

ANATOLIAN RUGS: AN ESSAY ON METHOD

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The passing of Joseph V. McMullan marks a great loss not only to the world of Oriental carpets, but to the study of Islamic art in general. Mr. McMullan was not only the foremost collector of carpets of his time, but his vital interest in Islamic art in all of its aspects made him an influential patron of scholarship. Above all, Mr. McMullan shared two great gifts with all who knew him either personally or through his writing. One was his enthusiasm for the beauty and variety of Oriental rugs; the other was his generous sharing of his many friends. The writer owes more than he could possibly express to the generosity and enthusiasm of Joseph McMullan, and it is to his memory that this essay is dedicated.

Ever since H. G. Dwight's witty essay entitled "Rug Books" there has been no shortage of criticism of the literature dealing with carpets of the Near East.¹ Interestingly enough, in few other areas dealing with the art of the Near East have scholarly criticisms been so little heeded or understood, and every year brings new examples of the type of literature regarded by Mr. Dwight as an excellent substitute for popular humor magazines. Much of the fault for the lack of impact of the criticism of rug literature appears to lie in that criticism itself, which all too frequently, as if by some magical process, absorbs some of the methodological deficiencies of its targets. It is thus with some trepidation that the present essay is undertaken, and the rather geometric nature of its structure is a consequence of extreme caution. While it focuses on Anatolian rugs, its conclusions, being methodological in nature, will hopefully have some impact on the broader purview of nineteenth- and twentieth-century rugs in general.

Rather than attempting to rectify specific terminological and geographic errors, which must by now number in the thousands, the present essay is concerned with the problems facing scholars in dealing with more recent carpets from Anatolia, in an effort to shed some light on their origins, their pictorial qualities, their symbolic content, and their art-historical context.

In addition, we will attempt to explore some of the resources available for study of the problems, and will suggest some possible future directions for scholarly activity taking into account the problems and resources. In order to do this, we might begin by breaking down the problems into their various components. There are a number of variables which have been used to classify rugs into the basic groups which form the primary data of art-historical research, and these have seldom been used with anything approaching scholarly rigor.

1. Provenance: Where was the rug made?
2. Dating: When was the rug made?
3. Technique: How was the rug made?
4. Use: Why was the rug made?
5. Style: How does the rug function as visual expression, and how does it relate visually to other rugs in time and space?
6. Iconography: What do the designs mean, and what is the historical context of designs and symbols?
7. Cost: What economic conditions influence the making of a rug?
8. Ethnic affinity: What cultural and ethnic factors influence the making of a rug; by and for what group of people was it created?

The immense diversity of Anatolia, the present-day Asiatic Turkey and for centuries a meeting-place of many cultures, adds immeasurably to the complexity of our attempts to answer these questions. Its demographic makeup varies from high concentrations of urban populations to vast unpopulated regions. Its climate and geography show extreme variations from the Mediterranean littoral areas to the mountainous plateaus of the central and eastern regions.

Ethnographically, Anatolia has been a melting-pot since the beginning of history, and Turk and Greek, Laz and Kurd, Armenian and Circassian, Arab and Jew formerly constituted the linguistic, ethnic, and cultural "mix" of Anatolia. Millennia of artistic traditions have gone into the formation of more recent art, and the lines of stylistic influence present in Anatolian art stretch south into Mesopotamia and Egypt, west into the Balkans, north into the Caucasus, and east through Iran and Central Asia into China, carrying with them a complicated admixture of symbols, signs, motifs, and pictorial representations, altered and mutated over the centuries by the impact of new ethnic and religious inputs.

There are two economic variables influencing the production of rugs in Anatolia.² One is the availability of raw materials, whether fibers (wool, hair, or cotton), dyestuffs and dyeing materials (encompassing firewood, alum, metal vessels, water, and mordants), and the accessibility and proclivity of labor to participate in the dyeing and weaving processes as well as the gathering of the requisite fibers. The other is the availability and influence of markets for the finished product, the completed rug. Such economic variables carry the further characteristics of mobility; wool, the basic material of most Anatolian rugs, is relatively abundant and cheap; it moves about either on four legs or in bales, seeking the less mobile dyeing technology, which depends on wood, metal, and plant material. Dyed wool likewise moves to the weaving populations, which themselves are frequently in motion due to political and economic pressures. Thus a Kurdish shepherd may shear his sheep, and sell the wool to an Armenian dyer after first having spun the yarn. The dyed wool may then move to a Turkish village where it is woven into rugs either reflecting the traditions of the village, or models dictated by an urban entrepreneur who keeps a close eye on European tastes. At the whim of the entrepreneur, the entire style of weaving in a particular village may change; alternately, a period of extended drought may cause the entire village to re-locate, carrying with it age-old stylistic traditions which must adjust to different kinds of colors and wool.³

In our basic and frequently mistaken presupposition of conservatism in weaving populations, we may ignore the influence of the economic variable. An age-old tradition may be obliterated overnight when broadloom suddenly becomes *de rigueur* in American living rooms, or when a new cement factory drastically alters the entire working patterns of a village or district. Certain districts in Anatolia appear to have come under the influence of a system of cottage industries by the second half of the nineteenth century, which greatly facilitated the introduction of chemical dyes and other dubious benefits of the industrial age.⁴

The result, for anyone attempting to deal with the origins and history of nineteenth-century rug-weaving in Anatolia, is a nightmare, and yet no single sector of carpet study, whether art-historical or anthropological, can solve the problems inherent to the discipline without articulating

fully all of these variables. Furthermore, given the great range of reliability of the enormous masses of published material presently existing on Anatolian rugs (most of it unfortunately near the infrared end of the spectrum), a serious attempt to produce a reliable series of conclusions on Anatolian rugs must start with the premise that no "traditional knowledge", no matter how venerable, can be accepted *a priori* without a thorough examination of its genesis. One cannot do research on more recent Oriental rugs in a library. It is becoming increasingly difficult to break new ground by working in the few museum collections which have significant numbers of such rugs; in so doing we often end up perpetuating old myths, or even worse, originating new ones. The problems facing scholarship, then, are quite clear, and it is immediately apparent that they are difficult problems indeed. As a folk art, albeit with strong ties to "fine art" traditions, these Oriental rugs were created anonymously, without much in the way of supporting documentary evidence, in an extremely complex milieu in the Anatolian peninsula.

Our resources for the answers to these problems are unfortunately not as abundant as the problems themselves. We must realize at the outset that many important questions may never be answered in the empirical sense, but must be resolved by the substitute means of sound art-historical hypotheses. Two main bodies of resources exist for the study of Anatolian rugs: one may be termed for the sake of convenience the "traditional data", whose origins will probably remain in large part obscure, the other may be termed the "empirical data", that which can be derived from present-day observation.

The first and most obvious "empirical" data is technical information about the construction and composition of rugs. Technical analysis of a rug provides us with information about the material used, the types of colors employed, and the manner in which a rug was put together. Basic technical data on a rug includes information on the type and quality of fibers, the ply and spin characteristics of the various yarns used, the density of the knotting and the type of knot, and the finishing of the edges and ends. Such practices tend to be localized; that is, particular technical characteristics tend to reflect certain local traditions passed from mother to daughter, themselves affected by the many facets of the local weaving environment. Thus the availability of lustrous wool may dictate a longer pile and a coarser weave; proximity to urban markets may dictate larger dimensions and tighter weave suitable for floor rugs; the local measure of the value of the rug may stress the quantity and weight of wool employed, or it may stress the value of the labor expended, positing a different sort of technique. The value of technical data is that it provides an absolutely verifiable means of putting rugs into groups. It is the grouping of rugs, whether according to age, provenance, or any other factor, which provides the basic art-historical building blocks enabling us to answer questions about any particular rug, and about the changing of designs through history.

The chief problems with technical data are two. As we mentioned, techniques are mobile with populations, and can be taught to new labor forces by entrepreneurs; thus technical affinities within a group do not necessarily posit geographical affinities although they are often quite useful in this respect. Second, despite a recent rise in the practice of publishing technical data in catalogue-type publications on more recent Oriental rugs, there is as yet no standard form of notation shared in common by scholars, nor is there a uniform terminology. Further, as with all such data, there is the relatively minor problem of the reliability of the individual analysis, and the individual analyst.

The second group of resource data, that which forms the basis of the vast majority of writings on rugs to this date, is the visual data of style and form. The design of a rug is perhaps along with its color spectrum the most obvious indication of the group to which it belongs, and the visual languages of style and form tells us at a glance many things about the rug. However, no data are more prone to abuse or misinterpretation in the hands of an untrained researcher.

To utilize visual data most effectively, one relies upon knowledge of systematized formal analysis, and the mechanisms of influence and stylization. Formal analysis is simply a careful and systematic description, but such description must utilize a shared terminology, which in publication should where possible be accompanied in close proximity by an adequate reproduction of the carpet. Two individuals may describe a border in different ways: one may refer to a recent terminology of dubious origin in the words "wine-cup border" (Fig. 1), while the other, using sounder art-historical terminology which however is less widely shared among readers, may discuss a "stylized tulip-and-leaf border." For the sake of art-historical accuracy, the latter terminology is preferable, if only because it recognizes the fact that many recent Anatolian rug designs are lineal descendants of much earlier forbears whose designs were created on paper cartoons by court artists. On

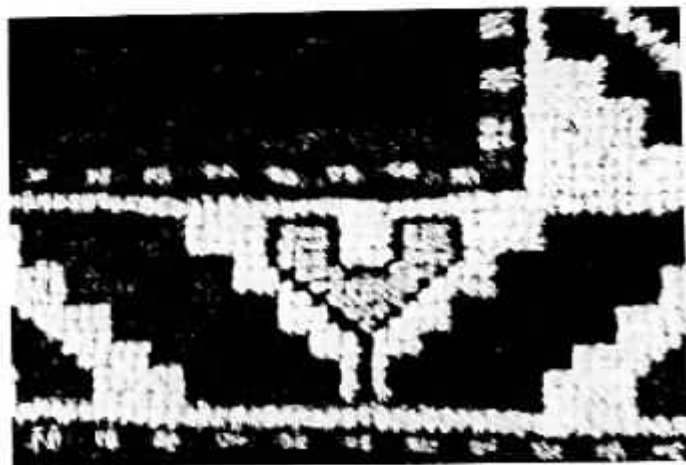


Fig. 1. So-called "wine-cup" border design, formed of stylized floral and leaf forms, from an eastern Anatolian rug. Private collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

the other hand, the term "wine-cup border" is a term of convenience; the design was not intended to represent a wine cup, and the weaver had never seen a wine cup.

The mechanism of stylization, once it is understood, helps us to bring new insights into our description of the visual impact of rugs. Stylization involves the successive mutation, over time, of the forms constituting the vocabulary of rug decoration. The prototype rugs were frequently court carpets, woven with great care from curvilinear designs, and which utilized a very fine knotting to translate those designs into the essentially graph paper format of knotted rugs. These rugs were copied, and the copies were in turn copied many times over the centuries, and the general pattern of stylization observable in Anatolian rugs shows the slow assertion of the rectilinear nature of the weaving medium over the curvilinear aspect of the original design.⁵ Forms become progressively more geometric, and as the weave of the rug becomes coarser and control over the weaving less strict, the unsophisticated village weaver may misunderstand the original from which she copies, or attempt to "improve" upon it in ways which substantially change its character. The process of stylization tends to occur in progressive stages over time, and thus the relationship of a series of rugs to a prototype may suggest a chronological relationship among the rugs within the series.

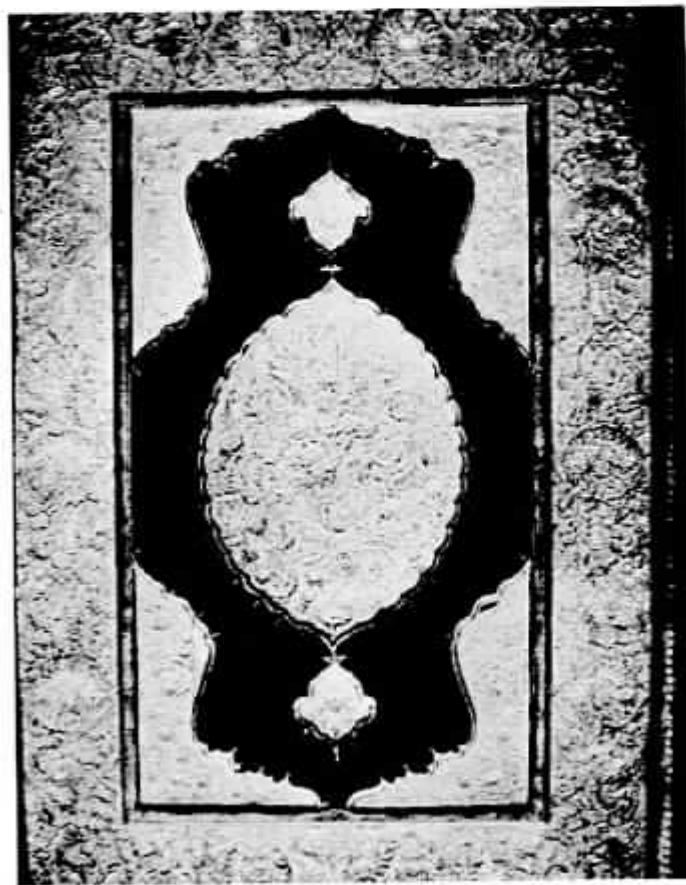


Fig. 2. Ottoman sixteenth-century book-binding, central medallion and spandrels. From the *Süleyman-name*, Topkapı Museum, İstanbul, Hazine 1517. Courtesy Topkapı Museum.

Similarly, the process of stylization may take a specific direction in a specific locale, and thus certain types of stylized forms may be peculiar to a particular village or a particular tribal group. Two ends of the chain of stylization can be seen clearly in the comparison between a sixteenth-century book binding (Fig. 2) and a much later village rug (Fig. 3), which preserves the outlines of the prototype while showing its own charming idiosyncrasies and permutations of the original. Nowhere is the process of stylization better seen than in the motif of the most beloved of all Turkish flowers, the tulip or *lale*. It first appears on tiles and textiles in the sixteenth century, in a variety of easily recognizable forms, and by 1600 had been incorporated with curved leaves and palmettes into the borders of one of the best-known Ottoman court carpets. Its evolution over the centuries always kept a relationship with the prototype, even as it became progressively more geometric in nature, eventually reaching an abstract fork-like form. (Figs. 4, 5, 6, 7)

The tulip is a pictorial symbol, tracing its lineage back to an attempt to depict in recognizable form a specific type of flower, in a direct and relatively uncomplicated manner. Much of the highly romanticized interpretation of forms in the more recent rugs, including our familiar "wine cup",



Fig. 4. Tulip flanked by two leaves, painted on tile made in İsnik. From the mosque of Rustem Pasha, İstanbul, ca. 1560.



Fig. 5. Tulip flanked by two leaves, in border of Ottoman prayer rug woven in A.D. 1610. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin.



Fig. 3. Anatolian village rug, central medallion and spandrels. From the Great Mosque in Divriği.



Fig. 6. Tulip flanked by two leaves, in border of nineteenth-century rug of traditional "Lâdik" provenance. Textile Museum Collection, Washington, D.C.

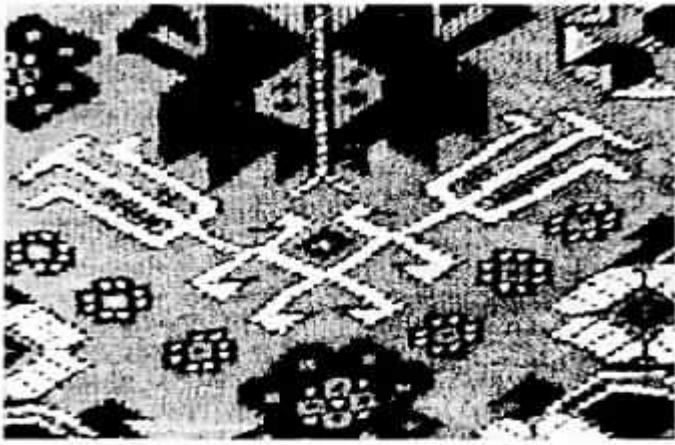


Fig. 7. Two stylized tulips, in field of early twentieth-century rug of traditional "Yağcıbedir" provenance. Private collection, Amherst, Massachusetts.

is easily discredited by the art-historian with a knowledge of the antecedents of the forms, and a knowledge of the intermediary stages in the process of stylization.

Some pictorial symbols, however, do not have as uncomplicated a lineage as the tulip. One of the most frequently encountered in Anatolian rugs is the so-called "palmette", a complicated and stylized representation of a lotus flower derived ultimately from China. There are no lotus flowers



Fig. 8. Drawing of a palmette with "cockade" buds. Third quarter of sixteenth century, from an Ottoman album, Topkapı Museum, İstanbul, Hazine 2147. Courtesy Topkapı Museum.

in Anatolia, and it is unlikely that the sixteenth-century Ottoman court artists who adapted the form from Ming blue-and-white porcelain and from Iranian second-generation descendants actually understood the meaning of the form, let alone its wealth of Chinese symbolic referents. The palmette (Figs. 8, 9) was modified in Islamic art into a genre known as the "hatayi" mode of decoration (literally "from Cathay") which utilized the palmette in conjunction with stylized leaves to create a remarkably mobile and tactile type of design. The leaf and palmette together form the basis of the so-called *Herati* design of Persian rugs, and appear in village rugs from nineteenth-century Anatolia with great frequency. Stylization of the palmette and leaf have led to some astonishing terms for rugs woven on the high plateau, of which "crab" and "fish" are among the more illogical in these waterless areas.

The palmette, leaf (Figs. 10, 11), and tulip are then pictorial symbols, only a small part of the immense pictorial vocabulary of Anatolian rug design. Due to the traditional Islamic proscription of human and animal forms, the great bulk of Anatolian rug forms appear to be derived from herbal and floral pictorial antecedents. Another major category of pictorial symbolism involves architectural images. The rectangular nature of most rugs suggests in itself an affinity with architecture, and the function of

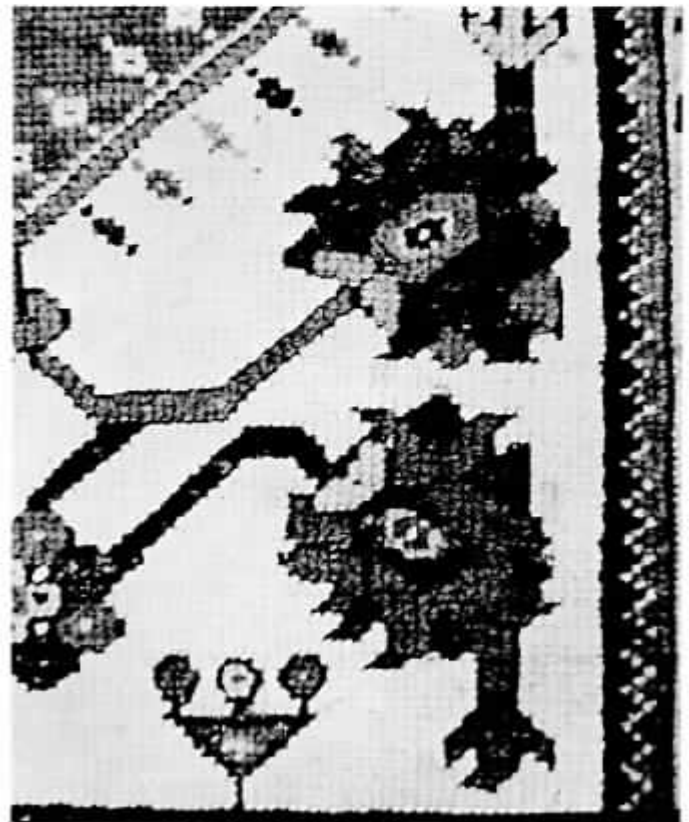


Fig. 9. Two stylized palmettes with "cockade" buds, from field of nineteenth-century rug of traditional "Milâs" provenance. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Stuart, Jr., Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.



Fig. 10. Leaf from a mid-sixteenth century silk robe of an Ottoman sultan. Topkapı Museum, İstanbul, Inv. 2/303. Courtesy Topkapı Museum.

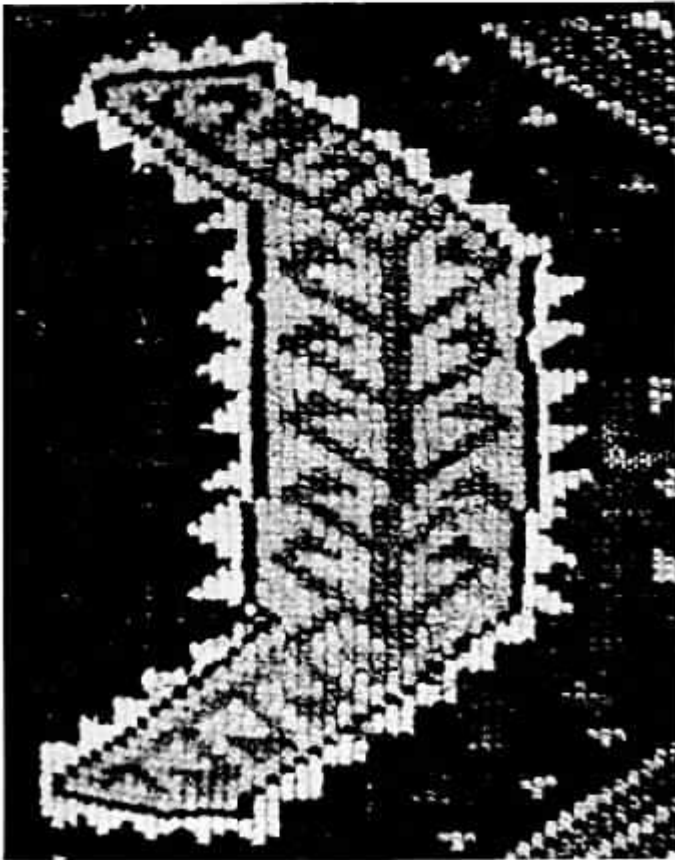


Fig. 11. Stylized leaf from a twentieth-century central Anatolian rug. Private collection, Amherst, Massachusetts.

many rugs, that of floor covering, is in effect architectural in nature. Scholars have demonstrated that certain types of rugs, among them large medallion carpets, carry associations connecting them with symbols of kingship and sovereignty, associations traced through the relation of the medallion to the architectural form of the dome.⁶ The most familiar architectural depiction in Anatolian rugs, however, is the *mihrab* or prayer niche in the wall of a mosque which faces Mecca; the depiction of the *mihrab*, quite naturally, is most frequently seen on rugs whose size and shape makes them suitable as the requisite clean place upon which Moslems must prostrate themselves during prayer. The *mihrab* as an architectural form in Anatolia is usually flanked by columns, which are clearly shown in



Fig. 12. Tiled *mihrab* with depiction of hanging lamp, around 1421. From the mosque of Mehmet I, Bursa.

some of the earlier Ottoman prayer rugs. Verses in the Koran also associate a hanging glass oil lamp with the *mihrab*, and such lamps are also frequently seen within the *mihrab* on Anatolian rugs. (Figs. 12, 13) The popularity of the *seccade* or prayer rug in Anatolia has furnished us with an enormous number of such rugs, in which the evolution and stylization of the architectural form is clearly seen.

In addition to pictorial symbols, there are other visual forms with or without symbolic content in Anatolian rugs of potential use to us in our dealing with the problems of scholarship. These are of two types: forms descended from abstract symbols with no "real-life" counterpart corresponding to our tulip flowers, and forms which appear to have formed purely as a response to the technical characteristics of rug weaving.

The former, which might arbitrarily be called "abstract" or "ideational" symbols, represent *ideas* without necessarily representing real *things*. A familiar example is the design consisting of three circles, sometimes accompanied by a double wavy line, called *çintamani*, (Figs. 14-15) which, although appearing in Turkish art from the early fifteenth century onward, traces its ultimate origins back to Chinese symbolism. When such forms appear in more recent Anatolian rugs, however, they have undergone not only a vis-

ual transformation in the process of stylization, but also have undergone a change in meaning. Evidence presently available indicates that the weavers of such Anatolian rugs had no idea of the Chinese symbolic referents of the form; instead, they gave them names calling upon pictorial referents, of which one of the most obvious would be animal skins such as spotted leopard-skins or striped tiger-skins.⁷ More often than not, the new pictorial referents used to name the foreign forms were familiar to the weaver, and thus a particular form may have different names in different parts of Turkey. More frequently, the urban dealer, in seeking to make "fine art" out of "folk art" would invent a name for the form from a referent in his more sophisticated milieu. The villager's "striped rug" or "dotted rug" thus became the "lips of the Buddha" or even a "pawnbroker's rug."

This is not a process particular to recent times, but a constant art-historical process. The *çintamani* form was adopted as a dynastic symbol by Timur in the late fourteenth century, appearing on his coins.⁸ The stripes were adopted,



Fig. 13. Eighteenth-century *saf* rug of traditional "Uşak" provenance, with design of *mihrab* and hanging lamp. Private collection, İstanbul.

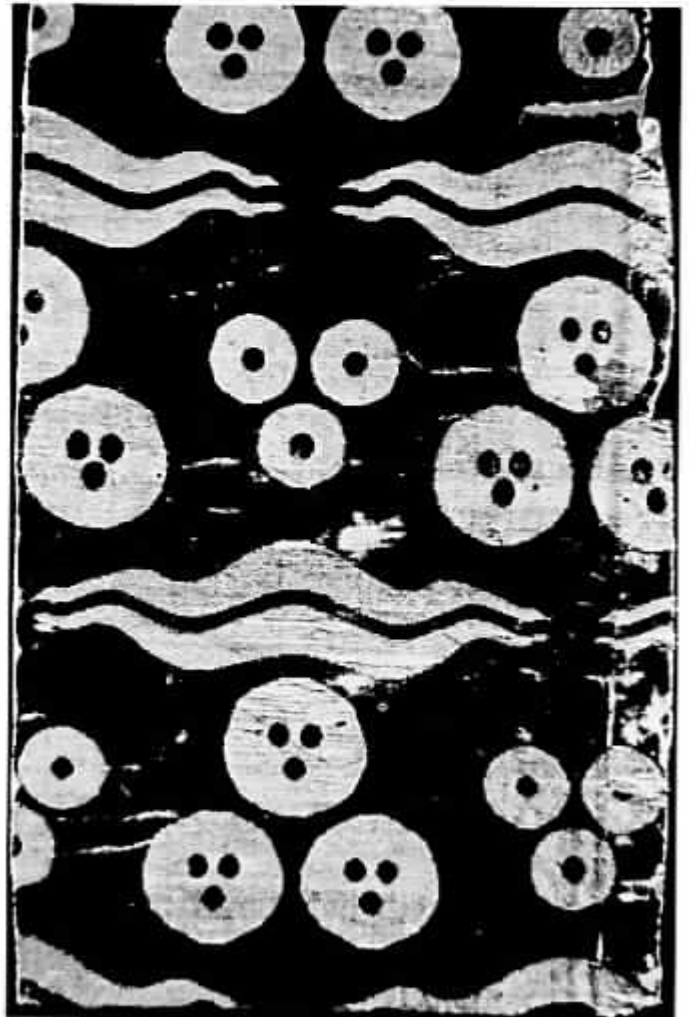


Fig. 14. *Çintamani* and stripe decorations on a late-fifteenth century velvet fragment from a robe. Textile Museum Collection, Washington, D.C. 1.44

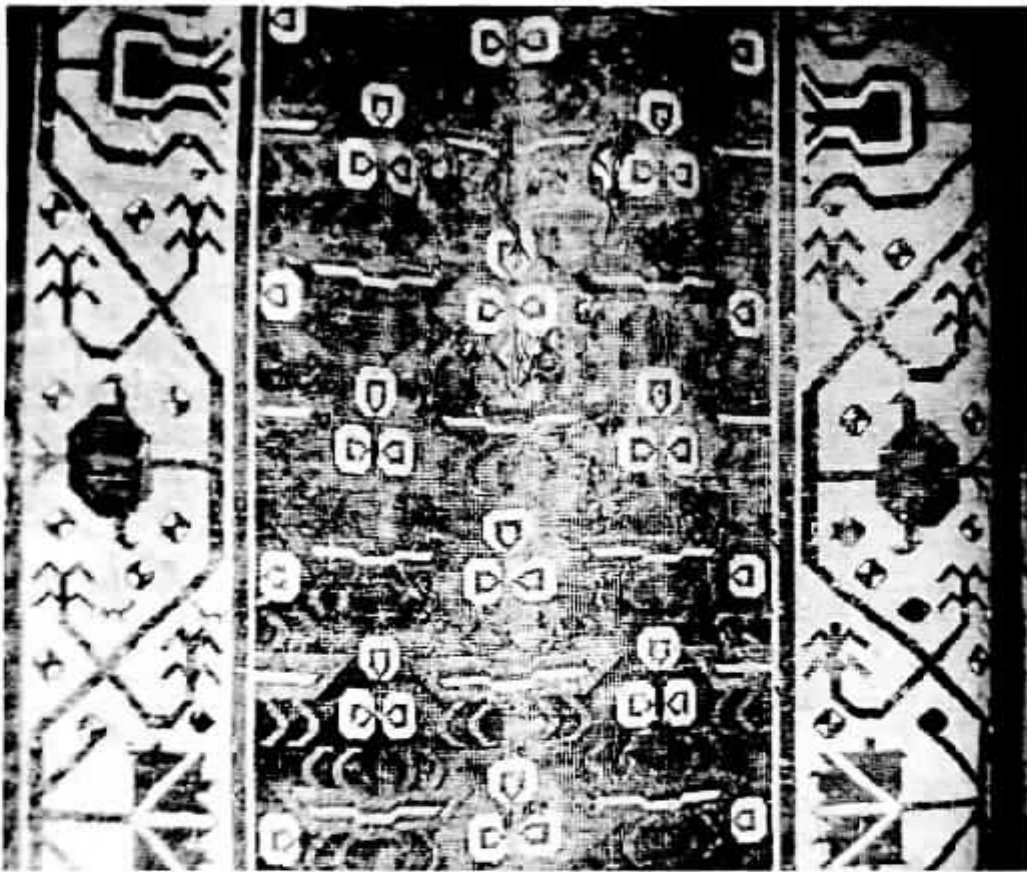


Fig. 15. *Çintamani* and stripe decorations on a rug found in Konya, from the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in İstanbul, Inv. 677. Courtesy Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art.

sometimes with the spots, by fifteenth-century miniature painters to show the tiger-skin coat described in Firdausi's *Shah-Nameh* as belonging to the hero Rustam.⁹ Rustam's image as a hero undoubtedly contributed to the popularity of the design in sixteenth-century Turkey as a textile design for robes designed for court officials, and its incorporation in that century in large court rugs.¹⁰ The court rugs in turn influenced the humble Anatolian rugs, whose share in the original exalted symbolism is probably non-existent. The problem for carpet study arises when we are confronted with the late village rug and are asked to discuss its meaning and relevance in terms of the milieu in which it was created. To discuss the form in the context of its original Chinese meaning seems to say very little about the genesis of the rug in question, although there appear to be some scholarly grounds for assuming that the original meaning remained tenaciously attached to the symbol during its many mutations and peregrinations over the centuries. In general, however symbolic language, like all languages, has a syntax, vocabulary, and morphology subject to mutation into "dialects" and even new "languages."¹¹ To understand the meaning of the Anatolian rug's vocabulary of forms in its own context would appear to be the task of the cultural anthropologist as much as that of the art historian.

A third type of form seen in Anatolian rugs is one which, in its origins at least, may be hypothesized to be entirely without any pictorial or abstract symbolic referents. This is that group of forms which, in their simple geometric combinations, appear to result purely from the demands and restrictions of the weaving technique itself. The much-remarked similarities between certain Anatolian *kilim* flat-woven rugs and the so-called "blankets" woven by the Navajo in the south-west of America do not mean that there is an historical relationship between the two, or that a form identical to both cultures has the same meaning; rather, it is logical to suppose that given the four-square nature of the technique, certain basic and totally abstract forms might evolve independently. It is the opinion of this writer that the vast bulk of simple geometric forms found in Anatolian rugs derive ultimately from the weaver's improvisations within the demands of the technique in an attempt to seek variety in design, although this opinion is certainly not upheld by all scholars in the field.¹² Such forms as the "latch hook" and the not-infrequent imitations in pile rugs of the "notching" necessary to hold a flat-woven kilim together, together with certain overall geometric patterns, would seem, following this "principle of the least resistance", to originate then in the medium, and not in any attempt rather to depict a thing or an idea.

Our third set of resources deals with the matter of provenance. Information on provenance falls into two categories, the so-called "traditional" provenances long current in both the rug market and the scholarly world, and, more recently the results of on-site research in the villages of Anatolia. The traditional provenance information is based largely on visual information; we recognize a "Lâdik" rug by its distinctive border, the particular colors associated with the name, and by a row of tulip flowers above the *mihrab* on prayer rugs. Recently, we have also associated with rugs of the "Lâdik" type a particular corrugated type of construction due to the warps lying on two different levels. "Gördes", "Kula", "Kırşehir", "Mucur", and "Milâs" rugs are similarly recognized according to their technique, color scheme and distinctive types of borders and field decorations. The "traditional" provenance information, used without reference to technical information, is subject to pitfalls, however, as many an owner of a "Gördes" rug has begun to discover with the emergence of information that rugs in this design were woven in areas from Basra to Bandırma to Bucharest. The problem with the "traditional" provenance information is basically that once we have established by a combination of stylistic and technical evidence that a certain group of "Lâdik" or "Gördes" rugs belongs together, we may still have no reliable information that the group itself was actually woven in the location implied by its name, as these areas frequently no longer produce weaving similar either in style or in technique to the "traditional" groups, and documentation as to the origins of the older rugs is virtually non-existent.

While we should not dismiss the "traditional" provenances (and indeed the traditional terminology is all we have to call the groups), we can verify them to some extent by a variety of new approaches presently available to the trained scholar. The cataloguing, photographing, and analysis of rugs found in local mosques throughout Anatolia can, with elementary statistical analysis, provide a pattern at least of distribution of rug types across Anatolia, which may cast some light on provenance. While this information in many cases reflects quite recent rug production, it sometimes provides useful historical data as well. This type of research requires not only the requisite linguistic skills and knowledge of local customs necessary for the on-site research itself, but a relatively sophisticated command of both art-historical and statistical methodology in order to interpret the results. In the recent literature on Anatolian rugs there is only one example of such a study, but it is reasonable to hope that the volume of such studies may increase in the future.

Another type of research giving information not only on provenance but in many cases on dating as well involves the productive use of the small amounts of documentary material available. The Islamic practice of *vakıf* (Arabic-*waqf*) or "pious endowments", and gifts to mosques and other religious institutions was frequently documented in the past by written records; it is occasionally possible to associate a particular rug or group of rugs with a document recording the date of donation to a mosque. In addition,

beginning in the early part of this century, the Turkish Directorate of Pious Foundations began gathering from mosques around the country many of the finest and oldest rugs, which were recorded and inventoried as part of its museum, now the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in İstanbul. However, such information may cast more smoke than light in particular situations, as it becomes quite apparent that not only did rugs show a remarkable propensity to travel, but occasionally a large rug was divided into pieces and distributed among several mosques. The formation in recent years of a new Museum of Pious Foundations in İstanbul, which has to this date collected several thousand more recent rugs from mosques around the country, provides a new centralized and accessible mass of data to rug scholars, which it is hoped may soon be opened to scrutiny by the community of scholars from around the world.¹³

Archival and museum inventory information is not the only form of written evidence casting light, however colored, on matters of dating and provenance. On an infrequent basis Anatolian weavers included dates in the designs of rugs themselves. (Fig. 16) Sometimes these dates were undoubtedly accurate, reflecting the time of weaving of the rug, while at other times an illiterate weaver merely copied the date from an earlier prototype. In some comparatively recent rugs, we find inscriptions using Greek or Armenian alphabets, and dates using the Christian rather than the Islamic enumeration. This is not in itself an indication either that the rugs themselves were woven by Greeks or Armenians, or that the designs of the rugs pertain to Greek or Armenian art traditions, although they may indicate that the rugs were woven under the order or patronage of the Anatolian Greek or Armenian communities. In a similar way, inclusion of inscriptions in Persian or Arabic does not necessarily mean that the rugs were either woven or used by Persians or Arabs; Persian was the high literary language of the Ottoman Empire for centuries, and Arabic remains to this day the theological language of Islam, its formulas and prayers appropriate to rugs intended for use in prayer or in a mosque, or for inscriptions used to ward off the envy of the evil eye and malicious spirits in all Islamic countries.

The fourth potential resource for answers to the problems we have posed is the availability of human resources, individuals who from direct personal experience are able to communicate information of interest to the historian of art. Senior members of the carpet trade have proven perhaps the most significant formulators of the "traditional" provenances, as well as some of the traditional nomenclature for symbolism. There are also older weavers in the Middle East who can cast light on art-historical problems. The question of reliability of these resources is a complicated one, due to many reasons. A rug dealer in the Near East, when asked for information about a particular rug, is motivated not only by his wish to sell the rug at an advantageous price, but by the feeling that his prestige and repu-

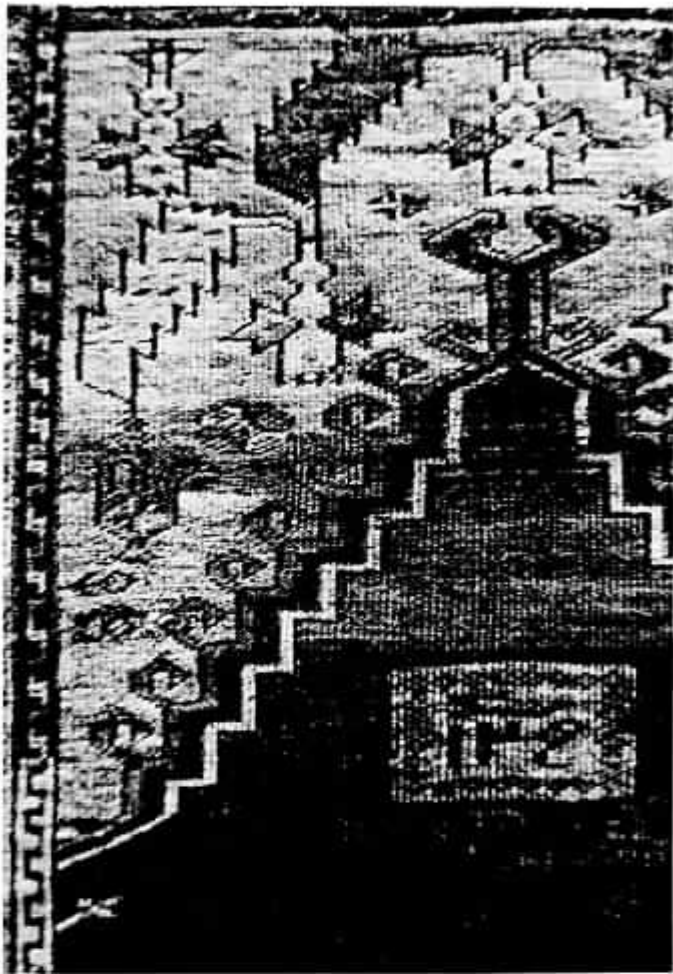


Fig. 16. Dated inscription in *mihrab* of rug of traditional "Lâdik" provenance. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Stuart, Jr., Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

tation may hinge on his ability to give an answer expected of him. The two edges of this situation are sometimes amusing, when one discovers rugs with perfectly fanciful names, or when an American collector in perfect seriousness informs one that his rug comes from Pelengi or from Bilmem ("striped" in Persian and "I don't know" in Turkish). The prestige of certain well-known names means that a rug with such a name commands a higher market value, undoubtedly accounting for the large number of "Lâdik" rugs which in no way resemble those traditionally assigned to this provenance. However, it cannot be overemphasized that the human resources can still provide the serious scholar with a great deal of data, and the reliability of this data, while occasionally questionable, can prove in the aggregate to be enormously valuable.

The matter of utilization of these resources is becoming more and more pressing, as there are now very few individuals alive with important first-hand knowledge of the carpet trade in the early years of this century, when many of the nineteenth century rugs began to emerge from their villages around Turkey. It is an unhappy thought to consider how much important knowledge of rugs has dis-

appeared without ever having been recorded in a systematic manner, through the death of so many older dealers and weavers in comparatively recent times.

The four basic categories of resource material we have outlined have serious questions of reliability, verifiability, and accessibility. These resources do not in themselves constitute answers to any of the problems mentioned at the beginning of this essay, but properly used and evaluated, they do provide us with the kind of basic data necessary to find our way out of the wilderness of our present state of knowledge. I would like in the second part of this essay to propose some outlines for future research, and for the maximally efficient use of the available data.

I Toward a Uniform and Meaningful Terminology

Finding names and terms with which to characterize the provenance, design, symbolism, technique, and style of rugs would seem to be an important prerequisite for communication of knowledge, and the evolution of a widely-accepted uniform terminology must rank as one of the first tasks of scholarship. Coupled with this matter is the need for a uniform type of spelling, and a distinction between terms which describe a rug's origin, those which describe its design, those which describe its function, and those which describe its size. The fact that we are dealing with several foreign languages, many of which do not use the Latin alphabet of European languages, further complicates this problem.

To illuminate this problem, let us take the terms *namazlık*, *mezarlık*, and *seccade*, spelled here in their modern Turkish form, where the undotted I is pronounced roughly as the double o in "look", and the c is pronounced as the j in "jack". The Turkish suffix -lık (whose vowel changes to harmonize with the vowel immediately preceding it) makes an abstract noun out of any noun. *Namaz*, the Arabic word for prayer used in all Islamic countries, when provided with the Turkish suffix, creates the word "pertaining to prayer." A *namazlık* is therefore a rug whose form, suggesting the *mihrab* niche in a mosque, and whose size, about four by six feet, suggest its appropriateness to being used as a ground covering on which the Islamic prayer might be performed. In fact, this term is a modern and synthetic term, and the more generally-used terminology for such rugs is *seccade*, a word of Arabic origin deriving from the term for the act of prostration in prayer, but whose common usage in Turkey describes the size rather than the function of the rug, regardless of whether the *mihrab* form is present or not.

Another term used for certain prayer rugs is *mezarlık*, which changes the Arabic word for "grave" (*mezar*) into a Turkish word meaning "cemetery." The origin of this term as a rug name stems from the depiction of cypress trees on such rugs; cypress trees are traditionally associated in Anatolia with cemeteries, where they are planted and where their form is carved on gravestones, but the design in Ottoman Turkish art has a long lineage in stone-carving, textiles, ceramics, and miniature painting, independent of this association with

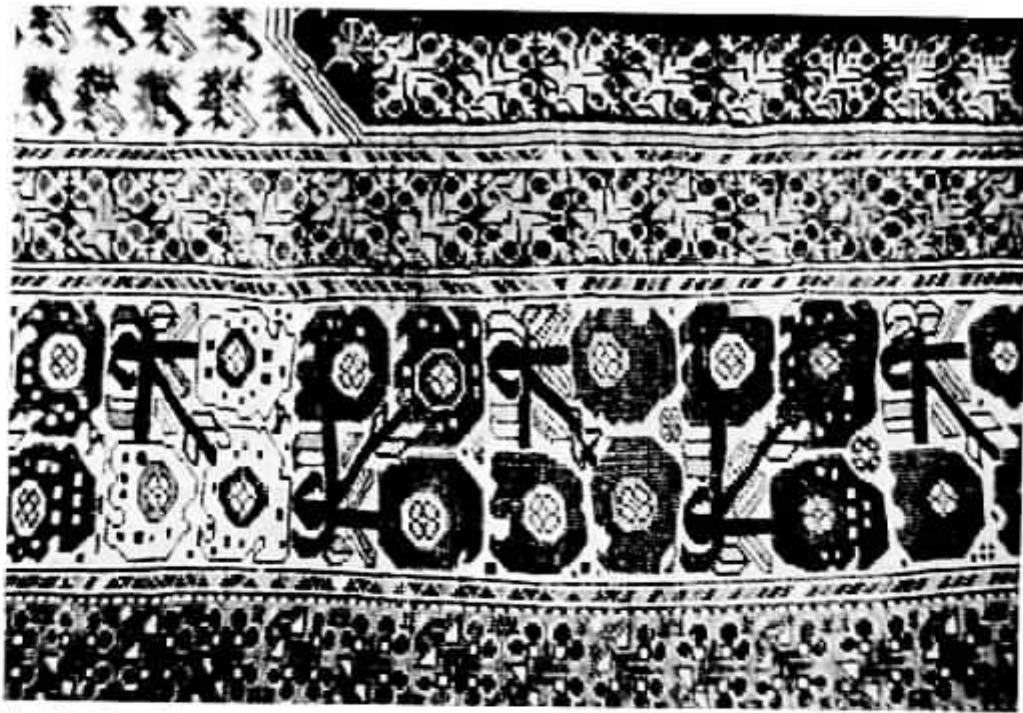


Fig. 17. So-called "elmali" or "apple" border from rug of traditional "Gördes" provenance. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Stuart, Jr., Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

death. The use of the term to describe a particular form of prayer rug appears to have arisen in the rug trade, where it was embroidered with a symbolism in all probability absent in the mind of the weaver or in the origins of the use of the motif in rugs. The potential for confusion of this third term with the first two, combined with its dubious origins, would suggest that it is not a viable or useful art-historical term.

Unlike Arabic or Persian, which are written in the Arabic alphabet and thus require transliteration into English, modern Turkish utilizes a phonetic Latin alphabet almost unique in its simplicity and clarity and, despite the presence of a few letters whose pronunciation or form differs slightly from letters in use in English, it would greatly simplify the literature were terms dealing with Anatolian rugs to be spelled in their modern Turkish form. To those who complain that the result is too "scholarly" for popular consumption (an argument reminiscent of that which argues that the presence of footnotes in a journal intimidates the reader), the inevitable reply is that perhaps a move toward a bit more scholarly rigor could benefit all who wish to learn about oriental rugs. A century of rug books has proven that catering to so-called popular tastes and prejudices in ostensibly scholarly literature can create an almost insuperable burden for any individual seeking to acquire knowledge about rugs, and if the end of nonsense means an additional serious effort required of even the most casual reader, perhaps it is time that such an effort should begin. The accompanying table of terms and place-names in their modern Turkish form is offered as a basic resource, albeit a far from complete one, for future scholarship.¹⁴

One more example of the type of confusion engendered by the accretion of symbolism to a purely synthetic term is the word *elmali*, used to characterize the borders on certain rugs of traditional "Gördes" provenance. (Fig. 17) The suffix *-li* in Turkish, when added to the word *elma* or "apple", gives us the term "provided with apples" or even "apple-y". Before we go ahead to discuss the symbolic referents of apples, their crispness, sweetness, purity, and perhaps even their association with a restful and indolent way of life, it is wise to remember that these "apples" are in fact stylized flowers derived from much earlier sixteenth-century forms, and thus the discussion of the "meaning" of the apples is meaningless. In the village where the rugs were woven, the form might have been called an apple, a pomegranate, a lemon, or even in more recent times a soccerball: in this case, the art-historical problem and the anthropological problem exist more or less independently of one another.

II Toward a Determination of Use and Social Content

The emergence in the twentieth century of the discipline of cultural anthropology has begun to provide a vast new area of knowledge about the societies and cultures which produced rugs, which helps us to place rugs in a social context. Most of us are familiar with some of the functions of rugs in their original context. Rugs formed the basic furnishings of nomad tents, provided the "clean place" specified in Islamic tradition for the performance of ritual prayers, and have from early times served as a symbol of

wealth and as a substitute for money. Anatolian rugs, woven largely in villages, preserved local traditions of use, style and construction, just as the Türkmen rugs of Central Asia actually symbolized the family or tribal unit in which the rugs were woven. Rugs were used in place of money for the dowries of young girls, whose value as wives was based not on the more ephemeral current values of appearance and personality, but upon their health and weaving abilities, considerations more consonant with the needs of village existence.

Moreover, the implicit goals of modern social science's search for immutable principles hold some promise that study of fast-disappearing nomadic and village traditions in the present may cast some considerable light on their existence in the past. Understanding the work of folk art in context is vital. The fine art of courts, kings, and upper classes is provided with a context by written history and its interpretation; that of unlettered villagers is more vitally linked to the new discoveries of cultural anthropologists, who are faced with a steady ebbing of resources for study with the advance of technological "progress" in rug-weaving areas. There has been too little emphasis in rug scholarship on the cross-disciplinary aspect of mutual scholarly effort, and the time for cooperation in the Anatolian scene is at hand, before the resources disappear completely.

III The "Principles of Least Resistance" in Interpretation

There will undoubtedly be many differences of opinion among scholars with regard to the meaning of particular forms and symbols in Anatolian rugs. Two divergent types of opinions exist in this respect; on the one hand, there are those who prefer to interpret symbols in Anatolian rugs in a pan-Asiatic sense, pointing to the origins of many of the motifs of Islamic art in the complex symbolism of China and India. On the other, there are those who stress the rich indigenous cultural traditions of Asia Minor, and who seek the origins and meanings of forms in the ancient civilizations existing there before the advent of Islam.

The search for meaning is an essential and integral part of the art-historical discipline, and will continue to form an important aspect of carpet study. Given the complications of the published heritage, however, there are two types of distinctions which should be made with regard to the interpretation of symbols in Anatolian rugs. The first is to distinguish between the original set of meanings attached to the form, and the possible meaning the form may have had at the time and place of creation. In so doing, we may avoid the ascription of an entire series of fine-art meanings to a work of folk art the understanding of which depends more on its qualities of color, line, and intended function than it does on a metaphysical superstructure foreign to the village in which the rug was woven. The second is to distinguish between speculative ascriptions of meaning, based on a similarity, however vague, between a form appearing in an Anatolian village rug and a much older fine-art form, and the ascription of meaning based

upon a firm knowledge of the intermediate vectors by which the form and its meaning traveled through space and time. A crude nineteenth-century Anatolian rug depicting in almost unrecognizable form a column-*mihrab*, or in which the column-*mihrab* form has been modified into a field with four spandrels, can be understood because we possess examples showing the progressive stylization of the forms. However, to ascribe to a large repeating-field design of small geometric forms a metaphysical oriental symbolism without specifying vectors, or by speculating, as we do on the history of carpets before the fourteenth century, upon the lost weavings of bygone ages, is a riskier business.¹⁵ In such matters, the writer's personal preference is to follow the line of least resistance, in making the simpler assumption that certain basic geometric forms result from the nature of the weaving technique itself, with its inherent simplicity and tendency to favor simple geometric forms which compensate in their visual impact for the lack of a symbolic superstructure.

Two further examples of such a line of reasoning may be mentioned, in reference to two very familiar myths surrounding Anatolian village rugs. One of these is the myth of the "intentional flaw", the one deliberate mistake in design made by the weaver in order not to usurp the divine function of making perfect things, or to avoid the envy of evil spirits. This myth has been given much credence in the trade, undoubtedly as a response to customers accustomed to the perfectly-planned Persian compound rugs, who found the awkward corner adjustments and minor hiatuses in design of village and nomad rugs mildly disconcerting. Were there only one discernable flaw to be found in each of a large number of such rugs, the idea might gain some credence, but in fact, the "flaws" as we term them are found in considerable numbers in most village rugs, and add to the charm and character of these rugs. They are simply an inevitable part of the genre, the result of a weaving mentality unconcerned for the most part with fussy details of "perfection."

The other phenomenon which has been the subject of much elaborate speculation is that of *abraş*, the horizontal variations in color observable on most village weaving in greater or lesser degree. The *abraş* has been described as another type of "intentional flaw" in some of the traditional knowledge, but more interesting, it has been claimed that *abraş* was introduced intentionally, especially in the open-field designs of some Anatolian rugs depicting *mih-rabs*, with an eye toward providing a more interesting visual impression. In fact, the explanation for *abraş* would appear to revolve around much simpler reasons. The wool used in older Anatolian rugs was dyed in small lots, and colors were matched by the dyers by watching the wool in the dye pot. In cities which from fairly early times were subject to control of cottage-industry weaving, such as Kayseri, the dyeing process was fairly sophisticated and colors were fairly uniform. In villages, where the dyeing was often carried out by an individual who did not devote full time to this specialty, and where uniform qualities of wool, mordants, and dyes were not always available, the

variations in colors are more extreme. It appears however that in many cases of quite pronounced *abraş*, the *abraş* occurs as the result not of a lack of uniform color at the time of weaving, but as the result of uneven fixing of the color, causing some yarn to bleach in the light while other yarn remained true to color. The myth of the permanence of the old vegetable dyes is of course erroneous; due to problems in the dyeing process, they were at least as prone to color changes as aniline dyes, and if improperly fixed, they tended to run as well. The "symbolism" of *abraş*, following this line of reasoning, is a testament not to the traditions of the weaver, but to the ingenuity of the marketplace.

In summary, when speculating on symbolism of forms in Anatolian rugs, the simpler the speculation, the more likely it is to serve the interests of future scholarship, and the less confusing it is likely to be should a time for re-interpretation arrive.

IV The Need for On-site Research

Given the great interest shown by collectors in recent weaving of Anatolia, it is surprising to note that among the volumes of published material there is only one recent study in English which attempts to discuss provenance as a result of on-site research in Anatolia itself.¹⁶ The determination of the organization and sources of present-day weaving, and the distribution of various techniques and designs in Anatolian localities, is of vital importance in determining the provenance of many types of rugs. Such research is now going forward at a much more productive pace, involving in fact a "census" of rugs found in local mosques, and including photographs, measurements, and technical analysis not only of finished products but of rugs and flat-woven products actually on the loom in various localities.¹⁷ In all probability, it is this sector of research which holds the most promising prospects for broadening our knowledge of provenance, although, as stated above, the propensity of finished rugs to travel about complicates the task of the scholar, and makes elementary statistical analysis of the data a fundamental prerequisite to conclusions.

V The Prospects for the Sharing of Knowledge

The growing crisis in scholarly publications, whose costs have risen tremendously while funding for research has diminished and the growing number of interested persons pursuing research in the area of more recent Anatolian rugs, makes the sharing of data and conclusions more vital, and more difficult, than ever. Many of the great pioneers in study of rugs were more interested in bringing reproductions of rugs, and rugs themselves, before the public, without having either the time or the interest to publish any pertinent documentary and technical data in conjunction with photographs. At the present time, it is vital that

publication on any rug include available provenance and technical information, and it is hoped that all catalogues of exhibitions, collections, and general publications of the future will include a *full technical analysis* of every rug, together with whatever information can be gleaned about its history, including information on place and date of purchase. There are important precedents for this in a number of recent catalogues,¹⁸ and the information so shared can prove of immense value in putting into order some basic facts about the age and provenance of Anatolian rugs. Given the problems facing scholarship, there is simply no excuse at this time for incomplete publication of data, given the relative ease with which a competent analysis can be made, and the relatively minor additional expense of including such analysis in published material.

However, there is much material of art-historical interest not suitable for either exhibition or publication, which has been painstakingly gathered by scholars working independently over the years. The sharing of this information is a much more difficult problem, as individual forms of notation differ widely, and in some cases its reliability may be called into question. One possible solution to the "information gap" in our knowledge of technical facts is the computer data-bank. A computer data-bank, keyed to a photographic archive, provides not only a convenient means of storing rug technical data, but makes possible in an extremely short time the correlation of huge masses of data, enabling a scholar within a few seconds to determine large numbers of rugs for comparison with a particular rug exhibiting certain technical or design characteristics. If we accept the postulate that one of the primary tasks confronting the scholar is the establishment of groups of rugs sharing common characteristics, the computer provides us with a substitute for hours of tedious clerical work. Were the major scholars and collectors, together with museums and dealers, to contribute data in a standard notation for inclusion in such a bank, serious study of rugs could proceed on a much more economical and productive basis. One rug with a firmly documented provenance could locate an entire group; one firmly-dated rug could help to determine the age of the entire group. The establishment of vectors, of steps in the process of stylization, with its resultant implications for interpretation of symbols, could be greatly improved. The persistent distrust among scholars in the humanities for methods of data-processing now frequently used by the social and natural sciences is not without some justification, but as the interest and scholarship in the area of Anatolian rugs continues to burgeon, and as the number of rugs is so vast, the techniques of the computer become more and more attractive, if the basic problems of a uniform notation and verification can be overcome.

VI The Role of Collectors, Collecting Organizations, and Museums

The traditional reluctance of many museums, strongholds of the more traditional "fine arts", to devote either time or

funding to the acquisition of more recent rugs of Anatolia is presently on the wane, largely as the result of the active involvement of private collectors and collectors' organizations in the mounting of exhibitions, in support for museum acquisitions, and in the publication of increasingly well-written and useful catalogues. The enthusiasm and knowledge of serious collectors holds the promise both of financial support and active participation in research. The already impressive record of accomplishments in increasing public knowledge, awareness, and appreciation of the more recent rugs serves as a solid base for future expectations. As the attention of rug societies turns more toward support and participation in scholarly activity, it is expected that they will have a great impact in that area. An alliance between the collectors' organizations and museums, using the enthusiasm and expertise of the former in conjunction with the facilities and established publishing vehicles of the latter, is a major factor in the sharing and publication of new information, and in the evaluation of the store of information from the past. Although recent rugs from Anatolia are still only minimally represented in the collections of most major American museums, with a handful of notable exceptions, the willingness of museums to exhibit a category of art until recently dismissed as ethnographic material, and the growing cooperation between collectors, art historians, anthropologists, and curators is a hopeful sign. Many problems remain. A standard history of carpets has yet to be written,¹⁹ although some might argue that expectations for such a work are, given the present state of knowledge, premature. Art-historical research has traditionally been the preserve of the individual scholar, which has proved a great strength of the discipline in the past. But while the dialectical process of scholarly debate and synthesis is a luxury easily accommodated to the relative security of museum collections and historical monuments, research dealing with more recent Anatolian carpets is impeded as available resources disappear very quickly, as undocumented weaving traditions begin to feel the pressure of modern economic developments, and carpets in their original habitat, as it were, are worn out and discarded. Thus, as the resources of weavers, human memory, and the objects themselves become progressively more difficult to record and analyze with the passage of time, the serious study of carpets occupies a perilous place in the art-historical spectrum. The challenge to study seriously carpets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the village and nomad rugs of Anatolia, is a challenge promising great results, but it is a challenge to be undertaken earnestly with a carefully defined theory and methodology, while there is yet time for this undertaking to result in fruitful accomplishment.

Notes

¹H. G. Dwight, *Persian Miniatures* (New York, 1917). Parts of the present essay were delivered as lectures at the Textile Museum and to the New York Rug Society in the early part of 1973. Following Prof. S. Cammann in his "Symbolic Meanings in Oriental Rug Patterns", Part I, in *Textile Museum Journal III*, No. 3 (December, 1972), the terms "carpet" and "rug" are here used interchangeably. The writer is especially indebted to Charles Grant Ellis for help in formulating some of the suggestions on methodology mentioned in this essay. Research for the present article was undertaken in part with the help of a grant from the Research Council of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

²Two standard geographical works on the Middle East serve to place these variables in perspective; they are W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East* (6th Edition, London, 1971), and J. I. Clarke and W. B. Fisher, *Populations of the Middle East and North Africa* (London, 1972).

³Collections of Ottoman documents in Turkish archives will eventually help to form a more comprehensive overview of population movements within Anatolia, especially those resulting from Russo-Turkish conflicts from the eighteenth century onward; such a study is still awaited.

⁴A documentary history of the rug trade, and especially of the influence on the Middle Eastern weavers of cottage industries, would be of invaluable use to rug scholars, as well as an intriguing study of social and economic history in East and West. Such a scholarly study, it is hoped, may be written before the most valuable documentation has disappeared.

⁵Professor S. Cammann (*op. cit.*) discusses these matters in some detail and offers perspectives differing in some respects from those of the present essay. The basic work of Turkish scholarship dealing with the vocabulary of forms and the means of stylization is C. E. Arseven's *Les Arts Décoratifs Turcs* (Istanbul, s.d.), pp. 7-12.

⁶See Richard Ettinghausen, "The Boston Hunting Carpet in Historical Perspective," in *Boston Museum Bulletin* LXIX, No. 356, (1971), especially pages 70-76.

⁷The standard reference dictionary consulted in the preparation of this essay is the *Redhouse Sözlüğü—Türkçe-İngilizce* (Istanbul, 1968). Some insight into the history of usage of terms and referents is given in T. Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri* (2 Volumes, Ankara, 1950, and İstanbul, 1951), discussed by the writer in his review in *Textile Museum Journal III*, No. 2 (December, 1971), pp. 38-42. Another useful reference, again dealing in the main with textiles, is R.E. Koçu, *Türk Giyim ve Süsleme Sözlüğü* (Ankara, 1967).

⁸A description of the use of the design in Samarkand is given by Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo in *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo to the Court of Timour...*, trans. C. R. Markham (London, 1859).

⁹Rustam's garb, translated as "tiger-skin" in the standard English translation of the Shah-nameh by A. C. Warner and E. Warner (*The Shāhnāma of Firdausi*, 4 Volumes (London, 1905), has been depicted by artists over the centuries as either a leopard-skin or a tiger-skin, following the dots and stripes of the Chinese symbols.

¹⁰Cf. the writer's "Ottoman Turkish Textiles" in *Textile Museum Journal III*, No. 3, (December, 1972), pp. 55-66.

¹¹Prof. Cammann sets forth a linguistic analogy in his article cited above (note 1); another thought-provoking exposition of the methodology is Chapter 8 of Prof. O. Grabar's *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, 1973).

¹²The productive use of a different perspective is seen again in S. Cammann, *op. cit.*

¹³The records and collections of the İstanbul museums cannot be emphasized enough in their potential for scholarly discovery. The new Vakıflar Museum will shortly be opened in the kiosk adjoining the Sultan Ahmet mosque in İstanbul.

¹⁴See the Appendices at the end of this essay.

¹⁵The impact on scholarship of the discovery of the Pazaryk rug in Siberia serves as a case in point. The absence of intermediate vectors for study by contemporary scholars does not preclude such hypotheses, but it has caused the present writer to exercise some restraint, and to adhere to the lesson of "Occam's Razor," in the present essay.

¹⁶Dr. May Beattie, "Some Weft-Float Brocaded Rugs of the Bergama-Ezine Region" in *Textile Museum Journal* III, No. 2 (December, 1971), pp. 20-27. Another study, of limited usefulness, on contemporary production is G. Işıksaçan, *Batı Anadolu Başlıca Halı Merkezlerinde İmal Edilen Halıların Desen ve Kaliteleri Üzerinde Araştırmalar* ("Research on the Design and Quality of Rugs Produced in the Main Rug Centers of Western Anatolia") (İzmir, 1964).

¹⁷An expedition to the rug-weaving areas of south-east Anatolia, including such a "census" of rugs found in local mosques, was undertaken in the summer of 1973 by M. Beattie, A. Landreau, and R. Yohe; it holds great promise for the broadening of our understanding of the rug weaving of this area.

¹⁸Recent catalogues with analyses include those of A. Danker (*Meisterstücke Orientalischer Knüpfkunst*, (Wiesbaden, 1966)), U. Schürmann (*Central-Asian Rugs*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1969)) and R. Tschebull (*Kazak*, (New York, 1971)).

¹⁹For an outline of some of the problems confronting even the most capable scholar, see the review by C. G. Ellis of K. Erdmann, *Seven Hundred Years of Oriental Carpets* (Los Angeles, 1970) in *Textile Museum Journal* III, No. 2 (December, 1971).

Appendix One—The Modern Turkish Alphabet

A detailed statement on orthography and phonology of modern İstanbul Turkish may be seen in Chapter I of G. L. Lewis, *Turkish Grammar* (Oxford, 1967). In this brief Appendix are provided rough pronunciation equivalents for vowels and for those consonants which differ markedly in form or pronunciation from the Latin alphabet or English usage.

a	as in father
e	as in letter
ı	as the a in serial
i	as in fit
o	as in mode
ö	as in German usage
u	as in put
ü	as in German usage

The vowels a, e, i, o, and u are not pronounced in Turkish as diphthongs, but correspond instead to the "pure" or Italian usage.

c	as the j in joy
ç	as the ch in cheese
ğ	is not pronounced; simply lengthens preceding vowel
j	as in French usage
ş	as the sh in ship

A circumflex over a vowel tends to lengthen it. In Modern Turkish a one-to-one correspondence of letters and sounds makes pronunciation from the written word extremely easy. The reader is invited to try out these terms: *blucins*, *bez*, *redingot*, and *trençkot*.

Appendix Two—Summary List of Names and Terms

The following list is by no means comprehensive, but does include many names and terms frequently encountered in the rug literature. The modern Turkish terms are listed in alphabetical order, and common variants in the literature are listed before each comment. In the case of place-names, the *vilayet* or province in which the town is found is listed in brackets (as there are three towns in Turkey with the name Lâdik, this will be useful!) The writer would be most grateful for emendations, corrections, and suggestions which might lead eventually to the publication of a more extensive glossary of terms. Among the more significant omissions on this list are names associated with contemporary production not linked with a traditional nineteenth-century type. For the convenience of the reader, some brief bibliographical references are given; the reference used for word origins is the *Redhouse Sözlüğü* (Redhouse Dictionary), Turkish-English (İstanbul, 1968).

ABRAŞ—Abrash.

Of Turkish origin, the word describes the visual effect of horizontal bands of color which is caused by irregular fixing and dyeing of the wool in small lots.

AFŞAR—Afshar.

(Kayseri) A village in central Anatolia traditionally known as the source of some of the finest kilim flat-weave rugs. Not to be confused with the rug-weaving tribe of the same name in Fars in southern Iran.

BALIKESİR—Balikesir.

(Balıkesir) *Vilayet* in north-west Anatolia with ports on both the Marmara (Bandırma) and the Aegean (Ayvalık). Rugs and kilims given this name are distinguished by an almost exclusive use of red and blue, in an overall "latch-hook" design.

BANDIRMA—Bandırma, Panderma.

(Balıkesir) A town on the Marmara in which a commercial production of finely-woven rugs in the traditional Gördes design existed around the year 1900.

BENEKLİ

From the Persian, "spotted". Used in Ottoman times to describe textiles and rugs in the "çintamani" design. See also PELENGİ.

BERGAMA—Bergamo, Pergamo, Pergamon, Pergamum. (İzmir) On the site of Hellenistic Pergamon, the market town of Bergama was a gathering-point for western Anatolian rugs; the name is frequently used as an all-encompassing term for pile and brocaded rugs of Western Anatolia.

BEŞİK—Beshik.

Turkish, "cradle." Used in the market as a name for the sumak-woven brocaded "box-bags" which were in fact used for storage and not as cradles for infants. See also HURÇ.

BÜNYAN—Bunyan.

(Kayseri). Rug-weaving center near Kayseri whose looms are almost entirely controlled by cottage-industry entrepreneurs.

ÇANAKKALE—Chanakkale, Chanak-keleh.

(Çanakkale). Market town on the Dardanelles where many rugs woven in north-west Anatolia were collected (See EZİNE and KOZAK).

CİCİM—Djidjim, jijim, jijeem.

A common form of Anatolian brocaded flat-weave; the term is used alternately to describe a form (consisting of long brocaded strips joined together) and a technique. See A. Landreau and W. R. Pickering, *From the Bosphorus to Samarkand* (Washington, D.C., 1969), p. 13 and pp. 70-80.

ÇINTAMANI

A design frequently seen in many media in Ottoman art over the centuries, the three circles and accompanying double stripes are originally associated in Chinese symbolism with the Buddha and with dragons, both of course positive and reassuring symbols in the Chinese vocabulary. The design shows up in more recent village rugs of Anatolia in a variety of permutations, and is called a variety of names none of which seems to draw on the original meaning of the symbol.

ÇİZGİLİ—Chizgili.

Turkish, "striped." Used to describe a multitude of different rugs with striped field or border designs; a descriptive term and not a place-name.

ÇUVAL—Chual, Jowal, Juval, Tschowal.

Literally, "sack", the term is used among the Türkmen of Central Asia and Turkic tribes in Iran as well as in Anatolia. The Anatolian *çuval* is woven as a long strip about eighteen inches wide and six feet long, which is doubled back to make the sack; the sack face may be in brocaded

or pile weave. The general size and form is rather uniform around Anatolia, so that in some areas the term is used as a volume measure.

ELMALI—Elmalı.

Turkish, "with apples". Used to describe certain rugs of traditional "Gördes" provenance (see text), with a characteristic border design.

EZİNE—Ezineh.

(Çanakkale). A major collecting-point for rugs in north-west Anatolia. See Dr. M. Beattie, *op. cit.*

GÖRDES—Ghiordes, Geurdes, Giordiz, Yordiz; also "Basra Gördes", "Elmalı Gördes", "Sinekli Gördes", "Dedi Paça Gördes", "Suez Gördes", "Kız Gördes" or "Kis-Gördes". (Manisa) Collecting-point and traditional provenance for a variety of rugs, the best-known of which comprises a group of characteristic prayer rugs. The magic of the Gördes provenance in the market-place led to a wide inclusion of various types, and many imitations (see BANDIRMA). "Elmalı" refers to a border type, as does "çizgili". "Sinekli", "with flies", refers to a Gördes-type prayer rug with many small floral forms in the *mihrab*. "Kedi paça" or "cat's paw" refers to an anomalous type with *çintamani* designs on a white ground. "Basra" and "Kız-Gördes" ("girl-Gördes") refer to design types, the latter with few technical affinities to the traditional prayer rugs. "Suez Gördes" rugs were evidently woven by Armenian refugees in Egypt in the first quarter of this century, and reached the United States in large numbers. The problems revolving around the rugs grouped under the "Gördes" rubric are many, and merit scholarly attention.

HALI—Hali, khali, kali.

The Turkish generic term for pile-woven rug, frequently encountered in combination with place-names or adjectives in Turkish writings in its possessive form *halısı*.

HEREKE—Herekeh.

(Kocaeli). On the gulf of İzmit near İstanbul, the Hereke factories were founded under Imperial patronage in the nineteenth century, and produced a wide variety of rugs ranging from imitations of European designs to copies of classical Turkish and Persian carpets.

HEYBE—Heybeh.

Common name for the double saddle-bag so well known in Islamic weaving, which was continuously woven, the decorated ends folding back to form the fronts of the two bags.

HURÇ—Hurch, khuruch, khurchun.

Of Arabic origin, the word is used to describe saddle-bags and is occasionally used as a generic term for bags of all types, including the "box-bags" (see BEŞİK).

İSPARTA—Sparta.

(İsparta). A central-Anatolian town best-known for its manufacture of large and coarsely-woven carpets utilizing a bright red color. For some reason, the name has been applied to another group of rugs, utilizing a characteristic dark-maroon color and Caucasian designs, which was evidently produced in Eastern Europe.

İZMİR—İzmir, Smyrna.

(İzmir) Turkey's third-largest city, on the Aegean, and for centuries a major export center for carpets woven in nearby areas. The name is also applied to a specific group of large carpets exported from İzmir to Europe in the late nineteenth-century. There is no known record of carpet production in the city itself.

KARAMAN

(Konya). South-central Anatolian town serving as a marketing center for rugs woven by nomads in the surrounding Karadağ and Toros mountains. The name has also been applied to a particular type of kilim with a distinctive design woven in two strips and joined.

KARAOVA

(Muğla). The "black plain", fertile delta land near the Mandalya gulf on the Aegean. Used to describe a certain group of rugs with affinities to the traditional "Milâs" type.

KAYSERİ

(Kayseri). A major marketing center for a wide variety of nomad, village, and compound rugs produced in the *vilayet* of that name. Kayseri has been a major center from the mid-nineteenth century onward; its large Armenian and Greek population led to a number of rugs with inscriptions in these languages being produced in the area. The name is used to describe a distinctive type of compound rug with over-all floral designs produced today, and to describe a distinctive group of prayer rugs in either wool or silk utilizing the traditional "Gördes" design. Yet another facet of recent production is a group of "saf" or multiple prayer rugs whose "silk" composition is frequently rayon or mercerized cotton.

KİRŞEHİR—Kırşehir, Kershehr.

(Kırşehir). Marketing center for a characteristic group of central Anatolian rugs frequently employing a pistachio green and a distinctive maroon coloration.

KİLİM—Kileem, Gileem, etc.

A tapestry-woven rug frequently exhibiting the familiar "slits" where wefts of different colors meet along the warp lines. See Landreau and Pickering, *op. cit.*, pp. 12 ff.

KOZAK

Name used to describe a group of loosely-woven long-piled rugs evidently produced in Çanakkale *vilayet*. The similarity between these tribal weavings and those of the south Caucasus is as striking as that between "Kozak" and "Kazak", but the ethnographic data to establish affinities has not to this date been brought to light.

KÖMÜRÇÜ (see KULA)

KULA—Coola, Koula.

(Manisa). A western Anatolian town which has given its name to a variety of rugs, the best-known traditional types being a prayer rug group and a group of four-spandrel rugs. The prayer rugs sometimes employ the cypress motif leading to the "mezarlık" name (see text); the Kula provenance like the Gördes commands high prices, and rugs produced in Demirci, to the north of Gördes in Manisa *vilayet*, are marketed as "Demirci-Kula" ("iron-monger Kula") which was sometimes corrupted to "Kömürçü-Kula" ("coal-seller Kula") as well. There is a modern company known as the "Kula Company" which today produces fine-quality woollens and rugs in its factories in İzmir *vilayet*.

KUMKAPI—Koumkapi.

(İstanbul). Literally "sand-gate", this district of İstanbul was inhabited in the early twentieth century by a substantial Armenian population, which produced extremely finely-woven rugs utilizing classical Safavid and Ottoman designs, and employing silk and precious metals. Frequently a large sixteenth-century rug would be copied knot for knot in a miniature one-sixteenth the area of the original.

KURD

Peoples of Kurdish descent, speaking the Kurdish language, are found in parts of the Caucasus, eastern Turkey, western Iran, and northern Iraq. In Anatolia, a wide variety of weaving bearing this name comes from the *vilayets* of Malatya, Diyarbakir, Mardin, Siirt, and Hakkâri, among others. The publication of recent field research in this area by M. Beattie, A. Landreau, and R. Yohe will hopefully bring about a better understanding of the rubric and its subdivisions.

LÂDİK

(Konya). Frequently confused with towns of the same name only a few kilometers apart in Samsun and Tokat *vilayets*. One of the best-known traditional provenances, applied to distinctive rugs, frequently with a *mihrab* design, utilizing two warp levels and a wide range of colors. The traditional type was much-copied in other rug-weaving areas in Anatolia and the Balkans.

MALATYA—Malatia.

(Malatya). Market center for a variety of rugs produced by Kurd and Turkish villages in the vicinity. Not applied to any traditional design or technique type.

MEGRİ—Makri, Fethiye.

(Muğla). The origin of the characteristic rugs bearing this name is in some doubt; the old town of Megri, today called Fethiye, is a Mediterranean port opposite Rhodes, and rugs of this general traditional type, bearing a distinctive design, coloration, and technique, may have been woven on the island or the mainland.

MEZARLIK—Mezarlık.

An Arabic-Turkish hybrid word meaning "cemetery", used to describe certain rugs, such as characteristic type of traditional Kula provenance, incorporating cypress trees in their decorations (see text). The cypress tree is also thought to symbolize the gardens of paradise, but the writer has not yet encountered "paradise rugs."

MİLÂS—Milas, Melez, Milaz, etc.

(Muğla). Another of the best-known western Anatolian rug types, the brightly-colored and red-wedged Milâs group generally includes relatively small rugs in the *seccade* size, with or without the *mihrab* design. The designs were copied in other areas, and there exists a thriving contemporary production in which the gay traditional colors, after a disastrous encounter with aniline dyes in the thirties, have been replaced by a drab palette of browns and greys.

MUCUR—Mujur, Moujour, and even Monjour(!).

(Kırşehir). Traditionally rugs under this rubric were of a distinctive *seccade* type, utilizing a variety of bright colors and occasionally exchanging designs with Kırşehir and Lâdik types.

NAMAZLIK—Namazlık.

Literally, "for the prayer", used to describe rugs of *seccade* size with the *mihrab* form in the design.

PALAS—Palace (!).

Literally "old rag"; sometimes used to describe a kilim type with rows of hexagons, woven in eastern Anatolia and the south Caucasus.

PELENGİ

Literally "striped". Another term used for rugs employing the stripes and dots of the *çintamani* design, employed as a descriptive term since the sixteenth century (see ÇİNTAMANI).

SAF—Saff.

So-called "family prayer rug", a large rug in which the basic *mihrab* form is repeated in rows, frequently separated by borders, so as to give the impression of being many *seccade* rugs. Such rugs were woven for mosques

in enormous quantities in many places during past centuries; today few Turkish mosques preserve their original *saf* rugs.

SECCADE—Sejjade, Sedjdjade.

A prayer rug, used as a generic term for all rugs of the general dimensions (from three by five to four by six feet) suitable for use by a single individual in the act of *namaz* or *secde*, Muslim prayer.

SİNEKLİ

Literally, "with flies" or "fly-specked" (See GÖRDES).

SİVAS—Siwas, Sivas, Sebasteia.

(Sivas) North-central Anatolian town serving as marketing center for a variety of pile- and flat-woven rugs, ranging from village pieces produced without entrepreneurial supervision to high-quality imitations of Persian designs woven in the Sivas prison.

SÖKE—Soke, Seuke.

(Aydın). A small Ionian town whose name is sometimes associated with rugs of the traditional "Yağcıbedir" type in the vicinity (See YAĞCIBEDİR).

SUMAK—Sumac, Soumak.

A type of brocade weave used in Turkey, Iran, and the Caucasus; in Anatolia the technique is most frequently encountered in the pieces of small size woven as bags of various types. See Landreau and Pickering, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.

ŞARKKÖY—Sharkkeuy, Sharkköy.

(Tekirdağ). On the European shore of the Marmara, Şarkköy is known for distinctive *kilim* weaving which exhibits strong affinities with certain tapestry-woven rugs of the Balkans. It is possible that the present weavers imported techniques from the Balkans during repatriation in the aftermath of the various nineteenth-century Balkan Wars.

TAŞPINAR—Tashpinar.

(Niğde) Present-day central Anatolian weaving center whose products resemble those of near-by Yahyalı. It is not certain if there is a definable nineteenth-century production from this village.

TORBA

A small bag, used to describe a variety of handbag-like weavings in various techniques.

UŞAK—Ushak, Oushak.

(Uşak). Long a center of the weaving of large carpets in west-central Anatolia, rugs of this traditional type are generally well-covered in the literature up to the present century. More recent products resorted to dubious chemical processes to soften the famous colors of the earlier

"Turkey carpets." The tremendous variety of rugs assigned to this rubric by scholarship includes some which seem to have inspired Polish, English, and Italian imitations at various times in the past.

YAĞCIBEDİR—Yağcibedir, Yaghjibedir

(Manisa). Rugs traditionally assigned to this rubric are variants in design of older "Transylvanian" double-ended types, and in addition to a restricted coloring of blue, red, and white, such rugs often show the typical western-Anatolian characteristics of wide kilim ends terminating in braided "pigtales." The general design type, however, is seen in other traditional types as far east as Kırşehir. The village name, of typical Turkish picturesqueness, immortalizes an otherwise-forgotten vendor of olive oil (*yağcı*) with the wonderful name of "full-moon" (*bedir*).

YAHYALI—Yahyali.

(Kayseri). Center of contemporary production of *kilim* and pile-woven rugs; few demonstrably older pieces can be assigned with any assurance to this provenance.

YASTIK—Yastik.

Literally "pillow." Used to describe a variety of small flat-woven and pile-woven bags, few if any of which were actually destined to be pillows as such, but were actually *cutal*-type sacks.

YÜRÜK or YÖRÜK—Yuruk.

Literally "he who wanders", or "nomad." There are many nomadic tribes in Turkey today, in western Anatolia, in the Taurus, and in the eastern provinces. The term has been applied to a wide variety of rugs, but should be used interchangeably and broadly as a synonym for "nomad" in the Anatolian context.

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