to find. If we look at the evidence for early rug designs in Western painting, in Islamic painting, and in surviving examples of rugs, we find several kinds of designs. There are loom patterns, in which repeating stripes or small-scale motifs apparently evolve from the technical nature of the weaving process itself; there are stylized patterns, geometrised representations of animal and plant forms often symbolizing powerful forces of the natural or super-natural worlds; and there are repeating, self-contained polygonal or geometric motifs arranged in neat rows, which we call by their conventional name of *gül*.⁵ Rugs in this last category are, in addition, frequently associated with a geometric interlace border of white on red, which has its stylistic origins in banded inscriptions using the Kufic variant of the Arabic alphabet.⁶ In these early *gül* rugs we see forms strikingly similar to, or in some cases identical to, the two 19th century forms mentioned at the outset of this paper. These now-familiar forms were woven into rugs over as wide a geographical span in the 15th century as they were in the 19th century. A Spanish rug in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, credibly dated to the 15th century (fig. 5), is strikingly similar to a roughly contemporary Anatolian rug (fig. 6) in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Museum (T.I.E.M.) in Istanbul, both showing what we call the 'small-pattern Holbein' design.⁷ A so-called 'compartment' (or 'checkerboard') rug from Anatolia or Syria (fig. 7), probably dating to around the same time or slightly later, shows astonishing similarities in its design to the field pattern in a very early and badly worn medallion carpet from north-west Iran and now in Boston (fig. 8). If we look to Islamic miniature painting of the 15th century, be it from Mawarannah, Khurasan, Fars, Gilan, Azerbaijan or Mesopotamia, the most commonly depicted rug is the *gül*-patterned rug.⁸ Even in the so-called 'Konya' carpets, which probably date from the 14th century in Anatolia, we find examples of patterns of interlace motifs, Kufic borders (fig. 9), and even *gül* patterns (fig. 10), which suggest that these large and rough-hewn carpets form a part of the same general family as the other carpets under discussion.⁹ This marked similarity among certain early rugs, as demonstrated by miniature paintings and by rugs themselves, is clear. What is not clear is why this similarity exists, and what it means in art-historical terms.

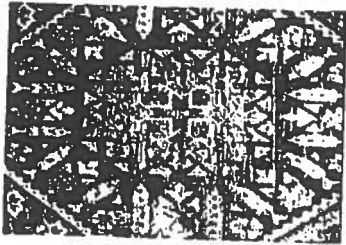
Before attempting to answer these questions, which form the main thrust of this paper, we must make the boundaries of our enquiry very clear. It is not the purpose of this paper to determine the artistic origins or stylistic groupings of all of the *tinflsa*, *bisât*, *zirbiyya*, *qâli*, *muşallâ*, *sajjâda*, or *mahfura* mentioned in early Islamic sources, or their woven siblings so prominent in Greek, Iranian, or Armenian written sources.¹⁰ Of these weavings two things are absolutely certain: first, they existed in the Near East from early medieval times, and even before the arrival of Islam in some cases; second, we have virtually no idea what they looked like or how they were woven. Under these circumstances, we should not be surprised if the small and literally ragged hand of surviving early carpets



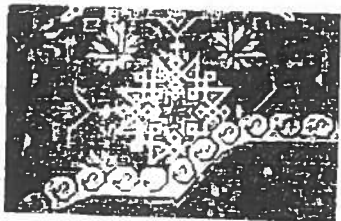
5. 'Small pattern Holbein' rug, detail. Spain, 15th c./'Kleingeteilter Holbein'-Teppich, Detail. Spanien, 15. Jh. Purchased in memory of Sarah Gore Flint Townsend, 1939 (Mary Price Kennedy Fund). Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 39.614



6. 'Small pattern Holbein' rug, detail. Anatolia, 15th c./'Kleingeteilter Holbein'-Teppich, Detail. Anatolien, 15. Jh. Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul, 303



7. 'Compartment' carpet, detail. Anatolia or Syria, 16th c./'Schachbrett'-Teppich, Detail. Anatolien oder Syrien, 16. Jh. Textile Museum, Washington DC



8. Medallion carpet, detail. North-west Iran, late 15th c./Medaillon Teppich, Detail Nordwestiran, spätes 15. Jh. Purchase William Price Warden Fund. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 65.595

is the beleaguered subject of a sort of cultural competition or art historical siege.

If the playwright Pirandello could write a play called 'Six Characters in Search of an Author', we might describe some recent rug writings as 'Weaving Traditions in Search of Rugs'. We see authors, armed to the teeth with the evidence of ethnic or family tradition, church or mosque architecture, epigraphy and paleography of varying quality, travel accounts, chronicles, inventories, bills of lading, religious memoirs, and other weapons from the armory of history, all competing for a rather small and forlorn group of 'characters' that small number of rugs surviving by some miracle into our time.¹¹ We restrict our task in this paper to (a) defining the stylistic characteristics of certain examples from this ragged legacy, and (b) proposing, on the basis of the best evidence, a cultural family tree for this small number of objects.

The Repertoire of Common Forms: What are they and why are they common?

We are now ready to ask our basic question again. Why do certain rugs look alike, and why do they contain the same basic vocabulary of forms? One reason, which certainly explains the Spanish variants on our rug forms, is the age-old notion of *propriety*. The history of art, and especially that of the decorative arts, is replete with examples of stylistic traditions which spread and endure because they satisfy widely-held expectations of appropriateness. This 'iconography of style' can be seen in our expectations that a proper bank building resemble in some way a Roman temple; that a proper luxury automobile contain vinyl or metal simulations of parts of a horse-drawn carriage; and that a proper sculptural monument erected at public expense use the style and imagery made popular in the period following the American Civil War. If we look at early carpets, both those depicted in paintings and those which have survived, we find that this sense of propriety is fully-developed by the 15th century, at about the time when examples begin to survive in significant numbers. In order to look like a proper carpet, a carpet should either (a) utilize *gül*-like medallions in neat rows, or (b) utilize larger octagonal *gül*-like forms, either in rows, or in 2-1-2 alternation with smaller *gül*-like forms. In short, a proper carpet should look in some way like either a 'small-pattern Holbein' or a 'large-pattern Holbein' rug, no matter where it was woven, if one expected to be able to sell it to the demanding 15th century customer. The consequence was that rugs of the Near East not only looked like each other, but rugs woven in Spain looked like rugs of the Near East. And the rugs with *gül*-like forms set the style.

Propriety, then, accounts both for the persistence of certain kinds of designs, and for their wide geographical acceptance. But propriety is largely a notion rooted in social class; it may explain why commercial carpets look the same in Anatolia and Spain, but it does not explain why court, commercial, and nomadic rugs may share stylistic similarities in the Middle East. It does not satisfactorily explain, for example, why we find the turreted octagon or 'Salor *gül*' in rugs of 15th century Anatolian commercial production, in 19th century Kurdish village rugs, in 20th century Caucasian rugs, not to mention in Baluch weavings of all kinds.

Before seeking further explanations, let us look at some more forms. Visual evidence for pervasiveness of certain stylistic devices and forms encompasses both space and time. The first category includes such devices as

the 'snowflake' medallion (fig. 11). We have already seen this form in a 'compartment' rug (fig. 7) and in the Boston medallion carpet (fig. 8), which appears to be from the Türkmen principalities of north-west Iran in the later part of the 15th century, if we take stylistic back-bearings from dateable north-west Persian medallion carpets woven under the Safavids. The same forms are found in early Spanish rugs,¹² in Mamluk rugs, in large-pattern Holbein variants,¹³ and to a limited extent on ceramic building revetments and ceramic wares as well (figs. 12-14).¹⁴

In the matter of time, we may cite the appearance of many *gül*-like forms over the centuries. Perhaps it is disconcerting to see a form in the complex design of the great silk Mamluk rug of the 16th century (fig. 15), now in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, which so strongly recalls the Tekke 'archetypal' *gül* of 19th century Central Asia (fig. 16), since these two societies would seem to be so strongly separated by distance and time, not to mention the nature of their populations, languages, economies or climates. It is perhaps easier to reconcile a similarity between the Vienna Mamluk and the large-pattern Holbeins (figs. 17 and 18) since west Anatolia seems to have spawned examples of Holbein rugs in a virtually unbroken stream over the centuries, but we may deem it of more than passing interest when we see this same form in Spain, Egypt, the Caucasus, or Iran.

Few rug forms are more dispersed, in time as well as area, than the 'Salor *gül*'. We see it as a secondary and primary element in large-pattern Holbein rugs from early times onward. The 'magic' of this form, which certainly goes beyond notions of propriety, has propelled it into unusual neighborhoods. We see the Salor *gül* in the weavings of the Ersari, the Tekke, and the Saryk Türkmen tribes. We see it in the weaving of Shah Sevan nomads in northwest Iran, in the weavings of Kurds from Jezirah and the south Caucasus, in rugs of the Kazak group, in north-west Anatolian rugs from the Bergama and Chanakkale market areas, and even in modern flat-woven rugs of Macedonia and commercial rugs of the Arak district (figs. 19-24). How do we explain these remarkable migrations of this form?

The answer to this question probably resides in two areas. The first, already alluded to above in our use of the word *magic*, involves the symbolism of the form. It is an age-old human trait to ascribe powers to visual forms, and anthropological and historical literature abounds with examples, from crosses which ward off vampires to the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, which was invoked to protect Constantinople from the Ottomans in 1453, without conspicuous success. This generalized apotropaic function ascribed to certain simple forms no doubt contributes to their popularity and their spread.

The second answer has to do with the association of *gül* forms with tribal and ethnic identities, a principle now well-established in rug literature, and the rationale for our term 'Salor *gül*'. This specific, as opposed to general, symbolism spreads with the migration of peoples with whom it is associated. It is reasonable to suppose that the identification of particular *gül* forms with particular tribal groups in 19th-century central Asian Türkmen society casts some light on the meanings and the migrations of such forms in past times, and thus Türkmen weaving (so popular with 20th-century collectors) may provide us with the key to understanding who wove at least some of the very early rugs, and why they were woven in so many places under so many circumstances.

The Hypothesis and its Methodology: Style, Written Sources, and Back-bearings

All of this leads to a simple hypothesis: the similarities which we have indicated in the carpets discussed above are due to a common, nomadic, Turkic ancestry of these forms, and of many of the weavings using these forms as well. The relationships so strongly suggested by our visual evidence are supported by evidence of Türkmen migrations and settlements, by evidence of the persistence of tribal identities despite great migrations and time spans, and by various types of collateral evidence.

But is this methodology valid? There exists today an element of revisionism in rug literature that suggests that nomadic societies were not the perpetuators of artistic traditions over the centuries, but were in fact reeds bending hither and thither in the stylistic wind, adapting forms and styles willy-nilly from their more sophisticated city-dwelling neighbors.¹⁵ Moreover, it has recently been suggested that the *gül* form itself might not have originated in the nomadic tribal traditions, but in the court rugs from Timurid times.¹⁶ These are serious questions, and before we embark on setting-out our historical evidence, we should consider them briefly.

It is in the nature of art to mirror changes in society and culture. The classic explanation of the extremely slow pace of stylistic change in the art of ancient Egypt, for example, is rooted in the extremely rigid and conservative nature of the values of Egyptian society and culture. It is certainly true that the curve representing the rate of change in all kinds of societies, urban, rural, or nomadic, is logarithmic, rising, as it were, at an ever-increasing rate. But we cannot dissect a very recent part of this curve with a high rate of ascent, such as nomadic art and society of the early 20th century, and draw from it conclusions about a much flatter part of the curve several centuries ago. In short, just because in a recent period of enormous challenge to their societal and cultural norms, certain nomadic tribes have readily adapted their rug weaving to designs of urban and commercial origin, we should not necessarily suppose that such an adaptation could have occurred at a similar pace or to a similar degree five hundred years ago.

The notion of artistic conservatism associated with nomadic Turkish societies in much of the rug literature has a firm foundation in fact, and does not necessarily represent a romantic conception of these societies and cultures. There is an overwhelming body of evidence which attests to the survival of traditional nomadic Turkic customs even during transitional periods from nomadic to semi-nomadic and then to village or urban patterns of living; from shamanism to Islam; from *ghazi* warriors to bureaucrats. One has only to examine the court cultures of the 'urban' Timurids, Mamluks, Ak Koyunlu, Safavids, Mughals, or Ottomans, in which horseback councils, ceremonies in tents (figs. 25 and 26), and similar nomadic rituals were preserved centuries after 'urbanization', to realize that nomadic customs of great cultural importance continued to be practiced long after what appeared to be fundamental changes in tribal living patterns, and certainly long after their economic or military *raison d'être* had vanished.¹⁷ In the realm of the visual arts of Turkic peoples, we need only look at the persistence of traditional forms in the *rugh* or standard, the *bayrak* or pennon, the *rughra* or royal signature, and the various *damgha* derived from nomadic brand-marks, not to mention a wealth of other signs and symbols.¹⁸ The *destan* or tribal romances lingered on in village folklore, just as tribal

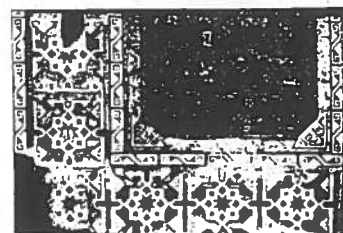
names mentioned almost a millennium ago by Mahmud of Kashgar are still immediate and living parts of traditions of villages and tribes in Fars, Azerbaijan, Anatolia, and Transoxania to this very day.¹⁹

The implications of this evidence blur that sharp distinction between city and country, between urban *mahalle* and nomadic *boy* or tribe, which we find far too frequently in the rug literature. The Qashqa'i notable who leaves behind his Mercedes and his comfortable air-conditioned apartment in Shiraz to participate in the dusty summer migrations is a living testament to this blurring. Thus when we examine the notion that Türkmen rugs as we know them today are descendants of nomadic rugs copied from other rugs 'invented' by professional artists of Timurid city courts, we might want to remember that these princes who lived in Shiraz, Herat, Samarqand, and Balkh were in large part individuals who were only a generation or two removed from a nomadic or semi-nomadic life style, and who, according to historical sources, still preserved many of the customs, beliefs, and attitudes of nomadic peoples.²⁰

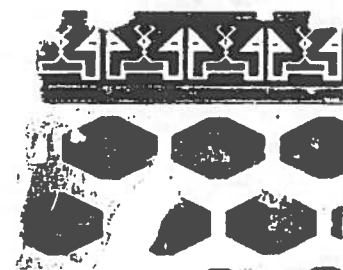
The other argument against both modern Türkmen rugs and early Holbein rugs stemming from lost works that were the spontaneous creation of court artists, has to do with the basic nature of Islamic court art itself, which has certainly been subjected to exhaustive study in recent years.²¹ Islamic court artists were *nakkashan* — men of the pen. Their training proceeded through calligraphy with its demanding yet supple discipline to the various specialties of the Islamic library — binding, miniature painting, and design. Islamic court art is generally distinguished by its 'reach' into various media, and by the presence of a *nakkash*-centered style across a wide range of media, but *always* centered in the Arts of the Book and thus immeasurably helping art historians in questions of dating and relative chronology.²² In fact, those rugs depicted in 14th and 15th century Il-Khanid, Jalayrid, Timurid, and Türkmen court art are quite striking in that their designs and their style are *not* a part of what we know from a vast body of evidence to be the book-centered court art traditions of these times. When rugs do become a part of the court style, it is due to the gradual intrusion of the forms of the Art of the Book into rug-weaving, which is well-documented in Islamic painting as occurring toward the end of the 15th century.²³ And if these rugs in miniature paintings look a bit more sophisticated, a bit better-articulated, and a bit more complex than the small-pattern Holbeins which have survived into our day, it is because the court artist was trained to transmute reality into accord with his canons of high finish, perfection of articulation and detail, and what the late Eric Schroeder called 'cold fluency of execution'.²⁴

The Evidence in the Written Sources: A Brief Synopsis

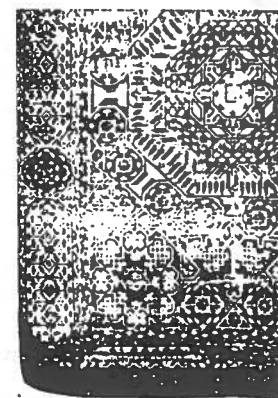
If the reader now allows that nomadic artistic forms could have survived through the centuries, and that the forms we refer to as *gül*s do have symbolic attachments, both general and specific, to certain groups of people, and through all sorts of historical and geographical change, then the next group of buttressing arguments will prove to be quite interesting. The primary reason for the failure of historical evidence to have made any substantial headway in rug scholarship has not been the fault of those who were presented with arguments based on historical data, but rather of those who presented the arguments. The historical material supporting the concept of Turkic cultural and social continuity is vast, but it



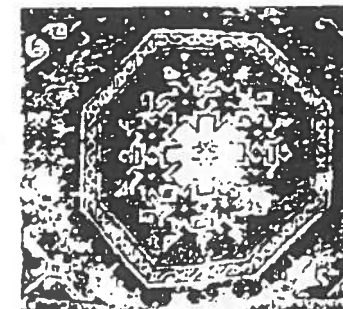
9. 'Konya' carpet with interlace border, detail (after Durul). Central Anatolia, 14th c./'Konya'-Teppich mit Innenbordüre, Detail (nach Durul). Zentralanatolien, 14. Jh. Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul, 688



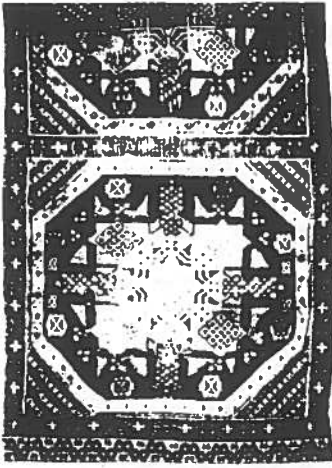
10. 'Konya' carpet with gül pattern, detail (after Durul). Central Anatolia, 14th c./'Konya'-Teppich mit Gülmuster, Detail (nach Durul). Zentralanatolien, 14. Jh. Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul, 689



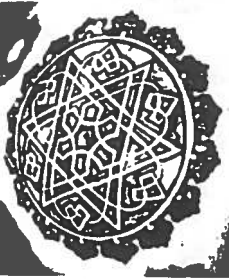
11. Mamluk carpet with 'snowflake' interlace in corner, detail (after Erdmann). Cairo, 16th c./Mamlukenteppich mit 'Schneeflocken'-Einsatz in der Ecke, Detail (nach Erdmann). Kairo, 16. Jh. Berlin, Museum of Islamic Art



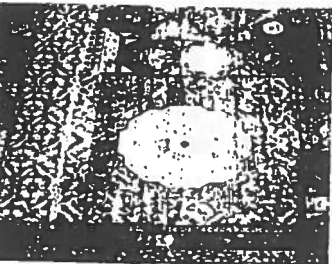
12. Anatolian rug with 'snowflake' medallion, detail. West or central Anatolia, 16th c./Anatolischer Teppich mit 'Schneeflocken'-Medallion, Detail. West-oder Zentralanatolien, 16. Jh. Philadelphia Museum of Art



13. 'Large pattern Holbein' carpet with 'snowflake' motif, detail. Spain, 15th or 16th c./'Großgeteilter Holbein'-Teppich mit 'Schneeflockenmotiv', Detail. Spanien, 15. oder 16. Jh. Textile Museum, Washington, DC



14. 'Snowflake' pattern on ceramic mosque lamp, Iznik or Kütahya, early 16th c./'Schneeflockendessin' auf keramischer Moscheenleuchte, Iznik oder Kütahya, frühes 16. Jh. Godman Collection, Horsham, Sussex



15. Gül pattern on Mamluk rug. Egypt, 16th c./Güldessin auf Mamlukenteppich. Ägypten, 16. Jh. Vienna, Museum of Applied Art



16. Gül pattern on Tekke rug. Turkmenistan, 19th c./Güldessin auf Tekke-teppich. Turkmenistan, 19. Jh. Private Collection

has not been presented coherently or in detail. In this paper we will strive for the former, in the hope that the latter may follow within a few years.

Our first source on tribal groups of any importance is the well-known *Divani Lügat-al-Türk* of Mahmud of Kashgar, written around the year 1074. The basic tribes or *boys* listed by Mahmud,²³ together with their *damghas* or brand-marks, were augmented slightly in the early 14th century by the Il-Khanid historian and Prime Minister Rashid al-Din in his *Collection of Histories or Jami al-Tawarikh*.²⁴ We can trace the movements of these basic tribal groups (*boy, jemaat, ashiret, oymak*) through the histories and literary traditions of 15th-century Türkmen states, through the patterns of migration into Anatolia of Türkmen groups from the 11th century onward, through the records of the 'Beylik' principalities of Anatolia after the collapse of central Seljuk power in the 13th century, and through the meticulous records of settlements, taxation, and tribal military levies kept by the Ottomans throughout the history of their empire. The settlement patterns in Anatolia have been published in extremely raw form in a massive work by Cevdet Türkay;²⁵ Faruk Sümer has listed both settlements and dispersion patterns for a number of tribal groups;²⁶ histories of the White Sheep and Black Sheep principalities are now available.²⁷ We find in Anatolia firm evidence of settlements of the Chavuldur (Chodor), the Salur (Salor), the Eymur (Imreli), the Tekke, and the Saryk.²⁸ The same tribal groups, which fragmented and dispersed all over the Middle East over the centuries, are found in Fars, Azerbaijan, Gilan, Tabaristan, Khurasan, and of course in Transoxania where large numbers of them remained to the present day.²⁹ While raw historical data in and of itself is seldom conclusive in art-historical matters, the patterns of Türkmen migration and 'yerleşirme' or settlement revealed in the work of contemporary historians certainly support the stylistic and artistic evidence pointing to Türkmen weavers as the vectors for the spread of our familiar rug forms.

Moreover, the various Turkish states and principalities nourished an awareness of their Türk past. The Ottomans appear to have stemmed from a branch of the Chavuldur; the White Sheep Türkmen thought of themselves as descendants of the Bayındır.³⁰ The *damgha* of the Kayıç served for hundreds of years as the arsenal-mark of the Ottoman armories (fig. 27). The Salghur or Salor served as Atabegs of the Seljuks in Fars in the 13th century, and the tribe played a major part in the settlement of Rum (Anatolia) after the battle of Malazgird opened up Asia Minor to Türkmen migration.³¹

It is the history of the Salghurs which promises to yield the most interesting light on the development of Türkmen weaving as a whole. The primacy of Salor weaving among the Türkmen themselves has been mentioned in the literature.³² Of far more interest however is the information imparted by the 17th century Chaghatay historian. Abu'l Ghazi Bahadır, Khan of Khiva, who wrote that the Yomud, Tekke, Ersari, and Saryk Türkmen tribes stemmed from the Salor *boy* of the Oghuz.³³ Major groups of Salor settled in Anatolia in the Niğde, Kars, Tarsus, and Konya areas, and several Yörük groups claimed descent from the Salors as well.³⁴ Given the association of the Salor with rug weaving, both in the 19th century and in the traditions of Türkmen peoples, the Anatolia/Central Asia continuum so clearly seen in examples of rugs themselves does not lack for historical support in the written sources, coincidentally rendering the etymology of the tribal name

itself (*sal-*: to let go, to spread out, to send forth branches or shoots)³⁵ symbolically appropriate.

The Case of Mamluk Carpets: Propriety, Symbolism, or Ethnicity?

To this point, we have suggested a number of reasons why certain rug forms familiar over a wide range of Islamic weaving in the 19th century might have had an important set of equally widely-dispersed ancestors in the 15th centuries, and that these ancestors in turn may have stemmed from a common source. Propriety, and probably to a lesser extent the general symbolism of an apotropaic form, are useful explanations of why a Spanish manufactory should use an Anatolian or at any rate a Near Eastern stylistic model for weaving in the 15th century. The migrations and settlements of Türkmen tribes can offer a satisfactory explanation of why we see early rugs from Azerbaijan, central Anatolia, and the Aegean littoral of Asia Minor, all using the same repertoire of basic forms, while the evidence we have suggested regarding the persistence of tribal traditions may explain why these same forms are found in a similarly wide distribution in the 19th century. Moreover, while the style of the rugs under discussion does not suggest the direct or indirect participation of the artists of an Islamic court, but rather traditional designs in a Turco-Islamic style,³⁶ it does fit quite comfortably into the general Islamic stylistic ambience, with its use of calligraphic and geometric forms, its affinities with architectural decoration, and its occasional evidence of the imagery of 'Chinese art that so profoundly changed the course of Islamic art after the Mongol invasions. The small group of rugs under discussion, so important in the surviving artistic legacy of those times, makes its own identity plain, inclusively by its Islamic style, and exclusively by its lack of stylistic affinity to any known aspect of the art of other peoples or traditions found in Anatolia at the time of the Turkish invasion and settlements from the 11th through the 15th centuries.³⁷

Taking this information in hand, let us turn briefly to a more difficult and more complicated test case. While it is not the purpose of the present paper to deal exhaustively with the peculiarities of the Anatolian/Mamluk artistic interchange of the 13th through the 16th centuries (a task to be explored in the next International Conference on Oriental Carpets), it would be useful before concluding to test both the strengths and the limitations of our method of analysis and our conclusions by looking at the tradition of Mamluk carpet weaving with relation to propriety, symbolism, and tribal identity.

The argument for propriety (i.e. that a rug must look like a popular or general conception of a rug) can only be applied in a very superficial way to justify the resemblances between Anatolian and Egyptian Mamluk carpets, for the simple reason that these resemblances, although they exist in abundance, are neither obvious nor even easy to find, and however intriguing our comparisons may be in black-and-white photographs, the unique color scheme of Mamluk rugs complicates the case for propriety immeasurably.

In fact, the case for propriety being an explanation of the style or even of the existence of Mamluk rugs works only in a back-handed way, and then in conjunction with the ethnicity argument. For of course, the Mamluks were Turks who adhered in varying degrees to Turkic tribal customs, a Turkic language, and a Turkic identity throughout their tempestuous rule of Egypt from the time of Baybars I onwards.⁴⁰ Indeed, it is

this ethnic affinity, together with the undoubted cleverness of the Cairene merchant community in exploiting the lucrative European markets and in tapping the flow of money across the Mediterranean trade routes, that may explain, where all other explanations fail, why Egypt (of all rug-weaving sites the only one that does not conform geographically, demographically, or socially to the rest of the traditional 'rug belt') should be for a brief time the site of rug production. Perhaps it is a sense that somehow the production of rugs was an appropriate traditional enterprise for Turkic rulers, as well as a means of economic competition with the rival Anatolian regimes to the north, that led in 15th-century Cairo to the creation of what appears to be that rarest phenomenon in the history of Islamic art — a synthetic artistic tradition without embedded social roots. For Mamluk rugs constitute a stylistic bouillabaisse of artistic motifs gathered from every nook and cranny of the artistic environment in Egypt, cooked up in a totally original color scheme. In the more complex multicolored examples especially, we see ogival textile patterns, Türkmen *gül* motifs, stylistic flotsam and jetsam of south Anatolian or Syrian 'chess-board' rugs and west Anatolian 'para-Mamluks', and echoes both stylistic and technical of the early Iranian medallion carpets from the Ak Koyunlu empire, with which the Mamluk domains shared a long frontier throughout the 15th century.⁴¹ The larger part of the vocabulary of Mamluk rugs is understandable in this context: what is unusual is the syntax and grammar of the artistic language, which constitutes a sort of two-dimensional projection of a fantastic Mamluk *nuqarnas* ceiling onto a wool surface.

Symbolism may play a larger role in the explanation of the existence and the design of Mamluk carpets, although the precise form that explanation may take is not clear at present. Charles Grant Ellis has boldly proposed a pan-Asiatic symbolic meaning for the great Mamluk medallion designs;⁴² whether Ellis is correct or not, it seems likely that neither the explanation of the *gül* and its tribal identity, nor a vague generalized 'good feeling' generated by a sort of multipurpose apotropaic 'blue bead' in carpet form, can explain the unusual style, form, and technique of Mamluk carpets entirely. The matter of symbolism promises much, and certainly needs further exploration, in this extraordinary chapter in the history of carpets.

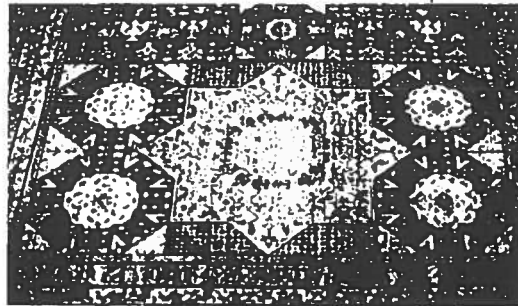
Some Conclusions

Given the peculiar distribution of surviving examples of carpets in both an historical and geographical sense, and given the rest of our

stylistic and technical information about early carpets, the popular conception of 'proving a case' is in the present instance inapplicable. This study makes no claims to a 'proof' by scientific standards. Given what passes for a 'reasonable doubt' in the rug literature these days, we may have failed even to reach that Anglo-Saxon legal definition of proof. What we have attempted to do is demonstrate that within the narrow limits defined at the beginning of this essay, the weight of —

- (a) the evidence presented by early rugs and later examples (style)
 - (b) the evidence for cultural continuity among rug weaving groups (time)
 - (c) the evidence for tribal migrations and settlements (space)
- taken together point to the explanation we have offered as the simplest and the most direct assessment of what we perceive as the stylistic communality and stylistic legacy of an important group of early and later carpets.

It is important to note that these conclusions may resemble to a limited degree those arrived at by Professor Erdmann over twenty-five years ago,⁴³ the route by which they have been reached is substantially different. First, we have thought it most prudent, given the complete confusion of early written sources and the virtual lack of very early carpets themselves, to refrain completely from speculating on the implications of the history of the knotted-pile technique, no matter how tempting that enterprise appears in the light of the evidence we have presented. Second, we have been able to survey a much vaster range of easily available historical sources and secondary studies which illuminate the period under examination. Third, we are fortunate today to be freer from the shadows of cultural and ethnic prejudice about Turkish and Islamic art with which Professor Erdmann and his colleagues had to contend three decades ago. Fourth, we are fortunate in enjoying a technology which allows for easy and quick travel, and convenient means of obtaining visual data through high-quality color slides and publications; this means that a relative newcomer to



18. Detail, Mamluk carpet with 2-1-2 'large pattern Holbein' arrangement. Egypt, 16th c./Detail eines Mamlukenteppichs mit 2-1-2 'Großformat Holbeinmotiv'. Vienna, Museum of Applied Art

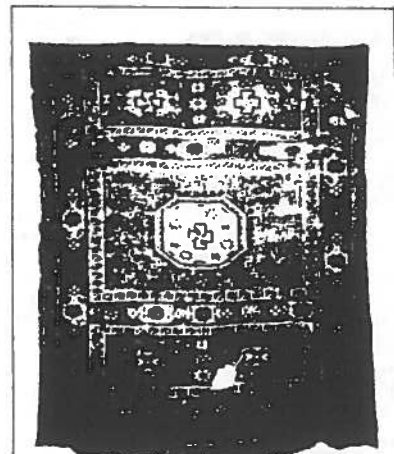
the field today, once having completed the obligatory study of languages and method, may master in only a few years or even months a mass of substantive material which scholars of Erdmann's generation acquired only after decades of scholarly labor and frustration. In short, we must all count ourselves fortunate to be able to stand on the shoulders of those who have come before us, as we form our own art-historical arguments and conclusions.

This paper of necessity has been an outline, a prospectus, for the ideas which it proposes. As such, if it is to have any ultimate value for the cumulative process we call the history of art, it will be not in these written words, but in the quality of the use others may make, in agreement or disagreement, of the sources we have introduced, the methodology we have defined, and the explanations we have attempted to offer.

Notes

¹ For ideas and support in dealing with this problem I am especially indebted to Charles Grant Ellis, Jon Thompson, Julia Weber Bailey, and Anthony Landreau. I am also indebted to the many museum curators and collectors who have made possible both the photography and the study involved in the preparation of this paper over many years, especially Belkis Balpinar of Istanbul. Three changes have been made in the written version of this paper. First, the number of illustrations has been drastically reduced from the 34 pairs of slides shown in Washington. Second, the historical source material has been presented in much greater detail. Third, the writer has taken advantage of the eighteen-month hiatus between delivery of the paper and completion of the written version to include some limited reflections on certain studies published in the intervening months.

² The two major compilations of documentary evidence on early Islamic textiles give perhaps



17. 'Large pattern Holbein' carpet with 2-1-2 medallion arrangement. Anatolia, 16th-17th c./'Großformatiger Holbein'. Teppich mit 2-1-2 Medallionarrangement. Anatolien, 16.-17. Jh. Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul



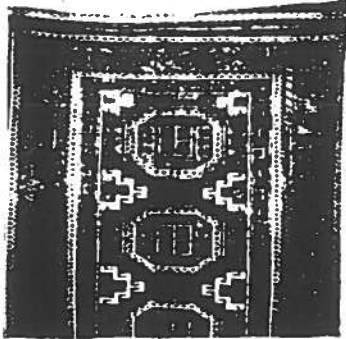
19. Salor gül on a sumakh technique Shah Sevan bag face. Iran, late 19th c./Salorengül auf Schahsawan-Taschenvorderseite, Sumakhtechnik. Iran, spätes 19. Jh. Private Collection



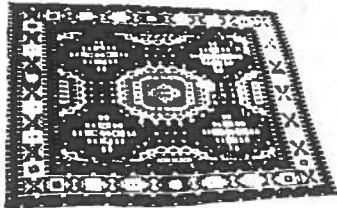
20. Salor gül and 'small pattern Holbein' gül on Kurdish rug, detail. Northwest Iran, late 19th c./Salorengül und 'Kleinformat-Holbeingül' auf kurdischem Teppich. Detail, Nordwestiran, spätes 19. Jh. Courtesy Thomas Joyce



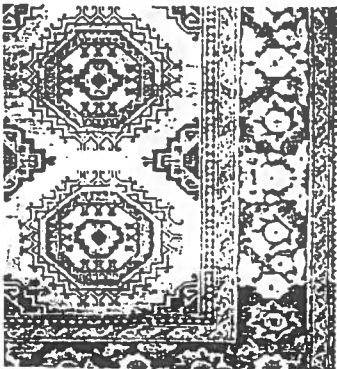
21. Salor gül on Saryk chuvaf fragment. Türkmenistan, 19th c./Salorengül auf Saryk-Tschowaf fragment. Turkmenistan, 19. Jh. Private Collection



22. Salor gül on Baluch rug. Khorasan, early 20th c./Salorengül auf Belutschenteppich. Khorasan, frühes 20. Jh. Private Collection



23. Salor gül on Macedonian kilim. Yugoslavia, 20th c./Salorengül auf mazedonischem Kilim. Jugoslawien, 20. Jh. Private Collection



24. Salor gül on Arak district rug. Iran, late 19th c./Salorengül auf Teppich aus dem Distrikt Arak. Iran, spätes 19. Jh. Private Collection

the best indication of these limits. See Maurice Lombard, *Les textiles du monde musulman VIII-XIII siècle*, Paris 1978, and R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest*, Beirut 1972.

² See the evidence presented by Amy Briggs in 'Timurid Carpets' in *Ars Islamica*, VII, 1, 1940, pp. 20-54; by Kurt Erdmann in *Europa und der Orientteppich*, Berlin and Mainz 1962; and by John Mills in a fine series of articles dealing with documentation of early carpets in European painting, which have appeared in recent issues of *Hali*.

⁴ It will be obvious to the reader that no orally-delivered paper could encompass this task in detail; nor does the present written version, however much it augments the Washington talk, incorporate more than a fraction of the material gathered by the author over ten years. It is hoped that the bulk of this material may eventually find publication in a longer study on the subject.

⁵ The peculiarities of Turkic etymology, problems of orthography, and other factors cast doubt on the *gül/göl* distinction proposed by Moshkova, and rightly criticised by M. David in 'Turkoman Rugs: The Birth of a New Mythology' in *Tribal Visions*, Novato, California, 1980, p. 17.

⁶ See R. Ettinghausen, 'Kufesque in Byzantine Greece, the Latin West and the Muslim World' in *A Colloquium in Memory of George Carpenter Miles*, New York 1976, pp. 28-47, and the paper by Dr. Irene Bierman to be published in the proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Oriental Carpets in *Hali*, 5, no. 1.

⁷ On the Boston carpet see W. Denny, 'Ten Great Carpets' in *Hali*, 1, 2, 1978, p. 156-157.

⁸ See the evidence amassed by A. Briggs, *op. cit.* Further treatments of this evidence have been made by Dr. Eleanor Sims in a paper delivered at Washington in November, 1980, and by Julia Weber Bailey, in a paper delivered to the New York Rug Society in February, 1982.

⁹ See R.M. Riefstahl, 'Primitive Rugs of the "Konya" Type in the Mosque of Beyshehir' in *Art Bulletin*, XIII, 1931, pp. 177-226, and K. Erdmann, *Der Türkische Teppich des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbul, s.d., translated as *History of the Early Turkish Carpet*, London 1977, pp. 1-26; see also O. Aslanapa and Y. Durul, *Selçuklu Halıları*, Istanbul, s.d., pp. 17-39. In all of the arguments currently raging around these early carpets, including the much-mangled Marco Polo quotations, no one seems to have noticed that there is virtually no firm evidence at all for a 13th century dating or for the assumption that the Konya rugs were 'original equipment' in the Alaeddin mosque. There can be no doubt whatsoever that in style these carpets form part of an Islamic tradition, but their date is definitely an open question.

¹⁰ On terminology, see F. Spuhler, 'Bisat' in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (hereafter *EI*), New Edition, Supplement Fasc. 3/4, 1981, p. 136; also W.H. Worrell, 'On certain Arabic terms for "rug"' in *Ars Islamica*, I, 1934, pp. 219-222, and II, 1934, pp. 65-68. The works by Serjeant and Lombard (*op. cit.*) teem with references to rug-like textiles of all kinds. Of particular interest are the terms *siqlarun*, with its curious parallels to the *gül*, and *susanjird*.

¹¹ See, among others, L. Amiryan, 'On the origin of the Dragon and Phoenix Rug in Berlin' in *Hali*, 4, 1, 1981. An Armenian provenance is argued for the rug in question (a) on the basis of an epigraphical hypothesis based on a reversed photograph of the rug, and (b) on the basis of the fact that the 20th century Turkish word for 'dragon' is a Persian loan word, thus 'the concept of the dragon did not exist in the Turkish mind'. Not one word is said about the style of the carpet. Amiryan's observation about the color similarity between the 'Gohar carpet' and a rug dated to 1905, however, is both perceptive and intriguing.

¹² Beyond the Boston carpet illustrated, we

might mention the Dumbarton Oaks carpet recently acquired by the Textile Museum (see L. Mackie, 'Two Remarkable Fifteenth Century Carpets from Spain' in *Textile Museum Journal*, IV, 4, 1977, pp. 28-30); two large-pattern Holbein carpets from Spain in the Textile Museum, R44.00.5 and R44.2.2 illustrated in the same work in figs. 14 and 15; another small-pattern Holbein in the Textile Museum, R44.3.1; a Europeanized 2-1-2 carpet R44.00.1; and the Hispanic Society of America fragments H323 and H320, illustrated (in microfiche) by F.L. May in *Rugs of Spain and Morocco*, Chicago 1977, ill. 1B6-7.

¹³ The large-patterned Holbein variants include the Philadelphia rug, fig. 155 in Dimand and Malley, *Oriental Rugs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1973; numerous rugs in the T.I.E.M., Istanbul (one illustrated in Dimand and Malley, *op. cit.*, fig. 154); and the Divriği mosque rug 217: see B. Acar, 'Divriği Ulu Camii'ndeki Halı ve Kilimler' in *Divriği Ulu Camii ve Darüşşifası*, Ankara 1978, color pl. 5.

¹⁴ Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, gives examples of architectural use of the Kufic border; the parallels are strongest in the 15th century architecture of Timurid and Türkmen Iran and Central Asia.

¹⁵ See Murray Eiland, 'The Development of Village and Nomad Rug Designs', this issue, p. 338; see also Michael David's article in *Hali*, 4, 2, 1981, pp. 142-146. There is no doubt that nomads borrowed forms from the art of the city in exactly the same way that today's Belgian and Pakistani rugs utilize nomadic *gül* forms. This does not mean however that some forms also did not endure over time; the overwhelming evidence is that many forms did.

¹⁶ Eiland, 'Speculations around the Development of Turkoman Rug Designs' in *Tribal Visions*, Novato, California 1980, pp. 25-32. Eiland's article is essentially a review of Briggs (*op. cit.*). The problems with the Eiland article are rooted in its lack of breadth; miniatures illustrated by Briggs are Jalayrid and Türkmen as well as Timurid; Eiland's concept of the realism of Islamic court art is at variance with forty-two years of scholarship in the interval since Briggs' publication; and too firm a line has been drawn between 'city' and 'nomadic' societies.

¹⁷ The historical literature abounds in evidence of the survival of nomadic custom, vocabulary, social conventions, and names long after nomadic life-patterns have been abandoned. In this connection I recall the touching cartoon of a Turkish peasant who, before retiring for the night, tethers his tractor to a nearby tree with a short length of rope.

¹⁸ See the articles 'Alam' by J. David-Weill, and 'Bayrakdar' by H. Bowen in *EI*, New Edition. See also the history of the *ruğhra* in 'Tughra' by J. Denny in *EI*, Old Edition, in which the etymology, history, and symbolism of this form are discussed, and the new study by Suha Umur, *Osmanlı Padışah Tuğraları*, Istanbul, 1980. The survival of old forms is discussed by S. Day, 'Un singulier tapis turkmène dans les collections du musée des Arts décoratifs' in *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, December, 1981, No. 5/6, pp. 337-344. See also W. Denny, 'A Group of Silk Islamic Banners' in *Textile Museum Journal*, IV, 1, 1974, pp. 67-81.

¹⁹ The survival of *destan* elements is documented in literally dozens of studies in the history of Turkic folklore, literature, and culture. See Part III, 'Destanları', in F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar: Türkmenler*, Ankara 1972, pp. 373-422. Similar survivals exist of course in most traditional societies.

²⁰ Most contemporary chronicles underline the fluid delineation between nomad and city dweller in Timurid, Jalayrid, Ak Koyunlu, and Kara Koyunlu society in the 15th century, and the restlessness of allegiance and life-style is certainly seen in the behavior of the Türkmen allies of Beyazid I at the Battle of Ankara in 1402. See, for example, Nizamüddin Şâmî, *Zafernâme* (translated by

Necatî Lugal into modern Turkish; Ankara, 1949).

²¹ Two examples of studies dealing with the broader question of court art, the recruitment, training, evaluation and compensation of its artists, and the diffusion of its style, will suffice here: for the Safavids, the newly-published work by M.B. Dickson and S.C. Welch, *The Houghton Shah-nameh*, Cambridge, MA, 1981; for the Ottomans, W. Denny, 'Dating Ottoman Turkish Works in the Saz Style' forthcoming in *Muqarnas*, I, New Haven, 1982.

²² See W. Denny, *The Ceramic Revivements of the Mosque of Rüstem Pasha*, New York and London 1977, Chapter IV. Another illustration of the method is S.C. Welch's 'Two Shahs, Some Miniatures, and the Boston Carpet' in *Boston Museum Bulletin*, LXIX, 1971, Nos. 355-356, pp. 6-15. The transition in rug design is documented by A. Briggs, 'Timurid Carpets', Pt. 2, in *Ars Islamica*, XI, 1946, pp. 146-158, and is referred to by Erdmann as 'Revolutionierung der Muster' (see *History of the Early Turkish Carpet*, p. 53).

²³ E. Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, MA 1942, quoted by B. Robinson in a 'Preliminary Symposium: Impressions of Persian Painting' in *Persian Miniature Painting*, London 1967, pp. 16-17.

²⁴ See the chart at p. 210 in Sümer, *op. cit.* Sümer discusses all of the early sources, including the *Oghuznama*, in great detail.

²⁵ The *Jami al-Tawarikh* has been published in several translations as well as in a critical edition. The translation by Edgar Blochet, published by Brill in Leiden and London in 1911, is the basis for most secondary studies.

²⁶ Cevdet Türkey, *Başbakanlık Arşivi Belgelerine göre Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Oymak, Ağıret ve Cemaatlar*, İstanbul 1979. Other demographic studies by Ö.L. Barkan, H. İnalcık, and F. Sümer, among others, have added greatly to our knowledge of tribal settlements.

²⁷ F. Sümer, *op. cit.*, lists almost 40 pages of settlement locations for all of the major Oghuz boys in Anatolia, including 51 Salor settlements. Sümer's work remains the best basic source for research into the migrations, settlements, and dispersion of the Oghuz tribes available today.

²⁸ See F. Sümer, *Kara Koyunlar*, Ankara 1967, and J.E. Woods, *The Aqqayunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire*, Minneapolis and Chicago 1976.

²⁹ Again, see the chapters on these individual boys in Sümer, *op. cit.*, 1972. Michael David, in his 1980 article, *op. cit.*, cf. note 5, asks the question 'can we be confident in making assumptions about equating Juvaldar and Davoldor, from these early lists, with modern Chodors, on no other evidence than vague homonymy?' David is unfortunately neither aware of the etymological patterns of the Turkic languages, nor of the consonant shifts among Turkish dialects and the lack of 'fit' between the Turkic languages and the Arabic alphabet. Nine centuries of documents establish these links far beyond any 'vague homonymy', and beyond the two most frequently-quoted histories of Mahmud of Kashgar and Rashid al-Din. In the same vein, David's criticisms of L. Mackie's contribution to the 1980 Textile Museum catalogue *Türkmen*, regarding the latter's distinction between Türkmen and Oghuz, and between Türkmen and Seljuks, are incomprehensible to this reader, since most of the major literature appears to accept the distinction.

³⁰ See Sümer, *op. cit.*, 1972, on the individual tribal groups.

³¹ For the Ottomans, see P. Wittek, *Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1967, at p. 9; also the Ottoman motto 'Çhangırâne bir devlet çıkardık bir aşiretten' ('We emerged a world-conquering state out of a tribe'); see also M. Houtsma, 'Stammbaum der Osmanen' in *Der Islam*, XIV, 1925. For the Ak Koyunlu, see Woods, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

³² See the chapter 'Salur' in Sümer, *op. cit.*, 1972, and the section 'Salghurids' in C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh 1967, pp. 125-126. On the role of the Türkmén following Malazgird, see N. Kaymaz, 'Malazgirt Savaşı ile Anadolu'nun Fethi ve Türkleşmesine Dair' in the commemorative volume, *Malazgirt Armağanı*, Ankara 1972, pp. 259-268, where, incidentally, a distinction is made between Seljuks and Türkmén. See also M.F. Köprülü, 'Oğuz etnologisine dair tarihi notlar' in *Tarih Mecmuası*, I, 1925, where Köprülü posits a Salor origin for the Karamanids, the rulers of 15th century 'Turkomania' and probably the rulers of Konya when the 'Konya' carpets were woven. But see also Ş. Tekindağ in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, in his article 'Karamanlılar' where he proposes an Afshar origin. Another list of place-names derived from the Oghuz boys is published by Ö.L. Barkan, 'Les Déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'empire ottoman' in *Revue de la faculté des sciences économiques de l'université d'Istanbul*, II, 1949-50. Two major works shed considerable light on the Turkish settlement of Anatolia. These are C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (English translation) New York 1968, and S. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971.

³³ See Bogolyubov, *Tapisseries de l'Asie Centrale*, St. Petersburg, 1908: I rely on an English translation made by Amos Bateman Thacher; the discussion in this unpublished work occurs in Bogolyubov's introductory section on Türkmen history.

³⁴ See the article by B. Spuler, 'Abu'l Ghazi Bahadur Khan', in *EI*, New Edition. Sümer discusses the *Shejere-i Terâkime* as an historical source at some length: see, for example, *op. cit.*, 1972, p. 344.

³⁵ Sümer, *ibid.*, pp. 336-344, discusses the Salors both before and after Malazgird, drawing heavily on the Ottoman tax records for Anatolia for the more recent patterns of settlement.

³⁶ See *Turkish and English Lexicon*, ed. Sir James W. Redhouse (New Edition) İstanbul 1978; F. Devellioğlu, *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Anslöpedik Lügat*, Ankara 1970.

³⁷ On the other hand, Dr. Jon Thompson's theories on the earlier origins of *gül form*, propounded in a paper at the Washington conference, and published in E. Herrmann, *Von Konya bis Kokend*, Munich 1981, is thought-provoking and certainly the best explanation of the form which has been made to date.

³⁸ The exclusivity argument is an important one when we are dealing with such a small number of extant examples. A great deal is known about the non-Islamic artistic traditions of Anatolia, their style, their dating, and their diffusion in Asia Minor. In the history of art, the burden of proof cannot be carried alone by documents, epigraphy, or appeals to what the protagonist may believe to be the pattern of history; it is carried by the work of art itself - style, technique, iconography.

³⁹ See, for example, Abdul-Aziz Khawaiter, *Balbars the First*, London 1978; or, in a different vein, the studies by the eminent historian David Ayalon: *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt*, London 1977.

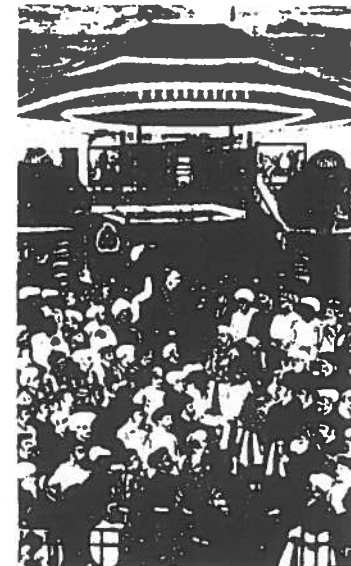
⁴⁰ Lest we should form the notion that the Mamluks were confined to the eastern Mediterranean littoral, or that the Ak Koyunlu were confined to Azerbaijan, a look at the maps in Woods, *op. cit.* (Map 7, p. 108 and Map 8, p. 124), which give an altogether different message, should be kept in mind when we talk about rug production in 15th century Anatolia.

⁴¹ C.G. Ellis, 'Is the Mamluk Carpet a Mandala?' in *Textile Museum Journal*, IV, 1, 1974, pp. 30-50.

⁴² Chapter III in *History of the Early Turkish Carpet*, London 1977.



25. A European ambassador before Selim II, with nomad tent. Ahmed Feridun Pasha, *Nüzhət al-abrar*, 1565, Ottoman Turkey/Europäische Botschafter vor Selim II. Kniend, mit Nomadenzelt. Achmed Feridun Pascha, *Nüzhət al-abrar*, 1565, osmanische Türkei. Topkapı Palace Library, İstanbul



26. Darbar of Jahangir, with two nomad tents. Mughal India, ca. 1615, from an album/Darbar von Dschahangir mit zwei Nomadenzelten. Zirka 1615, Mughalindien, aus einem Album. Leningrad, Soviet Academy of Sciences



27. Detail of a horse frontal with *damgha* of the Kayik boy. Ottoman Turkey, ca. 1500/Detail des *damgha* zu einem Knie des *damgha* mit *damgha* der Kayik boy. Osmanien by Türköl, zirka 1500. Military Museum, İstanbul