



# **A Nomad's Art** Kilims of Anatolia

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Sumru Belger Krody  
With contributions by  
Şerife Atlıhan, Walter B. Denny,  
Kimberly Hart

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George Washington University Museum and  
The Textile Museum  
Washington, D.C.

# Contents

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Overleaf: Detail from kilim, western Anatolia, first half 19th century. The Textile Museum 2013.2.6, The Megalli Collection.

Excepting Plates 27, 28 and 41, and unless otherwise noted, all kilims and details are presented warp direction horizontal.

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Young girl carrying a child, most likely her sister, in a *turik*, sack, on her back, Tunceli, Turkey, 1980. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2370-24-4, ©Suna Kıracı Library/Koç University, Turkey.

## Foreword

The late Murad Megalli was a long-time friend of The Textile Museum. An esteemed collector of Anatolian kilims, successful executive at J.P. Morgan, and former Textile Museum board member, he died tragically and woefully prematurely in an airplane accident during a business trip in northern Iraq in 2011. Murad's estate designated The Textile Museum as a steward of his collection and provided the endowment necessary for the scholarly research and publication that such aesthetic treasures deserve. While a large portion of the collection is now housed at The Textile Museum, the other important part of the collection is entrusted to the stewardship of Koç Foundation in Istanbul, Turkey—an arrangement that recognizes partnership between our two institutions and promises collaborative scholarship and programming in the future.

Since its founding in 1925, The Textile Museum has established a rich tradition of scholarship that advances knowledge and understanding of humankind's creative achievements in the textile arts and the diverse world cultures they represent. In 2015, The Textile Museum moved to a new home as part of the George Washington University Museum, thus broadening its scholarly resources to those of a major research university with special expertise in international affairs. This book joins a long list of scholarship published by The Textile Museum, and supports the George Washington University's commitment to global research, by illuminating the creativity, innovation, and mastery of textile makers in Anatolia.

George Hewitt Myers, founder of The Textile Museum, began his collection of Anatolian kilims in the 1910s and refined it over decades of connoisseurship—efforts extended by the expertise of subsequent museum curators. The addition of Murad Megalli's Anatolian kilims has elevated this collection to a new level of refinement and aesthetic quality. The kilims we present stand on their own as statements of artistic elegance and splendor, while also allowing us glimpses into the nomad culture in Anatolia—a way of life now lost. Used originally as furnishing textiles and containers in tents, and deeply embedded in the nomad culture that produced them, Anatolian kilims can also open windows into the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Anatolian village, and the customs and values of nomadic life. With their bold graphic designs, rich fabric texture, and brilliant colors, Anatolian kilims are also visually stunning, so much so that they have become a recognized source of inspiration for contemporary designers and artists.

The scholarly knowledge compiled in this text about Anatolian kilims and their relevance in the twenty-first century represents the contributions of an international team of distinguished scholars. We are grateful to all of the contributing authors—Walter B. Denny, Şerife Atlıhan, and Kimberly Hart—for helping to produce what is sure to become a reference source for current and future researchers. I would like to especially recognize Sumru Belger Krody, the Museum’s senior curator, for bringing this exhibition and publication to fruition. She and the professional staff of the Museum worked long hours, from the conception of the exhibition through the printing of this book, to provide an exhibition and publication of the highest standards.

A major artistic endeavor of this scope is only possible with insightful supporters who believe in its merits. I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to the Coby Foundation, Jeremy and Hannelore Grantham, the Markarian Foundation, and the Megalli Family for their essential financial support and the emotional encouragement that such gifts generate. Additional support was generously provided by the Bruce P. and Olive W. Baganz Fund for The Textile Museum Exhibitions and Publications, Roger and Claire Pratt, and the Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf Foundation. We also wish to recognize the estate of Murad Megalli for helping us to perpetuate his belief that collecting is not only about the beauty of the objects, but also about their history, the people who made them, and their culture. We have tried to incorporate this vision into the format of this publication and the exhibition.

Finally, we give heartfelt thanks to all our visitors and readers who support us in innumerable ways. The George Washington University Museum and The Textile Museum continues to owe proper thanks to our members and friends, many of whom are not only avid textile enthusiasts, but also champions of conservation, consumers of quality educational programs, and participants in ongoing and new community partnerships. We appreciate your attendance and your advocacy, and hope you are enlightened and inspired by the magnificent artifacts in this wonderful exhibition and book.

*John Wetenhall, Ph.D., Director*

*The George Washington University Museum and The Textile Museum*

## The Collector

My father had a passion for life. He kept himself extremely busy, whether it be with work, travel, friends, colleagues, or, perhaps on the rarest of occasions, some free time. He had, above all, an unquenchable thirst for exploration, and affected uniquely all those fortunate enough to have known him, across all corners of the globe. The world of textiles was one that wove together my father’s many passions in a way that really nothing else could, to create a colorful mosaic not unlike the Anatolian kilims in his collection presented here. From the art of the hunt, finding the forgotten where no one else has, to the dance that is the deal, bargaining and bluffing in the hopes of acquisition, driven largely by the rich history and even richer beauty of the textiles themselves.

Many of my own childhood memories are accompanied by textiles in various ways, whether it be getting nervous around ikats hanging in shadowy corners of the apartment or sipping tea while my father haggled in a bazaar or shop. Following his untimely passing in 2011, I have begun to understand more his obsession with collecting these textiles, an obsession born out of passion, something to which everyone can relate in their own way.

The Textile Museum has been a natural home for the Megalli Collection, with tireless work to preserve and make available to the world this collection of Anatolian kilims. I hope that you enjoy them as much as my father did.

*Samy Megalli*

# The Collection

Murad Megalli often said that for him collecting was learning about the people who made and used textiles, their history, and their culture, as much as it was about their beauty. Even a swift assessment of his Central Asian ikat and Anatolian kilim collections reveals that they were formed with clear interest to progression of design and design relationships. The Anatolian kilim collection, in a similar vein to his Central Asian ikat collection, exhibits a diverse range of design types, chronologically spanning the eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. All these facts make this collection special for scholars who want to study a large and diverse group of available material, as well as for textile enthusiasts who would like to enjoy extraordinarily beautiful objects and learn about them.

A majority of kilims in the collection are attributed to western and central Anatolia. They are long kilims, the production of which ceased after the nineteenth century. The bold designs and primary colors of these monumental kilims must have been what attracted Murad. He seemed to have sought kilims with similar design characteristics to create related groups illustrating the progression of several different design types and their borrowings from each other. This keen interest in the progression of different designs in Anatolian kilims gives depth and breadth to the collection.

The Megalli collection contains 165 Anatolian kilims. Ninety-six of them are now part of The Textile Museum collections in Washington, DC, while sixty-nine are in the care of the Vehbi Koç Foundation in Istanbul, Turkey, made possible through a partnership between the Foundation and The Textile Museum at the George Washington University. This publication marks the debut of The Textile Museum's part of the Megalli Anatolian kilim collection, never before publicly displayed or documented in print, and presents a unique overview of an assemblage of Anatolian kilims in tribute to the visionary who collected them.

*Sumru Belger Krody*

# Introduction

The works of art presented in this book are a testament to the artistic achievements of women who long ago lived a now vanished nomadic lifestyle, one that flourished for centuries in Anatolia until the advance of the twentieth century.

It is extremely difficult, within the confines of a single book, to discuss fully the fascinating and varied events that shaped the development and the subsequent impact of the Anatolian weaving tradition and define Anatolian textile art even today. The contributing authors and I hope that the fresh perspectives here and in the accompanying exhibition, *A Nomad's Art*, will not only inspire new insights, but also bring about new starting points for future scholarship.

This volume addresses some of the issues leading to the fundamental question: What is there to see when you look at a work of art from a different culture, such as the rugs known as kilim woven by Anatolian nomad women two or more centuries ago?

Color, composition, and size make these textiles captivating to today's viewers, but Anatolian kilims hold importance far beyond their contemporary visual impact. Most importantly, they are the only surviving, tangible evidence of their makers' nomadic lifestyle. This is a remarkable legacy, given that the female creators of kilims did not know how to read or write, let alone have formal arts education. In addition, they lived in a patriarchal society in which women generally did not have any external voice. Thus, it is highly ironic that despite these social constraints, it is their work, and no other lasting cultural manifestation, that gives testament to their centuries-long way of life.

These women descended from Turkmen nomads and their settled kin. Turkmen—ethnic Turkish nomads—began to arrive in Anatolia in about the tenth century, adding further diversity to an already ethnically varied area. As they traveled from eastern Central Asia to Anatolia, they passed through lands occupied by adherents of two religions, Islam and Eastern Orthodox Christianity, and two distinct cultures, Persian and Byzantine/Greek.

As nomads, groups of people, usually close family members, move from one region to another to exploit available resources. Nomadism refers to this particular way of life, and should not be confused with the ethnic heritage of those who practice it. Nomads were generally herders and depended on their large flocks for their livelihood. Some nomadic groups, such as those in Anatolia, were pastoral nomads, or semi-nomadic, meaning they moved between two locations.

Anatolian nomads' living and economic units were predominantly groups of families (*kabile*) or of extended families (*aile*). Two major but distinct activities dominated the life of the Turkmen nomads: migration and pastoral life. The nomads migrated to winter pastures in lower elevations (*kışla*) and to summer pastures high in the mountains (*yayla*). During these twice-yearly movements, camels carried family's belongings, including the tent, while the family, except the youngest ones, walked alongside the camels. Through the display of kilims thrown over the camel loads, women could showcase their weaving skills to everyone they encountered on the road.

While Turkmen are a steady presence among Turkey's minority communities, few Anatolian nomads endure. Those that remain inhabit brick and mortar homes at the Anatolian coast in winter and pitch tents in the pastures of the Taurus Mountains, parallel to the Mediterranean coast, in the summer. These movements are all that survives in Anatolia of the traditional nomadic lifestyle.

Fortunately, however, the kilims that were such an essential part of migration and pastoral life, abide. Kilim is a general name given in Anatolia and its surrounding areas in West Asia to a group of sturdy, utilitarian textiles woven in slit tapestry-weave technique. These works of art are multifaceted objects and obviously played an important role in the artistic history of Anatolia. The highly-developed designs and the fine execution seen on the surviving eighteenth- and nineteenth-century kilims in these pages suggest that the Anatolian kilim tradition had been well-established by the time the seventeenth century came to a close. Formed with wool fibers and tapestry weave technique, Anatolian kilims represent a distinct weaving tradition while conforming to the mechanics of tapestry weaving practiced in many parts of the world.

Kilim is often referred to in the western literature as flat-weave (Turk. *düz dokuma*) because it does not have any pile or tufts as carpets do. The tapestry-weave technique is quite old—archaeological examples go back well over two millennia—and geographically widespread. Textiles with tapestry weave are created in traditional Islamic carpet-weaving societies from Morocco to Central Asia, and more broadly from the pre-Hispanic Americas to ancient China, as well as to Medieval and Baroque European tapestries. In the slit-tapestry weave technique as used in Anatolian kilims, the design is created by colored horizontal weft yarns interlaced in

over and under sequence through the vertical warp yarns and completely obscuring them. Like any tapestry-woven textile, Anatolian kilims have a weft-faced plain weave structure, but the real essence of Anatolian kilim is that the design is built up of small areas of solid color, each of which is woven with its individual weft yarn. Between two such adjacent areas the respective weft yarns never interlock or intermingle. The different colored weft yarns turn back using adjacent warp yarns. The result is a vertical slit. In this manner, the artistic expression of the kilim and its technique are inextricably bound together.

While Anatolian kilims appear to have tremendous variety, they all share a visually striking style incorporating large-scale motifs, brilliant colors and a distinctive use of horizontally-emphasized geometric forms and color juxtapositions that enable us easily to recognize their Anatolian origins. For the contemporary eye what makes a kilim a work of art is its fine quality: beautifully dyed wool; the clever selection and juxtaposition of traditional motifs built with triangular and hexagonal forms; the use of saturated primary colors; a balance between open and decorated areas in design layout that leaves the textile feeling neither crowded nor empty; and the skillful weaving that both respects the historical tradition carried through generations and also expresses the weaver's originality and individuality.

Design characteristics formed the basis of twentieth-century scholarly assessment of kilims, but nomad women drew on other attributes to judge the quality of their artistic product. Collectors and scholars who shaped knowledge about Anatolian kilim around decorative motifs based their judgment on the western art historical narrative that values primacy of pattern and motif. The nomads who produced and used these kilims, on the other hand, appeared to value highly their material and technical characteristics. Decorative motifs were significant to nomads, but not necessarily more significant than other factors. Many of the motifs derived directly from the material and technical characteristics of kilims. Nomad women were so intimately connected with the weaving process that their value system in judging the quality of kilims included elements that were more central to the *process* and as a result different to the motif-focused contemporary view.

Though united in a commitment to a twenty-first century approach to understanding kilims, we, the authors of this book, did not set out to establish an

exhaustive survey of the Anatolian kilim weaving tradition or create a complete inventory of “Anatolian kilim types.” Instead, we attempt to describe some of the distinguishing characteristics of Anatolian kilim weaving tradition. Most importantly, the book explores how Anatolian kilim style manifests itself then and now. The first chapter helps readers to understand the history of the study of Anatolian kilims and the challenges we still encounter today due to the dearth of primary written resources produced about and by the nomads. There is no output, artistic or other, that will help us to compare this material to other artifacts, which makes it close to impossible to provenance and date kilims. The second chapter discusses the how and why of Anatolian kilim weaving and delves more deeply into the study of technique and design relationship in kilims by exploring their technical aspects. The third chapter brings us to the contemporary practice of kilim weaving in Turkey and discusses how much has changed or remains unchanged. The fourth chapter focuses on how Anatolian kilims are a cultural storehouse of the animal-human relationship, as well as a product of their wool and hair. Analyzing the lives of migrating communities through the lens of the animal-human relationship allows us to consider the function of textiles from a new angle, that of their utility and cultural legacy as a repository of a mostly unwritten nomadic heritage.

Each Anatolian kilim demonstrates the complicated interactions between the creative energies of a weaver, her community, and her exposure to the political, economic, and social environment in which she lived. These kilims can be seen as remarkable examples of the power of these nomadic women to create an artistic tradition that endured for centuries and still resonates with contemporary audiences. As we begin to examine the products drawn from the Anatolian nomad tradition, we will learn more about the makers, methods of production, uses and users. Thus, this book aims to broaden the spectrum of information available for the study of this subject by introducing a never-before seen, but highly important collection.

The book *A Nomad's Art*, as well as the eponymous exhibition at the George Washington University Museum and The Textile Museum, sprang from the enthusiasm and support of many individuals, institutions, and foundations.

This book and the accompanying exhibition would not have been possible without the Anatolian kilims donated to The Textile Museum collections by the estate of Murad M. Megalli. I am indebted to his foresight in considering this

institution to be the best place in the world to care for and study his collection, and his accompanying generous endowment to support its care and study. I gratefully acknowledge the leadership of The Textile Museum Board President Bruce P. Baganz in recognizing the importance of Murad's collection and working tirelessly to bring it into The Textile Museum collections. William Gruen and Marta Mueller Guicciardini also deserve recognition and deep gratitude for their dedication to ensuring that Murad's legacy was well preserved.

I am fortunate to have Walter B. Denny, Şerife Atlıhan, and Kimberly Hart as the contributing authors to this publication. The contributions of these distinguished scholars enhanced the book's value and made it a long term resource to many current and future researchers. I am grateful that Walter Denny brought his immense knowledge of Islamic art and Ottoman and Turkish art to this project. He is among the very few, if any, scholars who can synthesize the multifaceted history of the Anatolian kilim weaving tradition in a succinct way. Şerife Atlıhan's and Kimberly Hart's first-hand knowledge acquired through field research is invaluable to our understanding of this material and its cultural and economic context.

I would like to extend my thanks to the George Washington University Museum and The Textile Museum board and the staff for their encouragement, support, collegiality, and their foresight in recognizing the need for a major exhibition and a substantial publication on the subject and committing the necessary resources to the project. I am especially appreciative of the unceasing trust and support for the project from the Museum's director John Wetenhall.

I am enormously grateful to my colleagues at the George Washington University Museum and The Textile Museum, Doug Anderson, Maria Fusco, Thomas Goehner, Mahsa Javid, Emily Johnson, Lori Kartchner, Kathleen King, Ana Kiss, Tessa Lummis, Doug Maas, Esther Méthé, Chita Middleton, Rachel Shabica, Elizabeth Shaeffer, Richard Timpson, Danielle Tyson, Eliza Ward, and Kibebew Wondirad, who have helped make this publication and exhibition a reality and did so with extraordinary care, patience, and ever-present friendship and good humor. I am fortunate to have had the unflagging assistance of Monica Hirschbichler and then Olivia Desjardins who juggled a multitude of exhibition and publication tasks with infinite energy and attention to detail. Neil Greentree's exquisite photographs greatly contribute to making a long-term record of these powerful textiles.

During the research, development, and implementation of the exhibition and the book, I have been ably assisted by a succession of dedicated curatorial fellows and interns: Erica Eisen (Harvard Humanities fellow, 2017-18), Rebecca Rosen (Harvard Humanities fellow, 2016-17), Veronica La Du, Claire Grishaw-Jones, Guoshi Li, Audrey Liu, Katie Kocur, Seher Shah, and MaryKate Murphy. I also appreciate the countless hours that Julie Evans, Barbara Gentile, and Michele Hopkins spent with me rolling and unrolling these kilims, and analyzing each kilim in the collection to provide the readers of this book with detailed structural and technical analysis. I will miss—until the next project begins—our intellectually stimulating discussions around these monumental works of art. Thanks to the access Annette Beselin, Senior Textile Conservator at the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin, provided to the Anatolian kilim collection in her care, I learned much about Anatolian kilims and our assumptions during my visit.

Many people worked tirelessly to edit and produce the catalogue. I am especially indebted to Lynora Williams, librarian at the Arthur D. Jenkins Library, and Daniel Shaffer of Hali Publications in London for meeting the challenges presented by this project and creating a seamless whole from the multiple voices authors presented to them. The accomplished eye of Misha Anikst created the elegant design and brought his aesthetic sensibility to the book's production and design.

Finally, I would like to thank Eric and Papatya, who have been thoroughly supportive, each in his and her own way and who stuck by me throughout the long development of this project.

*Sumru Belger Krody*

A Central Anatolian woman cleaning and straightening flax after pounding. A pile of flax can be seen next to her, Dikilitaş Köyü, Konya, Turkey, 1978. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2263-15-18, ©Suna Kırac Library/Koç University, Turkey.





*Black Sea*

*Bosphorous*

*Sea of Marmara*

**BLACK SEA REGION**

*Pontic Mountains*

**MARMARA REGION**

**CENTRAL ANATOLIA**

**EASTERN ANATOLIA**

**AEGEAN REGION**

*Aegean Sea*

*Taurus Mountains*

**SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA**

**MEDITERRANEAN**

*Mediterranean Sea*



# The Anatolian Kilim and the History of Art

Walter B. Denny

There was a time in the past century when the terms “kilim” and “museum exhibition” were almost never to be found in the same sentence. Most twentieth-century carpet collectors, private individuals and art institutions preferred examples of the more prestigious and—it was thought—more historically important pile carpets. Old examples of the more fragile kilims largely survived in fragmentary condition, their low purchase prices hardly making repairs appear to be worthwhile. Marketplace legends did not help this situation. For example, some kilims sold in Germany in the early twentieth century acquired an apparently fictionalized low-status provenance; it was claimed that they were used as packing material to protect fragments of the Altar of Zeus in Pergamon when they were acquired by the Berlin museums. Unlike pile carpets, kilims were not documented as part of royal gift-giving in either East or West. They were very rarely represented in European Renaissance and Baroque paintings. Neither written documents—Ottoman or European—nor stylistic evidence could be marshaled to define a historical tradition of kilim weaving.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, after decades of scholarship, the Islamic pile carpets of Anatolia had acquired a three-dimensional art-historical identity. In terms of height (history), they had an unbroken historical sequence dating back as early as the fourteenth century CE, and a *terminus post quem* (the Pazyryk carpet of the fourth century BCE) of even greater antiquity. In terms of width (geography), the pile carpet medium could demonstrate documentation of production and geographic dispersal, through trade, from Morocco to China. And in terms of depth (social and artistic expression), relationships could be shown with social-group identity (nomadic tribes) and tribal symbols on the one hand, to royal patronage, including architectural decoration, arts of the book, and luxury silk textiles, on the other (fig. 1).

Anatolian kilims, however, could not easily be provided with any of these dimensions. Their specific geographical origins were largely conjectural. Their known history was mostly bereft of verifiable benchmarks, a few fragments from undocumented excavations notwithstanding, and usually their artistic meaning was either not understood or, in some cases, egregiously misunderstood. Only their social and economic connections (their traditional uses) and on rare occasions their design relationships with other media, especially pile carpets, could be determined with any degree of certainty. Slowly and incrementally, we are at last beginning to learn more about Anatolian kilims; but just as incrementally our opportunities for getting reliable information, especially provenance information, are fading away.

**Fig. 1** Woman folding kilims of the tent at the camp area on the road to Yaka Köyü, Isparta, Turkey, 1985. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2559-18-9, ©Suna Kıraç Library/Koç University, Turkey.



Fig.2

In the present book and exhibition, we recognize the limitations of our resources at a point in the history of Anatolian kilim scholarship when we are still in the process of discovering basic stylistic and technical groups, let alone shedding light on provenance, historical development, and artistic symbolism. The significance of the important public collections of Anatolian kilims—the Vakıflar Museums (Istanbul and Ankara), the Turkish & Islamic Arts Museum (Istanbul), The Textile Museum (Washington), the de Young Museum (San Francisco), and of private collections including those of Ayan Gülgönen (Istanbul) and Josephine Powell (now Koç Foundation, Istanbul), Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf (Toronto), Norbert Prammer (Linz), Johannes Wolff-Diepenbrock (Munich), Harry Koll (Aachen), and Murad Megalli (now in The Textile Museum), among others—lies in two areas. First is the large body of basic data enabling us to seek art-historical patterns, stylistic and technical development, and meanings in these works of art. Second, and arguably more important, is the vast artistic variety and sheer beauty of the works themselves.

**Fig. 2** Detail, fragment of a slit-tapestry-woven textile discovered in Barrow 2 at Pazyryk, Siberia; probably 4th century BCE, excavated by S.I. Rudenko. Inv. no. 1684-244-250, 583-584St. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Photo by Aleksey Pakhomov.

Most individuals who see them cannot fail to be touched by their powerful artistic impact, their enormous variety and originality, their brilliant juxtapositions of colors, and their inventive and evocative designs. Their elemental artistic qualities come from traditions where anonymous, often illiterate female designer/weavers had no formal schooling, and where there was no formal evaluation of originality, nor formal standards of technical quality. Before we know anything about their stylistic grouping, history, provenance, or meaning, the visual power of these works justifies the time and effort we spend making their existence more widely known, and in attempting to discover their many secrets.

#### **A historiography of Anatolian kilims**

It is not the task of this essay to discuss the history of scholarship and publication since 1970 in any great detail. The quantity of publication has been vast, but its quality has varied widely; any lengthy attempt to discuss “highlights” would unjustly slight some contributions while unduly recognizing others of lesser quality but greater impact. Discussions of the social context and the relationships between technical and aesthetic aspects of kilims are found in other chapters of this book.

The Pazyryk finds unearthed in the Altai Mountains of Siberia by the Soviet archaeologist Sergei Rudenko in the late 1940s are now dated by most scholars to the fourth century BCE. They include two kilims with designs fully adapted to the limitations and artistic potential of the technique (fig. 2). These are strikingly similar in artistry, materials and technique both to more recent Anatolian examples and to pile-woven carpets thought to imitate early kilim designs.<sup>1</sup> This notwithstanding, the Pazyryk kilims were eclipsed by the famous pile carpet found at the same frozen barrow burial. When considered against the age, recognizable period style, complexity, fineness of execution, and complex symbolic artistry of early tapestry-woven textiles such as those of China and Egypt, the more recent coarsely-woven wool kilims of Anatolia in particular were largely ignored by scholars. At the time, this was perhaps fortunate for the few who collected them, as they were often obtainable at extremely reasonable prices.

A number of far-sighted dealers and collectors, most of them originally specialists in pile carpets, recognized the artistic merits of Anatolian kilims long before they attracted the serious attention of art museums and art historians. George Hewitt



Fig.3

Myers' vast collecting interests formed the identity of The Textile Museum, and his kilims acquired cachet because they were part of the entire collection, later augmented by important gifts (fig. 3).<sup>2</sup> The same may be said to apply to the impact of the relatively small number of kilims in the substantial part of the James Franklin Ballard carpet collection given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 1929.<sup>3</sup> The Joseph V. McMullan collection—which followed Ballard's lead in being composed of carpets from a wide chronological span, including some magnificent nineteenth-century pieces and a few Anatolian kilims—also went primarily to the Met.<sup>4</sup> The great Boston collector Denman W. Ross gave the Museum of Fine Arts Boston a number of nineteenth-century kilims, but these were in the main finely woven Senneh examples from west Iran. These earlier collections included examples in the *sejjade* or prayer-rug format, whose format and designs could more easily be related to those of the more highly prized pile carpets. Significantly, however, none

**Fig. 3 Prayer rug, probably central or east Anatolia, early 19th century; wool, slit tapestry weave. 172 × 124 cm (67¾ × 48¾ inches. The Textile Museum R34.28.7, acquired by G. H. Myers in 1913.**

of these early donations included the large and long covers, some of them woven in two parts, that constitute the primary focus of the Megalli collection, and of the most important collections formed in the second half of the twentieth century.

The Ballard and McMullan gifts were donated as entire collections. One might suspect that in some cases the recipient institutions, bastions of the Fine Art tradition ultimately handed down to them from Vasari in the sixteenth century, acquired the kilims on sufferance, in order to obtain what in their eyes were the more respectable and important pile-woven items. This notwithstanding, the presence of even a few kilims in institutions such as the Met has contributed significantly to the medium's overall cachet, despite those who looked down on them as "ethnographic material."

In 1969, Anthony N. Landreau curated and wrote with W. Russell Pickering the catalog for *From the Bosphorus to Samarkand: Flatwoven Rugs*, an exhibition at The Textile Museum.<sup>5</sup> He was backed by a number of enthusiastic collectors, among them McMullan and Arthur D. Jenkins, as well as Pickering. Drawing on a wide range of flat-woven media from across the Islamic world (and a Swedish kilim that wandered in by accident), the exhibition was a major factor in bringing flat-woven rugs in general, and Anatolian kilims in particular, into broader recognition in both museums and the marketplace. It ultimately led to the kilim medium acquiring both art-historical respectability and prices more consonant with the medium's artistic quality and visual impact.

Eight years later, in 1977, an exhibition with illustrated catalog titled *The Undiscovered Kilim*, was organized by the London dealers David Black and Clive Loveless at the Whitechapel Art Gallery. It included a large proportion of larger and longer kilims, and showcased a number of very attractive and impressive Anatolian examples.<sup>6</sup> The Whitechapel exhibition was followed by a pioneer encyclopedic monograph based on the best-available documentation at its time of publishing. *Kilims: Flat Woven Tapestry Rugs* (1979), the first of a series of volumes from the London dealer Yanni Petsopoulos, set forth a comprehensive concept of groupings and provided names—usually tribal or geographic—for a number of stylistic groups.<sup>7</sup> In so doing, it set the stage for an explosion in collector interest and a new awareness of the beauty and importance of Anatolian kilims generally. Between these two events, 1978 marked the first publication of HALI magazine, a creation of Michael Franses and Robert Pinner, which was to prove enormously influential in publicizing the artistic worth of carpets in general, and kilims in particular, in ensuing years.



Fig.4

After these early publications a wide variety of works—collection, museum and gallery exhibition catalogs, tribally specific monographs, geographically specific monographs, and even a few scholarly articles—have turned kilims and kilim-weaving into widely recognized artistic phenomena. Collector interest then began to turn toward an interest in “early” kilims—the purportedly oldest examples, many of them existing only as fragments and fragmentary pieces—that might give Anatolian kilims a lineage and a history comparable to that of the better-studied pile carpets. Out of this quest for *ur*-kilims emerged a series of challenges that still confront scholars late in the second decade of the twenty-first century. The quest to discover meaning in Anatolian examples also led to a spate of publications about kilims that purported to discover in them an esoteric symbolism and ancient history.

#### The challenges for scholarship today

In any emerging area of study in the history of art there are several basic questions that need to be answered. In our case these are:

*What are Anatolian kilims?* What do they look like? Before 1970, there had been little attempt to discover the full range of Anatolian kilim production across this vast area, with its complex human, geographic, social, and economic ecology. Exhibitions and catalogues such as the present one serve a highly utilitarian function in this regard. They apprise us of the huge range of designs and motifs and colors and

**Fig. 4 Women arranging mattresses and pillows on a felt in the tent. Storage sacks and kilims are also visible, Kahramanmaraş, Turkey, 1980. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2368-9-5, ©Suna Kırac Library/Koç University, Turkey.**

shapes and sizes and uses inherent in this body of artistic material. Since 1970 there have been many such exhibitions and publications; we have attempted to list many of these in the bibliography appended to this book. As more and more examples come to light, our concept of what constitutes the Anatolian kilim tradition is continually expanding.

*Where were they made in Anatolia?* In the history of art we often do not respect that which we cannot name, regardless of its artistic beauty. In the case of Anatolian kilims, names were either sought or sometimes even arbitrarily assigned to various stylistic or technical groups. In some cases these were the names of market towns where such kilims were bought and in others the names of tribal groups, geographic regions, or, as a last resort, design types themselves. The sources for information here were primarily oral, gathered, mostly anecdotally, from dealers and collectors. In many cases these names for groups of kilims corresponded to what we can call “traditional provenances” of pile carpets: weaving area names such as Karapınar, Lâdik and Obruk; carpet-market or mosque-discovery names such as Bergama and Balıkesir; tribal names such as Yüncü and Karakeçili; and broader regional names named after modern Turkish administrative areas, such as Konya, Karaman, or Kayseri. Lacking even these, we sometimes assigned arbitrary names to design types, whether the egregiously misleading “Transylvanian” the nonsensical “Wallachian” or the descriptive “coupled-columned prayer rug.” In other words, the very same process that characterized the beginning of Anatolian pile carpet studies quickly emerged in the naming of groups of Anatolian kilims. Relying on provenance documentation—in the case of examples collected from mosques and other religious foundations by the Directorate of Pious Foundations (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü) since the late days of the Ottoman Empire—has been a useful if mixed blessing, as the veracity of some of this information has been called into question.

Much of the “traditional provenance” information found in the rug market, which has proved the most enduring and in many respects the most accurate, was first set out in a more or less unified fashion by Petsopoulos in 1979, then expanded in subsequent volumes by the same author, all of them beautifully illustrated. The creation of a general nomenclature largely based on available provenance information, helped to do for kilim studies (and the kilim marketplace) what Ulrich Schürmann’s *Caucasian Carpets* (1965) had done for later Transcaucasian carpets.

In 1982 Belkıs Balpınar, then curator of the reorganized Vakıflar Carpet Museum in Istanbul, with her co-author, German photographer and researcher Udo Hirsch, published the first-ever scholarly catalog of a museum kilim collection: *Flatweaves of the Vakıflar Museum, Istanbul—Flachgewebe des Vakıflar-Museums Istanbul*.<sup>8</sup> It appeared in both English and German. This volume brought to broad public attention for the first time the important “court” kilims discovered mostly in the Great Mosque of Divriği in the late 1960s and early 1970s; it also included the mosque provenance information available in the records of the Directorate of Pious Foundations. The Vakıflar Museum kilim collection itself has in ensuing years had a somewhat troubled history. However, its hundreds of examples—exhibited apart from pile carpets in separate venues—comprise, along with those in the sister collection of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul, a potential source of further provenance discoveries.

The emergence of generally accepted information about provenance is a slow, evolutionary, and incremental process. Hundreds and thousands of tiny bits of information will gradually yield a more complete picture. On the other hand, as we move further and further along in time, we must also accept a fundamental truth: speculations and imagination aside, we may never know the answers to many questions of provenance even by the looser standard of “a clear preponderance of the evidence,” let alone by the more stringent standard of “beyond a reasonable doubt.”

*What is the historical lineage of Anatolian Kilims?* This question hides a much more fundamental one: how can we tell the age of an Anatolian kilim? Sometimes comparison with carpet or textile designs, on which we have a much better chronological grip, may be useful, at least in establishing a *terminus post quem*, that is, a date after which the kilims must have been woven. Relative dating—the place of an individual work of art in the context of a sequence of stylistic development—may at least help us to determine that one kilim is older than another. Construction of an entire stylistic sequence may also assist in giving actual dates to works of art.

The mainstay of dating earlier pile carpets, comparison with the dateable media of architectural decoration and arts of the book, is rarely useful in kilims. A group of kilims using designs with a clear relationship to the Ottoman court artistic tradition, mostly those found at the Great Mosque of Divriği in the late 1960s and early 1970s, are dated to the sixteenth or seventeenth century on the basis of design comparison. But they incorporate an interlocking technique not found in most Anatolian



**Fig. 5** Woman spinning wool at her home in Karagömlek Köyü, Çanakkale, Turkey, 1985. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2555-31-16, ©Suna Kıraç Library/Koç University, Turkey.

examples, and they are woven of S-spun wool yarns, suggesting a weaving origin in, or influenced by, Ottoman Egypt.<sup>9</sup> A few fragments from the fifteenth century or earlier, alleged to have been discovered at Fustat in Egypt, are almost certainly Anatolian, but their relationship to surviving traditions is not clear at present (fig. 6).<sup>10</sup> Knotted-pile carpets may also serve as documentation of kilim history: certain pile carpets show designs almost certainly originating in the kilim medium, and many kilims reflect the designs of knotted-pile carpets as well.<sup>11</sup>

Given all this uncertainty stemming from a lack of traditional art-historical resources, the temptation to seek solace in the results of scientific testing (dye analysis, carbon-14 dating) is very strong. However, such tests, while occasionally useful in telling a fake from a genuine article, have so far not enabled us to construct a reliable chronology of kilim development, and carbon-14 results in particular have proved in many cases to be unreliable. Finally, there are a few Anatolian kilims, most of them fragmentary, that appear visually to have forms that are either seldom encountered or appear to be highly evolved stylistically in later examples or examples in better condition.<sup>12</sup> This has led, in quite a few cases, to a general consensus among kilim dealers, collectors, and scholars that these may be “very early” examples. How early? Answers to this question vary widely.

*What are the lineages and meanings of designs in Anatolian kilims?* The narrative of meaning is a fundamental aspect of the history of art. Determining meaning—what art historians call iconography—in Anatolian kilims, given the situation we have outlined above, is a difficult and at times even an impossible task. This has not proved to be an impediment to the appearance in print of numerous examples of what purport to be narratives of meaning in Anatolian kilims. In an article titled “Anatolian Rugs: An Essay on Method” published in the *Textile Museum Journal* in 1973—written when I was in my late twenties, having only recently encountered carpet literature in some detail—I set out, perhaps too ambitiously, a series of guidelines for carpet study, especially of more recent (nineteenth- and twentieth-century) examples.<sup>13</sup> These included: avoiding the pitfalls of relying on the designer/weaver to be an authority on the historical meanings of motifs she employs in her art; recognizing that motifs may endure but their meanings may change over time; and avoiding “Rorschach reactions”—assertive but in fact entirely subjective responses to visually definable but iconographically ambiguous carpet design forms and motifs.



Fig.6

**Fig. 6. Kilim fragment, Fustat, Egypt, 14th-15th century; wool, tapestry weave. 26 × 22 cm (10¼ × 8¾ inches). The Textile Museum 73.417, acquired by G.H. Myers in 1933.**

Despite this article, which few have read and fewer have heeded, in the following decades an unfortunate conjunction of circumstances occurred: the attempt by dealers and curators to create a “respectable” art-historical identity for more recent carpets and kilims in the marketplace and museum; an enthusiastic group of amateur practitioners of emerging feminist art history and New Age approaches to art; and, in the case of kilims, an act of art-historical fraud. These all contributed in the later twentieth century to a series of unfortunate, if often unintentionally hilarious, publications on carpet and kilim history, that form part of a tradition of writing on carpets dating well back to the early 1900s.

Take the case of a relatively large group of Anatolian kilims woven in designs inspired by sixteenth-century Bursa velvets, portraying stylized carnation blossoms in staggered rows; this was touted as depicting an ancient Anatolian Mother Goddess wearing a voluminous skirt in *elibelinde*—“hands on hips”—posture.<sup>14</sup> Other carpet forms were declared to be survivals of totemic religious symbols either long pre-dating the eleventh-century arrival of the Turks in Anatolia, or harking back to pre-Islamic central Asian Turkish cultural traditions, depending on the prejudices of the authors. Some carpets were even said to contain hidden but effective recipes for sexual health and erotic fulfillment.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, a British archaeologist, James Mellaart, maintained, first in lecture presentations and then in print, that he had seen certain wall paintings from the Neolithic or Chalcolithic period (7500–5700 BCE) in the Anatolian site of Çatal Höyük that portrayed kilim motifs identical to those woven in the same area in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus was implied a continuing tradition of weaving of unprecedented historical scope.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately the paintings in question had supposedly disappeared after exposure to light, and the photographs taken of them perished in a fire; Mellaart had only his own drawings to support his claims. There followed robust discussions, diligent research, and some courageous (given the British libel laws) exposing in print. Mellaart's claims, and with them the carpet sect of the modern Mother Goddess cult, eventually collapsed and imploded due to revelations of proven fraud combined with obvious art-historical over-reach—a witches brew that was also, on the part of many, flavored with a surfeit of sincere but wishful thinking.<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, some scholars, notably Belkıs Balpınar, offered the entirely rational hypothesis that slit-tapestry and brocaded flat-woven rugs from certain areas in Anatolia may have on occasion reflected motifs and layouts that their village designer/weavers could have observed in early archaeological remains in their home environment.<sup>18</sup> This, however, did not automatically imply that the meanings, or even the visual forms, of the archaeological “originals” could have been part of continuing artistic and belief traditions found in the same location over more than two and a half millennia, surviving through numerous and often cataclysmic cultural changes. In the aftermath of the “crazy decades” of writing about carpets and kilims, the most thoughtful of modern carpet scholars, Jon Thompson, summed up a cautionary but essential maxim for art historians in general and for Anatolian kilim scholars and enthusiasts in particular: “a resemblance does not always mean a relationship.”

*What is the Artistry of Anatolian Kilims?* Essentially, the artistry of Anatolian kilims can be described as reflecting a combination of artistic phenomena found in many different traditional art forms around the globe. This combination is easiest to define and to track when we can clearly identify a prototype, as when a court or commercial design or layout is adapted to a kilim tradition. Here, the many examples woven in the common Anatolian kilim layout incorporating rows of repetitive carnation motifs can provide us with an archetypal example of four stages of development.

The first is creation: A village weaver sees a Bursa velvet textile (fig. 7) and decides to incorporate its layout into a kilim. The second stage is transformation: The two-color velvet is, through the kilim designer/weaver's imagination and weaving skill, transformed into a multi-colored tapestry-woven textile far larger than the original, often including borders, and simplifying the floral motif to adapt it to the slit-tapestry technique (fig. 8). The third is incremental innovation, sometimes called stylization: The new kilim layout and design pass through generations of weavers and in this process the motifs eventually become larger, more geometric, and assume a form whose relationship to the original prototype grows ever more distant (fig. 9). The fourth stage is repetition: The kilim design becomes part of a stock repertory of Anatolian weaving and appears in numerous versions in numerous geographical areas (fig. 10).

Of course, in the case of forms whose creation may go back into the murky history of kilim-weaving before the sixteenth century, and especially in the case of the patterns and motifs of the larger kilims constituting the bulk of the Megalli collection, design origins cannot so easily be documented. Some common Anatolian kilim layouts and techniques, such as those related to the interlocking reciprocal diagonals seen in the Pazyryk pieces (fig. 2), may have resulted from creative experimentation within the limitations of slit-tapestry technique on the loom itself. Others may have been adapted from patterns and motifs found in pile carpet-weaving.

It is possible that our enduring fascination with kilims may be rooted in a phenomenon not normally associated with art in traditional societies: a wealth of spontaneous and inventive creation by weavers not necessarily restricted to using the traditional artistic prototypes passed down by earlier generations. If this is the case, we are presented in the art of the Anatolian kilim with a most unusual phenomenon with which art historians are not readily prepared to cope. Unlike the deeply rooted and often conservative design traditions of pile carpets, could it be possible that kilims were accepted, even in traditional cultures, as an area where wide design experimentation and innovation were permitted and even encouraged? We will probably never know either the answer to this question, or the ultimate origins of many of the forms we see in kilims today; but this neither detracts from their artistic power nor rules out our efforts to penetrate the historical mists wherever possible.

Fig. 7 *Çatma* panel with carnations, Bursa, Anatolia, late 16th to early 17th century; silk and metallic wrapped thread, velvet. 122.5 × 66 cm (48¼ × 26 inches). The Textile Museum 1.52, acquired by G.H. Myers in 1951.



Fig.7

Fig. 8 Detail, kilim with carnation design, Anatolia, probably 17th-18th century. Vakıflar Kilim Museum, Istanbul, Inv. K.H.4.



Fig.8

Fig. 9 Detail, kilim with carnation design, Anatolia, probably 18th -19th century. Collection of Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf, Toronto.

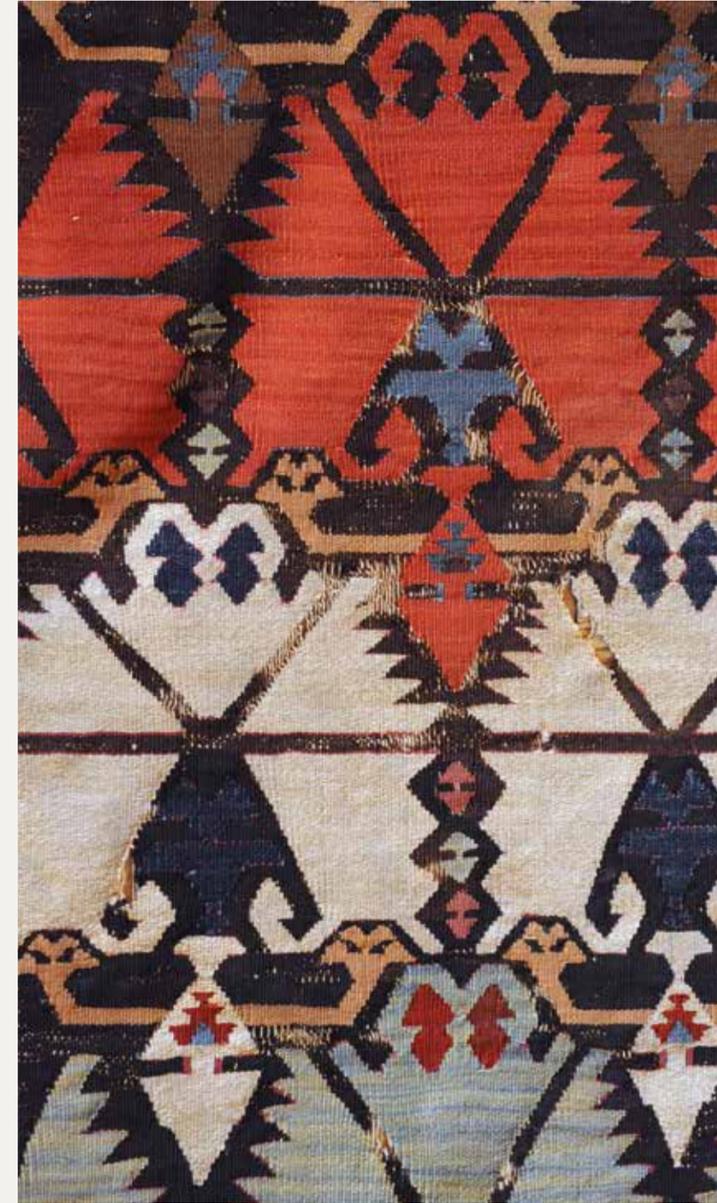


Fig.9

Fig. 10. Detail, kilim with carnation design, Anatolia, probably 19th century. Collection of Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf, Toronto.

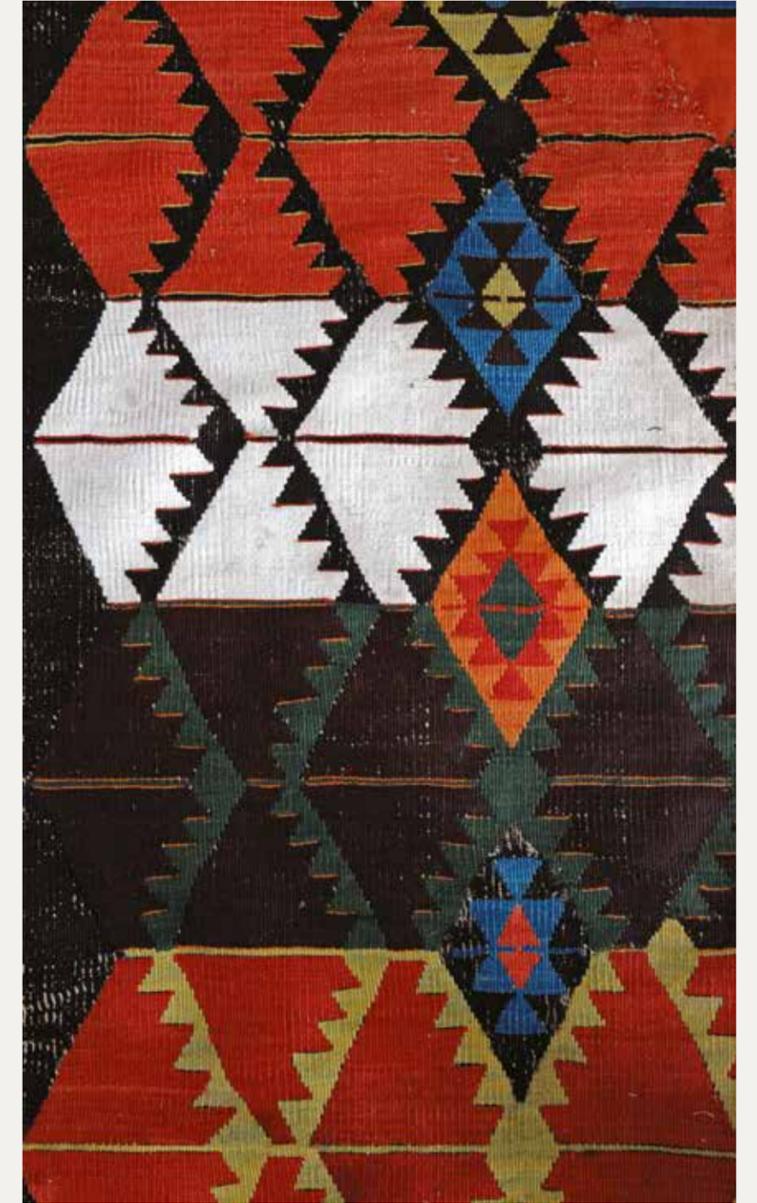


Fig.10



Fig.11

### Conclusion

The present exhibition, like all art exhibitions, has as its primary goal the visual display of material in a context that heightens our appreciation, understanding, and contextualization of a group of works of art. If kilim history is not yet ready for a detailed historical monograph in the traditional sense, we are presented in the totality of the Megalli collection with a marvelous opportunity to expand our understanding of kilim typology, social context, technique, design evolution, meanings, and artistry as they developed in Anatolia over the past several centuries. The examples selected from the larger Megalli collection for this exhibition have been chosen with all of these aspects in mind; the catalog of the exhibition includes as an appendix illustrations of all of the Megalli pieces, both as an aid to scholarship and as an attempt to soften the edges of the arbitrariness and individual curatorial taste that any exhibition selection process must necessarily involve. In what is still a relatively early stage of the evolution of kilim scholarship, this exhibition and its catalog attempt to present a clear picture not only of what we do know about Anatolian kilims, but a clear view of the challenges and problems that these compelling works of art present to all who esteem and enjoy their enduring artistry.

**Fig. 11 Detail, kilim with “improvised” overall pattern, Anatolia, probably 18th-19th century. Private collection.**

1 Rudenko 1970. The two kilims, from barrow 2 at Pazyryk, are illustrated in plate 157; Rudenko uses the somewhat archaic term “palas” for tapestry-weave.

2 Before the Megalli gift, Myers’ original collection was augmented in the 1960s, 1970s and finally in 1989 with the gifts of important Islamic tapestry-woven rugs from the collection of Textile Museum trustee Arthur D. Jenkins. See Cootner 1981.

3 Dimand and Mailey 1973. The Ballard 1929 gift forms an important part of the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s collection, and is discussed throughout the volume.

4 McMullan 1965. Carpets that were eventually given to the Met are indicated in this catalogue of Joseph V. McMullan’s collection; they were later included in the Dimand & Mailey volume mentioned in note 3 above.

5 Landreau and Pickering 1969.

6 Black and Loveless 1977.

7 Petsopoulos 1979 and Petsopoulos 1991.

8 Balpınar and Hirsch 1982.

9 Discussed in Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pp. 24-25 and 278-95.

10 See, for example, Frauenknecht 1984.

11 Denny 1979, pp. 105-09.

12 See, for example Cootner 1990, a volume including a significant number of pieces commonly regarded as among the older extant examples, although the actual age of the pieces is still under discussion.

13 Denny 1973, pp. 7-25; see also Beattie 1976, pp. 292-95.

14 For a critical discussion of the “elibelinde” motif in one familiar group of kilims, see Denny and Krody 2012, pp. 31-34.

15 Douglass, John M. *The Lost Language* (Bell Canyon CA, WNL Communications, 1990) was described by reviewer Jill Tilden in HALI 56, page 144, as “ahead of all rival acts of publishing eccentricity for many years to come.” A work by Bruno Barbatti, *Tapis berbères du Maroc: La symbolique, origines et signification* (Second edition, Courbevoie, Editions ACR, 2015), follows in the same tradition.

16 In addition to an article by Mellaart published in the Frauenknecht volume cited in note 10 above, and the San Francisco catalog by Cathryn Cootner cited in note 12 above, a major statement of the Mother Goddess theory was made in a four-volume opus jointly authored by Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar in 1989.

17 See the reviews of *The Goddess from Anatolia* in Eiland 1990, pp. 19-26 and Mallett 1990, pp. 32-43.

18 Balpınar 1982, pp. 262-67.

**Plates**  
**Part one**



1

Kilim Central Anatolia, Konya 18th century 328 × 79 cm (129 × 31 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.2 The Megalli Collection



## 2

Kilim Central Anatolia c.1800 313 × 67 cm (123 × 26 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.44, The Megalli Collection



## 3

Kilim Western Anatolia First half 19th century 338 × 82 cm (133 × 32 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.38 The Megalli Collection





# 4

Kilim Central Anatolia 19th century 367 × 88.5 cm (144.5 × 34.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.90 The Megalli Collection



## 5

Kilim Central Anatolia 19th century 310 × 93 cm (122 × 36.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.27, The Megalli Collection



## 6

Kilim Central Anatolia 18th century 293 × 137.5 cm (115 × 54 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.35 The Megalli Collection



## 7

Kilim Western Anatolia, probably Aydin First half 19th century 364 × 84 cm (143 × 33 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.9 The Megalli Collection





# 8

Kilim Western Anatolia First half 19th century 308 × 75 cm (121 × 29.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.6 The Megalli Collection



# 9

Kilim Central Anatolia First half 19th century 395 × 75 cm (155.5 × 29.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.47 The Megalli Collection



# 10

Kilim Central or Western Anatolia c.1800 381.5 × 70 cm (150 × 27.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.94 The Megalli Collection





# 11

Kilim Central Anatolia Second half 18th century 417 × 95 cm (164 × 37 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.59 The Megalli Collection



## 12

Kilim Western Anatolia First half 19th century 319.5 × 61 cm (125.8 × 24 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.51 The Megalli Collection



## 13

Kilim Central Anatolia, Konya 18th century 404 × 96.5 cm (159 × 38 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.63 The Megalli Collection





## 14

Kilim Southern Anatolia Second half 19th century 409 × 87 cm (161 × 34 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.75 The Megalli Collection





## Weaver's Eye, Weaver's Art: Creating Anatolian Kilims

Sumru Belger Krody

Kilims were a potent expression of the nomadic and peasant culture in Anatolia as well as a highly personal artistic expression for rural women. They were most likely molded by a profusion of powerful aesthetic influences originating from the many ethnic groups that made up the Anatolian culture. What many of those influences were, however, remains shrouded in history and mystery. Yet methodical study of Anatolian kilims reveals tangible results and allows this art to be seen through the eyes of its artists, the weavers. This kind of study makes it apparent that weavers judged kilims equally by their design, their materiality, and their structure; this contrasts with the focus of twentieth-century art historical study when it comes to Anatolian kilims, which has been on design alone.

Methodical study of materiality and structure makes obvious the decisions and adjustments the weavers made from the time they chose the materials for weaving, through the weaving process at the loom as the kilim slowly took shape, to the day they cut the textile off the loom. Understanding the weaving and decisions involved in this process brings us closer to fully comprehending the weavers' value system.

This kind of approach also makes it perfectly clear that material and technical issues had direct and inescapable effect on kilim design, often more so than the social and aesthetic preferences of Anatolian women. Through technical study, it may be even possible to answer some of the most elusive questions surrounding Anatolian kilims.

### **Building blocks for a kilim: weave structure**

Anatolian kilims and their designs are created using a specific textile technique known as slit tapestry weave, which is one of the oldest, continually used methods of creating textiles with vibrant designs. For millennia, many cultures around the world have utilized the technique to create colorful textiles of infinite variety and purpose using diverse materials from silk to wool to linen. While tapestry weave lends itself to variety, it resulted from one of the most basic textile structures and is executed on the simplest looms. This may also explain its popularity across time and cultures.

Tapestry weave produces a textile structure in which horizontal sets of yarns (weft) are interlaced, often in under-one-over-one order, with vertical sets of yarns (warp) tightly stretched on a loom.<sup>1</sup> The interlacing creates a structure known as plain weave, the basic building block of Anatolian kilims. What distinguishes

Fig.1 Woman spinning with a drop spindle, Sinanköy Köyü, Malatya, 1979. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2263-30-2, ©Suna Kırac Library/Koç University, Turkey.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

tapestry weave from other types of plain weave is that weft yarns not only create the fabric, they are also solely responsible for the creation of colorful designs. Both of these occur at the same time, during the weaving process.

A combination of two features characterizes the tapestry weave, having remained unchanged since antiquity. First, the weft yarns are not interlaced completely across the entire width of the textile, in other words, selvage to selvage. They are woven back and forth only where their corresponding color is desired or needed in the creation of the design. Second, the weft yarns are so tightly packed together during weaving that they completely cover the warp yarns, regardless of their thickness, making only the weft yarns visible in the finished textile (fig. 2).

There are three primary types of tapestry weave, defined by the structural interface where two colors of weft yarns meet.<sup>2</sup> In slit tapestry weave, two color areas meet vertically with each weft yarn turning around the last individual warp yarn at the edge of its color area, thus creating a vertical opening called a slit between the two colors (fig. 3). Slits had enormous impact on Anatolian kilim designs; the ordering of color areas to avoid excessively long slits resulted in their characteristic design patterns built on units such as diamonds, triangles, and lozenges.

The slit tapestry weave used in kilims is inherently limiting for creating curvilinear forms unless the weaver has the necessary equipment, time, experience, know-how, and most importantly, very fine yarns. In creating their designs, Anatolian weavers seem to have accepted the technique's natural limitations instead of working against them. It is important to consider the critical relationship between materials,

**Fig. 2** The design in tapestry weave is created by colored horizontal weft yarns interlaced through the vertical warp yarns in over and under sequence. The different colored weft yarns turn back using adjacent warp yarns, creating slits. Diagram by Lydia Fraser, 2004.

**Fig. 3** A vertical opening between the two color areas in tapestry weave is called a slit. Warp vertical detail from *The Textile Museum 2013.2.6*, *The Megalli Collection*.

**Fig. 4** Women combing wool, Karagömlek Köyü, Çanakkale, 1985. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2555-29-1, ©Suna Kiraç Library/Koç University, Turkey.

**Fig. 5** The bright white of cotton yarns created focal points in designs. Detail from *The Textile Museum 2013.2.5*, *The Megalli Collection*.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

technique, and patterning in textile-making; how this relationship developed and how it affected the weavers' value system are both interesting questions that may be answered through close structural analyses.

#### **Building blocks for a kilim: materiality**

The weavers of Anatolian kilims mastered their craft. First and foremost, they had total control over the selection of raw materials. Although supply was not unlimited, wool was readily available for nomadic families. Regardless of the breed of sheep the wool came from, the weavers' involvement from the beginning in choosing the wool and deciding on carding or combing the wool to make it ready for spinning was an important first step in achieving high weaving quality (fig. 4).

While the yarn made from sheep's wool was used almost exclusively, goat hair, camel hair, cotton yarns, even metallic-wrapped thread were occasionally integrated into kilim-weaving.<sup>3</sup> The last two were often employed in making small details and used sparingly for highlights. The bright whiteness of cotton was always appreciated in creating focal points in designs, although it was duller in texture by comparison with shiny wool yarns (fig. 5).

Nomads in western Anatolia and the Taurus mountains along the Mediterranean coast kept large herds of camels for their migration, camel hair appearing in many of their weavings as light brown variegated yarn (fig. 6). Camel hair was spun like sheep's wool, but created a duller yarn and was very rarely, if ever, dyed. When it was dyed, the natural light- to medium-brown color of the camel hair gave a darker



Fig. 6



Fig. 7

and more somber shade than the brighter colors that could be achieved with undyed white sheep's wool.

Weavers and their families spun wool fibers whenever they could, including during migration (fig. 7). Spinning was an activity that could be done even when walking, and by anyone—from grandfather to grandchild. It was also one of the most time-consuming activities of textile making. Traditionally, Anatolian women spun the fiber loosely on drop spindles in a Z direction (fig. 1). While weft yarns were single Z-spun yarns, warp yarns needed to be stronger because of the pressure they were put under. Besides spinning, warp yarns were doubled and plied very tightly in an S direction. Tightly-plied, thicker warp yarns were able to withstand the pressure of stretching on the loom, and could cope with the repeated impact of the heavy iron beaters used to level and pack the weft yarns. Due to the plying of the warp yarns, weft yarns in Anatolian kilims were about half as thick as the warp yarns (fig. 8).

Fig. 6 Camel hair yarns have a variegated light-brown appearance. Warp vertical detail from The Textile Museum 2013.2.85, The Megalli Collection.

Fig.7 Woman spinning while walking during the migration. Photograph by Josephine Powell, Koc University Digital Archives 2263-30-2.

Fig.8 Warp yarns in Anatolian kilims were plied very tightly in an S direction and are twice as thick as the weft yarns. Warp vertical detail from The Textile Museum 2013.2.26, The Megalli Collection.

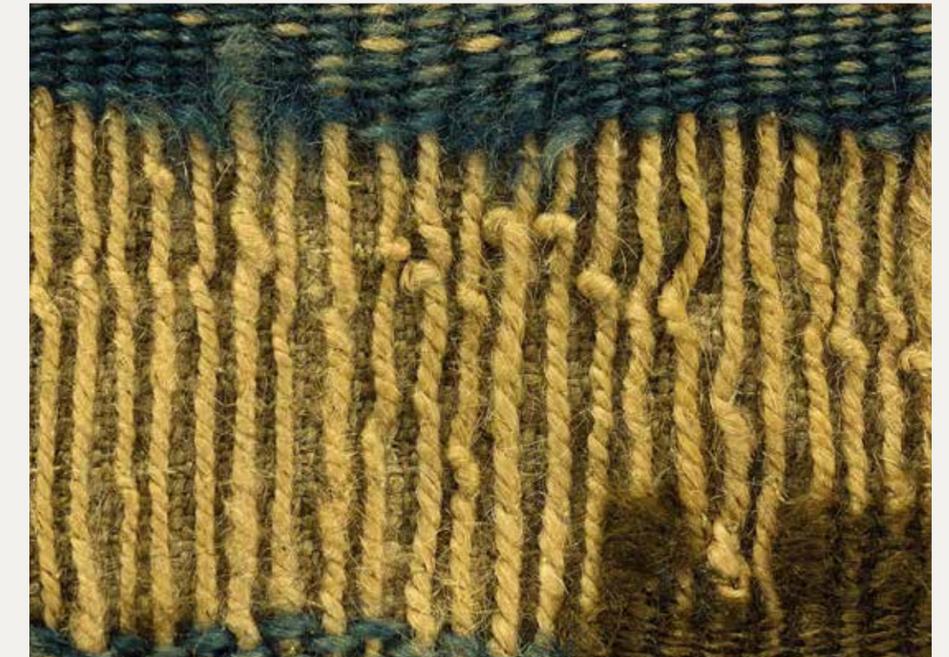


Fig. 8

The weavers put utmost effort into choosing the best wool for weft yarns to be dyed for kilim-weaving. Kilim designs that are clear and precise and colors that are luminous and bright were almost always made with high-quality wool.<sup>4</sup> The weft yarns are instrumental in kilim-weaving; they are the components that create the colorful, monumental designs that stir the twenty-first-century viewer's enthusiasm.

Warp yarns in most Anatolian kilims were not dyed, but left in their natural sheep's-wool color ranging from very white to dark brown. Dark brown wool as well as goat hair was typically set aside to be used for warp. Occasionally, these hard-to-dye, dark-colored wools and hairs were plied with lighter-colored wool, creating a spiraling dark and light stripe. This effect is known as "barber's pole" (fig. 9).

Anatolian women respected the slits that were dictated by weaving technique and knew that they played an important role in the effectiveness of the design.



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

Frequently, they give strength and force. When slits were not worked well into the design and not respected, they had an adverse effect on the design.

The narrow widths of Anatolian kilims translated to about 350 to 500 warp ends per loom width, approximately 54-56 warp ends per 10 centimeters. Occasionally kilims had lower warp counts around 35 warp ends per 10 centimeters; these tended to be kilims with minimal design, with a very soft and floppy feel when carried.

The ratio between the number of warp yarns versus the height of the slit step was an important factor in a successful design. The denser warp-counts in the highly decorated kilims prevented long slits from forming and the slits from gaping open and distorting the design (fig. 10). Better matrixes formed by the dense warp placement allowed Anatolian women to weave intricate designs with frequent color changes while creating a strong fabric. As insignificant as it might sound, the decision on how many warp ends to use for the design was the first indication of the weaver's experience and competency.

Tapestry weave dictated a certain sequence of weaving the design. Motifs ending in a point or designs that tapered were woven first in the sequence; then their surroundings were filled in with other weft yarns. Kilim designs were constructed on an even number of warp yarns. No motif started with an odd number of warp yarns. The smallest segment of a motif and often the outlines were done on two warp yarns and woven with figure-8 motion (fig. 11)

A weaver wove a motif until it stood as a complete shape with empty, unwoven warp yarns on either side. She would then weave the background areas at either side of the motif. Therefore the weaver never had a straight weaving edge in front of her,



Fig. 11

Fig.9 Barber's pole warp yarns. Detail from *The Textile Museum* 2013.2.96, *The Megalli Collection*.

Fig.10 The ratio between the number of warp yarns and the height of the slit step is important for a successful kilim design. If not respected, the slits gape and distort the design. Warp vertical detail from *The Textile Museum* 2013.2.17, *The Megalli Collection*.

Fig.11 The smallest segment of a motif, and often the outlines, were woven with figure-8 motion on two warps. Warp vertical detail from *The Textile Museum* 2013.2.51, *The Megalli Collection*.

Fig.12 Weavers doubled or even tripled weft yarns during weaving to keep the horizontal edge of the weaving straight. Warp vertical detail from *The Textile Museum* 2013.2.67, *The Megalli Collection*.



Fig. 12

in contrast to the weavers of knotted-pile carpet. Because of this method, the weaver used her fingers to pull forward every other warp yarn in the designated color area. Using finger hanks instead of a shuttle, she interlaced the weft yarn. Because it was smaller, the finger hank could be quickly passed from one hand to other across the narrow width of each color area. To weave a motif on a background, the weaver had to use three finger hanks in two different colors, and the weft yarns thus created needed to be worked completely independently of each other.

Anatolian kilim-weavers interlaced the weft yarns in the same direction from one shed to another. Two weft yarns in the same shed visually gave a very clear straight-line boundary between the two colors.<sup>5</sup> From the way they interlaced the weft yarns and incorporated the slits into the design, it is clear that Anatolian nomads appreciated crisp, abrupt color changes.

One of the biggest challenges the weaver encountered was to keep her weaving horizontally leveled. The designs were developed motif by motif, color area by color area, creating a jagged appearance to the weaving edge. A weaver's skill and experience, more than her eye for color and design, therefore played a crucial role in allowing the weaving to progress evenly. An experienced weaver knew that, if her warp tension was balanced and even across all the warp yarns on her loom, her lines would be horizontal and straight from one selvage to the other. She also needed to have evenly spun weft yarns in her hand. If she did not, she needed to have the expertise to double or even triple them during weaving to keep the horizontal edge of the weaving straight. She could do this by placing two or more weft yarns together in the shed or plying two weft yarns to compensate for the thicker single yarn (fig. 12).



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

Design selection was, for the most part, also primarily based on the weaver's experience. Designs that were monumental, without too many inner color changes, had weft yarns that were straight across. This created a visual order that was not visible in other designs. On the other hand, it took a master to weave a kilim with frequent color changes, while keeping the weft yarns straight across (see cat. nos. 2013.2.2, 2.6, 2.45, and 2.51). If keeping warp tension even, doubling weft yarns, and compacting the weft yarns by pounding them with combs did not work, weavers employed many other tools and tricks of the trade.

#### All the tools of the trade

Anatolian weavers, like any artists, wanted to master the method, break the rigid geometry created by warp and weft yarns, and overturn the rules imposed by the technique. Their tool chest included many possibilities from so-called eccentric weft yarns to outlining, from slits to "lazy lines".

Eccentric weft yarns lay in curves or obliquely in the weave.<sup>6</sup> These non-horizontal weft yarns allowed weavers to render curved lines or fill in the areas of weaving to create a straight weaving edge (fig. 13). Anatolian kilim weavers used these curved weft yarns in small color areas by altering the density with which weft yarns were packed. With eccentric weft yarns, the weaver could add contours to the design, overcoming linear limitations typically imposed by the weaving technique. This practice might have naturally developed from the technique rather than being a conscious choice by the weavers.

**Fig.13** Non-horizontal weft yarns, so-called eccentric wefts, allowed weavers to render curved lines or fill in areas of weaving to create a straight weaving edge. Warp vertical detail from *The Textile Museum 2013.2.33, The Megalli Collection.*

**Fig.14** Weft yarns used for outlining were interlaced using two warp yarns; they were either worked in over-one-and-under-one order or were wrapped around the two warp yarns. Warp vertical detail from *The Textile Museum 2013.2.93, The Megalli Collection.*

**Fig.15** Occasionally looping was used for outlining the motif. Warp vertical detail from *The Textile Museum 2013.2.67, The Megalli Collection.*

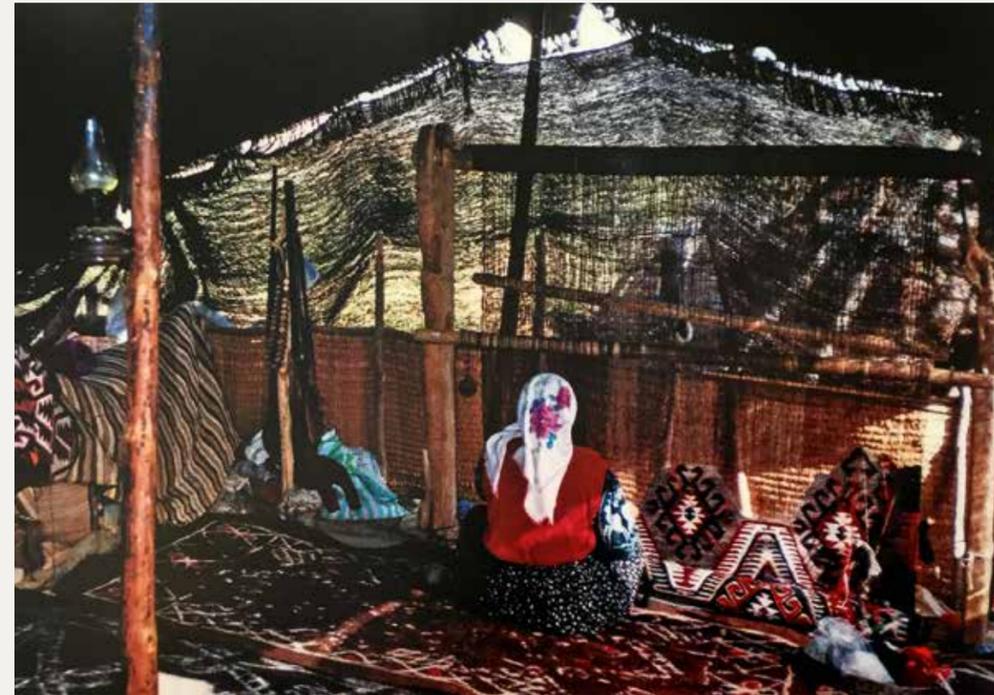


Fig. 16

**Fig.16** Many kilims were woven at ninety degrees to the direction in which they were used. From Harald Böhmer, *Nomads in Anatolia: Their Life and Their Textiles: Encounters with a Vanishing Culture.* Remhob-Verlag, Ganderkesse 2008.

**Fig.17** Lazy lines in solid color areas. Warp vertical. Detail from *The Textile Museum 2013.2.20, The Megalli Collection.*



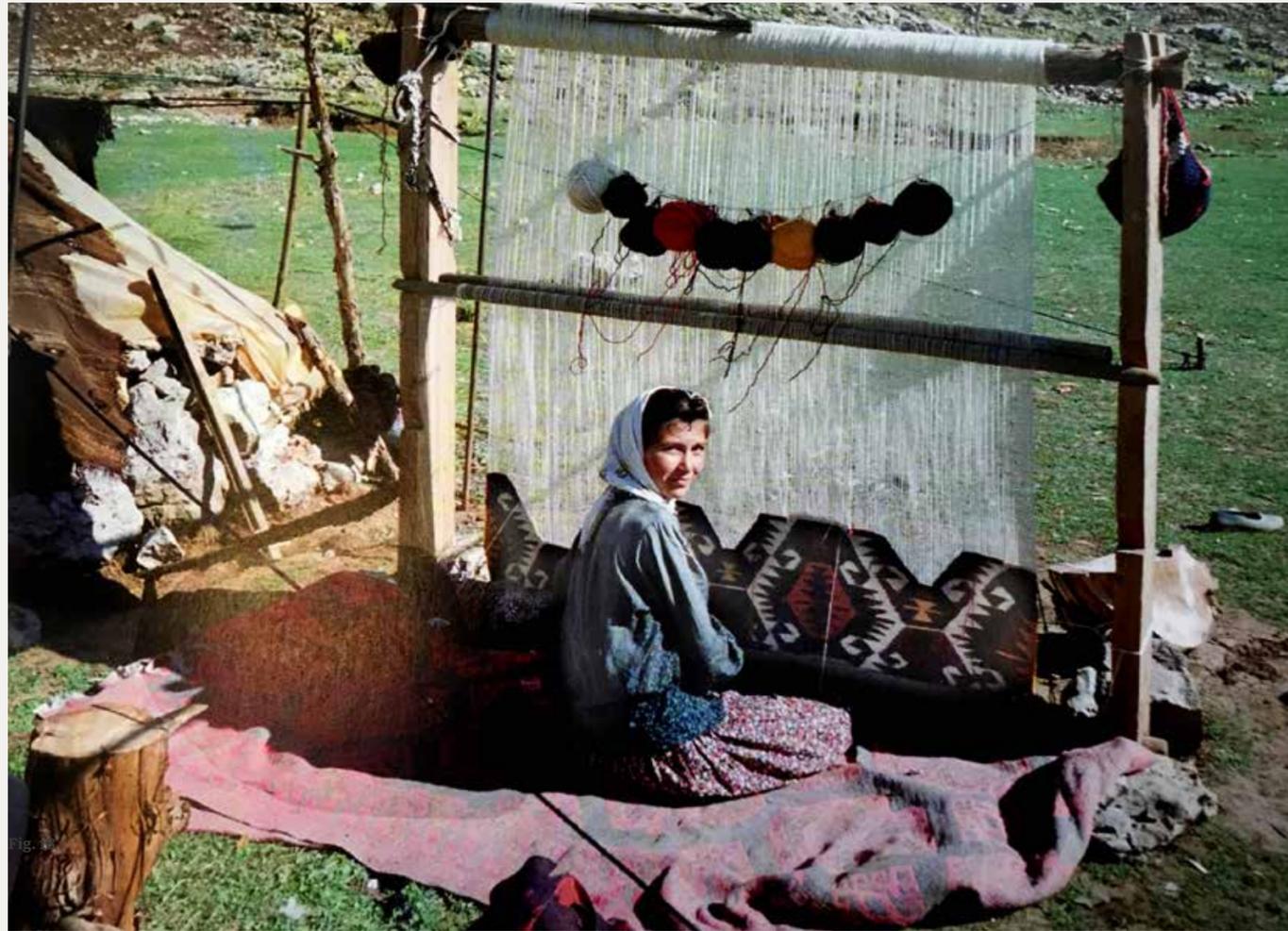
Fig. 17

In many other cultures where tapestry weaving was practiced, such as Europe and ancient Egypt, weavers deliberately employed eccentric weft yarns to infuse their textile designs with dynamic qualities and enhanced realism. While they aimed for realism in their textile designs, Anatolian women were more interested in bold motifs and strong colors, representing very different aesthetic choices, although all used the same weaving technique.

Another group of yarns that did not lie strictly at right angles to the warp yarns were those used for outlining (fig. 14).<sup>7</sup> Before the background areas were woven, weavers interlaced another yarn around the motif. They often worked using two warp yarns and either interlaced this weft yarn over-one-and-under-one or wrapped it around the two warp yarns. On rare occasions, a weaver might choose to loop the outlining weft yarn, creating chain-stitches (fig. 15).

The color of the weft yarn used for the outlines was always distinct from the color areas on either side of the outline; this enhanced the contrast between the adjacent colors. The weavers skillfully manipulated how colors appeared through the use of a thin outline in another color that was distinct from both neighboring colors, emphasizing the demarcation between two color areas. This in turn enhanced the contrast between the adjacent colors and strengthened the visual impact of the motif enclosed inside the outlining.

Creating designs in kilim-weaving required various approaches to overcome the rigid geometry of the loom, several of which Anatolian kilim-weavers mastered. A graph of parallel vertical-warp yarns and parallel horizontal-weft yarns created the



matrix, the rigid geometry, on which the design was created. The technical constraint imposed was thus a vital part of the artistic process. The form of the weaver's design might follow horizontal (weft direction) or diagonal lines, but not vertical (warp direction) lines. In other words, the necessity for achieving a balance between using enough slits to create motifs and limiting the length and frequency of slits in order to maintain structural integrity had a great influence on the character of kilim motifs and overall designs. Weavers across the globe used various methods of changing color areas, but Anatolian kilim weavers appeared to prefer slits.<sup>8</sup> For this reason, Anatolian kilim designs were based on horizontal or diagonal lines that are 45 degrees or less in angle.

There are two dominant design formats in Anatolian kilims: banded design arrangements and centralized design arrangements. Even if the bands are not visible in the former arrangement, the organization of motifs implies bands; in the latter format, the entire surface is treated as a single undivided unit framed by a border on

**Fig.18** Nomadic families tended to build narrow looms requiring smaller beams than bigger and heavier ones. From Harald Böhmer, *Nomads in Anatolia: Their Life and Their Textiles: Encounters with a Vanishing Culture*. Remhüb-Verlag, Ganderkesse 2008.

all four sides, although all the borders may not match design-wise (see cat. nos. 2013.2.3, 2.7, 2.13, 2.90, 2.92, and 2.94).<sup>9</sup> The creation of side border elements had a major influence on kilim designs, due to the characteristic avoidance of vertical color changes in tapestry weave.

Separations between the side border areas and the central field were always porous; either the border area extended into the central field or the reverse happened. In other words, the solution for a vertical color junction problem was to alternate the color junction, and therefore the slits, between a right- and left-hand position. The Anatolian weaver's preference was to use two distinct means of reciprocal color changes (see cat. nos. 2013.2.51 and 2.58). The technically simpler way was to extend one color area into the other and reverse it after weaving an inch or so. This method created a crenelated effect between the central field and the border area. Anatolian weavers often developed this idea decoratively by adding a third color accentuating the in-and-out movement. This can be developed even further by incorporating a small crossbar of third-colored weft (fig. 11). Besides being decorative, this prevented an over-long slit and allowed the weaver to have longer crenelations and by extension more prominent border design treatments (see cat. nos. 2013.2.2, 2.14, 2.30, and 2.75).

The other way to change color areas in side borders was more complicated. The weaver used a triangular shape, sometimes with added hook shapes, to create an in-and-out design or, in many cases, a reciprocal design (see cat. nos. 2013.2.41 and 2.75). This triangular border element was built in small steps by moving the weft yarn in front or behind one or more warps depending on the angle desired. This principle was used for any design that had diagonal lines, regardless of where the motif was located in the overall design.

The care and attention given to dealing with color change is a strong indication that weavers valued how this aspect was handled. They must have judged each new kilim not only by its design, but by how well the color change was worked out by the weaver, as well as how fine the wool was. Materiality and structure were two aspects that weavers understood better than outsiders.

One aspect that is often puzzling is that many, if not all, kilims were woven at a 90-degree angle to the apparent direction from which the design would be viewed (figs. 16, 18). This is common practice when tapestries have naturalistic designs, such as European tapestries or the Late Antique tapestries found in Egypt's dry

climate. How did the Anatolian weaver conceptualize her design? Vertically or horizontally? From twentieth-century field-work results we know that kilims were used both horizontally and vertically (see Şerife Atlıhan's chapter in this book). The designs were seen horizontally in the tent and vertically when draped and tied on the camel load during migration. What is not clear is whether one direction was preferred to the other. The designs on Anatolian kilims may suggest that there was no dominant orientation that weavers preferred or their culture dictated. Monumental design elements and how they related to each other were enough to make the design acceptable. This characteristic also indicates that Anatolian kilim weavers were very skilled in creating designs that could be read in various directions and were versatile in weaving them with ease (Atlıhan, fig. 8).

#### Design takes form

The repertoire of motifs was relatively small. The weavers expanded it through a process of elaboration or simplification or by varying the size and placement of motifs. Individual geometric motifs thus took on an amazing variety of complicated forms, as seen on many surviving Anatolian kilims with shared design origins. The Anatolian weaver created design fields (layouts) with motifs of equal or fluctuating emphasis, in which what is dominant and what is recessive remains unresolved. The varying sizes of many reciprocal motifs, which form both negative and positive space, tease the eye, creating shifting visual perceptions and ambiguities between motif and ground. Either aspect of the composition can be the primary view, with the other receding into the background (see cat. nos. 2013.2.27 and 2.78). This is known as "figure ground reversal." Its optical effects were compounded when these kilims were hung or draped on top of others, creating undulated surfaces in the nomad tents or on a camel load. The eye shifted from angle to angle, drape to drape, textile to textile. Elements of the patterns appeared similar, then different. They moved in and out of view with the kilims' folds. The kilims' dynamic drapery and large size obscured small, individual motifs. The dynamic properties of large design elements, such as monumental hooks, and the optical effects of field ground reversal, worked in tandem and enhanced each other. That is why kilim-weavers likely paid more attention to monumental design elements and their relationship to the overall design composition than the individual small motifs.



Fig. 19

**Fig.19** The tension of the warp and the force applied during weaving had a profound effect on appearance of the two panels, which were woven separately and sewn together later. Warp vertical detail from The Textile Museum 2013.2.45, The Megalli Collection.

Anatolian women worked with a design repertoire that was essentially rectilinear and geometric in shape and non-representational or abstract in nature, while the original inspiration for the designs most probably came from the natural world around them. Weavers seemed to take elements of the natural world and stylized and geometricized them, absorbing them into their own rectilinear grammar.

Strong, rich colors and color juxtapositions were another important element in good Anatolian kilim design.<sup>10</sup> Skilled weavers seem to have been very aware that the "correct" use of, and variation in, color transformed the overall sense of the kilim from predictable to lively. The uncompromising and uncluttered design seen on some early Anatolian kilims left large areas of plain color exposed. Kilim weavers worked skillfully with this aspect. It was easier to weave a small color area than a wider one, because the weaver could pass the weft yarn in finger hanks from one hand to other. For this reason, in kilims where large spans of the same color were part of the design, weavers quite frequently chose to break this block into small sections. This practice left behind the faint diagonal lines sometimes called "lazy lines," where one small section met another. Although not visible from a distance or even in closer, the faint marks, the slits left behind, gave subtle dynamism to an area otherwise very plain (fig. 17).



Fig. 20

Outlining individual motifs was another tool weavers constantly employed to create powerful design impact. Through outlining, weavers emphasized the color combinations and juxtapositions between the individual design elements and the negative space around them. They employed the contrast of light and dark in the design of kilims as a device for giving emphasis to the principal motifs. Using a thin outline of another color emphasized the demarcation between two color areas; this in turn enhanced the contrast. Unfortunately, the yarns used for outlines in many old kilims have disintegrated or unraveled with the passage of time, making harder to appreciate the total effect (see cat. no. 2013.2.90).

Using pleasing color pairings also has a dramatic effect in the perception of a design's execution. Anatolian women gave life to a relatively small repertoire of kilim designs by alternating colors they used in each repeat of the motif (see cat. no. 2013.2.63). They gravitated towards primary-color and secondary-color harmony to create arrangements of colors that created a sense of order and balance while delivering visual interest. Some of the favorite color pairings on kilims were orange and purple, green and red, blue and purple, pink and blue, and yellow and red. Contemporary aesthetic preferences find kilims with a small number of strong and rich colors visually compelling.<sup>11</sup>

Many of the historic Anatolian kilims are long and narrow. Widths range from about 70 to 88 cm, approximately 27 to 35 inches. Based on current kilim-weaving practice in Anatolia, this preference for narrow widths most likely corresponded with the arm span of a single weaver sitting in front of the loom. Undoubtedly, it was

**Fig.20 Seemingly randomly distributed motifs created with supplementary-weft patterning may be the weaver's self-expression. Warp vertical detail from The Textile Museum 2013.2.75 The Megalli Collection.**

also much easier for a nomadic family to build a narrow loom, which required smaller beams than a bigger and heavier one (figs 18, 21). A weaver could create a textile wider than 90 cm by weaving two or more panels. The weavers' expectation appeared to be that they would weave the other panels during the next available weaving season and would connect the second with the first one.

The only downside to this practice was the challenge of matching the weave from one season to another. Even if the number of warp yarns was kept exactly the same and yarns saved from the previous year were used, the tension of the warps in the loom and the force applied during the beating could be different. These two factors had a direct effect on the design of the kilim and how perfectly the design of the second panel matched with the first one (fig. 19).

Kilim weavers could not easily count rows of weft yarns to match, as was possible when weaving knotted-pile carpets. The weaver had to rely on her eye to approximate the size of the color areas. If it is so hard to match even when most of the variables are resolved, why did Anatolian kilim weavers continue to weave half of the design in one panel and the other in the other panel? Why did they not weave a full symmetrical design on each panel? Or is it the contemporary art historians' expectation that the final design statement need to be symmetrical? Why was the design statement only complete when the two panels were attached and the design became symmetrical? The weavers and their culture might have considered the long kilim with its half or asymmetrical design complete, as it implied the overall design statement. The addition of the second panel might have been considered a bonus, but not essential for the kilim to function as a beautiful utilitarian object. The prevalence of surviving Anatolian kilims with a half or asymmetrical design may confirm this.

As a result of field research conducted among the women weavers of carpets and kilims we know that that even today weavers prefer clarity and continuity in their designs. This is achieved through clearly drawn design elements and color harmony inside and outside a motif or design area; logical layout of the design and relationship between design elements; and the presentation of one large coherent statement instead of small scattered design elements floating incoherently in the field.<sup>12</sup> The examination of designs on earlier kilims suggests that these three factors were as important to the great-great-grandmothers of today's weavers as they are now.

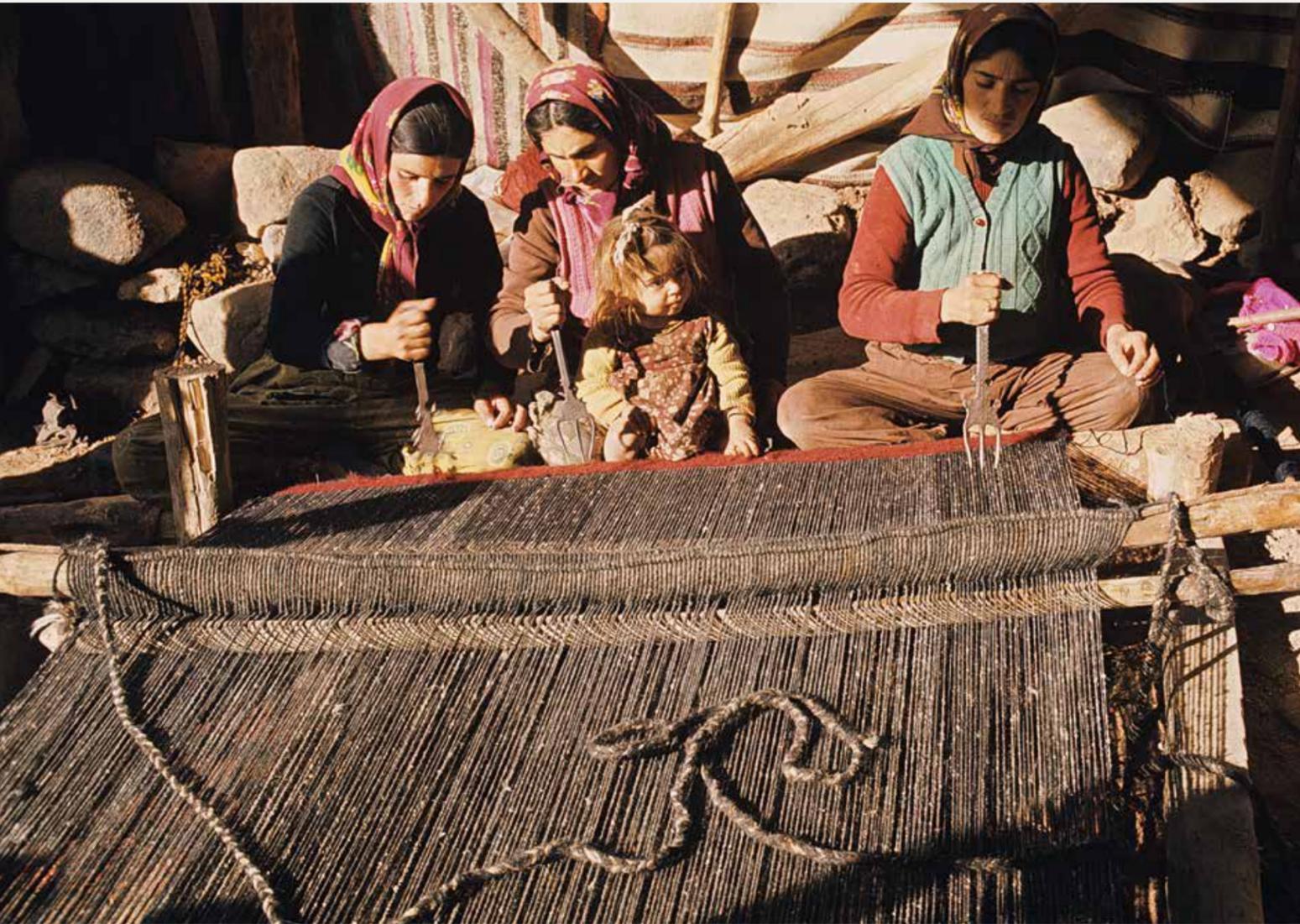


Fig. 21

The frequent use of certain design layouts and motifs might indicate that they were special to the society in which the weaver lived. Strictly speaking, they were communal expressions rather than the weaver's self-expression. It is almost impossible to know with absolute certainty what these designs meant for the weavers, since the associated meanings died with the weaver and her family. Based on other cultures as well as field-work among the Anatolian nomads during the twentieth century, the assumption is that a textile can function as a document of weaver's memory, a host of symbolic reminders of her family and friends, or an abstract portrayal of the social affinities she developed during the creative process of weaving.

The next question is how to identify motifs remotely indicative of self-expression in a kilim's design. The only design elements that were not likely prescribed by the culture or tradition were randomly appearing motifs woven with supplementary-weft yarns or small knotted tufts of colorful wool or human hair.<sup>13</sup> These motifs might be the only candidates to be considered as weaver's self-expression (fig. 20).

Fig.21 Young women weaving a decorated storage sack on a ground loom, Memiřkahya, Kahramanmarař, Turkey, 1977. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2217-19A-03, ©Suna Kırac Library/Koç University, Turkey.

Fig. 22 *Piğ*, a three pronged iron beater comb to beat the weft down. The warp is brown and white wool mixed, Memiřkahya, Kahramanmarař, Turkey, 1977. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2217-19A-25, ©Suna Kırac Library/Koç University, Turkey.



Fig. 22

They were never woven as a logical part of the overall design, nor did they have any clear and continuing relationship with design layout or with other motifs. Their presence did not support the bold, coherent statement kilim weavers expected to make. This leaves only one option open, and that is that weavers incorporated these motifs as reminders or memory aids pertaining to the important events occurring around them. What those events were, however, may never be known.

#### **The kilim comes off the loom**

Since no aesthetic treatise contemporary with any historic Anatolian kilim is known, scholars and connoisseurs must rely on thorough material and structural analysis of the textiles to confirm current assertions. By tracing the most commonly emphasized design, material and technical features of kilims, it is possible to ascertain which criteria the weavers used to judge the kilims. Field research conducted by twentieth-century scholars among the few remaining nomad families helped to piece together



Fig. 23

some of the ways these old kilims might have been used (figs. 21, 22). Although this is immensely helpful, it needs to be kept in mind that the information was gathered among the great-great-grandchildren of nomads, and with the hopeful assumption that nomads had been living in a very conservative, little-changing environment compared with their settled kin (fig. 23). This might not be altogether true, considering many of them settled in villages two or more generations ago. On the other hand, direct access to the weavers of historical kilims is impossible, so the next-best thing is to talk to the descendants of the nomads and examine the works of art.

Close analyses of the material and structural characteristics of Anatolian kilims opens a valuable window to the weavers and their working habits, although it may not yet help with giving clear provenance to kilims or dating them. Each step from the selection and preparation of the wool to corrective actions employed during weaving had a crucial effect on how a kilim's design took form. During the process of

**Fig. 23** A row of *topak ev*, a kind of nomad tent, at the camp area in Üsküdar Yaylası, Akkışla, Kayseri, Turkey, 1985. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2549-27-10, ©Suna Kıraç Library/Koç University, Turkey.

creating a kilim, a weaver was making decisions and evaluating choices in terms of their suitability for the achievement of her communicative artistic goals. Her decision processes were governed by the practical requirements of utility, economy, and efficiency of the chosen weave structure.

The designs and structures of old and new Anatolian kilims may be the same, but the world to which they refer has changed. Over time, the visual language of art changes even more than the technical and material languages. Anatolian kilims teach us that as works of art there was much more to the material world of the nomads than we had been led to believe by our early twentieth century scientific training. Therefore, we always need to remember that there is more to kilims than meets the eye.

1 For in-depth discussion of tapestry weave and its characteristics see Emery 1994, pp. 78-79 and Collingwood 1968, pp. 141-61.

2 See Emery 1994, pp. 79-81 and Collingwood 1968, pp. 151-56 for the various ways color change is handled in tapestry weave.

3 The practice of using threads created by wrapping flat strips of metal around a core thread, in this case cotton, as highlights, can be seen throughout Anatolian flatweaves. However, this method of highlighting motifs was more common in northwestern Anatolian bags woven with supplementary-weft wrapping and kilims from the Erzurum-Van region.

4 For in-depth discussion of dyestuffs and dyeing in Anatolia, see Böhmer 2002, Özgökçe and Yılmaz 2003, Kayabas and Jirousek 2005, and Böhmer 2008.

5 The various ways weft insertion was handled in tapestry weave are discussed in Collingwood 1968, pp. 145-47.

6 See Emery 1994, pp. 82-83 and Collingwood 1968, p. 159 for a discussion of eccentric weft yarns.

7 For outlining in tapestry weave, see Emery 1994, p. 82.

8 Emery 1994, pp. 79-81 and Collingwood 1968, pp. 151-56.

9 Davies (2000, pp. 39-47) and Petsopoulos (1979, pp. 51-226) discuss various design layouts in Anatolian kilims.

10 See Thompson 2011, pp. 326-55 for discussion of colors in carpets.

11 See Daugherty 1999, pp. 161-66, and Daugherty 2004, pp. 304-345, for her interviews with contemporary carpet weavers and their discussion about what they consider a pleasing design.

12 Daugherty 1999, pp. 161-66; Daugherty 2004, pp. 304-345.

13 See Emery 1994, pp. 140-49 for various techniques of adding supplementary sets to the weaving for decorative purposes.

**Plates**  
**Part two**



# 15

Kilim Western Anatolia c.1800 401 × 86 cm (158 × 34 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.68 The Megalli Collection



# 16

Kilim Western Anatolia c.1800 388 × 77.5 cm (152.5 × 30.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.8 The Megalli Collection





## 17

Kilim Central Anatolia, possibly west-central Early 19th century 428.5 × 70.5 cm (168.5 × 28 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.30 The Megalli Collection





# 18

Kilim Central Anatolia c.1900 400 × 177 cm (157.5 × 70 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.92 The Megalli Collection



# 19

Kilim

Central Anatolia

Late 18th century

168 × 107 cm (66 × 42 in)

The Textile Museum 2013.2.18

The Megalli Collection



# 20

Kilim  
Central Anatolia  
18th century  
181.5 × 138 cm (71.5 × 54 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.7  
The Megalli Collection



# 21

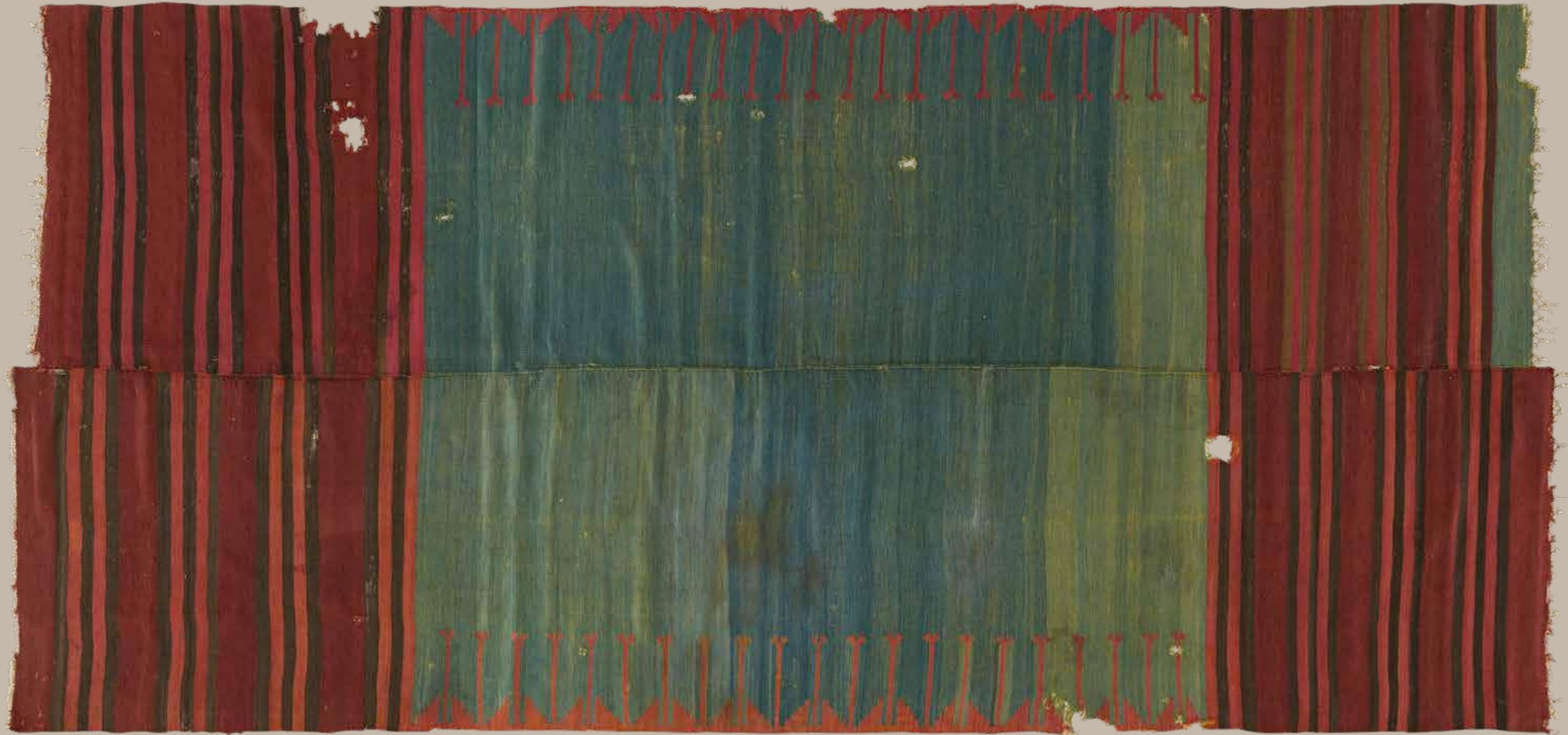
Kilim Central Anatolia 18th century 336 × 82 cm (132 × 32 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.46 The Megalli Collection





# 22

Kilim Western Anatolia First half 19th century 351 × 163 cm (138 × 64 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.15 The Megalli Collection



# 23

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possibly Nevşehir area

First half 19th century

185 × 168 cm (73 × 66 in)

The Textile Museum 2013.2.49

The Megalli Collection



# 24

Kilim Central Anatolia 18th century 211 × 60.5 cm (83 × 24 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.43 The Megalli Collection



# 25

Kilim Southern Anatolia Early 18th century- early 19th century 385.5 × 155 cm (151.5 × 61 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.57 The Megalli Collection



# 26

Kilim Western Anatolia Mid-19th century 265 × 125 cm (104 × 49 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.22 The Megalli Collection





# 27

Kilim Central Anatolia, possibly Obruk area 18th century 167 × 82 cm (65.5 × 32 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.50 The Megalli Collection





# 28

Kilim Western Anatolia Late 18th century 131 × 106 cm (51.5 × 41.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.87 The Megalli Collection





# Anatolian Kilim Weaving Tradition Today

Şerife Atlıhan

People practice kilim-weaving across the world, tailoring their weaving practices to suit the varied lifestyles of myriad cultures and giving their kilims different names. Primarily woven as functional objects to meet daily needs, kilims were also sold for commercial purposes. Although they have never had a high market value compared with knotted-pile carpets, they were often exchanged for goods and services and occasionally woven on commission.

In his *Kitab al-Jughrafiya*, the geographer and historian Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribi (d. 1286) gave an account of an Anatolian ethnic group he called the Yörüks, mentioning that they wove for their own purposes as well as to sell. There were about 200,000 Türkmen tents near Denizli in western Anatolia where kilims, slaves and lumber were traded. Between Ankara and Kastamonu, there were about 100,000 Türkmen tents.<sup>1</sup> Caution is necessary in interpreting what Ibn Sa'īd might have meant when he used the term "kilims." He might have been referring to knotted-pile carpets.

The materials, designs, colors, and methods of kilim-weaving vary depending on geography, climate, lifestyle, and community needs. It is very easy to provenance certain groups of kilims to a specific geographic region or culture, while others are harder to pin down to a location or group of people. This latter category displays designs and colors that are mixtures of many other types of kilim. The movement of people, especially when caused by social and economic pressures, has resulted in the intermingling of groups, their designs, and their colors.

In Anatolia, kilims were not only decorative objects but also functional objects and the must-have items in bridal trousseaux. Depending on where and how they would be used, their size, material, motifs, designs, colors, and technique varied. They were used for everyday tasks as well as for weddings, circumcision ceremonies, Bayram (or Eid) celebrations, and funerals. Kilims woven for special occasions were the most colorful, and were decorated with special motifs commemorating the occasion. This tradition continues to this day, although many weavers do not know the meaning of motifs and, when prompted, say "We do not know, this is how it has been done." This continuum is a natural part of life for them.

Different names are often given to the same motif in different regions, even in different villages. Many kilim motifs do not carry symbolic meaning, over they might have one in the past. Among a few that still carry meaning are *nazarlık* (amulet), *göz* (eye), *el* (hand), *parmak* (finger), *ağaç* (tree), *kandil* (oil lamp), and *mihrab* (niche).

Fig. 1. Yörük woman spinning wool using a *kirman* drop spindle in front of a black tent, Kızılçadağ Yayla, Fethiye. Photograph by Şerife Atlıhan, 1992.



Fig. 2. Wool-producing sheep. Photograph by Şerife Atlıhan, 2006.

Anatolian kilim weavers have never sat down to weave artworks, although they have been using age-old designs and colors. They were therefore more than willing, when necessary, to exchange their kilims for machine-woven rugs and plastic household goods. Kilims that were donated to the mosques, and became worn and threadbare through heavy use, were often exchanged for newer machine-woven wall-to-wall carpets during the first half of the twentieth century. Occasionally they were stolen from mosques to be sold in antique markets.

The focus of many recent studies has been the symbolism in kilim design and the ethnicity of weavers. Many exhibitions and books on the subject are helping to preserve this heritage. When interest in studying and collecting old Anatolian kilims peaked among the Turks, realization of the lost heritage set in. By then, many Anatolian kilims were in collections outside of Turkey. Serious efforts to preserve what was left in Turkey began. But while there is interest in old Anatolian kilims, the houses and mosques in today's Turkey use kilims woven with industrially produced yarns that are dyed with synthetic dyes.

The secret of a good kilim is having good-quality wool and finely spun and dyed yarns (figs. 1, 2). A good weaver must also be a skilled spinner. Depending on where the kilims are intended to be used, wool fibers are spun by hand with a drop spindle, *kirman* or *iğ* (figs. 1, 4), or a spinning wheel, *çıkırık* (fig. 3).<sup>2</sup> The tool used for the spinning is highly decorated to emphasise its importance in the process. A bride received spindles and other weaving tools as wedding gifts from her male relatives. In some regions, the new bride had to display her skill in spinning to her new mother-in-law and husband the day after the wedding.<sup>3</sup> This is a tradition still practiced in Yörük villages in the Ayvacık area in Çanakkale, although it is more symbolic. It highlights the importance placed on learning to spin and to weave from an early age. Young girls are taught by their female kin how to weave, in the process learning traditional designs and color selections.

#### What is a kilim?

Kilim is the general name given in Anatolia and West Asia to a group of sturdy, utilitarian textiles woven without pile. This type of textile is often referred to as flatweave (Turkish: *düz dokuma*) in the western literature. Rugs with pile are called *halı* or *tülü* depending on the length of their pile. Those without pile are named

according to their weaving structure; those with supplementary-weft yarns are called *cicim* or *zili* (*sili*). Flatweaves are called kilim if woven with wool, and *çul* if woven with animal hair. If the *çul* is decorated with wool supplementary-weft yarns, it is called an *ala çul*.

#### Kilim weaving and designs

Anatolian kilims have a plain-weave structure.<sup>4</sup> When the weft yarns cover the warp yarns the kilim is called weft-faced plain weave, the reverse is named warp-faced plain weave. The ratio of warp yarns to weft yarns is one-to-one and the color is the same. The decorative elements are introduced by warp yarns or weft yarns irrespective of which element is visible on the surface. Sometimes, additional supplementary weft-yarns are added during the weaving to create the designs; these are called *nakış* in Turkish.<sup>5</sup> Supplementary-weft patterning can be applied on balanced or weft-faced plain weave. Weavers choose their weave structure based on the function the kilim will serve.

Anatolian kilims have weft-faced plain-weave structure, and the design is carried by the weft yarns. There are two methods employed by Anatolian weavers. In one, different-colored weft yarns travel in their own designated color area. The most prominent characteristic of this weave is the slits created between the color areas. These slits are called *ilik* and these kilims are referred to as *ilikli kilim* or just kilim in Turkish.<sup>6</sup> Other terms used for these kilims are *farda kilim*—used extensively in southwestern and western Anatolia—*hardalı kilim*, and *kırmızı kilim*. Slit-tapestry-weave kilims take considerable time to weave, although the technique provides more options in design creation. All the different types of flat-weave are woven from the back. The weft yarns move only between the designated group of warp yarns to create the motif. Kilims without any designs and with wefts that are carried from one selvage to another are called simply kilim, *yoz kilim* or *desensiz kilim*. Compared with *cicim* and *zili*, *ilikli kilims* are thinner and lighter, so they serve myriad functions.

In western Anatolia, in the region from Çanakkale and Balıkesir to Fethiye and Antalya, the term *zili* or *sili* is used for textiles woven with supplementary-weft patterning. In the Manisa and Yuntdağ regions they are called kilim and, depending on the designs, they are referred to by different terms, such as *çingilli kilim* or *Türkmenli kilim*. During the weaving of supplementary-weft patterning, two rows of



Fig. 3

Figure 3 Woman spinning/plying wool yarn, Ayvacık-Süleymanköy, northwestern Anatolia. Photograph by Şerife Atlıhan, 1985.

structural or ground weft yarns are inserted after each row of design weft yarn. *İlikli kilims* serve many functions, since they are lighter than *cicim* and *zili* due to their structural characteristics.

Textiles woven with a warp-faced plain-weave structure are generally narrow and long. They are cut to shorter lengths and attached side-by-side to create bags of various sizes. This structure is encountered more frequently in eastern and southeastern Anatolia, where the textiles are called *palaz*.

#### Looms

Anatolian weavers use upright looms (figs. 5, 12). Although the names given to them vary depending on the region, *ıstar* is the term most frequently encountered; *kilim ağacı* (kilim tree) is another. Warp yarns were stretched between upper and lower beams of this vertical loom. Women measure and prepare the warps in the open space and bring it to the loom to dress it. In some areas, women measure and dress the loom at the same time.

Weaving begins at the bottom and progresses upward. When it becomes hard to reach to the weaving edge, the woman rolls the part she has woven on the *alt oka* (lower beam). After this, she never sees what she has woven until the finished textile is taken from the loom. Any change in the warp tension that may occur by unrolling and rolling again during the weaving will cause the textile designs to distort.



Fig. 4

A kilim weaver either has to rely on her memory of the motifs, designs, and colors she has used, or use an older kilim as a weaving aid. This aspect of weaving often causes inconsistency between designs and colors from one end of the kilim to the other. Although it is constraining in terms of design creation, Anatolian weavers still prefer upright looms, because they are more comfortable to use. It is easier to dress the loom, and an upright loom takes up very little horizontal space in homes or tents. Nowadays, weavers are attracted to metal looms instead of wooden ones, since metal looms do not warp like wooden ones, they last longer, and they are less expensive.

Some kilims are woven as two separate panels and are combined. Differences in both design and color between these two panels are very common. Before weaving begins, all the yarns must be spun and dyed, and made ready to be used. Otherwise more yarns need to be prepared quickly and there will be a difference between the previously prepared batch and the new batch of yarns. The thicknesses of the yarns differs depending on the spinner. The yarns dyed at separate times in separate vats will also have a different color tone. All these differences will be evident on the kilims.



Fig. 5

Fig. 5 Store in Konya showcasing kilim loom and restoration. Photograph by Şerife Athıhan, 2009.

Weavers like to add small details wherever appropriate in their overall designs, individualizing each piece. Occasionally, kilims narrow towards the top. This is the result of the pressure put on warp yarns that have stretched over extended periods of time on the loom; the warp yarns get thinner on the top. There are also regional traditions of how thick or thin the warp yarns should be, how densely they are placed on the loom, and how much tension should be applied to them. The thickness of the weft yarns is also important. Weft yarns may be compacted on the right or left side of the kilim, depending on whether the weaver using the beater is right- or left-handed. This may affect the length of the textile on one side. Master weavers pay attention to all these details in their weaving, but still some of the results may not be in their control and must be considered as part of the nature of hand-weaving.

The comb-like instrument weavers use to compact the weft yarns is generally called a *kirkıt* (beater). In some regions terms such as *tarak* and *tokmak* also apply (see Krody, figs. 21, 22). While holding the handle, the weaver places the teeth of the comb between the warp yarns and pushes down on the weft yarns on the weaving edge. Beaters can be made from wood, metal, or combination of both.

Fig. 4 Woman spinning goat hair from a *sümen* using an *iğ*, Karadere Köyü, İzmir, Turkey, 1978, #2253-31A-7, ©Suna Kıracı Library/Koç University, Turkey.



Fig. 6

### Use of kilims

The Yörüks' livelihood was based on nomadic animal husbandry. In the summer their flocks moved to higher altitudes to pastures called *yayla*. In winter, the move was into warmer valleys at lower altitudes. The Taurus Mountains paralleling the southern Anatolian coast were an ideal place to support this lifestyle, and there are still some Yörüks who migrate there. The nomadic lifestyle forces families to have simple, multi-purpose, lightweight belongings. Their dwellings, made with textiles—either felt or woven fabrics—could easily be set up and dismantled. Called *karaçadır* and *keçeev*, the felt tents had a wooden frame made out of three to five beams.<sup>7</sup> When dismantled, they needed to go on a single pack animal to be carried. Other animals carried the large bags filled with household textiles from cradles to *sofra* (food spreads) to divider curtains for the tent interior. All of these loads would be covered with colorful long kilims. Kilims served multiple functions in the lives of the earlier Yörüks; with the settlement of nomads, kilims have continued to be used, but in an altered state. The Yörüks no longer had the camels that carried their belongings during migration, so the long kilims used to contain or cover these loads were not needed. Consequently, kilim lengths became shorter. The color palette also turned towards darker shades.

Weavers decided each kilim's size, design, and color depending on the intended uses. A cradle cover would be small. But the same textile might also be used as prayer rug or sitting mat for a visitor. These functions all required a textile of same size and



Fig. 7

Fig. 6 Red kilim,  
Çamkalabak, Ayvacık.  
Photograph by Şerife  
Atlıhan, 1990.

Fig. 7 Kilim on top  
of çuvals in the tent,  
Kızılcaadağ Yayla, Fethiye.  
Photograph by Şerife  
Atlıhan, 1992.



Fig. 8

Fig. 8 Yörük migration to  
Kızılcaadağ Yayla, Fethiye.  
Photograph by Şerife  
Atlıhan, 1992.

shape. During migration or in wedding caravans, long kilims, 120–150 cm wide by 300–400 cm long, covered the belongings. Kilims for camel loads have a distinct design layout, although similar design elements may appear in different regions. The center of the kilim was left undecorated with a red background (fig. 6).<sup>8</sup> The same kilim covered the large container bags and bedding when the tent was set up (figs. 7, 8). Sometimes, the same kilim functioned as a space separator at night. Whatever function the kilim served at a given time, care was taken to create a beautiful design during its weaving. Yörüks believed that the respect a woman garnered was proportional to her weaving abilities.

One major change since the settlement of nomads has been the thickness of the kilims. Older kilims were made with finer yarn, thus they were thinner and subtler a hundred years ago. Kilims woven in the second half of the twentieth century, on the other hand, were more ornate than the earlier ones (especially camel covers, which earlier had undecorated centers and now have decorated ones), had thicker yarns and were shorter. Weavers began to use the camel-load covers in their settled brick-and-mortar homes; this altered both the size of kilims and the yarns used (figs. 7, 8, 9).

Some kilims had specific functions. One such was used during *kına gecesi* (bridal party) for the bride to sit on while henna was put on her hands. Later that night, the same kilim covered her during sleep. Another kilim was woven specifically for weddings and funerals.<sup>9</sup> The bride and groom's clothing was wrapped in a kilim, and

then loaded on top of the first camel in the wedding caravan. Later it was spread as a cover for the bridal bed. The same kilim was later used in a funeral to wrap the deceased. The kilim was either donated to a mosque or brought back to be cleaned and reused.<sup>10</sup> Thus, this type of kilim had only four functions.

Donating kilims and knotted-pile carpet to mosques has been a widely practiced tradition in Anatolia. These textiles were set aside after weaving until the time came to use them. When donated to the mosque, a small fabric with the deceased's name was sewn on it. Sometimes the name was woven into the kilim. Nowadays, the majority of textiles donated to the mosques are machine-made carpets or kilims. Donating textiles to religious institutions has not been an exclusively Muslim practice. The two best examples from history are Anatolian carpets given to Transylvanian churches and Anatolian kilims given to Ethiopian churches.<sup>11</sup>

Besides myriad covers and spreads, Anatolian women also wove various bags with names such as *çuval*, *heybe*, or *torba* based on their sizes. The *alaçuval* had special status among Yörüks; this was where they stored their most valued belongings and clothing. The designs on these *alaçuvals* were the most traditional and were closely related to their tribal identities.<sup>12</sup> The newly-weds had to have a pair. If a pair was not in a bride's possession, it was deemed that she did not have a trousseau. At migration and wedding caravans, these bags took a prominent place on the first camel. Nowadays, Yörüks place them next to the chest in their settled homes.

In certain regions, the number of textiles in a bride's trousseau was set. This included everyday textiles and wedding and funeral textiles as well as textiles that could be used as payment for services rendered, or as investment for hard times.

Why did nomads weave more kilims than knotted-pile carpets? The answer is directly related to their lifestyle. They used felts on the floor of their tents, not knotted-pile carpets. More importantly, it was almost impossible to use a knotted-pile carpet as a space separator, or to cover or wrap things in it. Kilims were less substantial and lighter in weight compared with carpets. The Yörüks wove small-size carpets only for sale or if they were commissioned to do so.

The Yörüks were not the only ones who used kilims in Anatolia, but the kilims used by non-Yörüks are woven by Yörüks. In northwestern and southwestern parts of Anatolia, Yörüks exchanged their kilims for treadle-loom woven fabrics produced by *manav* (old settled communities). The wealthy settled population also



Fig. 9

**Fig. 9** Woman hanging bundles of the dyed wool outside of her house to dry in Süleymanköy, Çanakkale, Turkey, 1985. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2556-7-7, ©Suna Kıraç Library/Koç University, Turkey.

commissioned Yörüks to weave knotted-pile carpets that were valued highly in the settled communities.<sup>13</sup> In the large centers and cities, kilims had not been in high demand, especially not from the wealthier segments of society. In the Ottoman court circles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, kilims were woven and generally set aside to be used during military campaigns, as part of the tent equipment carried with the army.<sup>14</sup>

#### Motifs and designs

The design of a kilim can be bewildering to anyone attempting to analyze it. The central design and colors may be attributed to one region and the border designs to another. In the past, wherever a kilim was woven, the main design elements used were the traditional tribal ones.<sup>15</sup> The weaver also incorporated design influences from the region she inhabited. Occasionally, more than one design element would be considered traditional by the tribal group.<sup>16</sup> Tribes moved around frequently and

their designs influenced the weavings of many regions of Anatolia. Depending on the preference of the region, designs fluctuated in importance, size, and presentation in the kilims.<sup>17</sup> This is best exemplified in a small village mosque during 1988 field research in Fethiye and its surrounding villages, where kilims of varied designs indicated the presence of people from many different tribes settled in the village.<sup>18</sup>

The Anatolian kilim design repertoire includes geometric forms and stylized flower, plant, human, and animal forms. Technical constraints influence the formation of designs. The weaver works hard to avoid creating long slits, thus many of the designs are dominated by diagonal lines. In particular, separation between the central field and border is carefully articulated to look like fingers or crenellations, called *parmak*, or *testere dişi* (saw-teeth). Weavers also cover the slits by weaving extra weft yarns in over-under order or wrapping them around warp yarns. These are called *bezayağı* and *sarma* respectively. The yarn used is in most cases a different color from the two adjacent color areas and gives definition to the motif, allowing a smoother transition between color areas.

Unlike knotted-pile carpets, kilims generally do not have the same design in all four borders. The side borders are decorated with motifs that are also seen on knotted-pile carpets. The end borders, on the other hand, contain separate horizontally arranged designs. The geometric designs are based on triangular, diamond and hexagonal shapes; there are also medallions and tessellated shapes used generally in the area between the border and central field.

As well as creating kilims, weavers also produced supplementary-weft-patterned flatweaves called *zili*, *cicim*, and *soumak* (fig. 10). The geometric designs of these textiles were constrained by the weave structure. Designs are built on triangular, diamond, square, hexagonal, and octagonal shapes, and the change of colored supplementary-weft yarns creates the variation in design.<sup>19</sup>

Why are geometric designs so dominant in Anatolian kilim weaving, even though tapestry weave can accommodate more natural or curvilinear shapes? Anatolian kilims were woven by Yörüks, who were either nomads, or recently settled. The weavers either memorized their designs instead of using patterns drawn on paper as weaving aids, or obtained an older example to count and copy. Weavers needed to know the number of warp yarns required to weave each motif, so they could manipulate the motif in size, or add other motifs to supplement the main motif while

not running out of design space. They reduced their designs to a size that allowed them to memorize how many warp yarns they needed to weave a specific motif, and passed that information from one generation to the next.

The symmetrical layouts seen on many Anatolian kilims were also advantageous for the weaver in starting the weaving with well-placed motifs. The initial design placement was crucial in kilim weaving; if that was set correctly, the overall design came together without many mistakes. The arrangement of motifs defined the design layout.<sup>20</sup> When a motif was placed on a background, it filled a space in its own shape.<sup>21</sup> This created negative and positive spaces. By altering the colors used for the motifs, the weaver brought forward or gave prominence to certain motifs, while others receded into the background.

#### Motif names

In Anatolia names given to motifs or designs varied depending on the region, although a few were universally referred to by the same name.<sup>22</sup> Many scholars agree that some, but not all, of the motifs have or had symbolic meaning.<sup>23</sup> The most frequently encountered motifs in kilims included *çengel*, *elibeline*, *mihrab*, *hayat ağacı*, *parmaklı*, and *baklava*. Many motifs changed names depending on where they were placed or how they were repeated in the overall design layout. Weavers were the ones who gave meaning to these motifs. When passing them on to the next generation, they might have chosen not to share the meaning, or the next generation might have chosen to alter the meaning. Today many weavers say that they do not know the meaning, but that they learned the motifs this way and that is the way they create them.

*Çengel*: This motif is seen on many kilims as well as on knotted-pile carpets. Known as a “hook” in literature, weavers generally call it *kıvrım*, *keklikbaşı* or *kuşbaşı*. The core of the motif is a triangle from which a curved form extends. It is a building block for many other motifs; the arms of the *elibeline*, branches and leaves of a tree, head, wing or tail of a bird, or legs of a dragon. It may surround a diamond or fill it, frame the center field of a kilim, or be placed on top of a niche. It is called *koçboynuzu* (ram’s horn) if placed symmetrically in the vertical axis. If placed symmetrically in both vertical and horizontal axes, it becomes *dört kollu* (four arms). Often two hooks form a “yin and yang” in the center of medallions or are used as fillers.

*Elibelinde*: Often associated with the female figure, this motif appears in various forms and is also known as *gelin kız*, *eli böğründe*, and *kız*.<sup>24</sup> In the Fethiye region this motif appears only at the top and bottom ends of the kilims and is called *kral kızı*.<sup>25</sup>

*Mihrab*: The niche form appears on prayer kilims (*seccade*, *namazlık*, *namazlağ*) as well as on multiple-niched *saff* kilims.

*Hayat ağacı*: The tree-of-life motif is thought to symbolize life; when used with the niche form, it was believed to connect or carry the deceased to heaven. The tree, if used as the single design element, is often placed in the warp direction.

*Parmaklı*: The shape of this motif is similar to a comb, although *parmaklı* means fingers. It is mainly used in the borders, but occasionally appears surrounding diamond-shaped medallions. It is a versatile motif to be used where color changes occur. Some kilims are decorated solely with this motif. It is particularly encountered in kilims from Afyon, Kütahya, and Sivrihisar in western Anatolia.

*Baklava*: The diamond motif is used in various layouts. Diamonds may be placed side by side or on top of each other in the borders, or they can be used as a repeat pattern in diagonal alignment in the central field.

### Design layouts and colors in kilims

Large diamond or hexagonal medallions, motifs placed in bands or scattered in the central field, are frequently seen design layouts in Anatolian kilims. On occasion, there are kilims without decorative elements or just vertical stripes. As mentioned above, the borders do not surround the kilim on all four sides.

The Anatolian kilim-weaving tradition is at least 500 years old. Slit-tapestry-weave kilims have a more varied design repertoire by comparison with other types of Anatolian flatweave that base their design variety on just color changes, while the motif shapes stay the same.

Old kilims were woven with yarns that were dyed with natural dyestuffs. There were regional color variations depending on the quality of wool, water, and plants used for the dyestuff. Weavers preferred to use contrasting colors side by side to highlight the motif. Colors were juxtaposed to create strong contrasts in kilim designs, and it was very rare to see two shades of the same color used side by side.

Red, blue, and yellow were the primary colors used, green, orange, and purple were secondary. White, black, and a light brown called *tetire*, similar in color to



Fig. 10

Fig. 10 Examples of *zili*, Çamkalabak, Ayvacık. Photograph by Şerife Atlıhan, 2015.

camel hair, were used infrequently.<sup>26</sup> Light, medium, and dark tones were used. Colors chosen for Anatolian kilims were much more conservative than their designs, and did not change with time. This was especially true for west and central Anatolian kilims. The color palette included red very frequently, then blue followed by brown. Black and white appeared less often. Green, yellow or light orange, and purple were the least used. Surviving kilims show all these colors in various different tones.<sup>27</sup>

### Anatolian kilim weaving today

The life Yörüks lead today is very different from a century ago. Some still cling to animal husbandry, but many farm or work in other occupations. They are all settled. The few who have sheep and goat herds still go to *yayla* in higher elevations for pasture in the summer, but they use trucks and tractors instead of camels and donkeys. In western and southern Anatolia, many Yörüks work in the tourism industry, in addition to their agricultural work, leaving no time for weaving. In recent years, women, who occasionally weave, started showing a preference for synthetically dyed wool yarns or even synthetic yarns for their weaving. It is harder to procure wool when there is no flock upon which to rely. There are also no free hands to devote time to spinning, which takes enormous patience and time. Therefore, women choose to obtain yarns more easily from the market. In many



Fig.11

regions, factory-manufactured floor coverings are a cheaper and easier alternative to the handwoven kilims and knotted-pile carpets.

Thirty or forty years ago, even though settled, Yörüks still used kilims as covers for floors and sofas, for bridal trousseaux, and funerals. Even in the 1990s, in some villages, camels in wedding caravans were covered with kilims. The bride would accompany the caravan on horseback. Nowadays, tractors have replaced camel caravans. But old traditions die slowly; villagers still use kilims to cover the bridal trousseaux placed on the tractors. The bride accompanies the tractor in a car instead of a horse. Modern life and its amenities have changed the way people live, which has resulted in the loss of many traditional textiles and textile-making methods.

Nowadays young women and men learn to spin, dye, and weave at school, rather than from their mothers, grandmothers, and aunts (fig. 11). Although it is taught, without constant practice, spinning and weaving cannot be mastered. Many young women do not even know how the loom functions. Instead they learn the art history of textile making, but not its practical application. Visits to museum collections, dealers, stores, and weaving and restoration workshops help to educate the next generation of textile lovers, but do not teach them how to weave (figs. 5, 12).

**Fig. 11** Students from the department of Traditional Turkish Art visiting a kilim workshop. Photograph by Şerife Athhan, 2008.



Fig. 12

**Fig. 12** Kilim workshop, Van. Photograph by Şerife Athhan, 2013.

Some young women try their hands by practicing what they learn using designs obtained from others.

The popularity of old kilims and collectors' desire to stabilize or restore their kilims has brought forth a restoration industry in Turkey (fig. 5). A new higher education institution opened in Aksaray in central Anatolia is training the next generation of weavers who will be textile restorers. Meanwhile, the weaving of new kilims using old designs for commercial purposes is ongoing, although small in scale. These kilims are woven at home or in workshops across Anatolia for private cooperatives, associations, and foundations (fig. 12). Many of these workshops provide weaving classes for young girls and women to train them as competent weavers with the hope that they will be master weavers one day. Often these workshops, such as those near Van, provide elementary education, as well as teaching weaving. Through their involvement with the workshop and the sale of their weavings, the girls receive elementary school education and as well as bringing income to their families.

New kilims exhibit traditional as well as modern designs. The aim is to create designs that the modern customer wants, provide design options, and sell as many kilims as possible. There are also artists who work in the textile medium and choose specifically tapestry weaving (fig. 13).

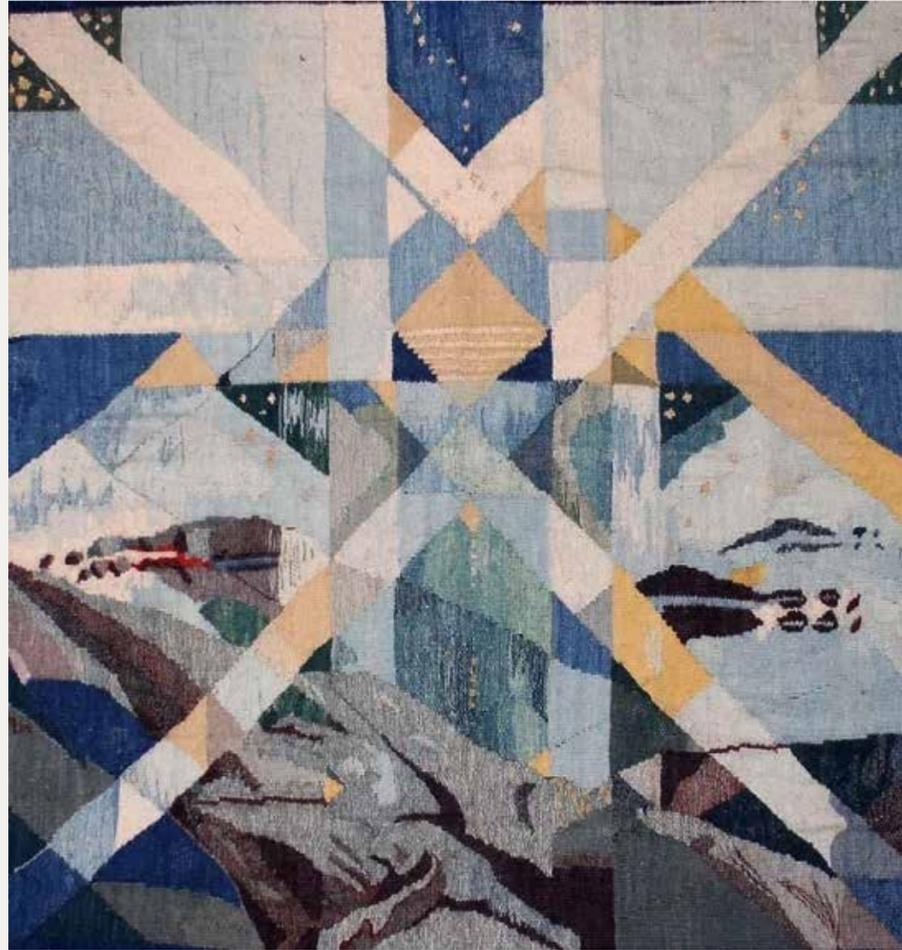


Fig. 13

The use of natural dyes in contemporary textile making has increased in recent years (figs. 6, 10). A project called DOBAG, established in 1981 by the Marmara University Fine Arts Faculty under the leadership of the late Dr. Harald Böhmer, has recreated many natural dye recipes. Since 1982, many cooperatives and workshops use these recipes to dye their yarns. There are still some weaving workshops that continue to use solely synthetic-dyed yarns, or mix them with natural-dyed yarns. Natural-dyed yarns have warmer tones, and different colors work more harmoniously. The *abraş* (variations in hue of dyed color) also provides interest to the eye.

It is hard to know how long kilim-weaving will continue in Anatolia. So many factors have direct influence on kilim-weaving, and certain conditions must be met for it to survive. There must be a market for kilims; the quality of material and workmanship needs to be carefully controlled; the teaching of kilim-weaving needs to continue, and weavers must be compensated fairly for their production; traditional design needs to be documented and protected, while allowing modern designs to thrive; and the support of government is also essential.

**Fig. 13** Kilim woven by the alumna Mine Halil Taylan, design by Marit Bakken, Norway. 1.00 meters square. Photograph by M.H. Taylan, 2016.

- 1 Erdmann 1985, pp. 193-202.
- 2 Both *iğ* and *kirman* are drop spindles. An *iğ* has a conical weight at the bottom. A *kirman* has crossbars and is used when in motion such as walking along with a caravan. *Kirman* is also known as *engerek* in Döşemealtı in the Antalya region of southern Anatolia, and *tengirek* in the Fethiye region of southwestern Anatolia.
- 3 Atlıhan 1993, pp. 77-88.
- 4 *Bezayağı* is the term used for balanced plain weave.
- 5 *Nakiş* is generally used to mean motif and/or design in Anatolia. Other terms that are encountered in Anatolia are *nanggiç*, *nangış*, *ala*.
- 6 Balpınar 1982, p. 87.
- 7 Böhmer 2004, pp. 134-92.
- 8 Atlıhan 1999, pp. 385-90.
- 9 Atlıhan 1993, pp. 77-88.
- 10 Atlıhan 1999, pp. 385-90.
- 11 Henze 1999.
- 12 Pinkwart and Steiner 1991.
- 13 Atlıhan ms., notes from the field research trips conducted between 1987 and 1997.
- 14 Balpınar 1982, p. 25.
- 15 Powell 1999, pp. 171-78.
- 16 Böhmer 2004. Today, the best example to show changes in design repertoire is the change in kilim designs woven by Karakoyunlu Yörüks.
- 17 Balpınar 1989, pp. 59-69. A good source for the distribution of motifs and designs in Anatolia.
- 18 Atlıhan ms., especially field research notes from 1988 season.
- 19 Brüggemann 1993, p. 141.
- 20 Bier 1999, pp. 87-92.
- 21 Tanavoli 1985, pp. 35-40.
- 22 Durul 1987.
- 23 Erbek 1988.

- 24 Durul 1987.
- 25 Atlıhan ms., especially field research notes from 1988 season.
- 26 *Tetire* or *tetre* in western Anatolia is the name given to a light brown color similar to camel hair. It is made by boiling the leaves and bark of oak, walnut, and juniper trees. These plants are also used to make black.
- 27 Brüggemann 1993, pp. 109-12.

**Plates**  
**Part three**



# 29

Kilim Central Anatolia Second half 18th century 357 × 115.5 cm (140.5 × 45.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.32 The Megalli Collection



## 30

Kilim Central Anatolia c.1800 216 × 71 cm (85 × 28 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.4 The Megalli Collection





## 31

Kilim Central Anatolia, possibly Konya area 19th century 389 × 82 cm (153 × 32 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.21 The Megalli Collection



# 32

Kilim Central Anatolia 18th century 314 × 102 cm (123.5 × 40 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.13 The Megalli Collection





## 33

Kilim Central Anatolia Early 19th century 137 × 387 cm (54 × 152.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.31 The Megalli Collection



# 34

Kilim Central Anatolia First half 19th century 386 × 70 cm (152 × 27.5 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.76 The Megalli Collection

Central Anatolia First half 19th century 121 × 69 cm (47.5 × 27 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.89 The Megalli Collection



## 35

Kilim Central Anatolia 18th century 333.5 × 74 cm (131 × 29 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.16 The Megalli Collection





## 36

Kilim Eastern Anatolia First half 19th century 383 × 84 cm (150.5 × 33 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.77 The Megalli Collection



## 37

Kilim Western Anatolia Second half 18th century 388 × 147 cm (152.5 × 58 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.70 The Megalli Collection



# 38

Kilim Central Anatolia c.1800 298.5 × 77 cm (117.5 × 30 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.88 The Megalli Collection



# 39

Kilim Central Anatolia, mid-19th century 444.5 × 74 cm (175 × 29 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.19 The Megalli Collection

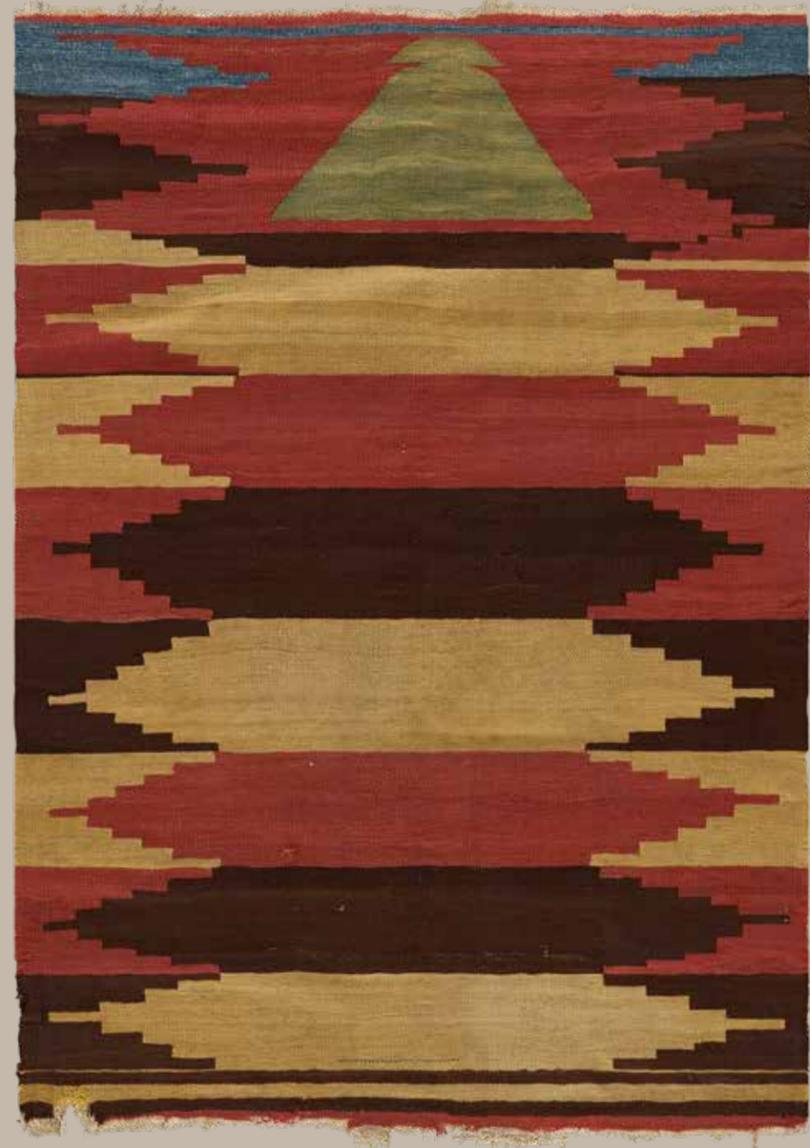




## 40

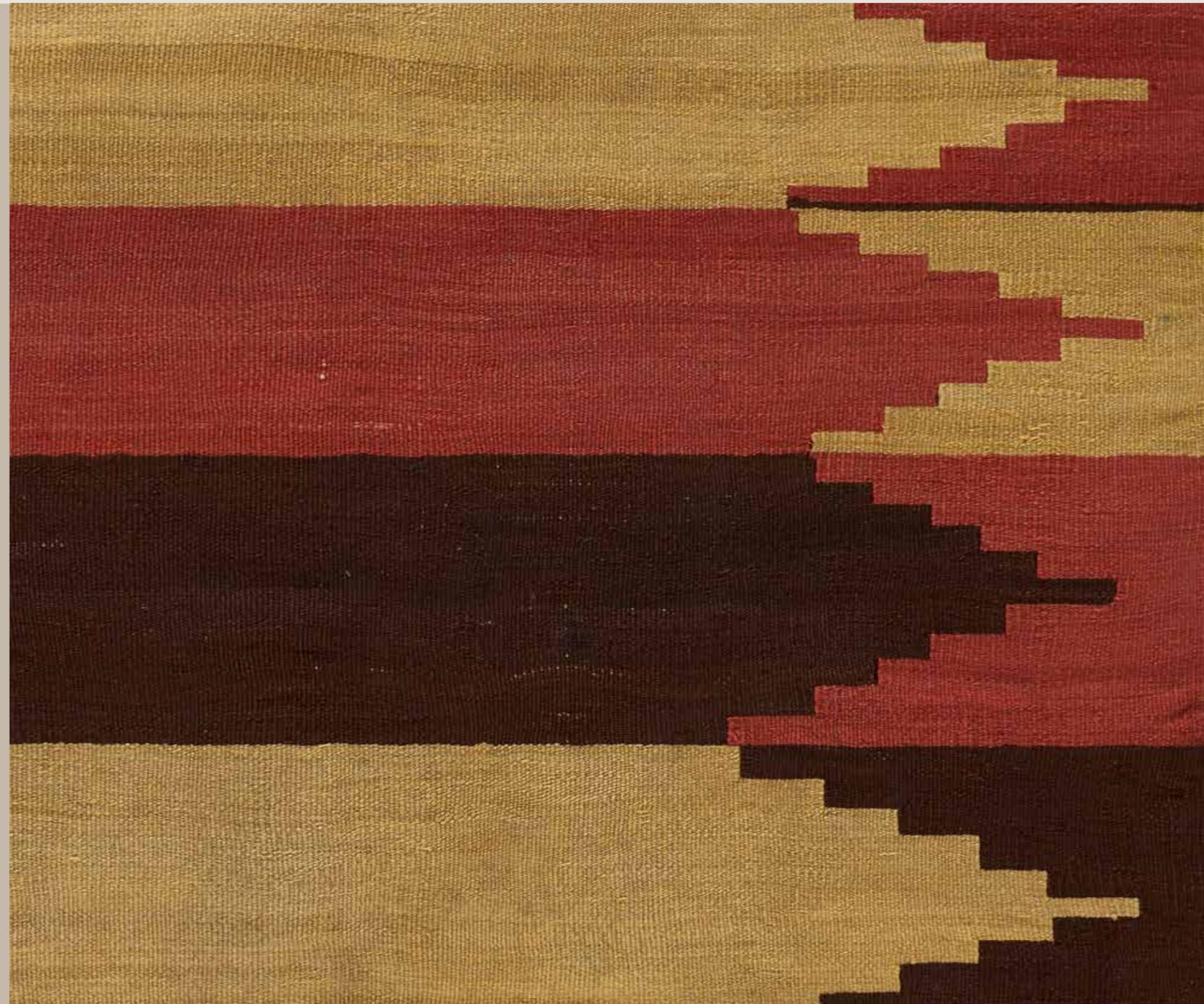
Kilim Central Anatolia First half 19th century 336 × 71 cm (132 × 28 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.66 The Megalli Collection





# 41

Kilim Eastern Central Anatolia First half 19th century 157 × 107 cm (62 × 42 in)  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.78 The Megalli Collection





**Fig. 1** A young nomad girl standing in front of the tent. Felt, bedding, pillows, and mattresses are visible in the tent, Kahramanmaraş, Turkey, 1980. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2368-11-1, ©Suna Kıraç Library/Koç University, Turkey.

# Kilims as a Cultural Repository of Animal-Human Relationships

Kimberly Hart

Textiles are a cultural repository of the animal-human relationship, as well as a product of the wool and hair from animals. The flatweaves donated by the Murad Megalli Estate to The Textile Museum collections are primarily made of sheep fibers; but goat and camel fibers, and even human hair, are also woven into them.

Nomadic migration involved animals: camels, donkeys, and horses that carried packs made from animal fibers. Transporting goods and people, and leading the herd, the camel caravan moved between pastures that needed to be at their peak to sustain the dietary needs of the sheep and goats (fig. 2). Camps were constructed with tents made from animal fiber, which were supported by a minimum number of wooden poles (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> They were furnished with woven sacks and bags, and protected by long kilims, which constitute the majority of the textiles in this collection. These flatweaves had the dual function of communicating the identity of the migrating group through strong patterns and vibrant colors, and protecting the packs on camels and the rows of sacks along one side of the tent, the *yüklük*. By analyzing the lives of migrating communities through the lens of the animal-human relationship, it is possible to consider the function of textiles from a new angle: that of their utility and cultural legacy as a repository of a mostly unwritten nomadic heritage.

## The domestication of sheep and goats

What do textiles, such as the Anatolian kilims in the Megalli collection, tell us about the animal-human relationship? By studying the work of archaeologists, we learn that sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs were first domesticated during the ninth millennium BCE in the area between what is now southeastern Turkey, northern Syria, northern Iraq, and northwestern Iran.<sup>2</sup> While their wild ancestors were exploited through hunting, early domesticated animals began to be incorporated into settled populations. This means that wild sheep or mouflon, wild goats, boar, and wild cattle were first a meat resource. Later, the secondary products milk and wool became important.

Sheep and goats were the first animals to be domesticated. Archaeologists have genetic evidence of multiple incidences of sheep domestication in the regions of Anatolia, Iran, Iraq, and Armenia.<sup>3</sup> Domestic sheep (*Ovis aries*) are descended from three wild mouflon (*Ovis orientalis*) populations, whereas domestic goats (*Capra hircus*) are descended from several wild populations (*Capra aegagrus*) from

the Near East.<sup>4</sup> As a result of human intervention, their genetic structure and physical characteristics were changed through artificial selection.

It is logical to imagine that baby animals were the first to enter into human communities. Michael L. Ryder argues that “the key biological process appears to have been the ‘imprinting’ on a young animal of a human being in place of its mother.”<sup>5</sup> This means baby animals were taken by humans and raised. These animals became the first in the lineage of what would become the domestic species. It seems peculiar to argue that animals were domesticated through an interest humans had in adopting them because they were cute, but it would be equally wrong to imagine that ancient humans were driven by the sort of rational efficiency characteristic of industrial farming that produces so much suffering in our era. While it is not possible to make a claim about how our ancestors felt or thought about animals in the ninth millennium BCE, it is clear that humans lived with animals closely and that they developed a symbiotic relationship with them.

Humans, of course, had already been sustaining themselves in part through the consumption of animals. Animals were hunted by hunter-gatherers who lived in small bands, for example at the site of Körtik Tepe in southeastern Turkey; but later animals came to live among peoples who had settled.<sup>6</sup> These populations living in fixed dwellings had begun cultivating domesticated plants as well. Ryder makes the point that human populations evolved with the plants and animals they brought into their realm.<sup>7</sup> Animals entered into this settled structure of human life and became a source of wealth and livelihood. In a way, one could argue that domestication heightened the symbolic role of wild animals in human society, because they refused to be managed and transformed by humans and therefore became symbols of power: the lion, the eagle, and the wolf.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, sheep are known for their meek character; however, this quality developed as a result of human intervention (Fig. 2).

Domestication transformed the nature of the beast, altered the genetic structure, changed the body, and affected the function of the animal’s brain. “The skulls of domestic sheep indicate a decreased brain capacity, and a reduced diameter of the eye socket, compared with the wild ancestor.”<sup>9</sup> Domesticated animals became smaller than their wild relatives. The morphology of their horns changed, as did their coats—domesticated sheep tend to be less pigmented than wild ones.<sup>10</sup> The time when wool developed is not resolved by the archaeological evidence because

Fig. 2 A shepherd wearing his long sleeveless felt coat, *kepenek*, while herding the flock, Örselli Köyü, Manisa, Turkey, 1985. Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2556-24-2, ©Suna Kıraç Library/Koç University, Turkey.



Fig. 2

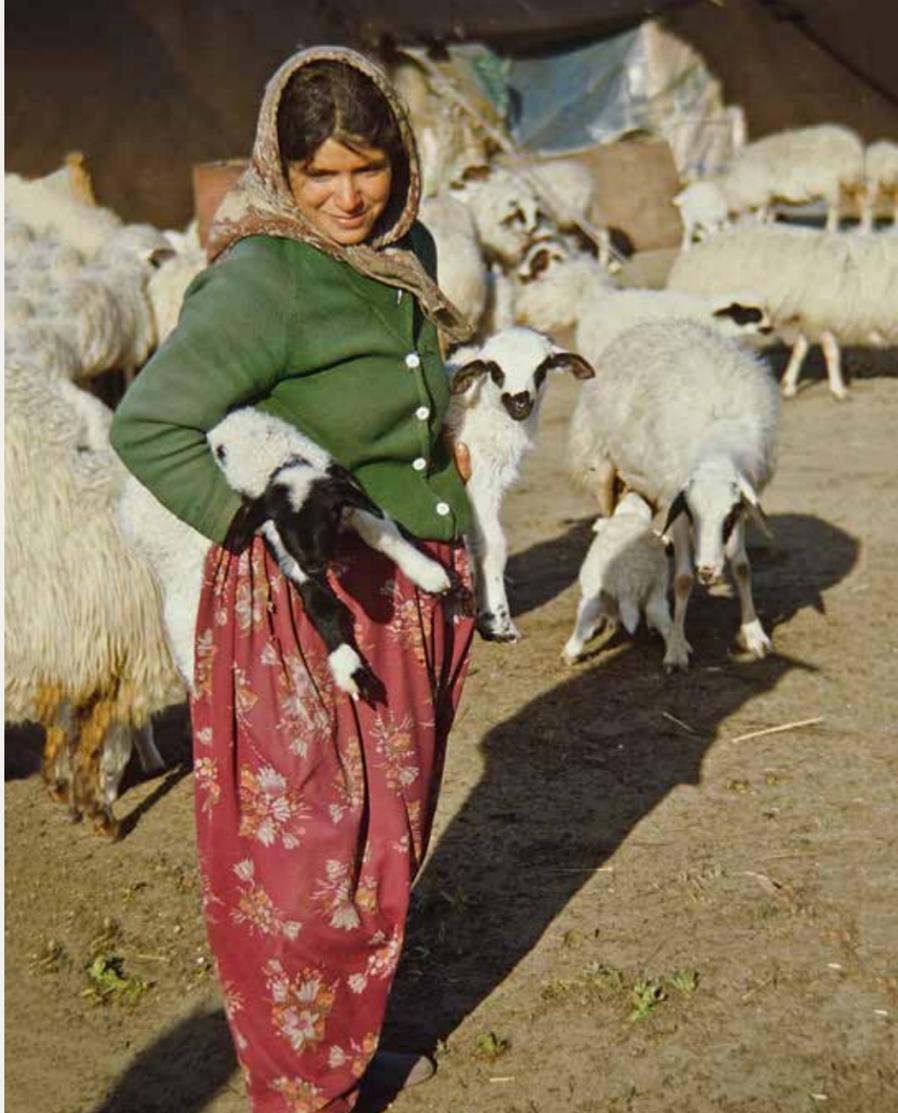


Fig. 3

textiles do not survive from this era. Based on the number of spinning whorls, however, it is clear that fiber was spun.

Flax was the first fiber exploited for cloth.<sup>11</sup> Maria Saña and Carlos Tornero note that it seems to have taken a millennium for wool to develop from domesticated sheep.<sup>12</sup> Benjamin Arbuckle notes that, "...at some point following the initial domestication of sheep, somewhere in the southern and eastern regions of Anatolia in the early ninth millennium BCE, the short, fine fibers of the undercoat of domesticates became more developed and eventually became the dominant component of the outer coat, which could then be spun into yarn and thence woven into textiles."<sup>13</sup> Woolly fleece, therefore, is a happy accident of domestication. Archaeologists stress that there is no evidence that sheep were domesticated for the use of their wool.<sup>14</sup>

One way archaeologists surmise that animals were being used for wool production is based on the age at death of the sheep, especially male sheep who presumably were kept alive in order to shear wool, since they did not produce milk.<sup>15</sup> Imagine the daunting task of finding animal bones, determining whether they were from wild or

domesticated species, and figuring out how many animals these bones represent. One would then need to determine the sex and age of the animals in question. From the archaeological record, clear patterns emerge of female sheep being kept alive for longer periods than males. Saña and Tornero argue against mortality structures necessarily indicating the use of animals for secondary purposes, such as for their wool and milk production.<sup>16</sup> And Arbuckle notes that large rams may have been raised for use in symbolic exchanges. "Although it is possible that impressive, large-bodied rams were preferred for gift-giving or public sacrifices, it is equally possible that this change in management is related to an increased interest in harvesting wool."<sup>17</sup> At any rate, when sheep and goats were domesticated or had entered the domestication process, over at least a thousand-year time period, humans began to exploit them for secondary purposes, for their fibers and milk, not only for meat.

#### A prehistory of herd management

But how did these early humans manage herds? Did they live in settlements, which would require sending herds into the surrounding wild lands for grazing? Or did humans move with their herds as nomadic-pastoralists, like the human populations who created the textiles in the Megalli collection? Is it possible that these populations had domesticated animals and plants, and combined the practices of horticulture and herding? There are no definitive answers to these questions. It is clear though that, as domestic sheep and goats developed, they spread through human intervention from southeastern to northwestern Anatolia during the Neolithic era. This era is roughly dated to 8000 BCE in the Central Anatolian site of Çatal Höyük.

The social patterns of settled human life based on the management of domesticated sheep therefore spread. Settlements communicated and traded, and/or fought with each other, taking domesticated animals alive as booty after battle. Arbuckle notes that in the Neolithic era sheep were managed at the household level for primary (i.e. meat) and secondary (i.e. milk and wool) purposes, but that a few thousand years later, during the "...Bronze Age' [a] system of commodity production focused on wool"<sup>18</sup> developed within the context of a more complex, centralized, and bureaucratic system. In other words, as human societies developed and gained more complexity, marked by social inequality, these societies became interested in sheep's woolly fleece, which developed concomitantly. Animal management was

Fig. 3 Yörük woman picking up lambs, Mustafabeyli Köyü, Adana, Turkey, 1979, Photograph by Josephine Powell, #2281-26-13, ©Suna Kıraç Library/Koç University, Turkey.

therefore part of the increasing complexity of human society, and more complex societies learned to use the wool.

For ethnographers interested in Anatolian nomadic-pastoralism, the key question is whether any form of nomadic-pastoralism existed in early Anatolia, or whether this adaptation to animal management came from Central Asia with the migration of Turkic peoples. The era of Turkoc dominance begins with the Seljuks' military defeat of the Byzantines in 1071. Arbuckle provides some evidence in support of the existence of nomadic-pastoral groups in Anatolia many millennia before the arrival of Turkic peoples. He conducted a study of a Bronze Age settlement called Acemhöyük, located in the foothills of the Taurus Mountains, midway between what are now Antalya and Mersin. Various pieces of evidence lead him to conclude that wool production was important in this region and that pastoralists were semi-autonomous from the centralized bureaucracy in the urban center. Further, the product of importance seems to have been wool rather than meat. And finally, nomadic-pastoralists seem to have been politically independent from the centralized bureaucracy of the urban center and therefore had some form of political organization that gave them a different status from that of the settled populations.

Anthropologists find these details intriguing and important because they point to the role migration played in human societies in early prehistory, shifting the focus from settlement and agriculture as the primary form of human civilization. The contribution of early nomadic groups to the regional and transregional economy, through wool production, was important. Thus, to further the argument about shifting focuses of human civilization, the human capacity to exploit animal species for fiber and not only meat is crucial to our understanding not only the civilizational contribution of nomads but also the nature of the animal-human relationship (fig. 3).

There is little evidence from this era of how this wool was processed or what the products made from it were. Was wool spun and woven in the urban center, or were the fibers matted together as felt? Was cloth made into clothes, or were heavier textiles, such as flatweaves or knotted pile carpets, of greater importance? There are so far no answers.

However, from the early archaeological evidence, it is evident that the domestication of sheep and goats originated in Anatolia, as did social structures for managing herds. Wool and textiles were important products and it is probable that



Fig. 4

**Fig. 4 Tent interior, Adana.**  
 Photograph by Josephine  
 Powell, # 2458-(32)-1,  
 ©Suna Kıraç Library/Koç  
 University, Turkey.

nomadic-pastoralism of some type existed. This would mean that the nomadic-pastoralist form of subsistence still in existence in Anatolia is not necessarily intrinsic to Turkic peoples but is an ecological adaptation to raising domesticated sheep and goats. Textiles, which are portable as well as beautiful, functional, and communicative, are a by-product of this life. The patterns, characteristic of groups, rather than the imaginative invention of individual weavers, are a form of signage for migrating groups' identities. They are a symbolic visual language expressing political or social group identities.

#### **Nomadic-pastoralism from the Ottoman Era to the present**

From prehistory, we learn that humans established close symbiotic relationships with animals. As animals transformed, humans began to exploit them for products beyond meat and hides in what is called the secondary revolution. While settled communities lived off animal products and used them to power agricultural equipment—using oxen for instance—nomadic-pastoralists were more reliant on their animals for most resources and products. These included meat, hides, milk; the by-products of milk, such as yogurt and cheese which are a form of cultivation; and fiber in all the diverse forms it was used: felted, woven, knotted, tied, knitted, and twined. Nomads made their housing, bedding, clothing, and what in essence were the furnishings of their dwellings—sacks, bags, and ground coverings—from animal fibers (fig.4). Some of their animals, sheep and goats especially, were the core of their livelihood, while others, donkeys, camels, and horses, were primarily pack animals.

All these animals became the central focus of Anatolian nomadic-pastoralists' lives, not only in terms of survival but in terms of the meaning of their culture. When nomads settled, their material culture lost its function (fig. 5). As described to me by Josephine Powell, the reason why the 1980s markets were flooded with sacks (*çuval*), bags (*torba*), and kilims (*kilim*, *cicim*, and other flatweaves) was that people stopped



Fig. 5

migrating. No longer having a use for their handwoven textiles, they sold them to dealers or traded them. The textiles Murad Megalli collected would have come from this transition. Hundreds of Powell's photographs, which she donated to the Koç Foundation before her death and which are now housed in the Koç University Suna Kıraç Library (a number of them also enhance this book) show settled formerly nomadic people displaying their last handwoven goods. These textiles were often in trousseaux, no longer destined to be used for migration. Powell also described how nomadic-pastoralists sold their camels, which ended up as sausages.

Before widespread settlement, in the Ottoman era Anatolian nomadic-pastoralists migrated from a winter pasture (*kışla* or *kışlak*) to a summer pasture (*yayla*) along routes that were well established and legally protected.<sup>19</sup> Living in black goat-hair tents or white felted *topakev* or *yurts*, they used seasonally available, ecological resources to benefit their animals (see Krody, fig. 23).

In general, nomadic-pastoralism is defined as the movement of humans with herds of domesticated animals to seasonal pastures. In some regions, nomads migrated long distances, and in others they migrated vertically, meaning that they moved from the lowlands to higher ground as each elevation experienced a spring. Once the land was dry and the air hot, the plants died and the migrants would move their herds to a higher elevation. This was the style of migration typical in the Taurus Mountains and in the southwestern region between the major centers of Fethiye, Antalya, and Konya, and the lower region of the Taurus Mountains, the areas where many of the Megalli kilims were made. On the arrival of colder weather in the upper elevations, pastoralists returned to the coastal or lower regions.

Fig. 5 House interior, Örselli village. Photograph by Kimberly Hart, 2009.

Reşat Kasaba and other historical and ethnographic sources demonstrate the importance of two analytical paths for understanding nomadic life during the Ottoman era.<sup>20</sup> First, while the nomadic-pastoralists' primary focus was raising animals, they displayed flexibility in subsistence strategy. They picked up side work in seasonal agriculture, engaged in some horticulture of their own (small-scale farming or gardening), worked for wages during the winter, and sold the products of their animals at market.<sup>21</sup> Second, their political and ideological identities were more malleable than the romantic view would have it.<sup>22</sup> They were not free from government interference and in fact participated in the state.

By bringing into focus how the Ottoman administration recognized the importance of migrating economically and politically powerful tribal groups, Kasaba notes that each tribal confederation had a *kadi* or judge who accompanied them as an official representative of the central administration, protected nomads legally, recorded and taxed their property, and regulated migratory routes.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, nomads were not "free" in the sense that they could go wherever they pleased without interference, regulation, or surveillance. They had protections and rights, but also duties. Thus, nomadic groups fell into the same strong centralized system as did settled peasants who were the *reaya* or "flock" of the state.<sup>24</sup>

Kasaba notes that in the eighteenth century the Ottoman administration made an effort to settle nomadic populations.<sup>25</sup> This is related to the central administration's interest in controlling mobile populations because they were a source of political instability, and a security risk to villages and towns.<sup>26</sup> Numerous sources indicate that conflicts between nomads and settled populations were frequent.<sup>27</sup> Some conflicts were the direct result of animal issues. As the nomads passed through lands inhabited by settled agriculturalists, farmers were concerned about animals trampling and consuming crops. Land in the Ottoman era was primarily owned by the state, although some land could pass into a quasi-private form of ownership; as Suraiya Faroqhi points out, it was not ownership of land itself but the right to its use that was possessed by individuals.<sup>28</sup>

The Ottoman system continues to some extent. The complex landscape of land usage—some public and open, some under use and seemingly owned, other fields of private property—creates problems for the very few migratory herding groups in existence today. Hale Sofia Schatz, a filmmaker who followed a very small migratory

family, noted that in 2015 the Sarıkeçili in south of Konya cited the difficulty of gaining access to land as the reason they were considering settling permanently and selling their goat herd.<sup>29</sup>

Walking with animals, bringing all of one's worldly belongings, and camping in tents in winter and summer pastures, as Harald Böhmer witnessed during the twentieth century, is not the only form of pastoralism. Nazif Shahrani studied Kyrgyz and Wakhi groups in the Pamir Mountains of Afghanistan. Some were agropastoralists with significant herds, who spent time in pasturage at higher elevations during the summer months while parts of the family remained at lower elevations.<sup>30</sup> Others, in a pattern more typical of settled agriculturalists who were poorer and had fewer animals, sent their animals to pasture near their settlements for temporary periods or during the day, to find food.<sup>31</sup> In a similar vein to Shahrani's findings, Ulla Johansen defines nomadism among the Yörük she studied in the Antitaurus Mountains north of Adana in the late 1950s: "Full nomads are those who live all year in a black tent but nomads are also those who own a house either in the lowlands or in the mountains, where they dwell three or four month of the year."<sup>32</sup>

She found that people who regarded themselves as Yörük did not all migrate with herds. That is, being Yörük was a political identity. She continues, "Nomads, moreover, may change to sedentary life and then back again to nomadism. Such changes may result from epidemics in the herds or if better business can be made for some time as cattle dealers or transportation entrepreneurs or in other professions in which they may use their nomadic experiences."<sup>33</sup> In Johansen's remarks on how nomads were flexible in their work, she demonstrates their strategic and practical nature, which is evident among Anatolian peasants generally.

One might easily assume that twentieth-century nomadism would be less "pure", and people more likely to have a place in the city for wintering over. While discussing Turkmen nomadic groups from 1071–1453, however, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak notes that, "despite these seasonal movements, the Turkoman and Kurds were not entirely nomadic... in winter they settled in well-watered valleys protected from the cold and snow in villages which they themselves had established or which already existed. In spring, a section of the population remained in the village engaged in animal husbandry and field agriculture."<sup>34</sup> Ocak's description of Turkmen life during one of the earliest eras of Turkic Anatolian settlement provides a view of a flexible

and pragmatic, semi-migratory subsistence strategy, similar to that of the Kyrgyz, the Saçıkara, and the Aydınlı Yörük in the twentieth century.<sup>35</sup> Large kin groups can afford to split the family members into productive units, some farming, others herding. Rhoads Murphey, discussing a later era, makes the point that nomadic groups may be more flexible than the romantic and rigid definition implies, basing this view on her study of Aleppo records from 1690 to 1790.<sup>36</sup>

While it is not surprising that there is no single definition of a nomadic-pastoralist, it is more interesting to see that migrating groups were pragmatic in how they survived economically. Although a kin group may strategize, it is clear that raising animals is central to the lives of Yörük, Turkmen, and Kurdish nomadic and semi-nomadic groups. During the Ottoman era, these groups raised sheep, goats, camels and horses. As Halil İnalçık writes, "considering the importance of the camel, they [the Yörük] did not slaughter them for food, and they called them a 'major capital' item."<sup>37</sup> And, the Ottoman army hired "tens of thousands of camels and nomadic drivers" when they went on campaign. Further, "some pastoralists even became capitalists, hiring shepherds to tend their flocks and engaging themselves in long-distance transportation or in the trade of livestock."<sup>38</sup>

When we consider all the products coming from animals during the Ottoman era—primarily cheese, skins, wool, animals themselves, and textiles as secondary products—the fact that these were largely the result of nomadic production should indicate how essential nomadic-pastoralists were for the Ottoman economy, and therefore how crucial domesticated sheep and goats were in Anatolia.<sup>39</sup> Nomads seem to have been natural business people, rather than simple herders. As Daniel Bates points out for the Yörük he studied in the 1970s, the inherent economic insecurities of nomadism helped create good businessmen among those who settle. "Nomadic members of the tribe are continually entering into partnerships for marketing, etc.; credit is widely extended with complicated arrangements for interest, and animals are bought on speculation for sale with the hope of taking advantage of short-term fluctuations in price in regional markets."<sup>40</sup> When nomads settled, in other words, they did not necessarily become farmers but, as Bates argues, businessmen.

The Megalli collection represents a shifting set of relationships. The first is between humans and animals. Nomadic-pastoralism involved a heavy dependence on animals. Humans used all parts of the animals. The fibers, however, are the central

interest for those who study textiles. From these animal fibers, nomadic-pastoralists created flatweaves, sacks, and bags. In addition to weaving and knotting, nomads would have created felts. These were used to make the *yurt* or *topakev* and to create the distinctive nomadic cloak one can still see shepherds wearing in Anatolia (fig. 2). Felts were also made into ground covers and saddle blankets. Unfortunately, felts deteriorate quickly and there are none in the Megalli collection.

In the next step in the transition of these pieces, as nomadic-pastoralists settled, they sold many of their textiles with no clear function. Long kilims in particular fit awkwardly into village houses, which tend to be small. Since their kilims were not really useful as floor coverings because they would need to be folded, and too long for walls, many newly settled peoples sold or traded them. Sacks and bags could more easily fit into the settled lifestyle and, in fact, villagers have many uses for them, from storing grain and flour (though flour tended to be stored in cotton sacks) to holding clothing and small goods. Sacks are also often opened up by villagers who then use them as kilims. Bags or *torba* can be hung on the walls.

In the village homes that I studied in the Yuntdağ region of western Anatolia, north of Manisa, the elderly women still had *torba*, *çuval* (sacks), and some kilims which they had as part of their trousseaux. *Torba* are square or rectangular bags with a long strap that can be shortened by knotting. When I asked about *torba*, they said that in addition to their holding small goods, shepherds took them out to the pastures when they tended their sheep. They had no long kilims, however, and made no attempt to cover their sacks, which stood along the center of the main room of their one- or two-room houses. These houses rarely had standing furniture and were furnished by textiles. Layers of quilts, and flatweaves and plastic mats covered the floors. The sacks were lined up across half the small room, beginning in the middle of the room at the single pole called *direk*, which supported the roof beams. This row was referred to as the *yüklük*, or load, as it would have been put on camels (fig. 5). Textiles of the same types as those made by migrating groups and as represented in the Megalli collection, therefore, were still functional in village homes during the twenty-first century.

The villages I studied most closely had stopped making weavings for trousseaux because they had begun knotting carpets for the DOBAG project.<sup>41</sup> However, nearby villagers who had never fully entered into the commercial weaving and knotting

market continued to make numerous sacks, bags, and kilims. It is not the case, then, that all weavings became useless after populations settled. Some retained the meaningful quality of a cultural item, which is useful and decorative and part of the ritual accumulations in trousseaux. However, all the weavings they produced could be used in a village home and were functional. There were, in other words, no long kilims. It is not surprising therefore, that most of the pieces in the Megalli collection are of this type of long kilim used to cover the *yüklük*. These kilims, so distinctive of Anatolian nomadic-pastoral life, entered into the market with settlement.

How did this happen? As I saw, traders from market towns visited villages with commercial goods that villagers needed and desired. They traded old handwoven textiles for these plastic buckets and machine-made carpets. I marveled at how villagers wanted to trade their handwoven kilims and sacks for commercially woven carpets, which they referred to as *makina* or ‘machine’. Being new, they were more desirable. Traders were reluctant to talk with me since they were aware that I knew these pieces would enter into a potentially lucrative textile market, sold by dealers to people like Murad Megalli. All the pieces in the collection are beautiful works of art but were valued only for their functions by Anatolians.

Though one might be tempted to conclude that there are no migrating groups in Anatolia now, this is not true. Harald Böhmer richly documented their lives in Anatolia during the latter half of the twentieth century.<sup>42</sup> More recently, an amateur Turkish photographer and an American filmmaker have worked with migrating groups over long periods of time.<sup>43</sup> Some of the groups refer to themselves as Yörük or even more specifically as Saçıkara. Some groups continue to live in black goat-hair tents. Others live in improvised huts made of wood and plastic. Clearly, the practical, flexible approach to economic survival continues.

Interestingly, while herding sheep and goats remains a profitable means of survival, few women weave in the *yayla*, or at all.<sup>44</sup> Instead of a handwoven *torba*, they use a plastic bag. In place of kilims are plastic mats; and, in a recent photograph of one tenting group, the ground was covered in a beautiful felt rug, purchased in Konya. In other words, the relationship nomadic-pastoral peoples have to animals remains important, but the use of animal fibers for making handwoven goods is not.

Turkey is now a place where the majority of the population is urban. Animals are exploited for meat and hides, since most urban dwellers incorporate meat into their

# Catalog: Images and Structural Information

Sumru Belger Krody

diets, and wear and use leather. Milk remains a central product, but wool sells for very little. The quality of Anatolian wool is low in relation to other sources of finer wool available globally. Today, few raise sheep for wool, a revolutionary product in human history and animal husbandry. Yet, it is from the happy accident of sheep domestication that this art and craftsmanship—or, more correctly, craftwomanship—flourished.

- 1 Böhmer 2008.
- 2 Arbuckle et al. 2014, p. 2.
- 3 Pedrosa et al. 2005.
- 4 Arbuckle 2012a, pp. 203–04.
- 5 Ryder 1983, p. 3.
- 6 Arbuckle and Özkaya 2006.
- 7 Ryder 1983, p. 18.
- 8 Arbuckle 2015.
- 9 Ryder 1983, p. 17.
- 10 Ibid, p. 16.
- 11 Barber 1991.
- 12 Saña and Tornero 2012, p. 81.
- 13 Arbuckle 2014, p. 211.
- 14 Saña and Tornero 2012, p. 81.
- 15 Stiner et al. 2014, p. 8407.
- 16 Saña and Tornero 2012, p. 82.
- 17 Arbuckle 2014, p. 219.
- 18 Ibid, p. 210.
- 19 Kasaba 2009.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Murphey 1960, p. 190.
- 22 İnalçık 1986; Kasaba 2009.
- 23 Kasaba 2009, pp. 24–9.
- 24 İnalçık 1994, p. 16.
- 25 Kasaba 2009, p. 29.
- 26 Barkey 1994, p. 115; Inalcik 1994, p. 41.
- 27 Barkey 1994; Bates 1973.
- 28 Faroqhi 2006, p. 381.
- 29 Schatz 2017.
- 30 Böhmer 2008; Shahrani 2002.
- 31 Shahrani 2002, p. 63.
- 32 White and Johansen 2005, p. 100.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ocak 2009, p. 369.
- 35 For the Kyrgyz see Shahrani 2002; for the Saçıkara see Bates 1973; and for the Aydınlı Yörük see White and Johansen 2005.
- 36 Murphey 1960, p. 190.
- 37 İnalçık 1994, p. 39.
- 38 Ibid, pp. 38–9.
- 39 Ibid.
- 40 Bates 1973, p. 26.
- 41 DOBAG is the Turkish acronym for the Natural Dye Research and Development Project, which aims at reviving the traditional Turkish art and craft of carpet-weaving, thereby providing rural areas in Anatolia with a regular source of income. The DOBAG project started in 1981 in collaboration with Marmara University and was led by Harald Böhmer, a German chemistry and biology teacher working in Istanbul. He focused on chemical analyses of the dyes of antique woven carpets, as on display in Istanbul museums.
- 42 Böhmer 1998a, 1998b, 2001, and 2008.
- 43 Schatz 2017.
- 44 Schatz 2017.



2013.2.1



2013.2.2



2013.2.3

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
Late 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.1  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed white;

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 180-210 yarns per decimeter, undyed white (slightly thicker than the other yarns), red, blue-green, purple, pink, light pink, dark brown, green, medium green, blue

Structure/Technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt and warp fringe

Dimensions (warp × weft): 374 × 84 cm (147 × 33 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 279, pl. 38  
Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pls. 64-6  
Böhmer 2008, p.288 (top and bottom)  
Brüggemann 1993, pls. 24 and 27  
Brüggemann and Böhmer 1983, pl. 24, pl. 27  
Cootner 1990, pl. 76 and pl. 110  
Erbek 1988, pl. 32  
Eskenazi and Valcarengi, 1985, p.70, pl. 75, pp. 42-3, pls. 12-3  
Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 36 and 68  
Petsopoulos 1979, pp.92-101, pls. 111-2  
Rageth 1999, pls. 46-7  
Valcarengi 1994, pp. 76-7 and 128, pls. 21,23, and 75

**Kilim Plate 1**

Central Anatolia  
Late 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.2  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 170-230 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, red, pink, light blue, light blue-green, green (olive), reddish brown, dark brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: one 2-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 328 × 79 cm (129 × 31 inches)

**References:**

Cootner 1990, pls. 35-4.  
Davies 2000, p. 127, pl. 22  
Frauenknecht 1984, p. 49  
Hart 2007, pp. 84-5  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 59  
Powell 2007, pp. 104-5

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
Second half 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.3  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, cotton**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed dark brown (thicker), undyed white, pink

*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns, 100-180 yarns per decimeter, red, dark brown, light yellow-brown, blue-green, green, undyed white, 2 shades of purple, light yellow, reddish brown, orange

*Weft*, cotton, 3 Z-spun yarns S-plied, white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 342 × 137 cm (133 × 53.5 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 275, pl. 34



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2013.2.5



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2013.2.7

**Kilim Plate 30**

Central Anatolia  
c. 1800  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.4  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, and few areas of barber's pole with medium brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 200-310 yarns per decimeter, red, brownish-red, light brown (gray), green, pink, purple, undyed white, orange;

*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 190 yarns per decimeter, light orange

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 216 × 71 cm (85 × 28 inches)

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia, Afyon  
Late 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.5  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, cotton**Yarns**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z spun yarn, 158 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, red, dark brown, dark green, yellow, dark blue

*Weft*, cotton, 4 Z-spun yarns S-plied, white

Structure/technique: Slit-tapestry weave, weft substitution, weft-float weave

Selvedge: both sides; 3 two-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 228 × 115.2 cm (89.5 × 45 inches)

**References:**

Bandsma and Brandt 1995, p. 55, pl. 24  
Hart 2007, pp. 70-1

**Kilim Plate 8**

Western Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.6  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 51 yarns per decimeter, undyed, off white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 150 yarns per decimeter, brown, red-brown, medium blue, white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning, weft-faced plain weave

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: warp fringe knotted, weft-faced plain weave for skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 308 × 75 cm (121 × 29.5 inches)

**References:**

Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 118-9, pl. 21

**Kilim Plate 20**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.7  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, cotton**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 32 yarns per decimeter, medium brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 170 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, green, medium blue, dark red, orange, pink, purple, dark brown (corrosive)

*Weft*, cotton, 3 Z-spun yarns S-plied, white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Construction: 2 loom-width panels sewn

Dimensions (warp × weft): 181.5 × 138 cm (71.5 × 54 inches)

**References:**

Petsopoulos 1979, pp. 102-8, pls. 121-30  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 64-5



2013.2.8



2013.2.9



2013.2.10

**Kilim Plate 16**

Western Anatolia  
c. 1800  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.8  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 230-330 yarns per decimeter, 2 shades of red, light blue, medium blue, green, 2 shades of medium browns, purple, yellow

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 388 × 77.5 cm (152.5 × 30.5 inches)

See also The Textile Museum 2013.2.21

**References:**

Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pp. 102-3, pl. 24  
Brüggemann 1993, pl. 29  
Erbek 1988, cat. no. 11, cat. no. 73  
Eskenazi and Valcarengi 1985, p. 71, pl. 46  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 135-7, pls. 29 and 30  
Ölçer 1989, pp. 104-5  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 52  
Valcarengi 1994, pp. 162-162 and 192, figs. 106 and 132

**Kilim Plate 7**

Western Anatolia, probably Aydin  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.9  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 260 yarns per decimeter, red, dark green, yellow, purple red, undyed white, dark brown, dark blue, medium blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft

patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: 1 two-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt, selvedges are stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 364 × 84 cm (143 × 33 inches)

**References:**

Frauenknecht 1985, pl. 16  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 104-5, pl. 14  
Hirsch 1984, pl. 127  
Hart 2012, pl. 36  
Hart 2007, cat. no. 36.  
Petsopoulos 1979, pls. 75 and 130-1  
Rageth 1999, p. 131, pl. 53  
Vok 1997, pl. 75  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 28-9

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.10  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and medium brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 190-200 yarns per decimeter, dark red, dark blue, medium brown, blue-green, light blue, purple, light orange, yellow, undyed white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, supplementary-weft patterning

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 268 × 88 cm (105.5 × 34 inches)

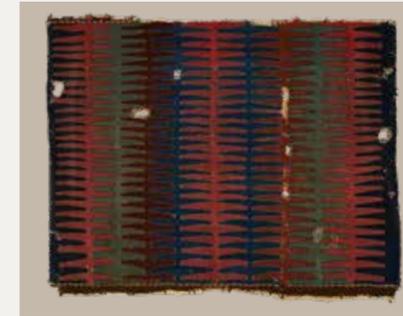
See also The Textile Museum 2013.2. 53 and 2013.2. 47

**References:**

Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 43  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 120-1, 276-7, pls. 22, 100  
Hart 2007, p. 116



2013.2.11



2013.2.12



2013.2.13



2013.2.14

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
Late 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.1  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole undyed white and undyed light brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 170 yarns per decimeter, light brown, dark brown, reddish-brown, dark blue, orange, red, pink, light green and dark green, undyed white, purple, purple-brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 347.5 × 76.5 cm (137 × 30 inches)

**References:**

Böhmer 2008, p. 265  
Brüggemann 1993, pl. 62  
Davies 2000, pl. 47  
Davies 1993, pl. 30  
Eskenazi and Valcarengi 1985, p. 64  
Petsopoulos 1991, p. 71  
Powell 2003, cat. no. 80  
Vok 1997, pl. 76

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.12  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole undyed off-white and medium brown  
*Weft*, wool, S-spun yarn, 210 yarns per decimeter, red, medium red-brown, dark blue, medium blue, green, undyed white (same yellowish color as the warp)

*Weft*, goat hair, S-spun yarn, dark red-brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft

wrapping for outlines, weft substitution

Selvedge: one 2-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 88 × 110 cm (34.5 × 43 inches)

**Kilim Plate 32**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.13,  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and undyed medium brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarns, 150-160 yarns per decimeter, orange, light blue-green, red, dark purple, medium brown (corrosive), dark blue, light yellow

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 314 × 102 cm (123.5 × 40 inches)

**References:**

Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 1

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
c. 1800  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.14  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 37 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarns, 176 yarns per decimeter, red, dark purple-brown, yellow-green, yellow, 2 shades of dark green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft →



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Selvedge: One 1-warp cord  
End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
Construction: Two loom-width panels sewn  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 292 × 160 cm (115 × 63 inches)

**References:**

Böhmer 2008, p. 235  
Brüggemann 1993, pl. 62  
Cootner 1990, p. 171, pl. 44 and p. 172, pl. 45  
Frauenknecht 1985, pls. 13-4  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 80-1, pl. 2  
Hart 2007, pl. 92  
Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989. I, pp. 40-5, pl. 9  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 78  
Powell 2003, pl. 132  
Rageth 1999, pp. 90-1 pl. 30  
Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 174-5, pl. 116  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 38-9

**Kilim Plate 22**

Western Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.15  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 60 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 245 yarns per decimeter, green, brown, light brown, red, dark red, pink red, purple red, orange

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, braiding

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: warp fringe knotted

Construction: Two loom-width panels sewn

Dimensions (warp × weft): 351 × 163 cm (138 × 64 inches)

**Kilim Plate 35**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.16  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, white, orange (3-inch area in one side only)

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 200-280 yarns per decimeter, medium dark blue, dark blue, medium dark brown, reddish brown (undyed?), red, dark orange, undyed white, dark pink, medium blue-green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 333.5 × 74 cm (131 × 29 inches)

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possibly west-central  
19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.17  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed off-white and undyed medium brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 210 yarns per decimeter, light orange, red, pink, light blue, medium blue, dark blue, green, light blue-green, brown, yellow, white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt, selvedges are stripped

Construction: two loom-width panels sewn together

Dimensions (warp × weft): 336 × 171 cm (132 × 67 inches)

**References:**

Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 29  
Hart 2007, pp. 116-7  
Hasson 2007, p. 56  
Koll and Bieber 1999, pls. 7-8  
Petsopoulos 1979, p. 92, pls. 107, 18; p. 109, pls. 131-132, p.113, pl. 135  
Davies 1991, pls. 78 and 82



2013.2.18

**Kilim Plate 19**

Central Anatolia  
Late 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.18  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 32 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 197 yarns per decimeter, red, yellow, green, faded purple, dark blue, dark green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 4-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 168 × 107 cm (66 × 42 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 257, pl. 16  
Brüggemann 1993, pls. 14-5  
Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 92-3  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 200-3, pl. 62-3  
Koll 2011, pp. 148-9, pl. 51  
Rageth 1999, pp. 100-3, pls. 35-6  
Vok 1997, pl. 35  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 78-9

**Kilim Plate 39**

Central Anatolia, possibly east-central  
Mid-19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.19  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and undyed dark brown (goat hair?)  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 2 Z-spun yarn S-plied, 170-200 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, dark red, medium red, orange, green, purple, medium brown, dark blue, light blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, eccentric weft, lazy lines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt, knotted warp ends  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 444.5 × 74 cm (175 × 29 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 258, pl. 17  
Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pp. 60-1, pl. 3  
Eskenazi, 1984, p. 58, pl. 3  
Eskenazi and Valcarenghi 1985, p. 35  
Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 154-5, figs. 99 and 101  
Vok 1997, cat. no. 44

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.20  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, white, brown (about 3-inch area on one side)

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarns, 228 yarns per decimeter, red-brown, blue, white, light orange, pink-red, green, green brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt, warp fringes knotted

Dimensions (warp × weft): 277.5 × 57 cm (109 × 22.5 inches)

**References:**

Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 206-7, pl. 148

**Kilim Plate 31**

Central Anatolia, possibly Konya area  
19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.21  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200 yarns per →



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decimeter, undyed white, dark brown, blue, green, red (pinkish), purple, orange, light blue, dark blue, dark brown (corrosive)  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, eccentric weft  
 Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 389 × 82 cm (153 × 32 inches)

See also The Textile Museum 2013.2.8

#### References:

- Balınar and Hirsch 1982, pp. 102-3, pl. 24  
 Brüggemann 1993, pl. 28  
 Erbek 1988, cat. no. 11, cat. no. 73  
 Eskenazi and Valcarengi 1985, p. 71, pl. 46  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 138-9, pl. 31  
 Hasson 2007, p. 76  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balınar 1989, I, pp. 78-9, pl. 15  
 Ölçer 1988, pp. 104-5, pl. 29  
 Koll 2011, pp. 236-7, pl. 90  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 52 and 62  
 Rageth 1999, p. 120, pl. 45  
 Valcarengi 1994, pp. 162-2 and 192, figs. 106 and 132

#### Kilim Plate 26

Western Anatolia  
 Mid-19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.22  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 60 yarns per decimeter, red  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun and 2Z-spun yarn, 120-170 yarns per decimeter, red, yellow, blue, blue-green, undyed white  
*Weft*, metallic-wrapped thread, cotton, S-spun yarn, gold, silver  
*Supplementary Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, red, yellow, white  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft substitution, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft patterning

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: weft-faced plain weave for skirt, knotted warp fringes  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 265 × 125 cm (104 × 49 inches)

#### References:

- Hart 2007, pp. 78-9  
 Petsopoulos 1991, cat. no. 12  
 Vok 1997, cat. no. 55

#### Kilim

Central Anatolia, possibly west-central  
 First half 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.23  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

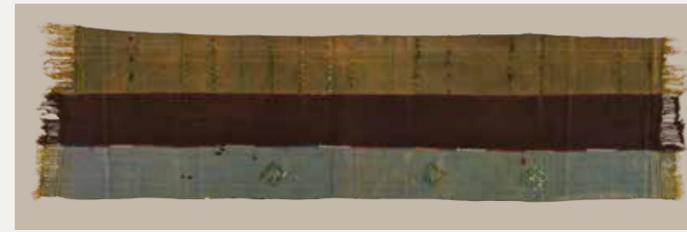
Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 170 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, red, blue, green, yellow, pink, purple, brown  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft  
 Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: stripped  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 132.5 × 73 cm (52 × 29 inches)

See also The Textile Museum 2013.27, 2013.2.28, and 2013.2.35

#### References:

- Black and Loveless 1977, pl. 13  
 Brüggemann 1993, pl. 60  
 Cootner 1990, pp. 174-7, pls. 46-8  
 Frauenknecht 1984, p. 27  
 Eskenazi 1984, pp. 66-7, pl. 7  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 88-9, pl. 6  
 Koll 2011, pp. 254-5, pl. 98  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balınar 1989, I, pp. 46-7, 54-5, pls. 10, 12  
 Ölçer 1988, pp. 48-9, pl. 1  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 76  
 Rageth 1999, pp. 82-5 and 88-9, pls. 26-7 and 29  
 Valcarengi 1994, pp. 88-93, pl. 36, 37, and 39  
 Vok 1997, I, pl. 70



2013.2.24



2013.2.25



2013.2.26



2013.2.27

#### Kilim

Flatweave  
 Central Anatolia  
 c. 1800  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.24  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 180 yarns per decimeter, green, purplish brown, blue green  
*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 60 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, purple brown

*Supplementary pile*, wool, hair, set of four 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, green, blue green, brown

Structure/technique: warp-faced plain weave, knotted pile, supplementary-weft wrapping, embroidery, braiding

Selvedge: one 1-warp cord

End finish: warp fringe knotted, twisted  
 Construction: 3 loom-width panels sewn together with decorative stitches (red, orange, white, dark blue, light blue, light orange); one of the panels may be from another similar piece and not originally belong to the group

Dimensions (warp × weft): 425 × 112.5 cm (167 × 44 inches)

#### References:

- Brüggemann 1993, pl. 137  
 Landreau and Pickering 1969, p. 76, fig. 74  
 Powell 2003, pp.93-4

#### Kilim

Central Anatolia  
 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.25  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 160-240 yarns per decimeter, red (orange), red (pink), brown, purple, medium blue, undyed white, green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 192 × 138 cm (75.5 × 54 inches)

#### References:

- Brüggemann 1993, pl. 55

#### Kilim

Central Anatolia  
 c. 1800  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.26  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, barber's pile with undyed white and dark brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200-210 yarns per decimeter, green, yellow, dark red, dark pink, blue, brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 124.5 × 89 cm (49 × 35 inches)

#### Kilim Plate 5

Central Anatolia  
 19th-century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.27  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 180 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, red, blue, yellow-green, dark brown, medium brown, red-brown, orange, light orange

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: one 1-warp cord

End finish: stripped  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 310 × 93 cm (122 × 36.5 inches)

See also The Textile Museum 2013.23, 2013.2.28, and 2013.2.35 →



2013.2.28



2013.2.29



2013.2.30

**References:**

Black and Loveless 1977, pl. 13  
 Brüggemann 1993, pl. 60  
 Cootner 1990, pp. 174»7, pls. 46-8  
 Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 27  
 Eskenazi 1984, pp. 66-7, pl. 7  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Athhan 2011, pp. 88-9, pl. 6  
 Koll 2011, pp. 254-5, pl. 98  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I, pp. 46-7, 54-5, pls. 10, 12  
 Ölçer 1988, pp.48-9, pl. 1  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 76  
 Rageth 1999, pp. 82-5 and 88-9, pls. 26-7 and 29  
 Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 88-93, pls. 36, 37, and 39  
 Vok 1997, I, pl. 70

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possibly west-central 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.28  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and medium brown

*Weft*, Wool, Z-spun, 180 yarns per decimeter, medium brown, dark brown (corroded), reddish brown, undyed white, purple, 2 reds (orange-red and blue-red), green, blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-float weave, supplementary-weft wrapping

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 127 × 67 cm (50 × 26 inches)

See also The Textile Museum 2013.23, 2013.2. 27, and 2013.2.35

**References:**

Black and Loveless 1977, pl. 13  
 Brüggemann 1993, pl. 60  
 Cootner 1990, pp. 174-7, pls. 46-8  
 Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 27  
 Eskenazi 1984, pp. 66-7, pl. 7  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Athhan 2011,

pp. 88-9, pl. 6  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I, pp. 46-7, 54-5, pls. 10, 12  
 Ölçer 1988, pp.48-9, pl. 1  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 76  
 Rageth 1999, pp. 82-5 and 88-9, pls. 26-7 and 29  
 Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 88-93, pls. 36, 37, and 39  
 Vok 1997, I, pl. 70

**Kilim**

Flatweave  
 Central Anatolia, possibly Konya area 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.29,  
 The Megalli Collections

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200-220 yarns per decimeter, orange red, pinkish-red, purple-brown, light purple-brown, dark brown, dark yellow, green, blue

Structure/technique: weft-faced plain weave

Selvedge: 4 two-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 325.5 × 76 cm (128 × 30 inches)

**References:**

Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlihan 2011, 308-9, pl. 116  
 Powell 2003, pp. 82-3

**Kilim Plate 17**

Central Anatolia, possibly west-central Early 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.30  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns, 200-250 yarns per decimeter, pink, dark brown, light brown, light blue, dark blue, purple, white, yellow, blue green; red (2 Z-spun yarns S-plied)



2013.2.31



2013.2.32



2013.2.33

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 428.5 × 70 cm (168.5 × 28 inches)

**References:**

Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pp. 102-3, pl. 24  
 Brüggemann 1993, pl. 329  
 Erbek 1988, cat. no. 11, cat. no. 73  
 Eskenazi and Valcarenghi 1985, p. 71, pl. 46  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Athhan 2011, pp. 135-7, pls. 29 and 30  
 Hasson 2007, p. 76  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I, pp. 78-9, pl. 15  
 Ölçer 1989, pp. 104-5, pl. 29  
 Koll 2011, pp. 236-7, pl. 90  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 52  
 Rageth 1999, p. 120, pl. 45  
 Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 162-2 and 192, figs. 106 and 132

**Kilim Plate 33**

Central Anatolia  
 Early 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.31  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, baberpole with medium brown and undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 180-200 yarns per decimeter, red, brown, purple, orange, blue-green, undyed white, red-brown, light brown, blue, yellow-green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft, weft-faced plain weave

Selvedge: stripped

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 387 × 137 cm (152.5 × 54 inches)

**References:**

Koll 2011, pp. 148-9, pl. 51

Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 41 and 63  
 Petsopoulos 1979, pl. 105

**Kilim Plate 29**

Central Anatolia  
 Second half 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.32  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool,**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per, barber's pole with undyed off-white and undyed brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 130-150 yarns per decimeter, red (pinkish), blue, white, brown, green, yellow

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave

Dimensions (warp × weft): 357 × 115.5 cm (140.5 × 45.5 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 279, pl. 38  
 Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pls. 64-6  
 Böhmer 2008, p.288 (top and bottom)  
 Brüggemann 1993, pls. 24 and 27  
 Brüggemann and Böhmer 1983, pls. 24 and 27  
 Cootner 1990, pls. 76 and 110  
 Erbek 1988, pl. 32  
 Eskenazi and Valcarenghi, 1985, p.70, pl. 75, pp. 42-3, pls. 12-3  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 36 and 68  
 Petsopoulos 1979, pp. 92-101, pls. 111-2  
 Rageth 1999, pp. 122-7, pls. 46-8  
 Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 77-9 and 128, pl. 21 and 23, pl. 75

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
 Late 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.33  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole →



2013.2.34



2013.2.35



2013.2.36

with undyed white and medium brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 190-220 yarns per decimeter, dark yellow, 2 shades of red, blue, dark brown, undyed white, light pink (?)  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft  
 Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: stripped  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 227 × 80 cm (109 × 31.5 inches)

**References:**

Vok 1997, pls. 60 and 66

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
 First half 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.34  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 150-195 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, yellow, orange, red, light green, blue, dark brown, light brown  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft  
 Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: Weft-faced plain weave skirt  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 391 × 69 cm (154 × 27 inches)

**References:**

Frauenknecht 1985, pl. 9  
 Koll 2011, pp. 162-3, pl. 56  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I, pp. 82-3, pl. 16  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 70  
 Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 44-5

**Kilim Plate 6**

Central Anatolia  
 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.35  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 120-150 yarns per decimeter, red, light orange, orange, blue, green, dark, purple, dark brown  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines  
 Selvedge: stripped  
 End finish: stripped  
 Construction: 2 loom-width panels sewn together  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 293 × 137.5 cm (115 × 54 inches)

See also The Textile Museum 2013.23, 2013.2.27, and 2013.2.28

**References:**

Black and Loveless 1977, pl. 13  
 Brüggemann 1993, pl. 60  
 Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 27  
 Cootner 1990, pp. 174-7, pls. 46-8  
 Eskenazi 1984, pp. 66-7, pl. 7  
 Koll 2011, pp. 254-5, pl. 98  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 88-9, pl. 6  
 Koll 2011, pp. 254-5, pl. 98  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I, pp. 46-7, 54-5, pls. 10, 12  
 Ölçer 1988, pp.48-9, pl. 1  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 76  
 Rageth 1999, pp. 82-5 and 88-9, pls. 26-7 and 29  
 Valcarenghi 1994, pp. pp. 88-93, pls. 36, 37, and 39  
 Vok 1997, I, pl. 70

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
 Early 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.36  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and undyed medium brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 150-180 yarns



2013.2.37



2013.2.38



2013.2.39

per decimeter, yellow, medium brown, undyed white, blue, red, green, light green-brown, light brown  
*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns, yellow, medium brown, undyed white, blue  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning  
 Selvedge: One 1-warp cord  
 End finish: stripped  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 129.5 × 97 cm (51 × 38 inches)

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
 Second half 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.37  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 310 yarns per decimeter, red, blue, purple, green, light brown, dark brown, undyed white, light orange, yellow  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave  
 Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: stripped  
 Construction: two loom-width panels sewn together  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 291.5 × 108 cm (114.5 × 42.5 inches)

**References:**

Hart 2007, p. 132  
 Petsopoulos 1979, pp. 140-5  
 Petsopoulos 1991, p. 99  
 Powell 2007, pp. 104-5  
 Rageth 1999, pp. 112-4, pls. 41-2

**Kilim Plate 3**

Western Anatolia  
 First half 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.38  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool,**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarn, 310 yarns per decimeter, red, blue, purple, green, light brown, dark brown, undyed white, light orange, yellow  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft patterning  
 Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt, warp fringe knotted  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 338 × 82 cm (133 × 32 inches)

**References:**

Bandsma and Brandt 1995, p. p. 42, pl. 11  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 264-5, pl. 94  
 Koll and Bieber 1999, pl. 11  
 Petsopoulos 1979, pp. 99-100, pls. 118-20  
 Powell 2007, pl. 142  
 Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 174-5, pl. 115

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
 c. 1800  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.39  
 The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 210 yarns per decimeter, red, dark brown, light orange, green, dark blue, light blue  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft  
 Selvedge: 2, two-warp cords  
 End finish: stripped  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 125 × 60.5 cm (49 × 24 inches)

**References:**

Brüggemann 1993, pls. 76-9  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 170-3 and 180-1, pls. 47-8 and 52  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, pp. 72-4, pl. 14  
 Valcarenghi 1994, p. 82, pl. 27



2013.2.40



2013.2.41



2013.2.42



2013.2.43

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possible west-central  
Late 18th to early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.40  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
50 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole  
with undyed white and light brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200 yarns per  
decimeter, undyed white, red, light  
red, blue, light brown, dark brown,  
purple, yellow, light green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, supplementary weft-  
wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 314 × 138.5 cm  
(124 × 54.5 inches)

See also The Textile Museum 2013.23,  
2013.2. 27, 2013.2.28, and 2013.2.35

**References:**

Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pp. 126-7, pl. 36  
Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 56, 76, and 78  
Petsopoulos 1979, fig. 138

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
Late 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.41  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50  
yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200-220 yarns per  
decimeter, yellow, purple, pink, dark  
brown, red, light orange, white, light  
green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: one 2-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Construction: two panels sewn together  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 315 × 152 cm  
(124 × 60 inches)

**References:**

Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011,  
pp. 210-1, pl. 67  
Rageth 1999, pp. 72-5, pl. 21-2

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possibly west-central  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.42  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
45 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole  
with undyed white, and medium and  
light brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 170 yarns per  
decimeter, green, red, yellow

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: warp fringe

Dimensions (warp × weft): 185 × 143 cm  
(73 × 56 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2017, p. 263,  
pl. 21

**Kilim Plate 24**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.43  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50  
yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 190 yarns per  
decimeter, light brown, dark brown,  
purple-brown, light blue, medium  
blue, orange, red, blue-green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 211 × 60.5 cm  
(83 × 24 inches)



2013.2.44



2013.2.45



2013.2.46

**Kilim Plate 2**

Central Anatolia  
c. 1800  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.44  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 30  
yarns per decimeter, barber's pole  
with undyed white and dark brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 190-240 yarns  
per decimeter, red, dark purple,  
dark brown, blue-green, dark  
yellow, light yellow, dark blue,  
medium blue, undyed white,

dark pink, dark orange

*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun  
yarns, blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, supplementary-weft  
patterning, supplementary-weft  
wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 313 × 67 cm  
(123 × 26 inches)

**References:**

Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011,  
pp. 160-1, pl. 42  
Cootner 1990, pp. 158-167, pls. 35-41  
Davies 2000, p. 127, pl. 22  
Hart 2007, pp. 83-4  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 59  
Powell 2003, p. 127, pl. 22  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 24-5

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.45  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
50 yarns per decimeter, barber's  
pole with undyed white and brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 210-230 yarns  
per decimeter, white, light brown,  
medium blue, light orange-red,  
light green, purple, medium brown,  
medium red, dark red, red brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, supplementary-weft  
patterning (removed)

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Construction: 2 loom-width panels  
sewn together

Dimensions (warp × weft): 323 × 140 cm  
(127.5 × 55 inches)

Remarks: yarns of supplementary-weft  
patterning removed from the kilim  
leaving faint marks in plain bands

**References:**

Bandsma 1995, p. 104, pl. 68  
Brüggemann 1993, pl. 50  
Böhmer 2008, p. 227  
Erbek 1988, cat. no. 90  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011,  
pp. 210-1, pl. 67  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 3  
Powell 2003, p. 112  
Rageth 1999, pp. 58-9 and 72-3, pls. 14  
and 21  
Vok 1997, pls. 22-4.

**Kilim Plate 21**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.46  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, cotton**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50  
yarns per decimeter, undyed off-white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 210 yarns per  
decimeter, dark purple, black,  
yellow, blue, orange, red., medium  
red, pink

*Weft*, cotton, 3 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
bleached white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave,  
weft-faced plain weave, supplement-  
ary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: One 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 336 × 82 cm  
(132 × 32 inches)

**References:**

Hart 2007, pp. 114-5  
Koll 2011, pp. 40-1, pl. 6  
Vok 1997, pl. 61



2013.2.47



2013.2.48



2013.2.49

**Kilim Plate 9**

Central Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.47  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 220-280 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, purple, dark red, reddish brown, dark brown, blue-green, blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for some of the outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: 1 two-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 395 × 75 cm (155.5 × 29.5 inches)

See also The Textile Museum 2013.2.10 and 2013.2. 53

**References:**

Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 43  
Gülgönen , Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 120-1, 276-7, pls. 22, 100  
Hart 2007, p. 116

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possibly west-central  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.48  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35-40 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and medium brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200-280 yarns per decimeter, shorter panel colors: white, brown, purple, blue-green, blue, reddish-brown, pink-red, orange. longerpanel colors: white, brown, purple, blue, reddish-brown, pink-red, yellow-green, orange

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: One 2-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Construction: 2 loom-width panels sewn together

Dimensions (warp × weft): 312.4 × 110.5 (123 × 43.5 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 279, p. 279, pl. 38  
Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pls. 64-6  
Böhmer 2008, p. 288 (top and bottom)  
Brüggemann 1993, pls. 24 and 27  
Brüggemann and Böhmer 1983, pls. 24, 27  
Cootner 1990, pls. 76 and 110  
Erbek 1988, pl. 32  
Eskenazi and Valcarengi, 1985, pp. 70 and 42-3, pls. 75, 12-3  
Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 36 and 68  
Petsopoulos 1979, pp.92-101, pls. 111-2  
Rageth 1997, pls. 46-7  
Valcarengi 1994, pp. 77-9 and 75, pls. 21-3, and 75

**Kilim Plate 23**

Central Anatolia, possibly Nevşehir area  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.49  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 60 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied (red and orange yarns), Z-spun, 200 yarns per decimeter, blue, red, orange, yellow

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: One 2-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Construction: 2 loom-width panels sewn together

Dimensions (warp × weft): 185 × 168 cm (73 × 66 inches)

**References:**

Vok 1997, pl. 59

**Kilim Plate 27**

Central Anatolia, possibly Obruk area  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.50  
The Megalli Collection



2013.2.50



2013.2.51



2013.2.52



2013.2.53

**Material:** wool, cotton**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 240 yarns per decimeter, green, red, blue, undyed white, brown (corrosive)

*Weft*, cotton, 3 Z-spun yarns S-plied, bleached white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 167 × 82 cm (65.5 × 32 inches)

**References:**

Erbek 1988, cat. nos: 79-80

**Kilim Plate 12**

Western Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.51  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 140-170 yarns per decimeter, red (finer than the other yarns), dark blue, undyed white, green, light blue, light pink, dark brown, medium brown, reddish brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave

Selvedge: one 2-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 319.5 × 61 cm (125.8 × 24 inches)

**References:**

Hasson 2007, p. 60  
Valcarengi 1994, pp. 206-7, pl. 148

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.52  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 230 yarns per decimeter, red, undyed white, light orange, blue, blue green, brown (corrosive), yellow, purple

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 191 × 165 cm (75 × 65 inches)

**References:**

Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 210-1, pl. 67

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.53  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200-230 yarns per decimeter, red, green, purple, light blue, white, dark blue, orange, yellow, brown (corroded)

*Supplementary Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns, red, white, blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 93 × 89 cm (36.5 × 35 inches)

See Also The Textile Museum 2013.2.10 and 2013.2.47

**References:**

Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 43  
Gülgönen , Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 120-1, 276-7, pls. 22, 100  
Hart 2007, p. 116



2013.2.54

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.54  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and dark brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200 yarns per decimeter, purple, red, pink, orange, blue, light green, dark brown, undyed white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: stripped

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 64.5 × 74 cm (25 × 29 inches)



2013.2.55



2013.2.56

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.55  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, undyed off-white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 216 yarns per decimeter, dark red, pink-red, medium brown, green, medium blue, undyed white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: stripped

End finish: stripped

Construction: Small areas from the other half of the kilim still attached

Dimensions (warp × weft): 205 × 73 cm (80.7 × 28.7 inches)

**References:**

Böhmer 2008, pp. 220-5  
Koll 2011, p. 170-1, pl. 60



2013.2.57

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.56  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200-220 yarns per decimeter, red, undyed white, orange (faded), purple (faded?), light blue-green (faded?), medium blue, medium brown, dark blue, orange-red

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 267 × 183 cm (105 × 72 inches)

**References:**

Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 116-7, 172-5 pls. 20, 48-9

**Kilim Plate 25**

Southern Anatolia  
Early 18th century- early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.57  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, cotton**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 52 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun yarns 176 yarns per decimeter, red, blue, brown, green, yellow

*Weft*, cotton, 3 Z-spun yarns S-plied, bleached white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: two 2-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 385.5 × 155 cm (151.5 × 61 inches)

**Published:**

Rageth 1997, pp. 140-1, pl. 55



2013.2.58



2013.2.59



2013.2.60 front



2013.2.60 back

**References:**

Cootner 1990, p. 255, pl. 101  
Eskenazi and Valcarengi 1985, p. 89, fig. 68  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 30  
Powell 2003, pp. 122-3  
Valcarengi 1994, p. 54, pl. 1

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia, possibly Aydın area  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.58  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 49 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 370 yarns per decimeter, light brown, dark brown, dark blue, light blue, dark red, light red, pink (?), undyed white, purple, green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, eccentric weft

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 193 × 87 cm (76 × 34 inches)

**References:**

Balpinar and Hirsch 1982, pls. 33-7  
Bandsma and Brandt 1995, pp. 45 and 20, pls. 14 and 20  
Böhmer 2008, p. 231  
Frauenknecht 1984, p. 8  
Gülgönen 2011, pp. 84-5, pl. 4  
Hart 2007, pp. 66-7  
Koll and Bieber 1999, pls. 7-8

**Kilim Plate 11**

Central Anatolia  
Second half 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.59  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 170-190 yarns per decimeter, red, medium blue, pink, medium-dark yellow, undyed white, green, light green-brown, blue green,

purple, dark green, medium green  
Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft  
Selvedge: stripped  
End finish: stripped  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 417 × 95 cm (164 × 37 inches)

**References:**

Brüggemann 1993, pl. 57  
Frauenknecht 1985, pl. 15  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 162-5, pls. 43-4  
Hasson 2007, pp. 57 and 61  
Rageth 1997, pl. 23

**Grain bag (çuval)**

Western Anatolia, possibly northwestern  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.60  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, metallic-wrapped thread

**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, undyed off-white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, red, dark blue; *Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, medium red (brick-red), green, dark blue, medium blue, bright red, white, yellow, dark pink, brown

*Supplementary weft*, metallic-wrapped thread, gilt metal strip twisted in S direction around cotton core thread

Structure/technique: weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping

Selvedge: not visible

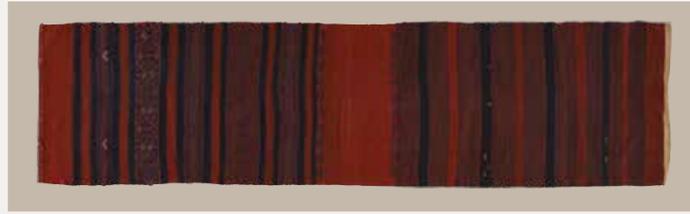
End finish: not visible

Construction: woven as one piece and folded and sewn on the sides with tablet band added on the side for carrying

Dimensions (warp × weft): 114 × 75 cm (45 × 29.5 inches)

**References:**

Böhmer 2008, p. 267  
Hart 2007, pp. 160-177  
Pinkwart and Steiner 1991, pl. 24



2013.2.61



2013.2.62



2013.2.63

**Bag (unconstructed)**

Western Anatolia, possibly  
northwestern  
Mid-19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.61  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50  
yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 200  
yarns per decimeter, red, dark blue  
*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun  
yarns S-plied, dark red, dark blue,  
white, yellow (only visible on the  
back and used in highlights in the  
center of lozenge motifs)

Structure/technique: weft-faced plain  
weave, supplementary-weft wrap-  
ping and patterning, knotted pile

Selvedge: two-2-warp cords

End finish: folded hem

Construction: opened grain sack having  
both front and end panel

Dimensions (warp × weft): 271 × 71.5 cm  
(107 × 28 inches)

**References:**

Böhmer 2008, p. 267  
Hart 2007, pp. 160-177  
Pinkwart and Steiner 1991, pl. 24

**Bag Face**

Western Anatolia, possibly  
northwestern  
Mid-19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.62  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, cotton**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 50 yarns per  
decimeter, blue, red, dark brown,  
medium brown, dark green

*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun  
yarns S-plied, 180 yarns per  
decimeter, blue, red, dark brown,  
medium brown, dark green, dark  
purple

*Supplementary weft*, cotton, 3 Z-spun  
yarns S-plied, white

Structure/technique: weft-faced plain  
weave, supplementary-weft  
patterning, supplementary-weft  
wrapping, weft twining,  
complementary weft patterning

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 137.5 × 99 cm  
(54 × 39 inches)

**References:**

Böhmer 2008, p. 267  
Hart 2007, pp. 160-177  
Pinkwart and Steiner 1991, pl. 24

**Kilim Plate 13**

Central Anatolia, Konya  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.63  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
40 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole  
with undyed white and medium to  
dark brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 150-200 yarns per  
decimeter, red, medium blue, yellow,  
reddish brown, medium brown,  
green, undyed white, purplish-brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, weft-faced plain weave,  
supplementary-weft wrapping for  
outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: 1 two-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 404 × 96.5 cm  
(159 × 38 inches)

**References:**

Brüggemann 1993, pl. 22  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011,  
pp. 158-9, pl. 41  
Koll 2011, pp. 76-7, pl. 22  
Petsopoulos 1979, p. 134, pls. 159-60  
Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 60 and 64  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 32-3

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possibly west-central  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.64  
The Megalli Collection



2013.2.64



2013.2.65



2013.2.66



2013.2.67

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
50 yarns per decimeter, undyed  
white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200 yarns per  
decimeter, red, blue, blue-green,  
yellow, brown (corrosive);

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, weft-faced plain weave,  
supplementary-weft wrapping  
for outlines, supplementary-weft  
patterning

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave  
skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 371 × 76 cm  
(146 × 30 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 279,  
pl. 38  
Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pls. 64-6  
Böhmer 2008, p.288 (top and bottom)  
Brüggemann 1993, pls. 24 and 27  
Brüggemann and Böhmer 1983, pls. 24  
and 27  
Cootner 1990, pls. 76 and 110  
Erbek 1988, pl. 32  
Eskenazi and Valcarenghi, 1985, pp. 70  
and 42-3, pls. 75 and 12-3  
Petsopoulos 1991, pls. 36 and 68  
Petsopoulos 1979, pp. 92-101, pls. 111-2  
Rageth 1997, pls. 46-7  
Valcarenghi 1994, pp. 77-9 and 128,  
pls. 21, 23, and 75

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.65  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, cotton**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
30 yarns per decimeter, undyed  
off-white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 2 Z-spun S-plied  
(red yarns), 110 yarns per decimeter,  
red (pinkish), dark blue, dark brown,  
yellow

*Weft*, cotton, 4 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
bleached white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, lazy lines, supplementary-  
weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 137 × 81 cm  
(54 × 31.5 inches)

**Kilim Plate 40**

Central Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.66  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
90 yarns per decimeter, green, red  
*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 95  
yarns per decimeter, green, red;

*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun  
yarns S-plied, green side: red, dark  
brown, white undyed, orange,  
purple. Red side: white, dark brown,  
medium blue, light blue, yellow-green

Structure/technique: supplementary-  
weft patterning, weft-predominant  
plain weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: knotted warp fringe

Construction: two loom-width panels  
sewn together

Dimensions (warp × weft): 336 × 71 cm  
(132 × 28 inches)

**References:**

Brüggemann 1993, p. 137  
Powell 2003, pp. 93-4

**Kilim**

Central or western Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.67  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool**Yarns:**

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 30  
yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 150-200 yarns per  
decimeter, red, green, dark brown,  
purplish-brown, orange, dark orange,  
undyed light brown, medium blue →



2013.2.68



2013.2.69



2013.2.70

*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, light orange  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave  
 Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: stripped  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 173 × 71 cm (68 × 28 inches)

#### Kilim Plate 15

Western Anatolia  
 c. 1800  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.68  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:  
*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200-230 yarns per decimeter, white, red, medium blue, green, medium yellow, light yellow, purple, purple-brown (corrosive)

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave  
 Selvedge: one 2-warp cord  
 End finish: stripped  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 401 × 86 cm (158 × 34 inches)

#### References:

Brüggemann 1993, pls. 18-20  
 Davies, 1993, pl.33  
 Davies 2000, pl. 49  
 Hart 2007, p. 89  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 57 and 58  
 Rageth 1997, pp. 128-131, pls. 49 and 50

#### Kilim

Central Anatolia  
 Second half 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.69  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:  
*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200 yarns per decimeter, purple, green, red, undyed white, light brown, yellow, dark brown, medium blue, light blue,

dark blue, light orange, light yellow-green, light red  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 375 × 81 cm (147.5 × 32 inches)

#### References:

Frauenknecht 1985, pl. 9  
 Koll 2011, pp. 162-3, pl. 56  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I, pp. 82-3, pl. 16  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 70  
 Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 44-5

#### Kilim Plate 37

Western Anatolia  
 Second half 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.70  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:  
*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed off-white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 230-240 yarns per decimeter, purple, red, green, orange, red-brown, medium black, white, blue, light blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplement-ary-weft patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, dovetailing  
 Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
 Construction: two loom-width panels sewn together, a few areas have contemporary re-weaving  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 388 × 147 cm (152.5 × 58 inches)

#### References:

Balpınar and Hirsch 1982, pp. 116-7, pl. 31  
 Koll and Bieber 1999, pl. 9



2013.2.71



2013.2.72



2013.2.73

#### Kilim

Western Anatolia  
 Second half 18th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.71  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:  
*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and medium brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 180-280 yarns per decimeter, orange, dark red (brownish), medium red, medium purple, dark brown, blue-green, dark blue, medium blue, light blue, undyed white, yellow, black

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: two-warp cords, 2 cords in one side, 3 cords on the other side  
 End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 364 × 90 cm (143 × 35.5 inches)

#### References:

Cootner 1990, p. 183, pls. 51 and 52  
 Frauenknecht 1985, pl. 16  
 Gülgönen, Edgü, and Athhan 2011, pp. 98-9, pl.11  
 Hasson 2007, p. 77  
 Hart 2007, pp. 66-7  
 Powell 2003, pp. 48, 129, and 136-7

#### Kilim

Central Anatolia  
 Early 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.72  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:  
*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 44 yarns per decimeter, white, medium brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, green, dark green, dark brown, reddish brown, dark blue, red, light red, orange, purple  
 Structure/technique: slit-tapestry

weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords  
 End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
 Construction: two loom-width panels sewn together  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 343 × 158 cm (135 × 62 inches)

#### References:

Frauenknecht 1985, pl. 9  
 Koll 2011, pp. 162-3, pl. 56  
 Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I, pp. 82-3, pl. 16  
 Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 70  
 Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 44-5

#### Kilim

Central Anatolia  
 19th century  
 The Textile Museum 2013.2.73  
 The Megalli Collection

#### Material: wool

Yarns:  
*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed off-white, barber's pole with undyed white and light brown  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 170 yarns per decimeter, red, white, brown, pink-red, purple, orange, yellow, dark brown, blue-green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, very small amount of vertical color change  
 Selvedge: one 1-warp cord on one side, 1 one-warp and One 2-warp cords on the other side  
 End finish: warp fringe, twisted and knotted

Warp fringe- top fringe is looped; bottom fringe is knotted and twisted, twining on one end  
 Dimensions (warp × weft): 394 × 84 cm (155 × 33 inches)

#### References:

Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 17  
 HALI July/August 1999, issue 105, pg. 150  
 Koll 2011, pp. 192-3, pl. 70



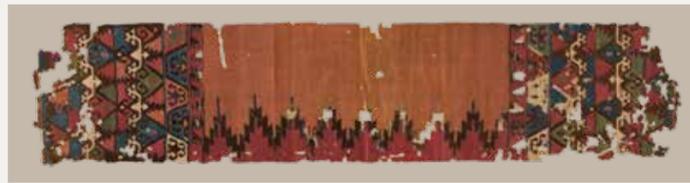
2013.2.74



2013.2.75



2013.2.76



2013.2.77

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.74  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 40 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 130-150 yarns per decimeter, red, dark orange, medium blue, green, medium brown, yellow, purple, undyed white;  
*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns, blue, green

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping supplementary-weft patterning for outlines,

Selvedge: selvedge is in the inside edge and 1, two-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 445 × 94 cm (175 × 37 inches)

**References:**

Frauenknecht 1985, pl. 17  
Powell 2003, p. 129

**Kilim Plate 14**

Southern Anatolia  
Second half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.75  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 180-250 yarns per decimeter, purple, medium blue, yellow, red, pink, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, green, medium brown (corrosive),  
*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns, white, blue, red, green, purple

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft faced plain weave skirt

and knotted warp fringe

Dimensions (warp × weft): 409 × 87 cm (161 × 34 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 297, pl. 56  
Davies 2000, p. 128, pl. 23  
Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 34  
Hart 2007, p. 145  
Petsopoulos 1979, p. 149

**Kilim Plate 34**

Central Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.76  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed off-white and light brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 140-180 yarns per decimeter, colors: dark blue, medium blue, orange, red, green, white, red-brown (*abras*)

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Construction:

Dimensions (warp × weft): 386 × 70cm (252 × 27.5 inches)

Remarks: Smaller fragment from this kilim is The Textile Museum 2013.2.89

**References:**

Cootner 1990, pp. 130-131, pl. 21  
Frauenknecht 1984, p. 44  
Hart 2007, pp. 114-5  
Vok 1997, pl. 62

**Kilim Plate 36**

Eastern Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.77  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 220-260 yarns per decimeter, purple, red, orange, blue,



2013.2.78



2013.2.79



2013.2.80



2013.2.81

medium brown, green, undyed white, reddish brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 383 × 84 cm (150.5 × 33 inches)

**References:**

Balpinar and Hirsch 1982, pp. 116-7  
Böhmer 2008, pp. 220-5  
Petsopoulos 1979, pp. 82-3, pls. 95-6

**Kilim Plate 41**

Central Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.78  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 170-220 yarns per decimeter, yellow-green, dark brown, yellow, medium blue, red

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave

Selvedge: One 2-warp cord and one 4-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt, knotted warp fringe

Dimensions (warp × weft): 157 × 107 cm (62 × 42 inches)

**Kilim**

Eastern Anatolia  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.79  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 55 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 180-250 yarns per decimeter, red, green, blue, red, orange, brown, dark brown

*Supplementary weft*, wool, 3 Z-spun yarns, undyed white, brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft twining

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 218.5 × 77 cm (86 × 30 inches)

**References:**

Koll 2011, pp. 110-1, pl. 34

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
Late 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.80  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 47 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and undyed brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 180 yarns per decimeter, pink-red, yellow, green, medium blue, off-white, dark brown, orange, purple-brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 207 × 69 cm (81.5 × 27 inches)

**Kilim**

Northwestern Anatolia  
18th century to early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.81  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and medium brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 220 yarns per decimeter, green, dark brown, light orange, light blue, purple

*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, red, medium blue

*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, undyed white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave,

supplementary-weft patterning  
Selvedge: two 2-warp cords →



2013.2.82

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 147 × 79 cm  
(58 × 31 inches)

**References:**

Cootner 1990, p. 188, pl. 56  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 19

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
Early 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.82  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, undyed white  
*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 180-220 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, green, blue, orange, red, purple, brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave  
Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

## Construction:

Dimensions (warp × weft): 271 × 77 cm  
(106.5 × 30 inches)

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.83  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed white, barber's pole

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 240 yarns per decimeter, red, blue, green, purple, yellow, undyed white, dark brown

*Supplementary weft*, wool, Z-spun, blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry, supplementary-weft patterning, looping

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 214 × 80 cm  
(84 × 31.5 inches)

**References:**

Böhmer 2008, pp. 220-5  
Petsopoulos 1979, pp. 82-83, pls. 95-6



2013.2.83



2013.2.84



2013.2.85

**Kilim**

Western Anatolia  
Late 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.84  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 200-270 yarns per decimeter, light green, white, red, pink red, blue, light yellow, brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 150 × 81 cm  
(59 × 32 inches)

**References:**

Black and Loveless 1977, pl. 14  
Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 24  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, pp. 124-5, pl. 24  
Koll 2011, pp. 64-9, pls. 16, 17, and 18  
Petsopoulos 1979, pp. 102-8, pls. 121-30  
Rageth 1999, pp. 70-1, pl. 20  
Valcarengi 1994, pp. 164-5, pl. 107  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 62-5

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.85  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool, camel hair

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and medium brown (camel hair?)

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 190-240 yarns per decimeter, pink, red, dark yellow, blue, dark brown, medium purple, green, undyed white

*Weft*, camel hair, Z-spun, 190-210 yarns per decimeter, undyed medium brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, eccentric weft

Selvedge: 1 two-warp cord in the one side and two 2-warp cords in the other side



2013.2.86



2013.2.87



2013.2.88



2013.2.89

End finish: stripped  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 353 × 86 cm  
(139 × 34 inches)

**References:**

Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I, pp. 80-1, pl. 16

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
Late 18th to early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.86,  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and dark brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 160-180 yarns per decimeter, orange, 2 shades of red, yellow, white, medium brown, medium blue, light purple

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning

Selvedge: 1 two-warp cord

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 273.5 × 89 cm  
(107.5 × 35 inches)

**Kilim Plate 28**

Western Anatolia  
Late 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.87  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, Z-spun yarns, and 2 Z-spun yarns, 130-190 yarns per decimeter, red, blue, brown, orange, undyed white; *Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns, red, blue, brown, orange, undyed white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines, supplementary-weft patterning

Selvedge: 4 2-warp cords  
End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt, warp fringe

Dimensions (warp × weft): 131 × 106 cm  
(51.5 × 41.5 inches)

**Kilim Plate 38**

Central Anatolia  
c. 1800  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.88  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 180 yarns per decimeter, purple, medium blue, orange, dark brown, white, yellow, red

*Weft*, camel hair, Z-spun, 154 yarns per decimeter, undyed light brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, weft-faced plain weave

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 298.5 × 77 cm  
(117.5 × 30 inches)

**References:**

Brüggemann 1993, pls. 5-7  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Atlıhan 2011, p. 288, env. No. 126  
Koll 2011, pp. 112-7, pls. 35-7

**Kilim Plate 34**

Central Anatolia  
First half 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.89  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 35 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed off-white and light brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 180 yarns per decimeter, light orange, red, green, blue-green, dark blue, dark brown, reddish-brown, medium blue

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord →



2013.2.90



2013.2.91



2013.2.92

End finish: stripped  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 121 × 69 cm  
(47.5 × 27 inches)  
Remarks: Larger panel of this small  
fragment is The Textile Museum  
2013.2.76

**References:**

Cootner 1990, pp. 130-131, pl. 21  
Frauenknecht 1984, p. 44  
Hart 2007, pp. 114-5  
Vok 1997, pl. 62

**Kilim Plate 4**

Central Anatolia  
19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.90  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
50 yarns per decimeter, undyed  
white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 210-260 yarns per  
decimeter, medium brown, light  
yellow, red, purple, medium blue,  
dark blue, undyed white, medium  
blue-green

*Supplementary weft*, wool, 2 Z-spun  
yarns, white, blue, light yellow  
Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, supplementary-weft  
patterning, supplementary-weft  
wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 367 × 88.5 cm  
(144.5 × 34.5 inches)

**References:**

Böhmer 2008, p. 235  
Brüggemann 1993, pl. 62  
Cootner 1990, pp. 171-2, pls. 44-5  
Frauenknecht 1985, pls. 13-4  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Athhan 2011,  
pp. 80-1, pl. 2  
Hart 2007, pl. 92  
Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I,  
pl. 9  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 78  
Powell 2003, pl. 132  
Rageth 1999, pp. 90-1 pl. 30  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 38-9

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possibly west-central  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.91  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
38 yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 190 yarns per  
decimeter, dark brown, orange,  
medium brown, light brown, red,  
undyed white, green, blue, light blue,  
yellow, dark yellow (golden), purple  
(blue rubbed off to red)

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave,  
weft-faced plain weave

Selvedge: One 1-warp cord

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 262.5 × 54 cm  
(103 × 21 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 276,  
pl. 35  
Enderlein 1989, p. 70  
Frauenknecht 1984, pl. 7  
Hart 2007, p. 132  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 40  
Valcarengi 1994, p. 201, pl. 141

**Kilim Plate 18**

Central Anatolia  
c. 1900  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.92  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50  
yarns per decimeter, undyed off-white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun and 2 Z-spun yarns  
S-plied, 220-320 yarns per decimeter,  
dark red, medium red, medium blue,  
dark blue, green, yellow, light  
green-brown, light pink, light red and  
blue, red brown

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave,  
weft-faced plain weave,  
supplementary-weft wrapping for  
outlines, supplementary-weft  
patterning, eccentric weft

Selvedge: 1 two-warp cord



2013.2.93



2013.2.94



2013.2.95

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt  
Dimensions (warp × weft): 400 × 177 cm  
(157.5 × 70 inches)

**References:**

Frauenknecht 1985, pl. 16  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Athhan 2011,  
pp. 104-5, pl. 14  
Hirsch 1984, pl. 127  
Hart 2012, pl. 36  
Hart 2007, cat. no. 36.  
Petsopoulos 1979, pls. 75 and 130-1  
Rageth 1999, p. 131, pl. 53  
Vok 1997, pl. 75  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 28-9

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia  
Late 18th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.93  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 45  
yarns per decimeter, barber's pole  
with undyed white and medium  
brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 150 yarns per  
decimeter, undyed white or very light  
yellow, blue, red, dark brown, light  
brown, green, dark yellow, dark  
purple

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 203 × 75 cm  
(80 × 29.5 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, p. 271,  
pl. 30  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Athhan 2011,  
pp. 142-3, pl. 33  
Hart 2007, pp. 118-9  
Powell 2003, pp. 84-5  
Valcarengi 1994, pp. 100-1, pl. 46

**Kilim Plate 10**

Central or Western Anatolia  
c.1800  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.94  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied,  
55 yarns per decimeter, undyed  
white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 220-270 yarns per  
decimeter, undyed white, medium  
red, dark brown, medium blue,  
orange-red, purple, blue-green,  
medium brown, light orange

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry  
weave, weft-faced plain weave,  
supplementary-weft wrapping for  
outlines

Selvedge: two 2-warp cords

End finish: weft-faced plain weave skirt

Dimensions (warp × weft): 381.5 × 70 cm  
(150 × 27.5 inches)

**References:**

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007,  
pp. 254-6, pls. 13a-5  
Brüggemann 1993, pl. 12  
Cootner 1990, pp. 161-2 and 166, pls.  
37-8 and 41  
Davies 2000, pl. 22  
Davies 1993, pl. 11  
Gülgönen, Edgü, and Athhan 2011, pp.  
160-1, pl. 42  
Hart 2007, pp. 84-85, pp. 132-3  
Hasson 2007, pp. 57 and 61  
Koll 2011, pp. 176-7, pl. 63  
Mellaart, Hirsch, and Balpınar 1989, I,  
pp. 48-9, pl. 11  
Petsopoulos 1991, pl. 59, pl. 94  
Powell 2003, pp. 104-5, pp. 136-7  
Rageth 1997, pp. 112-5, pls. 41-2  
Valcarengi 1994, p. 80, pl. 25  
Vok 1997, pl. 61  
Wolff-Diepenbrock 2009, pp. 24-5

**Kilim**

Central Anatolia, possibly east-central  
Early 19th century  
The Textile Museum 2013.2.95  
The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

## Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 60  
yarns per decimeter, undyed white

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 250 yarns per  
decimeter, medium and light blue  
(possibly *abraş*), light orange, →



2013.2.96

light green, red, dark brown-black, red-brown

Weft, cotton, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, bleached white

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft patterning

Selvedge: stripped

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 206 × 50.5 cm (81 × 19.5 inches)

### Kilim

Central Anatolia

c. 1800

The Textile Museum 2013.2.96

The Megalli Collection

**Material:** wool

Yarns:

*Warp*, wool, 2 Z-spun yarns S-plied, 50 yarns per decimeter, barber's pole with undyed white and medium brown

*Weft*, wool, Z-spun, 150-210 yarns per decimeter, purple, light brown, dark brown, light red, undyed white, light blue-green, blue, light orange, yellow

Structure/technique: slit-tapestry weave, supplementary-weft wrapping for outlines

Selvedge: selvedge in one corner, 2, two-warp cords

End finish: stripped

Dimensions (warp × weft): 142.5 × 80 cm (56 × 31.5 inches)

### References:

Anadolu Dokuma Mirası 2007, pp. 277-8, pls. 36-7

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