

without devoting some time to an understanding of the ancestors. The pursuit of the details which bridge the gap between the two undoubtedly adds a dynamic quality to what must otherwise remain the largely static pleasure of pure contemplation.

Notes

¹ A much more extensive range of design variations is illustrated in: Beattie, May II.

'Coupled-column Prayer Rugs', *Oriental Art*, XIV, No. 4, 1968, pp. 1-15.

² Dimand, M.S. and Mailey, Jean. *Oriental Rugs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973, No. 119, p. 237. Inv. No. 22.100.100.

³ Yohe, Ralph S. and Jones, H. McCoy. *Turkish Rugs*. Catalogue of an exhibition sponsored by The Washington Hajji Baba (The Rug Society of Washington, D.C., Inc.) in co-

operation with The Textile Museum, May 26 - September 21, 1968.

⁴ see note 1, Fig. 25.

⁵ Ellis, C.G. 'A Soumak-Woven Rug in a 15th Century International Style', *Textile Museum Journal*, I, No. 4, 1963, Fig. 4.

⁶ Dimand, M.S. *Peasant and Nomad Rugs of Asia*. Asia House Gallery, New York, 1961, p. 68, No. 30.

Links between Anatolian Kilim Designs and Older Traditions

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die Muster vieler anatolischer Kelims, wie auch jene anderer Dorfteppiche wurzeln in der osmanischen darstellenden Hofkunst des 16. Jh. Es gibt drei Ausnahmen davon:

1. Sich wiederholende Textilmusterungen, die sich aus den technischen Mitteln entwickeln, die dem Weber zur Verfügung stehen, z.B. einander durchdringende Zick-Zack-Streifen.
2. das Gül mit seiner streng symbolischen Funktion, das von zentralasiatischen Turk-Knüpfern eingeführt wurde.
3. 'totemische' Muster, komplexe und mächtige geometrische Formen, die wahrscheinlich von früheren bildlichen, symbolischen Formen abgeleitet wurden.

Die stilisierten floralen Muster auf Kelim-Fragmenten, die bei Divriği entdeckt wurden und dem östlichen Zentralanatolien des 17. oder 18. Jh. zugewiesen werden, stehen in direkter Verbindung mit Mustern osmanischer Textilien oder anderer Medien; Kartuschen mit Blumen in anderen Beispielen werden auf die Spitzbogen-Muster von Bursa und Istanbul bezogen.

Eine dazwischenstehende zweite zentralanatolische Gruppe, in Sammlungen in Ankara und den USA vertreten, in der klassische florale Ornamente gebraucht wurden, gibt einen Hinweis auf die Kelim-Muster des 19. und 20. Jh.

Eine ähnliche 'Kette von Stilisierungen' kann von den floralen Iznik-Kachel-Mustern des 16. Jh. abstammend bis zu weißgrundigen Kelims mit gestaffelten Reihen fächerförmigen Blumen gesehen werden. Paradoxe Weise wurden die Muster von Cicims (bestickte Flachgewebe) weniger von höfischen Stilen beeinflusst als Kelims, die in der unbeholfenen Schlitzgewebe-Technik ausgeführt wurden.

The surge of interest in flat-woven rugs of the Islamic world which has recently affected both the phenomenon of collecting and that of publication, has created a paradox.¹ We at once know a great deal more about flat-woven rugs than we formerly did, and yet, in comparison with the amount of material actually available for study today, we probably know proportionally much less than we did ten years ago, at the time of the ground-breaking *Bosphorus to Samarkand* exhibition and its important catalogue.²

The great Viennese scholar Alois Riegl first pointed out the importance of the decorative arts in reaching a broader understanding of the development of the so-called Fine Arts. Riegl abolished the artificial distinction between 'decorative arts' and 'fine arts' which had kept the serious study of such traditions as the Islamic tradition in eclipse. His idea, that the concept of 'classical' could be used without the concept of 'decline' as a necessary accompaniment when studying post-classical works, is indeed the very foundation of our present-day understanding and enjoyment of the village and nomadic rugs of the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries as a vital art

form. The study of carpets, building upon the methodology first set out by Riegl,³ has developed to a point where we are now able to explore basic questions of form, style, technique, provenance, and symbolism, in conjunction with questions of economics, the place of the carpet in society, and its reflections of the broader history of taste in both eastern and western societies. In all of this scholarship, however, flat-woven rugs have been to a considerable extent ignored, although a few landmark publications have prepared a foundation for study. Through *Bosphorus to Samarkand* we have been introduced to the various techniques and the broader parameters of the geography of flat-woven rugs. Through the Whitechapel Art Gallery exhibition of 1977 and its catalogue⁴ we more fully began to appreciate the extraordinary beauty of tapestry-woven rugs. And in the forthcoming volume *Kilims*, with its hundreds of illustrations and its distillation of years of research by Y. Petropoulos and M. Franses, we will be presented for the first time with a comprehensive overview of provenances of various types of tapestry-woven rugs.⁵

English summary

The designs of many Anatolian kilims, like those of other village rugs, are rooted in the Ottoman court art of the 16th century. There are three exceptions to this: (1) repetitive textile patterns which evolve from the technical means available to the weaver, e.g., interpenetrating zig-zag stripes; (2) the gül with its strongly symbolic function, introduced from central Asian Turkmen weavings; (3) 'totemic' designs, complex and powerful geometric forms, probably derived from earlier representational symbolic shapes.

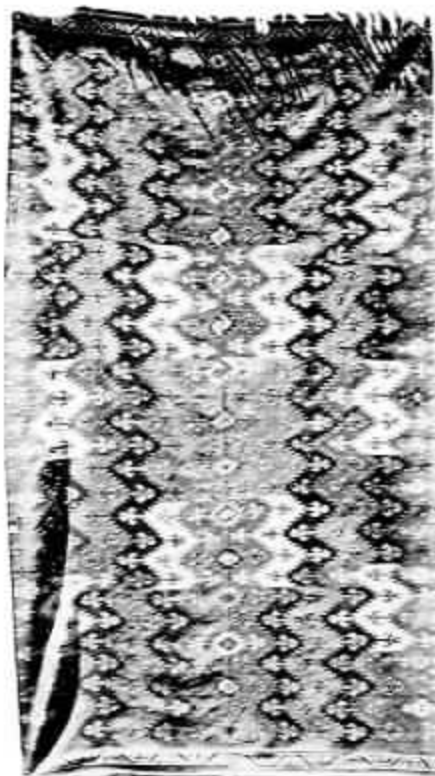
The stylised floral designs of kilim fragments discovered at Divriği, attributed to 17th or early 18th c. Anatolia, relate directly to designs of Ottoman textiles or other media; cartouches containing flowers in other examples are related to ogival textile patterns of Bursa and Istanbul. An intermediate, second central Anatolian group, represented in collections in Ankara and the U.S.A., in which classical floral ornaments were used, provides a link to 19th and 20th c. kilim design.

A similar 'chain of stylization' can be seen derived from 16th c. Iznik tile carnation designs to white ground kilims with staggered rows of fan-shaped flowers. Paradoxically, the designs of cicims (brocaded flat-weaves) were less influenced by court styles than kilims made by the more awkward slit-tapestry technique.

The question I would like to explore in this presentation is however another sort of problem altogether. We are by now familiar with the process of stylization and stylistic change, whereby representational art is often changed, sometimes precipitously and sometimes in subtle ways, as each generation of artists acts upon the heritage of forms bequeathed to it by earlier generations. This phenomenon has been explored at some length by several authorities dealing with carpets, whether the great Dragon Rugs from the Caucasus or the village rugs of Anatolia,⁶ but it has largely been assumed to this time that such processes occurred relatively infrequently in flat-woven rugs, and especially in the tapestry-woven kilims whose technique was supposedly so ill-adapted to the curvilinear forms of representational art. It was easier to assume that the simple geometric forms in kilim-weaving reflected some sort of age-old concept of abstraction arising from the technique itself. While this point of view may indeed have some merit, as we have begun to learn more about the history of kilim-weaving, and as more examples of this fragile technique have come to hand from earlier times, it is

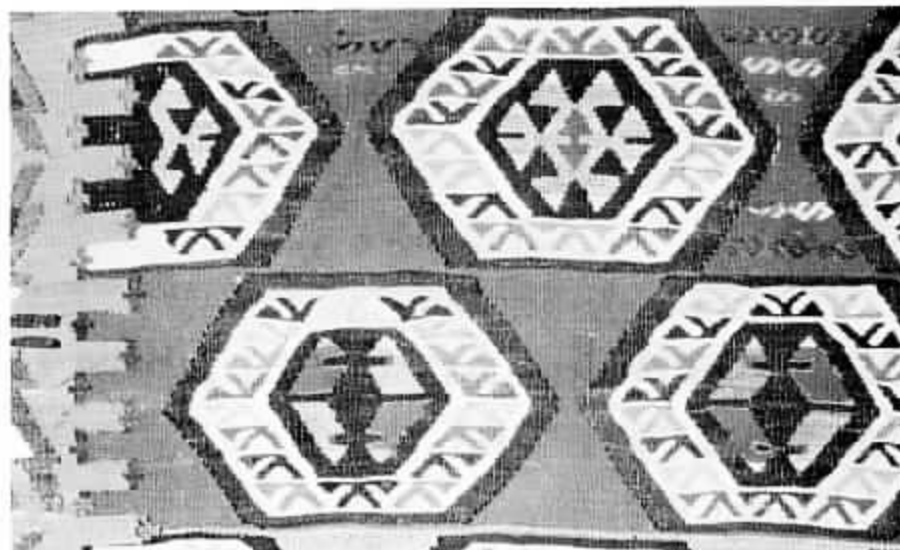


1. Detail of a *cicim* – brocaded Anatolian rug with reciprocal zig-zag horizontal stripes
Detail eines anatolischen *Cicim*-Teppichs mit einem Muster von reziproken horizontalen Zick-Zack Streifen
Private collection



2. Tapestry-woven central Anatolian rug with reciprocal zig-zag vertical stripes
Zentralanatolischer Teppich in Gobelin-Technik mit einem Muster von reziproken vertikalen Zick-Zack-Streifen
Private collection

now possible to point to various evolutionary stages in the development of kilim-weaving which show that many modern kilims trace their origins back to what Professor Erdmann called the 'design revolution' of the fifteenth century.⁷ I propose briefly to explore this evolution from the perspective of the Anatolian kilim, in an effort to show that to a



3. Detail of a central Anatolian kilim with hexagonal *gül* design
Detail eines zentralanatolischen Kilims mit hexagonalem *Gül*-Muster
Private collection

considerable extent forms observable in more recent examples may derive from Ottoman representational court art of the sixteenth century, in the same way that forms of so many other village rugs do.⁸

First, it may be useful to point out some examples of design types which in my opinion do *not* partake of this particular evolution of forms. These may for convenience be divided into three groups. The first of these, the most basic of all rug designs, is the repetitive textile pattern evolving in abstract fashion from the nature of the technical means available to the weaver, including the four-square nature of warp and weft in a two-coordinate weaving system, the degree of coarseness of the weave itself, and the colors and materials made available to the weaver. Perhaps the best-known of these textile patterns is an interpenetrating zig-zag stripe, often seen in the earliest Islamic depictions of rugs found in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century miniature paintings.⁹ This sort of design persists quite strongly into our own day, both in the brocaded rugs of Anatolia (Fig. 1) and in many tapestry-woven examples as well (Fig. 2).

The second pattern, this time with a strongly symbolic function, is the familiar *gül*, that closed geometric shape familiar from central-Asian Turkmen weaving as a tribal symbol, although perhaps more appropriately called by its Turkish name of *Nuska* (amulet) or *Tamgha* (seal or tribal symbol). Since there exists extensive documentation for the settling of Anatolia by Turkmen nomadic peoples from Central Asia from the twelfth century onward,¹⁰ we should not be surprised to find the *gül* form, as a repetitive geometric form, in Anatolian flat-woven rugs (Fig. 3), although as tribal groups settled into agricultural communities, both its form and its meaning may have been changed or even swallowed up in the maw of history. Such *gül*ed rugs, both flat- and pile-woven, appear in abundance in Anatolia, especially among the Turkmen (*Yörük*) peoples, and the rugs generally favor a hexagonal *gül*, but we are no longer able to attach specific forms to specific tribal groups or sub-groups with any confidence.

The third type of pattern, closely allied to the second but generally more complex from a visual point of view, is that called here the *totemic* design. Frequently but not invariably employed in a repetitive pattern like the first



4. Detail of a west Anatolian *cicim* – brocaded rug with repeating pattern of 'totemic' designs
Detail eines westanatolischen *Cicim*-Teppichs mit sich wiederholenden 'totemischen' Mustern
Private collection

two, totemic designs are powerful geometric forms, complex in form and stylized beyond recognition from earlier antecedents, which also appear to retain a good deal of symbolic importance of one sort or another in village society (Fig. 4). The complexity of these forms argues against their having evolved from the loom itself, and for their having developed from earlier representational forms which, in many cases, were probably symbolic of various aspects of the nomadic environment where, even after the adoption of Islam, animistic currents were rarely more than slightly beneath the surface. Not self-contained forms like the *gül*, but frequently on a huge scale, such forms, as they appear in more recent kilim weaving, are intriguing links to the past.

Given the often remarkable degree of stylization observable in kilims, it is frequently an open question as to whether a particular



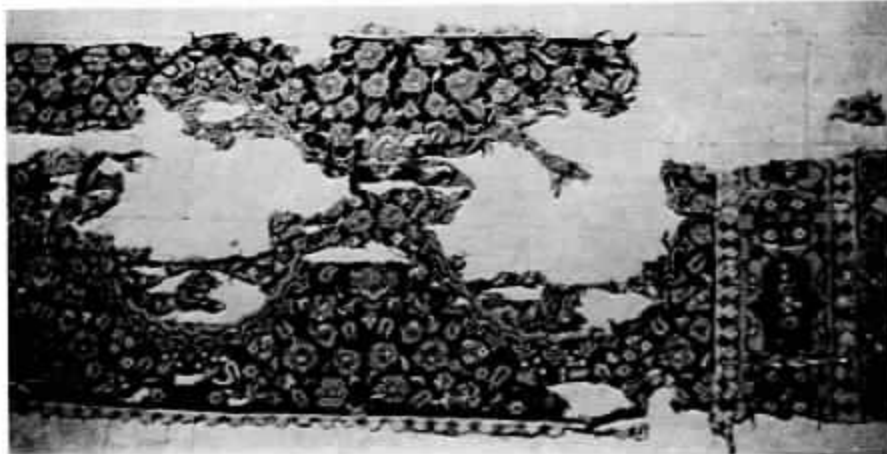
5. Detail of west Anatolian kilim with stylized carnation
Detail eines zentralanatolischen Kelims mit stilisierten Nelken
Private collection

example contains forms rooted in one of the three groups of patterns outlined above, or whether, instead, those forms have 'classical' antecedents, here defined as forms created in the Ottoman Empire in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the court painting atelier in Istanbul, the famed *nakkashane*. For example, a particular type of design which might at first impress one with its totemic character, perhaps recalling a double-headed eagle or some other such powerfully symbolic form (Fig. 5), may be shown quite convincingly to have evolved from sixteenth-century Ottoman velvets depicting rows of stylized carnation flowers, which in the poetry of the Ottoman classical age had their own symbolism quite different than that of the great bird of prey.¹¹ This possibility for ambiguity remains one of the major problems in sorting out the types of designs found in flat-woven rugs, and therefrom determining, as best we can, the origins of the forms and their possible meaning.

The discovery in the great mosque of Divriği of a number of important fragments of tapestry-woven rugs in the last ten years¹² has finally made it possible for us to move our theories about the classical origins of kilim forms from the realm of conjecture into that of fact. The great kilims of Divriği, with their

forms derived directly from court designs, appear to be the product of a commercial atelier in east-central Anatolia, whose production was evidently fairly short-lived, and which flourished during the seventeenth or the early eighteenth century. The largest example found at Divriği (Fig. 6) originally measured some 5.4 m in length, and all of the examples which have come to light are of large size, woven on very large looms, with bold and large-scale patterns all of which relate directly either to textile designs of known Ottoman origin, or to designs which can be traced back to other media. These designs include the famous stylized flowers, in particular the lotus-palmette, the tulip, and the hyacinth (Fig. 7), as well as the curved *sez* saw-edged leaves so beloved of sixteenth-century artists in the *nakkashane*. Other Divriği examples, with their designs of cartouches containing flowers (Fig. 8), can be traced to those ogival patterns woven under the influence of the *nakkashane* in the Ottoman weaving centers of Bursa and Istanbul.¹³

The Divriği kilims, and a few other examples which have come to light, while probably of the seventeenth century rather than the formative sixteenth, provide a foundation upon which to base a chronology,



6. Fragmentary large kilim with stylized flowers and medallions. 17th c. Found in the Great Mosque of Divriği
Fragmentarischer großer Kelim mit stilisiertem Blumenmuster und Medaillons, 17. Jh. Gefunden in der Großen Moschee von Divriği.



8. Fragmentary large kilim with stylized flowers in cartouches. 18th c. Found in the Great Mosque of Divriği
Fragmentarischer großer Kelim mit stilisierten Blumen in Kartuschen, 18. Jh. Gefunden in der Großen Moschee von Divriği
Photo: B. Acar



7. Detail of Fig. 6/Detail aus Abb. 6.

and establish without ambiguity a link between tapestry-woven rugs and the Ottoman classical tradition of the sixteenth century. A second group of kilims, later in date and in the chain of stylization, provide a link between this earliest group and the more geometric weavings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The Ethnographic Museum in Ankara, whether by design or by happenstance, contains the largest number of examples of this intermediate group, others of which have appeared in American collections and on the London market in recent years.¹⁴ Of Central Anatolian provenance (the town of Lâdik in Konya province was once suggested for them, and on the basis of coloration is still a strong contender), these kilims employ the vocabulary of the classical age, in particular the tulip flower and the curving *rincaux* which often accompany it, but adapted to a syntax which utilizes bands of ornament in the rug. A remarkable prayer rug in Ankara shows stylized white tulips in the arch spandrels

(Fig. 9): an example from an American collection, a detail of which is shown (Fig. 10), clearly demonstrates the adaptation of the weft-faced tapestry technique to the curvilinear forms, through the use of outlining wefts and by the vertical compacting of the design-bearing weft yarns to create curved lines where colors meet.

From this intermediate group of tapestry-woven rugs, there is not a great distance to the weavings of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The design in the central field of a central-Anatolian tapestry-woven *sejjadeh* rug of the early twentieth century (Fig. 11) represents an adaptation of the same design seen in Fig. 10 above, but with a necessary coarsening and angularization made necessary because of the weave. The sprays of tulips have almost entirely lost their delicacy and their curvilinear aspects, but they are still recognizable if we understand the chain of stylization.

The very same sort of process results in the great 'carnation kilims' composed of row



9. Detail, spandrel of *sejjadeh* kilim with stylized tulips
Detail eines *Seccade*-Kilims mit stilisierten Tulpen
Ethnographic Museum, Ankara. Photo: courtesy Dr. Einse Yener



10. Detail, band of kilim with spray of stylized tulips
Detail, Streifen eines Kilims mit einem Zweig stilisierter Tulpen
Collection Ms. C. Cootner

upon row of stylized Turkish flowers. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Ottoman Turkish tile-makers working in the ateliers of İznik developed a method of showing separate petals on flowers such as the carnation not by outlining, but by separating each petal in stencil-like fashion on the white ground of the tile (Fig. 12). The kilim-weaver has continued this basic idea by using the white ground of the kilim to separate each petal of the fan-like flowers (Fig. 13), which are ranged in staggered rows in exactly the same fashion as they are in the well-known velvets with carnations from Bursa, woven in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹²

The existence of certain motifs derived from the classical Ottoman art of the sixteenth century in village weaving of the nineteenth century certainly comes as no surprise, given the all-pervading influence of the Ottoman classical tradition, and its demonstrated impact on village embroidery, pile rug-weaving, and painted architectural decoration. The full extent of its impact upon the medium of flat-woven textiles has yet to be fully ascertained. It appears that the more malleable technique, that of brocading called *ciyim* ('jijim') in Turkey, was paradoxically less affected by the court style, while the more awkward technique of slit tapestry-weaving, the ubiquitous kilim, was profoundly affected by the earlier tradition. It remains however to distinguish among those kilims designs which trace their origins back to the classical style of the sixteenth century, and those *gül*, totemic, and textile-pattern designs which may be rooted in a much more distant past, and whose forms, however, provocative, may forever remain unexplained.

Notes

¹ The subject of the present article, presented in Munich at the Second International Conference on Oriental Carpets, was suggested by Hans König, to whom the author is deeply indebted.

² A. Landreau and W.R. Pickering, *From the Bosphorus to Samarkand: Flat-Woven Rugs* (Washington, D.C., 1969).

³ A. Riegl, *Altorientalische Teppiche* (Leipzig, 1891), and *Stilfragen* (Vienna, 1893).



11. Detail, field of *sejjadeh* kilim with spray of stylized tulips
Detail, Mittelfeld eines *Seccade*-Kilims mit einem Zweig stilisierter Tulpen
Private collection

⁴ D. Black, C. Loveless, et al., *The Undiscovered Kilim* (London, 1977).

⁵ Y. Petsopoulos, *Kilims* (Fribourg, forthcoming).

⁶ Cf. C.G. Ellis, *Early Caucasian Rugs* (Washington, D.C., 1975), and the article by Dr. M. Beattie, p.

⁷ K. Erdmann, *History of the Early Turkish Carpet* (London, 1977), p. 53.

⁸ Cf. W. Denny, 'Anatolian Rugs: An Essay on Method' in *Textile Museum Journal* III, 3 (1973).

⁹ Cf. W. Denny, *Oriental Rugs* (New York, 1979), figs. 14 and 26.

¹⁰ F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler)* (Ankara, 1972).

¹¹ Cf. R. Halsband, ed., *Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford, 1965), Vol. I, p. 388, where the carnation ('Caremfil') symbolizes inconstant love.

¹² Cf. Ş. Yetkin, 'Türk Kilim Sanatında Yeni bir Gurup Saray Kilimleri' in *Belleterin* XXXV, 138 (1971).

¹³ Cf. W. Denny, 'Ottoman Turkish Textiles' in *Textile Museum Journal* III, 3 (1972), figs. 4-11.

¹⁴ To be discussed in the forthcoming work *Kilims* by Y. Petsopoulos (Fribourg, 1980), as Group B under the rubric 'The Ottoman Style'.

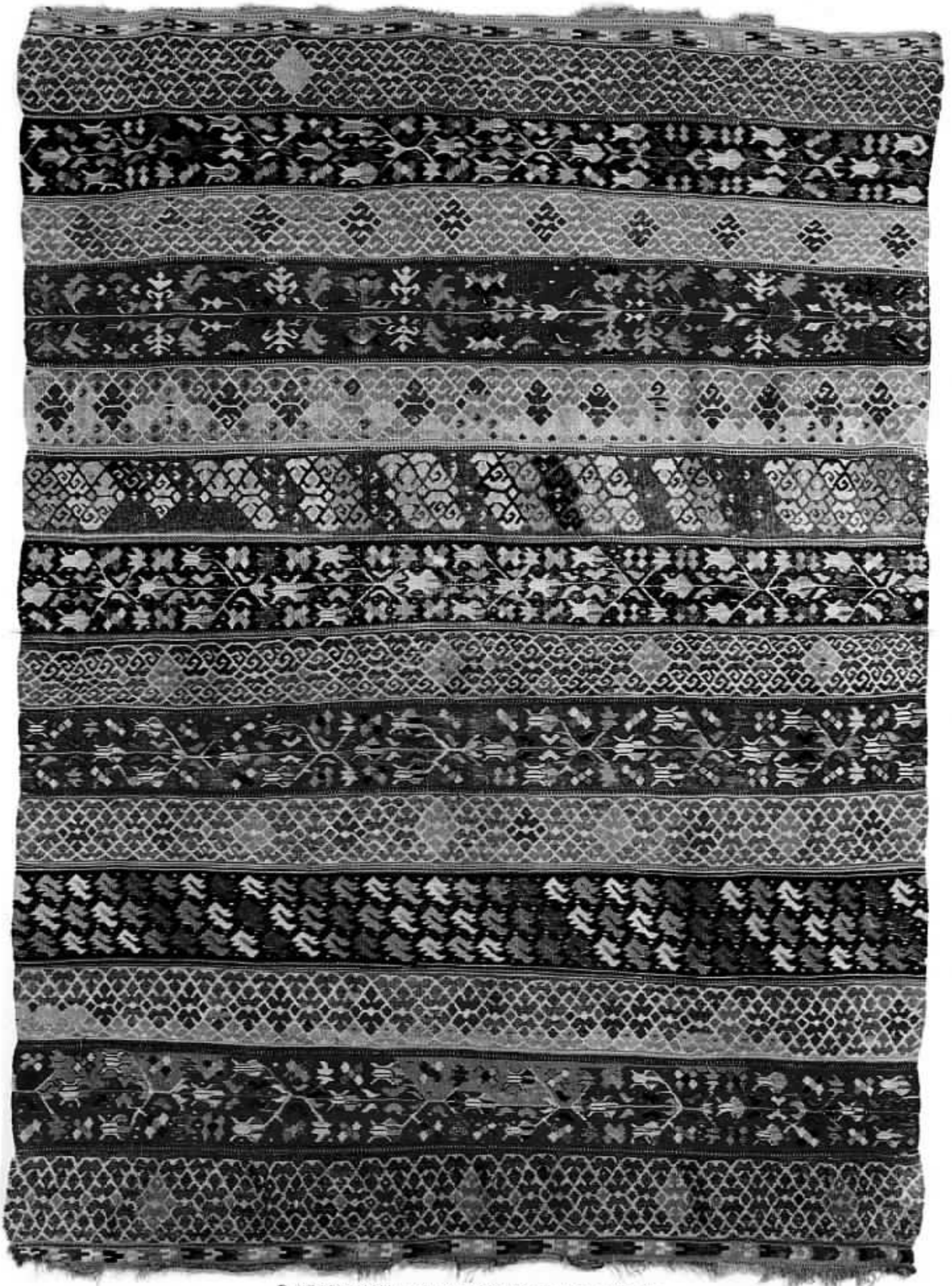
¹⁵ Cf. T. Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri II* (Istanbul, 1951), plates 110 and 111.



12. Detail of tile from tomb of Mustafa-yi Cedit, Bursa, Turkey, 1574 with carnation flower
Detail, Kachel vom Grab des Mustafa-yi Cedit, Bursa, Türkei, 1574, mit Nelke



13. Detail kilim rug with rows of stylised carnation flowers
Detail, Kilim mit Reihen stilisierter Nelken
Collection Mr. & Mrs. Alexandre Philon



Detail of band kilim with sprays of stylized tulips (cf. fig. 10)
Detail. Streifen-Kelim mit Zweigen stilisierter Tulpen (vgl. Abb. 10)
Neil Winterbottom Collection, London