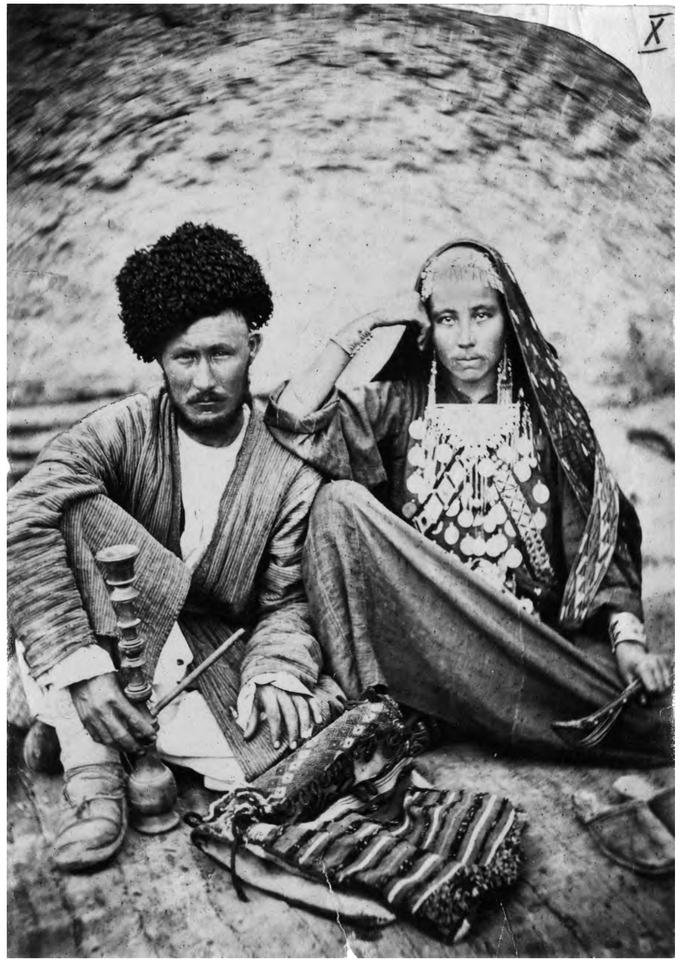
To the Turks belongs the *imperium*,
while to the Persians *magisterium*
and to the Arabs *sacerdotium*.

Old Tradition

Frye 1965: 111



Turkmen Carpets

A New Perspective

An Interdisciplinary Study based on
Radiocarbon Dating, Dye, Mordant,
and Technical Analyses, as well as
Historical and Art Historical Sources

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English translation edited by DeWitt Mallary

Volume 2

Volume 1

Volume 2

Discussion of the Tribes and their Weavings
Cat. nos. 1 – 162

Spelling of place names and tribal names follow those in Bregel 2003 (e.g. Mangïshlaq, Chowdur, etc.)

Spelling of types of weaving follow those in Andrews et al. 1993 (e.g. *khali*, *chuval* etc.)

Turkish words and names are in lower case, in italics (e.g. *chuval*, *khali* etc.), and are not pluralized.

Introduction

Not all Turkmen tribes have been taken into consideration for this study. Among others, the Ighdïr and the Abdal, members of the Esen-Eli group from north Turkmenistan[1], are not included. This is because, at first, weavings with a suspected pre-1800 dating were chosen for radiocarbon dating for this study. As dating was the initial issue, later pieces, datable by comparison series (cat. no. 86), dyestuffs (cat. no. 7), or documents (cat. no. 33), have also been included. With a few exceptions, radiocarbon dating has not been done in these cases.

The degree of attention here to particular tribal groups corresponds to their relevance to the specific areas of focus of this study, the best example being the Salor, with their unique and specific use of insect dyestuffs, and their strict adherence to specific designs.

Finding that the heraldic meaning of *khali* designs suggested by Moshkova is rather questionable, the term "main carpet" has no longer been used. In the course of this study, it became clear that smaller items, produced with considerably more care, hold, if anything does, such a primary role.

1 See map to the chapter "The Chowdur".

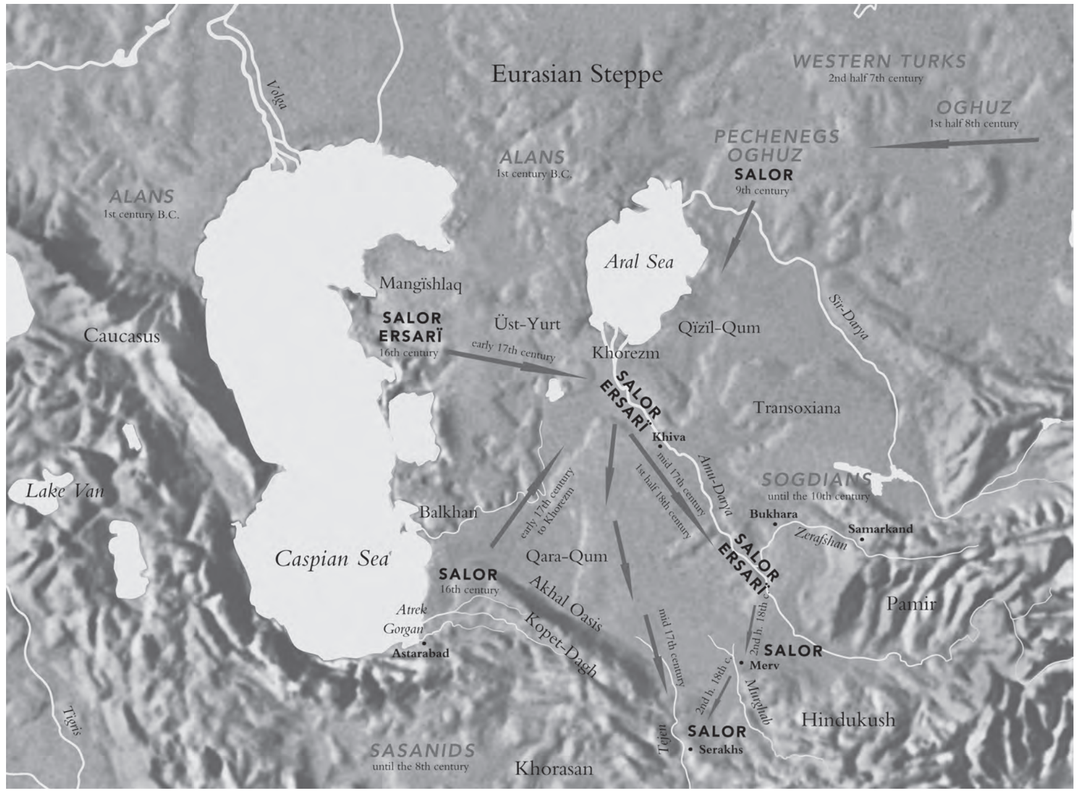
The order in which tribal groups are discussed basically follows ethno-historical considerations. Thus, the Salor are discussed first, followed by the Ersarï. These two tribes were closely related up until the 17th century. The Sarïq and the Teke follow as additional members of the early Salor confederation. Next is what so far was known under the broad label "Yomut family", including the Qaradashlï and the Yomut. Other groups of weavings formerly attributed to the "Yomut family" follow, although with provisional names: the "Eagle" *gül* groups and the "P-Chowdur" group. The Chowdur and the Arabachi, both members of the Esen-Eli group from the northern Turkmenistan, are the final sections.

The order of the weavings within each tribal group is by their use:

Ensi (door rug)
Germec (threshold rug)
Kapunuk (decoration surrounding the door),
Aq yüp (decorative tent band)
Large and small decorative hangings
Asmalyk (decoration for the wedding camel)
Kap, *mafrash*, *torba*, *chuval* (bags of different size)
Khali (large format pile carpet)

The purpose of dividing this book into two volumes is to allow the reader simultaneously to use Vol. 1 with the colour plates of 128 weavings and their technical data, and Vol. 2 with a discussion of these weavings and accompanying illustrations.

Cat. nos. 1 – 128 with technical data are illustrated in colour in Vol. 1, while cat. nos. 129 – 168 with their technical data are illustrated in black and white in Vol. 1, appendix I. This approach was taken to ensure specific documentation of all pieces that were radiocarbon dated, even when an adequate color image was not available for publication.



The Salor

Khorasan, Balkhan Mountains, Mangïshlaq,
Khoresm, middle reaches of the Amu-Darya, Merv Oasis, Serakhs
Cat. nos. 1–18; and 129–135

Introduction

The Salor have consistently been considered "the aristocrats" among the Turkmen.[1] Tsareva even writes that the other Turkmen thought the Salor to be the forefathers of carpet weaving.[2]

On what did the Russian authors of the early 20th century base such notions? At that time knowledge of Salor weavings was still very limited. However, today we know of a surprisingly unchanged design tradition among the Salor over a period of at least 400 years among the Salor. We also know of a remarkably small design repertoire compared to other Turkmen groups. Finally, today we know of the lavish use of precious materials such as silk and insect dyestuffs among the Salor in contrast to all other Turkmen groups. Moshkova and her Russian colleagues did not know this, or at least could not prove it, when they referred to the Salor as the "aristocrats" among the Turkmen. However, these early Russian researchers knew of Salor weavings, even though there was some confusion regarding their identification and the number of "identified" pieces was very limited. It was only after the 1970s that Salor weavings became widely recognised through the work of Jon Thompson. After he defined his "S-Group", more and more pieces emerged which were identified as Salor.[3]

The present study can now add two new and important findings to the previous state of knowledge. The first concerns the question of age. We know now of at least one Salor *khali* dating from the 16th or 17th century[4] and there is an additional *chuval* fragment also likely predating 1600.[5] The second finding concerns the extravagant use of luxurious materials and dyestuffs. The systematic and lavish use of silk and lac dyed wool is unique to the Salor, at least until their defeat in the early 19th century. This can be observed among no other Turkmen group. With their increasing importance in the early 19th century, the Teke and the Sarïq started to imitate the Salor model, not only in the use of

1 Moshkova 1970 (1996); Tzareva 1984.1: 126; Wood 1990; Pinner 1991.
2 Tzareva 1984.1: 126.

Map: The migrations of the Salor,
16th – 19th centuries.
After Bregel 2003: Maps 36A and B.

3 Thompson attributed the pieces recognised by him as possibly Salor to an "S-Group", not being sure whether all weavings showing his criteria could really be attributed to the Salor. Today we know that this group is indeed even larger, including pieces with an asymmetric open right knotting, e.g. the *chuval* fragment cat. no. 11.
4 Cat. no. 16.
5 Cat. no. 13.

luxurious materials, but also appropriating ancient designs typical for the Salor. To conclude this short introduction, I would like to point to an interesting note made by Tsareva. In her essay on the Salor in Hali she wrote: "According to Moshkova's theory concerning "dead" and "live" gül, we can suggest that the "Salor gül" came to the Salors from a unknown group which entered the Salors at a distant period and lost its independence."[6]

How right Tsareva was with her assumption, and who this ethnic group might have been, will be shown in the following. Here too, the results of radiocarbon dating have brought new insights. The Salor really are the aristocrats among the Turkmen! But let us first have a look at their history, or at least to the little that we can learn about it from historical sources.

The historical background

Unquestionably, of all the Turkmen, the Salor (*Salur, Salghur,* Salïr, *Salgïr* etc.) are the tribal group which received the most attention in the course of their long history. They are one of the 24 tribal groups described by Mahmud al-Kashgari in the 11th century as descendants of the legendary Oghuz Khan.[7] Though there are questions about their earliest historical appearance, all authors without exception describe them as one of the most important tribal groups of the Oghuz. According to Vámbéry, the Arabs encountered the Salor as early as the 7th century when advancing in the direction of the Amu-Darya during their conquest.[8] What prompted Vambery to mention the Salor in this context is unclear; he apparently had Turks in mind, but does not give any reference. Turks indeed assisted the Sogdians in Bukhara in the 7th century (673), when they were attacked by the Arabs under Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad in the early days of the Islamic conquest of Transoxiana.[9] Already by then, some of the Western Turks had close contacts with the Sogdians. Where Vámbéry got this information from is unclear, but perhaps from an early Chinese encyclopedia (as will be seen below) or from an early Islamic source.

6 Tzareva 1984.1: 133.
7 Al-Kashgari 1914–1916.
8 Vámbéry 1885 (1970): 398.
9 Stark 2008: 230, 247.

According to Agajanov, the name Salor can be traced back at least to the second half of the 9th century. Back then, the Salor, as a leading group of the Oghuz, were involved in hostilities with the Pechenegs. Agajanov refers to al-Mas'udi, the famous 10th century Arab geographer, who described this incident.[10]

In the following, we will examine why the Salor repeatedly have been considered the most important tribal group of the Oghuz, the aristocrats among the Turkmen, even the inventors of piled carpet weaving. How did it happen that, since the 9th century, a bellicose nomadic tribe from the Eastern steppe belt could achieve such importance and such a high standing in the oases of West Central Asia? The first accounts go back to Mahmud al-Kashgari, one of the first to mention the Oghuz and therewith the Salur or Salïr (written 1072–74). The history of the Oghuz was first addressed by the Persian historian, scientist and statesman Rašid al-Din Fadlullah (1247–1318) in the Oghuznameh. That Rašid al-Din wrote the Oghuznameh (*Sharh-i ahval-i Oghuz va dhikr-i salatin va muluk-i Atrak* [A History of Oghuz and its successors as well as a reference of the Sultans and Kings of the Turks]) as early as the 14th century is evidence of the importance ascribed to the Oghuz tribes as the ancestors of the Islamic Turks of the Near East. However, the history written by Rašid al-Din is not based on written sources: "it depends on oral or popular tradition, on a merger of legend and reality or, as one could say of 'fiction and truth' ". That is the way it was described by the historian Karl Jahn in the introduction to his German translation of the Oghuznameh. Jahn continues: "This circumstance refers the history of the Oghuz much more into the realm of folklore than to history, not allowing us to apply the same criteria to its content as to other monographs on history".[11] Furthermore, the historical events to which the history of the Oghuz refers can not be earlier than the 11th century, the time of the greatest expansion of power of the Oghuz Seljuks. In the following, we will see what else is hidden behind this "fiction and truth". Hans Wilhelm Haussig, another German historian, sees, in the Iranian epics of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh[12] with the Sogdian Siavush and the Saka Rustam, not only the model for the Oghuz "Book of Dede Korkut",[13] but also for the history of Oghuz Khan and the Oghuz. Oghuz Khan is described there as a world conqueror in the style of Alexander the Great, becoming more than 1000 years old. As evidence for the adoption of Iranian culture by the Turks, Haussig mentions the Turk emperor Mahmud of Ghazni, the third ruler of the Ghaznavid dynasty and a great patron of Ferdowsi and his poetry.[14]

10 Agajanov 1969 (1997): 61–69.
11 Jahn 1969: 7.
12 Ferdowsi 2000–2005.

Barthold refers to another interesting hint. In "A History of the Turkman People" he points out that the name "Turkman" appears in Islamic sources (Maqdisi) for the first time in the 10th century, replacing the name "Oghuz". However, he says that the name (Turkman) has been used earlier by the Chinese for a country in the distant West, which already in the 5th century had commercial and political relations with China. In the Chinese encyclopaedia Tongdian of the 8th century it is written that the country Su-i or Su-de is also called "Tö kü-möng". According to Barthold, the Chinese also called this country A-lang-ya, the land of the Alans. However, the German sinologist Friedrich Hirth states that Su-i or Su-de is the name the Turks gave to the country of the Sogdians.[15]

Following Barthold, since the 5th century the country Su-i or Su-de was connected by the Chinese with the Alans, and since the 8th century has been called "Tö kü-möng". This might be interpreted as an early reference to the presence of Turks in this region. That Turks controlled Transoxiana already in the 7th century has been reported by the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang,[16] among others. In addition, we find repeated confirmation of this in early Islamic sources on the conquest of Transoxiana. Sogdian *dihqans* (nobles) such as Wardan Khuda[17] allied with Turks in the early 8th century to fight with them successfully against the repeated Arab attacks. Separate from the Sogdians, there was already a Turkic nobility, so-called "war lords", already in close relationship with the Sogdians, but still linked to the Qaganat of the Western Turks and the Qagan himself. The sovereignty of the Western Turks over the Sogdians in the 7th century is furthermore impressively illustrated by a wall painting in Afrasiab (old Samarkand), a historical painting in the audience hall of the palace of the Sogdian king Varkhuman, following a Sasanian archetype. In the painting on the main wall opposite the entrance, showing an audience at the court of Shekui, Qagan of the Western Turks, both the Qagan and the Sogdian king are depicted on their thrones. Among the ambassadors from as far away as Korea and China, delivering their gifts to the Qagan, is the last Sasanian King, escaped from the Arabs. The whole arrangement of paintings in this audience hall of the Sogdian king has been dated by Markus Mode to the years 647–649.[18] Particularly the scene with the enthroned Qagan of the Western Turks illustrates the acceptance of a Turkic suzerainty by the Sogdian King Varkhuman, thereby also legitimizing himself as the representative sovereign of Samarkand. That was the political situation and balance of power of the early Turks in Transoxiana generally, and Sogdiana particularly, in the 7th century.

Let us return to Barthold and the 8th century Chinese source, which calls the country of the Alans not only A-lang-ya, Su-i or Su-de, but also "Tö kü-möng". Based on what has just been said, Barthold argues that Friedrich Hirth concluded, from the Chinese source just mentioned, that the Turkmen were descendents of the Alans, as in this Chinese source A-lang-ya, Su-i or Su-de, and Tö kü-möng are synonymous.[19]

The Alans were Iranian speaking stockbreeders. They originally lived in the area around the Aral Sea and the Northern Caspian, from where, in the early 1st millennium A.D., they moved westwards to the Black Sea where they later appear as the successors of the Scythians. Consequently, Turkic speaking tribal groups replaced them in the Black Sea region.[20] With all likelihood, they also moved southwards into the oases of the Amu-Darya Valley and probably even further

13 Dede Korkut 1958.
14 Haussig 1983: 254.
15 Barthold 1929 (1962): 79–80.
16 Stark 2008: 236.
17 Stark 2008: 229 – 232.
18 Mode 1993: The wall painting was destroyed during the Arab conquest between 675 and 677.
19 Barthold 1929 (1962): 79 – 80.
20 Sassezkaja 2009: 41.

south, as did their neighbours and contemporaries, the Saka.[21] Interestingly, the Russians Karpov and Arbekov connect the Olam, a 19th century sub-group of the Salor living in the middle Amu-Darya area, with the Alans, seeing the latter as the ancestors of the former.[22] Pinner also has pointed to such a possible connection.[23] Last but not least, Moshkova considers the Alans, according to her a subgroup of the eastern Iranian Sarmatians, as the ancestors of the Sarïq (former members of the Salor confederation), referring to Tolstov and Karpov.[24]

All these statements make clear that the Turkmen as a new "ethnic group" started to develop at least by the 8th century, becoming a balanced amalgam of varying Iranian and Turkic speaking people in the 11th century, which inspired Mahmud al-Kashgari to describe the situation as: "There is no Turk without a Tat, no cap without a head". Barthold comments: "Tat means a non-Turk, a sedentary, particularly an Iranian".[25]

But let us return for a last time to the Chinese source, mentioning the names "Su-de" and "Tö kü-möng" as synonyms.

"Su-de" clearly stands for Sogdiana, and "Tö kü-möng" seems to be the earliest name for of the country of the Turkmen, or notably the Turkmen as a new ethnic group of the area. Vámbéry, who tells us that the Arabs came across the Salor during their conquest of Transoxiana in the 7th century, may have been aware of this 8th century Chinese encyclopaedia, and by "Salor" meant the Sogdians and their Turkic allies (called "Tö kü-möng" in the Chinese encyclopaedia). Turks indeed dominated the Sogdians during that time, as we have seen.[26] In his "Sogdian Traders – A history" (translation from the French "Histoire des Marchands Sogdiens", first published in 2004), Étienne de la Vaissière sheds new light on the little known history of the Sogdians. In several places he refers to the good, even friendly relationship between the Sogdians and the Turks. Sogdians acted not only as ambassadors by interceding between Turks and the Chinese, they also played a role as traders, selling the tribute silk received by the Turks from the Chinese first to the Sasanians, and later, via the northern Silk Road, to Byzantium. From the 6th century on, the Sogdians evidently maintained close contacts to the Turks, a fact reported not only by de la Vaissière, but also by other authors.[27] As early as the 6th century, Turkish burial sites built after Chinese models bear Sogdian inscriptions, e.g. the famous Bugut monument in Mongolia.[28] As already mentioned, according to Babayarov the Sogdians were under Turkish sovereignty from the 6th century on. These are just a few examples of the contacts between the the Sogdians and the Turks.[29]

This was the situation up to the 8th century, when the Turks began to shift their goodwill from the Sogdians to the Arabs. They started to convert to Islam and offered their services to the caliph in Bagdad,[30] which not only had fatal consequences for the Sogdians, but brought momentous changes to the cultural life of Central Asia. First the Arabs and then the new religion succeeded beyond the Amu-Darya, resulting in a change from Sogdian to Samanid rule,[31] installed by the Arabs. But by the end of the 10th century, the Iranian Samanids were replaced by the Turkish Qarakhanids, who continued to support the Caliph in Baghdad. This signalled a definitive shift from Iranian to Turkic dominance in Central Asia.

With the changeover of both the *lingua franca* (from Iranian to Turkic) and the religion (from Zoroastrianism/Buddhism/Christianity/Judaism to Islam) names of entire peoples disappeared, e.g. the Sogdians. From the 11th century on, the official language of this region was Turkish; the new religion, Islam, brought by the Arabs had already changed a century earlier. The Sogdians disappeared, at least in name, after having lived in this area and having been mentioned in written sources by name over a period of at least 1600 years. The changes in the 10th/11th centuries had disastrous consequences not only for the Sogdian people, but particularly for the Sogdian nobility and the king.

21 A group of Saka Scythians is documented by archaeological finds between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D. in Shampula in the Tarim Basin (cf. Keller/Schorta 2001). Other archaeological finds from Tillia Teppe prove their existence during the same time in ancient Bactria, today Northern Afghanistan. Another group went further South to found Sakastan, today Sistan (Baluchistan) in modern Pakistan.
22 Karpov/Arbekov 1930 (1979): 55.
23 Pinner 1999: 125.
24 Moschkowa 1970 (1998): 151.
25 Barthold 1929 (1962): 5.
26 Babayarov 2003; Stark 2008.
27 E.g. Gaube 1995: 44; Gaube/Ilyasov 2003: 25.
28 Alyilmaz 2003.
29 Scharlipp 1992: 52.
30 Stark 2008: 250, 251
31 The Samanids conquered Bukhara in 874 (see Otavsky/Wardwell 2011: 63).

They had fought against Islam and been vanquished. But what became of the much vaunted Sogdian culture? And where did all the agriculturalists go, and all the craftsmen who made the famous silks, carpets, wooden carvings, and wall paintings? And what of all the successful Sogdian traders, exporting these precious goods across the Eurasian continent? It is unrealistic to suppose that the new Turkic potentates snuffed out their old allies and trade partners. Rather, the cultural and ethnic integration between the 9th and the 11th century came about smoothly over an extended period. It is clear that a consequence of the Islamisation was that the name "Sogdians" disabeared. But what of the Sogdain people?

Is it possible that the Sogdians, or at least part of the Sogdian population, aligned with the Turks to become part of the Turkmen, as intimated by the Chinese source quoted by Barthold? There are indeed clues that this might have happened. Could this account for the aristocratic reputation of the Salor? Some of the Sogdians certainly migrated to China, where they had long time trade contacts and places of business as far east as Beijing.[32] Another group might have left Central Asia in a westerly direction, evidenced by names like Sogdaia on the Crimea, a Sogdian transfer site on the way to Byzantium, which was known by this name up to the 13th century.[33] That some of the Sogdians may have remained in their old homeland of Central Asia is even still traceable today. The Yaghnobi, a minority in Tajikistan, still speaks Sogdian today.[34] Another group of the Sogdians might have merged with their old trade partners and allies, the Turks, and together with them might have formed what is today known as the Salor, the "aristocrats" or at least the elite among the Turkmen. This could also explain the background of the history of the Oghuz (Oghuznameh), interpreted by Haussig as an adaptation from Iranian heroic epics: The Oghuz might have adopted their heroic epics from the Sogdians. We can even go one step further by focusing on the Salor and the meaning of their name.

32 de la Vaissière 2005: 119–157.
33 de la Vaissière 2005: 242, 244, 246, 248–49, 258.
34 Mallory 1989: 49; de la Vaissière 2005: 289.

With sword and mace

An interesting correlation to the Oghuz adaptation of heroic epics from the Iranian Shahnameh can be seen in the way the Salor have "translated", or interpreted their own name. Rašid al-Din, at the beginning of the 14th century, gives translations for all the names of the 24 Oghuz tribes. Under the headline "The Üc-Oq brothers", Salur is cited as the son of Taq-Han. The meaning of the name Salur is given there as "anywhere he comes, he fights with sword and mace".[35] This is with all likelihood not a real translation, but more a kind of idealistic self-reinforcing identification. This "meaning" might appear somewhat curious at first. A sword alone would be less problematic to understand, but why a mace? To a large extent this weapon belongs to the realm of mythology. Interestingly, Abul Ghazi in his 17th century list of the 24 names of the Oghuz tribes does not repeat this "translation" in full. He omits the mace, limiting the "translation" to the sword alone, by translating Salor as "sword-bearer". This of course clearly stands for "nobleman" (cf. fig. 6 and 7).[36] As already indicated, this "translation" is more a kind of "self naming", an interpretation made with all likelihood by the named themselves. But how can this meaning or "self naming" be explained? Sword and mace have a very particular symbolic background. They were the symbols of power par excellence, symbols of power over life and death, iconographic attributes of gods, kings, and heroes. It is therefore understandable that the Salor tried to ascribe importance to their name by choosing such a meaning. Nothing could have been more suitable to accentuate their distinguished position among the Turkmen than such a meaning of their name. Sword and mace are not only powerful emblems of gods, kings, and heroes in mythology, they also reach back in history to the beginning of the ancient high cultures with the same significance (figs. 1–3), which continues up to the 19th century (figs. 8–9). Interestingly, the phenomenon of giving such a significant meaning to the name of a tribal group is unique to the Salor. The meanings of all other

35 Jahn 1969: 46. "Überall wohin er kommt mit Schwert und Keule kämpft".
36 Karpov/Arbekov 1930 (1979): 59; Kononov 1958: 53.

Fig. 1: King Narmer defeating an enemy with his mace. The palette of King Narmer from Komel-ahmar, siltstone, 3100 B.C., 64 cm high, Egyptian Museum Cairo. Repr. from Keel 1972: Fig. 397.

Fig. 2: Ningiursu, the god of Lagash, with his mace shatters the head of a defeated enemy. Victory Stele of Eannatum, "Stele of the Vultures" from Telloh, ca. 2450 B.C. The stele records the victory over the city of Umma by Eannatum, king of Lagash, Paris, Louvre. Repr. from Keel 1972: Fig. 110.

Fig. 3: The Assyrian king Esarhaddon with his subjects. He too is holding a mace. Sam'al, 3.6 m high, 671 B.C. Repr. from Keel 1972: Fig. 407.

Fig. 4: Heracles bringing the three-headed Kerberos to Eurystheus. The invincible Heracles with his iconographic attributes: Lion skin and mace. Greek vase painting, ca. 525 B.C. Repr. from Pinsent 1969: 46.

Fig. 5: The Iranian hero Rustam slays an elephant with his mace. Like the Greek Heracles, the attributes of Rustam are a cap of leopard skin and a mace. Persian miniature painting, 16th century. Repr. from Curtis 1933 (2005): 40.

names of Turkmen tribes are considerably more trivial, to the point of "Teke", which translates "bellwether",[37] or "Arabachi", "wagon-driver" (coachman).[38] Rašid al-Din even translates the name of the once powerful Yazïr with: "He might reach from many countries to others".[39] That also could signify conquest and power, but not as clearly as the ancient symbols "sword and mace". The meaning of these ancient symbols is attested repeatedly throughout early history; they were deeply rooted in Antiquity and had a wide distribution.

One of the earliest representations of a ruler with a mace shows the Egyptian king Narmer, ca. 3100 B.C., defeating an enemy (standing symbolically for a whole people) with an upraised mace (fig. 1). Already there, the mace is clearly a strong symbol of power: whoever was in possession of a mace is invincible. Such symbolic representations of defeating enemies with a mace became a common feature in later Egyptian iconography.[40]

37 Ponomarev 1931 (1979): 32.
38 More on this in the chapter "The Arabachi".
39 Jahn 1969: 45.
40 See e.g. Keel 1972.

Comparable representations can also be seen in early Mesopotamia. Sumerian and Akkadian kings hold titles like *Nameshda* "Master of the Mace".[41] Since then, the mace as a royal symbol of power is omnipresent there. The stele of the vulture of Lagash is a representative example (fig. 2). It shows the king Eannatum (ca. 2450 – 2425 B.C.), a "Master of the Mace", defeating the city of Umma. After that, nearly all Assyrian kings were shown with a mace, e.g. King Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) (fig. 3). Many other examples could be listed.[42]

Central Asian Kushan rulers such as Kanishka also represented themselves with sword and mace.[43] Later we know of many elaborate swords and maces of the Sasanians.[44] And also among the Sogdians, both swords and maces are frequently seen as status symbols (fig. 6).[45] This ancient representation of power continued in Iran and Central Asia during the Islamic period. An 11th century gilded silver plate presumably shows Mahmud of Ghazni sitting on a lion throne and holding a mace in his right hand.[46] The mace as a royal symbol of power and sovereignty was maintained at the Persian court up to the Qajar Dynasty (1785–1925). Fath Ali Shah had himself portrayed more than once with a mace,[47] or with sword and mace together (fig. 8). The Qajars, being Turkmens themselves, obviously had a sense for such ancient symbols. As shown in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*", they also remembered the ancient oriental tradition of the throne bearers, by using a throne supported by human figures.[48]

41 Selz 2005: 39.
42 See e.g. Keel 1972.
43 Knauer 1978: 25.
44 Overlaet 1998: Fig. 140 – 143.
45 Overlaet 1998: Fig. 144, 145, 150.

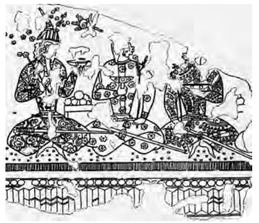


Fig. 6: Sogdian princes, dressed in precious Persian silk kaftans bear their swords even during a banquet. Wallpainting from Pendjikent. Temple I, room 10, 8th century. Repr. from Azarpay 1981: Fig. 48.

Fig. 7: Sogdian(?) princes, dressed in Persian silk kaftans and girded with long swords. Wallpainting from Qizil, Tarim Basin, 208 x 150 cm, Cave of the Sixteen Sword Bearers, 7th century. Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst, III 8426 a, b, c (repr. in colour in in Seipel 1996: 335). Repr. from Mallory/Mair 2000: 173.

Fig. 8: Fath Ali Shah, equipped with the classical regalia of power: mace and sword. Bas-Relief in Cheshmeh-Ali near Teheran. Repr. from Flandin/Coste 1841: Perse Moderne, Plate XXIX.

Fig. 9: Sayed Mohammad Rahim II Bahadur-Khan, penultimate Khan of Khiva. Following ancient traditions, the Khan is "enthroned" with his ministers standing behind him. Photography by I. Volzhinsky, before 1896. Repr. from Naumkin 1993b: Abb. 29.

Beside gods and kings, the heroes of the various epics also were depicted with maces – the Sumerian Gilgamesh,[49] the Greek Heracles, (fig. 4) or the Saka-Scythian (Iranian) Rustam (fig.5), to mention just a few. They often were descendants of gods and had a mace as their attribute, making them invincible. Both Heracles and Rustam wore skins of big cats: Heracles a lion and Rustam a snow leopard, the latter in the form of a headgear. In other Iranian heroic epics, it is consistently the mace that characterizes the protagonist. Not only was Rustam a "master of the mace", but so were other heroes from Iranian tradition.[50] At the Mughal court in India it was common practice for courtiers to have their maces shouldered while attending royal receptions.[51] Although the mace as a status symbol has never completely vanished, it has widely been replaced by the sword. Thus we see peers with long swords not only in wall paintings in Sogdiana (fig. 6), but also in Buddhist cave paintings along the Silk Road in the Tarim Basin. Here, the princely patrons have immortalized themselves dressed in Persian silk kaftans and girded with long swords (fig. 7).

In "translating" their name as "wherever he comes, he fights with sword and mace", or later just "sword-bearer", the Salor might have adapted ancient Iranian traditions as discussed above to give meaning

46 Loukonine/Ivanov 2003: 104, no. 96. See also Overlaet 1998: 260, Fig. 146.
47 Diba/Ekhitar 1998: No. 40.
48 See fig. 57 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*". See Diba/Ekhitar 1998: 168, for a colour illustration. The origin of this throne is unclear; it could predate the Qajar period.
49 Moortgat1984: Abb. 69.
50 Seyller 2003: No. 36 shows Baba Bakhsha with a mace sitting on a tiger skin. Miniature painting from a Mughal *Hamzanama*, India, ca. 1570.
51 Cleveland Beach/Koch1997: No. 10-11.

Fig. 10: Detail from a Sogdian silk with rosette design, 7th–9th century, Trésor de la Cathedral de Liège, Belgium. (for a complete image of the silk, see fig. 124 below).

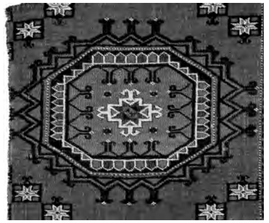


Fig. 11: Detail from cat. no. 11, Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* primary and *sagdaq gül* secondary motif. 17th or 18th century. The Salor *gül* remained nearly unchanged over a long period of time. It might be the knotted version of the rosette design in fig. 10.

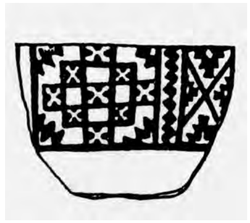


Fig. 12: Eneolithic Ceramic from the Tedjen Oasis (Geoksjur), 4th Millennium B.C., showing a painted design, with amazing similarities to the *sagdaq gül* of the Salor. This is not a unique case of a pre-historic ceramic design showing parallels to Turkmen weavings. Repr. from Rossi-Osmida 1996: 34.

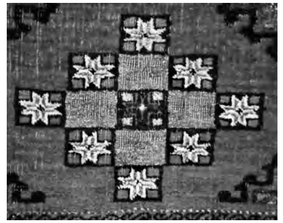


Fig. 13: Detail from Salor *chuval* cat. no. 12. The detail shows the secondary motif, which is called *sagdaq gül*, "Sogdian design", by the Salor themselves.

and importance to themselves, as had been done earlier in a comparable way by the Oghuz to "create" their own history, the Oghuznameh, emulating the Iranian Shahnameh.

Salor *gül, sagdak gül,* and mini *chuval gül*

Looking for correlations between the Sogdians and the Salor, Salor carpet design seems to provide some other interesting hints. As will be mentioned in the discussion on the two Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* below (cat. nos. 11 and 12), there are some seemingly contradictory but nevertheless intriguing facts in connection with design names. Why did the Russian researchers of the early 20th century, starting with Moshkova, consider the primary design of the large carpets (*khali*) to have heraldic significance and be representative of a specific tribe, e.g. the Teke *gül* for the Teke? Why does this not seem to be true for the supposedly most important of all Turkmen tribes, the Salor? The Salor *gül* is surprisingly not the heraldic design of the Salor *khali*, but rather a field design of their *chuval*.[52]

Moshkova still considered the *khali* as the heraldic "signboard" of a Turkmen tribe, and the *chuval*, in contrast, as a "side product" of less importance, an article of daily use, a basic commodity. The use of the Salor *gül* by the Salor is not consistent with this notion. The most important Turkmen tribe does not use its prestigious name (Salor, "sword bearer") for the primary design of their supposedly most important and representative weavings, the *khali* (cat. nos. 16–18), rather "only" for an "object of utility" of allegedly less importance, the *chuval* (cat. nos. 11 and 12)? This was at least the way Moshkova and her followers interpreted it.

The results of nearly 300 dye tests conducted for this study clearly demonstrated that it was not the large format *khali*, but rather the smaller objects like hangings, all kind of bags (*kap*, *mafrasch*, *torba*, and *chuval*), and tent bands (*aq yüp*) for which the most precious materials and dyestuffs were used, and which must have been of particular importance for the Turkmen. Is it a coincidence that the Salor did not

52 The second is the so-called *chuval gül*, another design that in contrast to the Salor *gül* has been used by all Turkmen since their formation.

Fig. 14: Secondary motif of a Sasanian silk, composed of four opposed pairs of boar's tusks. The primary motif shows a senmurv in a roundel. Taq-e Bostan, design of the caftan of the cavalier on the back wall of the iwan. For a discussion on the boar's tusks and their connection with the "mini" *chuval gül* see the chapter *"Dongus Burun"*. Repr. from Otavsky 1998: fig. 71.

Fig. 15: The "mini" *chuval gül* is the secondary motif of all Salor *khali* and Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül* field design. It is one of the designs which remained unchanged among the Salor over a period of at least 400 years. It's origin might be the secondary motif of Sasanian silks as seen in fig. 14. Detail from a Salor *khali*, around 1800. Private collection.

assign their prestigious name to the primary design of their *khali*, but to a design of their *chuval*? Is it another coincidence that the Salor *gül* (fig. 11) is nearly identical to the primary design of a 7th century Sogdian silk from Bukhara (fig. 10)? And is it yet another coincidence that the secondary motif of the Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* (fig. 13) is called Sagdaq *gül*, which means Sogdian design?[53]

Rather than an accumulation of coincidences, this is much more likely a stringing together of historical and linguistic facts, indicating some kind of connection, or even an alliance, between the Sogdians and the Salor. This leads to various questions: are the Salor Sogdians, or did the prestigious Sogdians merge with the prestigious Salor by the 10th century, or did the Salor "just" generally adopt the prestigious Sogdian tradition of carpet weaving or textile art? The disappearance of the Sogdians, or at least the disappearance of their name, likely has to do with their rejection of Islam, the new religion. This would have resulted in their complete submission to the conquerors. The historical presence of the name "Sogdians" over a period of more than 1600 years comes to an abrupt end. Islam, the new religion brought in from the Arab peninsula, together with the Turks, the new rulers and representatives of the caliph of Damascus, coming from the northeastern steppes, got the upper hand in Central Asia, while the old-established local populations such as the Sogdians, the Bactrians, and the Khorezmians vanished. But what became of these people and their flourishing cultures? The friendly relations between Sogdian merchants and diplomats and the elite of the early Turks have already been indicated. They had close contacts from the 5th century on, as the Sogdians, in their roles as both merchants and diplomats, acted as agents between the Turks and the Chinese, then between the Turks and the Persians, and finally between the Turks and Byzantium. A rich pool of written sources reports on these relationships even to the point of listing distinguished Sogdian merchants and diplomats by name.[54] As was stated before, the Sogdians were already under Turkish dominion before the Islamic conquest, but without losing their ancient name.[55]

What better solution to subjection than to integrate oneself with the holder of power? The Sogdians responded under the progressive pressure of both Islamisation and Turkization by joining old allies and trading partners, the Turks. Formerly rulers of the area, they now became a minority under the new potentates, taking on a new language and a new religion. Unquestionably, they did not give up their ancient culture and textile tradition overnight. However, the Turks as the new rulers relatively quickly adopted not only the new religion, Islam, but the local Iranian culture as well, and with all likelihood piled carpet weaving too. The ancient design repertoire of Sogdian carpets and silks did not disappear without a trace as did their name, but survived in Turkmen, and particularly in Salor, weavings. This is admittedly a daring hypothesis, but it would explain the extremely conservative design tradition among the Salor (or at least what we consider today Salor weavings) compared to other Turkmen groups. The former Sogdians, or what remained of them in Central Asia, maintained their ancient design tradition practically unchanged over a whole millennium. In other

53 Sagdaq (Sogdaq or Sugdaq) is the name the Turks gave to the country of the Sogdians. See Barthold 1962: 80.

54 de la Vaissière 2004/2005: Menander.

55 Cf. also footnote 20, Babayarov 2003.

words: the Sogdian design repertoire later found in Salor weavings not only resisted nearly all outside influences from the 10th century on, but also contains primarily designs dating from the 1st millennium A.D., the high point of Sogdian culture. Compared to the many external influences on the design tradition of other Turkmen groups, particularly of the symmetrically knotted pieces of the Yazïr and Yomud of southwest Turkmenistan with their changes and developments over the centuries, the extremely conservative design tradition among the Salor, limited to a small number of designs, is remarkable. This study shows that the design of Salor *khali* remained unchanged over a period of 400 years, except for a few extremely minor details. In addition, the Salor only used a single field design for their *khali*, not only the same primary and secondary design, but invariably the same border design too. In comparison, one sees more than a dozen different field designs among the Yazïr and Yomud groups, in addition to countless variations and combinations of secondary designs. Also the "new" *chemche gül*, so popular among all other Turkmen tribes, was not used by the Salor.[56] Instead, they always used a secondary motif, closely related to the *chuval gül,* which predates the 10th century, henceforth called the "mini" *chuval gül* (fig. 15). On Sogdian and Sasanian silks we find a surprisingly similar secondary motif, which might have been the model for our "mini"*chuval gül* (fig. 14). The correlation between these two motifs is found not only in their resemblance, but also in an interesting tradition of the name of this Turkmen design, also going back to Sogdian and Sasanian tradition. The Sasanian secondary motif in fig. 14 has been described by Karel Otavsky as a necklace of boar's tusks.[57] Amazingly, the same might be the case with the Turkmen version of the motif. Several Russian researchers of the early 20th century have conveyed the Turkmen name *dongus burun*, literally translated "pig's snout", for a design detail of the *gülli gül* and the *chuval gül* in the form of double hooks.[58] In the mini *chuval gül*, however, the hooks become the primary design element, instead of just a detail. That this is not indicating a "pigs snout", but rather a "boars head", an ancient Iranian symbol of power, is shown and discussed in detail in the chapter "*Dongus Burun*". The reduction from the head of an animal to its tusks is another step in using and transforming mythological symbols, and is neither unusual or extraordinary. What we are confronted with here is a name tradition retained over a period of more than a millennium. That such an ancient naming tradition is not unique among the Turkmen will be shown with a second example.

Examination of the weavings of the Salor (cat. nos. 1–18) makes apparent the close relationship between many Salor designs and Sogdian and Sasanian silk design from the 7th–9th centuries. That the Salor gave their prestigious name to a *chuval* design which likely has Sogdian roots, the Salor *gül* (fig. 10), is consistent with our second example of a Turkmen design with Sogdian or Sasanian roots; as already mentioned, beside *dongus burun* (boars head), the Salor used another ancient name, *sagdaq gül*, for the secondary motif of their *chuval* with Salor *gül*. Sagdaq is the Turkish word for Sogdian, and *sagdaq gül* just means "Sogdian design". This could mean that the whole design composition of this type of Salor *chuval* (with Salor *gül* primary and *sagdaq gül* secondary motif) originally was an ancient Sogdian pattern. Perhaps the entire composition was originally called *sagdaq gül* by the Salor, with the primary design taking the new name Salor *gül* in the course of time. Perhaps out of respect for their distinguished predecessors, the Sogdians, the Salor might have left the less important part of the design with its old name *sagdaq gül*, Sogdian design. Like the Salor *gül*, this secondary motif seems to go back to pre-Islamic models (fig. 12). In the end, we have an accumulation of ancient names and ancient designs on the same object, all originating from an area with a diameter of about 500 km and covering a period of clearly more than a millennium! We will come back to this in more detail in the discussions of the two *chuval* cat. nos. 11 and 12.

The late 16th and early 17th century adoption of the then fashionable Safavid palmette designs among most Turkmen tribes, and their reflection in the form of the *kepse gül* especially among the Yazïr/Qaradashlï[59] and the Yomut, was totally ignored by the Salor. This might beexplained by remants of a Sogdian population being part of the Salor under Turkic/Islamic rule. After having lost their ethnic/political identity, the remaining descendents of the Sogdians clung to their old culture, trying to keep it "untouched" from later influence as long and as completely as they could. Looking at what we today consider "Salor weavings" with their limited minor design repertoire, mainly based on ancient designs of apparently Sogdian origin, it seems that they were quite successful. Remember Tsareva's observation that the Salor were considered the forefathers of carpet weaving by the other Turkmen.[60] This honour with all likelihood is due to the Sogdians, or an even earlier people of this geographical area.

The many burials of the elite explored so far in the Eurasian steppe have brought to light only a single intact knotted pile carpet and some small fragments, which were, apparently, gifts, merchandise, or booty from oases like Khoresm, Sogdiana, or Bactria, perhaps even from Achaemenid Persia. In contrast, felts have been found everywhere. Felts were an important part of daily life of these nomadic people, fulfilling the same purposes as a knotted carpet among the settled population. They were probably even more suitable to nomadic life than knotted carpets. Thus, Tsareva's quote regarding the forefathers of carpet weaving could have been referred to the Sogdians hidden behind the Salor. The quote regarding the Salor *gül* and its origin, alredy stated in the introduction to this chapter, suddenly gets an interesting explanation. Tsareva wrote: "According to Moshkova's theory concerning "dead" and "live" *güls*, we can suggest that the "Salor *gül*" came to the Salors from a unknown group which entered the Salors at a distant period and lost its independence."[61] This unknown ethnic group could indeed have been the Sogdians.

All these circumstances at least suggest the possibility that the Salor might have absorbed (some of?) the Sogdians, or just adopted (part of?) their (professionally organized?) carpet tradition.[62] Remember that the Sogdians originally also came from the Eurasian steppe before moving into the southern oases. However, this happened as much as 2000 years before the first appearance of Turkic speaking nomads in the same area. The way of life and associated culture then were completely different, even a kind of precursor of the later nomadic culture of the Scythians, the Sarmatians, the Saka, and the Alans of the 1st millennium B.C.

Salor weavings

Salor weavings differ considerably from all other Turkmen pile woven products. It has been stated before that the Salor carpet can hardly be the output of a nomadic environment. In light of my own experiences and the findings of this study, I would like to suggest going a step further, daring even to even see the Salor carpet as the "classical carpet of Central Asia". Since the 15th/16th century, Salor carpet production evidently represents an important and stable centre of Central Asian carpet weaving, having deep historical and cultural local roots. Salor carpet design to a large extent predates the 10th century, the time of crucial historical, cultural, and ethnic changes in West Central Asia. The forebears of Salor carpet weaving might therefore be found in a professional urban (maybe even "courtly"?) West Central Asian (Sogdian or Bactrian?) workshop production, whose designs in many cases might have served as models for other West Central Asian carpet products, appearing in the surrounding area in rural, mainly folkloric interpretations. Salor weavings show these designs in a more perfectly drawn form than their "rural cousins". In some cases, this

56 Only one Salor *khali* is known showing the *chemche gül* as a secondary motif. The *khali* is reproduced in TKF Wien 1986: no. 101. On the origin of the *chemche gül,* see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba, chuval* and *khali*".

57 See the chapter "*Dongus burun*".

58 Ponomarev 1931 (1979): 23; Moshkova 1970 (1996): 182; 1946 (1980): 203.

59 The Qaradashlï were the last remaining group of the Yazïr. The tribe of the Yazïr was practically expunged by the Mongols in the 13th century.

60 Tzareva 1984.1: 129.

61 Tzareva 1984.1: 133

62 Peter Andrews indicates that even in the 10th century the Eastern Turks with all likelihood did not practise carpet weaving. When pile carpets were required in addition to their own felts, Chinese carpets were imported. (Andrews 1999: 213, footnote 157).

degree of sophistication can even go as far as giving the impression of velvet (e.g. cat. no. 13). The further we move away from the Salor "production centre" wherever it may have been, the greater are the variances from the models. A good example of this is seen in Karakalpak carpet weaving.[63]

The origin of carpet weaving in Central Asia might have its roots in the bronze age of West Central Asia or Eastern Khorasan.[64] The Pazyryk carpet,[65] dating from the 4th or early 3rd century B.C., is the only known knotted woollen pile carpet which according to the current findings originates from this area, more precisely from Sogdiana or Bactria.[66] On an art historical basis, it can be considered a precursor of the 7th to 9th century Sogdian carpet and the later Salor carpet of the 16th to 19th centuries. That the Pazyryk carpet so completely differs in design from all its later knotted relatives from the 2nd millenium A.D. is based on long term developments of courtly design fashions and ornamental language over the centuries and millennia in the Ancient Orient. The Achaemenids and their neighbours in the 1st millennium B.C. cultivated a completely different design language from the Sasanians and the Sogdians in the 1st Millennium A.D., from which eventually evolved the Turkmen carpet and with it the Salor carpet of the 2nd millennium A.D. The adoption of Islam is responsible for a last set of serious changes in the course of the 2nd millennium A.D. in Central Asia. From this period stem the last representatives of the "classical Central Asian carpets": the carpets of the Salor.

Technique

One of the major technical features of about 75% of all Salor weavings is asymmetrical open left knotting, which is quite unusual for Central Asia. Much more common are the symmetrical and the asymmetrical open right knot, while the asymmetrical open left knot is more typical for Persia. The remaining 25% of Salor weavings are made with the asymmetrical open right knot. This fact has been widely misinterpreted in the past, and Salor weavings with an open right knot have been considered late. This is not the case as shown by pieces examined for this study. Illustrative of this a late hanging with early synthetic dyes is knotted open left (cat. no. 7),[67] while one of the certainly earlier pieces has an open right knot (cat. no. 11). In addition to the asymmetric knotting, Salor weavings often have heavily depressed warps, which leads to the typical crack damage in warp direction often seen in Salor products (e.g. in cat. nos. 5, 10, 12, 14, and 16).

Another conspicuous feature of Salor hangings and bags is that they are often woven upside down in relation to the object's orientation.[68] (In the case of hangings, the design was also upside down for the weaver during the weaving process). It is unclear whether or not this is by chance. That it was at least sometimes intentional is evidenced by a field photograph published in the English translation of Moshkova's 1970 book, which show a pair of *chuval* on a horizontal loom, both oriented in the same direction, not one of them right side up and the other upside down, as is typical with *khordjin* and other double bags.[69] This picture confirms that both *chuval* were woven upside down in relation to how they later were used. The reason for this remains an open question. This phenomenon occurs among other Turkmen groups as well, but not close to as often as among the Salor.

Materials

Concerning the use of special materials like insect dyed silk for the pile, Salor weavings as a rule are in direct contrast to weavings of all other Turkmen groups. While early pieces of all other groups rarely use silk in the pile, the opposite is the case among the Salor: particularly earlier pieces often show larger sections woven in silk (cat. no. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14). In later pieces, on the other hand, the opposite is the case; while Turkmen groups like the Sarïq, the Teke, or the Arabachi use more silk the later the pieces become, this precious material is no longer found in Salor work of the same period. A good example of this is the late Salor hanging, cat. no. 7. This change in the use of silk seems to parallel the Salor's loss of power and influence after the early 19th century.

Dyestuffs

Comparably unusual to their use of silk is the Salor's use of insect dyestuffs on wool, in regard to both the quantity and the choice of the insect dyestuff. In Turkmen weavings of the 16th to 19th centuries, two different kinds of insect dyestuffs have been found on wool: cochineal from Mexico and lac from India or Indochina. Among the Salor, lac dye is clearly the standard. They used it on wool only (never on silk) for all kinds of smaller objects, while cochineal on wool, interestingly, was only found in a few Salor *khali*. There is another interesting phenomenon concerning the use of silk among the Turkmen: except for the Salor, all other Turkmen used insect dyed wool very selectively in early pieces, in some cases only a few knots (e.g. the Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127). Exactly the opposite can be observed among the Salor; early pieces, in particular, often show a larger amount of wool dyed with precious insect dyestuff. Further, at least during the 16th to early 19th centuries, the Salor almost exclusively used only lac dye from India on wool, while all other Turkmen used cochineal from Mexico instead. So, the Salor differ from all other Turkmen in both their use of the asymmetric open left knot and their use of lac dye, the insect dyestuff also used nearly exclusively in Persia during the same period. In most Safavid carpets, lac dye was used when an insect dyestuff was called for, even in large amounts as a ground colour, while cochineal was clearly the exception.[70]

Designs

The Salor not only confined themselves to a very specific and narrow repertoire of designs, they had a uniquely strict approach to their application. A large percentage of Salor designs predate the 10th century, the time of the tremendous change from an Iranian/multi-religious or Zoroastrian to an Islamic culture under Turkic dominion. Their *khali*, for instance, invariably show not only the same field design, but also the same border design. Deviations are rare and mostly reduced to marginal details like minor borders or tertiary motifs in the field. Much the same is true of their *chuval*, especially those with the Salor *gül;* also there, variations within the design composition are extremely minor, and divergences from the standard are unusual and rare. The composition of both field and border is always much the same. Thus the whole design repertoire of the Salor not only remained unchanged over a long period of time, but also included only a few designs. Other Turkmen groups show a wide range of variations within a particular design, and also a much wider variety of designs. The clearest case of this is among the Ersarï, or along the middle reaches of the Amu Darya, to express it in geographical terms. Furthermore, the strong design influence emanating from Safavid Persia and Mughal India, observable among Yomut groups in southwest Turkmenistan, seems to have passed the Salor without a trace.

Introduction to the Salor *ensi* (cat. nos. 1 and 2)

For a discussion on the possible cultural-historical background of the *ensi* design, see the chapter "Status & Prestige".

There are two different types of Salor *ensi*: Type A (cat. no. 1) and Type B (cat. no. 2). Pinner has discussed these two types in detail.[71] As his explanations are still extensively accurate, I will just summarize them briefly to complement them, where it seems appropriate.

Pinner describes the Type A design as more archaic, and asks whether it even should be considered the archetype of the Turkmen *ensi*. That he might have hit the nail on the head with this question is consistently supported in this study, proposing Salor weavings as the centre, or even the source of Central Asian carpet weaving. Pinner discusses the differences between the two types concluding that the A Type group is less homogeneous in design than the B Type. The three

63 See Richardson 2012: 418, 420, 464.
64 A forthcoming publication of Irene Good will discuss this in detail.
65 See fig. 7 in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".
66 de la Vaissière 2005: 21; Stark 2012: 113–116.
67 For the results of dye analyses see appendix II, table 1, R.a 280-2. There exist a number of other late Salor weavings with an asymmetrical open left knotting. This has so far been neglected, as only little attention has been paid to these late pieces.
68 Clearly more than half of them.
69 Moshkova 1970 (1996): Fig. 14.
70 This has been proven by dye analyses, e.g. in Portugal by Hallett and Pereira (Hallett/Pereira et al. o.J.: 161 – 168) but also by Karadag, Enez and Böhmer (Walker 1997: 160). The exception is the Kirman silk carpets, showing silk dyed with cochineal.
71 Pinner 1991: 86 – 97.

Scythian deer-like representations as possible models for the animals in the frieze in the upper *alem* of Salor *ensi*

Fig. 16: Scythian deer-like hybrid animal sculpture, height 51 cm, Filippovka, Kurgan I, 4th century B.C. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2000: 72.

Fig. 17: Attacking deer with lowered antlers. Animal combat scene between a deer and a carnivore. Belt buckle, bronze, 3rd/2nd century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Bunker 2002: 104, no. 72.

Fig. 18: Deer-like hybrid animal with lowered antlers in menacing gesture, decorative border of a woman's skirt, Shampula, 2nd/1st century B.C. Abegg-Stiftung, Inv. no. 5157 (image side reversed). © Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

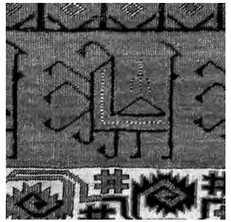


Fig. 19: Deer-like hybrid animal with lowered antlers in menacing gesture, upper *alem* of the A Type Salor *ensi* cat. no. 1, 17th/18th century.

Type A pieces known so far[72] do indeed differ in some details, such as the drawing of the meander with curled leaves in the borders, and the animals in the upper *alem*, as well as some details of the field ornamentation. The seven Type B pieces are more consistent in their design. Intriguingly they are also closer to Salor tradition regarding their technical features than the three *ensi* of the A Type. Most, if not all, of the B Type *ensi* contain cochineal dyed silk[73] and lac dyed wool in the pile, typical of Salor weaving. This applies to the B Type *ensi* examined for this study (cat. no. 2). This piece not only has silk, but also lac dyed wool, a specialty found almost only among the Salor, where according to this study, it is the rule.[74] The A Type *ensi*, cat. no. 1, on the other hand, shows neither silk nor an insect dyestuff on wool,[75] which is unusual for an early Salor piece. One of the two comparison pieces to the A Type *ensi*, however, does contain silk.[76]

The existence of two different *ensi* types among the Salor could possibly be due to different geographic origins. The A type is more closely related to Eastern Turkmenistan, the middle Amu Darya region, and the Ersarï. There is an *ensi* with striking parallels to the A Type Salor *ensi*, though it is definitely not Salor, which likely originates from the middle Amu Darya region and the Ersarï.[77] The B Type *ensi* shows a relationship to south or southwest Turkmenistan, to the Akhal and Merv oases geographically, and to the Teke and the Sarïq ethnically. In particular, the resemblance of the main border to the borders of some Teke *khali* conspicuously supports this notion. Who copied whom is still unclear. The frequent use of silk and lac dyed wool among the Salor strongly suggests the proximity of a trade centre like Merv. Merv was an ancient and important centre, where such precious materials have been traded since antiquity.

72 Since the publication of Pinner's article in Hali, only one additional Salor *ensi*, sold at Grogan Auctioneers, has appeared. This presumably is a later example showing some influence from the design repertoire of the "Eagle" *gül* groups of Southwest Turkmenistan (for more information see footnote 78).

73 Silk for the pile was always dyed with an insect dyestuff. For more information see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

74 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

75 No chemical analysis has been performed. This assumption is based on experience.

76 Pinner/Franses 1980: 109. Whether this piece also shows lac dyed wool is unclear.

77 Eiland 2003: 180, fig. 13. Tsareva 2011: 36, No. 13. Tsareva attributes this piece to the Salor.

Eagle motifs on Iranian ceramics as possible models for the animals in the frieze in the lower *alem* of Salor *ensi*

Fig. 20: Eagle with spread wings, painted jar, Persepolis, Iran, ca. 3500 B.C. Repr. from Herzfeld 1941 (1988): Plate 6.

Fig. 21: Eagle with spread wings, painted jar, West Iran, 2500–1900 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (1988.102.26). Author's photograph.

Fig. 22: Salor *ensi* Type B, cat. no. 2. Detail showing eagle motif in the lower alem.

1

Salor *ensi* Type A

Catalogue no. 1 belongs to the smaller group of the A Type, of which so far only three examples are known.[78] Catalogue no. 1 is arguably unsurpassed, and thought to be the earliest, or at least the best drawn, of all Salor *ensi*.

Design: As stated in the discussion on the origin of the *ensi* design in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*", its concept might be very ancient, presumably ascribable to the high cultures of the ancient Near East. Three motifs shall be singled out here, being not only characteristic of the Salor *ensi*, but also seen here in their archetypical form:

These are the animal motifs in the upper *alem* (figs. 19 and 22), the meander border with curled leaves (fig. 25), and the so-called *gush* motifs chained together in the super-imposed registers in the field (fig. 29). Animal friezes are unusual in Turkmen weavings, limited to the Salor with a few exceptions, while the meander with curled leaves is a common border design among all Turkmen. We also find it in this specific form as end borders in early Teke (cat. no. 54) and early Yomut work (cat. no. 107).

The animal friezes in the upper and lower *alem* (Figs. 19 and 22)

The animals in the frieze of the upper *alem* have been interpreted by Pinner as birds with a slim neck and a full body facing to the right (fig. 19).[79] In the large hooks attached to the upright back part of the body Pinner sees tail-feathers, clearly different in shape from the rectangular feet. In the B Type *ensi*, he interprets the body of the bird just the opposite, calling "tail", what he before called the head (cf. fig. 31

78 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 1. A fourth Salor *ensi* with slight deviations of the borders and the *alem* design was sold May 22nd, 2011 as lot 805 at Grogan & Company in Massachusetts, USA. This *ensi* indeed might be Salor work, although the deviations in the design are unusual for the Salor. However, it is interesting to note that these deviations represent an adoption from the design repertoire of the "Eagle" *gül* groups. They, in turn, also show designs adopted from the repertoire of the Salor (e.g. the minor border of the Salor *khali* can be seen in a similar form as a main border on smaller items of the different "Eagle" *gül* groups [cf. cat. no. 112]). The flower design in the *alem* of the Grogan *ensi* shows a variant to the flower design in the *alem* of the multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection (see fig. 2 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*", for a colour image of the piece, see Hali 5/3, 1983: 255). How this design exchange is explained is still unresolved (for a hint see footnote 39 in the chapter «The Eagle *Gül* Groups»).

79 Pinner 1991: 90.

and 32), without giving a reason for it. His interpretation is not really plausible, and he offers no explanation why the feet of the bird in the A Type version are turned backwards.

I would like to suggest a different and new interpretation, in which the bodies of the animals in both *ensi* types are interpreted such that the wide parts of the bodies in both cases represent the head (the vertical part), neck, and body (the horizontal part), while the upright narrow part is the tail. The hooks attached to the upright wide part (the head) are antlers rather than tail-feathers, and the feet of the animal now also point in the right direction, namely forward, at least in the more archaic A Type. As Pinner has pointed out, the A Type with all likelihood represents a more original version of the design, and therefore might be interpreted as having been the model for the B Type rather than the other way around. I see these creatures not as birds, but walking deer, as they are seen so often in Iranian art not only in Persia and Central Asia, but in the Eurasian steppes as well. Figs. 16–18 show examples of such representations of deer from the realm of Iranian speaking Scythians. Particularly the example fig. 18, a woollen tapestry fragment from the collection of the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland, is of interest in two ways. On the one hand, this textile impressively shows the adaptation of a powerful symbol by a nomadic people, executed in a medium possible to weave also under difficult circumstances: tapestry in narrow bands. Such decorated bands were then joined with monochrome bands to make dresses. Fig. 18 shows a detail of a frieze, showing striding deer with their antlers in a menacing position. It originally was the lower part of a woman's skirt, placed directly above a red final flounce. The animal represenations in the upper *alem* of the *ensi* cat. no. 1 show comparable striding deer with lowered antlers and upraised tail (a menacing gesture?), modified in Turkmen style. The tapestry fragments in the Abegg-Stiftung do not originate from the steppe belt itself, but from Saka people (Scythians) who lived in the Eurasian steppe belt, and migrated South in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. to finally settle in Shampula, in the Tarim Basin in Northwest China (Xinjiang) along the Southern Silk Road. There, this textile and many others have been excavated and radiocarbon dated to the period between 200 B.C and 200 A.D.[80] A comparable textile composed of bands in multi-coloured tapestry and monochrome tabby was excavated in Kurgan II in the necropolis of Pazyryk.[81] Although that textile does not show a frieze with deer in the tapestry woven section but a geometric design instead, it gives quite a clear idea of the possible origin of the textiles excavated in Shampula. The earliest known pile carpet[82] comes from the same necropolis, from Kurgan V from a slightly later date. This early Sogdian or Bactrian carpet[83], dating from the 4th or 3rd century B.C., also shows a frieze of striding deer in one of the borders.

Looking at the animal representations in the upper *alem* of the A Type *ensi* and considering all these examples, it seems more reasonable to interpret them as deer than as birds. This is less obvious with the B Type, as there we already encounter a somewhat corrupted version of the design not properly understood by the weavers (figs. 29 and 30, and the discussion on cat. no. 2).

The lower *alem* of both Salor *ensi* types shows representations of eagles with spread wings (fig. 22), as frequently seen on early ceramics of proto Elamit Iran. A beautiful example from Persepolis from the middle of the 4th millenium B.C. has been published by Herzfeld (fig. 20). A second example can be seen on a somewhat more recent jar from the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 21).

The meander with curled leaves (Fig. 25)

The meander with curled leaves is a standard border design of the Turkmen *ensi*. In addition, it is not by chance that the *kapunuk* (cf. cat. no. 3), another tent-furnishing object, related to the *ensi*, is also decorated with the same design, at least among the Salor, the Teke, and the Sarïq (all former members of the Salor confederation).

The central horizontal panel in the field of every Salor *ensi* shows another unusual variant of the meander with curled leaves; in place of the usual horizontally running meander, we find a row of stylized

80 For details see Keller/Schorta 2001: 150.
81 Barkova et al. 1984: 194, no. 108; for a colour illustration, see Barkova et al. 1991: 194, no. 110.
82 Fig. 7 in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".
83 de la Vaissière 2005: 21; Stark 2012: 116.

Fig. 23: Meander with curled leaves with nubby edges. Architectural fragment, carved wood, Sogdian, Pendjikent, 7th/8th century. Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: 48, Abb. 56.

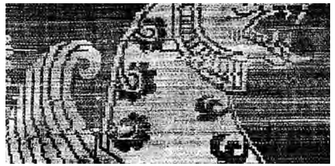


Fig. 24: Curled leaves with nubby edges on the neck of a Senmurv. Sasanian, 7th century, Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. no. 8579-1863. For an image of the whole fragment see Fig. 181. Repr. from Schorta 2006: 15, Fig. 4.

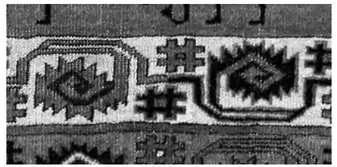


Fig. 25: Detail from cat. no. 1. Salor *ensi* Type A. Horizontal meander border with curled leaves, 17thl18th century.

Fig. 26: Detail from cat. no. 2, Salor *ensi* Type B, central panel of the field. This special arrangement of stylized segments of the meander design, standing framed vertically side by side can also be seen in a very similar way in the horizontal panel of the *kapunuk* (cf. fig. 31).

segments of the meander design, standing framed vertically side by side (fig. 26). The same is seen in the horizontal top panel of the *kapunuk* (fig 33). In a very similar way, segments of the meander design are vertically placed side by side there too. In the *kapunuk* design, the segments are not framed, leaving the impression of a horizontally running continuous meander (fig. 42). Why this has been resolved in this way is unclear.

The meander with curled leaves must have become widespread in Central Asia from the time of Alexander the Great and the consequent Hellenistic influence. We find it in many different variants not only among the Turkmen in the past 300 to 400 years, but with all Iranian speaking people along the Silk Road as far as the Tarim Basin in northwest China (Xinjiang) since the time of Alexander. There it seems to have spread particularly under the domain of Buddhism. In Khorezm, Sogdiana, and Bactria it was in vogue not only in connection with architecture, but in paintings and textiles as well. Fig. 23 shows an architectural remnant, a fragment of a carved wooden beam from Pendjikent near Samarkand. It is amazing how similar the considerably later Turkmen design is to the Sogdian version.[84] That this similarity is not just a coincidence is further evidenced by a number of Sogdian and Sasanian 7th–9th century textiles showing the same design with curled leaves with nubby edges. A good example is the silk fragment with a Senmurv from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 24, for a larger detail see fig. 181).[85] A caftan with Senmurv design in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg shows the same curled leaves, on the chest of the Senmurv.[86] The meander borders with curled leaves may have been an addition to the ancient design concept of the *ensi*, which may not have appeared before the time of Alexander the Great.

84 For a hint on the possible origin/meaning of the double crosses accompaning the curled leaves in the Salor meander, see the discussion of the Teke *ensi* cat. no. 50 with triangles instead of double crosses in the meander border.
85 An additional fragment presumably of the same original silk is in the collection of the Louvre in Paris. A 7th–9th century silk of presumably Sogdian origin with very similar curled leaves on the chest of a Peacock (?) has recently been discovered in the St. Severin basilica in Colon (Oepen et al. 2011: 243, Abb. 16).
86 Ierusalimskaja/Borkopp 1996: No. 1. The curled leaves on the chest of the Senmurv are most visible on the cover of the catalogue.

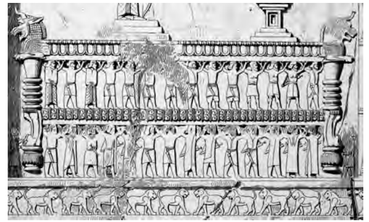


Fig. 27 & 28: Single throne bearer (fig. 27) The conquered people bearing the Achaemenid throne (fig. 28). See also figs. 48 – 57 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*". Repr. from Pope/Ackermann 1938: Fig. 744 a.

Figs. 29 & 30: Detail from cat. no. 1. The so called *gush* motif (*gush* means bird) is probably of anthropomorphic origin. It probably is linked to representation of throne bearers in connection with Assyrian and Achaemenid representations of thrones and their appropriate symbolism.

As shown by the examples figs. 23 and 24, the meander with curled leaves might have come into vogue in Persia and Central Asia in the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. That the roots of the *ensi* design go back even further, to the beginning of the 1st Millennium and beyond, is discussed in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

Bird (*gush*) or throne bearer? (figs. 27 – 30)
The complex problems around the so-called *gush* motif and its possible origin are discussed in detail in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*". In accordance with that, the *gush* motif, in spite of its Turkmen naming (*gush* is the Turkmen word for bird), might not go back to a bird, but rather to the ancient Near Eastern custom of "the bearing of a ruler on the hands of his people". Assyrian kings and their thrones, and also the thrones of the Achaemenid rulers have symbolically been borne by the hands of their subjected peoples.[87] This practice has been passed down to the 19th century as shown by a throne used by the rulers of the last Iranian dynasty, the Qajars, today in the Golestan palace in Teheran. Figures of about half life-sice bear the throne.[88]

87 See also the images in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*"
88 See fig. 57 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

The *gush* is one of two motifs exclusively found on *ensi*. Seen as a part of the whole *ensi* composition, it should rather be seen in connection with the Assyrian and/or Achaemenid throne symbolism than as connected with shamanistic and animistic beliefs of nomadic people from the eastern steppe belt.[89]

What so far has been interpreted as a bird presumably represents a standing figure with slightly splayed legs and Y-like upraised arms. Fig. 27 shows such a figure, a Saka with his typical pointed headgear characterizing him as a representative of the nomadic Scythians as a tributary of the Achaemenid empire. Not surprisingly, it is again the Salor design which is closest to the ancient models, not only because of the upraised arms (which is also the case with the Teke version of the *gush* motif), but also because of the slightly spread legs. The *gush* motif of the Salor shows more clearly anthropomorphic features than the *gush* of other Turkmen tribes.

Structure: Based on its design, and its asymmetric open left knotting, this example stays in the Salor tradition, although somewhat more coarsely woven and therefore somewhat divergent from its cousins, the B Type *ensi*.

89 E.g. Peter Hoffmeister in Eiland 2003: 163.

Colours: Also in its colouring cat. no. 1 diverges from what can be considered the "classic" Salor palette. It shows fewer colours than cat. no. 2, and also a somewhat warmer and brighter palette. The reason for these divergences is still not settled with certainty, but it could be traced back to regional differences.

Dating: Considering both the high quality of the materials and the outstanding formal design quality of this *ensi*, a late 19th century dating, as suggested with highest statistical probability by radiocarbon dating, seems quite unlikely. Even the possible range in the early 19th century is rather questionable, it is although not completely excludable. The 18th century, according to radiocarbon dating even the early 18th century, might more likely be the time of production of this unrivalled weaving.

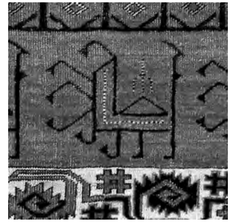


Fig. 31: Stylized deer with lowered antlers, upper frieze of the *alem* of the Salor *ensi* Type A, cat. no. 1, 17th or 18th century

Fig. 32: Detail from Salor *ensi* Type B, cat. no. 2. Stylized animal from the upper frieze of the alem, around 1800.

2

Salor *ensi* type B

The *ensi* cat. no. 2 corresponds in all its characteristic features to what I consider "classic" Salor: a perfectly and harmoniously designed composition based on ancient designs, combined with skillful weaving technique and precious materials.

Design: The B Type *ensi* mainly differs from the A Type in not showing a meander with curled leaves in the main border, but octagons filled with stars. This type of main border is known among the Teke[90] in a very similar form, seemingly a design development from southwest Turkmenistan. The remaining inner minor border composed of a meander with curled leaves shows a drawing different from the comparable A Type border, and appears only in the vertical border. In the B Type *ensi* design, for the horizontal borders, the meander with curled leaves has been stylized into large horizontally positioned S-shapes.[91] The horizontal central panel in the field shows the composition of vertically arranged fragments of the meander border with curled leafs seen in the A Type *ensi* (fig. 26).

The composition of the field with its superimposed registers filled with rows of *gush* motifs overlain by a central slender niche corresponds to the A Type *ensi*. The central horizontal panel is much the same in both *ensi* types. The same is true for the lower *alem* with the eagle motifs. This similarity of the field composition of both Salor *ensi* types might not only be indicative of a common origin, but also of great age of the field composition. Except for a few small differences, the animal frieze with its deer in the upper *alem* is the same as in the A Type *ensi* (cf. figs. 31 and 32). The differences might be seen as a later and already slightly corrupted version of the A Type design. The deer has lost its antlers, and its feet are turned backwards. The impression could indeed arise here that the deer was being transformed into a bird (a peacock?). In any case, it seems clear that the A Type was the model for the B Type, the latter showing a slightly transformed version of the former, and not the contrary.

Structure: The Salor *ensi* cat. no. 2, more clearly than cat. no. 1, corresponds to the tradition I have repeatedly called "classic" Salor: asymmetric open left knotting, heavily depressed warps, precious materials, and excellent deeply saturated dyes.

90 Cf. the border of the Teke *khali* cat. no. 71. See also Pinner 1991: 89, fig. 5a for an even more closely comparable Teke border (also published in Hali 30, 1986: 9, upper border).
91 See also the discussion on the Teke *ensi*, cat. no. 50, with the same type of stylized meander border with curled leaves.

Colours: In addition to the unusually rich colour palette of 14 shades, the piece shows – as usual for Salor weavings – lac dyed wool and insect dyed (unidentified type of cochineal) silk.

Dating: No radiocarbon dating has been performed, but in all likelihood this piece predates 1830, the date of the defeat and the beginning of the decline of the Salor.

Introduction to the Salor *kapunuk* (cat. nos. 3 and 129)

The origin of the *kapunuk* is still unresolved. Its definition as a tent door surround used inside the tent with its origin in the nomadic life of the Eurasian steppe belt seems just as questionable as that of its counterpart, the knotted *ensi*. Outside the greater geographical area of the Caspian in the West, the Aral in the North, the Syr-Darya in the East, and the Kopet-Dagh, the Hindukush, and the Pamir mountains in the South,[92] the *kapunuk* is unknown. No other carpet weaving area of the Orient is familiar with this kind of tent door decoration. The original use of the *kapunuk* (for house or tent?, or what kind of tent?), is still not clearly documented. The use of the same pre-Islamic design for the *kapunuk* not only among the Salor, the Sarïq, the Teke, and the Ersarï (former Salor confederation), but also other Turkmen groups, suggests a common and ancient origin. Whether the interrelated use of both *kapunuk* and *ensi* during the past few hundred years can be traced back to early times (at least pre-Islam), is also unclear, so far, there is no definitive evidence confirming such an interpretation. However, it is interesting that the *kapunuk* and the *ensi* both seem to originate from and still be used exclusively in the same geographical region.

A possible model for, or at least an interesting parallel to, the *kapunuk* can be seen in early Islamic Central Asian architecture. The four portals of the mausoleum of the Samanid Ismail in Bukhara, built in 906, show, inside and outside, a decorative element, which in the broadest sense resembles a "*kapunuk*".[93] The same architectural feature is also seen in early Islamic Spain and slightly later in Morocco[94]. Cultural exchanges within the Islamic world occur frequently, and over long distances. Thus, Iranian architectural style of the Sasanians heavily influenced by Late Antiquity left its traces not only in the early Islamic world of Central Asia, but also in early Islamic Spain, in Al-Andalus, as seen in the great mosque in Córdoba. The mihrab there is decorated with such a "*kapunuk*", as are the side portals leading to the columned prayer hall.[95] Last but not least, in both Bukhara and Córdoba a frieze of niches decorates the space directly above the portal. Whether the Turkmen *kapunuk* can be traced back to such architectural models is uncertain, and has not yet been investigated seriously. However, considering the suggested origin of the *ensi* design, these parallels are interesting and call for further clarification. Concerning the *kapunuk*, only one thing is clear: it has its roots in the area of modern Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, where it belongs to the furnishing inventory of the tents of many Turkmen groups during the 18th and 19th centuries. As it is with other Salor weavings, *kapunuk* are rare: only nine pieces are known (incl. cat. no. 3). An additional piece, a *kapunuk* from the Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg (cat. no. 129, fig. 42), has been attributed to the Salor by Tsareva. As the piece differs in both colour and design from the eight published Salor *kapunuk*, I suggest adding a question mark to this attribution, at least for the moment.

Except for very minor details such as the different number of curled leaves in the horizontal and/or vertical panels, the nine published Salor *kapunuk* are very similar, nearly identical. All earlier examples, including cat. no. 3, show six curled leaves in the two vertical side panels. Comparison piece no. (6), sold in 2004 at Rippon Boswell, with only five curled leaves, might be somewhat later, while the latest comparison piece no. (4), which was exhibited and published on the occasion of the 1993 International Conference on Oriental Carpets (ICOC) in Hamburg, shows only four curled leaves. This latest example already shows the first synthetic dyes, but curiously also traces of lac dye.[96] Design-wise it is still very close to its earlier relatives, except for the reduced number of curled leaves in the vertical side panels.

92 The area politically corresponds approximately to modern Turkmenistan.
93 Sourdel-Thomine/Spuler 1973: Fig. 142, plate XXVI.
94 Terrasse 1932: 275, 329, 353.
95 Sourdel-Thomine/Spuler 1973: Fig. 84, plate XVIII, figs. 90, 91.
96 This *kapunuk* is the latest Turkmen weaving showing lac dye, though only a small amount. For the result of dye analysis see appendix II, table 1, Ra 667-1/2.

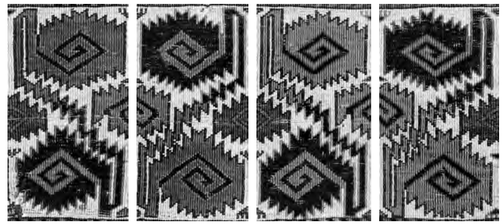


Fig. 33: Four details from cat. no. 3. The meander with curled leaves in the upper horizontal panel of the *kapunuk* is not really a horizontally running meander. It is composed of pieces of a vertically running meander, placed side-by-side to give the impression of a horizontal run. The same version of the meander design appears in the central panel of the Salor *ensi*. However, there the vertically placed design parts are clearly separated from each other by a frame (cf. fig. 26).

3

Salor *kapunuk*

Were this *kapunuk* complete, it certainly would be unsurpassed not only in its harmonious proportions and its outstanding quality of materials, but also its otherwise good condition. The absence of the lower "double cross" border of the horizontal panel is a pity, which decreases the otherwise majestic vibrancy of this excellent piece.

Design: The use of the meander with curled leaves for almost all *kapunuk* is analogous to the phenomenon seen on the *ensi*: also there this border is a standard design used over a long period. As already mentioned, in the time pre-dating Alexander the Great this design may not have been known in Central Asia. However, it seems to have gained great popularity since the Romans, or at least since Late Antiquity. From the Romans, it may have come via the Parthians and the Sasanians to Iran, and from there to the Sogdians, Khorezmians and Bactrians to Central Asia and beyond. The version of the meander with curled leaves on the *kapunuk* differs slightly from the somewhat more "classic", and probably earlier, version of the same design. This earlier version is seen in the horizontal borders of the A Type Salor *ensi* (cat. no. 1, fig. 25), and also in the horizontal borders of the early Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 and on the Teke *asmalyk* cat. no. 54.[97] Instead of a horizontally running meander as in the upper horizontal panel, the *kapunuk* designs shows vertically standing pieces of a meander with curled leaves. This is particularly obvious in a Teke *kapunuk* published by Eberhart Herrmann.[98] In this piece, the meander in both vertical panels runs up into the horizontal top panel, being reflected there horizontally by repeating the last two curled leaves next to each other a number of times (as seen in fig. 33). In addition, all curled leaves are the same size and proportions in both the horizontal and the vertical panels. This is not the case in Salor *kapunuk,* in which the designs of the vertical panels and the horizontal top panel are disconnected, and also can differ in size and proportion (cf. cat. no. 3). The side-by-side upright standing parts of the meander are also seen in the middle horizontal panel in both types of the Salor *ensi* (cf. fig. 26). This type of the meander with curled leaves might represent a later development of the design, as seen in the horizontal main border of the Salor Type A *ensi* (fig. 25). It is not clear why the weavers of the *kapunuk* used single parts of the vertically oriented design side by side (fig. 33), a version of the meander otherwise used only for vertically running borders. As already indicated, the reasons for this might have been technical, going back to the transformation of the design from a horizontal to a vertical direction. The minor borders of the Salor *kapunuk* correspond to the minor borders of the Salor *khali*.

Structure: This *kapunuk* shows a firm and "meaty" pile on a heavily depressed warp. Because of the extreme warp depression, only half of the knot is visible from the back. A comparable structure can be seen in the Salor *chuval* cat. no. 12. Unusual for a Turkmen piled weaving is the use of metal threads, in this case for the fringes (fig. 40). Only one other Turkmen weaving, a tent band of the Yomut groups, also

97 See also the discussion on the meander with curled leaves in the discussion of the Salor *ensi* cat. no. 1.
98 Herrmann 3 1991: No. 56.

Fig. 34: The image of the metal thread of the Salor *kapunuk* cat. no. 3 obtained from scanning electronic microscopy (scale 600 µm). The diagonally placed part in the image shows the outside, while the horizontally placed part the inside surface of the metal wrapping.

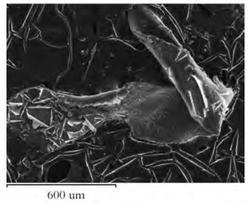


Fig. 35: SEM-EDX Element analysis of the metal thread of the fringes of the Salor *kapunuk* cat. no. 3.
Element analysis
(complete sample)
Major components: Cu, O, S, Ag
Minor components: Cl, Al, Si

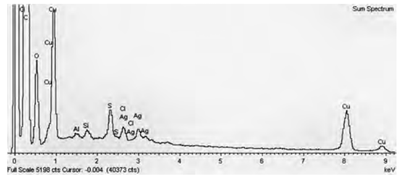
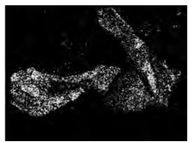
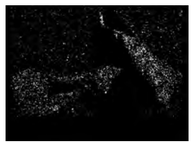
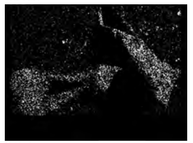


Fig. 36 – 39: Element mapping
The metal strip is composed of copper/silver. The mapping clarifies a distinction between the composition of the inner and outer side of the metal strip:
Inner side: copper
Outer side: A copper/silver alloy.
The presence of corrosion products such as silver and copper chlorides/chlorates and sulphides/sulphates is suggested by the detection of sulphur, chloride, and oxygen.


Cu Ka1


Ag La1


S Ka1

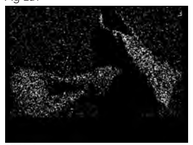

Ci Ka1

Fig. 40: Metal thread of the Salor *kapunuk* cat. no. 3.
Microscopic Examination Results: Very fine metal thread, composed of a yellow reddish colored, metal strip, S-twisted around a core yarn of white cultivated, degummed silk filaments (Bombyx mori). The metal strip almost completely covers the inside core yarn. The metal strip is between 300-400 µm wide (although difficult to measure). The single silk filaments are between 7 to 12 µm wide.

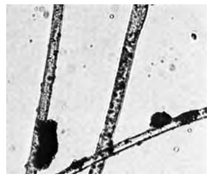


Fig. 41: 07915 mdr core 400x jvc05

SEM-EDX analysis of the metal threads of the fringes of the Salor *kapunuk* cat. no. 3
Ina Vanden Berghe, Materials and Techniques, KIK-IRPA Brussels

shows a minimal use of metal threads.[99] Analysis of the metal threads from this *kapunuk* indicated that the metal is composed of copper and silver (cf. figs. 34 – 41). The alloy detected is typical for metal threads of the 18th and 19th centuries.[100]

Colours: In terms of colour, the piece corresponds to the "classic" Salor tradition. It shows plenty of lac dyed wool and silk dyed with an unidentified type of cochineal. The bright lac dyed shade of red was achieved by using tin as a mordant (colour "amplifier"). As with nearly all other "classic" Salor weavings, all red shades for the design are dyed with an insect dyestuff (the ground colour is always dyed with madder, or undyed, ivory coloured, as in this case). This special use of insect dyestuffs for the design is a uniquely Salor feature, not seen among any other Turkmen group. Another unusual feature is the ground colour of all *kapunuk*; among the Salor, as in Turkmen weavings generally, white is uncommon for the ground color.

Dating: Radiocarbon dating assigns this piece clearly to the period between 1640 and 1820. There is not much to add to this; a dating later than 1830 would for historical reasons hardly come into consideration, as the heyday of the Salor was over by then.

129

Salor (?) *kapunuk* (fig. 42)

It is unclear whether this is or is not a Salor *kapunuk*.[101] Too many inconsistencies get in the way of a definitive Salor attribution. The asymmetrical open left knot and the meander design with curled leaves alone are not sufficient for an unambiguous Salor attribution. The palette is also not typical for Salor weavings. It shows too much yellow, no magenta silk, and with all likelihood no lac dyed wool with its somewhat cool, but intense shade of red. The only argument speaking for a possible Salor attribution, beyond the open left knotting, is the similarity to the palette of the Salor Type A *ensi* cat. no. 1, which also has no magenta silk, no lac dyed wool, and a warmer palette with a relatively high amount of yellow.

99 Andrews et al. 1993: No. 2.
100 I thank Dr. Norman Indictor from New York for this information, which he gave me after having access to the results from Brussels (his e-mail from 2nd March 2007).
101 Tsareva suggested a Salor attribution in: Tzareva 1984.2: 30, no. 4.

Fig. 42: Salor (?) *kapunuk* cat. no. 129. This *kapunuk* differs in many details from the other nine published Salor *kapunuk*. It does not show any silk, and probably no lac dyed wool (based on a visual inspection. No chemical analysis has been performed). In addition, the meander with curled leaves differs in the number of curled leaves (having too many), and in its drawing, which considerably differs from the "classic" Salor *kapunuk*.

Fig. 43: Salor *aq yüp* cat. no. 4, 33–35 x 1424 cm, 17th/18th century.

4

Salor *aq yüp*

This outstanding *aq yüp* (fig. 43) has been in European private collections for more than 100 years. It comes from the collection of Wilhelm Hummel. Hummel was a traveller to Central Asia during the last two decades of the 19th century, bringing together a remarkable collection of textiles from this region.[102] One of the highlights of this collection is this tent band, shown in a late 19th century photograph taken in Hummel's house in Weimar, Germany, and published by Benardout in 2002 (fig. 44).

Without entering the sphere of speculation, tribal attribution of tent bands is frequently problematic. However, by consideration of certain technical features tent bands can be classified roughly into groups. Thus, certain bands can be assigned to the larger "Yomut family", while others presumably rather belong to the ambit of the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke, the "fine-weavers" among the Turkmen. Such attributions are largely based on a combination of palette, design, and fineness of the weave. With a few exceptions, the knot type is of no help when dealing with tent bands, as they are all woven with a specific type of a symmetrical knot based on their warp faced structure.[103] The normal symmetrical carpet knot is, of course, based on a weft faced weave structure.

102 See Benardout 2002.

103 An exception is a small group of all pile tent bands like cat. no. 118 with its asymmetrical open left knotting. However, all pile tent bands are luxury objects not absorbing any tensile stress in the tent construction. They are technically woven like "normal" carpets, and not like their relatives, the tent bands in mixed technique such as cat. no. 4, clearly constructed to absorb tensile stress.

Fig. 44: *Aq yüp* cat. no. 4 in a historical photograph from 1898. The image shows the interior of Wilhelm Hummel's house in Weimar. Hummel acquired the band in the 1890's on one of his trips to Central Asia. Repr. from Benardout 2002: 3.

The tent band discussed here belongs to a group of ten published examples similar in design, palette, and fineness of the weave.[104] In the literature, the ten pieces of this type have been attributed either to the Salor,[105] the Sarïq,[106] or to the Teke,[107] without much justification. Dye analyses we conducted in search of the special use of insect dyestuffs among them shed some light into this obscure corner of Turkmen carpet studies. I will go into this in more detail in the section "colours" below.

However, based on the criteria mentioned earlier in this chapter, the tent band discussed here seems to be a clear candidate for a Salor attribution. The systematic use of lac dyed wool and silk dyed with

104 See comparable pieces to cat. no. 4.

105 TKF Graz 1999: Plate 77, Salor.

106 Isaacson 2007: No. 15, Saryk.

107 PinAner/Eiland 1999: Plate 27, Teke.

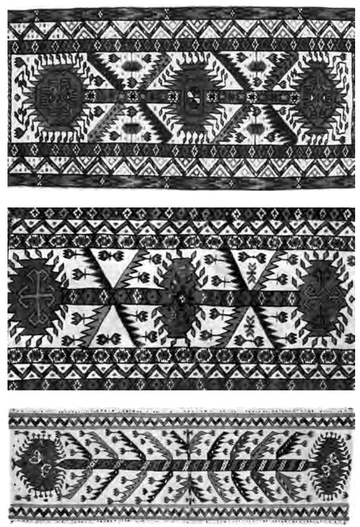


Fig. 45: The detail from cat. no. 4 presumably shows the typical Salor tent band design with a palmette tree and pomegranates. This design was adapted by the Sarïq and the Teke from the early 19th century on (cf. figs. 19–21 in chapter "Scarlet & Purple").

Fig 46: Detail from a Teke or Sarïq *aq yüp* fragment, 2nd half 19th century, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, Inv. no. 1997.142.17. This might be the latest known version of the Salor tent band design seen on a fragment made by the Teke or the Sarïq. The "feathering" of the palmette leaves is no longer orientated downwards, as in the Salor model, but upwards as with all other flower tree designs in Turkmen tent bands (cf. fig. 47).

Fig. 47: Sarïq *aq yüp* fragment with a typical flower tree design often seen in Turkmen tent bands. Private collection.

cochineal speak in favour of such an attribution, as do the overall palette and the harmoniously proportioned, skilfully woven design.[108]

108 For further information see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section 6. Tribal attribution by means of dye analyses (figs. 19–21).

Design: The composition of this band is dominated by what I call the Salor "compound-palmette-tree" design (fig. 45), a design, which arguably can be designated the Salor tent band design par excellence. Unlike other Turkmen groups, the Salor are known for their relatively limited and conservative design repertoire, primarily based on ancient, pre-Islamic designs, with only minor variations. Examples of this are the *ensi*, *kapunuk*, *chuval*, and the *khali* design. Hence it seems very likely that this might hold true for the elaborately woven tent bands. So, the "composite-palmette-tree" with all likelihood can be regarded as a typical Salor design. The tent band cat. no. 4 not only shows the most sophisticated drawing of this design,[109] but also underlines its symbolic importance by showing it three times in the most prominent points of the composition.

The Salor "compound-palmette-tree" design (fig. 45)

At first glance, the "compound-palmette-tree" design seems to exhibit certain affinities to a "flower tree" design relatively common in many Turkmen tent bands (e.g. fig. 47). This design is also mirrored along the horizontal axis (warp direction). However, a closer inspection reveals considerable difference. We will come back to this in the following.

The Salor "compound-palmette-tree" design is a mirrored compound ornament of quite sophisticated nature. The basic element is a large flower standing above two "feathered" palmette leaves (fig. 54 and 56, cf. also figs. 49–53), resembling a split palmette (cf. figs. 49–51). Between these "feathered" palmette leaves are four stylized pomegranates (cf. fig. 54). To the left and right of the "compound-palmette-tree" design, dividing strips with opposed triangular "amulet" forms

109 For other versions of the design, see fig. 44 in this chapter and figs. 19–21 in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", and the comparison pieces to the Sarïq *aq yüp* cat. no. 39.

Fig. 48 : Split palmette on a Laconian painted cup, Greece, Arkesilas painter, ca. 560 B.C. Heracles and the Amazons (?). Museo Nationale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Rome. Author's photpgraph, October 2011.

Fig. 49: Split palmette, fitted with a palmette above. Detail from a *gorytos* made by Greek craftsmen for the Scythian market, 4th century B.C., Melitopol Kurgan. Repr. from Riegl 1923: 249, Fig. 129.

Fig. 50: Sasanian stucco frieze with split palmettes and palmettes, Ma'arid IV. Repr. from Kröger 1982: 95, fig. 51.

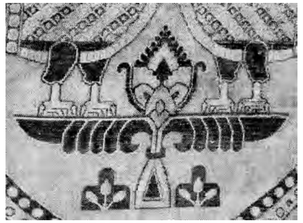


Fig. 51: Detail from a Sogdian silk fragment, showing a palmette tree on a split palmette with two confronted birds. 8th/9th century. (cf. also fig. 62, showing the complete design). Private collection New York.

Fig. 52: Detail from a Sasanian palmette tree with "feathered" leaves and a large flower (palmette) on top. (cf. also fig. 58, showing the complete palmette tree). Taq-i-Bostan, 7th century. Repr. from Erdmann 1943 (1969): plate 9.

Fig. 53: Large palmette on a Sasanian capital, 7th century. Taq-e Bostan. Repr. from Flandin/Coste 1841: Plate ?

Fig. 54: Detail from cat. no. 4. The Salor version of a palmette tree with "feathered" leaves and a large flower (palmette) on top. The analogies to the earlier models (figs. 47 – 51) are obvious.

Fig. 55: Half palmette frieze 185, Ma'arid IV, Sasanian stucco. Repr. from Kröger 1982: 123, fig. 66.

Fig. 56: Detail from cat. no. 4 (fig. 54). The "feathered" palmette leaves of the Salor "compound-palmette-tree".

not only "protect" the design, but also accentuate its importance (cf. colour plate in Vol. 1). Within the Salor tent band cat. no. 4, these "amulets" are exclusively seen in context with the "compound-palmette-tree" design, with which they seem to be associated. When these "amulets" appear in other tent bands of this group (Salor/Sarïq/Teke), they seem to be detached from their symbolic (protecting) context, and incoherent in other places in the composition. Another conspicuous, if not unique, feature of the "compound-palmette-tree" design is the "feathered" structure of the palmette leaves (fig. 56). Comparing these unusually designed leaves with the "leaves" of flower trees of other Turkmen tent bands, it stands out that the toothing in the Salor version is found at the bottom edge of the leaves (cf. fig. 56), while it is always the opposite with all other Turkmen "flower tree" tent band designs (fig. 47). Thus, the two designs may well have a different origin.

Considering the already described parallels between a number of Salor carpet designs and Sogdian textile designs[110] it is interesting to note that the "compound-palmette-tree" design appears not only in Sogdian textiles (figs. 51, 61–65), but also in Sasanian architecture (figs. 50, 52, 53, 55, 58, 59), metalwork and textiles (fig. 60 and 61).[111] Especially in Sogdian textiles, birds, deer, lions or other real or fantastic creatures are often shown paired above a split palmette, a "sacred tree". A palm or flower tree to which the animals are addorsed often grows out of this split palmette (figs. 61 – 65).[112] Such palm or "compound-palmette-trees" (sacred trees) seem to have been a significant theme in ancient Near Eastern art (cf. fig. 57). The design of the Assyrian sacred tree already appears in a number of different versions in the 1st millennium A. D. Thus it is not surprising that such a design survived in the sphere of traditional folk art up to the second Millenium A.D., as well as in Islamic art under the new leadership of Turkic speaking people. A classical example of this is the "sacred" palm tree with confronted lions decorating the portal of the Seldjuk Yakutiye madrasa in Erzurum in East Anatolia (fig. 66).

The absence of animals in the Turkmen tent band design can be explained both by the narrow format of the band, and by the rarity of animal representations in Turkmen weavings generally.[113] There are, however, strong similarities to representations of Iranian palmette trees from the 1st Millenium B.C. The Salor "compound-palmette-tree" design (fig. 54) shows similarity to a Sasanian palmette tree from Taq-e Bostan, particularly to its uppermost part with a large flower and "feathered" palmette leaves (figs. 52, 58). Split palmettes (sacred trees) on Sogdian silks show the same kind of parallels: a large blossom over two "feathered" palm leaves (fig. 51). The great antiquity of the split palmette is shown on a Greek vase painting from the 6th century B.C. (fig. 48). Like in the much later Sogdian versions, the (sacred) palmette forms a podium for a mythological scene shown within a roundel. However, the Salor design should not be considered just an imitation of these earlier models; rather it illustrates the evolution of an ornament which played a considerable role in the pre-Islamic Iranian world, back to models of great antiquity.[114] The examples in figs. 57–66 clearly exemplify how inventively and playfully this fundamental ornament, harking back at least to the Assyrian sacred tree (fig. 58), has been handled over the course of many centuries.

In keeping with the symbolic context of the Salor "compound-palmette" tree design are the appendant two pairs of pomegranates (cf. figs. 45 and 54). They appear not only among the Sasanians in a comparable context (fig. 59), but also among the Assyrians in the form of trees with pomegranates alone.[115] Pomegranate trees and pomegranate rosettes are also a common design feature in a number of Turkmen tent bands. The pomegranate not only underlines the floral character of the Salor "compound-palmette-tree" design, but also its affiliation to the symbolism of fertility.[116]

Probably the latest version of a Teke or Sarïq copy of the Salor "compound-palmette-tree" design is seen on a "curtain" made up of five sections of a 19th century tent band that have been sewn together.[117] Like the Salor *aq yüp* cat. no. 4, the design composition of the

110 E.g. the Salor *gül*, the *kejebe* design and the meander with curled leaves of the *ensi* and the *kapunuk*.

111 Another design with a possible Sasanian background is the *mina khani* of the Ersarï, most likely going back to a textile design seen on a caftan on the Taq-e Bostan hunting reliefs. For more information on the possible origin of the *mina khani* design, see the discussion to cat. no. 28 in the chapter "The Ersarï".

112 The tree design in fig. 63 has been reduced to a rosette placed above the heads of the two deer.

113 There are a few exceptions. The animal representation on the Salor *ensi* is one of them. For more information on this see the discussion on cat. no. 1 and 2. Another exception is the *gülli gül* of the Salor, the Sarïq, the Teke and the Ersarï (see figs. 186–189 in this chapter) and the *tauk nuska* of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut (see figs. 41 – 46 in the chapter "The Yazïr-Qaradashlï").

114 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

115 See figs. 30–38 in the chapter "The Teke".

116 Muthmann 1982.

117 Published in colour in Pinner/Eiland 1999: Plate 27.

Assyrian, Sasanian, and Seljuk stylized palm and palmette trees

Fig. 57: The Assyrian Sacred (palm) Tree, 9th century B.C. Repr. from Riegel 1923: 99, fig. 39.

Fig. 58: Palmette tree on a capital of the Taq-i-Bostan, rear panel of the main iwan, 7th century. See also detail on fig. 49. Repr. from Erdmann 1943 (1969): plate 9.

Fig. 59: Palmette tree with birds and pomegranates, stucco panel 134-6, Ma'arid IV, Sasanian. Repr. from Kröger 1982: 99, fig. 55.

Fig. 60: Palmette tree on a silver jug, Sasanian, 5th/6th century, The Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Repr. from Loukonin/Ivanov 2003: 85.

Fig. 61: Confronted lions and palm tree on a split palmette, fragment of a Sogdian or Sasanian silk, 7th/8th century. Repr. from von Wilckens 1991: 46.

original tent band shows three "compound-palmette-tree" designs, but, unlike the Salor example, of very inconsistent quality. The version originally occupying the centre of the composition is still quite close to its Salor model; even the pomegranates are clearly recognisable.[118] The other two versions (fig. 44 shows one of them) differ in significant ways. Of particular interest here is the toothing of their palmette leaves, which is now seen at the upper instead of the lower edge of the leaves. This is likely because the unusual Salor version (figs. 45 and 54) deviates from what most Turkmen weavers were familiar with, the more generally seen tent band "flower tree" design as shown in fig. 47. That the latter most likely represents an independent development is underlined by the fact that related designs appear on other piled objects as well, particularly among the Yomut; Pinner refers to Bronze Age ceramic designs from southwest Turkmenistan as a possible source for them.[119] The Salor version on the other hand, presumably is based on Sasanian and/or Sogdian models. This later Teke or Sarïq copy of the "compound-palmette-tree" design is the only published example showing this divergence.

118 Shown on the image published by Pinner/Eiland 1999 in the top left corner.
119 Hali 5/2, 1982: 118 – 119. See also the chapter "The Teke", cat. no. 51.

The borders

In the borders as well, this tent band shows a feature unusual for other Turkmen, though typical for this small group of Salor/Sarïq/Teke bands: in place of the usual *giyak* (barber pole) stripes accompanying the main border, there are considerably larger stripes with *khamtoz*[120] or *soldat*[121] motifs. Among the Salor, this is not seen only in 19th century pieces as is the case with most other Turkmen groups, but appears to have been standard at least since the 17th century. The same applies to the elaborately designed zigzag pattern main border with the white triangular interspaces decorated throughout with four dots in pile technique or quartered brocaded rhombuses (see colour plate cat. no. 4). What has been said concerning luxury goods and affluent society in connection with all pile tent bands (cat. no. 99) in the chapter "The Yomut", is also clearly applicable to this Salor *aq yüp*. It is hardly imaginable that this Salor band was woven in a purely nomadic context.

120 For a discussion of the *khamtoz*, see cat. no. 5, section "The *alem* with *khamtoz* design".
121 In Greater Iran (including Central Asia), the so called *soldat* motif had deep roots. One of the earliest objects, a silver sculpture of a kneeling bull in man-shape excavated in Susa, dating from the Proto-Elamite period, ca. 3000 B.C., already shows the *soldat* motif as a textile design (Harper et al. 1992: 5, Fig. 5.). The *soldat* motif is still a common stripe design in minor borders of many Safavid carpets, as well as in many Turkmen weavings up to the 19th century.

Stylized palmette trees (split palmettes) with confronted animals

Fig. 62: Split palmette with confronted ducks and palmette, Sogdian silk fragment, 8th/9th century. Private collection, New York.

Fig. 63: Stylized palmette tree with confronted deer on a split palmette, silk fragment, 7th/8th century. Khotan (?), Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 4901. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

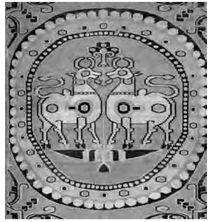


Fig. 64: Stylized palmette tree with confronted zebus on a split palmette, silk fragment, 9th/10th century, Bukhara. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 4867. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132 Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 65: Stylized palmette tree with confronted ducks on a split palmette, Sogdian silk fragment, 9th/10th century, Aachen. Repr. from Lessing 1913: ?

Fig. 66: Stylized palmette tree with confronted lions and an eagle in a niche, portal of the Yakutiye Madrasa in Erzurum, Anatolia, Seljuk period, 13th century. Author's photograph, 1981.

The overall composition

It is worthy of note that this tent band in spite of its grandness is less varied in design than is often the case in Turkmen tent bands of comparable age and quality. It is largely restricted to the "compound-palmette-tree" as a primary design accompanied by design elements with large double hooks (*sainak* motifs?) and eight pointed stars (cf. colour plate cat. no. 4). Comparable eight pointed stars were also common as secondary motifs in Sogdian silks.[122] The noble reserve and strict arrangement of the composition of this band (cat. no. 4) are factors clearly speaking for a Salor attribution.

Structure: In its weave density, this band surpasses most other Turkmen tent bands. Otherwise it shows the typical structure of Turkmen tent bands: a warp faced ground weave with straight wefts and inserted knots for the design.

Colours: The band shows an unusually rich palette of 17 shades of brightly saturated colours of unsurpassed quality for the pile. Moreover, it shows another technical phenomenon seldom seen among Turkmen piled weavings: the twisting of two different shades of red in one thread (2Z), simulating an additional shade. For a short distance at the beginning of the band, the weaver used a 2-plied yarn for the pile made of two different reds: a warm orange-red dyed with madder and a cooler ruby red dyed with lac. Surprisingly this occurs in large areas, and not only as highlights. The weaver's intention for this is not really clear. One possibility is the intentional creation of an additional shade of red. Another is that the weaver's motivation was economic: she might have "stretched" her precious lac dyed wool. Whatever the reason, she stopped before very long. Looking at the result of this unusual mixture makes her abrupt change of heart understandable: the newly achieved red looks dull, without the luminance of the two original colours by themselves.

The generous but systematic use of lac dyed wool in this band is very unusual, and yet another indicator for attribution to the Salor, the only Turkmen group making such ample and systematic use of lac dyed wool.[123] There is no other tent band known showing such use of lac dye.[124] However, there are many other Salor weavings demonstrating the practice. Two of the remaining nine tent bands with the

122 E.g. Otavsky 1998: 37, fig. 10, or Verhecken–Lammens et al. 2006: 291, plate 11.

123 See section "3.4.1 The use of Lac Dye among the Salor" in the chapter "Scarlet & Purple".
124 The Salor (?) fragment sold on 29 November 2014 as lot 15 at Rippon Boswell, nearly identical in all its qualites to cat. no. 4, has not yet been dye tested.

same design composition have been tested for insect dyestuffs; both tests indicate Mexican cochineal, not lac.[125]

Dating: As indicated by radiocarbon dating, the band was clearly woven before 1815, though not earlier than 1660. A post-1815 dating can be excluded. A comparison with the Sarïq band cat no. 39 belonging to the same design group adds clarity: the Salor example is not only probably physically older, but also shows an earlier version of the design, which might have served as a model for the Sarïq band. As the latter nevertheless might date from the first half of the 19th century, a dating between 1660 and 1800 for the Salor band seems appropriate.

Introduction to the Salor hangings with *kejebe* and *darvaza gül* (cat. nos. 5 and 130)

The two hanging fragments with the composition of *kejebe* design, *darvaza gül*, and two interlaced squares in the field (cat. no. 5 and 130, fig. 109) belong to an exclusive and highly esteemed group of Salor weavings in a range of formats from 150 cm up to 270 cm length (fig. 68a), and showing slight variations in their design. They vary in the number and drawing of *darvaza gül* (figs. 84–86), and in the presence or absence of "shoulders"[126] at the upper left and right corners (fig. 68 with "shoulders", cat. no. 5 without). The intended use of these pieces is an open question, particularly the examples with a length of more than 2 meters. That they have never been used as bags seems clear. They rather must have at some time played a role as ceremonial hangings for festivities like birth, marriages, funerals, or other religious celebrations. A possibility, at least during the past few centuries, could be the use as a wrapping for the litter (*kejebe*), in which the Turkmen bride was carried on the back of a camel to the groom's family.[127] Some of these objects seem never to have been intended for use as *asmalyk* (animal flank decoration): they are too long. Whether the shorter versions might ever have served such a purpose is not known.

That all these Salor hangings originally had monochrome blue fringes at the bottom edge is proven by several pieces, some of which still have the original fringes in their intact length. This is the case with the example acquired by Dudin in 1901 in Samarkand.[128] Of additional interest in this Dudin piece are the supplementary blue fringes in the pile area below the "shoulders". This phenomenon can also be observed in other examples of this group, even though the fringes might later have been cut off.

Apart from its missing fringes, the hanging in fig. 68 is completely intact. It is one of the most glorious examples with the *darvaza gül* and the still unexplained "shoulders". The whole somehow resembles a kind of antependium and once might have been used as a symbol of status to represent sovereignty, as the *ensi* may have been. [129] The small

125 One of them is cat. no. 39, the other a band from the Textile Museum Washington D.C. (see fig. 20 in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple"; or Isaacson 2007, cat. no. 12). For the results of dye analyses see appendix II, table 3, Ra 618-1 to -4 (no. 39), and Ra 710-1.

126 Tsareva describes this design concept as "T-shaped field design". See Tzareva 1984: No. 10.

127 A different use from that of a wrapping for the bridal litter during the wedding ceremony could go considerably farther back in time than only the past few centuries.

128 Tzareva 1984: No. 10.

129 On the *ensi* and its concept of stately representation see the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

Niches combined with a rosette design in early Islamic art

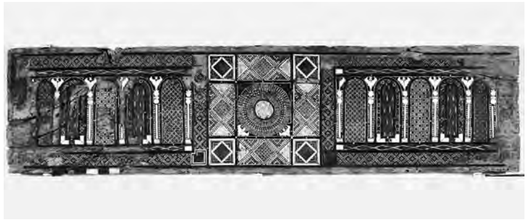


Fig. 67: Early Islamic wood panel with niche/medallion decor and a *khamtoz* border. Thought to be the lid from a chest for an early copy of the Quran, 195 x 48 cm, 2nd half of the 8th century, presumably from Egypt. Mosaic with bone and four different types of wood. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Samuel D. Lee Fund. 1937 37.103. The arcade-like niche decor and the 4 + 1 composition with its integrated rosette can be traced back to Late Antiquety. The niches with their round arches closely resemble the similar decor of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, supporting an 8th century date for this extraordinary work of art Repr. from Ekhitar et al. 2011: 43.

The combination of *kejebe* and *darvaza gül* in Turkmen hangings

Fig. 68a: Large Salor hanging with *kejebe/darvaza* design and "shoulders", 266 x 91 cm, 18th century, Hoffmeister collection. This is one of the few complete examples, and with its impressive length of 2.66 meters also one of the largest published pieces of its kind. The remaining fringes at the bottom end of the hanging might illustrate how such pieces have been hung in the past: the shoulders on top and the U-shaped *alem* with *khamtoz* design and fringes at the bottom. Repr. from Hali 124, 2002: 127.

Fig. 68b: The *darvaza gül* superimposed on the *kejebe* design with all likelihood goes back to a 2/1/2 design composition as seen in fig. 68a.

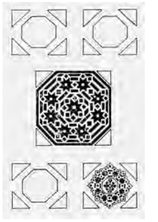


Fig. 69: 2/1/2 design concept of Persian "para Mamluk" and Anatolian "Holbein" carpets. The *darvaza gül*, superimposed on the *kejebe* design, might go back to such design compositions. Repr. from Yetkin 1981: 70.

Fig. 70: Detail from a Salor hanging. The *sainak* motifs are seen right and left of the piece in the "shoulders". The hanging is published in Rippon Boswell, cat. no. 75, 2010, lot 1.

sainak motifs in the "shoulders" (fig. 70) resemble the *sainak* motif in the outermost borders of a "classic" *ensi*.[130]

The design composition of the Salor hangings

The design of these hangings, which became a "classic" among the Salor as well as some other Turkmen, consists of a combination of three different components from different periods of time, framed by a border.

The basic element of these three components is the so-called *kejebe* design,[131] consisting of a row of niches, mirrored upwards along the horizontal middle axis of the piece. The niches, decorated with a pearl border, enclose a "cult object".[132] This niche form with all likelihood goes back to Zoroastrian models of the Sasanians and Sogdians (figs. 69 – 73), borrowed from Late Antique models with Roman roots. Fig. 77 shows the Turkmen version of this Late Antique design concept, although the type is seen on mostly later and smaller Salor weavings with only rows of niches, rather than the type of hangings with additional *darvaza gül* (cat. no. 5 and 130) discussed here.

The iconographic representation of a row of niches containing figures is widespread since the Roman period and became very popular in Late Antiquity, including in Central Asia (cf. figs. 71–79). The horizontal axis of the Salor hangings is accentuated by "eight pointed stars" (figs. 68, 77, 83), also going back to pre-Islamic models (fig. 82), which are described as "two interlaced squares in a circle" in an essay by the archaeologist Schmidt-Colinet.[133] In addition to these two pre-Islamic designs, wheel-like large rosettes have often been added (figs. 68). In the carpet literature, this large type of Turkmen rosette is called *darvaza gül* (figs. 68, 84–86). With all likelihood it represents a development of an interlaced star design as first seen in the 11th century under the Seljuks (fig. 88), refined under the Mongols and the Timurids in the 13th and 14th centuries (fig. 89), which became an

130 Both Type A and B Salor *ensi* show the same type of little *sainak* motifs in the lower *alem* in connection with the bird representations (see fig. 22), possibly to accentuate their representative meaning.

131 *Kejebe* is Turkmen. Accordoing to Ponomarev [1931 (1979): 13] its meaning is "bridal litter", according to Moshkova [1970 (1996): 332] "wedding litter placed on a camel, baskets for transporting a load".

132 In 1908 A. A. Bogolyubov first proposed such an interpretation [Bogolyubov 1973 (1908/1909): No. 7 and 8].

133 Schmidt-Colinet 1991.

Fig. 71: Border of the silk on fig. 124. In the niches with pearl borders, palmettes replace the fire altars. Sogdian, 7th – 9th century.

Fig. 72: Carved wood beam, architectural fragment, Sogdian, ca. 200 x 60 cm, Pendjikent, 8th century. Representation of gods within niches, in the centre a god on a chariot drawn by two horses. Below an animal frieze with pacing lions. Repr. from Belenizki 1980: fig. 66.

Fig. 73: Sogdian ossuary, showing four gods in an arcade of a temple, fired clay, 27 x 47 cm, 24 cm high, 6th/7th century. Bija-Najman, Zerafschan valley, West of Samarkand. Following Late Antique models, the gods are represented in a niche each, comparable to the Late Antique Dionysus hanging of the Abegg-Stiftung (see fig. 135 in the chapter "The Ersarï) Repr. from Seipel 1996: 294, no. 160.

important international fashion in the 15th and 16th centuries (figs. 90 –96). This fashion first appeared in the so called Para-Mamluk carpets of Persia, became renowned in Ottoman Anatolia as the "Holbein" design (fig. 94), and left its traces as far west as Islamic Spain (fig. 95).[134]

The main border of these hangings shows another design belonging to the "classic" standard repertoire of the Salor: the so called *kochanak* border. Together with other Turkmen ornaments it travelled westwards to Ottoman Anatolia, where it became a standard border for many "Holbein" carpets.[135] Likewise the design at the bottom (*alem*) of the weaving is standard for all Salor hangings with the *kejebe* (and *darvaza gül*). Without exception, the *khamtoz* is used in all known hangings, appearing in the pieces with "shoulders" in the form of a u-shaped border, in those without "shoulders" as an *alem*.[136]

Whether, and to what extent, the composition with *kejebe* and *darvaza gül* is related to the 9th century early Islamic "cross and star" design or rather represents the combination of an older niche design (*kejebe*) with a newer rosette design (*darvaza gül*) as discussed here is difficult to say, although I rather consider the latter to be more reasonable.[137] Ersarï hangings, for example, clearly show the "cross and star" design as a basic structure of the composition.[138] Hence a comparable Islamic influence can not be completely excluded among the Salor.

The 8th century wooden panel from Abbasid Egypt[139] in fig. 67 seems to confirm my assumption; it shows a design composition with niches in a row, an inserted rosette design, and a small-scale chequerbord border design (*khamtoz*) comparable to the Salor hangings. Whether this early Islamic composition was adopted from Late Antiquity or was a Islamic development is unclear. It seems clear, however, that the design of the wood panel in fig. 67 could be the model for the Salor *kejebe/darvaza* composition with *khamtoz* border design.

134 See also Thompson 2006: 33 et sqq., and 123 et sqq.
135 For more information on the *kochanak* border design see below.
136 See "The *alem* with *khamtoz* design" below.

137 This seems to be confirmed by 8th century early Islamic wood panels showing strong Late Antique design influence (fig. 67). These objects are the earliest examples kown to me showing a combintion of a niche frieze with rosettes.
138 See "The Hangings of the Ersarï" in the chapter "The Ersarï".
139 Further examples of wood panels with comparable design are published in: (1) Jenkins 1983: 46; (2) Gabrieli/Scerrato 1979: 338.

Fig. 74: Ossuary in the form of a small temple, 7th/8th century. Molla-Kurgan, surrounding areas of Samarkand, Uzbekistan. Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: 2, fig. 1.

Fig. 75: Detail from fig. 74. The fire altar with the holy fire in a niche with a pearled arch. 7th/8th century.

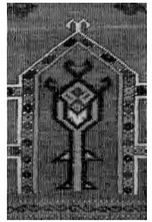


Fig. 76: Detail from a Salor hanging, 17th/18th century. Pearled niche with a fire altar (?).

Fig. 77: Salor hanging with *kejebe* design, 128 × 52 cm, asymmetrical open left knots, 2640 – 3080 knots/dm2. Remnants of monochrome blue fringes at the bottom. Dated post-1880 by synthetic dyestuffs. Like all Salor weavings of the late 19th century, this hanging has neither silk or lac dyed wool, rather wool dyed with Mexican cochineal and a synthetic red of the Ponceau group. For the results of dye analyses, see appendix II, table 1, Ra 659-1 und -2. Private collection.

The niche design (*kejebe*)

As it is clear that the *kejebe* design significantly pre-dates the *darvaza gül*, the question has to be asked whether the design composition before the appearance of the *darvaza gül* consisted just of rows of niches without a medallion, or whether the *darvaza gül* replaced an earlier, pre-Islamic version of a medallion design (e.g. a roundel with animals as seen in Sogdian silks such as figs. 61–64). There are several reasons to assume that the former was likely the case. The representative design concept of niches in a row was very popular from the Roman period on, not only in the Eastern Mediterranean, but also in the Near East and in Central Asia. In Khorezm and Sogdiana, niche friezes decorated ossuaries used in connection with Zoroastrian funerary rituals (figs. 73, 75), and also served as architectural (fig. 72) or textile ornament. Niches mostly appear in horizontal rows, in some cases also in vertical rows. The Sogdian silk with rosettes (fig. 124) in its side borders shows this particular type of niche design (fig. 71).[140] There "palmettes"

140 A fragment of a silk with such a border design is in the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland. See Otavsky 1998: 34, fig. 9. Other silks with borders of this type are published in Granger-Taylor 1989.

Fig. 78: Ersarï hanging or *torba*, 134 x 33 cm (?), asymmetrical open right knots (pile is upside down in the picture), 19th century. Private collection.

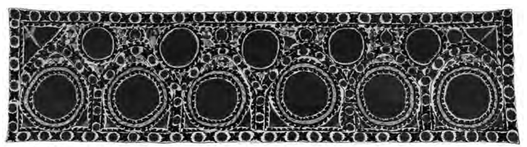


Fig. 79: Susani from Tashkent, Uzbekistan, embroidered hanging, 356 x 90 cm, 19th century. The niche frieze appears to have the same proportion as the frieze on the carved wooden beam fig. 72. Vok Collection. Repr. from Vok 1994: No. 1.

replace the fire altars or the figures within the niches. This principle of superimposed niches with "palmettes" is also a decorative feature in Sasanian architecture, where large pillars have been covered with niche motifs, although as an endless repeat of offset rows of niches.[141]

However, the original design version of the Salor hangings discussed here (cat. nos. 5 and 130, fig. 68) appears to have been just a frieze with niches in a row, mirrored along a horizontal axis above the niches (cf. fig. 77). The *darvaza gül* must have been added no earlier than the 10th century. A reason for the rarity of the niche (*kejebe*) design without *darvaza gül* on earlier pieces, and its more frequent appearance in newer examples has two possible explanations: on the one hand, the *darvaza gül* may have been too complex in its construction and therefore difficult to weave, or alternately in the late 19th century ancient designs may have became fashionable again, undergoing a kind of "revival". Here I think the latter might arguably apply; it would not be an isolated case. This phenomenon can also be observed with other designs such as the "compound"*gül* and the "Eagle"*gül*, which both belong to a group of palmette designs adopted by the Turkmen in the 16th/17th centuries from Safavid Persia. Both the "compound"*gül* and the "Eagle"*gül* largely disappeared in the course of the 18th century, only to be revived in the late 19th century like a phoenix from the ashes.[142] The same could have happened with the *kejebe* design.

The Turkmen niche design (*kejebe*) shows two interesting details, in keeping with Sogdian or particularly Zoroastrian iconography. They are the pearl border of the niche, and the filler motif, a figure or a fire altar (figs. 74–76). A Sogdian ossuary in the form of a small temple is decorated on its long side with an arcade of three niches containing a religious scene (fig. 74). The three niches contain a priest, his attendant, and an altar with the holy fire in the middle, while the arcades are decorated with a pearl band (fig. 75). Much the same applies to the ossuary in figure 73. There, the arcades are also decorated with pearls. In Sogdian architecture, as well as in their metal work and textiles, the pearl band is an often-used decorative element.[143] The Turkmen niche design (*kejebe*) follows such models of arcades decorated with pearls. In the vertical and horizontal parts of the *kejebe* design, the pearls still have a surprisingly roundish form, while in the pointed arches this was not accomplishable for technical reasons, so the round forms became small rhombuses. However, there is no doubt that in both cases the same original form, the pearl border, was intended. The geometric motif within the niche of the Salor hangings (fig. 76) also shows surprising similarities to the motif within the central niche of the Sogdian ossuary on figure 75: the fire altar. Bogolyubov also saw these motifs in a religious context, interpreting them as "sacrificial altar or torch stand".[144] Regarding pre-Islamic religious objects and their representation on Turkmen weavings, Muradova refers to another design called *mechran*, "altar", though without any further information.[145] It is interesting in this context to note that she came upon such a denomination for a Turkmen design, most likely going back to a Zoroastrian origin. The whole design model for the *kejebe* might in fact go back to Sasanian and/or Sogdian archetypes. As will be described below, the same might apply to the two interlaced squares forming a star design on the horizontal axis of the composition (cf. figs. 82 and 83).

Comparable design compositions with rows of niches are often seen as an uppermost frieze on Turkmen *ensi* (cat. no. 37) or *kapunuk* (cat. no. 119), or as single design compositions on 18th and 19th century Ersarï piled weavings (fig. 78) and Uzbek embroideries (fig. 79). While the composition with a niche frieze is only rarely seen on Uzbek embroideries (susani),[146] it was quite popular among the Ersarï. Quite a few Ersarï weavings, particularly later examples, show such a frieze with niches as the primary field design.[147]

Friezes with niches in the form of an arcade – a design concept not known before the Roman period – became very popular particularly during Late Antiquity, and are found widely in the Eastern Mediterranean area, through the whole Near East, and as far as Central Asia.

141 See Kröger 1982: Plate 88, fig. 2; Otavsky 1998: 147, fig. 81. The same design principle has been continued in the early Islamic period. Examples can be seen in the desert castles Khirbat al-Mafjar and Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbi, published in Franz 1984a: Plate XXIV, figs. 57 and 58.

142 See also the introduction to the chapter on the *ak su* design, "Rivers of Paradise".

143 Cf. figs. 62, 64, 124, 146, 171, 181, 225.

144 Bogolyubov/Thompson 1973 (1908/1909): No. 7. For Assyrian incense stands/burners see Hrouda 1965; plate 18, 1–3.

145 Muradova 1975 (1985): 107.

146 E.g. Vok 1994: No. 1.

147 E.g. Bernheimer 1977: No. 4; Jourdan 1989: No. 272; Elmby I 1990: No. 35.

Four double volutes forming a rhombus: The centre of the Turkmen design

Fig. 80: A rhombus formed of four double volutes with palmettes on the sides. Fragment of a Urartian bronze belt. Detail of the border design along the edges of the belt, 7th century B.C. (see also fig. 104). Collection of Fred and Susan Ingham, Seattle.

Fig. 81: Four double volutes in a circle. Silk and gold tapestry. 11th century. Found in the cathedral of Burgo de Osma, Spain. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Repr. from May 1957: 20, fig. 8.

Two interlaced squares: The outer form of the Turkmen design

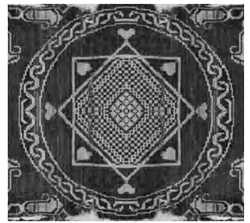


Fig. 82: Two interlaced squares in a circle. Reconstruction of the design of Sogdian silk fragment in blue and white. Treasury of the Liège cathedral, Inv. no. 432.

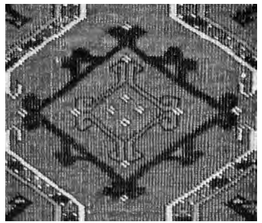


Fig. 83: Two interlaced "squares" with a rhombus of four double volutes in the centre. Detail from a Salor hanging with *kejebe* design. The Turkmen version of the design shows a combination of the designs of the silks in figs. 81 and 82. Collection of Marie and George Hecksher, San Francisco.

They appear on such diverse textiles as the magnificent, tapestry woven Dionysus-hanging in the Abegg-Stiftung,[148] the pile woven Salor hangings, and Uzbek embroidered susani. But decorative friezes with niches were already a common feature in early Sasanian architecture e.g. the palace in Ctesiphon.[149] Somewhat later we find them in Sogdian architecture in the form of carved wooden beams (fig. 72), and again later on one of the earliest Islamic buildings in Central Asia, the mausoleum of the Samanid Ismail in Bukhara, built in 906. But niche friezes were also a common decorative feature on Sasanian, Sogdian, and early Islamc metal work[150] and glass.[151] Closely associated with such niche friezes is the pearl band, another feature common in the Sasanian and Sogdian, and also the early Islamic world.

Two interlaced squares in a circle (figs. 82 and 83)

The ornament on the horizontal axis of all Salor hangings both with *kejebe* design alone and the combination of *kejebe* and *darvaza gül*, is an eight pointed star with a rhombus composed of four double volutes in its centre. This Turkmen "star design" might be linked and traced back to an ancient design described by Andreas Schmidt-Colinet as "two interlaced squares in a circle".[152] Among the Turkmen, this design can be considered part of the Salor tradition, but it was also used quite often by Sarïq, Teke, and Ersarï people. An attribution to the Salor is tentatively suggested here because this ornament finds its most systematic use among this group. The Salor have used it over at least 300 years without changing it. In addition, the design in the centre of the interlaced squares – a rhombus composed of four double volutes – is likewise an often used Salor design, appearing in the centre of their *chuval gül* (cf. figs. 170, 174–176), and also in a typical *torba* design of the Salor, seen there beside the "mini" *chuval gül* as a secondary motif (cat. no. 131, fig. 122). Schmidt-Colinet mentions the frequent use of this design in architecture, but also shows examples of late antique and Coptic textiles using this ornament. However, that we don't have to go to examples from such distant places, and that the design was also

148 Schrenk 2004: No. 1.

149 See fig. 85 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

150 Harper 1978: 74, cat. no. 25.; cat. Brussels 1993: Cat. no. 85 – 87.

151 Kröger 1995: No. 209 – 211.

152 Schmidt-Colinet 1991.

The three variants of the *darvaza gül* of the Salor

Fig. 84: *Darvaza gül* Type A, with a more complex contour and the typically horizontal/vertical arranged design elements in the field. Detail from a Salor hanging, 18th century. Repr. from Rippon Boswell, cat. 64, 2004, lot 106.

Fig. 85: *Darvaza gül* Type B with the typical field drawing of Type A and the simpler contour of type C. Detail from the Salor hanging fragment cat. no. 130, fig. 109, 18th or early 19th century.

Fig. 86: *Darvaza gül* Type C with the radial design, which is the rule among the Ersarï, but the exception among the Salor. Detail from a Salor hanging, 17th/18th century. The complete piece is published in Rippon Boswell, cat. 75, 2010, lot 1.

Fig. 87: Interlaced rosette in the centre of the *darvaza gül*. Detail from fig. 86 (back side). All Salor hangings with darvaza gül show such an interlaced rosette in the centre of the *darvaza gül*.

familiar in Central Asia, is documented by a Sogdian silk fragment (a reconstruction of the design is shown in fig. 82). This blue ground silk shows the ornament as a primary design embedded in a roundel in combination with a cross-shaped design composed of volutes and "palmettes" (fig. 175). This secondary motif is often seen in Sogdian silks, and in a stylized version also quite often in Turkmen weavings (e.g. cat. no. 84).

The *darvaza gül* of the Salor (figs. 84 – 86)

The term *darvaza gül* is first seen in the Russian literature of the early 20th century and has not yet been satisfyingly translated. Moshkova did not use it, but called the design "medallion".[153] The source of the name is not clear. Muradova[154] translates *derveze* with "gate", which does not seem to make much sense, and may go back to an incorrect translation or a misinterpretation.

153 Moshkova 1970 (1996): Plate XXXVIII, no. 8.
154 Muradova 1975: 107.

The *darvaza gül* is part of the "classic" Salor design repertoire, but has also been adopted by other Turkmen groups like the Ersarï, and in some few cases by the Sarïq. It might be traced back to Timurid designs, but could also have had earlier models (cf. figs. 89 – 91, 96). Beginning in the early 11th century, under Seljuk rule, a new style started to develop in Islamic art in Central Asia. Although with roots in the culture of Roman and Byzantine Late Antiquity, from the time of the Abbasids it increasingly showed influence from pre-Islamic Iranian art and style. Geometric ornaments in the form of interlaced bands, combined with floral ornaments, are already seen in Sogdian art, even though in a clearly limited context.[155] A strongly accentuated combination of geometric interlacing and floral designs (arabesques) only started under the influence of Islam in Central Asia as of the late 9th century,[156] becoming a dominant design concept in the early 11th century under the Seljuks. It is sen on objects of stone, metal, wood,

155 For an example see Belenickij 1968: Fig. 111.
156 E.g. stucco decoration from the No Gumbad mosque in Balkh, 2nd half of the 9th century. See fig. 210 in this chapter.

and, of course, textiles. The roundels of the Sasanids and the Sogdians were largely replaced by octagons, in keeping with the newly developed geometric style (figs. 88, 89). Under the Timurids, the design concept was developed further (figs. 90, 91), resulting in the "Holbein" designs of Ottoman Anatolia (fig. 94) and their relatives in Islamic Spain (fig. 95), the *darvaza gül* of the Salor (fig. 97), and also the most popular secondary motif in Turkmen weavings, the *chemche gül*. While the *chemche gül* might merely be a further development from the geometric interlacing elements of the design (cf. figs. 88, 89),[157] the *darvaza gül*, like the Timurid designs, stays closer to the floral "inner life" of the "classical" models, having just an outer framing of interlacing (figs. 90, 91). A comparison of the ornaments in figs. 88 – 91 and 94 – 96 with the Turkmen *darvaza gül* shows this development, while the Turkmen design as usual is heavily stylized.[158] It is intriguing to follow the evolution of these designs over the centuries, to find surprising paths these developments followed, and to see how imaginatively the weavers/designers of those days modified existing models to create something new.

The Turkmen *darvaza gül* shows its most original form among the Salor, where it remained unchanged over a long period. But the Ersarï also used it, and the Sarïq as well, presumably not only in the 19th century, although then in a degenerating form.[159]

The Ersarï form of the *darvaza gül* and the design composition of their hangings probably emerged from a different source from that of the hangings of the Salor. While the Salor version is based on a composition of Islamic rosettes embedded in pre-Islamic rows of mirrored niches, the composition of the Ersarï hangings goes back to the early Islamic "cross and star" design. However, the close relationship between these two design concepts (*darvaza* and cross & star) is clearly shown by the use of these designs in Timurid carpet workshops (cf. fig. 94).[160]

157 For details see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".
158 For an appropriate design development from an interlaced star to the *chemche gül*, see figs. 41 – 56 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".
159 See cat. no. 20 and its comparison pieces.
160 See "Introduction to the Hangings of the Ersari", in the chapter "The Ersari".

Among the Salor, the *darvaza gül* is seen in three slightly different versions (Types A, B, and C, figs. 84 – 86). Type A and Type B are considerably more common than Type C, which so far is only known in two weavings. The differences between these three *darvaza gül* are in the drawings of the field – horizontal/vertical or radial – and the contour, which is either simpler or more complex.

The first version is seen in Type A (fig. 84) with its more complex contour and the horizontally/vertically arranged design elements in the field. The second version (Type B, fig. 85) has the simpler contour of Type C (fig. 86) and the same field design as Type A (fig. 84). The third version (Type C, fig. 86) shows radially arranged design elements in the field, which are also drawn differently from the design elements of Type A and B. In Type A and B, the four vertically placed elements correspond to the filler motifs (fire altars?) of the niches of the *kejebe* design. Only the motifs lying directly on the horizontal and vertical middle axis have a different drawing. Thus, the four motifs (fire altars?) adopted from the niche (*kejebe*) design in both the A and the B Type form a quincunx (4+1) with the central rosette. This quartering is further accentuated by four little eight-petalled rosettes. The same applies to Type C, with the difference that the diagonally placed design elements show a clearly hexagonal form attached to the contour with a black line.

The simpler contour of Type B and C *darvaza gül* could have been achieved by two octagons, one rotated by 45°. With Type A this is not the case: the contour is more complex especially on the sides. The origin of this type of contour is still undefined, although it might be related to the origin of the Salor *gülli gül*.[161]

Surprisingly among the Salor, the C Type, though closer to the Timurid models, is not the most common, rather the presumably derivative A and B Types. However, among the Ersarï and the Sarïq, the opposite is the case.[162] This seems to be one of the very few exceptions where the Salor design version does not represent the historically ear-

161 See the discussion on the Salor *gülli gül* below.
162 See cat. no. 20 and its comparison pieces.

From Seljuk strapwork star design to the *darvaza gül* of the Salor with its central interlaced octagonal medallion.

Fig. 88: Seljuk strapwork, Nishapur, carved (and originally painted red and blue) terracotta (architectural brick panel), 11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Wilkinson 1986: Fig. 1.84.

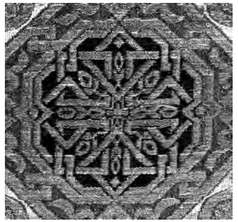


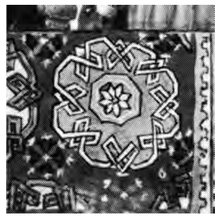
Fig. 89: Detail from a silk and gold lampas weave, Toledo or Granada, ca. 1300. The Hispanic Society of America, New York, H909. Repr. from May 1957: 135, fig. 89.

Fig. 90: Timurid carpet design. Detail from a Persian miniature painting, 2nd half of the 15th century. Repr. from Roxburgh 2005: cat. no. 218.

Fig. 91 top right: Timurid carpet design. Drawing from a miniature painting, dated 1494 (for a colour illustration of the painting see Thompson 2006: fig 40). Drawing by Amy Briggs 1940: fig. 53.

Fig. 92 right: Interlaced rosette (strapwork) on a 15th century Anatolian rug, copying Timurid strapwork design. Italian miniature painting on parchment, dated 1472. This 15th century carpet design with offset rows of strapwork rosettes could represent a transition between Timurid/Iranian (fig. 90, 91) to Ottoman/Anatolian "Holbein" carpet design. Repr. from Erdmann 1957 (1977): 68, fig. 65.

Fig. 93 right bottom: All Salor darvaza gül show such interlaced medallions in the centre of the design (cf. figs. 82–84). Very similar variations of such interlaced medallions can be seen as part of the Anatolian small patternx "Holbein" design.



lier design, but rather that used by the Ersarï and the Sarïq. The centre of all three *darvaza gül* versions (figs. 84–86) is an interlaced octagonal medallion with a small eight pointed star (fig. 93).

The interlaced octagonal medallion in the centre of the *darvaza gül*

The interlaced octagonal medallion in the centre of the *darvaza gül* (fig. 93) might be familiar to carpet enthusiasts from the Anatolian "Holbein" carpets. There, the design is known since the 15th century from extant examples and from European paintings (fig. 92).[163] The same applies to carpets from Islamic Spain,[164] although in both carpet types the design has been used in a different context than among the Turkmen. Whether the design originates from the cultural sphere of Greater Iran (Persia and Central Asia), or from Anatolia, has been the subject of much discussion, for example at the 1999 Symposium in Liestal, Switzerland,[165] without any clear case emerging. It was Thompson who first published a hypothesis on the Iranian origin of the Anatolian "Holbein" design.[166] My own findings clearly coincide with Thompson's argument; the origin of this design is rather to be found in the Iranian world than among the Turks, who absorbed it on their migration and carried it to the west. The interlaced octagonal medallions of the Turkmen (fig. 93) are so close to Timurid models that they have at least to be related to them. In spite of all this there is still no unambiguous evidence as to whether this type of interlaced design is of Iranian origin, or from Anatolia, brought back from there to Central Asia by Turkic people. Present thinking leans toward an Iranian origin, a Persian or Central Asian design carried to the West by migrating Turkic people since the 11th century.

163 Mills 1978.
164 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 21, Fig. 8.
165 Lecture by Robert Pinner (unpublished).

Fig. 94: Octagon with an eight-pointed star in the centre and eight radial arranged floral forms, framed by an outer section with the stars and bars design. Detail from a so-called large pattern "Holbein" carpet, 16th century, Ottoman Anatolia. Turkish Islamic Museum Istanbul, TIEM no. 468. Author's photograph.

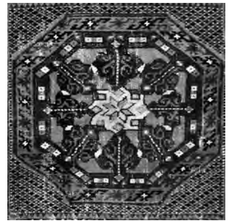


Fig. 95: Octagon with an eight-pointed star in the centre and eight radial arranged floral forms. Spanish carpet, 1st half of the 15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1953, 53.79. Repr. from Dodds 1992: 343.

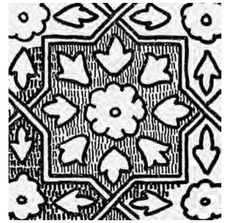


Fig. 96: Timurid carpet design with "cross and star" pattern. Drawing after a 15th century Persian miniature painting. The Persian star design clearly shows similarities to the Turkmen *darvaza gül*. Drawing by Amy Briggs. Repr. from Briggs 1940: Fig. 19.

Fig. 97: Salor *darvaza gül* Type C with radial arranged design elements around the central interlaced medallion, 17th/18th century. The hanging is fully illustrated in Rippon Boswell, cat. 75, 2010, lot 1.

The *kochanak* border design (figs 98 – 100)

The *kochanak* border is also a standard design of the "Holbein" carpets of Anatolia.[167] This is not particularly surprising, as a number of other ornaments of this group of Anatolian carpets exhibit strong similarities to the design repertoire of the Salor.

Among the Salor, the *kochanak* border design is standard for all hangings of the type discussed here and for all *chuval*. As will be shown below, the Salor *khali* also have their specific standard border, used without exception in a nearly unchanged form on all Salor *khali* over a period of 400 years, as established by radiocarbon dating. With the *kochanak* border design the Salor apparently were not as strict as they were with the border design of their *khali*. There are three different varieties of *kochanak* borders (figs. 98 – 100), all originating from the same model.

As a possible source for the *kochanak* border design, Gantzhorn refers to an ancient Near Eastern border designs of 8th/7th century B.C. bronze belts (figs. 101 and 104).[168] These precious Urartian parade belts show a border design, which does exhibit certain similarities to the considerably later *kochanak* border design of the Turkmen.[169] Such an origin is not as implausible as it might seem at first. As will be shown in a separate chapter, the Turkmen *ak su* design reaches equally far back in time, and its origin is also documented with the design of an-

166 Thompson 2006: 19 et sqq.
167 Gantzhorn 1990: 257, 365, 366 – 368.
168 Gantzhorn 1990: 266, fig. 384 and 385.
169 On Urartian bronze belts see the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

Fig. 98: Type A *kochanak* border of the Salor. The A Type is not as often seen as the Type B (fig. 99), while the S-minor border is seen on 90% of Salor *chuval*. Detail from the Salor chuval cat. no. 11.

Fig. 99: Type B *kochanak* border of the Salor. The B Type is considerably closer to the A Type than to the C Type. All published Salor hangings show this B Type as the main border. Detail from Salor hanging cat. no. 5.

Fig. 100: Type C *kochanak* border of the Salor. The C Type *kochanak* border is less common than the A Type (fig. 98) and the B Type (fig. 99). It only appears in about 10% of all Salor *chuval*. Detail from cat. no. 12.

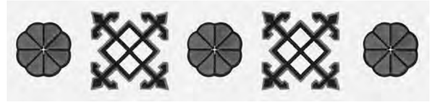


Fig. 101 top: Border of a Urartian bronze belt, 8th/7th century B.C., Detail from fig. 104.

Fig. 102 centre: Border of a large Scythian felt hanging, Detail of fig. 105.

Fig. 103 bottom: Slightly simplified drawing of the so-called *kochanak* border design. This border design was standard among the Salor for all their *chuval*. Rep. from Gantzhorn 1990: 266, fig. 384.

other Urartian bronze belt of the same type and age. Admittedly with the *ak su* design we have several historical "pillars", helping to bridge the long time span from the Urartians to the Turkmen.[170]

The problem of Gantzhorn's comparison between the Urartian bronze belt and the Turkmen *kochanak* border is the enormous time span between the two, and Gantzhorn himself provides no further examples. The search for additional historical "pillars" has brought to light two further interesting examples. The first example is the large Scythian felt hanging found in kurgan V of the necropolis of Pazyryk (figs. 102 and 105), the same kurgan where the famous Pazyryk carpet[171] was discovered. The second example is provided by a Mamluk textile fragment (fig. 108). Though the design of this 14th/15th century textile fragment differs from the two designs just mentioned in its composition, it exhibits formal similarities to the Turkmen *kochanak* border. Further, it is intriguing that it parallels another Turkmen border design, which shows exactly the version of the Mamluk border (fig. 107). The Mamluk design might well be a derivative of an ancient Near Eastern border pattern like the one on the Urartian belt.

The border ornament of the Urartian bronze belt shows a sequence of rhombuses made of four double volutes and small, stylized blossoms enclosed in a roundel. The *kochanak* design shows a comparable alternation of ornaments: a rosette (roundel), placed in a squarish or rectangular field with attached double hooks, and a quartered rhombus with four diagonally arranged angular double hooks (figs. 98, 103). The first connecting link in this development is the border of the Pazyryk felt hanging (figs. 102, 105). There we see the same kind of alternation of two ornaments: an asymmetric design placed in a square field, typical for the Scythian art of the Saka and presumably representing antlers,[172] alternating with a cross formed by four flowers. It is presumably no coincidence that all these examples are border designs.

The *kochanak* border is considered a pre-Islamic design with roots in the ancient Near East. The conservative use of this design by the Salor, always in conjunction with other pre-Islamic designs such as the

170 On the origin of the *ak su* design, see the chapter "Streams of Paradise".
171 See fig. 7 in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate"

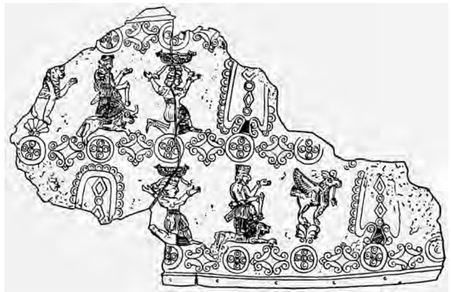


Fig. 104: Fragment of a Urartian bronze belt. 8th/7th century B.C. Historical Museum Erivan. In two registers, mythological scenes are framed by a border, which might be considered a precursor or at least a relative to the border of the felt hanging from Pazyryk (fig. 100, 103) and the Turkmen *kochanak* border of the Salor. Repr. from Azarpay 1968: 51, fig. 14.

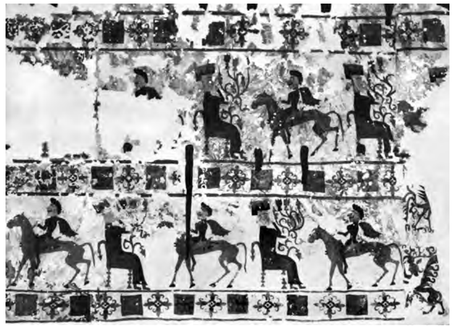


fig. 105: Large felt hanging, 4.5 x 6.5 m, Kurgan V, Pazyryk, 3rd century B.C. The two registers with a scene from an epic (?) are divided by a border, which might be both a relative to the border on a Urartian bronze belt on fig. 102, and a precursor to the kochanak boder of the Salor. For more information on this outstanding large felt hanging, see Barkova in Hali 113. Repr. from Rudenko 1970: plate 147.

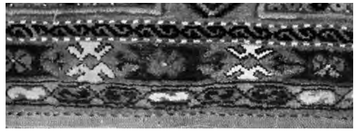


Fig. 106: Detail from the border of an Ersarï hanging, 19th century. Private collection. This somewhat simplified version of the *kochanak* border shows the connection to the related border design of the Ersarï *ensi* on fig. 107.

Fig. 107: Detail from the border of an Ersarï *ensi*. Hecksher Collection, San Francisco. The Turkmen border design shows great similarities to the border design of the Mamluk textile fragment in fig. 108. Repr. from Hali 106, 1999: 100.

Fig. 108: Brocaded linen textile fragment, Mamluk Egypt, end of 14th/beginning of 15th century. Abegg-Stiftung. Inv. no. 2380. © Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg (Foto Christoph von Viràg).

172 For another textile example see Keller/Schorta 2001: 85, fig. 89.

Salor *gül* or the *chuval gül*, supports such a hypothesis.[173] Also interesting is that all Salor hangings show the same version of the *kochanak* border (Type B, fig. 99).

The *alem* with *khamtoz* design

The *khamtoz*[174] is a mosaic-like, small checkerboard design, in which rhombuses and x-forms are suggested by colour contrast. It can be considered another "classic" Salor design, probably the more important of two *alem* designs used for hangings and *torba*.[175]

All Salor hangings with the combination of *kejebe* and *darvaza gül* show the *khamtoz*, sometimes in conjunction with the second *alem* design, as seen in the large hanging in fig. 68. In Salor hangings with the *kejebe* and *darvaza gül* field design with "shoulders", the *khamtoz* is invariably the design of the lower, u-shaped ending.

For their *torba*, the Salor did not use the *khamtoz* consistently; it is more likely to be seen on earlier pieces.[176] Examples are the *torba* cat. no. 9 and 10, both certainly early. But the small checkerboard design does still appear in later pieces showing early synthetic dyes, e.g. cat. no. 7. On *torba*, the *khamtoz* is always seen in the *alem*, never as a border design. In the 19th century, a variant of the *khamtoz* became a popular border design in Yomut and Qaradashlï *khali* (cat. no. 86).

Related chequerboard designs are not often seen on other works of art. The design does appear on Sasanid mosaics from Bishapur,[177] and it is probably not by chance that it can also be found among the Sogdians (fig. 82) and in early Islamic architecture of Al Andalus, there even in a similar context: the portals of the former Umayyad mosque in Cordoba are decorated with a *khamtoz*-like design, framing the upper part of the gates like a *kapunuk*. As in so many other cases, the source of these chequered designs might be found in Late Antique and in Greek and Roman mosaics.

173 See the discussion of the *chuval* cat. no. 11 – 15.
174 *Khamtoz* is Turkmen for "stepped" [Moshkova 1970 (1996): 332]
175 The second, less frequently used *alem* design is seen in the *torba* with *shemle gül* cat. no. 6.
176 The *khamtoz* has never been used on *chuval*.
177 Cat. Brüssel 1993: 69, fig. 54.

5

Fragment of a Salor hanging with *kejebe/darvaza* design

Design: The fragment discussed here is too short to have served as wrapping for a bridal litter (*kejebe*) in a wedding ceremony. It must have been used for another decorative purpose. Presumably only the left vertical border is missing, as it is unlikely that it originally had three *darvaza gül*. Other comparable, but intact, pieces always show either one or two *darvaza gül*. The *khamtoz* appears to be an *alem*; it is only in the lower horizontal area of the border and does not go up at the sides, as is always the case with the pieces with "shoulders". As standard for this group of weavings, the border shows the *kochanak* design.

Structure: Like about a quarter of all Salor weavings, the piece is knotted asymmetrical open right. Otherwise it shows the "classic" structural features of Salor weaving, including heavily depressed warps. As with many other Salor weavings, madder dyed red wefts[178] have been used, and the ground of the *darvaza gül* is knotted in magenta silk, giving the piece quite a high percentage of silk in the pile. This is typical of earlier Salor pieces. In later pieces – that is to say after their defeat around 1830, but particularly in the second half of the 19th century – silk has mostly disappeared from their weavings. The hanging with curled leaves (cat. no. 7) is one of many examples.

Colours: Also regarding its palette, this piece corresponds to what in most cases can be expected from "classic" Salor work. All reds for the pile within the design are dyed with insect dyestuffs: wool with lac dye and silk with cochineal. Only the ground colour is dyed with madder, as is standard for all Salor weavings.

178 For dye analysis, see Vol. 1, appendix II, table 1, R.a 614-3.

Fig. 109: Cat. no. 130. Fragment of a Salor hanging with *kejebe/darvaza* field and *kochanak* border design, 61 (shortened) × 64 cm, 18th or early 19th century. The Russian Museum of Ethnography, St. Petersburg; A.A. Bogolyubov Collection, inv. no. 87-28.

130

Fragment of a Salor hanging with *kejebe/darvaza* design (fig. 109)

Design: Based on the similarity of the lower main border and the *alem* with *khamtoz* design to cat. no. 5, this fragment originally may have had no "shoulders". It with all likelihood also had two *darvaza gül*, like cat. no. 5. The *darvaza gül* is the B Type, a combination of the field design of the A Type and the contour of the C Type. However, the complete drawing of the *darvaza gül* of this piece is clearer, and therefore better than the drawing of the *darvaza* in cat. no. 5.

Structure: With its asymmetrical open left knot on heavily depressed warps, the fragment shows the typical structure of Salor weaving. As with many other Salor pieces, red wefts have been used for the foundation. The ground of the *darvaza gül* is worked in magenta silk, giving this piece, like cat. no. 5, quite a high percentage of silk in the pile.

Colours: No chemical analyses have been performed on this example. It can be reasonably assumed that the insect dyestuff lac has been used for the bright red pile areas knotted in 4-plied woollen yarn, as usual among the Salor.[179]

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, the piece must have been woven in the 18th or the early 19th century. However, a post-1830 dating can be excluded based on historical reasons.

6

Salor trapping with *shemle gül design*

The *shemle gül* was not widely used among the Salor. The literature shows only seven comparable pieces. But the design is also rare among other Turkmen groups. Judging by the rarity of known exceptions, it was almost only used for small pieces like trappings and *mafrash*. One of the few exceptions is an Ersarï *khali* fragment published by Loges.[180]

179 See the chapter "Scarlet & Purple".
180 Loges 1978: No. 115.

Fig. 110: Sogdian silk fragment, 7th–9th century, reconstruction of a detail from fig. 222. In a lattice of interlaced squares small palmettes stand on double volutes. Treasury of the cathedral of Liège.

Fig. 111: Modern replica of the silk in fig. 110. The design is composed of a lattice of interlaced squares with palmettes, quartered rhombuses and squarish dots. Courtesy Barbara Bigler.

Fig. 112: Hexagonal lattice, showing the *shemle gül* from the Salor hanging cat. no. 6. First quarter of the 19th century. The *shemle gül* with all likelihood is borrowed from silk designs like those in figs. 111 and 115.

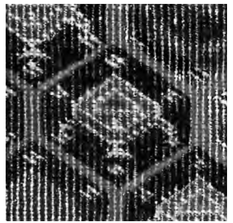


Fig. 113: *Shemle gül* of the Salor, 18th century. The palmette in the hexagon is a simplified version of the palmette in the Sogdian silk in fig. 110. Also the Salor design shows the dots in the corners, very similar to the Sogdian model. Rep. from Baumann 2008: No. 2.

Design: The *Shemle Gül* (figs. 112 and 113)
The floral motif within the hexagonal grid represents a stylised calyx of two volutes supporting a blossom, or a kind of palmette (fig. 113). The small-sectioned grid with all likelihood goes back to textile models from the 7th–9th centuries (e.g. fig. 111).[181] 11th/12th century fabrics still show very similar designs (fig. 115). Even the name of the Turkmen design itself, *shemle gül*, freely translates to "textile design". According to Moshkova, the word *shemle* is Turkish and means "shawl".[182] *Gül* is the Turkish word for flower, or rose, but has generally been used among the Turkmen synonymously for pattern as well. Presumably the shawl reference is to what we today call "Kashmir shawls". Such woollen shawls almost exclusively have flower designs.[183] But it just as well could refer to a kind of silk, as silks were produced in large quantities by the Sogdians in the course of the 7th to 9th centuries. In fact, we find a surprisingly similar design on a Sogdian silk. However, the palmette in this silk is not integrated into a hexagonal grid, but into a lattice of interlocked squares (fig. 111). In spite of the differences, the similarities are surprisingly convincing. Thus the little white square dots inserted into the design of the Sogdian silk can also be found in the Turkmen *shemle gül*, although there in the form of small white crosses. The comparison of these two examples shows how the designers (or the weavers?) have in the truest sense of the word "played" with the patterns, with what inventiveness they have varied them. The lattice design of the Sogdian silk can also be found in a similar form as the main border design of all Salor *khali* (cf. cat no. 16–18). This could be considered a perfect example of transformation and adaptation of a workshop design in traditional textile art.

The similarity of the *shemle gül* to the design of two 14th century Konya carpets mentioned by other authors is also interesting[184] (figs. 116 and 117).[185] These Anatolian carpet designs also might go back to

181 For further examples, see Schorta 2006: Fig. 73, 74, 79.
182 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 336.
183 Anavian & Anavian 1975; Ames 1997.

184 E.g. Tzareva 1984.1: 131.
185 The Konya carpet in fig. 116 was radiocarbon dated in 1997 at Oxford University (OxA-6798), resulting in a radiocarbon age of 575 ± 40 y BP and a calibrated calendar age of AD 1290–1420 (95.4% confidence limit). I thank Ben Evans from Hali in London for this information.

Fig. 114: Pile carpet from Shampula, 1st/2nd century AD. Urumqi, Xinjiang Museum, 84K2:1. The field of the small squarish carpet is decorated with a lattice, enclosing small floral motifs comparable to the *shemle gül*. Repr. from Keller/Schorta 2001: 37, fig. 39.

Fig. 115: Drawing of the design of the so called Benno-Kasel, a dark-blue silk presumably from Byzantium, 11th/12th century. Osnabrück, Diözesanmuseum. The design shows a hexagonal lattice with Seljuk type palmettes, birds, and pseudo-kufic characters. (Repr. from Schorta 2001: 281, fig. 190. Drawing: Regula Schorta)

Fig. 116: Anatolian carpet from the Ala al Din mosque in Konya. 14th century. This carpet also shows an ancient textile pattern probably related to the Turkmen *shemle gül*. Image by the author.

Fig. 117: Anatolian carpet from the Ala al Din mosque in Konya. 14th century. This is another carpet with a textile pattern, which could be related to the Turkmen *shemle gül*. Repr. from Yetkin 1981: 17, Diagram 1.

related textile models. Thus the palmettes on the silk fabric in fig. 115 exhibit intriguing similarities to the design of the Konya carpet in fig. 116. Beyond the analogy to the design of the Anatolian Konya carpets, there are other interesting parallels to a considerably earlier pile carpet, attributed to Bactria (fig. 114). The carpet was found in Shampula, in the Tarim Basin, together with a number of tapestry woven woollen fragments from Saka (Scythian) people, who emigrated from the Eurasian steppes in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. While the border of this early carpet shows a stylized meander with leaves, the field design shows a lattice, which at least slightly resembles the Turkmen *shemle gül*.

The *Dogdan* or *Dogajik* Border Design:
The designs of the border (*dogdan*) and the lower *alem* are typical for smaller weavings of the Salor. However, the *dogdan* border design is only seen as an exception in Salor hangings with *kejebe* and *darvaza gül*. For such pieces, the *kochanak* border is standard.[186]

The Turkmen name *dogdan* (or *dagdan*) is translated by Moshkova as "amulet".[187] In Turkmen jewellery, beside *tumar* and *khaikel*, *dogdan* is attested as the name for a special type of amulet.

Structure: Other than the asymmetric open right knot on heavily depressed warps, the structure is typical for Salor weavings. The colour scheme is not seen among any other Turkmen group with the exception of the Sarïq. However, the weave structure excludes the Sarïq as producers.

Colours: It is interesting that the entire field of this hanging does not include a single red knot dyed with madder. All reds are dyed with an insect dyestuff: wool with lac dye and silk with cochineal.[188] Based on the findings of our dye study, this is yet another clear indicator for a Salor attribution.

Dating: It is quite difficult to determine the age of this weaving. It probably dates from the good days of the Salor, from before 1830, marker date of the downfall of this once prestigious tribal group. The lavish use of precious insect dyestuffs on both wool and silk argues

186 Exceptions with the *dogdan* instead of the *kochanak* border are published in Loges 1978: No. 20; Jourdan 1989: No. 5.

187 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 258. See also the chapter «The *khaikelbagi* Design».
188 For the results of dye analyses, see Vol. 1, appendix II, table I, R.a 614-1/-2.

against a later dating. On the other hand, compared to other supposedly earlier Salor pieces with *shemle gül*, we see here a somewhat simplified rendition. Specifically the volutes, on which the palmettes are placed, are now drawn with only a single line (see fig. 112), while they have more volume with a double line in earlier pieces (fig. 113). This might suggest that this is a later example, though perhaps still from before 1830.

7

Salor trapping with curled leaf meander design

In its drawing of the meander with curled leaf design, this hanging shows some similarities to the horizontal panel of the *kapunuk* cat. no. 3.[189] For comments on the *dogdan* border design, see cat. no. 6.

Structure: With its asymmetrical open left knot and heavily depressed warps, this late trapping has a typical Salor structure.

Colours: The piece contains the synthetic dyestuff Ponceau RR, which was invented in 1878. A nearly identical piece in perfect condition, today in the collection of the Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg, was acquired by Bogolyubov in Central Asia in 1900 or 1901.[190]

Dating: Due to the fact that this trapping contains Ponceau RR, it must have been woven later than 1878. After about 1900, the different types of Ponceau dyestuffs were replaced by newer synthetics. Radiocarbon dating hits the calibration curve precisely in the year 1900.

8

Salor *torba* with memling *gül design*

Like the *shemle gül*, the *ak su*, and the star compartment design, the Memling *gül* is not often seen on Salor bags. Only eight comparable examples are published. They all differ from this piece not only in having two horizontal rows of Memling *gül*, but also different border designs.

Design: The field design shows a combination of the Memling *gül* and two interlaced squares[191] in a nearly equivalent arrangement. However, the Memling *gül* somehow slightly dominates, first by the use of the colour white, and second by being always complete, while the interlaced squares are halved along the edges. Also unusual are the relatively large plain stripes separating field and border at the sides. They are not present at bottom and top of the field, where the halved designs directly hit the border. The main border shows the *dogdan* design,[192] seen on many small format Salor bags, accompanied by the typical S-borders. The *torba* is missing its *alem*, which probably had the *khamtoz* design[193]. All comparison pieces to cat no. 8 show the *khamtoz* in the *alem*.

Structure: The piece shows the typical Salor stucture with heavily depressed warps, but with an asymmetrical knot open to the right.

Colour: Like the structure, the colour palette is typical Salor. As can be expected from a "classic" Salor piece, chemical analysis shows that the deep red wool within the two interlaced squares is dyed with lac. The silk has not been tested, but with all likelihood is dyed with cochineal.

Dating: The *torba* certainly dates from the time before the Salor were defeated by the Persian Qajars. As radiocarbon dating excludes a pre-1650 dating, the piece was probably woven in the 18th or very early 19th century.

9

Salor *torba* with *ak su* design

The *ak su* (fig. 118) is a Turkmen carpet design which is less common among the Salor/Sarïq/Teke and Ersarï than among the "Eagle" *gül* groups of Southwestern Turkmenistan.[194] However, it has also been woven by the Chowdur.[195] The possible origin of the design is discussed in its own chapter. It is with all likelihood another design with deep roots in the history of the ancient Near East (fig. 119).[196]

The main border of this *torba* fragment is typical for pieces with the *ak su* field design. All published Salor *ak su* pieces show this same border. Instead of the usual S-forms, the minor borders are the typical minor border of all Salor *khali*. The *alem* shows the *khamtoz* design, while the top is decorated with a narrow frieze of double hooks. The bottom shows remnants of the standard monochrome blue fringes.

Structure: The piece shows the typical Salor structure with an asymmetrical knot open to the left on heavily depressed warps.

Colour: With its saturated colours of excellent quality, also the colour palette typical Salor. All red shades within the design have been dyed with an insect dyestuff: wool with lac dye and silk with cochineal.

Dating: No radiocarbon dating has been performed. However, based on its high quality, the *torba* seems likely to date from the 17th or 18th centuries.

10

Salor *torba* with star compartment design

Only three comparison pieces with this design are published. The fragment cat. no. 10 might be the earliest example of this small group.

Design: Like most other small-scale Turkmen carpet patterns, the star compartment design may hark back to early textile decoration. The design's resemblance to Spanish silks from Al-Andalus is probably because Islamic Andalusia continued to use early Islamic geometric designs (fig. 121). In pre-Islamic times, geometric designs were not as developed and widespread as they became in the Islamic culture. Under Turkic rule, these geometric designs developed further to become a dominant design principle in Central Asia, as well as throughout the Islamic world.

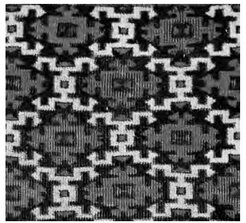


Fig. 118: The Turkmen *ak su* design. Detail from the Salor *torba* cat. no. 9, 17th/18th century.

Fig. 119: Detail from a Scythian gold belt, 6th century B.C. (For an image of the whole belt fragment, see fig. 20 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise").

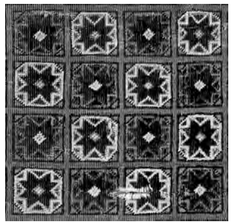


Fig. 120: Detail from the Salor *torba* cat. no. 10, 17th/18th century. The design of stars in a compartment probably goes back to a textile design as shown in fig. 121.

Fig. 121: Detail from a Spanish silk curtain from the Nasrid period in Al-Andalus, ca. 1400. Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York. Repr. from May 1957: 178, fig. 111.

189 For a discussion of the meander with curled leaf design, see the Salor *ensi* cat. no. 1 and the Salor *kapunuk* cat. no. 3.
190 Published in Tzareva 1984: No. 12.
191 For the interlaced squares design, see cat. no. 5.
192 For the *dogdan* design, see cat. no. 6.
193 For the *khamtoz* design, see cat. no. 5.
194 For the "Eagle" *gül* groups, see cat. no. 112 and comparison pieces.
195 For a Chowdur example see Loges 1978: No. 67. The *ak su* design is also known among the Kurds of Khorasan (Thompson 2008: 184, 185).
196 See the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

Structure: The structure is typical Salor with an asymmetrical knot open to the left on heavily depressed warps. Silk has only been used in small amounts.

Colours: The *torba* shows the typical Salor palette with saturated colours of good quality. All red shades within the design have been dyed with an insect dyestuff: wool with lac dye and silk with cochineal. If the square lattice is read as a back ground, the ground colour of this piece would be lac dyed! The same could be said of cat. no. 6.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, the piece was made in the second half of the 17th, or the 18th, century. The 19th century can virtually be excluded as a date of production.

131

Salor *torba* with mini *chuval gül* (fig. 122)

Design: The field of this *torba* is decorated with the mini *chuval gül*, which is the standard secondary motif of all Salor *khali*. The eight known pieces of this type vary in the number of designs in the field. Six of them, including this one, show 6 × 3 designs, one shows 4 × 3, and one 7 × 3 mini *chuval gül*. The secondary motif, a small rhombus made of four double volutes, is the same as seen in the centre of the two interlaced squares belonging to the *kejebe* design and the *chuval gül* of the Salor.

All comparison pieces to cat. no. 131 show the same main border, which seems to be standard for this design type. The two minor borders show the usual S-forms. The *alem* is designed with the typical *khamtoz*, here accompanied by a zig-zag line at bottom and top. The top end of the piece is again the typical frieze with small double hooks. The best example of this group is the one published by Loges.[197]

Structure/Colour: The structure is typical Salor with heavily depressed warps and the typical palette, using larger amounts of silk and lac (?)[198] dyed wool for the design.

197 Loges 1978: No. 19.
198 The colour has not been chemically tested.

Dating: The *torba* might well date from the 18th, or at least from the very early 19th century. It is highly unlikely that pieces of such quality were woven by the Salor after their defeat in 1830.

Introduction to the Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* (cat. nos. 11, 12 and 132)

The three *chuval* discussed here belong to one of the most extraordinary groups of Turkmen weavings. The group includes approximately fifty examples, of which forty have been listed for this study (incl. cat. no. 11, 12, and 132). These forty examples reveal a remarkable uniformity in their design. Apart from a few minor variations, the individual pieces differ merely in the proportions and some small details. The composition of the field is identical in nearly all of them. The primary design, the Salor *gül*, is always seen three times complete and three times truncated at the upper and lower edge each, covered by the border. Also the secondary design, the *saqdaq gül*, is, apart from minimal irregularities, always the same: a rhombus comprised of nine (plus four) small squares each filled with an eight pointed star, while the star in the very centre differs in colour from the others. The four enclosed plain squares are often knotted in magenta silk, as it is the case with cat. no. 12. Nearly half of the listed comparison pieces show additional small tertiary or scattered motifs in the form of small quartered rhombuses on the horizontal axis between the Salor *gül*.

One difference seen in the field design is a truncation of the left and right hand Salor *gül* on the middle axis, partly covered by the side border,[199] and a different secondary motif. Another is that a small, interlaced rosette (a small "Holbein" design),[200] comparable to the one in the centre of the *darvaza gül*, in some exceptional cases replaces the *saqdaq gül*.

The main border of these *chuval*, without exception, shows the same pattern, the *kochanak* design, though it is seen in three variants (figs. 98–100). Figs. 98 (cat. no. 11) and 99 have the two more frequently seen versions, while the one in fig. 100 is more uncommon (cat. no. 12). The minor borders show with no exception the typical S-forms. A somewhat greater variety is seen in the design of the *alem* of these *chuval*. Very common are stylised little flowers as seen in cat. no. 12, or a heavily stylised tree of life design, as seen in fig. 123 (cat. no. 11). These resemble Assyrian tree designs, on which they may be modeled (cf. fig. 154). The top is most often formed by a frieze of little double hooks (cat. no. 5), typical for many small format Salor weavings. A variant thereof is a reciprocal fleur-de-lis design (fig. 123), as seen in the borders of so-called "Polonaise" carpets from Safavid Persia.[201]

199 Thompson 1983: 99.
200 Gantzhorn 1990: Fig. 634.
201 Herrmann X, 1988: No. 93.

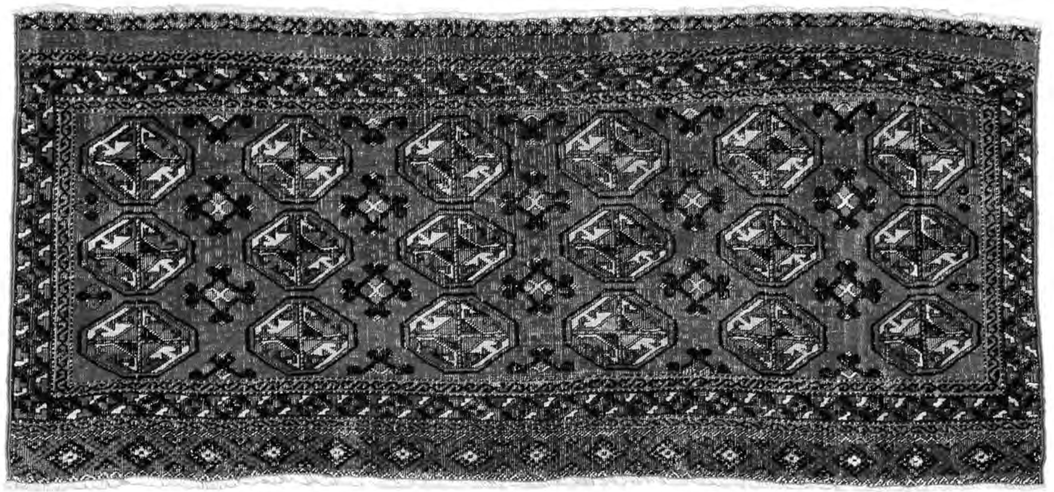


Fig. 122: Salor *torba* cat. no. 131, 18th century. The mini *chuval gül*, the typical secondary motif of all Salor *khali*, has been used here as a primary field design. The interstitial motif – a rhombus composed of four double volutes – is the same as the central motif of the *chuval gül* of the Salor.

The Salor *gül* (fig. 131)

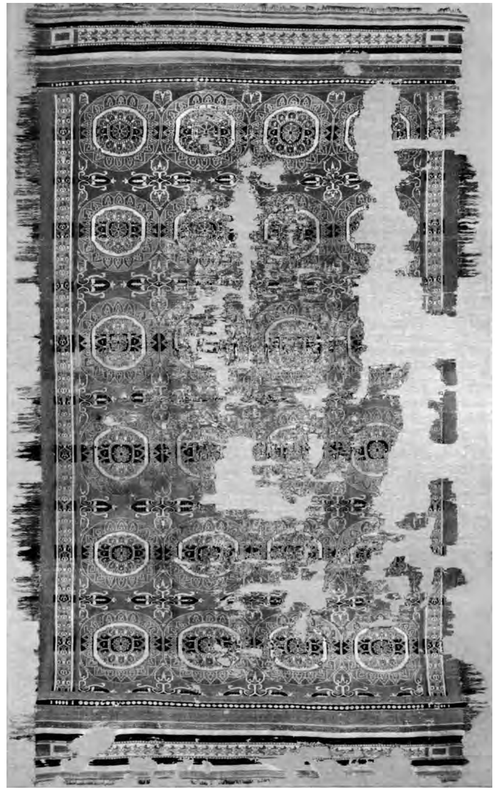
Moshkova designates the Salor *gül* "undoubtedly the oldest of the patterns found in the field of Turkmen rugs".[202] Although this might be an overstatement, she recognised the Salor *gül* as an important design of great age. Tsareva made another interesting statement on the Salor *gül*. In an article on the Salor she writes:

"It is interesting that not a single S-group carpet has the so called "Salor *gül*" which was often used on chuvals. According to Moshkova's theory concerning "dead" and "living" güls, we can suggest that the "Salor gül" came to the Salors from an unknown group which entered the Salors at a distant period and lost its independence".[203]

Moshkova held the hypothesis that the Turkmen *göl* (which s he defines as a main design with heraldic meaning) of the carpet (*khali*) of a subdued tribe lost its heraldic function when adopted by the successors, becoming a purely decorative *gül* (a design without heraldic meaning) on allegedly less important objects like *chuval*, *torba*, *kap* etc.[204] Presumably Tsareva in her statement was attempting to explain why the Salor did not use this design as a *göl* on their *khali*, but "merely" as a *gül* on their *chuval*. Tsareva offers no explanation why the Salor gave their prestigious name (Salor means "sword-bearer", "nobleman") to a mere *chuval* design, of supposedly less importance because adopted from a subdued ethnic group, and why they did not use their own prestigious name, as would be expected, for the design with heraldic meaning of their *khali*, their supposedly most important objects. That the *khali* with all likelihood did not embody the importance suggested by Moshkova is one of the conclusions of this study. This topic will be addressed further in the discussion of the three Salor *khali* cat. nos. 16–18. In fact, the way the Salor have used the Salor *gül* is contradictory to Moshkova's hypothesis. The Salor adopted an important design from a notable subjugated ethnic group and gave it their own name. The adoption of the design of an important subjugated population amounts to a prestige enhancement for the new potentates. That Tsareva inadvertently arrived on an interesting track by attempting to reconcile the facts with Moshkova's hypothesis[205] has already been noted. The Salor *gül* indeed probably does go back to an ancient local ethnic group; the Salor not only adopted the design, but probably absorbed the remaining local segment of the group. This ethnic group was not nomadic, as Tsareva might have supposed, but a group with a highly developed urbanized and agronomic culture with Iranian roots, namely the Sogdians.[206] A 7th–9th century Sogdian silk (fig. 124) showing a design composition of 4 × 6 rosettes in the field, narrow side borders, and "skirt"-like attached borders at both ends (*alem*) might not only have been a model for the *chuval* with Salor *gül*, but for the design concept of Turkmen *khali* in general. At the very least, the design concept of the Turkmen *chuval* and *khali* and that of the Sogdian silk could have common roots. The Salor *gül* strongly resembles the rosettes of this silk, the only difference being that the design of the silk with its roundish forms is less abstract, while the knotted *chuval*, because of the technique of carpet weaving, is more stylised. I have already mentioned various correlations between the Sogdians, or at least their culture, and the Salor. The most important and interesting fact in connection with the

Fig. 123: Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*, 152 × 88 cm, knotted asymmetric open left, 3168 knots per dm², 18th century. This Salor *chuval* shall serve here as a "classical" example, intact including the edges outside the borders on both sides, and the upper frieze with the reciprocal border following Safavid models. Repr. from Herrmann X, 1988: No. 93.

202 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 181.
203 Tzareva 1984.1: 133.
204 Moshkova 1946 (1980).
205 Moshkova 1946 (1980).
206 For a detailed discussion on the subject, see the introduction to this chapter.



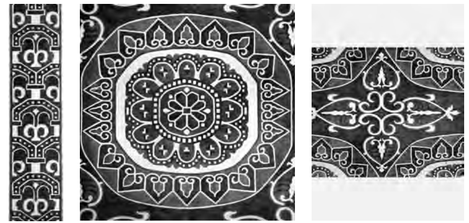


Fig. 125–127: Drawings of design details of the Sogdian silk hanging fig. 124: The border (fig. 125), the rosette, the primary motif (fig. 126), and the flower-cross, the secondary motif (fig. 127). Repr. from Lessing 1913.
The border corresponds to the Turkmen *kejebe* design, the rosette to the Salor *gül*, and the secondary motif between the rosettes to the flower or bud-cross seen as a secondary motif in Qaradashlí and Yomut weavings.

Fig. 124: Sogdian silk hanging with 4 × 6 large rosettes, 110 cm (without fringes) × 190 cm, 7th–9th century. Shroud of St. Lambèrt. Treasury of the cathedral of Liège (for a colour image, see Mackie 2015: 62, fig. 2.24). The ground colour is a light, lac dyed red, the design is in blue, green and white. In its colour palette, this silk corresponds to the fragment in fig. 222. (For the result of radiocarbon dating, see appendix IV, table 16. For the result of dye analyses, see appendix I, table 10).

Fig. 128: Tapestry woven roundel for a tunic, Coptic, ca. 26 × 22,5 cm, rosette with animals, 7th–9th century. Museum Rietberg Zurich. Image by the author (see also Peter 1976: No. 53).

Fig. 129: Carpet fragment ("open single-warp knot technique", linen foundation), rosette with a bird. 8th/9th centuries (?). Found in Egypt. Private collection Washington. Repr. from Ettinghausen 1959: 97, fig. 3.

Fig. 130: Rosette from the Sogdian silk hanging fig. 124, 7th–9th century. Diameter of the rosette ca. 22 cm.

Fig. 131 top right: Salor *gül* from the Salor *chuval* fragment cat. no. 11, 17th/18th century. Diameter of the Salor *gül* 37/27 cm.

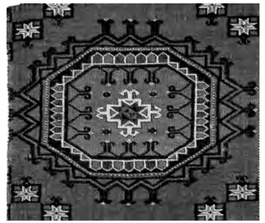
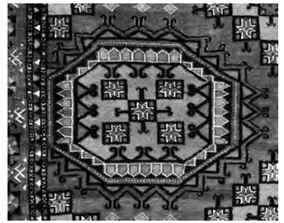


Fig. 132 right: This is the only variant of the Salor *gül* on Salor weavings. Repr. from Reed 1966: No. 2.

Salor *chuval* design is the survival of the name *sagdaq gül*, "Sogdian design", for the secondary motif of these *chuval*. Whether the meaning of the name *sagdaq* was fully understood by the Salor in the early 20th century is unclear. That they at least had an idea of its importance is attested by the fact that they adhered to it over a period of more than 1000 years without changing it.[207] The same is true for another unusual and ancient name of a Turkmen design, namely *dongus burun* , "pigs snout".[208] It seems obvious that the Turkmen would not use a body part of an animal considered unclean as the name of a design, but as I have already indicated, this name is not about a "pigs snout", but the ancient Iranian motif of a "boars head".

Thus, the Salor *gül* might be traced back to a design which can already be seen in a very similar form on a Sogdian silk. The rosette design as shown in fig. 130 is by no means unique but can also be seen in a similar form on other Sogdian silks. Various silks show somewhat smaller, but nearly identical rosettes, though as secondary motifs.[209] This could suggest that such rosettes as primary designs were rather rare in Sogdian silks, which might in fact have been the case. But there are other contemporaneous, though not Sogdian, with large rosettes as primary designs.[210] However, that such rosette designs were not only common among the Sogdians (fig. 130) and their neighbours, the Sasanians (fig. 129), but also in distant Egypt, is shown by fig. 128, a Coptic version. This might be a consequence of the rapid

207 Moshkova translates the Turkish word combination sagdaq gül just as "flower". Gül indeed means flower, but is also used synonymously as design. Sagdaq is the Turkish word for Sogdian, as has been noted by the German sinologist Friedrich Hirth [in Barthold 1929 (1962): 80].
208 See the introduction to the Salor at the beginning of this chapter.
209 Otavsky 1998: Fig. 5 and 7; Verhecken-Lammens et al. 2006: Plate 2 und 3; de Guardiola Callanan 2005: No. 5.
210 Watt/Wardwell 1997: No. 4; Baker 1995: 39.



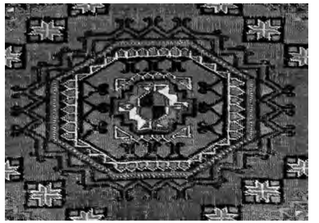


Fig. 135: Second generation Salor *gül* of the Teke, from the Teke *chuval* cat. no. 62, mid 19th century. Diameter of the Salor *gül* 37/27 cm.

Fig. 133 top left: Second generation Salor *gül* of the Sarïq, from a Sarïq *chuval*, mid 19th century. Repr. from Thompson 1988: 37, fig. 35.

Fig. 136: Salor *gül* of the Yomut, from a Yomut (?) *khali*, late 19th century. Private collection. Repr. from Gans-Ruedin 1978: 475.

Fig. 134 left: Small scale version of the Salor *gül* of the Sarïq. Detail from *chuval* cat. no. 44. First half of the 19th century.

spread of Islam. Such designs certainly enjoyed great popularity in the later Islamic period as well. We know from Timurid miniature paintings about the important role of interlaced rosette designs not only in Central Asia and Persia; they were also much in evidence in Anatolia and as far as Spain.

Among the Salor, the Salor *gül* appears to have remained nearly unchanged over a period of more than 1000 years. Except for the weavings of the Salor, the Salor *gül* is not known on any other traditional oriental carpet predating the 19th century.[211] This leads to the conclusion that other tribal groups only adopted the design after the defeat of the Salor by the Persian Qajars in 1830. After that, the Salor *gül* can also be found on weavings of other tribal groups. Examples of this are the Sarïq (figs. 133, 134),[212]the Teke (fig. 135),[213] the Ersarï,[214] and even the Yomut[215] and their relatives (fig. 136). Outside the Turkmen sphere, in the 19th century the design appears on Persian carpets (fig. 137) and among the Balouch (fig. 138), the Afshar (fig. 139), and the Kurdish tribal groups (fig. 140). In the late 19th century it even reached regions as far as Morocco in the West and the Tarim Basin in the East.[216]

But let us turn back to the Salor *gül* of the Salor themselves, to have a closer look at a particular detail of the design. Part of the Salor *gül* (the *gelin barmak* motif) seems to go back to the ancient Near East. It was later widespread from Hellenism to Late Antiquity. The Greeks called it *kyma*; art historians call it "egg and dart".

211 Although 15th/16th century Anatolian "Holbein" carpets show similar designs, these "Holbein" designs differ from the Salor *gül* and the rosette on the Sogdian silk.
212 Cat. no. 44 and 45.
213 Cat. no. 62 and 63.
214 Many examples are published, e.g. in Pinner 1993: Plate 52.
215 Jourdan 1989: No. 120 and 121.
216 For a Moroccan example, see Hali 61, 1992: 103, fig. 15.

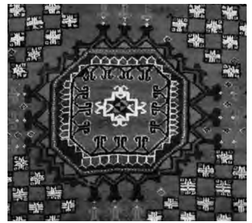


Fig. 137 Copy of a Salor *gül* on a Persian carpet, 2nd half of the 19th century. Private collection. Repr. from Herrmann IV (1982),

Fig. 138: Copy of a Salor *gül* on a Baluch carpet, early 20th century. Private collection. Author's photograph.

Fig. 139: Copy of a Salor *gül* on an Afshar carpet, Southern Persia, ca. 1900. Private collection. Author's photograph.

Fig. 140: Copy of a Salor *gül* on a Kurdish carpet, Persian Kurdistan, early 20th century. Private collection. Author's photograph.

The *gelin barmak*, the Turkmen "egg and dart" (figs. 141 – 149)

The inner octagon of the Salor *gül* is framed by a collar-like design called *gelin barmak*, "bride's finger", by Moshkova.[217] Not only does the *gelin barmak* ("egg and dart") belong to the Salor *gül* like the pearl border to the *kejebe* design, but both designs likely also go back to ornaments common in the ancient Near East.

In art history and classical archaeology, the *gelin barmak* design is known as "egg and dart".[218] According to Riegl, this design originally was a leaf ornament developed from the lotus flower.[219] A 6th century Buddhist painting from Central Asia, showing Buddha sitting on a lotus, shows this clearly.[220] Particularly since the Romans, its appearance changed from a leaf to a more egg-shaped form with little darts in between. Hence the name "egg and dart".

It is also interesting to note that the ancient versions of both designs, the "egg and dart" and the pearl border, were used similarly: framing medallions (for the "egg and dart", see figs. 147 and 148; for the pearl border, see figs. 62 and 64), or as a collar around the shoulders or mouths of vases or jars (for the "egg and dart", see figs. 142, 145 and 146; for the pearl border, see fig. 146). Both designs have also been used as architectural decoration. For the pearl border, examples include Sogdian ossuaries (figs. 73 and 74) and the mausoleum of the Samanids in Bukhara, for the "egg and dart", columns in Achaemenid Persia (fig. 144). In the Greek World, the "egg and dart" was the preferred design, while the Iranian world favoured the pearl border, but both ornaments can be seen simultaneously in both cultures.

However, the pearl border appears as early as on a 14th century B.C. Mycenaean wall painting,[221] while the "egg and dart" among the Greeks only starts to be seen during the Orientalising period,[222] then

217 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 188, 330. Pirkulijewa transaltes *gelin barmak* as "young ladies finger". Pirkulijewa 1966 (1998): 140.
218 Gall/Heydenreich 1958: 940 – 944.
219 Riegl 1923: 52.
220 Gröpper/Yaldiz 2003: 73, no. 38.

221 Hampe/Simon 1980: Fig. 19.
222 In the history of ancient Greece, the Orientalizing period is the cultural and art historical period informed by the art of Anatolia, Syria, Assyria, Phoenicia and Egypt, which started during the later part of the 7th century B.C. For an example see fig. 155.

Fig. 141: "Egg and dart" border on the royal clothing of king Zimirlin. Wall painting from the palace of Mari. Investiture of Zimirlin by the Goddess Ishtar. 1800 B.C. Rep. from Moortgat 1982: 122.

Fig. 142: "Egg and dart" border at the upper edge of a situla, Luristan, 9th/8th century B.C. Louvre, Paris. Author's photograph.

Fig. 143: "Egg and dart" border at the lower edge of the clothing of Gorgo Medusa. Painted clay plaque from the temenos of the Atheneion of Syracuse, Sicily, 570 – 550 B.C., Museo Archeologico Regionale. Repr. from Pugliese Carratelli 1996: 405, cat. no. 56.

Fig. 144: "Egg and dart" at the plinth of a column, Persepolis, Achaemenid, 6th/5th centuries B.C., Musée du Louvre, Paris. Author's photograph.

Fig. 145: "Egg and dart" border on the shoulder of a small silver vessel (detail), height 9 cm, Scythian, 4th century B.C., necropolis of Castye, Kurgan 3, Hermitage, St. Petersburg. Repr. from Rostovtzeff 1922 (Drawing by M. V. Farmakovsky).

is seen much more frequently from the 6th century B.C. on. In the Iranian world, the pearl border occurs most among the Sasanians and the Sogdians.

In the late 19th century, the *gelin barmak*, the "egg and dart" of the Salor, was used by other Turkmen tribes as well, not only in connection with the Salor *gül*, but also as a minor border, thus correctly as an "egg and dart" design as defined by the historical models.[223] Like the copying of other characteristic Salor designs by other Turkmen, copying the *gelin barmak* only occurred in the course of the 19th century, particularly in the later part.

The "egg and dart" is also seen consistently on Sogdian silks, and on silks with patterns influenced by them. Fig. 148 shows the back of an amulet bag assembled of several silk fragments.[224] The front of this 10th century bag reveals that the composition of the medallion originally showed four lions, while the border, in place of the usual pearls (as seen in the somewhat earlier Sasanian and Sogdian models), is a stylised form of the "egg and dart".[225] This stylised "egg and dart" comes intriguingly close to the *gelin barmak* of the Salor (fig. 149). This is the only early silk known to me with this angular form of the design. It might represent a later development of it, a notion supported by the medallion's quartered design with four lions (cf. figs. 183 and 184). Earlier medallion designs show only two opposed animals and a framing with rounded leaf forms (like fig. 147) or pearls (figs. 62, 64, 171 and 181). The rounded leaf forms seen in our next comparison example (fig. 147), are much more common than the angular form.[226] It is notable that we find both the "egg and dart" design and the pearl border used similarly by the Sogdians. Both designs must have been in use for a long time among the Salor as well. However, the Salor did not use them interchangeably as part of the same design, as just has

223 E.g. Jourdan 1998: Figs. 72, 74, 75, 76, 79.
224 Ierusalimskaja/Borkopp 1996: No. 81. Moscevaya Balka was a trading post on the northern Silk Road in the Caucasus on the way from Central Asia via the Crimea to Byzantium. According to Ierusalimskaja, the textile finds from there stem from a necropolis of wealthy Alanian merchants, who stayed in commercial contact with the Sogdians.

225 Based on the quartered medallion design, and because of its angular "egg and dart", this piece might be dated somewhat later than the example from the Abegg-Stiftung in fig. 151.
226 E.g. Otavsky 1996: Figs. 6 and 110; de Guardiola Callanan 2005: Figs. 5 and 6.

Fig. 146: "Egg and dart" and pearl borders on the shoulder of a small Sasanian silver vessel. 6th/7th century. Freer Gallery, Washington. Author's photograph.

Fig. 147: "Egg and dart" border of a medallion with two lions on a Sogdian (?) silk. 7th/8th century. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 4864 a. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132 Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

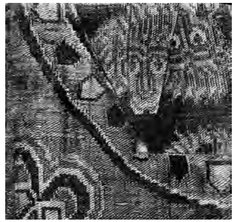


Fig. 148 Stylized "egg and dart" border of a medallion with four lions on a Sogdian (?) silk. 10th century. Moscevaja Balka. Repr. from Ierusalimskaja/ Borkopp 1996: Cat. no. 81.

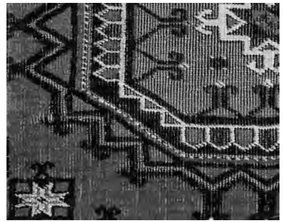


Fig. 149: Stylized "egg and dart" (*gelin barmak*) border of the inner octagon of the Salor *gül*, 17th/18th century. Detail from the Salor *chuval* cat. no. 11.

been established for the Sogdians, but instead each as part of a important design with Sogdian roots: the *kejebe* and the Salor *gül*.

The "egg and dart" is another example of a design with ancient Near Eastern roots. An early example from the domain of the textile arts, dating from 1800 B.C., is shown on a wall painting in the palace of Mari (fig. 141). On the occasion of his investiture by the goddess Ishtar, King Zimirlin wears a coat with a double "egg and dart" border.[227] More than a thousand years later, we find another example from the field of textiles, a garment similarly ornamented with an "egg and dart" border, from a 6th century B.C. clay plaque, this time worn by the Greek Gorgon (fig. 143). After the 6th century B.C., the "egg and dart" is seen very frequently in Greek art, not only on architecture, but also on plates, cups, vases, and other containers.

The next examples bring us into the Iranian cultural area, at first to Luristan (fig. 142), and chronologically afterwards to Achaemenid Persia (fig. 144) and the Scythians of the Eurasian steppes (fig. 145). All these examples illustrate the use of the "egg and dart" design over a period of more than 3000 years. Over this long period, the design has always been used the same way, either as a kind of border or as a decoration of shoulders or mouths of vases, cups, and jars.

The Salor followed this example by using the *gelin barmak* ("egg and dart") as a framing of the Salor *gül*, comparable to the framing of Sogdian medallions (fig. 148), or the decoration of antique vases and jars (figs. 142, 145 and 146).

The *sagdaq gül* (figs. 150 – 153)

Sagdaq is the Turkish word for "Sogdian", and *sagdaq gül* can either be translated as "Sogdian rosette" or "Sogdian design". But how is it that this ancient name survived until the 20th century? The Salor *gül*, possibly even the whole design composition of the Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*, could originally have been a Sogdian design composition. After having adopted the Sogdian design tradition, possibly even after inte-

227 Even Moortgat called this decorative device "egg and dart". Moortgat 1984: 27.

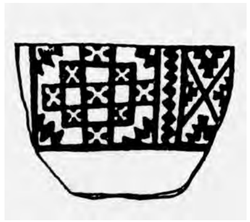


Fig. 150: Eneolithic Ceramic from the Tedjen Oasis (Geoksjur), 4th Millennium B.C., modern South Turkmenistan. The design of the ceramic shows intriguing similarities to the *sagdaq gül* of the Salor. (cf also figs. 24 – 27 in the chapter "The *khaikelbagi* Design"). Repr. from Rossi-Osmida 1996: 34.

Fig. 151: Bowl from Shahr-i-Sukhta, Sistan, Southeast Iran, 2500–2300 B.C., ca. 8.7 cm high. Teheran, National Museum. Repr. from Seipel 2003: Cat. no. 69.

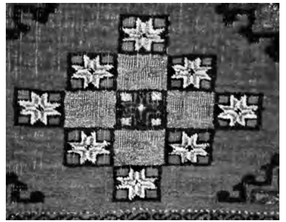


Fig. 152: Detail from the Salor *chuval* cat. no. 12 with Salor *gül* primary and *sagdaq gül* secondary design. The image shows the secondary design, called *sagdaq gül* ("Sogdian design") by the Turkmen.

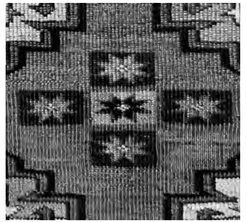


Fig. 153: Detail from the Qaradashlï *chuval* cat. no. 81 with *chuval gül* primary and *sagdaq* (?) *gül* secondary motif. The image shows the secondary motif, which might have the same roots as the *sagdaq gül* of the Salor.

grating with or assimilating the Sogdians, the Salor may have changed the name of this important design from *sagdaq gül* to Salor *gül*. Only the less important secondary motif kept its original name: *sagdaq gül*. I have already mentioned that this name has raised fundamental questions concerning Moshkova's hypothesis on "dead" and "living" *gül* and *göl*. Based on Moshkova's previous concept, the *gülli gül*,[228] the design of the Salor *khali*, should be named "Salor *gül*". That's the way we find it among the Teke; the primary design of their *khali* is called Teke *gül*. In her 1980 Hali article, Tsareva comments on this inconsistency. She assumes that the Salor merged with another ethnic group a long time ago, using their design (the *sagdaq gül*) as a "dead" *gül* on their *chuval*. Tsareva may have been correct that the Salor united long ago with another ethnic group and consequently adopted their designs, yet incorrect that the use of the Salor *gül* on the *chuval* rather than on their *khali* confirms Moshkova's hypothesis on "dead" and "living" *gül* and *göl*. In spite of these open questions, it remains certain that the tradition of the ancient name *sagdaq* must have been of considerable importance for the Salor.

The *sagdaq gül* itself presumably represents an ancient ornament, which at least on a formal basis can be compared with the design on a 4th Millenium B.C. eneolithic pot from the Tedjen oasis (fig. 150). That this is not a unique case is documented by a 3rd Millenium B.C. pot from Sistan in Khorassan (fig. 151). Finally, to return to the Turkmen, a "cousin" of the *sagdaq gül* of the Salor is known from the sphere of the Yomut and Qaradashlï (fig. 153).

The *kochanak* border design[229]

The *kochanak* border is standard for all Salor *chuval*. There is no Salor *chuval* known with another border type. No other Turkmen group so strictly adhered to a single border type for their *chuval*. The only comparable example is the borders of Salor *khali*. There too, only one border type is used.

228 For a discussion on the *gülli gül*, see below.

229 On the *kochanak* border design, see cat. no. 5.

The possible origin of the tree motif in the *alem* of Salor *chuval*

Fig. 154: Deity and stylized tree from the palace of Sargon II in Khorsabad, Assyrian, 8th century. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Author's photograph.

Fig. 155: Assyrian stylized tree motifs on a proto-Attic pitcher, ca. 700 B.C., Athens, Agora Museum. Repr. from Hampe/Simon 1980: Fig. 242.

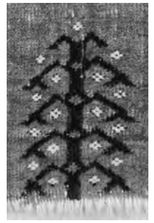


Fig. 156: Detail from the *alem* of the Salor *chuval* cat. no. 11. Stylized tree with branches bending downwards.

Fig. 157: Stylized tree with pomegranates, Assyrian cylinder seal, 8th century B.C. Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, inv. no. 90/119. Repr. from Rehm 1997: 410, fig. 224.

Fig. 158: Stylized pomegranate tree design on a Teke *aq yüp*, 17th/18th centuries. Detail from cat. no. 53.

The tree of life motifs in the *alem* (fig. 156)

The *alem* of Salor *chuval* are generally decorated with one of two different plant ornaments (with some variations). The more unusual of the two ornaments (fig. 156) shows branches bent downwards and might go back to 7th century B.C. Assyrian models as seen in fig. 154. Such representations of plant forms are relatively rare. Among tree designs from antiquity, I found only one comparison to the Assyrian example with its branches bent downwards: a painting on an early Greek jug (fig. 155). That the stylised tree design painted on this jug does not represent a Greek invention, but is adopted from the Orient, is confirmed by Simon. She comments on the drawing on the jug in fig. 155 as follows:

"A ca. 700 B.C. proto-Attic jug from the Agora-Museum in Athens shows a traditional hatched meander on one side. Next to it two shrubs are shown on a plain field, varying an Oriental tree motif. In Greece, these well-formed plants were then something new and unprecedented".[230]

230 Hampe/Simon 1980: 156. Quotation translated from German by the author.

Thus the Assyrian model was not only adopted as far East as Central Asia, but also by the Greeks. Some Salor *chuval*, on the other hand, show tree forms with branches bending upwards.[231] Only one known Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* has a plain *alem*.[232]

My suggestion of an ancient Near Eastern origin for this design is consistent with other Turkmen designs with a supposed Assyrian background including the *kochanak* border design of all Salor hangings and *chuval* (fig. 98–100), the pomegranate design of the tent bands (fig. 158),[233] the *gush* and the *sainak* motif of the *ensi*,[234] and the *ak su* design[235] seen on some small format Turkmen bags.

The alternate form of Salor *chuval alem* design is seen in cat. no. 12. While cat no. 11 and 132 show the Assyrian tree form, cat. no 12 has small tripartite flowers.

231 E.g. cat. no. 15; Grote-Hasenbalg 1922: Plate 39; Skinner Bolton, 4 December 1988, lot 134; Hodenhagen 1997: no. 1; Rippon Boswell 41, 1994, lot 162.
232 Thompson 1983: 99. Another Salor *chuval* with a plain *alem*, though with the *chuval gül*, is reproduced in Tzareva 1984: 35, no. 8.
233 See the chapter "The Teke", cat. no. 51, figs. 30–38.
234 See the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*", figs. 42–90.
235 See the chapter "Streams of Paradise", figs. 37–44.

11

Fragment of a Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*

Cat no. 11 is an impressive fragment of an excellent Salor *chuval* with a bright red ground colour, a short velvety pile, and an outstanding drawing of the design. All is typical Salor: a concentration on the essential regarding ornamentation, amount of silk, lac dyed wool, and saturated colours of excellent quality. The design on the fragment is complete except for the top with the narrow *kochanak* frieze. The whereabouts of the missing two thirds of the *chuval* is unknown. The complete *chuval* in fig. 123 might impart what this piece once must have looked like.

With its overall perfection, this *chuval* gives the impression of a perfectly designed workshop product made to the highest standards. Apart from its asymmetric open right knot it compares in many regards – including its other structural features – to the excellent *chuval* cat. no. 13.

Design: This *chuval* shows the "classic" Salor design with Salor *gül* and *sagdaq gül* motif in the field, a *kochanak* border, S-minor borders and the "Assyrian" trees (fig. 156) in the *alem*. In its design, the piece shows two little extras, not seen on other Salor *chuval*: the four pearls,[236] arranged around the central, eight-pointed star in the Salor *gül* (fig. 131), and additional little double hooks on the *sagdaq gül*.

Structure: The structure is typical, though worked in the asymmetrical open right knot, less frequently seen among the Salor. One "leaf" of the "egg and dart" at the right edge of the Salor *gül* contains five symmetrical knots. The silk within the Salor *gül* is completely corroded. The pile is upside down in relation to the *chuval's* orientation in use. This is a phenomenon found more frequently among the Salor than in other Turkmen weavings.

Colours*:* With its ten colours, this piece shows one colour more than most Salor weavings. What applies to most other typical Salor pieces is also seen here: all reds for the design are dyed with an insect dyestuff – wool with lac dye and silk with cochineal.

Dating: A pre-1830 dating is assured here with certainty. The piece still belongs to the heyday of the Salor, but according to radiocarbon testing does not pre-date 1660. A date of production in the 2nd half of the 17th or the 18th century is probable.

236 These four pearls are an unusual borrowing from the pearl border of the *kejebe* design.

12

Two fragments of a Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*

This *chuval* is another outstanding example of its kind. However, compared with cat no. 11, it is one small step less refined. It doesn't emanate the same degree of elegance and perfection, although with its high percentage of silk and its lac dyed wool as ground colour of the Salor *gül*, it certainly must have been an esteemed luxury object too.

Design: The field design corresponds to the "classic" design type with the Salor *gül* and the *sagdaq gül*, while the border shows the somewhat less often seen version of the *kochanak* design (fig. 100).[237]

Structure: The structure of this fragment is more "meaty" than the structure of cat. no. 11 and 13, which presumably is caused by the higher pile. Like cat. no. 11, the pile is upside down in relation to the *chuval's* orientation in use.

Colours: The ground colour of cat no. 12 is a slightly more bluish madder red than the ground colour of cat. no. 11 and 13. But as in many other Salor pieces: all reds for the design are dyed with an insect dyestuff – wool with lac dye and silk with cochineal.

Dating: As with cat. no. 11, a post-1830 dating of this piece can be excluded. This piece too still belongs to the heyday of the Salor, but radiocarbon testing shows that it does not pre-date 1660. An 18th century date of production might well be appropriate.

132

Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* (fig. 159)

In its design, this *chuval* is similar to cat. no. 11 and fig. 123. All three pieces belong to a group with related features. Absent in cat no. 132 (fig.

237 See discussion on the *kochanak* border design of cat. no. 5.

Fig. 159: Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*, cat. no. 132, 155 x 78 cm, knotted asymmetric open left, 2650 – 2980 knots per dm², 18th century. Ethnographic Museum St. Petersburg, A. A. Bogolyubov collection, inv. no. 87-24.

159) are the four pearls in the Salor *gül*. Also, the little double hooks attached to the *sagdaq gü*l are red and somewhat differently arranged. The form of the "Assyrian" trees is also slightly different. However, all these differences are minor. The knotting is also different here, asymmetrical open left. The significance of these two knot types among the Salor is still not known. Cat. no. 132 is missing its upper border, and also shows some badly repaired, heavy damage. Such Salor *chuval* must have been rare by 1900, which would explain why Bogolyubov bought damaged objects like this in addition to perfectly preserved pieces.

Structure: The piece is less finely woven than cat no. 11, and has the more frequent Salor asymmetric open left knotting (in contrast to cat. no. 11 with its asymmetric open right knotting). Like cat. no. 11 and 12, the pile is upside down in relation to the *chuval's* design orientation.

Colour: In spite of some small differences, this *chuval* also has 10 colours, one more than in many other Salor weavings.

Dating: This example might be somewhat newer than cat. no. 11. Nevertheless a dating to the 18th century might still be appropriate.

Introduction to the Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül* (cat. nos. 13 – 15)

The Salor used only two field designs for their *chuval*, the Salor *gül* and the *chuval gül*. Together with these two primary designs, apart from a few exceptions, the same secondary designs have been used: the *sagdaq gül* and a reduced form of the *chuval gül*, hence called the mini *chuval gül*.[238] The borders are even less varied: all Salor *chuval* show the *kochanak* design in the main border and, in most cases S-forms in the minor borders. The *alem* can vary slightly, but here too we find only a few designs.

In the introduction to this chapter I noted the Salor's small number of predominantly pre-Islamic designs as a feature of their weaving tradition. This could be interpreted as adherence to an ancient design repertoire, in the tradition of a once distinguished people native to this region, which might have merged with the Salor in the course of the 8th or 9th centuries. That this could have been part of the Sogdian population has also been mentioned.

The *chuval gül* (figs. 160 – 166)

This design was called *chuval gü*l by Moshkova,[239] due to the fact that in the past 300 – 400 years it has been used among the Turkmen predominantly on their *chuval*. However, there is also a considerable number of Turkmen *khali* from the same period of time with the *chuval gül* as a field design.[240] Once again, the Salor are the exception: they never used the *chuval gül* on their *khali*.

The *chuval gül* is found among all Turkmen tribes in related forms, but in spite of many similarities shows several differences (figs. 160 – 166). At first sight, these differences primarily concern the drawing of the centre of the design, which can vary considerably from one tribal group to another. These variations might go back to developments initiated in the 9th or 10th century. But the outline also shows differences: The typical four "tucks" on the diagonal axes of the contour of the *chuval gül* of the Salor (fig. 160, arrow 1), the Qaradashlï (fig. 161),

238 The exceptions are the *chuval* cat. no. 134 and 135 and a related piece of greater age published in Hali 165, 2010: 75. They all show a secondary motif related to the *chemche gül*.
239 Moshkova 1970 (1996): Plate XXXVIII, no. 3.
240 E.g. cat. no. 84 – 87, and 101 – 104.

The different forms of the *chuval gül* among the Turkmen

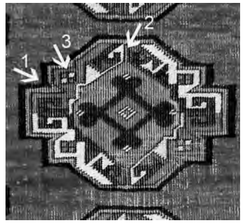


Fig. 160: The *chuval gül* of the Salor with the typical notches in the contour (arrow 1), the plain centre (not quartered) and the *dongus burun* type pointed hook forms (arrow 2) on the vertical axis. 17th century. Detail from cat. no. 13.

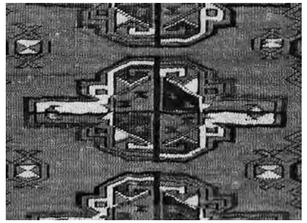


Fig. 161: The *chuval gül* of the Qaradashlï with the notches in the contour, the quartered centre, and the rounded hook forms (cf. fig 178, arrow 1) on the vertical axis, 16th/17th centuries. Detail from cat. no. 79.

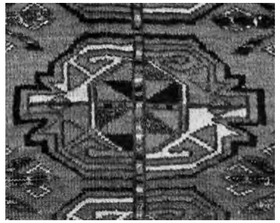


Fig. 162: The *chuval gül* of the Ersarï with the notches in the contour, the quartered centre, and the rounded hook forms on the vertical axis, 17th/18th centuries. Detail from cat. no. 22.

Fig. 163: The *chuval gül* of the Arabachi with the notches in the contour, the quartered centre, and the rounded hook forms on the vertical axis, 17th century. Detail from cat. no. 127.

Fig. 164: The *chuval gül* of the Sarïq without notches on the diagonal axes, but additional "dents" (arrow 1) on the horizontal axis of the contour, a plain centre (not quartered), and geometric (variant of the rounded) hook forms on the vertical axis, 17th century. Detail from cat. no. 41.

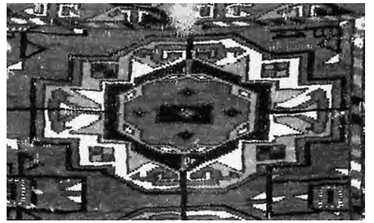


Fig. 165: The *chuval gül* of the Teke without notches on the diagonal axes of the contour, a plain centre (not quartered), and geometric (variant of the rounded) hook forms on the vertical axis, 16th/17th century. Detail from cat. no. 56.

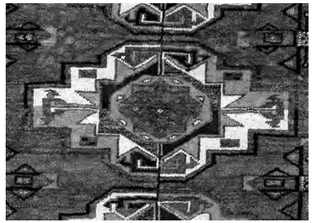


Fig. 166: *Chuval gül* type relatetd to the Teke version (fig. 165) without notches on the diagonal axes of the contour, a plain centre (not quartered), and geometric (variant of the rounded) hook forms on the vertical axis, 17th century. Detail from cat. no. 96.

the Ersarï (fig. 162), and the Yomut are absent in the *chuval gül* of the Sarïq (fig. 164) and the Teke (fig. 165). Whether we are dealing here with a simplification of the form developed in the course of time or possibly with a different model is hard to say, although I'm rather favouring the former. Such simplification processes can often be seen in traditional art not only among the Turkmen: more complex earlier forms have been simplified to facilitate weaving by heart. In addition, the farther away from the centre of its origin a design has been copied, the greater might be such differences.[241] Finally, in the course of cen-

241 Extreme examples of this are Turkmen designs copied by the Karakalpak or the Kirgiz. See Richardson 2012: 418, 446.

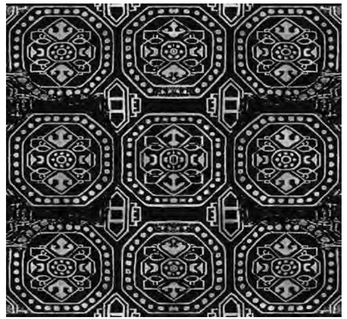


Fig. 167: Reconstruction of a red ground Sogdian silk from Moscevaja Balka. Detail measuring ca. 38 x 38 cm. 9th/10th centuries. The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. Kz 4657. The whole field composition of the Turkmen *chuval gül* design compares to this silk, and the *chuval gül* shows great similarities to the eight-petalled rosettes (dm 11.5 cm) within the pearled octagonal frames of the silk. The *chuval gül* is only missing the pearled framing, and the centre shows a different filler motif. Extended reconstruction after Ierusalimskaja 1972 (2000): 87, fig. 3.

Fig. 168: Barbed quatrefoil with busts, wool tapestry. Egypt 6th–9th centuries. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 1109. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

Abb. 169: Flat weave with brocaded design in wool and linen, detail. Egypt or Eastern Mediterranean area, 8th–10th centuries. The David Collection. Repr. from von Folsach 2001: No. 621.

turies designs might experience several minor changes, as the "master form" was out of sight of the weavers. In other words, in addition to losses caused by a "geographical separation" from the original, design changes were subject to "time separation" as well.

But differences can also be seen concerning the forms of the double hooks inside the design. There are two different types: a presumably earlier one with pointed hooks, which is only seen in the *chuval gül* of the Salor (fig. 160, arrow 2), and a presumably later one with more solid hooks, used by the Salor but all the other Turkmen as well (cf. figs. 161 – 166, and 177 – 180). The pointed double hooks of the *chuval gül* of the Salor (fig. 160, arrow 2) show great similarities to comparable double hooks of the *gülli gül* (cf. figs. 186 – 189). It seems that this is an early form, used in the *chuval gül* only by the Salor, which, like the comparable double hooks of the *gülli gül*, can be traced back to paired boar's tusks (cf. figs. 14 and 15).[242] Probably the earliest form of the Turkmen *chuval gül* is that of the Salor with the pointed double hooks (fig. 160). This seems to be an ornament composed of a number of ancient elements, having received its last "shape modification" in the 10th or 11th century, as seems to have happened with the *gülli gül*. Designs composed of elements from different periods of time are not unusual among the Turkmen. Examples of individual designs are the *chuval gül* and the *gülli gül;* the *ensi* design and the design of the hangings with *kejebe/darvaza gül* are examples of complete design compositions. But where do we look for the early design components of the *chuval gül*?

242 For a discussion, see the chapter "*Dongus burun*".

The origin of the *chuval gül*

The contour of the *chuval gül* presumably goes back to geometric designs of Late Antiquity (figs. 168–170).

Since the 9th century, interlaced geometric designs were increasingly seen throughout the Islamic world, becoming one of the most important design principles from the 11th century on (figs. 210–212).

The ornament in the centre of the earlier version of the *chuval gül* of the Salor (fig. 172) – a rhombus composed of four double volutes – representing the oldest part of the design goes back to even earlier models (figs. 174 – 176). In conjunction with the changes of the contour since the 9th century, the central part of the Salor design has also been "updated": the rhombus composed of four double volutes on a plain background (figs. 177 and 178) has been replaced by a quartering of the central field decorated with small rhombuses in each quarter (figs. 179 and 180). That the quartering of medallions was not standard before the 9th century is illustrated by silk designs of the 7th–9th centuries (figs. 181 and 182).[243]

It seems arguable that the quartering of designs might be a result of technical enhancements of silk weaving; duplicating or enlarging a design (e.g. a medallion like fig. 182) by mirroring it along the vertical axis simplifies the working process in silk weaving.[244] A double mirroring simplifies this process further: only a quarter of the design had to be set up on the loom, the rest has been achieved by mechanical mirroring (fig. 183). This revolution in weaving technique had

243 In exceptional cases, a quartering of medallion designs can be seen as early as in the 1st or 2nd century A.D. in China. An example is a "Han damast" with four dragons in a medallion found in Palmyra (fig. 63 in the chapter "The Ersari").

244 Otavsky/Wardwell 2011: 55.

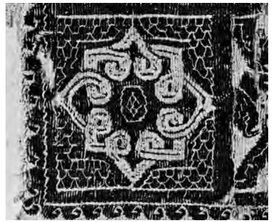


Fig. 170: Eight pointed interlaced star design in a 7th/8th century woollen Coptic tapestry. Such interlaced star designs could have served as models for the small medallions on Sogdian silks as seen in fig. 171. Repr. from Thompson 1971: No. 24.

Abb. 171: The eight-petalled rosette of the 9th/10th century Sogdian silk from Moscevaja Balka in fig. 169 could be a close relative to the Turkmen *chuval gül*, maybe even its model.

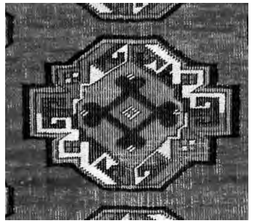


Fig. 172: Detail from cat. no. 13, Salor chuval gül, 17th century.

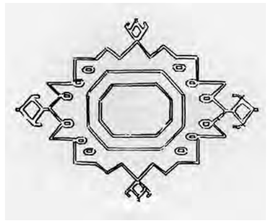


Fig. 173: Drawing after an Anatolian carpet fragment from Fostat, 15th century (or earlier). The carpet fragment shows an endless pattern repeat of rosettes offset, similar to the field design of the Sogdian silk on fig. 169. Repr. from Lamm 1985: 52.

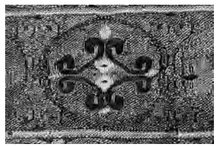


Fig. 174: Top left: Rhombus composed of four double volutes (with buds?) in a small medallion. Detail from a silk and gold tapestry, 11th century, found in the cathedral of Burgo de Osma, Spain. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Rep. from May 1957: 20, fig. 8.

Fig. 175: Medium left: Reconstruction of the secondary motif of the Sogdian silk fragment in fig. 82 and 201, 7th–9th centuries. Treasury of the cathedral of Liège, inv. no. 43.

Fig. 176 bottom left: Detail from a fragment of an Urartian bronze belt. Border detail from along the edges. 7th century. Collection of Susan and Fred Ingham, Seattle.

The four variants of the Salor *chuval gül*

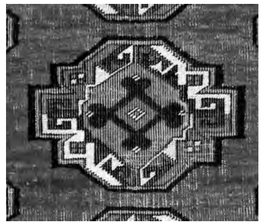


Fig. 177: The Salor *chuval gül* with four notches and small squares on the diagonal axes of the contour (remnants of interlacing), the plain centre with the rhombus of four double volutes, and pointed hook forms on the vertical axis, 17th century. Detail from cat. no. 13.

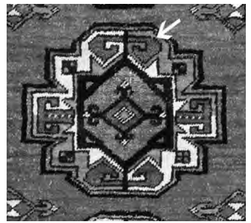


Fig. 178: The Salor *chuval gül* with a plain centre with the rhombus of four double volutes, and "rounded" hook forms on the vertical axis (arrow 1), 19th century. Detail from cat. no. 134.

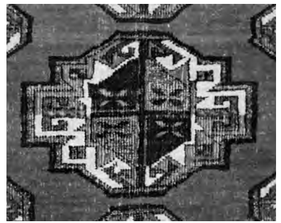


Fig. 179: The Salor *chuval gül* with a quartered centre and pointed hook forms on the vertical axis. 18th/19th century. Detail from a Salor *chuval* with 4 × 4 *chuval gül*. Private collection.

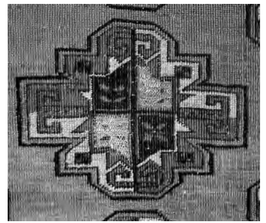


Fig. 180: The *chuval gül* of the Salor with quartered centre and "rounded" hook forms on the vertical axis. 17th/18th centuries. Detail from cat. no. 15.

extensive consequences in the Islamic world, not only in silk designs, starting in the 9th/10th centuries (fig. 184).

The "rounded" hook forms (fig. 178, arrow 1, and fig. 180), clearly different from the pointed hook forms (figs. 177 and 179), are possibly another modification dating from this time.[245] But compared to other Turkmen designs, the *chuval gül* – and particularly that of the Salor – remained unchanged over a long period if time. This might well be evidence for the design's great age.

In the search for the origin of Turkmen carpet design, the consistently growing pool of early textile fragments from Central Asia, Persia, and the Eastern Mediterranean has provided many interesting hints. For the *chuval gül*, we can look to some small red ground 9th/10th century Sogdian silk fragments (reconstruction in fig. 167). But there are also other textiles which are of interest in connection with the *chuval gül*. As already mentioned, the 9th and 10th centuries saw some new designs developed in the Islamic world, relevant to both the development of the *chuval gül* and the *gülli gül* (figs. 186 – 189). The complex contour of the *chuval gül* (and the *gülli gül*) can only be seen in a kind of germinal form in textiles pre-dating the 9th century (figs 168 – 170). Of particular interest in this regard are the already mentioned Sogdian silk fragments, which show another typical development of the 9th and 10th centuries: stylised ornamentation showing some first evidence of geometric interlacement and a geometric secondary ornament. The advanced geometrician of the rosette in the pearled octagon (figs. 167 and 171) is virtually unknown in pre-10th century textiles. This silk fragment was discovered in Moscevaja Balka in the north-western Caucasus. Moscevaja Balka was situated on the northern route of the Silk Road, once connecting Central Asia via the Crimea (seaport Sogdaia) and the Black Sea with the Eastern Mediterranean. It shows an endless repeat design with small, interlaced beige rosettes in a pearled octagon and a geometric, cross-shaped interstitial motif on a red ground. According to Ierusalimskaja, it is of Sogdian origin.[246] With a diameter of approximately 12 cm, the rosettes are considerably smaller than those on the earlier Sogdian silk with large rosettes with a diameter of approximately 22 cm (fig. 124 and 126). Both rosettes have three concentric areas. While the earlier silk with the larger

245 For a discussion, see the chapter "*Dongus burun*".

246 Ierusalimskaja1996: 267, cat. no. 85; plate LXIX, fig. 177.

The development of the quartered medallion in the 10th century

So called senmurv silk with a single senmurv in a pearled roundel. Iran, Sasanian, 7th century. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. 8579-1863. Repr. from Schorta 2006: 15, fig. 4.

Fig. 182: Silk fragment with opposed deer, Sogdian, 7th/8th century, Abegg-Stiftung Riggisberg, inv. no. 4901. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 183: Reconstruction of the design of a silk fragment. Iran, Buyid or Seljuk period, 11th/12th centuries. Four hares are shown in a lattice of dark brown interlacement on a light-blue ground. The Textile Museum Washington DC. Image and reconstruction by the author.

Fig. 184: Inside of a ceramic bowl, fritware painted in luster on an opaque white glaze, Iran, end of 12th century. Here too, the design follows the new trend of quartering. Repr. from Kalter/Schönberger 2003: 51, fig. 48.

rosettes (fig. 124) still has a more floral character, the newer piece (fig. 171) with its first hint of interlacing is already more stylized and more geometric. The overall composition of both silks is quite similar, though the later silk with the smaller rosettes has a geometric interstitial motif (fig. 171), while the interstitial motif of the earlier silk is still floral (fig. 124). Similar in both silks is the vertical and horizontal alignment of the rosettes. The rosettes are closely juxtaposed in weft direction, while a slightly larger space is left for the interstitial motif between the rosettes in warp direction. This same principle applies to the design of the Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül*, though with the difference that the *chuval gül* in warp direction nearly touch each other, to leave some space in weft direction for the secondary motif. I have already indicated the analogies between the Salor *gül* (fig. 131) and the large rosettes (fig. 130) of the Sogdian silk discussed above (fig. 124). In that piece too, the difference in spacing of the rosettes in warp and weft direction is noticeable, although less pronounced.

It is striking that, beside the Salor *gül*, also the *chuval gül*, the second of two primary designs used by the Salor for their *chuval*, shows such close parallels to a Sogdian silk. Though the *chuval gül* is missing the outer octagonal framing with pearls, otherwise the analogy is unmistakable (cf. figs. 171 and 172). The contour of the *chuval gül* is very similar to the contour of the silk design. Of note are the four pointed notches (fig. 160, arrow 1), which are a typical feature of the Salor *chuval gül*. They are also present in the silk design as part of the four clearly visible interlacements. These four interlacements are also echoed in the small quartered squares in the corners of the *chuval gül* (fig. 160, arrow 3). This would seem a plausible explanation for these notches and the quartered squares, which are always seen in the *chuval gül* of the Salor, and occasionally in other Turkmen variants of the design. Only the ornament in the centre of the two designs is different. While the silk has a small pearl medallion, the centre of the *chuval gül* features a small rhombus composed of four double volutes. The proportions of the Salor design differ as well. Around a plain inner area (containing the rhombus composed of four double volutes), a narrow outer area lies like a wreath containing different types of double hooks and the (proposed) remnants of interlacement in the form of 4 little quartered squares. That the double hooks also represent a relic of pre-

Islamic times has already been mentioned. The *gülli gül* of the Salor shows very similar double hooks in the same place, and a related composition of the whole design. We will return to these parallels when discussing the *gülli gül* below.

Interlaced rosettes comparable to the one on the Sogdian silk in fig. 167 can also be found on carpets from Anatolia (fig. 172). That this is not an isolated case of a design migrating from Central Asia to the West is clearly illustrated by another convincing example: the border design of the Salor *khali*. This is also closely related to a 7th–9th century Sogdian silk design, which also appears as a border design on a 17th or 18th century Anatolian carpet (see figs. 224 and 225).

Thus the *chuval gül* of the Salor appears to be a combination of different textile designs, going back to pre-Islamic or at least to early Islamic traditions. It is due to the Salor's strict adherence to design tradition that the *chuval gül* survived barely unchanged from the 10th up to the 19th century. Among all other Turkmen, the *chuval gül* is very similar to that of the Salor, though it has been simplified since at least the 17th century. Good examples of this are the *chuval gül* of the Ersarï (fig. 162) and the Arabachi (fig. 163).

Despite their strict adherence to tradition, the Salor used two different types of *chuval gül*: the supposedly earlier type with the rhombus composed of four double volutes on a plain back ground in the centre is seen in figs. 177 and 178, while figs. 179 and 180 show the arguably later, probably derivative type with a quartered centre. Both types are found in combination with both styles of double hooks on the vertical axis: one with double hooks of triangular form (figs. 177 and 179), and a second with "rounded" double hooks (figs. 178 and 180). In the earlier version of the *chuval gül*, the triangular hooks are more common (fig. 177), while the "rounded" double hooks are rarer (fig. 178). In the later version showing the quartered centre, the opposite is true: the "rounded" double hooks are more common (fig. 180), while the version with the triangular hooks is seen in about one third of the pieces (fig. 179).

Secondary motif, *alem* and borders

In secondary motifs, *alem*, and borders, there are no differences among the *chuval* with *chuval gül*: The main border with no exception shows the *kochanak* design as seen in figs. 98 and 99, always accompanied by minor borders with S-forms. With the exceptions of the *chuval* pair cat. nos. 133 and 134[247] and a third published piece,[248] the secondary motif is always the mini *chuval gül*.[249] The *alem* is either decorated with stylised trees (fig. 156) or little flowers.

13

Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül*

The *chuval* fragment cat. no. 13 belongs to one of the most precious Salor weavings. The piece has an elegance and a "nobility" which is extremely rare in the field of Turkmen carpets. The well balanced design, colouring, and weaving structure is more reminiscent of velvet than pile weaving. Astonishingly, the pair to this fragment still exists,[250] also missing its upper border. It is quite surprising that in the small universe of published Salor *chuval* several pairs have survived.[251]

Structure: With its asymmetric open left knotting, heavily depressed warps, and partly red wefts, the structure is typical Salor. This *chuval* is woven upside down in relation to its later use (see also the comments on the structure of cat. no. 11).

Colours: The piece is also outstanding for its colours. All reds for the design are dyed with insect dyestuffs: wool with lac dye and silk with cochineal. The lac dyed wool shows a rather cool, and somewhat darker shade than seen in other Salor weavings. This is probably because of the absence of tin as a mordant. To heighten the luminance of lac dyed reds, tin was used as a mordant in almost all tested Salor pieces. Tin as a "colour amplifier" has only been used since the early 17th century.[252] The absence of tin in this fragment could indicate an early date of production. The vertical colour arrangement of the flowers in the *alem* is unusual and the colours particularly beautiful. More common is a diagonal arrangement as seen in the related, although somewhat later example cat. no. 14; the unusual arrangement seen here could be yet another clue to an early date of production. In the borders and the *alem*, this piece shows an additional shade of mid-blue, which has not been used for the field. The resulting restrained colour palette of the field certainly contributes to the "nobility" of this extraordinary textile.

Dating: Radiocarbon dating provides intriguing though challenging results. The first test yielded a radiocarbon age of 325 ±55, resulting in a calibrated calendar age between ca. 1450 and 1650. However, this first result was not confirmed with subsequent measurements. A total of four tests yielded the average of 210 ±30, which excludes a dating to the 16th century. A strong range still includes the 17th century, and indicators such as the absence of tin, the colour arrangement in the *alem*, and the excellent drawing of the entire composition suggest that this might be the most probable date of production.

247 Among all Turkmen, *chuval* and *torba* have always been woven in pairs.
248 Hali 165, 2010: 75.
249 On the mini *chuval gül*, see the discussion on the Salor *khali* cat. no. 16–18.
250 Lefevre, 30 November 1979: Lot 1.
251 This pair, and the pairs published in Andrews et al. 1993: 153, and Baumann 2008: No. 10 and 11. Otherwise remaining pairs of *chuval* are rather rare among the Turkmen, particularly early examples like cat. no. 13.

252 For further information, see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

14

Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül*

Differences distinguishing this example from cat. no. 13 seem minor at first glance, but closer inspection does not confirm this first impression. Because of its higher pile the piece has lost some of the precision of the drawing. Furthermore, the design is not as well balanced, resulting in less than ideal proportions.

Colours: No chemical analysis has been performed. On the basis of appearance, it is reasonable that the piece contains a large amount of lac dyed wool, and that the silk in the pile also might be dyed with cochineal.

Dating: In addition to the less than perfectly balanced field and border designs, the diagonal colour arrangement of the flowers in the *alem* also suggests a later dating than cat. no. 13. Radiocarbon dating confirms this. The piece might date from the 2nd half of the 18th, or the early 19th century.

15

Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül*

Design: This *chuval* is particularly attractive due to the precise drawing and well balanced proportions of the design. The tree design in the alem is woven upside down here; this phenomenon is seen occasionally in other Salor pieces with this *alem* design.[253]

Colours: The piece differs in its colour palette from what we customarily see in Salor weavings. This might be due to a later intervention to soften the once bright colours.[254] The cool ruby red in the design is dyed with lac.

Dating: Radiocarbon testing provides a dating of this *chuval* to the period between 1650 and 1830. This is consistent with historical records of the Salor's defeat during the 1830s by the Persian Qajars, and later by the Sarïq and the Teke, resulting in their decline in significance by the late 19th century. This *chuval* clearly pre-dates this decline.

133 & 134

Two Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül* (fig. 185)

These two *chuval* most likely were woven as a pair. The unusual secondary motif common to both pieces speaks in favour of this, as do their common structural features and their comparable radiocarbon dating results.[255]

Design: In the choice of designs for their weavings, the Salor as a rule strictly adhere to an ancient, mostly pre-Islamic tradition. The in-

253 See also the discussion of the Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*, cat. nos. 11 and 12.
254 A comparable phenomenon, although in an even increased form, can be seen on a Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* (Rippon Boswell 2006: Lot 28)
255 For details see Vol. 1, appendix I, "Additional Turkmen weavings", cat. nos.133 and 134.

Fig. 185: Salor *chuval* cat. no. 134, 112 x 83 cm. The field design with only 3 x 3 *chuval gül* is more frequently seen on Salor pieces of the 19th century. The unusual secondary motif could possibly be traced back to contacts with the Qaradashlï.
State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg; Collection of A.A. Bogolyubov, no. 202.

clusion of new designs or even small variations is the exception. In their secondary motifs, these two *chuval* exhibit such an exception. Only one other Salor *chuval*, which is older than these two, shows the same secondary motif.[256] Other than these three Salor *chuval*, this unusual motif is only seen on three other Turkmen weavings: the Qaradashlï *chuval* cat. no. 82 (radiocarbon dated to the 16th/17th century in this study), a 19th century Qaradashlï *kap*[257], and a 18th/19th century Ersarï *khali*.[258] As this design is found so infrequently, the question arises of how it found its way to the Salor. One explanation would be direct contacts between the Qaradashlï and the Salor. Such contacts are mentioned by Dshikijew for the end of the first half of the 19th century in the Murghab oasis (Merv).[259] However, the third Salor *chuval* with this unusual secondary motif might be somewhat older, leading to the conclusion that such contacts might have happened earlier.

The field composition of only 3 × 3 *chuval gül* is more frequently seen in pieces thought to be less old. Usually the field design of Salor *chuval* is composed of 4 × 4 *chuval gül*, as seen in the other examples discussed here (cat. nos. 13 – 15). Also the contour of the inner field of the *chuval gül* differs from what we see in earlier pieces (cf. figs. 177 and 178); here it is a corrupted version of two interlaced squares seen on the horizontal axis of the *kejebe* design (cf. fig. 83 and the discussion on the two interlaced squares).

Dating: There are several reasons to date these two *chuval* to the 19th century. The 3 × 3 *chuval gül* field composition, the drawing of the design, and the colour palette all speak in favour of a mid 19th century dating.

Introduction to the Salor *khali* (cat. nos. 16 – 18 and 135)

Regarding their design, the 37 published Salor *khali* form one of the most homogeneous groups of Turkmen weavings, comparable in its uniformity only to the group of Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* (cat. nos. 11 and 12). Only the *khali* of the "Eagle" *gül* group I show a comparably strict homogeneity in design and structure; this is, however, a group of only eight known pieces (see cat. nos. 113, 157, 158).

The 37 published Salor *khali* differ only in the number of *gülli gül* in the field design. These carpets all show the same drawing of the *gülli gül* and the mini *chuval gül*,[260] the primary and secondary designs, and the same main and minor borders. [261] Among the Salor, these designs remained nearly unchanged over a period of 400 years. Only the oldest of these examples (cat. no. 16) shows additional tertiary motifs between the secondary design in warp direction (fig. 231). One other unique exception has a white ground border with a leaf tendril, but this is a piece from the second half of the 19th century.[262]

Salor *khali* generally show a bright madder red ground colour, which might vary between a somewhat yellowish and a rather brownish red. In rare cases like cat. no. 16, a dark purple ground colour can be found.[263] As a rule, the ground colour of the border is a reddish or brownish purple. The *alem* are always flat woven showing three narrow triple stripes, alternately three in green and three in blue.[264] Except for the additional colour green this corresponds to the typical *alem* patterning of Turkmen *khali* with flat woven *alem*.[265] In contrast to small format pieces such as *aq yüp*, *kapunuk*, *chuval*, and *torba*, carpets only rarely have silk in the pile. Cat. no. 16 is an example without silk, cat. no. 17 shows a few knots in the border, while cat. no. 18 belongs to a sub-group showing a systematic use of both cochineal dyed silk and lac dyed wool for the pile, as typically seen in small format Salor weavings. The reasons for these variations are unclear. One possibility is that they were driven by economics. Another explanation could be that the type of Salor *khali* exhibiting these Salor-typical precious materials and dyestuffs were woven by a special group, or perhaps for special persons. These large format weavings with an abundant use of silk in the *gülli gül* are impressive and elegant. An exemplary piece of this type is the Salor *khali* from the Wiedersperg collection in the de Young Museum in San Francisco.[266]

The design compsition of the Salor *khali*

As with the Salor *chuval* design, Sogdian silks might have served as models for the design composition of the Salor *khali*. The design composition of the Sogdian silk with rosettes fig. 124 and of Salor *khali* are at least related to each other. It is also possible that both designs developed from the same tradition or model.[267] However, like the silks, the Salor *khali* show a field composition of medallions, which, to allow room for the secondary motif, are closer to each other in one direction than the other. In addition, both the Sogdian silks and the Salor *khali* have narrow borders and attached skirts (*alem*) at the ends (cf. fig. 124).

The *gülli gül* field design (fig. 186)

All Salor *khali* have the same field composition, with the *gülli gül* primary and the mini *chuval gül* secondary motif. The Turkmen *gülli gül* is a medallion design, which was presented in 1940 by Briggs as originating from Timurid models.[268] This was a revolutionary step in the right direction, although ignored by many carpet experts.

In addition to the Salor (figs. 186, 202), the Ersarï (fig. 187), the Sarïq (fig. 200), and in a slight variant also the Teke (figs. 188, 204)[269] and the Arabachi (Abb. 189) all used the *gülli gül*. This can be explained by these tribal groups (except the Arabachi),[270]having been part of the Salor confederation up to the 16th century and ascribing their ancestry to Salor Kazan, the forebear of the Salor. Perhaps these tribal groups are even splinter groups of the Salor themselves.

In spite of minor differences, the *gülli gül* is of such uniformity among all these tribal groups that a common origin seems likely. As with many other Turkmen designs, its origin might be looked for in pre-Islamic times, before the union of tribal or ethnic groups that became the Turkmen, which presumably happened no later than the 8th – 10th centuries. The *gülli gül* must have existed by then, albeit in a preliminary stage. With all likelihood, it even shares roots with the *chuval gül*.

256 See Hali 165, 2010: 75.
257 See fig. 78 in the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".
258 See fig. 80 in the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

259 Dshikijew 1991: 112.
260 There is a single exception with a different secondary motif, a Salor *khali* with the *chemche gül* instead of the "mini" *chuval gül* (TKF Wien 1986: No. 101).
261 A single Salor *khali* with an additional minor border (a border from the realm of the *alem* designs of the Salor hangings) is the exception regarding the borders (Mackie/Thompson: 1980: 64, no. 4).

262 Christie's Cowdray Park, 15 September 2011, lot 1126. For an image see Hali 170, 2011: 142.
263 Beside cat. no. 16, only four small *khali* fragments with a comparable ground colour are known to me. One is in a private collection in Kiel, Germany, and three more in a private collection in Boston, USA. They most likely all come from the same carpet.
264 There are only three published Salor *khali* showing both *alem* in sound condition: (1) Hali 3/2 1980: 42; (2) Concaro/Levi 1999: No. 105; (3) Andrews et al. 1993: No. 96.
265 E.g. cat. no. 89. An exception are the *khali* of the "Eagle" *gül* groups I and III. They all show *alem* with a brocaded stripe designs (see cat. no. 113 and comparison pieces).
266 Pinner/Eiland 1999: No. 1.

267 Other media are wood marquetry, wood carving, ceramic tiles, and wall painting.
268 Briggs 1940: 29, figs. 43 and 44.
269 Among the Teke, the design is called Teke *gül*, but strictly speaking it belongs to the same design group, forming a branch of the "*gülli gül* genealogical tree".
270 The Arabachi are documented only since the 15th/16th century in the area between the Caspian and the Amu Darya.

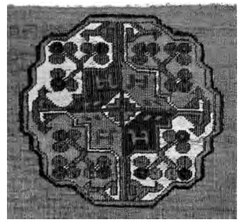


Fig. 186: Detail from the Salor *khali*, cat. no. 18. The *gülli gül* of the Salor shows a somewhat more complex contour than that of all other Turkmen versions. With its eight small rhombuses in the centre, this *gülli gül* slightly differs from the one in fig. 202. 18th or early 19th century.

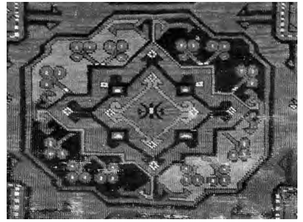


Fig. 187: Detail from the Ersarï *khali*, cat. no. 31. The *gülli gül* of the Ersarï, 16th/17th centuries. The composition of the Turkmen *gülli gül* follows different models from different periods. The centre often represents the earliest "layer", in this case a rhombus composed of four double volutes like figs. 174 – 176, framed by two interlaced squares like fig. 201.

Fig. 188: Detail from a Teke *khali*, 17th/18th centuries. The Teke *gül* already shows a presumably later form of the *gülli gül*. The blossoms have been replaced by buds, probably following Timurid carpet design (cf. fig. 212).

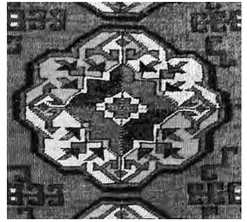


Fig. 189: Detail from an Arabachi *chuval*. First half of the 19th century. The "*gülli gül*" of the Arabachi might be the latest variant of the Turkmen *gülli gül*, representing a further development of the Teke *gül*. Only the Arabachi use the *gülli gül* in *chuval*.

Early textile designs as possible models for the *gülli gül*

As indicated in the discussion of the two *chuval*, cat. no. 13 and 14, the Turkmen *chuval gül* with all likelihood goes back to Sogdian models. The similarities between the Salor *chuval gül* (fig. 172) and the design of the 7th – 9th century Sogdian silk in fig. 171 are quite clear. However, this admittedly is the only Sogdian silk known to date showing these strong parallels. This might be considered weak evidence, but this single comparison is consistent with a number of other design parallels between Sogdian silks and Turkmen weavings.

An interesting variant, probably related to the Sogdian silk design in fig. 171, is seen in an early Islamic textile from the eastern Mediterranean, a brocaded flatweave of wool (design) and linen (ground weave) (figs. 194 and 195)[271] Like the silk in fig. 171, the flat weave dates from the 8th or 9th century. The design of this flatweave could possibly imitate the design of a silk. In the strongly geometric composition, the medallion exhibits certain affinities not only to the *chuval gül*, but particularly to the *gülli gül*. The contours of both the *gülli gül* and the *chuval gül* resemble the contour of this medallion. However, the similarities are not restricted to the contour alone; the composition of the centre with a "wreath"-like arranged outer section strongly resembles the *gülli gül*. The parallels continue: the pattern in the "wreath"-like outer section is floral in both designs, though in the early version in the form of a meander with leaves instead of the tripartite little flowers of the Turkmen *gülli gül*. Finally, the centre of the 8th – 10th century design – at least in the example in fig. 194 – shows two interlaced squares, as does the *gülli gül* of the Ersarï (fig. 198) and the Sarïq (fig. 200).[272] It should be mentioned that such designs were still new and uncommon in the 8th – 10th centuries. The Sogdian silk in fig. 171 presumably represents a development of the early Islamic period, when many ornaments of Late Antiquity were modified to new demands and conditions. In the case of our medallion design (figs. 194 and 195), the model might have been the barbed quatrefoil (figs. 190 and 192). The "barbed quatrefoil" can also frequently be found in Sogdian, Sasanian, and Byzantine textiles (cf. the secondary motif in fig. 191).[273]

How this early Islamic medallion design has been embedded in the tradition of other designs of the period is shown by the outer division's meander with leaves, stylized nearly beyond recognition in figs. 194 and 195. The similarity to leaf tendrils in the borders of medallions in 7th – 9th centuries silks, attributed to Akhmim/Panopolis, is apparent.[274] In these silks, the leaf tendril is already heavily stylized, comparable to the design of the woollen flatweaves (figs. 194 and 195). Another interesting parallel is seen in a small group of monochrome silks with brocaded designs (fig. 193),[275] in which the medallions are still round (although already showing an octagonal tendency), but the framing border shows a stylized meander with leaves very similar to, though more abstract than, the one in the woollen flatweaves (figs. 194 and 195). This form of meander with heart shaped leaves might be traced back to the Greek meander with ivy leaves.[276]

It is certainly appropriate to ask what textile designs found in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Egypt, have to do with designs of Turkmen carpets from Central Asia? These textile designs often copy Sasanian or Sogdian models of Iran or Central Asia. The hanging with winged horses of the Abegg Stiftung in Riggisberg (fig. 191) is a vivid example of this.[277] Conversely, there was also a movement in the opposite direction: both the Sasanians and the Sogdians adopted late antique designs from the eastern Mediterranean. An example of this is the already mentioned barbed quatrefoil (figs. 190, 192)[278]. The barbed quatrefoil and its derivative design in the presumably Egyptian flatweaves both belong to a design pool characteristic of the first millennium A.D. In the early Islamic period (7th – 9th centuries), it was found all over the Near East, leaving traces not only in Egypt, but also in Iran and Central Asia. Relating to this, Erdmann observes in his essay "Representations of boars and boar symbolism in Iran":

"….. the silk manufactures in Syria and Egypt showed an inner willingness to absorb encouragements from these foreign Iranian fabrics with their "crude", but definitely fresh power in their design, and their surprising richness of new motifs…."[279] He continues: "Here again, it was particularly the soil of Egypt bequeathing comprehensive material. Among the countless textile remains, we find a number of cotton fragments showing such pure Sasanian motifs to deem them Iranian import. This makes it clear, why not only the textiles from large workshops like Antinoë, but also simpler products of Egyptian folk art, mostly labelled "Coptic", are so heavily interspersed with Sasanian motifs. It is therefore not surprising to come cross the Iranian motif of a boar's head on "Coptic" tapestries". [280]

Relating to this, Erdmann shows a woollen tapestry fragment, with a boar's head, found in Fustat.[281] The boar's head is a typically Iranian motif, which surprisingly survived among the Turkmen as *dongus burun*, literally "pig's snout". I will come back to this presently. We can at least surmise how the *gülli gül* might have developed, namely by following the same Late Antique, Sogdian, or Sasanian models, e.g. the two Egytian flat weaves (figs. 194 and 195). Both the *chuval gül* and the *gülli gül* must go back to such models, as designs of this kind were unknown in earlier times.

271 So far only two examples are known, one in David Collection in Copenhagen (fig. 194) and another one in the Katoen Natie Collection in Antwerp (fig. 195).

272 For additional information on the design with two interlaced squares, see also the discussion on the Salor hangings cat. no. 105 and 130.

273 E.g. Schrenk 2004: 315, cat. no. 18, there used as a secondary motif, presumably adopted from Sasanian silks. Other, somewhat later examples are cat. no. 142 – 144 in the same publication. For a Sogdian example from the Abegg-Stiftung (inv. no. 5405/5409) see Hali 170, 2011: 98, fig. 3.

274 E.g. Schrenk 2004: Cat. nos. 116, 146, 148.

275 My thanks for this reference go to Dr. Regula Shorta from the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg.

276 For an example, see Reeder et al. 1999: Cat. no. 72.

277 E.g. in Martiniani-Reber 1993: 42 ff.; or in Ierusalimskaja/Borkop 1996: No. 71.

278 Another typical example is the Turkmen *kejebe* design.

279 Erdmann 1942: 371.

280 Erdmann 1942: 375 – 376. For an image

281 See fig. 22 in the chapter "*Dongus burun*". Today the fragment is in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Inv. no. 1950.509) in the USA.

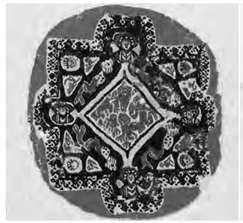


Fig. 190 top: Barbed quatrefoil with busts, wool tapestry, Egypt, 6th–9th centuries. Abegg-Stiftung Riggisberg, inv. no. 1109. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 191 bottom: Hanging with winged horses, detail from a wool tapestry. Egypt or Eastern Mediterranean area, 4th–6th centuries. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 2191. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 192 top: Barbed quatrefoil, wool tapestry, Egypt, 6th–9th centuries. Abegg-Stiftung Riggisberg, inv. no. 642. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 193 bottom: Monochrome silk with brocaded design. Egypt or Eastern Mediterranean area, 9th/10th centuriers. (Schorta 1995–1996: 56). © Regula Schorta.

Fig. 194 top: Flatweave, with brocaded design in wool and linen on a linen foundation, detail, Egypt or Eastern Mediterranean area, 8th–10th centuries. The David Collection. Repr. from von Folsach 2001: No. 621.

Fig. 195 bottom: Flatweave with brocaded design in wool and linen on a linen foundation, detail, Egypt or Eastern Mediterranean area, 8th–10th centuries. Catoen Natie Collection, Antwerp. Repr. from DeMoor 2008: 208.

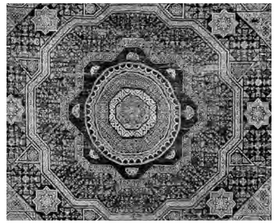
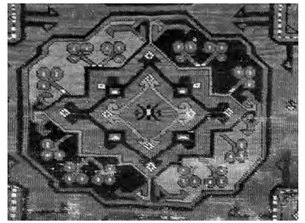
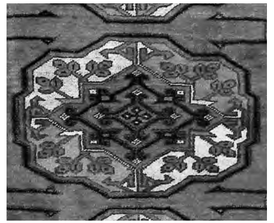


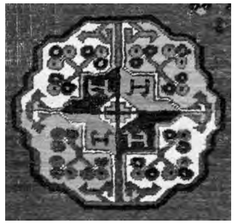
Fig. 196 top: Detail from a Mamluk carpet, wool, Egypt, Cairo, 2nd half of the 15th century. Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin. Repr. from Beselin 2011: No. 23.

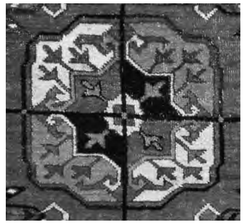
Fig. 197 bottom: Detail from a Mamluk carpet, wool, Egypt, Cairo, 2nd half of the 15th century. Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna. Repr. from Völker 2001: No. 1.

Finding such forms also in Mamluk carpets of the 15th century (figs 196 and 197) is not really surprising; this tradition was drawing from the same sources. Other design parallels between classical carpets and Turkmen weavings from this period are also known, notably various types of Anatolian and Spanish "Holbein" designs, dating back to the 15th century (see figs. 94 and 95 in this chapter). While discussing the *chuval gül*, I have already referred to its similarities to the *gülli gül*.









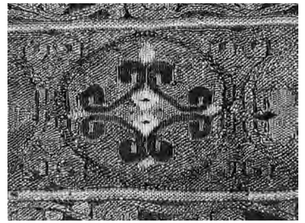


Fig. 198 top: Detail from the Ersarï *khali*, cat. no. 31. The *gülli gül* of the Ersarï, 16th/17th centuries. The composition of the Turkmen *gülli gül* follows different models of different ages. The centre often represents the earliest "layer", in this case a rhombus composed of four double volutes like fig. 199, framed by two interlaced squares like figs. 201.

Fig. 199 bottom: Rhombus composed of four double volutes in a circle. Detail from a silk and gold tapestry, 11th century. Found in the cathedral of Burgo de Osma, Spain. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Repr. from May 1957: 20, fig. 8.

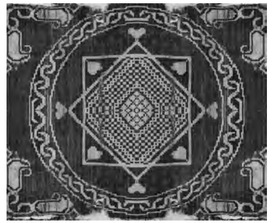


Fig. 200 top: Detail from cat. no. 49. *Gülli gül* of the Sarïq, 17th/18th centuries. The *gülli gül* of the Sarïq is similar to that of the Ersarï. The floral design element shows a form typical for the Sarïq. Otherwise the composition is identical to that of the Ersarï.

Fig. 201 bottom: Reconstruction of the design of a blue ground Sogdian silk with two interlaced squares in a circle. Treasury of the cathedral of Liège, inv. no. 432.

Fig. 202 top: Detail from cat. no. 16. *Gülli gül* of the Salor, 16th/17th centuries. The tri-partite floral design elements in the "wreath-like" outer section might go back to Sasanian/Sogdian models (cf. fig. 203), as do the animals in the centre (cf. fig. 215).

Fig. 203 bottom: Detail from fig. 215. Sogdian (?) silk with confronted deer. On their croups are pictogram-like tri-partite plant ornaments. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132 Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 204 top: Detail from Teke *khali*, cat. no. 73. Teke *gül*, 16th/17th centuries. The Teke *gül* already shows a presumably later form of the *gülli gül*, in that the blossoms of the Salor *gülli gül* have been replaced by buds, most likely adopted from Timurid carpet designs like fig. 212.

Fig. 205 bottom: Small medallion composed of four sets of paired boar tusks. Textile design from the kaftan of Khosrow II in Taq-e Bostan. Repr. from Otavsky 1998: 140, fig. 72.

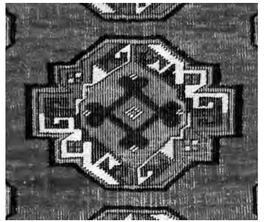


Fig. 206: The *chuval gül* of the Salor with notches in the contour and four small quartered squares (both remnants of interlacing), a plain centre (not quartered) and pointed double hooks on the vertical axis. 17th century. Detail from cat. no. 13.

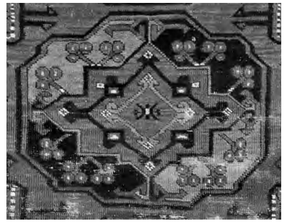


Fig. 207: The *gülli gül* of the Ersarï, 16th/17th centuries. The composition of the Turkmen *gülli gül* follows different design models of different age. The centre often represents the earliest "layer" of the design. Here it shows a rhombus composed of four double volutes like fig. 174–176 (cf. also fig. 199) and two interlaced squares like fig. 201. Detail from cat. no. 31.

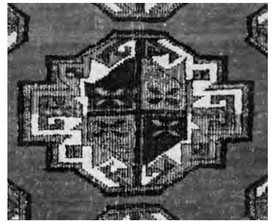


Fig. 208: The *chuval gül* with a quartered centre and pointed double hooks on the vertical axis, 18th/19th centuries. Detail from a Salor chuval with 4 × 4 *chuval gül* field design. Private collection.

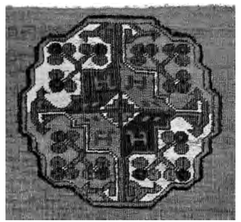


Fig. 209: top: Detail from Salor *khali*, cat. no. 18. The Salor *gülli gül* has a somewhat more complex contour than that of all other Turkmen versions. Like the *chuval gül*, the *gülli gül* of the Salor shows the additional small rhombuses in the centre of the design. 18th or early 19th century.

Similarities between the *chuval gül* and the *gülli gül*

Common to both the *chuval gül* and the *gülli gül* designs are the complexity of their contours. The outer perimeter of the Salor *gülli gül* is composed of two octagons, one of them turned by 45°, having two additional "bulges" on the left and right sides on the horizontal axis (fig. 209). The *gülli gül* of the Ersarï, the Sarïq, and the Teke is already somewhat simplified by comparison, being composed of two octagons, but without the bulges (fig. 207). The source of the attached bulges of the Salor *gülli gül* is still an unanswered question. It could be an artifact from the contour of an earlier source (cf. figs. 190–195) which became simplified over time. This would correspond to an often seen tendency in folk art to move from complexity to simplicity perhaps to make it easier to reproduce a design from memory.

Another similarity consists of the division into an inner and an outer section, where the outer section frames the inner one like a "wreath" (cf. figs. 206–209). In both designs, the outer section shows two different design elements. One is the four double hooks, two on the vertical and two on the horizontal axis.[282] The second design element, placed on the two diagonal axes of the outer division in both designs, in the *chuval gül* shows remnants of interlacing in the form of four small quartered squares (figs. 206 and 207)[283], and in the *gülli gül* four little tri-partite flowers with three round blossoms each. These little tri-partite flowers gave the name to the design: *gülli gül*, "flower design". They presumably also go back to 7th–9th century Sasanian[284] and Sogdian models, where we quite frequently find them in a very similar form (figs. 203 and 215). These tri-partite flowers may have been adopted by both the Turkmen (fig. 217) and the Timurids (fig. 212) from the Sogdians and/or the Sasanians. Although Amy Briggs' interpretation of the Timurid design (fig. 212) as the model for the Turkmen *gülli gül* might not have been absolutely accurate, her idea was insightful and ground-breaking. The example she used for her discussion happens to have been a quite uncommon type of Ersarï *gülli gül* with a contour of just a single octagon.[285]

Let us now take a closer look at the characteristic hook forms, a typical feature not only of the *gülli gül*, but also of the *chuval gül* (fig. 206), the *temirjin gül*[286], the Qaradashlï *gül*,[287] and the "mini" *chuval gül* (figs 219–221). With all likelihood all these hook forms have a common Iranian source: the boar, or the boar's head, as symbol of power, (here symbolically reduced to its tusks). The secondary motif of the Sasanian silk in fig. 218 with its paired boar's tusks forming a collar is a perfect example of this. As discussed in detail in the chapter "*Dongus Burun*", this Sasanian design and its Central Asian counterpart called *dongus burun*, literally "pig's snout" among the Turkmen, is a staple component not only in Sasanian and Sogdian silks, but in both the Turkmen *chuval gül* and the *gülli gül*.[288]

282 How and why these double hooks go back to an ancient, pre-Islamic Iranian tradition is the subject of the chapter "*Dongus burun*".
283 For a discussion of the *chuval gül* and its origin, see cat. no. 13 and 14.
284 For a Sasanian example, see Kröger 1982: Tafel 36/6, Dreiblatt Blütenfries 124.
285 For an example of a *gülli gül* composed of a single octagon, see fig. 3 in the chapter "*Dongus Burun*".
286 Fig. 34 in the chapter "The Sarïq".
287 See figs. 2 and 4 in the chapter "*Dongus burun*".
288 For more information on this subject, see the chapter "*Dongus burun*".

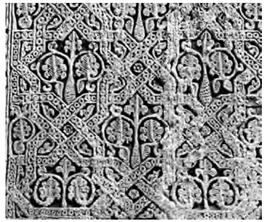


Fig. 210: Early Islamic "cross and star" design. Stucco ornament from the No Gumbad mosque, Balkh, Afghanistan, 2nd half of the 9th century. Reproduced from "Du" magazine no. 381, November 1972: 848.

Fig. 211: Silk triple cloth in plain weave with extra weft floats bound diagonally (reconstruction of the design). Iran, 11th/12th centuries. Four hares in a grid of interlaced bands. The Textile Museum Washington D.C. Image and reconstruction by the author.

Fig. 212: Timurid carpet design after a miniature painting, 1429–1430. Repr. from Briggs 1940: Figs. 42–44.

Abb. 213: Anatolian *"gülli gül"*. Detail from a Yuntag carpet, Western Anatolia, 19th century. Repr. from Rippon Boswell 67, 2006: Lot 64.

The centres of both the *chuval gül* and the *gülli gül* are framed by a complex contour, enclosing, amongst other things, the double hooks. The centre itself is either plain (without quartering), showing a design composed of two interlaced squares with a small rhombus made of four double volutes (figs. 206 and 208)[289] – which corresponds to the historically earlier version of the design – or quartered (fig. 207 and 209), which corresponds to a newer development since about the 10th century.

The version of the *gülli gül* with the quartered centre, in turn, shows two different types of filler motifs, of which one again corresponds to an earlier model while the other might be ascribed to later developments. The earlier version – that of the Salor – shows two pairs of opposed animals (fig. 209, and 217). This might well be a later form of paired animals as seen in Sogdian silks (fig. 215), which in a later stage of development have been mirrored downwards to form a quar-

289 It corresponds to the design on the Salor hangings, cat. no. 5 and 130, with *kejebe/darvaza* composition. In the centre of the *chuval gül*, it is reduced to the small rhombus composed of four volutes.

Fig. 214: So called senmurv silk with a single senmurv in a pearled roundel. Iran, Sasanian, 7th century. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. 8579-1863. Repr. from Schorta 2006: 15, fig. 4.

Fig. 215: Fragment of a Sogdian silk with two confronted deer on a split palmette in a medallion framed by boar's tusks. Central Asia, 7th/8th centuries. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 4901. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132 Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 216: Silk triple cloth in plain weave with extra weft floats bound diagonally (reconstruction of the design). Seljuk, Iran, 11th/12th centuries. Four hares in a grid of interlaced bands. The Textile Museum Washington D.C. Photo and reconstruction by the author.

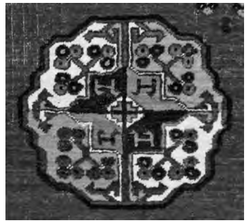


Fig. 217: The *gülli gül* of the Salor, detail from Salor *khali* cat. no. 16, ca. 1550–1650.

tered centre of the medallion. To find the Salor again adhering to an ancient tradition is at this point not surprising. The later form of the centre is seen in the Teke *gül*. There we find four diagonally arranged single buds (fig. 204), repeating the triple buds of the "wreath"-like outer section. The Teke may have replaced the older animal forms with the newer bud forms, which in this case shows parallels to Timurid carpet designs (cf. fig. 212). Hence, the Teke *gül* probably represents a further development, that is to say a modernization, from the *gülli gül* of the Salor. Finally in the *gülli gül* of the Arabachi, the quartered centre appears without the filler motifs (fig. 189).

Summary on the *gülli gül*

Carpet medallion design precursors of the *gülli gül* must have existed in Central Asia before the formation of the Turkmen. In the course of the 11th to the 14th century, and under the influences of the Turks, the Mongols, and the Timurids, it developed into the different types as we know them today: the *gülli gül* of the Salor, the Ersarï, the Sarïq, and the Teke; the last presumably representing the latest form of the development. Quartered medallion designs showing a combination of flower and animal motifs as seen in the *gülli gül* of the Salor seem essentially not to have existed in that form before the 10th century. Pre-10th century designs either show a single animal in a medallion, as seen in Sasanian silks of Iran (fig. 214), or a pair of confronted animals corresponding to the Central Asian tradition of the Sogdians (fig. 215).

The *gülli gül* of the Salor with its three flowers with triple blossoms in each quarter instead of a single split palmette on the vertical axis as in the silk design (forming the floral element of the design), and the mirrored pair of animals instead of only two confronted animals (cf. figs. 215 – 217), represents a kind of a new combination of older forms. The probable explanation for these changes is that the ancient Iranian animal designs were considered old-fashioned by the designers in the professional Timurid workshops of the 15th century. However, in the realm of traditional art they lived on, though as part of the new Turkish/Mongol/Timurid design developments of the 11th to 14th centuries.[290] The *gülli gül* most likely represents a combination of an ancient

290 The origin of the animal carpets of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the former Orient Stars Collection (now in Qatar), and the Bruscettini Collection, that came to light in the past 20 years, is still unclear - Anatolia, Persia, or Central Asia. The style of their design points more to a traditional background than to a professional city workshop. Radiocarbon dating of four of the five known examples and two paintings, a 14th century Ilkhanid miniature and a 15th century Italian painting, prove their 14th/15th century date of production. (For illustrations of these animal carpets, see Franses 2013: Figs. 240–243)

Fig. 218: The secondary motif of a Sasanian silk, composed of four opposite pairs of boar's tusks. Textile design on the caftan of Khosrow II in Taq-i Bostan. Repr. from Otavsky 1998: Fig. 71.

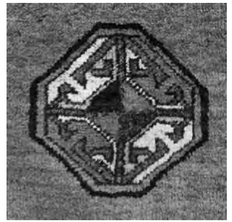


Fig. 219: The Salor mini *chuval gül*. A comparison with fig. 221 shows how little this ornament has changed in the course of time. Detail from a Salor *khali*, ca. 1800. Private collection.

Fig. 220: Slightly variant mini *chuval gül* from the same Salor *khali* as fig. 219. A small four-petaled flower in silk takes the place of the usual quartered rhombus. Both the flower design and the silk are unusual for Salor *khali*.

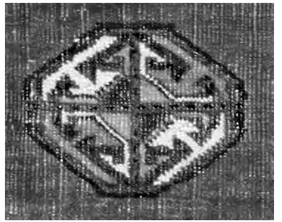


Fig. 221: The mini *chuval gül*, a reduced form of the *chuval gül*, is the "classic" secondary motif of all Salor *khali*. The mini *chuval gül* is usually drawn as seen here. Detail from the Salor *khali* cat. no. 16, ca. 1550 – 1650.

design structure including animals and floral elements with the new style of quartering, in vogue since about the 10th century. In other words, an ancient design, which the Salor started to adapt to the new developments of the 10th century. Another possibility is that the Salor adopted it already in a quartered version. Interestingly, later 16th and 17th century influences from Safavid Persia and Mughal India appear to have been utterly ignored by the Salor, despite having caused significant innovations, such as the *kepse gül*, among other Turkmen groups.[291]

A distant relative to the Turkmen *gülli gül* is also seen in Anatolian carpets (fig 213). But in contrast to the Turkmen *gülli gül*, this Anatolian variant clearly copies a Timurid model (cf. figs. 212 and 213). The Anatolian design, like the Timurid model, shows a contour in the form of an interlaced band, which has never been the case with the Turkmen *gülli gül*. The origin and development of such interlaced medallion design in 9th–15th century Islamic art is illustrated in figs. 210 – 212. The Anatolian ornament (fig. 213) thus clearly suggests that the Turkmen *gülli gül* did not copy a Timurid model but rather represents a parallel development. It also demonstrates that the Teke *gül* with all likelihood did copy Timurid models in one regard, replacing the earlier Sasanian flower forms with bud forms as seen in Timurid designs (cf. figs. 204 and 212).

The Turkmen *gülli gül* is a complex composite design, having gone through a number of adaptations to new "fashions" over time, resulting in the form we know today. Finding different versions showing historically different stages of developments of the *gülli gül* is consistent with what we see in other Turkmen designs like the *chuval gül*, the *darvaza gül*, and the *ensi* design. The virtual absence of variation in the Salor *gülli gül* over the centuries, however, is demonstrated in the comparison of figs. 186 and 202.

The mini *chuval gül* (figs. 219 – 221)

What has been said about the secondary motif of the Salor *chuval* also applies to the secondary motif of the Salor *khali*. The Salor did not use the "new" *chemche gül*, so popular among all other Turkmen groups, but a reduced or related form of the ancient *chuval gül*, which I have suggested we call the "mini" *chuval gül* (figs. 219–221). The Salor not using the *chemche gül* is explained by their strict adherence to a largely

291 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *Kepse Gül*".

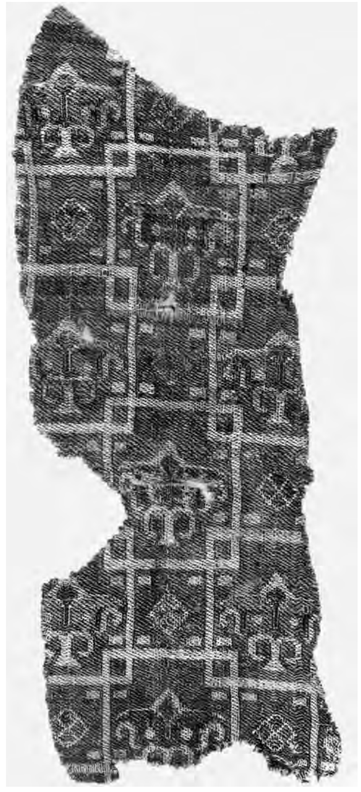


Fig. 222: Fragment of a Sogdian silk with an ivory grid of interlaced squares and palmettes on a lac dyed red ground, 8 × 28 cm, 7th–9th centuries. From the shroud of St. Simètre, now in the treasury of the cathedral of Liège. The silk shows the same design as the border of the caftan in figs. 223 and 224. (For radiocarbon dating see Vol. 1, appendix IV, table 16, Ra-716. For dye analysis see appendix I, table 10).

Fig. 223 and 224: Sogdian wall painting from Penjikent, Sogdiana, 8th century. A merchant, wearing a silk caftan in Persian style. The border of the caftan shows the same design as the silk fragment in fig. 222.

Fig. 225: Replica of the Sogdian silk in fig. 222. Courtesy Barbara Bigler, Aesch.

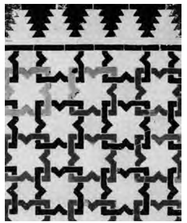


Fig. 226: Tile panel, 14th century, Alhambra, Granada, Spain. With minor variations, the design corresponds to the design of the Sogdian silk in fig. 222. Rep. from Senn et al. 1995: 192, no. 82.

pre-Islamic Central Asian design repertoire. As shown in the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*", the *chemche gül* represents a development from star-like interlaced designs, which started to appear in Islamic art in the 9th century (fig. 210), becoming really widespread since the 11th century.

The possible origin of the "mini" *chuval gül* has already been suggested in the introduction to this chapter (figs. 14 and 15). It shows amazing resemblances to a secondary motif seen in 7th century Sasanian silks, composed of a "collar-like" arranged of boar's tusks (fig. 218).[292] The affinity of the form and the same use of these two designs as secondary motifs is remarkable, as is the common mythological background: what was the boar's tusk collar of the Sasanians is the double hooks called *dongus burun*, literally "pig's snout", by the Turkmen.

The composition of the Salor *khali,* with its small medallion secondary motif instead of a flower cross as seen in Yomut and Qaradashlï *khali*, follows a composition frequently seen in Sogdian silks of the 7th – 9th centuries. Instead of flower crosses (like fig. 175), small rosettes have been used as secondary motifs (like fig. 147, but also fig. 218).

292 For detailed discussion, see the chapter "*Dongus burun*".

Figs. 227 and 228: Anatolian carpet, 17th/18th centuries. Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müsezi Istanbul. The border design of the carpet corresponds in detail to the design of the silk design in figs. 222 – 224.

Fig. 229: Border of an Anatolian "Holbein" carpet, 16th century.

Fig. 230: Detail from the border of the Salor *khali*, cat. no. 18.

Almost all Salor *khali* show halved "mini" *chuval gül* along the edges (like cat. nos. 17 and 18). Only in one published example are complete secondary motifs found along the side borders,[293] and in two cases there is no secondary motif at all along the side borders (cat. no. 16).[294]

The border design of the salor *khali* (fig. 230)

Border designs of Salor carpets are as unvarying as field designs; with only one exception, all Salor *khali* show the same main border, and the same minor borders.[295] No other group of Turkmen carpets shows this degree of homogeneity. Like the field design, the ornamentation of the border goes back to pre-10th century models. The unusual narrow main border follows the models of 7th – 9th century silks. The Sogdian silk with rosettes in fig. 124 shows similarly narrow borders. In such a pronounced form, this is not seen in any other group of Turkmen *khali*. The main border of Salor *khali* is barely more than 7 cm (2 3/4 in) wide.

293 TKF Wien 1986: No. 102.
294 The other is published in Mackie/Thompson 1980: 64, no. 4.
295 A Salor *khali* from the second half of the 19th century with a meander with curled leaves in the main border (see Hali 170, 2011: 142).

A first reference to the origin of the design is seen in a wall painting from Penjikent, an important Sogdian trading centre in the Zerafshan valley. Penjikent lies about 30 km east of Samarkand, the heartland of the Sogdians. The painting pre-dates the destruction of Penjikent by the Arab invaders in the first half of the 8th century. It shows Sogdian traders dressed in precious caftans attending a banquet. One of them wears a caftan showing a design of particular interest. The borders of the caftan's sleeves, the closure on the front side, and the lower edge show a design with intriguing similarities to the border design of the Salor *khali* (figs. 223 and 224). The wall painting was in a room of a mansion. On all four walls of that room, above a built-in seating bench, luxuriously dressed men were depicted nearly life size attending a banquet. They are identified as merchants, and not as noblemen, on the basis that they don't wear swords. Noblemen always wear swords, even at a banquet (see fig. 6),[296] whereas the men in this wall painting only wear daggers.

As luck would have it, a fragment of an identically designed Sogdian silk survived in a shrine in Belgium (fig. 222).[297] In its colouring and structure, this fragment shows great similarities to the silk samite with rosette design in fig. 124,[298] which already has been discussed in connection with the Salor *gül* (the rosettes in the field) and the *kejebe* design (the niches in the side borders). The design of the silk fragment in fig. 222 is, beyond some minimal differences, identical to the border design of the caftan in the wall painting. In place of the palmettes in the grid of the real silk fragment, the silk in the wall painting shows small rosettes (fig. 224), and the ground colour is not red, but blue. Such minor differences in design and colouring are common among Sogdian silks. Otherwise, the border design of the caftan in the wall painting corresponds exactly to that of the silk fragment in fig. 222. Not surprisingly, radiocarbon dating of the silk fragment[299] is in perfect accordance with the dating of the wall painting. Another serendipity

296 Sims 2002: 121.
297 I thank Dr. Regula Schorta from the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg for pointing out this silk fragment, after I showed her an image of the wall painting.
298 I thank Chris Verhecken-Lammens from Mortsel, Belgium, for the structure analyses of both silks.
299 For the result of radiocarbon dating, see caption to fig. 222.

was to find Barbara Bigler,[300] who rewove a 1:1 duplicate of the silk samite. Fig. 225 shows the replica with the design as it looked before it was cut up into strips to be used as a border or edging for garments. The point here, however, is the use of this specific design as a border pattern by the Sogdians.

It is not surprising that this design also found its way to Islamic Spain (Al Andalus), which can be explained by an active exchange of both intellectual and material goods in the Islamic world of those days. Fig. 226 shows a variant of the design in the form of ceramic tiles. The interlaced squares have been modified slightly, adding a v-shaped notching at each side, giving the design its new, star-like appearance.

The design was also brought to Anatolia, and interestingly also used there as a border design. Some of the border types of the small pattern "Holbein" carpets can arguably be traced back to such interlaced grid designs, or are at least related to them. One of these border types, with its interlaced geometrical forms (fig. 229), shows similarities not only to the Sogdian silk designs (fig. 222), but also to the border of the Salor *khali* (fig. 230) and the Spanish ceramic tile design (fig. 226). Without doubt, the unusual Anatolian border design in fig. 227 is a direct descendent of the Sogdian design in fig. 222. This carpet clearly demonstrates the migration of this design to Anatolia, which, considering the migration of all the 15th and 16th century "Holbein" designs, is not really surprising. Increasing evidence speaks in favour of a Persian[301] or even Central Asian origin of the "Holbein" designs, rather than an independent Anatolian development.

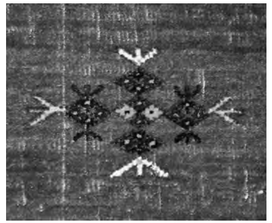
16

Salor *khali*

So far this is the only Salor weaving with an unambiguous pre-1650 radiocarbon dating. This carpet impressively demonstrates how little the Salor changed their design in the course of the centuries.

300 Barbara Bigler from Aesch near Basel, Switzerland, is an expert in the field of weaving and dyeing.
301 Thompson 2004, 2010.

Fig. 231: Detail from the Salor *khali*, cat. no. 16. This early dated purple ground Salor *khali* is the only known example in which tertiary motifs have been used systematically.



Design: The design of this *khali* is in perfect accordance with the "classic" Salor tradition, although the composition of the field shows some minor variations. There are no halved secondary motifs along the side borders,[302] and three different tertiary motifs (fig. 231) are used systematically throughout the field. One of the three types of tertiary motifs (fig. 231) shows an unusual feature: attached to the five rhombuses are elements resembling "bird's feet". Not only is the design composed of five rhombuses extremely rare among the Turkmen, even rarer are the attached "bird's feet". The *tamga*, the tribal emblem (brand) of the Salor, looks nearly the same. Abul Ghazi[303] and G. I. Karpov[304] both show such Salor *tamga*, though in slightly different variations. Perhaps this is a very unusual tribal or property label, which would be a remarkable exception to the otherwise extremely conservative attitude of the Salor regarding the designs of their weavings.

The *gülli gül* is free of any additional rhombuses or diamonds (fig. 202), as could be expected from an early piece. Later variants usually show such added rhombuses or diamonds (fig. 186), or also a combination of little rhombuses and diamonds in the centre of the design. The latest examples from the end of the 19th century even show little cross forms instead of the four animals in the centre of the design.[305] This last change might result from late 19th century Sarïq influence.

Colours: Though the purple ground colour is a rarity, it doesn't make this *khali* unique. There are at least four small fragments of another purple ground Salor *khali*.[306] They don't show tertiary motifs in the field, but they do have additional little rhombuses and diamonds in the *gülli gül*. In addition there are some Salor hangings with a ground colour comparable to cat. no. 16.[307]

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating this *khali* is the earliest known Salor weaving. The presence of Mexican cochineal, however, defines a *terminus post quem*, as the dyestuff from the New World was not available in Central Asia before 1550. Radiocarbon dating supplies the corresponding *terminus ante quem* of 1650. Hence, the piece was woven between 1550 and 1650.

302 This is only known from one other Salor *khali*. See Mackie/Thompson 1980: No. 4.
303 Abu'l-Ghazi Bahadur Khan 1958: 53.
304 Karpov 1929 (1979): 34.

17

Salor *khali*

Compared to cat. no. 16, the *gülli gül* are somewhat closer together. Otherwise, this piece shows the "classic" composition of a Salor *khali*. Some few knots in silk are found in the upper part of the right hand side border. The red of the ground colour is not as bright as in other pieces (eg. cat. no. 18), and there is no insect dyestuff on wool in the animals of the *gülli gül* or in the secondary motifs. According to radiocarbon dating, this piece could have been woven either in the early 18th or the early 19th century.

305 Two exceptions are published in Herrmann I (1978): No. 69, and Schürmann 1979: 223. The piece published by Schürmann might even date from the end of the 19th century. Schürman attributes it to the Sarïq, without giving any structural data (like the type of knot). However, it is certainly a late piece, probably still made by Salor weavers subjugated by the Sarïq.
306 Three small fragments are in a private collection in Boston, USA. A fourth, presumably from the same *khali*, is in a German private collection in Kiel.
307 Wearden 2003:103, plate 97, inv. no. 143-1884; Rippon Boswell 75, 2010: Lot 1.

18

Salor *khali*

These two fragments have been included in this study because they belong to an unusual group of Salor *khali*. They show the same abundant use of lac dyed wool and cochineal dyed silk for the design as is usually seen in smaller Salor items. The insect dyestuffs lac and cochineal, as well as silk, have been used systematically and in large amounts, which is rather unusual for the large format Salor *khali*. One of the most beautiful, and also the best-preserved piece, of this group is the Salor *khali* from the Wiedersperg collection.[308]

135

Salor *Khali*

In proportions and design, this *khali* shows certain affinities to cat. no. 16. Small rhombuses are placed regularly along the edges between the halved secondary motifs, suggesting the tertiary motifs in cat. no. 16. In contrast to cat. no. 16, this piece has a bright red ground colour, and the *gülli gül* shows the little rhombuses and diamonds. Perhaps not surprisingly, radiocarbon dating indicates a later dating than cat. no. 16.

Chapter summary

The name Salor first appears in a written document in the mid-10th century, making the Salor one of the earliest Turkmen groups to be mentioned. They have been considered the aristocrats among the Turkmen, and also the inventors of piled carpet weaving. The latter, however, does not correspond to the historical facts. According to Peter Andrews, piled carpet weaving was still unknown to the Eastern Turks of the 10th century.[309] However, the attribution of such prestige to the Salor could be explained by an amalgamation of the Salor with a sedentary group of people previously living in west Central Asia, from

308 Pinner/Eiland 1999: 22, plate 1. Another example is the Salor *khali* from the former Leifer Collection (Mackie/Thompson 1980: No. 4).
309 Andrews 1999: 213, Footnote 157.

whom the Salor might have adopted carpet weaving. In the light of the material collected and assimilated here, this seems to be a realistic possibility. Not only in their design, but also in the choice of colour and material, weavings of the Salor show a precision and complexity beyond that generally seen in other Turkmen weavings. Many of the relatively small repertoire of Salor designs can be traced to pre-Islamic traditions of the Sasanians and particularly the Sogdians, those designs in turn often having ancient roots in Late Antiquity or the cultures of the ancient Near East. Designs from the ancient nomadic/shamanistic tradition of the early Turks of the eastern steppe belt are barely discernible among the Salor, or, for that matter, other Turkmen groups. In complete antithesis to the hitherto prevalent doctrine, these designs can be traced back to the cultures of the ancient Near East. Over the centuries (or millennia), they became part of the Central Asian tradition and have continued to be used up to the 19th century, particularly among the Salor. Although the Salor were defeated by the Persians and subsequently by their neighbours, the Sarïq and the Teke, their ancient design repertoire remained influential up to the late 19th century. In this final period, it also became part of the design language of other tribal groups, particularly the Teke and the Sarïq, peripherally even of the Yomut.

The Ersarï

Mangishlaq, Üst-Yurt, middle reaches of the Amu-Darya, Bukhara, and Merv Oasis
(See map to the chapter "The Salor")
Cat. nos. 19–36; 136 – 139

Introduction

The Turkmen weaving nomenclature "Ersarï" and "Beshir" has given rise to a discussion based on the re-naming from a tribal name (*ethnonym*) to a geographical name (*toponym*). Instead of Ersarï (or, Beshir) some experts have started to speak of "Middle Amu-Darya" groups (in the following called "MAD"). The diversity of the weavings of this area explains the background of this discussion. While the more traditional examples have been attributed to the Ersarï, the carpets up to 8 metres long, often showing Persian designs and probably produced in workshops, have been labelled "Beshir".[1] The appearance of a number of early examples[2] with unusual designs and colour palettes has raised the question of attribution anew.

The same issue of tribal vs. geographic attribution also concerns other Turkmen groups and their weavings. Many different objects have been attributed to the "Yomut", for example, though they likely cannot be the output of a single group. They might more appropriately be assigned to a greater geographical area, namely the southwest of Turkmenistan with the city of Gorgan (Astarabad) as its cultural centre. It becomes more and more apparent that weavings should be attributed to major oasis centres and their ancient cultures rather than to tribal groups. Over the centuries, the nomadic tribes have moved in and out of these oasis centres, incorporating the ancient traditions of the areas.

The greater "Ersarï"problem will not be dealt with in this chapter in depth. Only a small group of Ersarï weavings with interesting or unusual designs have been addressed here. The focus of this study is more on the weavings of the Salor and the "Yomut" groups. Experts like Tsareva, Poullada, and Risman are particularly focusing on the weavings of the Middle Amu-Darya groups. Moreover, instead of Ersarï or Beshir, Poullada uses the ancient term "Lebab Turkmen" (from

1 According to Harvey, Beshir is derived from *Bas'chira*, which means Bukhara in the Sart dialect (Harvey 1997: 153). This reference is interesting in the context of Thompson's suggestion that some Ersarï pieces might be workshop products from Bukhara, consequently making a distinction between "city rugs" and "tribal rugs", i.e. Bukhara and Ersarï, and calling such rugs "Bukhara" instead of Ersarï (Mackie/Thompson 1980: 180).

2 i.e. older than 19th century.

Persian *lab-e-ab*, "riverside").[3] The results of their efforts remain to be seen.[4]

An important issue regarding the Middle Amu-Darya labelling as suggested by Tsareva is that of the Salor, in that she includes their weavings, or at least some of them, in this group, as the Salor have lived for a long time in this cultural area, the reaches of the Middle Amu-Darya. However, Salor weavings make up a relatively homogeneous group, clearly distinct from what we call Ersarï, Beshir, Kizil Ayak, or Ali-Eli, and are separate from this amalgam of weavings. The complexity of these problems led me to maintain the admittedly imprecise appellation "Ersarï" for this publication.

The field of the MAD Studies so far has paid too little attention to the region's pre-Islamic and pre-Turkic cultural history. As we have seen with the Salor, it is insufficient to look at only the history of the past few centuries. The proper roots of this culture, including carpet weaving, are far deeper. Turkmen history of the past thousand years is marked by nearly untraceable seesaw changes, which do not contribute to the clarification of tribal attributions of their weavings.

The weavings with an Ersarï or MAD attribution are extremely numerous, ranging from "traditional" to workshop pieces, with a nearly unlimited diversity of designs and influences. No other group of Turkmen weavings approaches this degree of diversity. An explanation for this has not been offered so far in the literature, or has only been touched on. Without knowledge of the long history of this region, any attempt to understand the origin and the tradition of these textiles is doomed to failure. To include only the past 200 or 300 years, ignoring the history of the past 4000 to 5000 years, can lead to false conclusions.

3 Poullada 2006: 67
4 In 2011, Elena Tsareva published an essay on the MAD complex of problems, bringing some interesting new projections into the discussion (Tsareva 2011a).

Introduction to the *ensi* of the Ersarï and the Kizil Ayak[5]

Many Ersarï (MAD) *ensi* show significant design differences from the *ensi* of the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke. The two Ersarï *ensi* examined here are examples of this (cat. nos. 19 and 136). For example, both lack the typical *sainak* border,[6] the typical meander with curled leaves,[7] and the *gush* motif. In addition, many Ersarï *ensi* show a kind of W-form for the *gush* motif (like cat. no. 136), or a further developed multiplication thereof.[8] In most Ersarï *ensi*, the niches in the fields with the registers and the *gush* motifs are slightly wider than in all other Turkmen *ensi* (e.g. cat. no. 136). Generally, the Ersarï *ensi* appear "simpler" in composition; somewhat more aligned to "folk art" than Salor, Sarïq, and Teke *ensi*. Furthermore, influences from the sphere of ikat weaving appear, as in the outermost border of cat. no. 19.

Cat. no. 35, with its affinities to the *ensi* of the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke, can most likely not be attributed to the Ersarï. Although its design unmistakably shows a relationship to the Ersarï, it clearly differs from them in its cooler colour palette and its finer weave. An attribution to the Kizil Ayak is at least in the realm of possibility.

19

Ersarï *ensi*

Only five published Ersarï *ensi* show similarities to cat. no. 19. The borders of this small group are particularly distinctive.

Design: The individual designs correspond broadly to the characteristic repertoire of the Ersarï, while the overall composition differs considerably from what is considered standard in the *ensi* of the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke. This is consistent with the free and open handling of designs typical of the Ersarï.

5 On the origin of the *ensi* design, see the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".
6 14 out of 47 listed comparison examples lack the *sainak* border.
7 33 out of 47 listed comparison examples lack the curled leaf meander in the borders.
8 e.g. Concaro/Levi 1999: No. 121.

There are three elements of this *ensi* design which are still true to the "classic" *ensi* design traditions: the tripartite composition of the field – larger at bottom and top and smaller in between, the *ensi*-typical *gush* motif in the registers of the two larger fields, and the *alem* at the bottom. The *ensi*-typical *sainak* motif in the outermost border has been replaced by an ikat design.

Structure: The piece is single wefted, which is unusual. Ersarï weavings usually show two wefts between rows of knots.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, the *ensi* was woven between ca. 1650 and 1820. Based on the quality of design, colour, and material, a 20th century date of production (a possible range from radiocarbon dating) can be excluded. A date of production in the 18th or early 19th century seems reasonable.

136

Ersarï *ensi* fragment

Design: In its design, cat. no. 136 includes many similarities to other typical Ersarï *ensi*. Like cat. no. 19, it lacks the typical *sainak* border. In addition, the upper *alem,* with its quadruple trefoil motifs and its dark brown ground colour, corresponds to the lower *alem* and differs from the side borders with their additional bars with chevron design and the partly red ground colour. [9] Upper *alem* designs in *ensi* are common for late pieces from around 1900, while cat. no. 136 is an unusually early *ensi* showing this phenomenon. The version of the design in the lower *alem* next to the field is unusual and archaic.

Structure: This *ensi* is not only one of the oldest pieces of its kind, it is also one of the finest, with a knot density of 2300 knots per dm^2. Early Ersarï weavings generally vary between 900 and 1500 knots per dm^2.

9 For a colour illustration, see Cassin/Hoffmeister 1988: Plate 38.

Fig. 1: Ersarï *ensi* fragment cat. no. 136, 116 x 97 cm, 17th or 18th century. Beside the characteristic Ersarï designs, the *ensi* also shows the typical W-shaped *gush* motifs. As with many other Ersarï *ensi*, there are no *sainak* motifs in the outermost border.

Dating: A dating to the 16th, 17th, or 18th century is suggested by radiocarbon dating, though with a radiocarbon age of 250, the 17th century is given with the highest probability.

Fig. 2: Sleeve decoration of a woolen tunic with a precursor of the "cross and star" design. Egypt, 6th or 7th century, Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 1111. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

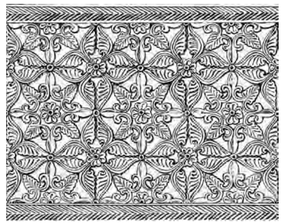


Fig. 3: Sasanian stucco with "cross and star" design, 7th century. Repr. from Kröger 1982: 154, fig. 87.

Fig. 4: Fragment of a blue ground, post-Sasanian silk with "cross and star" design, 9th century, Repr. from Ierusalimskaja/Borkopp 1996: 75, fig. 85.

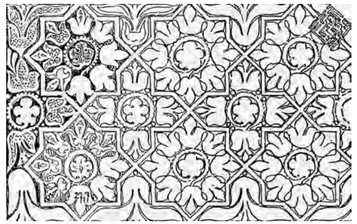


Fig. 5: Wall decoration in carved plaster with "cross and star" design, Samarra, Iraq, mid 9th century, Abbasid period. The Sasanian influence is clearly visible. Repr. from Herzfeld 1923: 161, fig. 234.

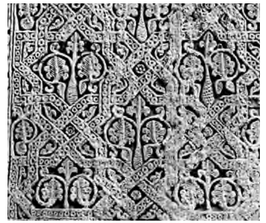


Fig. 6: Stucco with "cross and star" design, Noh Gumbad mosque, Balkh, Afghanistan, 2nd half of the 9th century. Repr. from Du Magazine, no. 381, Nov. 1972: 848.

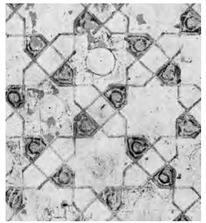


Fig. 7: Wall painting with "cross and star" design, mausoleum of Arslân Jâsîb (?), Sangbast, Khorasan, 997 – 1028. Photo Jörg Affentranger, 2010.

Fig. 8: Wall decoration with "cross and star" design in stucco, Nishapur, Khorasan, 10th century. Beside a strong Sasanian influence, this "cross and star" design already shows first traces of a typical Islamic style. The decoration within the crosses and the stars starts to resemble the characteristic Islamic arabesque. Repr. from Wilkinson 1986: Fig. 3.33.

Fig. 9: Wall decoration with "cross and star" design in stucco from Afrasiab, Samarkand, 12th century. Afrasiab Museum Samarkand, Uzbekistan. Image by the author, 2005.

Introduction to the Ersarï hangings with "cross and star" design[10]

While the hangings of the Salor show a combination of an ancient niche frieze from Late Antiquity (*kejebe*) combined with a newer Islamic medallion design (*darvaza*),[11] the hangings of the Ersarï show an entirely new design development: the Islamic "cross and star" design. Though the design concepts of the Salor and the Ersarï are composed of much the same elements and thus may look quite similar at first, they differ considerably in essential details. The Ersarï design lacks the interlaced squares on the horizontal axis,[12] and the niches of the *kejebe* design have been changed into crosses with a white contour strung together forming stars with integrated *darvaza* medallions. Thus the Ersarï gave their hangings a new "face", by creating a "cross and star" design out of the *kejebe/darvaza* pattern of the Salor. Though the Ersari continued to use the the *kejebe/darvaza* design,[13] it is much less frequently seen in their hangings than the "cross and star" design.

The "cross and star" design in Islamic art

Like so many other designs, the "cross and star" design seems to have roots in Late Antiquity. A possible precursor is seen on a sleeve of a 6th or 7th century woollen tunic from Egypt (fig. 2). Another precursor, perhaps even an early version of the "cross and star" design, is seen in the Sasanian stucco design in fig. 3.[14] There are also post-Sasanian or Sogdian silks showing the "cross and star" design in its fully developed form; I know of two examples, one of which is fig. 4.[15] Both were found in Alan burial grounds of former commercial settlements along the northern Silk Road in the Caucasus. The two silks are both dated to the 8th or 9th century, but their design elements still clearly point to pre-Islamic traditions. Particularly the fragment in fig. 4, with roundels with birds and palmettes, clearly shows the relationship to Sasanian and Sogdian iconography.[16] The "feathered" structure of the diagonally placed cross-shapes explicitly refers to the Sasanian stucco design in fig. 3, where paired "feathered" palm leaves also form the cross-shapes. In both silks, the cross-shapes are arranged diagonally, while they are horizontal/vertical in the stucco, in both the Sasanian (fig. 3), and the early Islamic versions from Samarra (fig. 5), Nishapur (fig. 8) and Afrasiab (fig. 9). On the other hand, the cross-shapes in the stucco of the Noh Gumbad mosque (*masjid-i tarikh*) near Balkh in Northern Afghanistan are arranged diagonally too (fig. 6). To what these differences can be ascribed is not clear. One possibility is that the more dynamic diagonally arranged version of the design is typical for textiles, while the more static horizontal/vertical position was preferred for architecture. Two early Islamic wall paintings seem to confirm this. One is from Nishapur[17] (10th century), the other from the mausoleum of Arslân Jâsîb in Sangbast[18] east of Nishapur (fig. 7). Both wall paintings show a diagonal arrangement of the cross-shapes, presumably painted reproductions of textile wall hangings.

Since the 12th century, the "cross and star" design become increasingly prevalent in the Islamic world, particularly as tile decoration. It became very popular among the Seljuks and their successors, the Il-

10 For a discussion on Turkmen hangings, see cat. no. 5 in the chapter "The Salor".
11 Cf. figs. 67–77 in the chapter "The Salor".
12 Cf. cat. no. 5, fig. 180 in the chapter "The Salor".
13 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 20 for Ersarï hangings with the Salor *kejebe/darvaza* design.
14 Karel Otavsky referes to another Sasanian stucco design showing another precursor of the Islamic "cross and star" design (Otavsky 1998: 145, footnote 88).
15 The second fragment, a red ground silk samite was discovered during archaeological digs in Moscevaja Balka, west of Chasaut in the northern Caucasus (Ierusalimskaja/Borkop 1996: 76, no. 87)
16 A second fragment of the same silk is in the collection of the Museée des Tissus in Lyon, France (illustrated in Martinini-Reber 1986: 28, cat. no. 27). According to Martiniani-Reber, the silk is the product of a workshop in Constantinople.
17 Wilkinson 1986: 309, H30 and 299, Gg. Fig. H30 is not reproduced in the correct orientation. This is shown by fig. Gg on page 299, where writing in the upper part clearly proves the diagonal position of the crosses.
18 Branenburg/Brüsehoff 1980: Fig. 79.

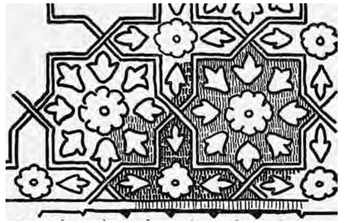


Fig. 10: Timurid carpet design with "cross and star" pattern, from a 15th century miniature painting. The stars with their inner decoration clearly show similarities to the *darvaza gül* with its rosette-like centre and radial alignment of the "spokes" (flowers). Repr. from Briggs 1940: 27, Fig. 19.

Fig. 11: Detail from an Ersarï hanging with "cross and star" design and *darvaza gül* with radial alignment of the "spokes", 19th century. Compared to the archetype of the Salor in fig. 18, the *darvaza gül* shows already a slightly modified contour line, foreshadowing the derivative star form in fig. 17. The complete piece is published in: Dodds/Eiland 1996: No. 216. Collection of Richard Isaacson, USA.

Fig. 12: Detail from an Ersarï hanging with "cross and star" design and *darvaza gül* with radial alignment of the "spokes", 19th century. Private collection.

Fig. 13: Detail from an Ersarï hanging with "cross and star" design and *darvaza gül* with radial alignment of the "spokes", 19th century. Private collection.

Fig. 14: Detail from an Ersarï hanging with "cross and star" design and *darvaza gül* with radial alignment of the "spokes", 2nd half of the 19th century. Private collection. This form of the *darvaza gül* already shows unambiguous parallels to the star design in cat. no. 21 and fig. 20. The interlaced rosette has been replaced by an eight-pointed star and the pearl borders by *giyak* stripes so often seen in Turkmen weavings. The complete piece is published in: Jourdan 1989: No. 269.

Fig. 15: Detail from an Arabachi hanging with central star design, 2nd half of the 19th century. Private collection. This star design with all likelihood is a derivate from the designs in figs. 11–14. The "fire altars" in the niches with their the pearl borders and the minor borders of the whole composition with their little white rhombuses might all be traced back to Salor influence.

khanids. The Timurids also made frequent use of it, not only in architecture,[19] but also on carpets.[20] These Timurid carpets with their "cross and star" designs are the first examples directly comparable to the corresponding carpet design in the Ersarï hangings (cf. figs. 10 and 11–17); possibly they were even the direct models for them. Not surprisingly, the "cross and star" design was also popular in 16th and 17th century Safavid Persia. Among the Qajars, on the other hand, it is less frequently seen. The design was also known in the neighbouring Ottoman Empire, but used much less often than in Persia and Central Asia.

The "cross and star" design of the Ersarï

Like the Salor, the Ersarï had hangings with up to three medallions (*darvaza gül*). Examples with three medallions are rare;[21] those with a single medallion are most common. It is also notable that the hangings of the Ersarï are much less homogeneous in their designs than those of the Salor. In addition to the examples with the typical Salor *kejebe* and *darvaza gül*,[22] a wide range of the "cross and star" design variations is known among the Ersarï. While the designs in figs. 19 and 20 still rather resemble the austere version of the Salor (fig. 18), this is no longer the case with the designs in figs. 11–14. Typical design components, like the filler motifs of the *kejebe* design (the fire altars[23]) or the interlaced medallions in the centre, have been simplified (fig. 13), or, in the case of the interlaced medallion, even replaced by an eight-pointed star (fig. 14). Also, the contour line of the *darvaza gül* has been adapted to the star form of the "cross and star" design, and the borders are generally simpler than those of the comparable Salor hangings.

Presumably the Ersarï first adopted the *kejebe/darvaza* design from the Salor, and only in the course of the 14th and 15th centuries also the "cross and star" design from Timurid workshops. Evidence of this can be found in Timurid carpet designs (fig. 10), which show the clearest parallels to the "cross and star" design of the Ersarï (figs. 11–14).

It is somehow intriguing that the typical *darvaza gül* of the Ersarï shows a radial alignment of the "spokes", and not a vertical/horizontal arrangement as seen in the characteristic version of the Salor.[24] This radial alignment among the Ersarï corresponds more to the Timurid archetypes (fig. 10). Radial composition of the "spokes" of the *darvaza gül* is also seen in the three published Sarïq hangings with *kejebe/darvaza* design.[25] In pieces of the Salor, radial alignment of the spokes is the exception: it is seen in only two of some 50 published examples. An explanation for this might be the Salor's resistance to foreign influence. Their version of the *darvaza gül* with its vertical/horizontal alignment of the "spokes" might be explained by their conservative use of ancient designs, or in this case, elements of ancient designs. They refer back to elements of the ancient *kejebe* design, from which come the fire altars (for the form of the "spokes") and their vertical position (for the alignment of the "spokes") in the "new" *darvaza gül*.[26]

The Arabachi also were familiar with a variant of the "cross and star" design, although in a further developed form. The idea that the form of the stars in these Arabachi pieces can be traced back to the *darvaza gül* is based on the remnants of the spokes in the form of double hooks (fig. 15). The Arabachi version of the "cross and star" design might be a combination of different design forms of the Salor and the Ersarï. The fire altars in the cross forms show the influence of the Salor,

19 Soustiel/Porter 2003.
20 Further examples are published by Briggs 1940.
21 Fig. 17 shows one of two published examples with the darvaza gül. The second example is published in Hali 28, 1985: 91, no. 5.
22 e.g. O'Bannon 1998: No. 89; Elmby IV, 1998: no. 56; Azadi 1970: Plate 28b.
23 See figs. 75 and 76 in the chapter "The Salor".
24 For the typical Salor example, see the Salor hangings cat. nos. 5 and 130 in the chapter "The Salor".
25 So far, only three Sarïq pieces are known, and only one of them shows the "cross and star" design (Rippon Boswell 68, 2006, lot 91). The two others show the design of the Salor with the kejebe/darvaza gül and the two interlaced square design on the horizontal axis (Cassin/Hoffmeister 1988: Plate 6; Elmby 1, 1990: No. 10). However, in all three examples, the "spokes" of the darvaza gül are arranged radially.
26 On the origin and development of the Salor hangings with *kejebe/darvaza gül*, see figs. 74 – 77, and 84 – 85 in the chapter "The Salor".

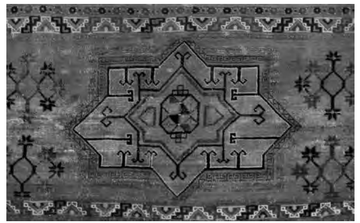


Fig. 16: Detail from an Ersarï hanging with central star design, 18th or early 19th century. Private collection. This star design might be a derivative from the "cross and star" design as seen in figs. 11–15. In place of the radially grouped "spokes" stand vertically and horizontally aligned double hooks, and the interlaced rosette in the centre has been replaced by an eight-pointed star.

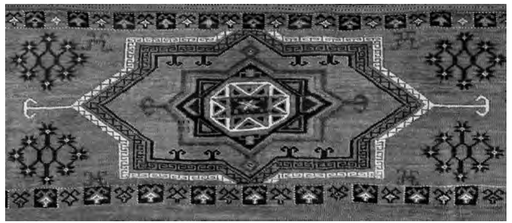


Fig. 17: Detail from the Ersarï hanging cat. no. 21 with central star design, 1st half of the 19th century. Private collection. Compared to fig. 16, the double hooks replacing the radially grouped "spokes" are already considerably smaller and only present in the vertical direction. Apart from that the design is very similar.

which can also be observed in other Arabachi work, while the star form can be traced back to the Ersarï.

The "cross and star" design is unknown among the Teke, the Qaradashlï, and the "Yomut" groups.

Ersarï hangings with a large star

The alterations and variations of the design of the Ersarï hangings with "cross and star" design can be seen as exemplary of the characteristic flexibility of the Ersarï regarding innovation and adaptation of designs. In the course of time, the "cross and star" design may have changed into a design with a star alone, without the crosses, as seen in cat. no. 21. This seems particularly likely because the "cross and star" design is typically and prevalently Ersarï, as is the design with a large, central star. This design is not necessarily a development from the 19th century; the step to a single star may have come earlier. That the large star is derived from the *darvaza gül* is also indicated by the hook forms within the large star, which have already been mentioned in connection with the star design of the Arabachi. These hook forms are with all likelihood remnants of the "spokes" of the *darvaza gül* (figs. 16 and 17).

20

Ersarï hanging with "cross and star" design

Design: The field composition shows the "cross and star" design, as seen in a related form in Timurid carpets of the 14th and 15th centuries, although there used as an endless repeat in large carpets (fig. 10). The *darvaza gül* integrated into the star form has already suffered considerable simplification; the interlaced rosette in the centre is hardly recognisable as such. However, a comparison with figs. 11–13 and 18–20 shows the origin and the stages of simplification. The border of this piece is rare and unusual, and, like the *darvaza gül,* goes back to Timurid, or perhaps even earlier, borders with interlaced designs.

Fig. 18: Detail from a Salor hanging showing the *darvaza gül* type A with a radial alignment of the "spokes", unusual for the Salor. 17th or 18th century. The complete hanging is published in Rippon Boswell cat. no. 75, 2010: Lot 1.

Fig. 19: Detail from an Ersarï hanging with "cross and star" design and *darvaza gül* with radial alignment of the "spokes", 1st half of the 19th century. Private collection. The interlacement of the rosette in the centre is still clearly recognisable, showing all eight interlacing points. The complete hanging is published in: Andrews et al. 1993: No. 127.

Fig. 20: Detail from an Ersarï hanging with "cross and star" design and *darvaza gül* with radial alignment of the "spokes", 1st half of the 19th century. Private collection. The interlaced rosette in the centre is already heavily simplified, but still clearly recognisable as such. A similar form of the *darvaza gül* is seen in cat. no. 20.

Dating: The dating of this hanging is challenging in that the design already shows a considerably simplified form of the *darvaza gül* and the crosses. But relating such developments to the age of a piece can be problematic, as we have no secure knowledge when such simplifications started. It is therefore difficult to date pieces like this, particularly if the state of preservation is relatively poor (which might suggest a greater age). However, an early 19th century dating for this hanging seems likely.

21

Ersarï hanging with a large star

Among the many known 19th century pieces of this type, this example is one of the oldest, and one of the most beautiful. Only a few early 19th century examples, like cat. no. 21, are known.

Design: The field composition has its roots in the "cross and star" design. The large star form has become independent and developed into a single design element, dominating the whole composition. The little double hooks, extending vertically into the star, are with all likelihood remnants of the *darvaza gül*. In earlier examples like fig. 16, such double hooks also remained on the horizontal level. The border is relatively rare and mostly seen in older pieces of this type. Also unusual is the lack of minor borders.

Colours: With its bright red background, this hanging shows somewhat more brilliant colours than usually seen in Ersarï pieces (e.g. cat. nos. 25 and 26).

Dating: Both the quality of the design and the colours suggest at least an early 19th century date of production.

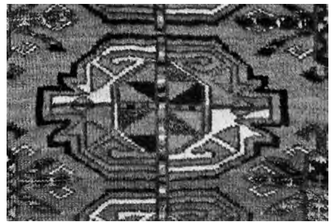


Fig. 21: *Chuval gül* of the Ersarï, 18th century. Detail from cat. no. 22. Figs. 21 and 22 show the early and the late Ersarï *chuval gül* of the chuval cat. nos. 22 and 23 in the correct proportions.

Fig. 22: *Chuval gül* of the Ersarï, late 19th century. Detail from cat. no. 23. Compared to cat. no. 22, this later *chuval* shows a considerably higher knot density, a smaller size of the *chuval gül*, and an expanded width of the design repeat.

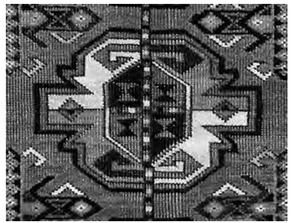


Fig. 23: *Chuval gül* of the Ersarï, 18th or 19th century. Detail from cat. no. 137 (fig. 24). The inner drawing of this version of the *chuval gül* differs slightly from the version seen in cat. nos. 22 and 23. A further version of the *chuval gül* of the Ersarï, showing a rhombus composed of four double volutes is very similar to the *chuval gül* type A of the Salor (cf. fig. 160 in the chapter "The Salor").

Introduction to Ersarï *chuval* with *chuval gül*

Although the two Ersarï *chuval* cat. nos. 22 and 23 may at first appear quite different, they actually have a great deal in common, e.g. the drawing of the *chuval gül*[27] (figs. 21 and 22) and the *chemche gül*[28]. Both also show a *kochanak* main border and the same type of minor borders. Based on these similarities, the two pieces might have been woven in the same region by the same Ersarï group. Despite these similarities, their ages are very different. Cat. no. 22 (fig. 21) is one of the few earlier pieces of this group and might well date from the 18th century. Cat. no. 23 (fig. 22), on the other hand, with its early synthetic dyes and cochineal ground colour dates from between 1880 and 1900.

Though they share certain features, the two pieces differ greatly not only in the proportions of the design, but also in the quality of the wool and colour. The knot count of the later piece is twice that of the earlier one; this is true of many late Turkmen weavings.

27 On the origin of the *chuval gül*, see cat. no. 13 in the chapter "The Salor".
28 On the origin of the *chemche gül*, see the chapter "Flower Cross and Interlaced Star".

22

Ersarï *chuval* with *chuval gül*

Design: The low knot density and the relatively high pile are responsible for the somewhat fuzzy drawing of the design. Compared to the Salor *chuval*, cat. no. 13, with its precise drawing and its short velvety pile nearly resembling velvet, this excellent Ersarï piece is closer to "folk art".

Structure: The knot count of ca. 900 knots per dm square is typical for many Ersarï weavings. The high pile of up to 4 mm gives the piece a "fleshy" handle. In the *chemche gül*, single knots of magenta coloured silk have been inserted like little "gems".

Colours: Due to the high quality of the wool, deeply saturated colours have been achieved.

Dating: Based on the high overall quality of the piece, a dating to the 18th or at least early 19th century seems appropriate.

23

Ersarï *chuval* with *chuval gül*

Design: The reduced size of the *chuval gül*, the resulting design composition with 3 × 6 *chuval gül* (instead of the usual 3 × 3 or 3 × 4 composition in older pieces), and the increased number of minor borders point to a late date of production.

Dating: Further, the colour palette with cochineal as a ground colour and the synthetic dyestuff Ponceau RR for the orange-red in the *chuval gül* clearly indicate a dating to the end of the 19th century.

137

Ersarï *chuval* with *chuval gül* (fig. 24)

With its powerful 3 × 3 composition and the precise drawing of both *chuval gül* (fig. 23) and *chemche gül*, this *chuval* might date from at least the early 19th century, if not even from the 18th. Remarkable also are the simply drawn little trees in the *alem*, bringing to mind comparable Salor *alem* designs.[29]

This piece could well have been woven by a group other than the Ersarï, perhaps by the Kizil Ayak or the Ali-Eli. The relation to the Kizil Ayak is seen in the *chemche gül*, while, according to Peter Poullada, the drawing of the *chuval gül* could be a clue to an Ali-Eli attribution.[30]

24

Ersarï *chuval* with banded design

This banded *chuval* belongs to a large group of Ersarï weavings. As a rule, such band designs are rather unusual in Turkmen pile weavings, belonging to the realm of flatweaves. There are exceptions, however, and not only among the Ersarï.[31]

29 Cf. fig. 156 in the chapter "The Salor".
30 Poullada 2006.
31 Cf. the Teke *chuval* cat. nos. 65, 66 and 69

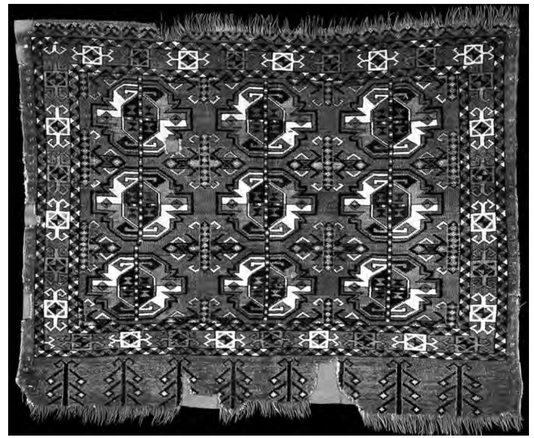


Fig. 24: *Chuval gül* of the Ersarï, 18th or early 19th century. Detail from cat. no. 137. Collection of David Reuben, London.

Design: Two of the bands in this *chuval* show a design which may be derived from silk ikats. Certain analogies to the designs of velvet ikat can not be dismissed[32] (see also the following cat. nos. 25 – 27). The remaining designs, with the exception of the meander with buds typical of many Ersarï carpets, are with all likelihood flatweave designs.

Structure: The piece shows the typical Ersarï structure with asymmetrical open right knotting and a knot density of ca. 1000 knots per square dm.

32 Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: Nos. 89 and 90.

Colours: The *chuval* contains some cochineal dyed wool. Apart from that, the colour palette with its bright shades still corresponds to the ancient tradition before the advent of synthetic dyes.

Dating: Based on the presence of Mexican cochineal on wool in conjunction with ammonia as a dyeing aid, this piece has to be dated post-1825.[33] On the other hand, the limited use of cochineal on wool and the colour palette with bright colours suggest a pre-1850 date of production. Therefore, the piece was, with all likelihood, woven in the second quarter of the 19th century.

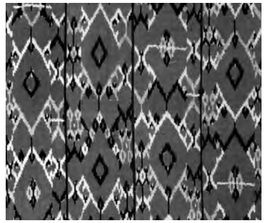


Fig. 25: Uzbek silk ikat (detail), 19th century. Private collection. Such ikat designs served as model for the designs of piled weavings of the Ersarï (fig. 26). This design is possibly derivative of the ikat design, which might have served as a model for the *darak nuska* design as seen in fig. 57. Repr. from Larson 1976: 176, no. 55.

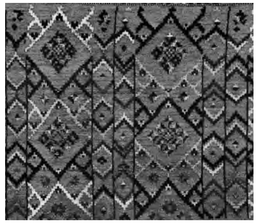


Fig. 26: Ersarï *chuval* with ikat design (detail), 18th or 19th century. Private collection. This *chuval* design copies the design of the ikat in fig. 25. It might be related to or is derived from the *darak nuska* design as seen in fig. 57.

Introduction to Ersarï *chuval* with ikat design

The word ikat derives from the Malay-Indonesian verb *mengikat*, "to bind, to tie, or to wind around".[34] The defining characteristic of ikat is the resist-dyeing of patterns into the threads, by means of bindings, before the weaving of the fabric.[35] In the course of time, ikat became the general term for this textile technique around the West. *Abr bandi* is the Central Asian name for the ikat technique. *Abr* is Persian meaning "cloud".[36] It's no wonder that the name for this ancient textile technique, so important to the region of Bukhara and Samarkand, has Iranian roots. As the earliest known silk ikats go back to the Iranian speaking Sogdians, we can assume that this particular textile technique is an ancient local tradition.[37] The ikat technique may actually have its earliest roots in Southeast Asia[38] or China.

Among the Ersarï, weavings showing silk ikat designs are numerous. Surprisingly they are unknown among all other Turkmen. In the following, we will have a closer look at three Ersarï *chuval* with two different types of ikat designs: one of them goes back to the high cultures of the Ancient Orient (cat. no. 25, fig. 32), the other to pre-Han China (cat. no. 26, fig. 57). But both designs can be traced back to early textiles: the one from the Ancient Orient to 6th/7th century A.D. Sogdian silk ikats (figs. 29 and 30), the one from China to silks from the Eastern Zhou Dynasty, more precisely the Warring States period and the 4th/3rd century B.C. (fig. 51). The Chinese design might also have been used for Central Asian ikats, from which it was transferred to piled weavings. However, to date no Central Asian ikat is known showing this Chinese design. What does exist is a few weavings of the Ersarï and the Uzbeks.

Uzbek ikat designs being adopted by the Ersarï for their piled weavings has been documented by several authors. Jourdan shows two,[39] and Fitz Gibbon/Hale seven examples (one of which is the same as one of Jourdan's).[40] To those eight comparison examples, two more are added here (figs. 25–28).

33 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section 3.1 Mexican cochineal (*Dactylopius coccus* COSTA)
34 Hauser-Schäublin et al. 1991: 15; Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 16.
35 For a detailed discussion on the technique, see Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 150 et seqq.
36 Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 13.
37 Bühler 1972: 124–125.
38 Barnes 1989: 22.
39 Jourdan 1989: 273, no. 244; 284, no. 255.
40 Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 182, 201 (2 examples), 202 (2 examples), 203, 204.

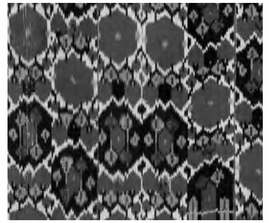


Fig. 27: Uzbek silk ikat (detail), 19th century. The Guido Goldman Collection. This or a similar ikat design might have served as a model for the design of the Ersaï *khali* cat. no. 139 (fig. 28). Repr. from Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 140, no. 71.

Fig. 28: Detail from cat. no. 139, Ersarï *khali* with ikat design, 18th or 19th century. The design of this *khali* copies an ikat design as seen in fig. 27.

Early silk ikats from Central Asia

In conjunction with the comments by Fitz Gibbon/Hale on the origin of the carpet design in cat. no. 25 (fig. 32) from silk ikats, additional material of interest has come to light. Fitz Gibbon/Hale knew and even published some of the Sogdian silk ikat fragments from the Horyu-ji shrine in Nara, Japan (fig. 29 shows one of them),[41] but they were not aware that one of these fragments is closely related to one of the comparison examples of ikat based carpet designs mentioned by them (cf. figs. 29–36).

The missing link between the designs of 6th or 7th century Sogdian ikats (fig. 29) and 19th century Uzbek ikats (fig. 31) has been revealed by Valentina Raspopova. In her essay "Textiles Represented in Sogdian Murals", Raspopova shows a drawing of an ikat design from a god's caftan in a late 7th century Sogdian mural from Pandjikent near Samarkand (fig. 30).[42] By comparing the ikat design on the Sogdian wall painting and the ikat design in the Horyu-ji fragment (fig. 29), she revealed an enlightening link. The Horyu-ji fragment with all likelihood is Central Asian; this is the opinion of authors so far concerned with it.[43] Based on its colours and design, it most likely is even Sogdian. However, both Schuster and Bühler[44] suggest an anthropomorphic origin for the design of the Horyu-ji fragment. Schuster compares the early ikat design (fig. 29) with an anthropomorphic pattern from Indonesia, showing human figures interconnected via arms and legs to form a kind of garland. In this chain of linked figures Schuster sees a "genealogical pattern".[45] Bühler concurs with this interpretation.[46]

The emergence of new material – not only the drawing of the mural published by Raspopova, but also a number of Central Asian silks which were unknown to both Schuster and Bühler – points in a completely different direction. The design is not of anthropomorphic origin, but represents a landscape going back to archetypes of the world of the ancient Near East, as illustrated in figs. 37–47. Anthropomorphic representations on 7th–9th century Sasanian and Sogdian silks are rare, and when they appear, they are completely different in nature from the design on the Horyu-ji fragment.[47] The similarity of the early silk ikat from the Horyu-ji shrine (fig. 29) to the ikat design on the mural from Panjikent (fig. 30) consists of wavy lines with palmettes in between (figs. 33 and 34 show the palmettes in the two 7th–9th century ikats, while figs. 35 and 36 show comparable palmettes in 19th century Uzbek ikats). The differing ground colours of these two early ikats, one red and one blue, is not unusual: red and blue are the preferred ground colours in Sogdian textiles and paintings. We encounter

41 Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 31, fig. 9, p. 32, fig. 10 and p. 33, fig. 13. Another large fragment, showing similarities to fig. 9 in Fitz Gibbon/Hale, is published in: Bühler 1972: Vol. 3, fig. 163.
42 Raspopova 2006.
43 Schuster 1965; Bühler 1972.
44 Bühler 1972: Footnote 96.
45 Schuster 1965.
46 Bühler 1972.
47 e.g. Schorta 2006: Fig. 105, 106, 171, 176.

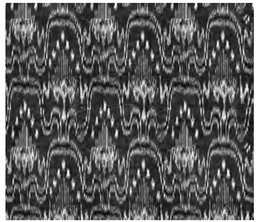


Fig. 29: Red ground silk ikat fragment (reconstructed in the image), Sogdian, Horiyu-ji, Nara, Japan, Asuka Period, AD 552 – 644. Height ca. 30 cm. The design might represent a land-scape (or a garden) with palmettes (cf. figs. 37 – 47).

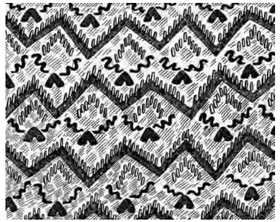


Fig. 30: Blue ground ikat design on a mural from Pandjikent, temple I, late 7th century. The design is related to the ikat design in fig. 29, forming a link between the latter and the 19th century Uzbek ikat in fig. 31. Repr. from Raspopova 2006: 64, Fig. 36.

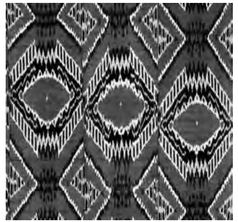


Fig. 31: Uzbek silk ikat (detail), 19th century, The Guido Goldman Collection. In this 19th century version of the ancient design, the "landscape" has been mirrored downwards and the palmettes have been left out. Repr. from Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 109, no. 55.

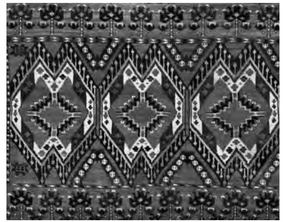


Fig. 32: Ersari *chuval* with ikat design (detail of cat. no. 25), 18th or early 19th century. Private collection. The carpet design unmistakably copies the ikat design as seen on the example from the Guido Goldman Collection in fig. 31.

a similar situation in connection with the origin of the Salor *khali* border design. There we also have two silks with nearly identical design, one with a red and the other a blue ground colour.[48] Furthermore, there is the question whether the stylised ikat design on the mural (fig. 30) is a creation of the painter or whether the silk he reproduced really looked like this. In the case of the border design of the Salor *khali* and its archetype, there, the silk reproduced in the mural corresponds in even the smallest details to the original silk,[49] which is not the case here (figs. 29 and 30). However, the two designs do show the same basic elements and most likely have the same origin. This is also Valentina Raspopova's conclusion.[50] The design in Raspopova's drawing with all likelihood represents a stylized version of the Horyu-ji silk in fig. 29, and the original ikat probably actually looked like the drawing published by her.

48 Cf. figs. 222–224 in the chapter "The Salor".

49 Cf. footnote 48.

50 An 8th century woollen tapestry from Iran or Baghdad published by Louise Mackie supports Raspopova's conclusion. It shows a design comparable to figs. 44 and 45, and is also interpreted by Mackie as "landscape" (Mackie 2015: 56, Abb. 2.18).

Fig. 33: Drawing of the palmette of the early ikat fragment in fig. 29. Repr. from Schuster/Carpenter 1996: 106, no. 290.

Fig. 34: Palmette from the ikat design from the mural from Pandjikent. Detail from fig. 30.

Fig. 35: Palmette from a 19th century Uzbek ikat fragment, Museum der Kulturen Basel (Ile 549). The parallels to the palmette of the early ikat fragment in fig. 33 are clear. Repr. from Bühler 1972: Fig. 161.

Fig. 36: Palmette from an early 19th century Uzbek ikat from The Guido Goldman Collection. Repr. from Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 257, no. 145.

Representation of landscape in the ancient Near East

It seems very likely that the two ikat designs (figs. 29 and 30) represent landscapes. Closely related to the Central Asian ikat design in fig. 29 is the design of a 7th century post-Sasanian bronze ewer in fig. 44. The scale-like lobed forms are described by Harper as "stylized representations of mountains",[51] comparing it with that of a Sasanian silver vase (fig. 43), where she describes the lobed forms also as "triple hills" of a "mountainous landscape". [52] The silver vase shows a Persian paradeisos, a hunting garden with a hunter in a hilly landscape, surrounded by deer, lions, birds of prey, goats, a bull, and the typical Sasanian tripartite flowers. Such hunting scenes in a landscape (garden) are deeply rooted in the culture of the ancient Near East.

The Urartian belt in fig. 17 and the Akkadian cylinder seal in fig. 24 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise" can be considered archetypes of the representation on the Sasanian vase. Both show gardens crossed by streams with plants (palmettes), animals, and a hunter. On the other hand, the silver vase in fig. 43 constitutes an interesting link to the representation on a Sasanian silk. The silk in fig. 39 shows paired winged horses in superimposed friezes. Between each row of winged horses is a frieze of lobed forms, containing a small tripartite flower motif. These friezes with lobed forms have been described by Galloway as "architectural elements",[53] presumably because they resemble merlons as seen in Sasanian architecture.[54] I think they rather represent a landscape in which the winged horses graze, the lobed hills or scales being a symbolic representaion for landscape.

51 Harper et al. 1978: 66.

52 Harper et al. 1978: 65, cat. No. 22. In the discussion of a silver vase in the same publication (on p. 72), Carter calls this form of landscape representation "trilobate mounds".

53 Galloway 2000: No. 1.

54 Cf. Kröger 1982: 31, fig. 13; 145, fig. 82.

Fig. 37: Detail from an Assyrian relief from the palace of Sennacherib, 700 – 692 B.C. The king, observing the capture of Lachish from a distant hill, sits on a magnificent throne supported by figures and decorated with quadruple spiral motifs on the crossbars between the legs. The whole scene is covered with scales indicating landscape.

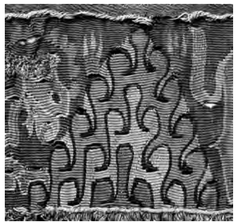


Fig. 38: Detail from a 2nd century B.C. – 2nd century A.D. woollen tapestry fragment of a woman's skirt. Shampula, Tarim Basin, China, Xinjiang province, 2nd century. The tapestry woven frieze shows striding mountain goats alternating with scaled mountains. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 5139a. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg)

Fig. 39: Detail from a fragment of a 6th or 7th century Sasanian silk. Winged horses are shown grazing in a landscape with flowers. Courtesy Francesca Galloway. Repr. from Galloway 2000: No. 1.

Fig. 40: Detail from a fragment of an 8th or 9th century Sogdian silk. A pearl roundel with confronted ducks on a split palmette, beneath which are two lobed scales indicating landscape (cf. also fig. 51 and fig. 65 in the chapter "The Salor"). Private collection, New York.

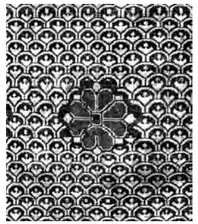


Fig. 41: Detail from a 9th or 10th century Central Asian silk, showing a garden with large eight petaled rosettes embedded in "scales" (representing landscape) with little flowers and large, superimposed rosettes. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 5065. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

The same may apply to the representation of the two ducks on a split palmette in the Sogdian silk in fig. 40. There too, two such symbols for landscape indicate a scene in a landscape or a garden. A Sasanian silver plate with the representation of a royal hunt shows similar lobed forms, symbolizing landscape (fig. 42). [55] The lobed forms are filled with small tripartite flowers comparable to those on the silks in figs. 39 and 40. Landscape representations in this vein are repeatedly seen in Sasanian silver plates and vases.[56] A garden, also including larger eight petalled blossoms or rosettes, is represented on the 10th or 11th century silk in the Abegg-Stiftung in fig. 41. On the bronze ewer in fig. 44, the representation is reduced to the "scales" and small flowers.

As already indicated, the lobed or scaled representation of landscape (garden) in general, or of mountains in particular, goes back to representations of the world of the ancient Near East.[57] The Akkadian seal impression[58] mentioned above shows not only a hunter with wild animals, but also a scaled "mountain". Also on many Assyrian reliefs slightly lobed scales stand symbolically for "landscape". Fig. 37 is one of many examples.

55 See also fig. 38 in the chapter "Flowering gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*"". There, a similar situation in connection with Safavid garden representations and banquet scenes is shown.

56 E.g. Harper 1978: No. 3, no. 17 and fig. 17b; Cat. Paris 2006: Nos. 26, 29, 69, 92; Cat. Brussels 1993: 195, 215, 244; Erdmann 1943: Nos. 39, 66, 72.

57 The earliest representation of "scaled" mountains known to me is seen in a seal impression from Uruk (late Uruk period, 3500–3000 B.C.), showing mountain goats, lions, and scaled mountains in diagonal rows (see cat. Berlin 2013: Fig. 26.4).

58 Fig. 24 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

Fig. 42: 4th century Sasanian silver plate with a hunting scene and the typical scale-like represenation of landscape at the bottom. Repr. from cat. Paris 2006: 90, no. 30.

Fig. 43: 7th century Sasanian silver vase, showing a landscape with triple hills (lobed scales), various animals, flower motifs, and a hunter equipped with bow and arrow. Repr. from Harper 1978: 65, no. 22.

Fig. 44: 7th century post-Sasanian bronze ewer, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Fletcher Fund (47.100.90). The iconography represents a landscape or a garden comparable to the representations in figs. 43 and 45. Repr. from Welch 1987: 14.

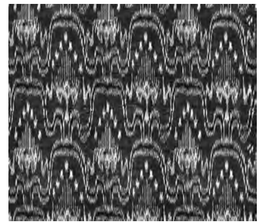


Fig. 45: Red ground Sogdian silk ikat fragment (reconstruction), Horiyu-ji, Nara, Japan. Asuka period, AD 552 – 644. Height ca. 30 cm. The design represents a landscape or a garden with flowers (palmettes) as seen in figs. 37– 47. Repr. from Matsumoto 1984: Fig. 106 and 120.

Fig. 46: 14th century Iranian miniature painting from a Poetic Anthology, showing a garden with triple hills (scales), trees, streams and little ponds. Repr. from Lentz/Lowry 1989: 56 (cat. no. 14).

Fig. 47: 17th century Safavid garden carpet, Orient Stars Collection. The parallels to archetypes with lobed scales representing landscape (figs. 39, 40 and 43) are clearly visible. Repr. from Kirchheim et al. 1993: No. 64.

From the Scythian world comes the woollen tapestry fragment in fig. 38, found in Shampula in the Tarim Basin in Xinjiang, China.[59] This textile fragment, originally the lower border of a woman's skirt, shows mountain goats in a landscape with "scaled" mountains. Other tapestry textiles from the same region and the same period also show hunting scenes, often in conjunction with such representations of landscapes or gardens.[60]

A late 14th century miniature painting attests to the survival of such landscape representations well into the Islamic period, showing comparable lobed or scale-like "mountains" together with flowering trees, streams, and little ponds (fig. 46). The same in a somewhat more abstract form is seen in the representation of a garden in a 17th century Safavid "tree carpet" (fig. 47).

As already mentioned, Raspopova sees parallels between the design of the ikat fragment from the Horyu-ji in fig. 29 and the design of the ikat in the Sogdian mural in fig. 30. However, the design on the mural already shows a simplification, as we find in an advanced stage in later ikats of the same region (fig. 31). The Sogdian mural in fig. 30 becomes the connecting link between the 6th/7th century ikat fragment in fig. 29 and the 19th century Uzbek ikat in fig. 31. The zig-zag line with the attached little dashes of the early ikat design from the mural persisted in the late Uzbek version, while the palmettes have turned into alternating serrated medallions and rhombuses. This type of ikat design is also found in a pile version on weavings of the Ersarï, who called the design *ak gajmak* (fig. 32). According to Moshkova, *ak gajmak* literally translated is "white cream", which means "beautiful".[61]

59 Another example of such a woolen tapestry with a frieze of striding deer is fig. 18 in the chapter "The Salor".

60 For an example with a hunting scene, see Keller/Schorta 2001: 20, fig. 8.

61 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 326.

25

Ersarï *chuval* with *ak gajmak* ikat design

There are only three comparison examples to this *chuval*, all characterised by having only one row of the *ak gajmak* design. All other related *chuval*, of which there are many, show two or three rows of the design.[62]

Design: The field design copies an Uzbek silk ikat pattern, called *ak gajmak* by the Ersarï. Among the Ersarï, this design is not restricted to *chuval*, but is also found on other weavings.[63] As explained in the introduction, it represents a landscape (cf. figs. 29 – 32 and 37 – 47), showing a flowering garden crossed by streams. The flowers bordering the field in some of the pieces of this type seem to confirm this (cf. cat. no. 25).

Structure: The asymmetrical open right knotting with a density of slightly more than 1000 knots per dm square is typical of Ersarï weavings.

Colours: The colour palette with its smooth and warm colours is also typical of Ersarï weavings. Based on visual inspection, no insect dyestuffs have been detected. No chemical analysis has been performed.

Dating: As a date before 1650 has not been considered, no radiocarbon dating was performed. However, the *chuval* might well have been woven in the 18th or at least in the first half of the 19th century, and is one of the really beautiful examples of this type.

62 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 25.
63 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 25.

The *darak nuska* design of the Ersarï

The design of a small group of Ersarï weavings[64] has attracted the interest of experts since the 1970's (figs. 49 and 57). Moshkova called it *darak nuska*, and translates it as "comb design", though she is referring to a similar design on Uzbek carpets and *djulkhir* (figs. 58 and 59), not to the Ersarï. However, this design is also rare among the Uzbeks, although not as rare as among the Ersarï.

The stepped white contour line of the *darak nuska*, as well as its vertical orientation in stripes, is evocative of ikat weaving. Other comparable pile woven imitations of ikat designs of the Ersarï also show such stepped contour lines (cf. figs. 26 and 28). Fitz Gibbon and Hale published a Turkmen double bag with this design. They too include it in the group of ikat carpet designs,[65] although they do not know of a directly comparable ikat pattern. Yet it seems very likely that ikats with that design must have existed.

The origin of the darak nuska design: Early Chinese silks

Early Chinese silks provide an interesting hint to the possible origin of the Central Asian *darak nuska* design. Geometrically designed silks of the Zhou, the Qin, and the Western Han dynasty, particularly those of the Warring States period (4th and 3rd centuries B.C.) with their severe geometric ornamentation, show surprising parallels to the *darak nuska* of the Uzbeks and the Ersarï (cf. figs. 48 – 59). Although these early Chinese silks are not ikats, they are woven in warp faced technique like a Central Asian ikat. In a warp faced weave the warps are wavy and form the design (the warp remains visible), while the wefts are taut and hidden behind the warps (remaining invisible). Figs. 50, 52, and 55 show such silks used for clothing in China. The large felt carpet from Noin Ula, Mongolia, (fig. 56) with its edging made of 3rd

64 Five weavings are known to me. In addition, a number of Uzbek piled weavings show a very similar design (see the comparison pieces to cat. no. 26).
65 Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: 196, fig. 142.

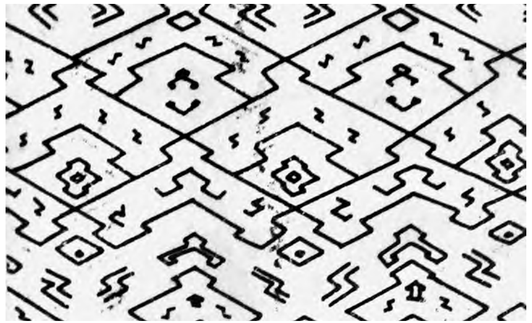


Fig. 48: Drawing of the design of the 4th or 3rd century B.C. Chinese silk in fig. 51. The geometric design of these silks derives from designs of the Eastern Zhou, and continued to be used in a further developed form up to the Western Han Dynasty (cf. figs. 50–66). From a Chinese Publication: 60, fig. 3-13.

Fig. 49: Ersarï *chuval* with *darak nuska* ikat design, 186 x 107 cm, 2nd half of the 19th century, asymmetrical open right knot, ca. 990 knots per dm². Collection of Robert Emry, Arlington, USA. This is one of two hitherto unpublished comparable Ersarï *chuval* with *darak nuska* design. The piece with its somewhat larger measurements shows a slightly simplified version of the design seen in cat. no. 26.

century B.C. Chinese silk, is a typical example of re-use of precious materials among nomads.[66] We will come back again later to this unusual felt carpet.

The relationship between the early Chinese silk and the considerably later Central Asian carpet design is striking (cf. figs. 48, 49 and 57). But still, is it realistic to compare the design of a Chinese silk from the Warring States period with the design of 18th and 19th centuries Central Asian piled weavings, or even to consider the Chinese design as its archetype?

First and foremost we should remember that the earliest known carpet, the so-called Pazyryk carpet (fig. 91), dates from the same period, proving that carpet weaving at that time already had the standards of our days. In addition, today experts suppose this carpet to be a product of Western Central Asia (Bactria or Sogdiana).[67] The discovery of a Warring States period Chinese silk showing the design discussed here (fig. 48) in the necropolis of Pazyryk proves the export of

66 Another comparable example of a re-use of an imported textile is the precious, purple dyed woollen tapestry from kurgan V in the Pazyryk necropolis in the Altai mountains (see fig. 88 in this chapter). This textile was originally part of a precious Persian robe, as worn by the guardian figures represented on wall tiles of the Achaemenid palace of Darius I in Susa (see figs. 86 and 87 in this chapter). The original garment presumably came as a present in the form of a "robe of honour" to the Scythian sovereign buried in Pazyryk, who had it reworked into a saddle blanket (shabraque).

67 de la Vaissière 2005: 21.

Fig. 50: Ceramic mold for casting bronze, Eastern Zhou Dynasty, 6th or 5th century B.C. Eastern Zhou geometric textile designs are the forerunners of the Warring States period geometric silk designs of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C. Repr. from Vainker 2004: 35, fig. 20.

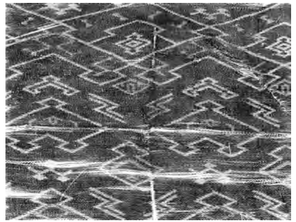


Fig. 51: Chinese silk (warp faced compound tabby), Warring States period. The geometric design of such silks derives from designs of the Eastern Zhou and continued to be used in a slightly modified version up to the Western Han period (cf. figs. 50–66). Repr. from Hanyu 1986: 39, no. 3.

Fig. 52: 3rd century B.C. Chinese carved wood burial figure from the state of Chu, Warring States period. The collar of the robe shows the same design as the silk in fig. 51. Repr. from Smith/Weng 1979: 53.

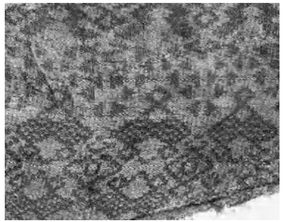


Fig. 53: 4th or 3rd century B.C. Chinese silk fragment, Warring States period. This fragment was found in kurgan III in the necropolis of Pazyryk in the Altai Mountains. Like the collar of the robe in fig. 52, this fragment shows the same type of design as the silk in fig. 51, but in a different weaving technique. Repr. from Rudenko 1970: Plate 134 A.

Fig. 54: Line drawing of the geometric design of a 3rd century B.C. Chinese silk. This version of the Warring States period design already anticipates the designs of the Western Han (like figs. 61 and 62). Repr. from Feng 1999: 47, 10.02.

such textiles to the West already by the 3rd century B.C. Further discoveries from Noin Ula, Mongolia, also show Chinese silk textiles of this type, as already mentioned, re-used as bordering of elaborately designed felt carpets (fig. 56).[68] These two early artefacts document a 3rd century B.C. trade or exchange of such luxury goods over great distances. Other later findings of Chinese silks are documented much further west in Palmyra, Syria, an important trading station on the Silk Road to the Mediterranean (figs. 61 and 63).[69] Such discoveries prove that Chinese silks and their designs were known in Central Asia since at least the late first millennium B.C.

The design of our Ersarï *chuval* with the complex *darak nuska* composition is unique and not known among other Turkmen groups. There is a small group of Uzbek piled weavings with a similar design, but a less complex over all composition (figs. 58 and 59). The Ersarï design is so complex that it being an independent Central Asian development is difficult to imagine. Further, we have proof of the adoption of Chinese designs in Western Central Asia at least from the Han period. The 19th century Uzbek ikat design in fig. 66 might well be traced back to the so called ear-cup motif from the Han period (figs. 63 and 65). From the basic geometric designs of the Eastern Zhou (fig. 51), more complex designs developed, resulting in the "ear-cup motif" of the Western Han (figs. 61–65).

The ear-cup motif of the Western Han

According to Feng Zhao, the name "ear-cup" for a textile design is first used in a Han dynasty glossary, which stated that one type of silk was decorated with motifs resembling cups with ear-like handles.[70] Silks with the ear-cup motif have been found in Palmyra (fig. 63), as

68 For a colour illustration, see cat. Paris 2000: 142–143, figs. 124 and 125.
69 See also Eiland III, 2011.

70 Zhao 1999: 48. For examples of "ear-cups" see Yang 1999: No. 111a and 111b.

Fig. 55: Reconstruction of the clothing of a general from the terracotta army of the first Chinese emperor Qin Shihuangdi, 221–206 B.C. The characteristic design elements (*darak nuska*) are seen here upside down in the upper part of the image. Repr. from Blänsdorf 2007: Fig. 1b.

Fig. 56: Detail from a 3rd century B.C. felt carpet showing an edging of Chinese silk from the Warring States period (lower part of the image). The felt was found in kurgan 6 in Noin Ula, Mongolia. The geometric ornamentation of the silk is comparable to the one on the clothing of the general of the terracotta army in fig. 55. Repr. from Rudenko 1969: Detail from plate XLI.

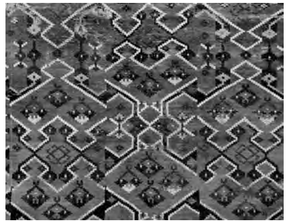


Fig. 57: Detail showing the *darak nuska* design of a 17th or 18th century Ersarï *chuval* (cat. no. 26). Only five piled weavings from the Ersarï with this design are known so far (cf. also fig. 49). This *chuval* is one of the older examples of this little group.

Fig. 58: Detail of a late 19th century Uzbek *djulkhir* (high piled sleeping carpet), 136 x 218 cm, with the *darak nuska* design. Repr. from Rippon Boswell 54, 2000: Lot 131.

Fig. 59: The *darak nuska* of the Uzbeks, as shown by Valentina Moshkova. Repr. from Moshkova 1970 (1996): 126, plate XVIII, 3.

well as others showing transitional forms from designs of the Warring States period to those of the Western Han (figs. 60–62). On textiles, the ear-cup motif first appears in 2nd century B.C. silks, so called "Han damasks", thus already contemporary with the transitional forms. However, of interest for us is the preservation of the ear-cup motif in Central Asia up to the 19th century in Uzbek silk ikats (fig. 66).[71] This example clearly shows how long textile designs can survive and how widespread their distribution was, even very early. The presence of the ear-cup motif of the Western Han in 19th century Uzbek ikats supports the idea that Central Asian ikats showed other, and even earlier, Chinese designs like the *darak nuska*.

71 Additional examples are published in Fitz Gibbon /Hale 1997.

26

Ersarï *chuval* with *darak nuska* design

Only five Ersarï weavings with the *darak nuska* design are known. Three *chuval*, a trapping, and a double bag. Two *chuval* are published in this book (cat. no. 26 and fig. 49), the third *chuval*,[72] a trapping[73] and a double bag[74] elsewhere. The *chuval* in fig. 49 is newer, while the third *chuval* might have the same age as cat. no. 26.

Design: The field most likely shows a design adopted from ikats, although silk ikats with the same design are hitherto unknown.

Based on the condition of cat. no. 26, it is no longer clear to say what the complete piece looked like. The surviving part of the lower *alem* still rudimentarily shows motifs like those scattered in the field,

72 www.weavingartmuseum.org/exh3_7.htm.
73 Hali 45, 1989: 13.
74 Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: Fig. 142.

Fig. 60: Line drawing of the geometric design of a 3rd century Chinese silk. This version of the Warring States period design already anticipates the designs of the Western Han (like figs. 61 and 62). Repr. from Feng 1999: 47, 10.02.

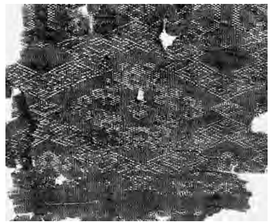


Fig. 61: Silk fragment, early Western Han period, so called "Han damask". Found in Palmyra, Syria. The design of this silk is similar to the one in the drawing in fig. 62. Repr. from Schmidt-Colinet/Stauffer/Al-Ascad 2000: Plate 85 b, cat. no. 520.

Fig. 62: Drawing of the design of a mid 2nd century monochrome silk, Western Han. Tomb 1, Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan province, China. Repr. from Orientations 1983–1997: 159, fig. 3.

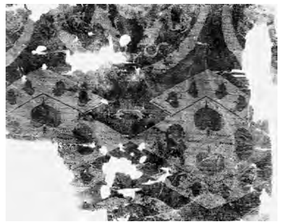


Fig. 63: 2nd or 1st century B.C. Chinese silk with ear-cup motifs and four "spades" (♠) in their centres, Western Han period, so called "Han damask". Found in Palmyra, Syria. Repr. from Schmidt-Colinet/Stauffer/Al-Ascad 2000: Plate 86, cat. no. 449.

but what followed below is uncertain. The same applies to the upper end, which is completely missing. However, if we look at the *chuval* in fig. 49, we can assume that the missing upper end of cat. no. 26 showed a comparable design. The lower end, the *alem* of the comparison piece fig. 49 is also decorated with motifs similar to those seen scattered in the field. The narrow bands with interlacements in the minor borders are the same in both pieces.

Structure: The asymmetrical open right knotting with a density of almost 1000 knots per dm square is typical for Ersarï weavings.

Colours: Also the colour palette with its smooth and warm colours is typical for the Ersarï. Based on visual inspection, no insect dyestuffs have been determined. No chemical analysis has been performed.

Dating: Based on its over all appearance it is rather unlikely that this *chuval* was woven in the 19th century. Radiocarbon dating, on the other hand, excludes a pre-1650 date of production. Therefore, the *chuval* dates from the late 17th or 18th century.

139

Ersari *khali* with ikat design

This carpet is unique. The whole design is borrowed from woven textiles. The beginning and end of the carpet show stripe designs from shawls, while the rest of the field imitates an ikat design (cf. figs. 27 and 28).

Woollen shawls from Persia and Kashmir showing stripe designs as seen at the beginning and end of the *khali* cat. no. 139 are published in: Anavian & Anavian 1975: Plate 34–36 (examples from Kashmir) and plate 61 (an example from Persia).

Fig. 64: 2nd or 1st century B.C. Chinese bronze mirror with ear-cup motifs, Western Han period. Musée Guimet, Paris. Beside the "ear-cup" motifs, the four "spades" (♠) grouped around the centre are very similar to those in the center of the "ear-cup" motifs in the silk in fig. 63. Repr. from Ciarla 2006: 67.

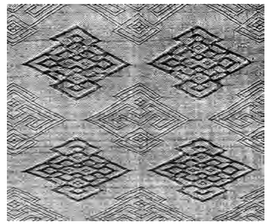


Fig. 65: Mid 2nd century silk gauze with ear-cup motifs, early Western Han period. From the tomb of "Lady Dai", Mawangdui, Changsha, Hunan province, China. Repr. from Vainker 2004: 53, no. 34.

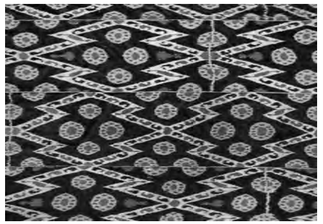


Fig. 66: Detail from a 19th century Uzbek silk ikat with ear-cup motifs. Lindenmuseum Stuttgart. Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: Fig. 442.

27

Ersarï *khali* with *simurgh* design

Cat. No. 27 is one of the older Turkmen examples with *simurgh* design. The design has been applied not only on carpets, but also on smaller piled weavings.[75] In literature, it has so far been described as floral,[76] dragon[77] or peacock[78] design. However, the parallels to *simurgh* representations in Sasanian and Islamic art (figs. 76–74) with all likelihood relate the heavily abstracted Turkmen design (fig. 72) to the set of *simurgh* ornaments.

Design: The *simurgh* is a mythical creature from the Iranian epics. It is a composite bird with the head of a dog, the paws of a lion, wings and the tail of a peacock. Ferdowsi refers to the *simurgh* in the Shahnameh, the "Book of Kings", in the epic of King Zal and his son Rustam, the great hero, champion of champions in the Iranian epics (fig. 74).[79]

However, the concept of such a mythical bird goes further back in time, down to the early history of Iranian speaking people. It is first mentioned in the Avesta, the primary collection of sacred texts of Zoroastrianism.[80] There it is described as a giant bird, sitting on the tree of life, responsible for the fertility of man and beast.

The earliest *simurgh* representations in the Iranian world stem from the end of Sasanian authority in Iran, the 6th and 7th centuries. In this final stage of Sasanian dominance in Persia, the *simurgh* was a royal symbol, associated with kingship. The last Sasanian kings wear caftans

75 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 27.
76 Hali 4/2 1981: 138, fig. 11.
77 Reuben 1998: No. 34.
78 Shakhberdyeva calls the design «*tavus*» (Hali 37, 1988: 38), translated by Moshkova as peacock [Moshkova 1970 (1996): 336].

79 Ferdowsi 2000–2005: Vol I, 2005: 102 et seqq.
80 Trever 1964.

Fig. 67: Simurgh on robe and trousers of Khosrow II (591–628), Taq-e Bostan, boar hunt relief. Repr. from cat. Brussels 1993: Fig. 100.

Fig. 68: Simurgh in a pearl roundel on a 7th century Sasanian stucco plate. Museum for Islamic Art Berlin. Image by the author.

Fig. 69: Simurgh in a pearl roundel, 7th or 8th century, Sasanian silk. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 8579-1863. Repr. from Schorta 2006: 15, fig. 4.

Fig. 70: Simurgh with lotus buds on an 8th century post-Sasanian or Sogdian silver plate. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Repr. from Marschak 1986: Fig. 22.

with *simurgh* design. So did Khosrow II (591 – 628) (fig. 64) on the boars hunt relief in Taq-e Bostan, or Yasdegerd III, the last Sasanian king, on the Afrasiab (Samarkand) mural, discussed and dated by Mode.[81]

From the 6th or 7th century on, *simurghs* with a dog's head, lion's paws, wings and a peacock's tail are represented on stone, stucco, metal, in paintings and on textiles. They appear not only in Sasanian art (figs. 67–70), but in the second half of the 7th century also in early Islamic[82] and Christian[83] art. However, there the *simurgh* becomes purely decorative, losing its royal symbolism (figs. 71 – 73).

The silk fragment in fig. 69 shows a *simurgh* as described above in a pearl roundel. A caftan with a very similar *simurgh* representation was discovered in Moscevaja Balka in the northern Caucasus on the northern route of the Silk Road from Sogdiana to the Black Sea.[84]

A unique simurgh representation is seen in the so-called "Witches Pallium", an 11th or early 12th century silk lampas from Islamic Spain (fig. 73). On this silk, previously used as an antependium, the simurgh is seen not in profile, but in frontal view. This manner of representation is unknown in Sasanian and early Islamic art.[85] But the mythical creature on the "Witches Pallium" still clearly shows a dog's head, the bodies of two birds with lion's paws, wings and a peacock's tail in the background – typical attributes of the *simurgh*.

The Samanid silver plate from Bukhara showing a stylized version of the *simurgh* (fig. 72), dates from the early Islamic period in Central Asia.

The appearance of the *simurgh* changes in the miniature paintings illustrating Ferdowsi's Shahnameh (fig. 74). Henceforth, we encounter

81 Mode 1993: 58 et seqq.
82 Hamilton/Grabar 1959: Fig. 118 and 253; Enderlein/Meinecke 1992: 155, fig. 20.
83 Strzygowski 1930: Fig. 209, in the church of St. Gregor in Ani; Fig. 285 from Constantinople, Byzantium.
84 Ierusalimskaja/Borkop 1996: 18, no. 1.

85 However, Boris Marshak has published a 12th century silver casket, which shows a comparable animal representation. A lion's head in frontal view grows out of the bodies of two confronted lions (Marshak 1986: Figs. 158 – 160). The *simurgh* on the "Witches Pallium" is composed of a dog's head seen in frontal view growing out of the bodies of two confronted birds with lion's paws.

Fig. 71: Early Islamic simurgh from the Mshatta façade (triangle D), 8th century. Museum for Islamic Art, Berlin. Image by the author.

Fig. 72: Simurgh on a 10th century octagonal Samanid silver plate from Bukhara. Museum for Islamic Art, Berlin. Image by the author.

Fig. 73: Simurgh on an 11th/12th century Spanish silk, the so-called "witches pallium". Museu Episcopal, Vic. Repr. from Lessing 1913.

Fig. 74: The simurgh takes Zal to her nest in the mountains. End of 16th century Safavid miniature painting from a copy of Ferdowsi's Shahnameh. Repr. from Sims 2002: 166, no. 80.

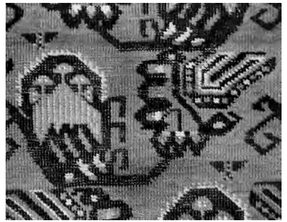


Fig. 75: Simurgh on a 19th century Ersarï *chuval*, Private collection. (Cf. also the simurghs in cat. no. 27).

the *simurgh* in the form of the Chinese bird phoenix. This shift goes back to the Ilkhanids, the successors of Genghis Khan. They not only brought the lotus and Chinese cloud designs (cloud collar, cloudband and cloud wisp), they also brought the design of the dragon and phoenix to the western part of the Islamic world.

The extremely stylized Turkmen version of the simurgh, however, (fig. 75) goes back to the Iranian archetype, with a dog's head and peacock's tail. Though the head with the open mouth and the tongue inside can also easily be interpreted as a flower, the peacock's tail with its little palmettes and its toothed edges is clearly recognisable. A comparable representation of the peacock's tail is seen in the *simurgh* representation in the Sasanid silk in fig. 69. There too, the tail's edges are toothed, and little palmettes decorate it. The striation of the *simurgh's* wings in the silk design appear in the tail in the Turkmen design, but may be traced back to the representation of the wings of the *simurgh*. The floral motifs inserted in rows between the simurghs in the Turkmen design are not an integral part of the mythical beasts; they are an independent inserted design, though they appear in nearly identical form in most piled weavings with the *simurgh* design. An 8th century Sasanian silver plate shows a *simurgh* surrounded by flower buds (fig. 70), which could possibly be seen as a kind of archetype for the inserted palmettes in the Turkmen version seen in cat. no. 27. Marshak traces these (lotus?) flower buds back to Buddhist influence from Bactria.[86] Maybe in the 8th century A.D. *simurgh* and lotus were understood in a common context, or perhaps they were just decorative elements which have been brought together. The combination of the two designs, *simurgh* and palmette, among the Ersari, can probably be traced back to such archetypes.

86 Cat. Paris 2006: 129

Fig. 76: Harp player in a boat of the boar hunt relief, Taq-e Bostan, main iwan. First quarter of the 7th century. Repr. from cat. Brussels 1993: 114.

Fig. 77: Rosette design on the robe of the harp player, Taq-e Bostan, main iwan. First quarter of the 7th century. Repr. from Herzfeld 1920: Plate LXV.

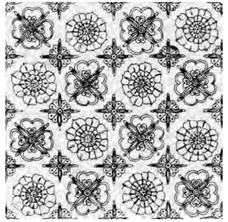


Fig. 78: Reconstruction drawing of the rosette design on the robe of the harp player in fig. 76. Repr. from Pinner/Franses 1980: 84, fig. 121.

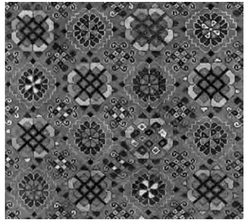


Fig. 79: Ersarï *mina khani* design with secondary motifs between the large rosettes (corresponding with the Sasanian archetype). The diagonal grid as seen in the design version in fig. 80 is still lacking. Detail from a late 19th century Ersarï *khali*. Private collection. Repr. from Weber Auction 104, Zurich, 22 May1989: Lot 17.

28

Ersarï *khali* with *mina khani* design

Design: The *mina khani* design of cat. no. 28 belongs to a cultural-historical design category comparable to that of the *simurgh* (cat. no. 27). Like the *simurgh*, it may go back to Sasanian archetypes.[87] That designs of Sasanian, Sogdian, and also Chinese textiles have found their way into Turkmen weavings has been demonstrated in a number of other cases. Of particular interest is that the *mina khani*, like so many other Turkmen carpet designs, can be traced back to stately roots. In the same scene in Taq-e Bostan of the royal boar hunt showing Khosrow II dressed in a caftan with *simurgh* design, a harp player is represented, wearing a caftan with a rosette design almost identical to a type of the Turkmen *mina khani* design (cf figs. 76–78). The Sasanian design is composed of two different types of large rosettes in diagonal rows, with smaller rosettes place alternately in between. (fig. 78). The name of the design also points to the realm of stately representation and sovereignty. According to Loges, the name of the carpet design is referring to "Mini Khan", a sovereign (khan) from western Persia.[88] But possibly "*mina khani*" just means "design of the khan", or even "stately design". The Turkmen have adopted this design from Persia, where, in the past centuries, it has been used particularly among the Kurds and the Baluch. Among these two latter groups, particularly the version with a diagonal grid has been used (fig. 81 – 83). Among the Baluch, strongly simplified versions are known, up to the so-called "*do gülli*" (two flower) design.[89]

A close relative to the Persian "*mina khani*" design is the "Herati design", which is often seen in carpets from Khorasan, and sometimes also among the Turkmen.

87 Pinner/Franses 1980: 84, fig. 121.

88 Loges 1975: 150.

89 E.g. Azadi 1986: No. 51.

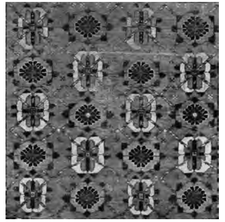


Fig. 80: Ersarï *mina khani* design without secondary motifs between the large rosettes, but with a diagonal grid instead. Detail from a 19th century Ersari khali. Private collection.

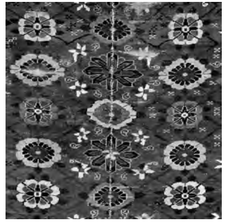


Fig. 81: The "classical" version of the Ersarï *mina khani* design shows a a diagonal grid and additional stylized palmettes. Detail from cat. no. 28, 18th century. The Textile Museum, Washington D.C. Gift of Richrad Isaacson.

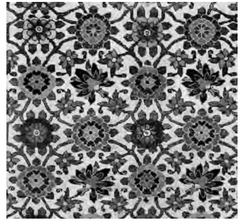


Fig. 82: The "classical" *mina khani* design on a 19th century Kurdish carpet (detail). Burns Collection. Repr. from Burns 2002: 132, plate 37.

Fig. 83: The "classical" *mina khani* design on a 18th century Baluch carpet from Khorasan, Persia. (detail). Private collection.

In Turkmen weavings, the *mina khani* design is seen in three major types, each with variants (figs. 79 – 81). The version in fig. 79 is the closest to the Sasanian archetype (fig. 78). Like the Sasanian model it shows two different types of large rosettes in diagonal rows, with small hooked rhombuses (rosettes) inserted between the large rosettes like secondary motifs. A version presumably developed therefrom shows an integrated grid, which might have developed from the crosses in the centre of one of the two rosettes (fig. 80). The third type shows additional palmettes (looking like the a *chemche gül*), replacing every second rosette of the type with the integrated crosses (fig. 81).[90] This third type can be considered the "classic" *mina khani* design of the 18th and 19th centuries; it is very common not only among the Turkmen (fig. 81), but also among the Kurds (fig. 82) and the Baluch (fig. 83).

The archaic form of the *mina khani* design as seen in fig. 79 might belong to Turkmen "revival designs" of the late 19th century. As with some other Turkmen designs the weaver may have referred to ancient proven designs. One could even almost speak of a "historism" of Turkmen carpet designs. Carpets with this version of the *mina khani* are considerably rarer than what we have called the "classic" version, and they are found almost exclusively in late pieces. Only about one third of the comparison pieces linked to cat. no. 28 have no grid, and only one of them might pre-date 1850.[91]

The field design of cat. no. 28 in original condition might have looked very similar to the intact comparison piece published by Uwe Jourdan. [92] Cat. no. 28 is missing about one third of its field design. The piece published by Loges 1979 (no. 87) shows the same main border as cat. no. 28.

90 The Turkmen version of the design shows stylized palmettes resembling a *chemche gül*, whereas in the *mina khani* of the Kurds and the Baluch the palmettes show a more realistic flower-shaped form.

91 See Eiland 1990: No. 153.

92 Jourdan 1989: No. 279.

Fig. 84 and 85: Relief fom Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad), Assyrian, end of 8th century B.C. The garment of King Sargon II. The Achaemenid garment in fig. 86 might imitate such examples. Repr. from Botta/Flandin 1850: Plate 101.

Fig. 86, 87, and 87a: Royal guard, coloured glazed brick from the palace in Susa, end of the 6th century, Achaemenid. The guard wears a garment with a design as seen in the woollen tapestry woven saddle cloth found in kurgan V, Pazyryk (fig. 88). Louvre, Paris. Image by the author.

Fig. 88: Detail from a saddlecloth (shabraque) with tassels at both short sides (60 x 235 cm). The saddlecloth was re-purposed from a royal Achaemenid garment, dyed with Mediterranean purple.
Repr. from Loukonine/Ivanov 2003: 69, cat. no. 30.

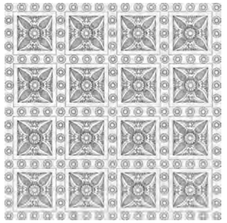


Fig. 89: Carved alabaster slab (threshold) from the palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh, Assyria, 2nd half of the 7th century B.C. (detail). British Museum London. Repr. from Tilia 1978: Fig. 5.

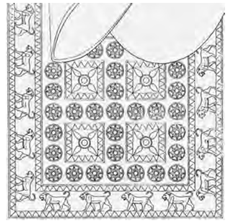


Fig. 90: Throne cover. Detail from an audience scene on a relief of Darius I (522–486 v. Chr.), Persepolis. The cover lies under a cushion on the seat of the throne, and hangs down on both sides. Repr. from Tilia 1978: Fig. 4.

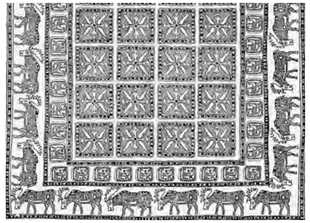


Fig. 91: So-called Pazyryk carpet (detail), found in Kurgan V in the necropolis of Pazyryk, ca. 183 x 200 cm, 4th/3rd century B.C. Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg. (For a complete image see fig. 7 in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate"). Repr. from Jettmar 1964: Fig. 103.

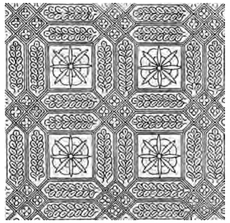


Fig. 92: Early Islamic wall painting. Decoration of the mihrab of a mosque, Qanat Tepe, Nishapur, Iran, 10th century. The rosettes within the lattice show strong Sasanian influence (cf. fig. 78). Drawing by Lindsley F. Hall. Repr. from Wilkinson 1986: 266, fig. 4.8.

Introduction to the compartment designs of the Ersarï

Compartment designs are deeply rooted in the arts of the Ancient Near East. Combined with rosettes, they are frequently seen in stately Assyrian and Achaemenid textiles. The garment of the Assyrian King Sargon II was adorned with compartments alternately filled with rosettes and city-gates (representing authority) (figs. 84 and 85).[93] The Assyrian palaces, in particular the throne halls, must have been furnished with precious carpets and textiles, of which no originals have survived, though we do see detailed reproductions of them carved in stone (fig. 89). The Persian Achaemenids adopted the architecture of the palaces of the Assyrians, and also their stately designs for fine textiles and carpets. Thus, the garments of the royal guard of Darius I show a design which is similar to that of the garment of the Assyrian King Sargon II (cf. figs. 84 – 87). Achaemenid royal garments show either designs with small rosettes enclosing single palmettes or palmette crosses (quadruple palmettes)[94] or compartment designs enclosing stylised representations of cities or city-gates (fig. 88). Both designs appear in combination in the garment of Sargon II (fig. 85), but this is no longer the case among the Achaemenids. Due to an unusual archaeological chance find, we are lucky enough to have remnants of an original royal Achaemenid garment. Reworked into a saddlecloth (shabraque) of a Scythian sovereign, such a royal Achaemenid textile – an extremely finely woven woollen tapestry dyed with real Mediterranean purple[95] – was discovered in kurgan V of the necropolis of Pazyryk in the Altai mountains (fig. 88).[96]

The oldest complete oriental carpet so far known, the so-called Pazyryk carpet, was found in the same kurgan (fig. 91). Like the woollen tapestry textile, this carpet comes from an Achaemenid environment and is decorated, following Assyrian models (fig. 89), with a compartment design showing double cross forms composed of lotus flowers and pinecones within the compartments. The lotus flowers and the pinecones are still clearly recognizable on the Assyrian model (fig. 89), while the design on the Pazyryk carpet already shows considerable stylisation.[97] The Pazyryk carpet also shows strong parallels to the design of an Achaemenid throne cloth (fig. 90). In place in of the lions in this throne cloth, which are typical for the Ancient Near East, the Pazyryk carpet shows deer. Friezes with striding lions are commonly seen in Achaemenid art, in architecture and also in textiles.[98] This might also be the reason why experts like Étienne de la Vaissière suggest a Bactrian origin for the Pazyryk carpet.[99] Bactria was part of Greater Iran and a satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire, but it kept to its own Eastern Iranian traditions in showing deer instead of the royal Achaemenid lions. Deer were one of the preferred symbolic animals in the Scythian/Saka tradition of Eastern Iran (Western Central Asia) and the steppes. Looking at textiles woven by the Iranian speaking Saka, who migrated from the Eurasian steppes to the Tarim Basin (Xinjang, China), the same can be observed.[100] Friezes with striding deer are very common, while representations of lions are completely absent. As radiocarbon dating of the Pazyryk carpet indicated, it is some 300 years later than the throne cloth shown in the audience scene with Darius I (fig. 90). The carpet was woven in the 4th or 3rd century B.C.[101] The popularity of compartment designs among the Sasanians is seen in 10th century wall painting from Nishapur, which, though from the early Islamic period, still clearly follows the ancient Sasanian tradition, continuing Assyrian and Achaemenid traditions (fig. 92).[102]

93 For a detailed discussion of this kind of ornamentation, see Türck 2004.
94 For an example of such a rosette design, see the robe of Xerxes in: Tilia 1978: Fig. 6; Koch 1992: Abb 152.
95 Among the Achaemenids, purple was the royal colour reserved for the King. Thus the heir to the throne was called "purple born". In Antiquity, this dyestuff from a Mediterranean shell was presumably as valuable as gold. Dye analysis on the tapestry textile from Pazyryk was done at the Novosibirsk Institute for Organic Chemistry and first presented by E.V. Karpova et al. in 2006 at the DHA (Dyes in History and Archaeology) conference in Suceava, Rumania.
96 For a good colour illustration of the complete saddle cloth with tassels at both ends, see Stark et al. 2012: 115, figs. 7-6a and b.
97 For a discussion see the chapter "The Sarïq", figs. 35–47.
98 E.g. in the woollen tapestry also found in Pazyryk. See Rudenko 1970: colour plate 177, or on royal baldachins in Persepolis.
99 de la Vaissière 2005: 21.
100 Keller/Schorta 2001: E.g. fig. 15 and fig. 94.
101 For the dating of the Pazyryk carpet, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", fig. 7.
102 For Sasanian compartment designs, see Kröger 1982: Fig. 84 and plate 46/1. For flower motifs within the compartments cf. fig 121 in Kröger 1982.

Fig. 93: Tapestry woven medallion with human figures and animals, part of a Coptic tunic, ca. 26 x 22.5 cm, 7th–9th century. Museum Rietberg, Zürich. Image by the author.

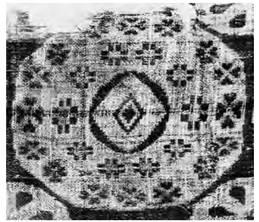


Fig. 94: Roundel with concentric circles, blue ground Sogdian silk fragment, 8th or 9th century. Repr. from Ierusalimskaja/Borkopp 1996: Cat. no. 101.

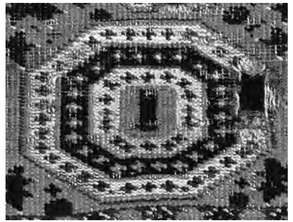


Fig. 95: Concentric octagons in a piled weaving of the Ersarï. This is one of the few Turkmen examples showing this design without the usually attached little crosses as seen in fig. 96. Repr. from Eiland 2003: 241, fig. 4.

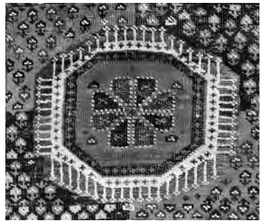


Fig. 96: Detail from cat. no. 29. Concentric octagons from an Ersarï carpet. Instead of the toothing of the c-*gül* of the Yomut, Ersarï medallions often show small, matchstick-like attachments.

29

Ersarï *khali* with compartment design and Ersarï *gül*

In its basic composition, the compartment design of cat. no. 29 follows the same ancient design tradition as cat. no. 30 (cf. figs. 84 – 92). However, the compartments are less clearly defined here. The separation between the compartments is indicated by a narrow *giyak* stripe only. The compartments contain the same type of little flower motifs as seen in cat. no. 30, although with additional eight-petalled rosettes. As a kind of third level, Ersarï *gül* (fig. 96) have been quasi superimposed in a 2/1/2 (or diagonal) arrangement. Each Ersarï *gül* covers four compartments and shows the same type of eight petalled rosette in the centre as is seen in the rest of the compartments. The colour arrangement, with a white outlined Ersarï *gül* in the centre, creates a centralised composition.

Design: The Ersarï *gül* (fig. 96) is a design seen exclusively in weavings of the Ersarï. As already described in the discussion of the c-*gül* of the Yomut, there are a small number of other typically Ersarï designs closely related to the Ersarï *gül*, possibly even being precursors of it. [103] In those, however, the small, cross-shaped attachments to the outer edge of the Ersarï *gül* are replaced either by a toothing as seen in the c-*gül*,[104] or the outer edge is just plain, as seen in fig. 95. All these design versions are based on concentric octagons, which, in the case of the Ersarï *gül*, are decorated with cross-shaped attached little pendants.

The Ersarï *gül* might also be distantly related to the Salor *gül*, although not directly derived from it.[105] However, like the Salor *gül* and the c-*gül*, the Ersarï *gül* might also go back to Sasanian or Sogdian archetypes. Transitional forms, such as the design in fig. 95, show the link to silk designs as seen in fig. 94. These silk designs, too, are composed of concentric circles (octagons?), bedecked with little heart and cross forms. Another interesting parallel to the Ersarï *gül* is seen in Coptic rosettes from a tunic (fig. 93). This design is also composed of concentric circles (octagons?) with little cross forms attached to the edge. The concentric circles are filled with little human figures and birds. This 7th–9th century Coptic design has already been used as a possible archetype in the discussion on the origin of the Salor *gül*. This ought not to mitigate its relevance here; it just demonstrates again the complex relations between designs. This complexity is further highlighted by the geographic distance and the Egyptian origin of the textile, as the Coptic design with all likelihood has it roots in the cultural area of Iran.[106]

103 Cf. figs. 52–58 in the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
104 See fig. 53 in the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*"
105 Cf. figs. 131–140 in the chapter "The Salor".

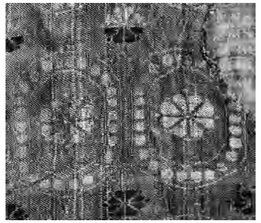


Fig. 97: Pearl roundels with eight-petalled rosettes in an endless repeat. Detail from a silk garment (the upper right corner shows part of the neckline), Moscevaja Balka, Caucasus, 8th or 9th century. Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg. Repr. from Ierusalimskaja/Borkop 1996: 31, fig. 9a.

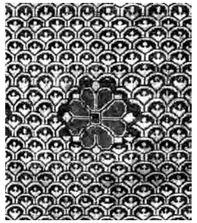


Fig. 98: Detail from a Central Asian silk, showing a scaled landscape (garden) with many little flowers and superimposd eight-petalled rosettes. 10th or 11th century. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 5065. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

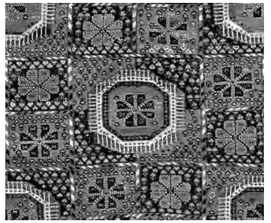


Fig. 99: Detail from cat. no. 29. The flower design of this carpet with its rosettes made of heart-shaped petals and the little flowers in the compartments strongly resembles textile designs.

30

Ersarï *khali* fragment with compartment design

In the 17th – 19th centuries, compartment designs as seen in cat. no. 30 presumably relate to Persian and Kurdish garden carpet designs. The little flower motifs within the compartments point to such a relationship. However, that such little flower motifs were already popular as an overall field design in 10th century Central Asian textiles is illustrated in the detail in fig. 98. The eight-petalled rosettes in this silk are seen in a nearly identical form in cat. no. 29. This demonstrates again the complexity and interrelatedness of design development in the past 1000 years.

This carpet is unusual not only in the alternating yellow and white ground colour of the compartments, but also the lack of borders. Friedrich Spuhler, Hans König, and Martin Volkmann have already mentioned this. In their catalogue, the carpet is published showing its remaining striped *alem* on one side[107] (folded and sewn to the back in the colour illustration here). While the width of 6 compartments is complete, it is not known how many compartments long the carpet was originally.

106 Silk designs from the Iranian world were frequently copied in Coptic Egypt in the form of woollen tapestries. An example is the hanging with winged horses in the Abegg-Stifftung in Riggisberg (Schrenk 2004: 76, cat. no. 18).

107 Spuhler/König/Volkmann 1978: 200, no. 88.

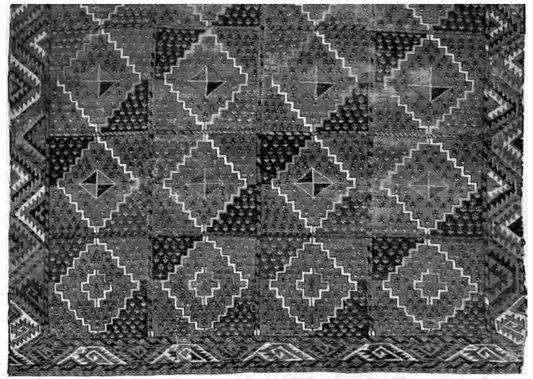


Fig. 100: Cat. no. 138, one of two Ersarï carpet fargments, 345 x 135 cm, 18th or early 19th century. The second fragment is more than twice as big and is in poor condition.

138

Ersarï *khali* fragment with stepped diamonds in compartments

In contrast to other Turkmen tribal groups, compartment designs are seen in a large variety among the Ersarï. The same little flower motifs as seen in cat. nos. 29 and 30 fill the quartered compartments here. But in place of the Ersarï *gül*, stepped diamonds fill all the compartments, not only every other compartment as in cat. no. 29.

At the beginning of the carpet, the border shows a form of the meander with curled leaves, which in the side borders has been abandoned in favour of a purely geometric design composed of serrated triangles. This can still be interpreted as a stylized version of the meander border, but without the curled leaves.

Also the stepped diamonds in the first row show an ancient cross form in their centres, while in the following rows quartered plain diamonds replace them. Presumably the design at the beginning of the carpet is a more archaic version, which was given up after the first 40 cm.

The fragment consists of a smaller and a larger piece, of which the smaller piece is in better condition (fig. 100). As this example might be one of the oldest of this design group, it was chosen for radiocarbon dating. It dates to the 18th or early 19th century.[108]

31

Ersarï *khali* with *gülli gül* field design

Design: This *khali* belongs to a group of Ersarï carpets showing two or three rows of powerful *gülli gül* primary designs combined in nearly all cases with the "satellite" *gül*[109] as a secondary motif. Four out of the 19 listed comparison pieces show the typical main border design of the Salor. However, in two of these four examples this border design already shows minor changes.[110] Also, the border of the carpet discussed here differs slightly from the Salor archetype in showing a variant of the colouring. The basic structure of the design is no longer white throughout; dark blue and orange elements have been inserted.

The primary design in the field, the *gülli gül*, is composed of several components. While the centre clearly shows the most ancient design elements (figs. 101 and 102), the contour of the design might go back to the "barbed quatrefoil" of Late Antiquity, and the tripartite little flowers in the "wreath"-like outer section to Sasanid models. The shape of the contour has changed over time, finally becoming two irregular superimposed octagons.[111]

108 For the radiocarbon dating result, see Vol. 1, appendix I, cat. no. 138.
109 On the origin and development of the "satellite" *gül* see the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".
110 See vol. 1, cat. no. 31, comparison pieces nos. 9 and 18.
111 For a detailed derivation of the origin of the *gülli gül*, see figs. 190–205 in the chapter "The Salor".

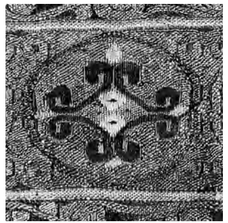


Fig. 101: Diamond made of four double volutes enclosed in a small roundel. Silk and gold tapestry, 11th century. From the cathedral of Burgo de Osma, Spain. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Repr. from May 1957: 20, fig. 8.

Fig. 102: Detail from a blue and white Sogdian silk fragment with two interlaced squares in a roundel (reconstruction). 7th or 8th century. Treasury of the cathedral of Liège, Belgium, inv. no. 432.

Fig. 103: Medallion design from a brocaded flat weave in linen (ground weave) and wool (pattern), Egypt, 8th or 9th century. The David Colletion, Copenhagen. Repr. from Folsach 2001: No. 621.

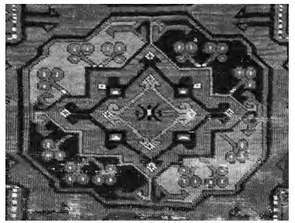


Fig. 104: The *gülli gül* of the Ersarï. Detail from *khali* cat no. 31. 16th or 17th century. The contour of the *gülli gül* of the Ersarï, the Sarïq, and the Teke is composed of two unequal superimposed octagons. The centre of the *gülli gül* of the Ersarï shows two ancient textile designs (fig. 101, diamond composed of four double volutes, and fig. 102, two interlaced squares).

The secondary motif, called "satellite" *gül* by collectors because of the antenna-like attachments, is typical of this group of carpets. Nearly all comparison pieces show this motif offset between the *gülli gül* in the field. As shown in the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*", this unusual design is derived from Islamic interlaced patterns, and is related to the *chemche gül* and the *gurbaga gül*, in that all these secondary motifs can be traced back to the same Islamic model: an interlaced star within an octagon.[112]

Dating: Based on the early date for this *gülli gül* carpet as indicated by radiocarbon dating (the piece was woven between 1480 and 1660), the interrelationship between the Turkmen *gülli gül* and comparable Timurid carpet designs is not yet clear. While we can suppose that the Turkmen *gülli gül* in the 15th century did not look much different from cat. no. 31, we can only guess where the many carpets illustrated in Timurid miniature paintings were produced. In other words, it is not clear whether we can suppose a Timurid influence when looking for the origin of the *gülli gül*. As suggested in the chapter "The Salor", it is more likely that they have common roots than that one is the model for the other. While Timurid carpets belong to the realm of Persian city, and perhaps even royal, workshops, Turkmen carpets rather represent an Eastern Iranian or Central Asian style with a somewhat "provincial" touch (which, however, does not exclude a workshop production). Marshak has discussed the differing styles in works of art from these two areas – Persia and Central Asia – clearly distinguishing between the Central Asian (Sogdian/Bactrian/Khoresmian) and Persian (Sasanian) style. In the field of textiles, the Persian throne cloth in fig. 90 and the Pazyryk carpet (originating from Bactria) in fig. 91 best illustrate these different styles: compared to the Achaemenid throne cloth, the Pazyryk carpet already shows "provincial" features. I think this is analogous to the relationship between Timurid carpet designs and the Turkmen *gülli gül*.[113]

112 See figs. 49–68 in the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".
113 See also the section "The *gülli gül* field design" in the chapter "The Salor".

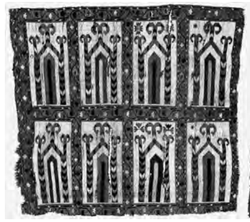


Fig. 105: Ersarï saf carpet, cat. no. 32. This carpet was presumably designed and produced for the foundation of the Bala Hauz Mosque in 1712. Museum for Islamic Arts, Doha, Qatar.

Fig. 106: This fragment originally belonged to the same carpet as the fragment, cat. no. 32 (fig. 105). Repr. from Christie's London, 17 October 2002, lot 141.

Fig. 107: Sayed Muzzafar ad-Din Bahadur Khan, Emir of Bukhara (1860 – 1885). He was the Emir who ordered the reproduction of the saf carpet of the domed prayer hall of the Bala Hauz Mosque. Repr. from Naumkin 1993: 25.

Fig. 108: Two fragments of the saf carpet, which in 1874 was ordered by Sayed Muzzafar ad-Din Bahadur Khan (fig. 107) for the Bala Hauz Mosque, as published by George O'Bannon (only half of the 7.4 m long fragments is visible in the image). Repr. from Moshkova 1970 (1996): Fig. 129.

32 & 33

The two saf carptes from the Bala Hauz Mosque in Bukhara

The two saf carpets, cat. nos. 32 and 33 (figs. 105, 106, and 108), are without parallel in the field of Turkmen carpets. Specially designed and ordered for the domed hall of the Bala Hauz Mosque in Bukhara, which was built as a royal chapel for Abu'l-Faiz Khan and opened in 1712 (figs. 109 – 111), cat. no. 32 is, as far as we know, a unique piece. In the late 19th century, the over-160-year-old carpet was replaced by a reproduction (cat. no. 33, fig. 108) by order of Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan (Fig. 107). The design of these two carpets is unusual, as is their white ground colour.[114] Among the Turkmen, the design with horizontal rows of niches (saf) is only seen in weavings of the Ersarï.

The traditional flat woven rugs of the Yomut from the Southwest of Turkmenistan with their slender "niches",[115] and their pile woven copies,[116] also, strictly speaking, belong to the group of niche hangings, hence to safs in the broadest sense, although they have never been described as such in literature, and have never, to my knowledge, been used for prayer in mosques.

In addition to the two carpets discussed here, there are some few other Ersarï piled weavings with horizontal rows of niches, which could be considered safs.[117] Particularly the example published by Ettinghausen, based on its large size with 12 niches, could have been intended for use for prayer in a mosque. The other known pieces might have served a different purpose.

114 Other than the niche carpets of the Ersarï, white ground carpets are extremely rare among the Turkmen. For a white ground Ersarï carpet with a different design than a niche, see Rippon Boswell 36, 1992: Lot 23.

115 E.g. McMullan 1965: No. 134.

116 E.g. Schürmann 1969: 98, No. 22.

117 (1) Schürmann 1969: 123, no. 47; (2) Ettinghausen 1974: 118, plate XL; (3) Straka/Mackie 1978: Fig. 42; (4) Jourdan 1989: 318, fig. 297; (5) Moshkova 1970 (1996): Fig. 128; (6) Rippon Boswell 69, 19 Mai 2007, lot 63. A white ground Ersarï carpet published by Herrmann can also be counted among this group (Herrmann X, 1988: No. 97).

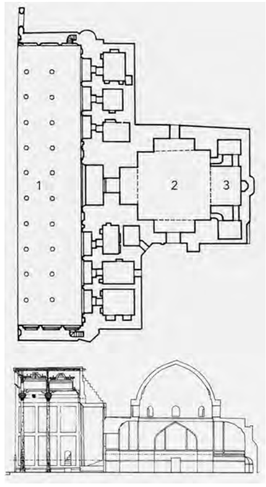


Fig. 109: Groundplan and elevation of the Bala Hauz Mosque, Bukhara,. inaugurated in 1712. Repr. from Brentjes 1979: 125. Brentjes describes the mosque as follows: "The most prestigious building of the late Astrakhanid era is the Bala Hauz Mosque, built in 1712 at the Registan opposite the entrance to the Ark (citadel), to serve as a Friday Mosque. It is composed of two very different main bodies, a central plan domed building (2) and a front hall with six associated cells (1). This front hall, supported by two rows of ten columns with a height of 12 m each, is 42 m long and 10 m deep. The attached building with the cells occupies the same area, but only reaching a height of 10 m. The domed building, together with the portal in the cell building is 27 m long and nearly 20 m wide. The domed hall measures 10 m square, with a height of 16 m (cit. from Brentjes 1979: 125).
(1) Columned front hall, ca. 42 × 10 m.
(2) Domed hall, 10 × 10 m.
(3) Iwan with mihrab.

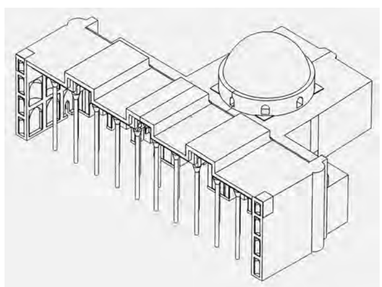


Fig. 110: Perspective representation of the Bala Hauz Mosque. Repr. from Gangler/Gaube/Petruccioli 2004: Fig. 8.11. The front hall with its 12.5 m high columns was renovated and renewed between 1914 and 1917. The coffered ceiling with its three protrusions and the new capitals have been added. The large octagonal water basin, a so-called "hauz", in front of the building gave the name to the mosque.

Fig. 111: The Bala Hauz Mosque as seen from the Ark (citadel and palace). Photography by Gustav Krist, between 1917 and 1922. Repr. from Krist 1937: Fig. 83.

The history of the two saf carpets

The later fragment, cat. no. 33, is part of an originally large format, possibly two part, carpet, which in the late 19th century was woven on commission for the Bala Hauz Mosque in Bukhara, and whose history was published in 1996 by the late George O'Bannon. In his English translation of Moshkova's seminal "Carpets of the People of Central Asia", O'Bannon shows two 7.4 m long fragments of this carpet (fig. 108), referring to a publication by Nassimov. According to Nassimov, the carpet was ordered for the Bala Hauz Mosque in 1874 by Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan,[118] Emir of Bukhara (fig. 107). Reportedly, the carpet was woven by 18 Turkmen and two Uzbek women at the Liabi Houz plaza in Bukhara. One year later it was delivered to the Bala Hauz Mosque. After the renovation of the mosque in 1914 – 1917, on the occasion of the annulment of the Bukharan Emirate and under the influence of the Bolsheviks, the carpet was removed from the stately

118 On Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan, see: Naumkin 1993a: 24 – 26.

domed hall (fig. 109-2) in the 1920's, cut into strips and placed in the columned hall (fig. 109-1) accessible to the populace.

In 1998, two years after O'Bannon's publication of the Bala Hauz saf fragments, a fragment of a nearly identical saf carpet appeared on the auction market in London (fig. 105, cat. no. 32). It was clear from the beginning, that this newly discovered fragment must be considerably older than the fragments published by O'Bannon (fig. 108). In 2002, another fragment turned up, again in London (fig. 106), identifid with all likelihood as an additional part of the piece which appeared in 1998 (fig. 105, cat. no. 32). So far, the two saf carpets (cat. nos. 32 and 33) are the only known examples with this unusual niche design on a white ground.

Acting on the assumption of great age for cat. no. 32, radiocarbon dating was performed shortly after its acquisition in 1998. In the face of great expectations, the result turned out to be rather disillusioning: the saf could not be considerably older than 1700.[119] However, the hypothesis offered here lends new relevance to this radiocarbon dating result: the foundation date of the Bala Hauz Mosque (1712), is in the middle of the earliest of the calibrated age ranges obtained (1673 – 1786 A.D.). Cat. no. 32, could have been ordered and specially designed for the newly built Bala Hauz Mosque, while the later piece (cat. no. 33) was made to replace it in 1874, after 160-some years of use.

It was not mere coincidence that Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan ordered a new carpet to replace the first and certainly somewhat "used" saf ; he was particularly dedicated to restoring and reinforcing all the trappings of grandeur associated with his position. In his younger years, Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan fell into disgrace with his father and was banished into exile. He only returned to Bukhara after the death of his father in 1860, and was shortly thereafter proclaimed the new Emir. In keeping with ancient traditions, he was carried on a felt carpet during his investiture.[120] Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan has been described as a controversial, ambitious, and dazzling monarch. His tendency to ostentation is consistant with his ordering a replacement for the worn saf carpet in the domed hall of his Friday Mosque in Bukhara. Together with his entourage, he used the domed hall of the Bala Hauz Mosque, in the neighbourhood of his palace in Bukhara, for his Friday prayers, as did his predecessors before him since 1712.

Design differences between the two saf carpets

The main difference is a slight simplification of the design of the newer saf compared with its older archetype. Thus, the zipper-like toothing, which will be discussed below, appears in the newer piece only in the first niche of every horizontal row, while it is applied throughout the whole older piece. The reason for this change in the newer piece might be that the weavers no longer understood the meaning of this toothed detail, in addition to the fact that it was more work for them.

Furthermore, an attempt has been made to fill the sparsely decorated white ground fields of the newer piece – consistent with the design of small format single niche rugs and the contemporary fashion[121] – with stylized trees and filler motifs. This attempt was perhaps not appreciated by the orderer, with all likelihood Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan himself, and the alteration was given up after the first niche (cf. colour plate cat. no. 33). Another difference is the simpler border design between the white ground fields with the niches. Instead of the meander with palmettes, chevron stripes as used for the niche form appear in the later piece. Another small variation between the two safs is that the chevron design in the older example runs downwards, while it runs upwards in the newer one. Finally, the outermost border of the two pieces differs: the later example shows a border design typical for the 19th century.

119 For a further discussion of comparable radiocarbon dating results, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".

120 Naumkin 1993: 24.

121 See discussion of cat. no. 34.

As a result of all these alterations, the 19th century piece appears somewhat less powerful than its predecessor. However, both carpets were impressive status symbols used by the sovereigns of Bukhara for representative purposes and for prayer.

What were the original measurements of the saf carpets?

In both cases, based on what remains, a reconstruction of the original size is an exercise in educated guesswork. The domed hall of the mosque (fig. 9-2), for which the carpets were made, measures approximately 10 × 10 m, which therefore would have been the maximum possible size.[122] There are several reasons to believe that these saf carpets were not intended for use in the partly open columned hall of the Bala Hauz Mosque (fig. 9-1), but in the domed hall behind it. The Bala Hauz Mosque was built as a Friday Mosque by Abu'l-Faiz Khan, sovereign of the Khanate of Bukhara, in the neighbourhood of his palace, for himself and his entourage. The stately domed hall was intended for the Khan and his court, and the carpet with its powerful niche décor was certainly designed for this hall. In the columned prayer hall, open to the air on the western side (see fig. 111), the carpet would have been exposed too much to the elements, and it would have been cut into strips from the very beginning to fit between the rows of columns (see fig. 109).

Whether there was a single or a two-part carpet in the 100 meter square domed hall is also not clear. Technically it would have been possible for a workshop to weave a single carpet with the measurements of roughly 10 × 10 m.[123] However, the carpet did not necessarily need to cover the whole area from wall to wall. It was an object of prestige, serving not only practical, but symbolic purposes as well.

Although the second fragment, (fig. 106), sold at Christies in 2002, shows the right edge as well as the top and bottom edges of the original carpet, it still doesn't allow a reconstruction of the number of rows of the original saf: The fragment is assembled of three pieces.[124] It remains unclear whether the carpet originally had two, three, or even more rows of niches. It is also not clear how many niches were in each horizontal row. In the earlier fragment with its remaining two rows of niches, we see an offset arrangement of the colouring between the two rows, while the younger fragment with its elevated niche in the centre leads to the conclusion that there were an odd number of niches in each row. The length reported by O'Bannon for the two later fragments (fig. 106), 7.4 m (24' 4"), suggests a number of at least 13 niches (though both fragments are described by O'Bannon as cut at the sides). If the original carpets really measured 10 m in width, then they would have had at least 15 niches across, based on an approximate width of 60 cm for each niche, plus left and right additional borders with a width of at least 20 – 30 cm each. However, based on the statements mentioned above and the remains (7.4 m long) of the younger saf carpet published by O'Bannon, the width of the original piece must have been at least 8 m.

The zipper-like toothing at the edges of the niches (fig. 112)

Before we address the unusual niche design of these carpets, there is one other distinctive technical feature highly relevant to further discussion of the possible origin of the design: the zipper-like toothing along the edges of the niche forms and the field (fig. 112), which is not present in the border design. This would seem to indicate that the designs of field and border go back to different archetypes. While the borders show a typical carpet design, the niche design imitates dovetailed tapestry: it shows a design from a flat woven textile like a kilim. The same phenomenon is also known from Anatolia, where, already in the 15th/16th centuries, piled carpets imitating courtly tapestries – presumably kilims for military tents – were woven in workshops. A beautiful example of such a kilim for an Ottoman army tent is the piece

122 Brentjes 1979: 125. According to Brentjes, the open columned hall (fig. 109, 1) measures 42 × 10 m with a height of 12.5 m of the columns (capitals not included).

123 The carpet museum in Ashgabat shows a giant Teke carpet, measuring 18.5 × 10 m, woven in the early 1940's (Eiland 1999: 76, fig. 1).

124 This can be seen from the illustration in the auction catalogue (Christie's London, 17 October 2002, lot 141).

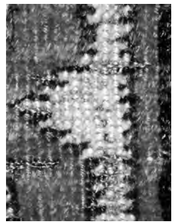


Fig. 112: Detail from cat. no. 32. The zipper-like toothing at the edges of the niches imitates dovetailed tapestry.

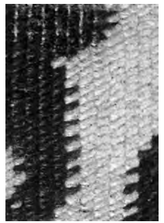


Fig. 113: Detail from an Anatolian piled carpet showing the design of an Ottoman tapestry. Repr. from Thompson/Tabibnia 2006: Plate 24.

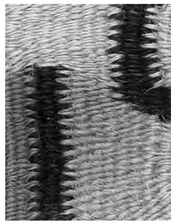


Fig. 114: 2/2 dovetailed tapestry in a Bessarabian kilim. Repr. from Mallett 1998: 79, fig. 6.31.

Fig. 115: Ctesiphon, Sasanian palace with monumental central iwan from the time of Khosrow I, 531–579 A.D. (condition before 1888). The facade shows a large central iwan, the Taq-e Kisra, flanked on each side by four registers with rows of blind niches. This type of barrel-vaulted iwan as a throne or audience hall is first seen among the Parthians. Repr. from Erdmann 1943 (1969): Plate 5.

in the Vakiflar Museum in Istanbul with the inv. no. A 158.[125] Perhaps the most beautiful Anatolian piled carpet showing the design of a dovetailed tapestry is the 16th century piece published by Tabibnia and discussed by Thompson (detail in fig. 113). How dovetailing really looks in a kilim is seen in fig 114. This design detail associates our saf design with a structurally-driven detail of kilims.We will come back again below to the origin of this tapestry technique.

The imitation of traditional flat weave designs in piled weavings is a common practice in Southwest Turkmenistan, particularly among the Yomut and their neighbours. There are quite a few attractive pieces of this kind.[126]

125 See Balpinar/Hirsch 1982: Plate 112.

126 Schürmann 1969, no. 22; Hali 2/4, 1980: 353, also Bausback 1980: 147; Hali 26, 1985, p. 88; Herrmann X, 1988, no. 97; Rippon Boswell 42, 1995, lot 125; Moshkova 1970 (1996): No. 125; Rippon Boswell 54, 2000: Lot 143; Rippon Boswell 65, 2005: Lot 44; Hali 121, 2002: 49.

The accentuated central niche in one of the fragments (fig. 117)

In the uppermost row of niches, the later saf shows an accentuated niche, larger than the others, reaching to the upper edge of the carpet. Whether this was also the case with the older saf (figs. 105 and 106) can not be known for certain but seems highly likely because of its symbolic interpretation. This particular kind of accentuating the centre goes back to architectural archetypes (figs. 115 and 116) and belongs, like the niche itself, to the ambit of "stately representation".[127] I only know of one other comparable example of this kind on textiles, a very unusual saf kilim from Thrace in the Balkans (fig. 118).

127 See also the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

Fig. 116: The Mir'Arab Medressa with its large central iwan (opposite the Kilian Mosque) in Bukhara in the condition before renovation. Photography by Gustav Krist, before 1922. Repr. from Krist 1937: Fig. 88.

Fig. 117: Two fragments of the saf carpet ordered 1874 by Sayed Muzzafar ad-Din Bahadur Khan (fig. 107) for the Bala Hauz Mosque. The upper fragment with a extended central niche. Repr. from Moshkova 1970 (1996): Fig. 129.

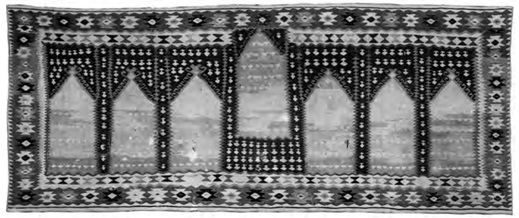


Fig. 118: Thracian saf kilim with extended central niche, 4.6 × 1.9 m, 18th or 19th century. Beside the saf carpet from Bukhara, this is the only example of a saf with a extended central niche known to me. Collection of Yanni Petsopoulos, London. Repr. from Hali 1/1, 1978: op. p. 1.

Intermediate summary – cat. no. 32 and 33

I assume that the saf carpet, cat. no. 32, was designed and produced as an exotic "one-off" item at the very beginning of the 18th century for the domed hall of the newly built Bala Hauz Mosque in Bukhara. In the late 19th century the carpet was replaced by a reproduction. Both carpets were exceptions to any traditional Turkmen design groups. It is plausible that piled carpets with this design were never woven before, but that there were, at least up to the 17th century, very similarly designed tapestry-woven niche hangings for reception tents, as seen in fig. 121.

The two saf carpets of Bukhara were both ordered by sovereigns, and were produced in workshops. This is documented for the more recent example, and there is nearly no other possibility imaginable for the older piece. For the stately domed hall of the Bala Hauz Mosque (figs. 109–111), Abu'l-Faiz Khan, its patron, likely ordered a suitable carpet with a stately design, for the floor. With all likelihood, textiles other than piled carpets, namely the niche hangings of his audience tents (figs. 122 and 123), served as models for the saf carpets and their niche designs, with the stately symbolic meaning with which the khan certainly was familiar. These were presumably the only textile examples available with niches in rows, and they can be traced back to a very ancient tradition. That these niche designs were transferred to saf carpets, and were seen as "prayer rugs" to satisfy the Islamic requirements can be seen as a convenient double function for this powerful design. The niches in rows not only indicated the place for prayer, but in this specific building might also have been seen as an expression of authority. The domed hall was not for the use of the people;[128] it was the royal chapel for the khan and his courtiers. The general populace had to "stay outside" in the much larger columned prayer hall (cf. fig. 109-1).

128 None of the saf carpets shows signs of wear which might indicate a use as prayer rug.

Audience tents and the associated niche hangings in late 19th century Bukhara.

Fig. 119: Bukharan dignitaries in a reception tent, around 1900. In are background the niche hangings. Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: 197, fig. 380.

Fig. 120: Reception tent with niche hangings. The tent was acquired by W.R. Rickmers in the late 19th century. Museum for Ethnography, Berlin. Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: 196, fig. 377.

Fig. 121: Reception in an audience tent, presumably in Bukhara around 1900. The audience tent has been opened on both sides by pulling aside the niche hangings. The view into the interior shows the guests of honour sitting at a low table. In the background nosy spectators have climbed the trees to catch a glimpse. Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: 197, fig. 378.

The origin of the design with niches in a horizontal row

The origin and the age of the design with niches in a horizontal row is the subject of the following section. I will not only highlight the possible origin of this design concept among the Ersarï, but also its relationship to other saf designs. Niche designs, either with a single niche or with multiple niches in a row, already played a significant role among the Sogdians in Central Asia as a heritage from Late Antiquity.[129] Narshakhi reports that carpets with niche design were fashionable in Bukhara in the 10th century. These may have been carpets with a single niche; Narshakhi calls them "prayer rugs".[130]

The earliest examples of textile hangings with niches or arcades in a horizontal row for audience and banquet tents date from Late Antiquity of the Eastern Mediterranean (3rd and 4th centuries A.D., figs. 131 – 133). This specific type of niche form in rows developed from Roman architecture, where this style was highly fashionable.

We have established that the design of the hangings of the audience and banquet tents of the Emirs of Bukhara can be considered models for the design of the Bukharan saf carpets made for the Bala Hauz Mosque. But what is the source of the design of these niche hangings? They show, at least in the late 19th century, Indian influences (cf. figs. 122 – 125). As we have seen, the zipper-like toothing at the edges of the niche design of the saf carpets can be traced back to dovetailing in tapestry weaving. Therefore, we can suppose tapestry woven niche hangings as models for the the saf carpet design. Although we do not know what niche hangings for audience tents from around 1700 looked like, we can get an idea by looking to India, from where we already have seen some influence on Bukharan tent hangings (figs 122 – 125) during the late 19th century. In fact, late 19th century Indian dhurries show comparable niche designs (figs. 124 and 125). Furthermore, the meander with flowers in the border of the dhurrie in fig. 125 shows striking similarities to the border of the saf carpet, cat. no. 32, and also frames the niche design very much like the border in the saf carpet. Finally, the design of the dhurrie in fig. 124 shows striking parallels to the design of the Bukharan tent hanging in fig. 123. Influence from the relationship between India and Central Asia (Bukhara) seems clearly indicated both by the design and the weaving technique: dhurries are always woven in dovetailed tapestry.

The dhurrie fragment in fig. 126 shows that archaic designs as seen in the safs from Bukhara were known in India. Although the age of the fragment in fig. 126 is unknown, it could easily pre-date the 19th century. Furthermore, it has a white ground colour like the Bukharan safs, and such dhurries with archaic designs were produced for mosques in large numbers up to the late 19th century.[131] Connections between India and Central Asia existed as early as the 3rd millennium B.C. This is proven by archaeological finds in the Zerafshan valley (Sarazm), not far away from Bukhara.[132] It could actually have been Indian models which influenced the niche hangings of the reception tents from Bukhara and consequently also the saf carpets from the Bala Hauz Mosque.

Let us now have a closer look at the origins of these reception tents, used by the Emirs of Bukhara up to the early 20th century. The aim of the following overview is to illustrate the long-time importance of such reception tents and their decoration, and how deeply rooted they are in the culture of the people of the Near East.

Fig. 122: Detail of a niche hanging, 835 × 192 cm, silk ikat with appliqué work, Bukhara, mid 19th century. Ethnographic Museum St. Petersburg. Repr. from Cat. Antwerp 1997: 51, no. 11.

Fig. 123: Detail of a niche hanging, height ca. 180 cm, width per niche ca. 60 cm, silk ikat with appliqué work, Bukhara, 19th century. Rep. from Larson 1976: 181, d.

Fig. 124: Dhurrie, Northern India, 122 × 183 cm, dovetailed cotton tapestry, with inscription and date (1888). Repr. from Chaldecott 2003: Fig. 234.

Fig. 125: Dhurrie, Northern India, 79 × 123 cm, dovetailed cotton tapestry, late 19th century. Repr. from Ahuja et al. 1999: 107.

Fig. 126: Dhurrie, India, dovetailed cotton tapestry, age unknown. Repr. from Hali Vol. 4. no. 3, 1982: 241, fig. 6.

Excursus: Stately audience tents and their decoration

Niche hangings for stately and royal reception tents are documented as far back as Late Antiquity all the way from Morocco in the west[133] to Central Asia in the east. Royal audience and banquet tents, however, are documented considerably earlier, for example among the Assyrians from the 9th century B.C. Those in turn might have had their archetypes in 3rd millennium B.C. baldachins used for burial rites.[134]

129 See the discussion of the Salor hanging cat. no. 5 in the chapter "The Salor", and figs. 55 – 56 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".
130 Frye 1954: 20.

131 See Ahuja 1999: 104–111; Chaldecott 2003: 136–153.
132 See footnote 14 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

133 Hali 94, 1997: 143 (Morocco); Cassel-Phil 2003: 29 (Tunisia); López Redondo/Marinetto Sánchez 2012: 139 (Morocco).
134 As one of the earliest examples, Peter Andrews mentions a baldachin from the Maikop culture (Andrews 1999: 34–35, and fig. 29 in Vol. 2).

a) The Uzbeks in Central Asia:
19th/20th centuries (Figs. 119–123)

The 19th and early 20th century reception tents of the Emirs of Bukhara constitute the end of a long tradition (figs. 119–123). One of the most splendid examples of such a tent is in the collection of the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.[135] It was a gift to Tsar Alexander III, presumably presented in 1893 by Abd al-Ahad Khan (1885–1910), the next to last Emir of Bukhara,[136] son of Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan (fig. 107). This tent with three open and three covered spaces has the impressive dimensions of 9.7 × 10.2 m. The wall décor consists of silk hangings made of a combination of appliqué work and ikat. The appliqué work is comparable to that in the tent collected byWilli Rickmers in the late 19th century (fig. 120), while the type of ikat is comparable to the hanging in fig. 122. The use of such reception tents in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is documented in a number of historical photographs (figs. 119 and 121).[137] Finally, the use of silk ikat hangings to decorate audience tents as far back as the 6th century is documented in the account of a Byzantine embassy of Justin II to Istemi, the Qagan of the Western Turks.[138]

b) The Qajars in Persia:
18th/19th Centuries (Fig. 127)

Somewhat earlier than the just-described audience tents of the Emirs of Bukhara is a well preserved royal tent from the Qajar period in Iran. It supposedly dates from the early 19th century and is in the collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (fig. 127, panel of a textile fence with niche design).[139]

135 Adaksina/Kulakova 2009.
136 On stately tents as gifts, see Andrews 1999.
137 Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: Fig. 378, 380; Fitz Gibbon/Hale 1997: Fig. 187; Cat. Antwerp 1997: 50, fig. 17; Lindahl/Knorr: 51; Belger Krody 2010: 33, fig. 2.
138 On a detailed description of this reception, see the chapter "The Turkmen Ensi", section 3.3.
139 Baker 1995: 138–139. See also Hali 59, 1991: 118 – 123, "The Shahs' Tents".

Fig. 127: Two panels of a textile fence with niche design, embroidery, and appliqué work on wool, height 180 cm, Iran, Qajar period, early 19th century. Part of a royal tent from the time of Fath Ali Shah. Repr. from Baker 1995: 138–139.

Fig. 128: Niche hanging, silk, Ottoman Empire, 17th century. Detail from a princely tent of a high-ranking officer. Repr. from Hali 37, 1988: 34.

c) The Ottomans in Anatolia:
17th/18th Centuries (Fig. 128)

Our next examples of niche hangings for tents come from the Ottoman Empire. For their military campaigns, the Ottomans used stately tents of enormous splendour (fig. 128).[140] Ottoman kilims like those mentioned above in connection with dovetailing tapestry technique are part of the inventory of such tents.

d) The Safavids in Persia:
16th/17th Centuries

From the Iranian Safavids, stately tents are only known from representations in miniature paintings.[141] To my knowledge, textile tent hangings have not been preserved, although they certainly must have existed.

140 See e.g. "Travelling Palaces" in: Hali 37, 1988, p. 30 – 35.
141 E.g. Thompson/Canby 2003: 85 and 86, figs. 4.6 and 4.7.

Fig. 129: Royal audience tent, 7.4 × 7.4 m, overall height 3.8 m, Mughal India, 18th century. Like Timur's tent (fig. 133), this tent has a square floorplan with a main room surrounded by a columned gallery, showing the same general layout as the tent of Philadelphus in the 3rd century B.C. (fig. 138). Mehrangarh Museum Trust, Fort Jodhpur. Repr. from Welch 1985: 254/55, cat. no. 165.

Fig. 130 and 131: Two parts of a niche hanging (*qanat*) for a tent, silk lampas, Mughal India, 1st half of the 17th century.
Fig. 130: 229 × 98 cm, Calico Museum of Textiles, Islamabad (CM 328). Repr. from Riboud et al. 1998: 43.
Fig. 131: 212 × 97 cm, Islamic Museum Berlin (MIK.I.364). Repr. from Welch 1985: 238, cat. no. 156.

Fig. 132: Niche hanging for a tent, silk and gold lampas weave, Central Asia, 13th or 14th century. Five panels with two niches each, each panel measures ca. 225 × 120 cm (the image shows a reconstruction by multiplying one of these five panels). Museum of Islamic Art Qatar, inv. no. TE.40.00. Together with the 4th century A.D. Dionysus hanging in the Abegg-Stiftung (fig. 135), this is one of the earliest examples of a tent hanging with niches. With its pearl borders, roundels with roosters and the arabesques with begonias, it shows a combination of Iranian and Chinese stylistic elements. Comparable silk and gold hangings presumably embellished the royal tent of Mohammed Özbeg Kahn, the ruler of the Kipchak (Golden Horde) in the northern steppes of Central Asia, described by Ibn Battuta in 1334. Rep. from Thompson 2004: 76, no. 19.

e) The Mughals in India:
17th/18th Centuries (Figs. 129–131)[142]

From Islamic India contemporary with the Safavids come the extremely precious and luxurious Mughal silk hangings with niche design (figs. 130 and 131). Complete tents have been preserved not only from the Qajars and the Ottomans, but also from the Mughals (fig. 129). Tent hangings from India are found in precious silk, and also in less luxurious materials and techniques like embroidery and printed cotton. Beautiful examples of this kind are illustrated in Riboud's publication on Mughal floral design textiles.[143]

f) The Kipchak (Golden Horde) in Central Asia:
14th/15th Centuries (Fig. 132)

From the accounts of several 14th and 15th century travellers, we repeatedly hear of extremely luxurious reception and banquet tents in use among the Mongol sovereigns, the successors of Genghis Khan. For example, the 14th century traveller Ibn Khaldun describes reception tents as symbols of royal sovereignty.[144] A description of an impressive royal tent is also conveyed by Ibn Battuta, another 14th century traveller and geographer. On the occasion of a visit at the headquarters of Mohammad Özbeg Khan in the year 1333, Ibn Battuta witnessed the customs and traditions at the court of this ruler of the Kipchak, later known as the "Golden Horde". In addition to his descriptions of courtly life, Ibn Battuta delineates in detail the giant audience tent in which Özbeg Khan received embassies. It was of such impressive dimensions that Ibn Battuta desribed it as "looking like a hill from a distance". It was covered with gold; it was the famous "Golden Horde",[145] the *altin ordu*, the headquarters of the Khan, from which the political system of the Kipchak later got its name. According to Battuta's account, the tent was also gorgeously furnished: four

142 See also fig. 18 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".
143 See fig. 10 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen Carpets". For further examples, see Riboud et al. 1995: Plates 1–3.
144 Irwin 1997: 119.
145 For the term "Golden Horde" (*altin ordu*) in connection with stately tents, see Andrews 1999: 126 et seqq.

Two reconstructions of Timur's audience tent according to a description by Ruy González de Clavijo from 1404

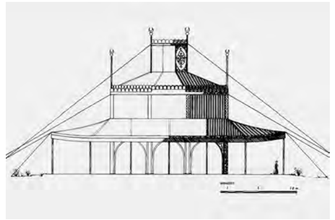


Fig. 133: Andrews' reconstruction of one of Timur's audience tents according to a description by Ruy González de Clavijo from 1404. In contrast to Irwin's reconstruction (fig. 134), the roof in Andrews' version is not dome-shaped, and the columned gallery supported by slender poles is wider. The central main building of the tent has a square ground plan of ca. 15 x 15 m. Drawing by Mügül Andrews. Repr. from Andrews 1999: 708, fig. 12 (b).

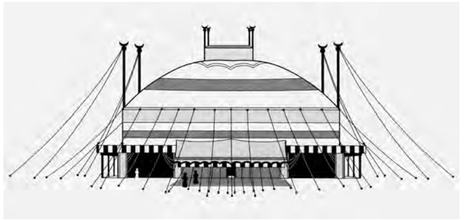


Fig. 134: Irwin's reconstruction of one of Timur's audience tents according to a description by Ruy González de Clavijo from 1404. Clavijo described one of Timur's large audience tents as: "large enough to shade ten thousand people. A fortune was spent on the inner furnishings including tapestries, silks and gold brocade" (Irwin 1997: 120). The audience tent of Mohammad Özbeg Kahn, Khan of the Golden Horde, described 70 years earlier by Ibn Battuta, might be imagined similarly. Repr. from Irwin 1997: 119, fig. 96.

wooden pillars, all covered with gilded silver, supported the roof; the capitals – again covered with the same metal – attracted the attention of the visitors. The ruler's wooden throne, also covered with gilded silver, was dramatically installed on a platform. To the left and right of the throne were chairs for his wife, his daughters, sons, and other relatives. The luxurious textile embellishment of Özbeg Khan's reception tent can be imagined by looking at the precious 13th or 14th century gold and silk hanging in the Islamic Museum in Doha, Qatar (fig. 132). This gold and silk hanging, consisting of several panels with two slender niches each, provides a lively impression of the stately pomp displayed by the Khan on the occasion of his receptions. Not only was the reception tent of the Khan covered with gold, the textile embellishment also consisted of a combination of silk and gold.[146] The large silk and gold hanging in fig. 132 is a glorious witness of this 13th/14th century textile tradition.

146 According to Peter Andrews, the designation "golden tent" was already known among the Uyghurs in the 8th century.

g) Timur's Audience Tent in Samarkand:
15th Century (Figs. 133 and 134)

The account of the Castilian nobelman Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo – visitor to the court of Timur in 1404 as an ambassador of Henry III, king of Castile – reads like the report of Ibn Battuta. According to Clavijo's account, Timur's stately tent was supported by twelve pillars, of which the four corner pillars extending beyond the top of the tent were crowned with sickle moons (figs. 133 and 134). A crenellated tower with four corner pillars also embellished with sickle moons formed the upper completion. The whole tent was striped in white, yellow, and black. The tent hade a layout measuring 15 × 15 meters and a height of 15 meters. In the lower area a canopied colonnade with a width of 7.5 meters surrounded the tent (total area of the tent 30 × 30 meters). The Mughal tent in fig. 129 is similarly equipped with canopied colonnade, even though considerably more moderate in scale. One of the early audience tents, the giant 3rd century B.C. symposium tent of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, King of Egypt, (figs. 138 – 141), had a columned gallery for the servants of the attendees of the symposium, who would be lying on *klines* (daybeds) in the central hall of the tent enjoying the feast.

Inside Timur's tent an eagle or angel (which is not clear from Clavijo's account) was placed in each corner. Andrews supposes rather angels than eagles, which would be in agreement with representations in early Iranian architecture: the Taq-e Bostan is flanked by two angels,[147] as was the Seljuk city gate of Konya.[148] However, the interpretation as eagles would also find an echo in the tent of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, which was decorated at each corner of the baldachin-like roof with a 5m tall eagle made of papier mâché.

The tent of Özbek Khan has been described by Ibn Battuta as "looking like a hill from a distance", while Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo described Timur's tent as "from a distance looking like a castle".

h) Möncke Khan's Audience and Banquet Tent in Karakorum:
13th Century

William of Rubruk's mid 13th century account of the audience tent of Möncke Khan in Karakorum tells of a large, gold mounted throne installed on a three-step platform. With the throne was a footstool with a cushion. This tent was said to have accommodated 900 people.[149]

i) The Audience Tents of the Khitan in Central Asia:
12th Century (Fig. 16 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*")

Even though tents of the great scale reportedly used among the Kipchak are not known from the Khitan – a nomadic people with partly Mongolian roots – at least paintings document the use of princely tents in combination with the nomadic yurt. A set of paintings, today known as the Wen-Chi scrolls, illustrates the tragic story of Lady Wen-Chi. These paintings illustrate the daily life of the Khitan elite in a nomadic camp in the early 12th century. There are two versions of these Wen-Chi scrolls, to which Andrews also refers in detail.[150] However, in spite of their richness of detail, they show few details of the textile adornments. The princely tents, the yurts, and the screens to protect the camp from the wind of the steppes are all without decoration or patterning. However, patterns are shown on all the carpets, in both the 12th century fragments (in Boston) and the 14th century complete version (in New York). Interestingly, the carpet designs of the two versions differ; even though the differences are relatively minor, they are still clearly distinguishable. Presumably they correspond to the fashion of the time of production of the two scrolls. The carpets with all likelihood are of Chinese origin, presumably from the Tarim Basin.[151] Only the 14th century copies show some pseudo kufic border designs in the carpets.[152] Slight differences are also seen in the representations of the princely tents; while the guy ropes are still present in the 12th century version, they are lacking in the 14th century copy.[153] The yurts in both versions are mainly covered with blue felt.

147 See fig. 52 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*"
148 Sarre 1967: 2, figs. 3 and 4.
149 Spuler 1965: 352.
150 Andrews 1999: 219 et seqq.

k) Audience and Banquet Tents of the Western Turks
in Central Asia: 6th Century

A description of an impressive 6th century princely tent at the *ordu* (headquarters) of the Western Turks in Central Asia is provided by Menander.[154] He describes the reception of the Byzantine envoy Zemarchos by Sizabul (Istemi), the Qagan of the Western Turks, in his headquarters (*ordu*) in the Tekes valley in the A-kie-t'ien Mountains in the North of Kucha (Tarim Basin).[155] On the first day, Istemi, sitting on a golden throne with two wheels, received the Byzantine Embassy in a large tent with silk hangings. The next day he received them again with a banquet, sitting on another golden throne in a yurt,[156] likewise embellished with silk hangings. On the third day, they met again in another large tent with gilded wooden pillars. Istemi was sit-

151 The nomadic Khitan apparently did not have mastery of the technique of piled weaving. If in need of piled carpets, they imported them from China. In the Tarim Basin, province of Xinjiang, China, piled carpets have been woven since the 1st or 2nd century A.D.(see fig. 114 in the chapter "The Salor"). These carpets were locally produced, but show western influence. Piled carpet weaving with all likelihood was imported to China by Sogdian traders via the Silk Route (see Keller/Schorta 2001: 37, fig. 39, and Schorta 2006: 254, fig. 198).
152 Gantzhorn 1990: 144, fig. 200.
153 Rorex/Fong 1974.
154 Menander: 119 – 121.
155 Andrews 1999: 135.
156 Andrews1999: 137. Peter Andrews supposes a trellis tent (yurt) in the dwelling described as "hut".

Fig. 135: Fragment of a hanging in woollen tapestry on a linen tabby foundation, presumably from a burial in Egypt, Late Antiquity, first half of the 4th century. 2.1 × 7 m, Abegg-Stiftung Riggisberg, Switzerland. This is one of the earliest extant hangings with arcades in a row in the style of the later *niche hangings*. The symposium tent of Ptolemy II Philadelphus with its colonnade and the appropriate textile hangings could have been an archetype for such Late Antique hangings with Dionysian scenes. In Philadelphus' giant tent a symposium was given with a subsequent procession (pompe) in honour of Dionysus. Banquets often were held under the patronage of Dionysus, which might suggest that the Dionysus hanging of the Abegg-Stiftung was part of the furnishing of a marquee for receptions and banquets. Finally, this hanging might be an archetype for the later Islamic hangings with rows of niches for audience tents, although with pointed arches instead of arcades. © Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg (Photo: Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 136: Fragment of a hanging in woollen tapestry on a linen foundation, Late Antiquity, 5th century, 188 × 93 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Repr. from De Moor/Fluck 2009: 12, fig. 4.

Fig. 137: Fragment of a hanging in woollen tapestry on a linen foundation, Late Antiquity, 4th or 5th century, 143 × 85 cm. © Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg (Photo: Christoph von Viràg).

ting on a couch of beaten gold, which was supported by four gilded peacocks.[157] "In front of this tent were drawn up in a wide area wagons containing many silver objects, in no way inferior to those which we make" (the Byzantines), reports Zemarchos.[158] This account by Menander from the year 568 may be the first reference to silk hangings in a stately tent, as well as the first mention of ikat weaving.[159]

l) Audience and Banquet Tents in Fatimid Egypt: 10th Century

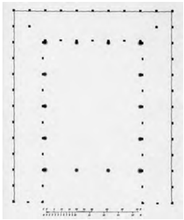
In Egypt, there is also a long tradition of banquet and audience tents, reaching back at least to the 3rd century B.C., and continuing up to the present.[160] *The khiyamiya*, the tent makers of Cairo, are historically documented back to the Fatimid period (909–1171). They had their workshops in the *suq*, the covered bazaar in Cairo,[161] in which tents were produced up to the 20th century. Such tents have been used for a variety of events and occasions. Some street cafes in modern Cairo are still today decorated with printed imitations of the appliqué work niche hangings produced by the tent makers.[162]

In 10th and 11th century Fatimid Cairo a princely tent could reach such enormous dimensions that a hundred camels were required to carry it. One of these tents was even called the "Slayer", because at least two people were killed every time they tried to pitch it.[163]

m) Audience and Banquet Tents of Late Antique Egypt: 4th Century (Figs. 135–137)

The use of large audience and banquet tents in Egypt beyond the 10th century and the Fatimid period is documented by two extraordinary examples. The more recent one, a hanging representing a Dionysian feast, the so-called "Dionysus Hanging" of the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland, is the earliest known textile example with niches (arcades) in a row (fig. 135). The hanging dates from Late Antiquity, the 4th century, and was allegedly found in a tomb in Egypt.[164] Following Roman archetypes, the arcades correspond to the architectural style of Late Antiquity. This hanging has been described as a wall decoration of a mansion of the upper class, and it may have been made for a banquet hall. On the other hand, it is possible, perhaps even more likely, that a mansion of that time would have had walls decorated with paintings and floors with mosaics, as seen earlier in Roman mansions of Pompeii, Italy, and later in early Islamic mansions like Qusair 'Amra, Jordan.[165] The "Dionysus hanging" could just as well have been destined for a large tent, in which the aristocracy or members of the upper class celebrated receptions and banquets. A reference to such a use is the scene of the hanging with Dionysus standing in the centre, holding a wine jar in his right hand, letting the wine literally flow like water. Two fragments of other comparable hangings are also evocative of Dionysian feasting (figs. 136 and 137). A servant drawing aside a curtain (tent wall?) is seen on one of these fragments (fig. 136). The other fragment shows a musician, whose nimbus indicates her affiliation to the Dionysian entourage, just like the ladies in the "Dionysus Hanging" of the Abegg-Stiftung.

157 Andrews supposes Sogdian work (1999: 137/138).
158 Menander: 121.
159 See also the discussion on "Baldachins and Princely Tents in Nomadic Environments"in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*", section 3.3, and the discussion on the Ersarï *chuval* with ikat design cat. no. 25.
160 Pharaonic tents have not been considered.
161 Spring/Hudson 1995: 105.
162 Spring/Hudson 1995: 108.
163 Irwin 1997: 119.



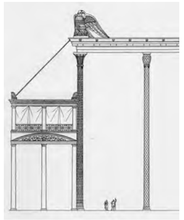


Fig. 138 – 141: Banquet tent of Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, 278–270 B.C., built for a Dionysian feast. Presumably following the example of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy II, Philadelphus had this giant tent with the incredible dimensions of ca. 52 × 63 m floor area and an impressive height of the main building of 26 m. The main building of the "tent" provided enough space for 200 men for a feast (symposium). On the corners of the roof stood four gilded eagles made of papier mache with a height of another 5 m. The colonnade had a width of 10 m and was covered with a slightly vaulted roof, standing on columns 10 m high and bearing a balcony, giving a view to the interior. The whole was open towards the front side providing a view to the entertainment presented during the symposium. Repr. from Stuniczka 1914: Plate 1.
Fig. 138: Reconstruction drawing of the banquet tent described by Kalixeinos.
Fig. 139: Ground plan.
Fig. 140: Front view.
Fig. 141: Back view.

n) Audience and Banquet Tents in Hellenistic Egypt: 3rd Century B.C. (Figs. 138–141)

The architecture of the Hellenistic symposium tent of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (figs. 138–141) might be an archetype for hangings and their representations as discussed here. On the occasion of a Dionysian feast and the attending *pompe*[166], Ptolemy II had a banquet tent of gigantic dimensions built. It consisted of a large central structure measuring 32 × 43 m with a height of 26 m, surrounded on three sides by a 10 meter high slightly barrel-vaulted colonnade with a built-on balcony. This colonnade was intended for the personnel serving the 200

164 Schrenk 2004: 29.
165 Vibert-Guigue/Bisheh 2007.
166 The "pompe" as part of a Dionysian celebration was a procession, where luxury objects from the royal household were paraded.

Fig. 142: Bronze bowl from the tomb of a nomadic sovereign, Arjan, Khuzestan province, Iran, 7th or 6th century B.C. On this bowl, five concentric registers depict ritual scenes of the life of an Elamite king. Except for the yurt, all representations widely correspond to Assyrian models (cf. fig. 147). The outermost register shows a royal hunt followed by a ritual banquet. (For an image of the whole Arjan bowl, see fig. 101 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".) Repr. from Majizadeh 1992: Fig. 1.

Fig. 143: Detail of the front side of the pedestal of Shalmaneser III's throne (858–824 B.C.). The scene shows the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III receiving the Babylonian king Marduk-zakir-sumi. The audience is held in a baldachin-like tent, decorated with chevrons and fringes. Repr. from Hrouda 1991: 131.

Fig. 144: Detail from a bronze gate of Shalmaneser III, palace of Balawat. Royal banquet tent with a table with bread, a wine jar, and a servant, Assyrian, 858–824 B.C. Repr. from Riegl 1923: Fig. 35.

guests of the symposium during the feast. The outside walls of the tent were covered with large hangings. This tremendous tent with its colonnade, modelled on Hellenistic architecture, might bee an example of a model for many later niche hangings for audience and banquet tents. Tents such as this are the only known possible archetypes for the hangings depicting arcades, which evolved into ogival niches consistent with Islamic architectural forms.

o) Audience and Banquet Tents in Achaemenid Persia:
5th–3rd Centuries B.C.

With the dimensions of his giant tent, Ptolemy II presumably intended to surpass Alexander the Great. Alexander used an audience tent, which provided enough space for a large number of guests. The tent was equipped with a court yard surrounded by a colonnade, altogether measuring 200×200 m.[167] This large tent was pitched by Alexander in Susa on the occasion of the mass wedding of 92 of his Macedonian officers with Persian women of the upper class. Michael Pfrommer assumes that such tents were common in Achaemenid Persia.[168] The Persians might have adopted such stately tents from the Assyrians.[169]

p) Banquet Tent of an Elamite Ruler,
7th or 6th Century B.C. (Fig. 142)

From pre-Achaemenid Iran comes the earliest representation of a yurt as a banquet tent. Five concentric registers of a late 7th or early 6th century B.C. bronze bowl illustrate the ritual duties of a sovereign. In the outermost register is a royal hunt followed by ritual banquet. The king sits in front of a yurt on a throne, drinking from a cup. Models for this scene can be found on Assyrian stone reliefs of the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883 – 859) and on the bronze decorations of the gate to the palace of Balawat of Shalmaneser III (858 – 824). In Assyrian versions, we see royal tents or baldachins (cf. figs. 142 – 146). The yurt on the bronze bowl from Arjan, on the other hand, suggests an Elamite sovereign with nomadic roots. However, his name, "Kidin Hutran", written on the bronze bowl in neo-Elamite, could be of Persian origin.[170]

167 Hansen/Wieczorek/Tellenbach et al. 2009: 120, figs. 1, 2.

168 Hansen/Wieczorek/Tellenbach et al. 2009: 120–121.
169 See also von Gall 1971.

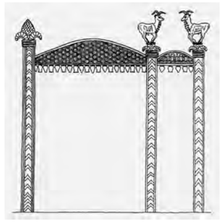


Fig. 145: Drawing of a royal tent from a relief of the palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 9th century B.C. The chevron design on the tent poles and the upper finial with the rams horns is identical to the decor used for the Assyrian sacred tree (fig. 146).

Fig. 146: The Assyrian sacred tree, 9th century B.C. Drawing from a relief of the palace of Ashurnasirpal II. Repr. from Riegl 1923: 99, fig. 39.

Fig. 147: Alabaster relief from Niniveh, palace of Ashurbanipal, 668–626 B.C., height 90 cm. After the triumph over the Elamites, Ashurbanipal engages in a celebratory banquet in the garden of his palace. London, British Museum. Repr. from Barnett/Forman: Fig. 105.

q) Audience and Banquet Tents of the Assyrians:
9th Century B.C. (Figs. 142 and 143)

While neither original tents nor any kind of representations of them are known from the Achaemenid period, there are a number of representations of royal tents from the Assyrian period. Although these 9th century B.C. representations should be seen as symbolic images and do not show the real proportions, they are the earliest representations of royal audience and banquet tents and at least provide an idea of how such tents appeared and were used. The different representations document the use of such tents both for audiences (fig. 143) and banquets (fig. 144). The tent poles topped with pairs of ram's horns (fig. 145) show iconographic parallels to the Assyrian sacred tree (fig. 146). Ram's horns are seen in both objects, as is the chevron design. The ram or moufflon (wild sheep) in all likelihood was associated with kingship, as it was later with the Achaemenids and the Sasanians.[171]

The purpose of listing these examples of the origin and the development of princely tents and their hangings with architectural forms, is to support the notion that representations of arcades and the ogival niches derived from them hearken back to an ancient tradition, the representation of sovereignty.

The reception tents from Bukhara, with their niche hangings, are one of the last links in this long tradition. They may also have been the inspiration for the design of the saf carpets of the Bala Hauz Mosque.

The question remains of where to look for the roots of the archaic niche form with a pair of curved horns at the top of the gable, as well as at the top of the side pillars with chevron design. In the 17th century they might directly be traced back to Indian influence, as has been mentioned (cf. fig. 126). But whence these 17th century Indian dhurrie designs? Where do we have to look for their sources?

170 Alvarez-Mon 2004.

171 Bivar 2006: 10–11. On the connection between kingship and rams horns, see also the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*", sub-chapter 5.3.2 "The *sainak* motif", figs. 46–63.

An Anatolian saf carpet with the ideogram for "al mulk", sovereignty, as a niche form on white ground

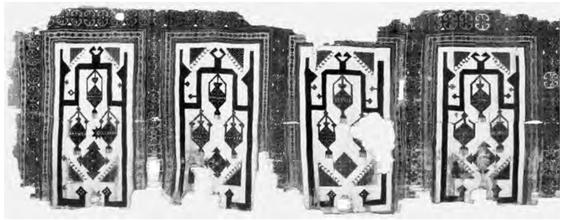


Fig. 148: Detail from the saf carpet from the Sheikh Baba Yusuf Türbe (tomb) in Sivrihisar, Anatolia (the original piece shows five niches), 133 × 430 cm, 15th century or earlier. The niche form is made of the ideogram for *"al mulk"*, sovereignty (cf. figs 149–151, for a discussion of the *"al mulk"* ideogram see Bailey 2010). Repr. from Erdmann 1957 (1977): Plate III.

Fig. 149: Timurid miniature painting, 14th century. Throne scene, showing a frieze with the repeated inscription *"al mulk"*, sovereignty, left and right of the enthroned ruler (detail from fig. 94 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*").

Fig. 150: Carpet border with the *"al mulk"* ideogram from an early 15th century Timurid miniature painting. Repr. from Grabar 2000: 12.

Fig. 151: Carpet border showing the *"al mulk"* ideogram, detail from an Anatolian carpet fragment, 13th century (^{14}C dated). Orient Stars Collection.

The question of the origin of the niche forms in the saf carpets from the Bala Hauz Mosque

The architectural origin of this design is beyond controversy. Even if we considered it a mihrab, it would still be from an architectural archetype. The prayer niche as its possible origin is rather unlikely, however, as the archaic form crowned with double horns is considerably older.

Once again, some background information might be helpful, and I therefore have to branch out into areas which seem at first glance to concern our saf design only indirectly. As will be seen, this second excursus is also needed to see the whole subject in a larger context.

Excursus: The origin of the niche form of the saf carpets from Bukhara

I have already mentioned that the archaic niche design of the saf carpets from Bukhara can be traced back to tapestry woven models. I have also mentioned that these saf carpets not only served religious purposes like marking the place and giving the orientation for prayer, but also represented the Khan's or Emir's sovereignty in his royal chapel. They were a kind of "label" in the domed hall of the mosque fulfilling a double function: both prayer rug and status symbol. The columned prayer hall for the general public was presumably equipped with simple mats, not luxury carpets.

At this point, an unusual 15th century Anatolian saf carpet is of particular interest (fig. 148). Although it is in fact not directly related to the Bukharan safs, it nonetheless relates to them in an interesting way. Like the Bukharan safs, the Anatolian example is a unique piece. Like the Bukharan safs, it shows very unusual niche forms on a white ground, and like the Bukharan safs, it was specially woven for a religious building, a türbe (mausoleum) of a high-ranking person, in this case Sheikh Baba Yusuf. Here the niche forms are not based on stately architecture, but on holy scripture, more precisely on the most decorative part of the Arab word *al mulk*, "sovereignty" (figs. 149–151). For the spiritual leader, a form from the Holy Scripture has been used

Anatolian kilims with representations of ancient Near Eastern city gates

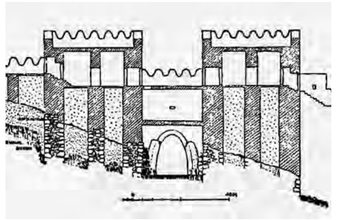


Fig. 152: City gate of Hattusa, Hittite, 14th or 13th century B.C. Repr. from Türck 2004: Fig 1.

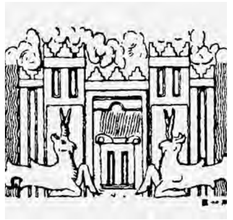


Fig. 153: Assyrian temple gate, middle Assyrian cylinder seal, 12th century B.C. Rep. from Türck 2004: Fig 5.

Fig. 154: Detail from a white ground Anatolian saf kilim from Karapinar. Repr. from Balpinar/Hirsch 1982: Plate 16.

Fig. 155: Detail from the red ground saf kilm of the McCoy Jones Collection in the de Young Museum in San Francisco (the original piece shows six "gates"). This is one of the great exceptions of an Anatolian kilim, showing dovetailed tapestry instead of the usual slit tapestry (like fig. 154). There are a small number of orange ground pieces, but this is the only Anatolian saf with a red ground colour. Rep. from Cootner/Muse 1990: Plate 1.

as an expression of sovereignty, while for the secular ruler a secular symbol has been applied: stately architecture. However, the message remains the same: the representation of sovereignty. The carpet from the mausoleum of Sheikh Baba Yusuf shows its roots even more clearly than the stately saf carpets from Bukhara. Their architectural forms can be traced back to comparable stately models as shown by Ulrich Türck for a group of Anatolian saf kilims (figs. 154 and 155).[172]

The Design of the Anatolian Saf Kilims (Figs. 154 and 155)

Although these saf kilims are also quite rare, they are not as rare as the saf carpets from the Bala Hauz Mosque and the carpet from the *türbe* of Sheikh Baba Yusuf. Due to their architectural design resembling a prayer niche they have been interpreted as "prayer rugs" and even used in mosques. A photograph by Sarre illustrates this: it shows such a kilim in a mosque lying on the floor in front of the mihrab.[173] However, the Turkish researcher Belkis Balpinar in her fieldwork showed that these kilims served another purpose in the villages where they have been woven.[174] According to Balpinar, they were used as wall hangings in houses, where they always hung on a particular wall in the sitting room. Finally, according to Türck, the designs of these saf kilims represent an ancient tradition: the representation of a city gate or a city: "stately representation" quite literally. Türck shows the earliest architectural archetypes of these designs in Hittite Anatolia (fig. 152), from where the concept proceeded via Assyria (fig. 153) to Persia (figs. 86 and 87).

The question remains of how to explain the similarities between the two designs – the Anatolian and the Central Asian. Do they originally go back to a common prototype, or did they develop independently? As suggested by Türck, the common ancestor might be looked for in architecture of the Ancient Near East. It needn't necessarily have

172 Türck 2004; 2009.

173 Sarre 1909: 42.
174 Balpinar 1990: 88, 93 and fig. 18.

been building architecture; a representation of tent architecture as seen in figs. 119–137 is equally plausible. This would explain the "horned crowns" and the chevron pattern of the niche forms, which can be seen in similar forms on Assyrian royal tents (fig. 145). On both the Anatolian and the Central Asian safs, we are dealing with the representation of stately architecture on textiles, serving representative purposes.

Summary

The two saf carpets cat. nos. 32 and 33, were designed for the Bala Hauz Mosque, the royal chapel and Friday Mosque of the Emirs of Bukhara. We are dealing here with two custom-made carpets, which were the models for one specific line of small format carpets with a single niche design. Other piled saf carpets with this design are not known, and likely do not exist.

The older saf, cat. no. 32, was designed for the opening of the Bala Hauz Mosque in 1712. The newer example, cat. no. 33, is a reproduction of the older predecessor, on order from the then Emir in 1874 to replace the older piece. The date of production for the newer piece is provided by a document, which is quoted by Nassimov.[175] The carpet was produced for the domed prayer hall, reserved for the Emir and his entourage. Whether it was a two-part carpet or only a singe piece is no longer verifiable. I think it was rather only a single piece.

The niche design of the saf carpets, cat. nos. 32 and 33, in all probability goes back to flat woven textiles in dovetailed tapestry, indicated by the imitation of this technique in the form of a zipper-like toothing in both saf carpets. Such tapestry-woven textiles could have been niche hangings originally intended for reception and banquet tents, as were used in Bukhara by the ruling class up to the early 20th century (fig. 121), representing an ancient Near Eastern tradition persisting over several millennia. Comparable niche forms on a white ground are also known from Anatolia (figs. 154 and 155). The phenomenon of imitating dovetailing in pile technique is also known there (fig. 113). The niche form itself might go back to architectural archetypes of the world of the ancient Near East, possibly from tent architecture. The survival of attendant tent-forms up to the early 20th century also emphasizes the possibility of a unbroken design tradition over the same period. The archaic design of the niche form crowned with ram's horns was echoed in small format carpets with a single niche, which presumably are derived from the saf carpet cat. no. 32. This specific single niche carpet design went through some modifications in the course of time, to some degree assimilating new fashion trends.

175 In: O'Bannon 1996: 291.

34

Ersarï carpet with a single niche

With all likelihood the designs of cat. no. 34 and all its later derivatives (figs. 157–163) are direct descendents of the design of cat no. 32. This single niche design group can be considered a branch of the Bukharan prayer rugs known to have been produced since at least the 10th century according to Narshakhi.[176] Cat. no. 34 presumably is the oldest known example of this particular group, which developed only in the 18th century. Apart from the palmette design covering the whole white background of the carpet, the parallels of the niche and border designs of this small format piece to the design of the saf carpet, cat. no. 32, suggests a comparable date of production, therefore putting cat. no. 34 at the beginning of this group (fig. 157–163) in the early 18th century. There is a large number of such carpets dating from the 19th century showing many variants of this particular niche design. The palmette design, like the zipper-like toothed niche form, is borrowed from the sphere of woven textiles (cf. figs. 164–174).

176 Frye 1954: 20.

The development of the niche design in white ground "prayer rugs" from Bukhara: Early 18th (fig. 157) to early 20th centuries (fig. 163)

Fig. 156: Detail from cat. no. 32.

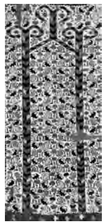


Fig. 157: Detail from cat. no. 34. The field is decorated with the same palmettes as seen in the border.

Fig. 158: Ersarï single niche carpet. Version of cat. no. 34. Repr. from Hali 161, 2009: 126.

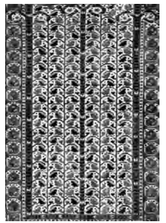


Fig. 159: Ersarï single niche carpet. Version of cat. no. 34. Repr. from Hali 63, 1992: 62.

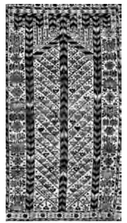


Fig. 160: Ersarï single niche carpet. Repr. from Hali 151, 2007: 75, no. 3.

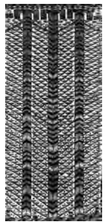


Fig. 161: Ersarï single niche carpet. Repr. from Rippon Boswell 37, 1992: Lot 106.

Fig. 162: Ersarï single niche carpet. Repr. from Hali 98, 1998: 27.

Fig. 163: Ersarï single niche carpet. Repr. from Bausback 1978: 528.

Design: In addition to the same niche form as seen in cat no. 32, cat. no. 34 also shows the same palmette border design. Even the zipper-like toothing along the edges of the niche is present and the chevron design also points downwards (in the 1874 produced saf cat. no. 33 it points upwards throughout). Compared to the safs, the niche form differs slightly in proportions, and the characteristic inner drawing seen in the niches of the saf carpets is missing. Instead, we find a palmette design, similar to that in the border, which is nearly as ancient as the niche design. Figs. 164–174 show the development of this palmette design, from the 6th century B.C. version on a Greek vase to a 19th century version on a Central Asian embroidery. A variant of the palmette field design (figs. 157–159) in the single niche carpets is stylized tree forms with little blossoms (figs. 160–162). This variant is particularly common in later pieces dating from the 2nd half of the 19th century. Not surprisingly, a version of it is also seen in the first niche of the more recent of the two saf carpets (cat. no. 33).

Dating: At the very most, the carpet is probably only very slightly more recent than cat. no. 32. It likely also dates from the early 18th century.

35

Turkmen *ensi*[177]

A tribal attribution of this *ensi* presents a number of challenges. It shows features of the Ersarï, the Sarïq, and the Salor, but cannot reliably be attributed to any of these groups. The niches between the *gush* motifs in the two fields are reminiscent of the Ersarï, while the high knot density is rather unusual for Ersarï weavings. The frieze with small niches at the top of the field is reminiscent of the Sarïq, while the perfect execution and the refined colour palette can be compared with

177 On the meaning and origin of the *ensi* design, see the chapter "The Turkmen *Ensi*".

Fig. 164: Palmettes and volutes, Attic amphora, 6th or 5th century B.C. Repr. from Riegl 1923: 201, fig. 103.

Fig. 165: Palmettes and volutes, Sasanian stucco plate, 6th or 7th century. Repr. from Kröger 1982: Plate 89, no. 5.

Fig. 166: Tree of life with volutes, oak leaves (instead of palmettes), acorns, and birds, Sasnian silver plate, 6th or 7th century. Repr. from Ghirsman 1956: Vol. II, fig. 69.

Fig. 167: Palmettes and volutes, early Islamic ceramic from Nishapur, 9th century, Victoria & Albert Museum London. Repr. from Haussig 1992: Fig. 127.

Fig. 168: Palmettes and volutes, Byzantine (?) silk, 10th century. Repr. from Lessing 1913.

Fig. 169: Palmettes and volutes, wooden casket covered with gilded silver, Al Andalus, Spain, 10th century. Repr. from Dodds 1992: 209, cat. no. 9.

Fig. 170: Palmettes and volutes, carved plaster of a vaulted reveal of the Mausoleum of Sultan Ahmad Sanjar (1118–1153), Merv. Repr. from Brandenburg/Brüsehoff 1980: Fig. 70.

Fig. 171: Palmettes growing out of volutes, Chinese silk tapestry (*kesi*). Detail from a large tanka, ca. 1330. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Zhao 1999: 273, 09.02.

Fig. 172: Palmettes and volutes, detail from a piled silk carpet, India, 14th or 15th century. Museum of Islamic Art, Qatar. Repr. form Thompson 2004: 82, no. 20.

Fig. 173: Detail from cat. no. 34. Comparable to the silk carpet in fig. 171, arabesques with palmettes and volutes cover the field.

Fig. 174: Palmettes and volutes covering the field of a late 19th century susani, Uzbekistan. Registan Museum Samarkand. Image by the Author, 2004.

Salor pieces. The *ensi* dates at least to the early 19th century, but might have been woven in the 18th century.

36

Kizil Ayak (?) carpet fragment

A Kizil Ayak attribution of this fragment can be proposed based on parallels to other weavings ascribed to this group, but must remain hypothetical because of the lack of material of comparable age.

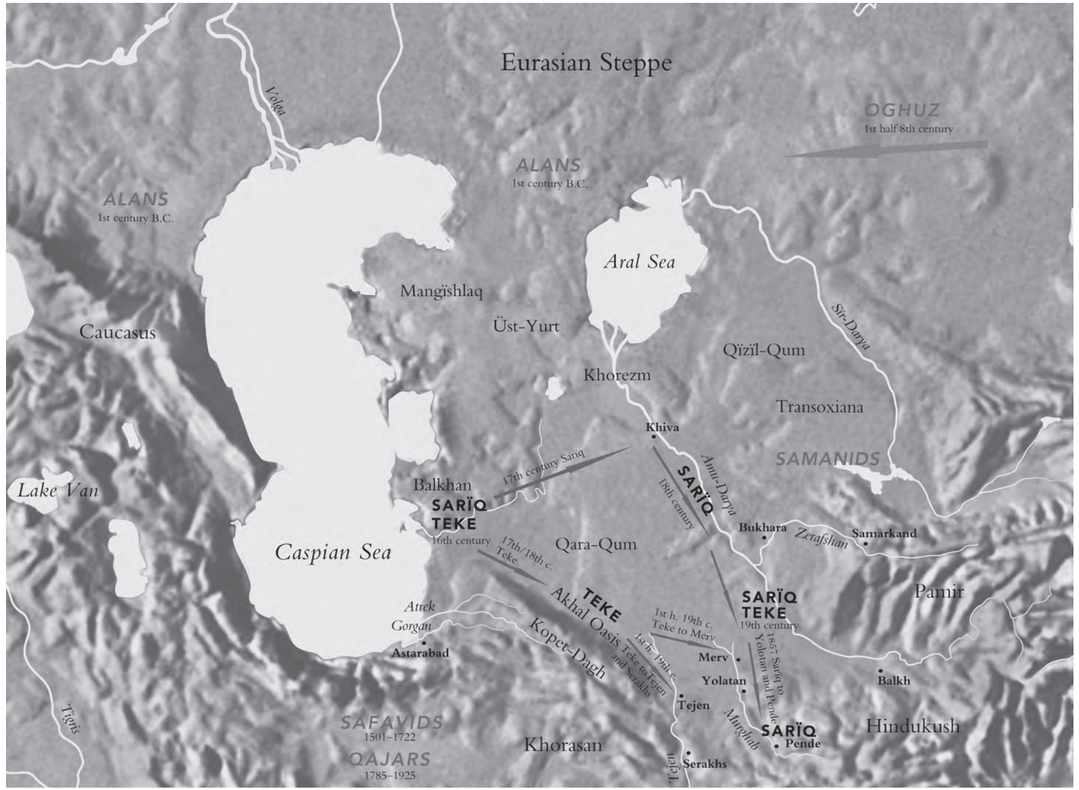
Design: The field design with the Qaradashlï *gül* corresponds broadly to that of Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 88, while the *chemche gül* shows a version considered typical for the Kizil Ayak. The parallels between the drawing of the *chemche gül* of the Kizil Ayak and the *chemche gül* used by the Qaradashlï (cf. cat. no. 80 and 89) are interesting. The hooked tendril with its quartered hooked rhombuses is considered a typical Kizil Ayak border design, or at least typical for the group of carpets which are considered Kizil Ayak. The minor border is also identical with the top and bottom minor borders of the Qaradashlï *khali*, cat. no. 88.

Structure: This fragment shows some special structural features. An asymmetrical knot open to the right is the rule for pieces attributed to the Kizil Ayak. Unusual in this case is that complete rows of symmetrical knots are found in different places. Even more curious is one short row of overlapping knots, a particular knot form typical for symmetrically knotted pieces of the Qaradashlï, the Yomut, and the Sarïq (see structural analyses, section "knot" of cat. no. 36 in vol. 1).

The purple ground colour, even the whole colour palette, connects this fragment with pieces of the Qaradashlï (cat. no. 88) and the so called "P-Chowdur" group (cat. no. 121). But as already mentioned, cat. no. 36 shows some other eye-catching parallels to the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 88: the Qaradashlï *gül*, and the drawing of the *chemche gül*, which is typical not only for the Kizil Ayak, but also for the Qaradashlï, where it is somewhat more slender (cf. cat. no. 80 and 89). Thus, the two pieces are not only very similar in their colour palette, but also in their design, even up to the proportions. The wool, however, is quite different (softer in the Kizil Ayak fragment), as is the knot type, which is symmetrical in the Qaradashli piece, and asymmetrical open to the right in the Kizil Ayak fragment. Another interesting parallel is cat. no. 59, a symmetrically knotted *torba* with Qaradashlï *gül* field design. Not surprisingly, the origin of this *torba* is also not clear: the colour palette suggests a Teke origin, while structure and design are more like the Qaradashlï. All this could be a clue to a common geographic origin for all of these pieces. Concerning the Kizil Ayak, the early dating of the fragment discussed here (cat. no. 36) speaks in favour of this. According to Yuri Bregel, the Ersarï and the Kizil Ayak moved south in the 16th century in the direction of the Akhal Oasis, continuing in the 17th century to the Amu-Darya and to Khorezm.[178]

178 See Bregel 2003: Map 36A.

Dating: According to test results showing a radiocarbon age of 260 years BP, cat. no. 36 most likely dates from the 17th century. A late 18th or early 19th century dating seems unlikely. (For comparable dating results, see cat. nos. 48 and 101 and fig. 16 in section "3.2.2 ^{14}C Results Concerning The Problematic 17th Century" in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate").



Map: The migrations of the Sarïq and the Teke,
16th – 19th centuries.
After Bregel 2003: Map 36A and B; Wood 1990: 33; Wood 1999.

The Sarïq

Balkhan Mountains, Khiva, middle reaches of the Amu-Darya,
Merv Oasis, Yolatan, and Pende
Cat. nos. 37–49; 140–142

Introduction

Several sources, none before the 16th century, report on the origin of the Sarïq, at least in the form of legends.[1] Moshkova mentions a possible connection to the Alans[2], an group of people of the Eastern Iranian branch. She refers to linguistic similarities between the tribal names Sarïq and Sirak. The Sirak were a large Alanic tribe, which figured among the Turko-Mongol tribes which include the Oghuz.[3]

Like a number of other Turkmen tribal groups, the Sarïq trace their ancestry back to the Salor.[4] Abul Ghazi reports both the Teke and the Sarïq to be descendents of a Salor named Toi Tutmaz.[5] He also reports that, during the 16th century, the Sarïq, together with other Turkmen tribal groups - the Teke, the Ersarï, and the Yomut - lived in the Balkhan Mountains on the eastern shore of the Caspian under the leadership of the Salor.

According to another legend, the name Sarïq refers to the yellow dress of a bride, who married a Teke, calling their descendents Sarïq (from *sarï*, Turkish for yellow).[6]

In the course of the 17th century, the Salor confederation dissolved, and its various members, including the Sarïq, migrated to Khiva and the Amu-Darya, the Merv Oasis, and the Sarïq later to Yolatan and Pende. In the early 19th century, after a long conflict with the Khanate of Khiva, the Sarïq became increasingly powerful, controlling, along with other territory, the Merv Oasis. In addition to the Sarïq, some of the Salor resided in the Merv Oasis in the 19th century; this is reflected in the weavings of both groups (cf. cat. no. 44 and 45). During this period, an enhanced nomadism re-emerged, particularly among the Sarïq.[7] This has been reported by several 19th century travellers, including, in the 1880s, the Russian Pavel Lessar, photographer of the Teke couple seen on the frontispiece of both our volumes.

1 Wood 1990: 33; Wood 1999.
2 The Alans were a Sarmatian tribe, living in the 2nd half of the 1st millenium B.C. in the Eurasian steppes north of the Aral Sea.
3 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 193.
4 Which is not contradictory to the origin mentioned by Moshkova; at least part of the Salor are also said to be descendants of the Alans. See the section "The Historical Background" in the chapter "The Salor".
5 Abu'l-Ghazi Bahadur Khan 1958.
6 Sarïq is said to be derived from Turkmen *sari*, "yellow". Wood 1999: 8.
7 Wood 1999.

The flower tree in the Sarïq *ensi*

Fig. 1: Detail from cat. no. 37. Characteristic Sarïq *ensi* flower motif. This flower design might have the same roots as the Central Asian embroideries seen in figs. 2–4.

Fig. 2: Detail from an embroidered hanging of the Sarïq or the Teke. Repr. from Rippon Boswell *62*, 2004: Lot 1 (cover).

Fig. 3: Detail from an Uzbek susani. Vok Collection. Repr. from Vok 2006: No. 60.

Fig. 4: Detail from a Sart embroidery from Samarkand. Repr. from Felkersam 1914/15 (1979): 95.

Sarïq weavings

Though the Sarïq did not limit themselves to a small number of ancient designs as did the Salor, they did not use anywhere near the variety of designs seen among the Yomut or the Ersarï. With the exception of pentagonal *asmalyk*, they produced all types of traditional formats.[8] The decorative hangings of the Sarïq are, like those of the Salor, rectangular. For the field designs of their *khali*, the Sarïq used three different types of primary ornaments: the *temirjin gül*,[9] two versions of the *gülli gül*[10] and the *chuval gül*.[11] The *ensi* of the Sarïq has a distinctive design (cat. no. 37), which was attributed to the Salor by the Russian researchers of the early 20th century. The design of the *kapunuk*, on the other hand, is actually very similar to that of the Salor and the Teke. Most *chuval* are decorated with a variant of the *chuval gül*, or since the 19th century, the Salor *gül*. Small formats show all kinds of different designs, e.g. cat. no. 40, the *mafrash* with Teke pattern, although they most frequently show Salor designs.[12]

Like the weavings of the Teke, the weavings of the Sarïq are, at least in design and weave density, close to those of the Salor. An early common origin of these tribal groups in the "language" of their weavings is clearly visible. However, the weaving techniques are different; the Sarïq used a symmetric knot,[13] while the Salor and the Teke knotted their pieces asymmetrically. The vibrancy of old Sarïq work can approach that of Salor weavings (e.g. cat. no. 41), showing a "nobility", which is often missing in younger pieces.

8 E.g. cat. nos. 54, 75–77, 144, and 155.
9 Cat. nos. 46 and 47.
10 The *gülli gül* of the Sarïq and the Ersarï (cat. nos. 48 and 31), and the Salor *gülli gül* (see comparison pieces to cat. no. 48).
11 Cat. no. 49.
12 E.g. the *darvaza/kejebe gül*, the *shemle gül*, the "Memling" *gül*, or the meander with curled leaves.
13 For exceptions, see footnote 14. However, in the late 19th century, the Sarïq also used the asymmetrical knot open to the right, presumably from Teke and/or Salor influence.

Typical Sarïq *ensi* designs (all details from cat. no. 37)

Fig. 5: Sarïq variant of the *gush* motif.

Fig. 6: Characteristic Sarïq motif, which can be considered a Sarïq marker motif for a tribal attribution. It is frequently seen in all kinds of Sarïq weavings.

Fig. 7: Characteristic Sarïq motif, called *gujuk izi*, "trace of a puppy", by the Sarïq.

Fig. 8: Characteristic niche forms at the upper end of the field of Sarïq *ensi*. Like the *kejebe* design, they might go back to Zoroastrian models.

Fig. 9: The characteristic geometric tendril of Sarïq *ensi* side borders.

The common features of Sarïq weavings are:
- Symmetric knotting.[14]
- A colour palette based on red-brown and orange-red shades.
- Frequent use of different types of offset knotting for both design and plain areas.
- A slight warp depression in some cases.
- Areas of pile in white cotton.
- Since the 2nd half of the 19th century an increasing use of magenta silk. Earlier pieces show little or no silk.
- Salor design influence can be seen already in pieces pre-dating the 19th century (cat. nos. 46–49, border design), but increases significantly in the 19th century (cat. nos. 39, 44 and 45).
- Distinctive flower motifs particularly in their *ensi* (cat. no. 37), but often also in the *alem* of *chuval* (cat. no. 42) and in their *aq yüp* (cat. no. 38).
- Typical ornaments like the *naldaġ* border (cat. nos. 43 and 44), the *gujuk isi* motif in *ensi* and *khali* (fig. 7, cat. nos. 37, 46, and 47), and the minor borders composed of multi coloured triangles (cat. nos. 37, 43, 44, 45, and 46).

14 The exception are late pieces with the first synthetic dyestuffs. They are often woven with an asymmetric knot open to the right (like the *ensi* fig. 11). However, there are also older pieces showing an asymmetrical knot open to the right, which nevertheless can be attributed to the Sarïq. Such an exception is seen in Myers 2004: No. 51, with a detail opp. page 9, clearly showing the asymmetrical knotting. However, on page 151, in the discussion of the piece, only symmetrical knotting is mentioned.

Introduction to the Sarïq *ensi*[15] (cat. nos. 37 and 140)

Although in its design composition, the *ensi* of the Sarïq largely corresponds to the composition of other Turkmen *ensi*, it has its own distinctive appearance. Part of this is the particular flower design seen in the two niche forms within the field, the side borders, and the *alem*.

15 On the origin and the meaning of the *ensi* design, see the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

Such flower designs are seen in different forms among the Sarïq. Probably the most common form shows a "flower tree" with larger blossoms integrated into the trunk and pairs of smaller blossoms hanging downwards from it (fig. 1). Cat. no. 37 is one of the most beautiful examples with this attractive form of this particular type of flower motif. There is also a stylized version of this design, which in the 19th century seems to have become standard (side border in fig. 11),[16] but can also be seen in earlier pieces like cat. no. 140 (fig. 15, in the *alem*). A third form shows a heavily stylized flower tree with its blossoms pointing upwards. Cat. no. 140 is a good example of this third type (see fig. 15, side borders). Similarly stylized is a further variant of this type of flower tree, known in only three pieces.[17]

Also worth noting in this context are the small stylized, characteristically Sarïq flower motifs with attached hooks, which are seen in Sarïq *ensi*, *aq yüp*, *asmalyk*, and *chuval* (figs. 6, 25 and 26). They can be considered a "marker-design" for Sarïq weavings.

The flower design in fig. 1 can presumably be traced back to embroidery. Similar flower designs can be seen in Turkmen embroidery (fig. 2), in Uzbek embroidered susani (fig. 3), and in Sart embroidery[18] from Bukhara and Samarkand. Whether such embroideries were the archetypes for the carpet designs or vice versa can no longer be proven with certainty, although the former seems more likely. In embroidery, curved forms are not unusual, which cannot be said about traditional Turkmen carpet design, which is generally angular, abstract, less naturalistic, and only very seldomly curved.[19]

Another typical feature of the Sarïq *ensi* is the large geometrically drawn meander (fig. 9) left and right of the field instead of the usual Turkmen meander with curled leaves. A comparable, though somewhat smaller, form of such a meander is otherwise seen only in a group of Teke *ensi*.[20]

A third typical feature of the Sarïq *ensi* is the "clover leaf" design in the narrow rectangular centre field (fig. 7) between the two squarish fields with slender niches and flower designs. This design is called *gujuk isi* by the Sarïq, which means "trace of a puppy". In her "Carpets of the People of Central Asia", Valentina Moshkova writes: "The meaning of the *gujuk izi* pattern, placed on the *ensi* central field, becomes clear if we remember that the Turkmen regarded the dog as a sacred animal."[21]

16 Typical examples are the two Sarïq *ensi* published by Loges 1978: Nos. 26 and 27.
17 Volkmann 1985: No. 83; Rippon Boswell, cat. 39, 1993: Lot 103; Andrews et al. 1993: No. 108.
18 The Iranian speaking population of the cities of Bukhara and Samarkand were known as Sarts.
19 Exceptions include the flower design in the *alem* of a small group of Yomut *khali* with *chuval gül* field design, cat. nos. 84, and 101–103, and the *aq yüp* cat no. 99, belonging to the same group.
20 See comparable pieces to the Teke *ensi*, cat. no. 50, showing a "classic" meander with curled leaves border.
21 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 318; see also Moshkova 1946 (1980): 18.

Fig. 10: Arabachi *ensi* with a *kejebe* niche frieze at the upper end of the field. Another five examples showing the same type of *kejebe* niche frieze at the upper end of the field are published (see comparison pieces to the Arabachi *ensi* cat. no. 124). Repr. from Rippon Boswell 66, 2005: Lot 58.

Fig. 11: Late Sarïq *ensi* show an enlarged number of borders, a more crowded drawing, a stylized version of the flower motifs, and the abutting niches, right next to each other, in the upper frieze. Private collection.

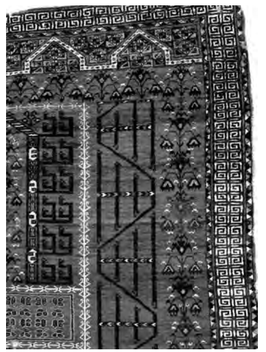


Fig. 12: Early Sarïq *ensi* still show the characteristic Sarïq *ensi* borders, a more openly drawn composition, and the upper niche frieze with niche forms separated from each other.

Presumably following Moshkova, Muradova writes in 1975: "The ornaments *it yzy*, literally "trace of a dog", *dagdan*, "holy tree" and *mechran* (not translated) are related to religious beliefs."[22] The religious beliefs of the Zoroastrians might lead to an explanation; dogs played a considerable role in the mortuary practices of this ancient Iranian religion.[23] But dogs in connection with mortuary practices were also known in the eastern Mediterranean, e.g. in Egypt and among the Greeks.[24]

Whether this Turkmen design is related to Zoroastrian beliefs cannot clearly be verified, but, it is interesting that Turkmen weavers remembered the dog as a sacred animal. That this example is not an isolated case is seen in other comparable associations such as the boar as a sacred animal of the Iranians,[25] or in the clear similarities between the *kejebe* design and decorations of Zoroastrian ossuaries (bone containers) from Bukhara and Samarkand.[26] This brings us to another typical Sarïq *ensi* pattern, namely the niche frieze at the top of the field (fig. 8), of which two variants are known. Either the niches are separated by a horizontal connecting bar (as seen in fig. 12), or they are directly adjoining (as seen in fig. 11), the latter arrangement becoming standard in the 19th century. Most of the listed comparison examples with directly adjoining niches at the top of the field date from the second half of the 19th century. But this version is by no means exclusive to the 19th century, as shown by the *ensi* cat. no. 140 (fig. 15), one of the earliest examples of this design type.

The relationship of this *ensi* niche frieze to the *kejebe* design is clearly shown by a small group of Arabachi *ensi* using the *kejebe* design to form the niche frieze at the top of the field (fig. 10). It is worth noting that the *kejebe* design has also been used to decorate the upper horizontal frieze of some Turkmen *kapunuk*, e.g. cat. no. 119. The *kapunuk* framed the top of the door inside the yurt, serving as counter part to the *ensi*. The relationship of the designs is therefore not surprising.

In its latest form, Sarïq *ensi* consistently show immediately joined niches at the top, more borders, in many cases a colour palette tending to purplish tones, and sometimes asymmetric open right knotting (fig. 11). The knotting technique may well have been picked up from the Salor or the Teke in the second half of the 19th century.

22 Muradova 1975 (1985): 103.
23 E.g. the "dog inspection" (Hundebeschaung) in Zoroastrian mortuary practices; Stausberg 2005: 118. On dogs and Zoroastrianism, see also Stausberg 2005: 49, 71, 75 and 115.
24 In Egypt it was Anubis, the god of the dead, portrayed as half human, half jackal, and in Greece Cerberus, the hound of Hades, which guards the gates to the underworld (see fig. 4 in the chapter "The Salor").
25 See the chapter "*Dongus burun*".
26 See the discussion on the Salor hangings, cat. nos. 5 and 130 in the chapter "The Salor".

37

Sarïq *ensi* fragment

In the discussion of lot 23 (a comparison piece to cat. no. 37) of the 1993 Sotheby's sale, Jon Thompson stressed the rarity of Sarïq *ensi* comparable in age and aesthetic quality to his own.[27] However, cat. no. 37 might not have been known to him, and it might even surpass his example. In addition to being, aesthetically, one of the best pieces of this group, it also seems to be one of the oldest. At most a dozen of the 44 published pieces can be compared in age to cat. no. 37; the rest are probably later, many of them even significantly later.

Design: Cat no. 37 shows the typical *ensi* design composition with a *sainak* border on three sides, a double *alem* at the bottom, a central, tripartite field divided into two larger, squarish fields at bottom and top and an elongated rectangular field in the centre, and a frieze of niches above the field. Typical for this group are the *alem* and the borders with the characteristic flower design (fig. 1) and the upper frieze of niches separated by a connecting bar (fig. 8).

Structure: As with all other Sarïq *ensi* with this type of flower design in the borders, offset knotting has been employed for a more dynamic drawing of the design. The absence of silk might be explained by the great age of this *ensi*. Silk is rarely found in early Sarïq weavings, other than tent bands.[28]

Colours: The ground colour of cat. no. 37 is a shade of red comparable to the early dated Sarïq *khali* with *temirjin gül* (cat. no. 46). Also seen in Sarïq *khali* are the multi-coloured triangles in the minor borders, which are seldom seen in this particular form in Sarïq *ensi*, and only in early examples. Visual inspection does not suggest the use of insect dyestuffs.

Dating: Although radiocarbon indicates a post-1650 dating, a good argument can be made that this is one of the earliest published Sarïq *ensi*. The piece might well date from the second half of the 17th, or at least the early 18th, century.

27 Sotheby's NY, December 16, 1993: Lot 23.
28 For a example, see the *chuval* cat. no. 41.

140

Sarïq *ensi* fragment (fig. 15)

This *ensi* and a nearly identical comparison piece published by Grote-Hasenbalg both show a stylized variant of the "classic" Sarïq *ensi* design. The Grote-Hasenbalg piece is slightly compressed in length, and its overall length of 140 cm is relatively short for a Sarïq *ensi*. Cat. no. 140, is not much longer at 152 cm, but it is also likely missing at least 10 cm in the upper half. The horizontal cut through the piece and the resulting break in the deign is easily visible particularly in the section with the vertical meander. Also cut are the left and right outer borders. The outermost part of the *sainak* border has been cut, and the outermost zigzag has been re-sewn.

Design: Though a typical Sarïq *ensi* in its essential features, this powerful example does show some significant design variations, which set it slightly off from the "classic" Sarïq *ensi*.[29] First of all, the powerfully drawn minor border with triangles in two shades of red and blue contour lines is eye-catching. The *ensi* cat. no. 37 also shows minor borders with triangles, but there they are multicoloured with brown contour lines, contributing considerably less to the overall impression of the borders. Also unusual is the design of the band with tripartite cup-shaped flowers just below the upper niche frieze (fig. 14). Except for the Grote-Hasenbalg piece, this design is seen in no other published Sarïq *ensi*.

Structure: With its knot d*ens*ity of 1140–1344 knots per dm^2, this *ensi* lies rather at the lower edge of the group. Cat. no. 37 has a knot density of 2214–2310 knots per dm^2, while the finest *ensi* can have up to 3000 knots per dm^2.[30]

Colour: The bright and saturated dyes and the beautiful red ground colour clearly speak in favour of a dating to at least the early 19th century, if not even before 1800.

Dating: Radiocarbon dating supports the visual guesstimate based on the quality of the colours and the drawing of the design. It suggests

29 With the exception of the Grote-Hasenbalg piece and three further examples showing a comparable stylized flower border.
30 E.g. Tzareva 1984: No. 16; Andrews et al. 1993: No. 108.

Fig. 13: Detail from cat. no. 140, showing the main border with *sainak* motifs (cut) flanked by the unusual boldly serrated, only two-coloured minor borders. Between the *sainak* border and the geometric meander, an also unusual form of a stylized tree "grows" from the bottom to the top.

Fig. 14: Detail from cat. no. 140, showing one of the calyxes below the niche frieze at the upper end of the field. Only the comparison piece published by Grote-Hasenbalg shows the same distinctive flower form.

a date of production between 1660 and 1820.[31] Other dating aids allowing a narrowing of the date ranges could not be determined.

Introduction to the Sarïq *aq yüp*

Even though attribution of tent bands to the Sarïq still has to be qualified with question marks, there is a significant number of pieces which can, according to today's state of knowledge, be thus attributed with some probability. However, some cases are clearer than others, in which Teke could be an option. Attributing tent bands at all is still a problem, though groups can be formed such as Yomut bands, bands of the Esen Eli group (Chowdur, Ighdïr, Bozachi, Arabachi, Abdal) and bands of the former Salor confederation (Salor, Sarïq, Teke, also called "fine weavers"). Though, based on the dye analysis in this study, *aq yüp*

31 See Appendix III, table 15.

Fig. 15: Sarïq *ensi* cat. no. 140.
105–115 x 140–151 cm, 18th or early 19th century.
For technical data, see vol. 1, Appendix I.

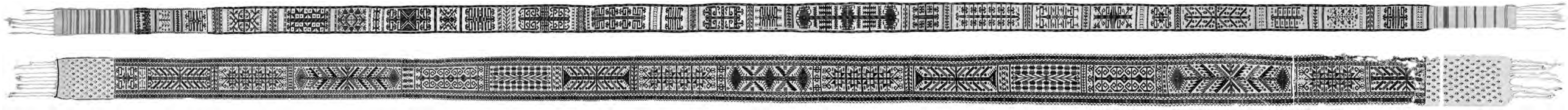


Fig. 16, top: Sarïq (?) *aq yüp* cat. no. 38,
25 – 27 x 1382 cm, 17th or 18th century. Private collection.

Fig. 17, bottom: Sarïq (?) *aq yüp* cat. no. 39,
35 x 1235 cm, 1st half of the 19th century. Collection of Francois Ang, Paris.

of the Salor can be distinguished from those of the Sarïq and the Teke,[32] differentiation between Sarïq and Teke is still difficult. More pieces are attributed to the Sarïq than to the Teke, in spite of the fact that the Sarïq were considerably smaller in number than the Teke, at least in the 18th and 19th centuries. Such attribution is based on characteristics such as colour palette and specific Sarïq designs which have been recognised as Sarïq marker-motifs (like figs. 24 – 26). Among the Teke, such references are largely missing, or are at least more difficult to recognise. It is therefore possible that many Teke *aq yüp* still remain unidentified. *Aq yüp* with a Sarïq attribution based on colour palette and Sarïq marker-motifs can be further separated into various subgroups. The two examples discussed here are from two different subgroups.[33] They both show a colour palette typical for the Sarïq, differing from that of the Teke. Both bands also show typical Sarïq marker-motifs (figs. 25 and 26), which can be seen in a nearly identical form in *ensi* and *chuval* of the Sarïq. A small number of published *aq yüp* show the same characteristic hooked ornaments and can therefore with all likelihood be attributed to the Sarïq as well.[34]

A further criterion speaking in favour of a Sarïq attribution, particularly of *aq yüp* from the late 18th and early 19th century, is the increasing amount of wool dyed with Mexican cochineal which, on tin mordant produces a bright scarlet. However, since about the mid 19th century, such bright scarlet shades are no longer seen.[35] These scarlet shades dyed with Mexican cochineal are less frequently seen in any Teke weavings, including their tent bands.

32 When using an insect dyestuff, the Salor systematically used lac dye, while the Sarïq and the Teke used Mexican cochineal, unsystematically here and there. For more details, see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section "6. Tribal Attributions by means of Dye Analysis".

33 See comparison pieces to the two *aq yüp*, cat. nos. 38 and 39 in Vol. 1.

34 E.g. Schürmann 1969: No. 5; Hali 6/1, 1983: 12; Isaacson 2007: No. 12; Hoffmeister 1980: No. 36.

35 For more details, see section "3.6 Insect Dyestuffs on Tin Mordant", in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

36 Neugebauer/Orendi 1909: 209, fig. 135.

37 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 38.

38

Sarïq *aq yüp*

This tent band was first published in 1909 by Rudolf Neugebauer and Julius Orendi as "Bocchara-Streifen". It has been in European private hands for more than a century.[36] It belongs to a group of only six bands[37] characterized by a specific design (fig 25).

Design: One of the exceptional qualities of this band is the absence of an overall layout of the designs. It shows an enormous and unusual variety of unrepeated individual patterns. The large composite flower tree (cf. fig. 16, colour plate cat. no. 38) is the only element that suggests a visual centre.

The range of design elements starts with a number of beautifully brocaded and precisely executed zigzag stripes (fig. 18). More than half of the following ornaments (13 of 23) are based on a typical tent band design, related to or even derived from the *sainak* motif of the *ensi*.[38] In the following, I call it the *sainak* tent band motif.

Regarding the composition of the border, the weaver was obviously undecided at the beginning. The band starts with a typical Turkmen tent band border design variant, a double *giyak* stripe enclosing a zigzag line (fig. 23). After about 15 cm, the weaver changed her mind, first omitting the two *giyak* stripes (figs. 23 and 24). This variant of the border design is seen in other, mostly early, tent bands, e.g. the two tent band fragments, cat. no. 53. But neither with this variation did the weaver seem to be satisfied; after an additional 60 cm she changed the design again, finally finding a solution which seemed to please her, just one *giyak* stripe on each side (fig. 21). This is a quite unusual and rare variant of a tent band border design, but charming nevertheless.

Furthermore the band shows two ornaments which I consider distinctive Sarïq features and therefore call Sarïq marker-motifs: the floral trees at the beginning and end (fig. 20), and the design composed of small rhombuses with attached hooks in fig. 21 (cf. also fig. 22). They also appear regularly on Sarïq *ensi* (cf. figs. 1 and 6).[39] Along with the colour palette, a Sarïq attribution of this tent band is largely based on these marker-motifs.

The characteristic motif of the small group of six bands[40] discussed here is seen in fig. 24. It is composed of a tent band *sainak* motif[41] with an inserted design called *khaikelbagi* for its similarity to the Teke *chuval* border design called *khaikelbagi* by Valentina Moshkova.[42] A *khaikel* (or *cheikel*) is a Teke amulet bag with a ca. 6 cm wide leather strap decorated with square silver fittings showing the same design as the *chuval* border. The name for the *chuval* border design is likely derived from

38 See the section "5.3.2 The *sainak* Motif", figs. 59–90 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*", the section "The *sainak* Motif in Turkmen Tent Bands", figs. 59–90 and the discussion of cat. no. 99 in the chapter "The Yomut".

39 E.g. on the *ensi* cat. no. 37 and the *chuval* cat. no. 45.

40 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 38.

41 See fig. 15 in the chapter "The Yomut".

42 For the name *khaikelbagi*, Moshkova only refers to the border design of Teke *chuval*, not to designs in tent bands.

Fig. 18: Brocaded zigzag line in red and blue wool at the beginning of the *aq yüp* cat. no. 38.

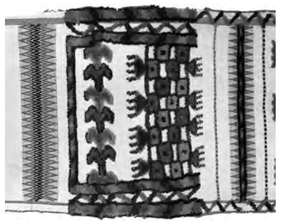


Fig. 19: At the beginning, cat. no. 38 shows the typical Turkmen tent band border design with a zigzag line accompanied by two *giyak* stripes. In the first change of the design, the two *giyak* stripes have been left out. In the second change, the weaver comes to the final solution without a zigzag line, showing only a single *giyak* stripe, instead of the usual two.

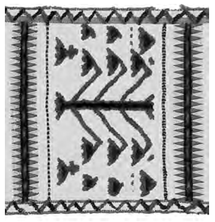


Fig. 20: A typical floral Sarïq motif at the beginning of the *aq yüp* cat. no. 38. Such marker-motifs help for an attribution particularly of tent bands.

Fig. 21: Detail from *aq yüp* cat. no. 38. This characteristic design is another Sarïq marker-motif, a clear hint for a Sarïq attribution. Similar ornaments appear in Sarïq *ensi* (see cat. no. 37).

Fig. 22: Detail from *aq yüp* cat. no. 39. Like the designs in figs. 20 and 21, this is another typical Sarïq marker-motif.

Fig. 23: The "*khaikelbagi*" design on a painted ceramic from Mehrgarh IV, Balouchistan, 3300 B.C. From a beaker with square motifs in a row at the upper edge (see fig. 29 in the chapter "The *khaikelbagi* design". Repr. from Shaffer 1993: 250, Fig. 1.

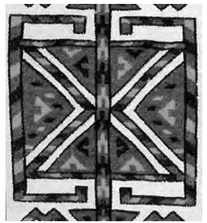


Fig. 24: Detail from cat. no. 38, 17th or 18th century. The tent band design shows a combination of the *sainak* and *khaikelbagi* motifs. For the similarities to the *khaikelbagi* motif of the Teke, see figs. 6–10 in the chapter "The *khaikelbagi* design". For the combination of the *sainak* motif with other designs, see figs. 6 – 23 in the chapter "The Yomut".

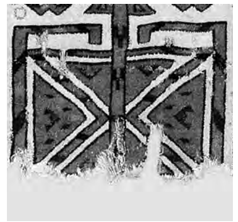


Fig. 25: The "*khaikelbagi*" design in a Sarïq (?) tent band, 18th or 19th century. The other three tent bands of this group all show this form of the design. Repr. from TKF Graz 1999: Tafel 77/2.

Fig. 26: Sarïq woman with apotropaic jewellery composed of an amulet container *tumar* and a rhombus *göndschük*. This combination is related to the *khaikelbagi* design. Repr. from Schletzter 1983: 82.

Fig. 27: Anthropomorphic amulet of the Nokhurli Turkmen. The design on the lower part of the dress corresponds to the *khaikelbagi* design of Teke textiles and jewellery. Repr. from Schletzter 1983: 51.

these amulet bags (or generally from jewellery). Its apotropaic character is indicated by its presence on anthropomorphic wooden amulets of the Nokhurli as seen in fig. 27 – this amulet shows the pattern on the "costume" – and also by the large jewellery worn by the Sarïq women in fig. 26. The tent band design in fig. 25 can thus be added to the same category of protecting patterns; this is further confirmed by the combination with the sainak motif.

The *khaikelbagi* design is of great age, having its archetypes in the bronze age of the Ancient Near East and a geographical distribution from the Aegean to the Indus.[43]

The tent band discussed here, however, differs considerably from the four comparison pieces. First of all, cat. no. 38 shows the *sainak/khaikelbagi* design only once, while three of the comparison pieces show it (fig. 25) three times; the fourth is a small fragment, showing only one *sainak/khaikelbagi* motif (fig. 25). Further, the four comparison pieces all show a border different from cat. no. 38, namely a combination of *giyak* and *chamtos* stripes. The *chamtos*, a typical Salor design, suggests Salor influence (cf. the Salor tent band cat. no. 4).

Particularly appealing, and also seen on four of the five comparison pieces, are the pomegranate rosettes in fig. 30 and the rare pomegranate tree design in fig. 31. The pomegranate design in general is of great age, going back to Assyrian or at least Sasanian archetypes (figs. 28 and 29).[44]

Notable, too, are the pairs of bands accompanied by little dots, separating primary design elements of the band, as seen in two places (see colour plate cat. no. 30, lower detail, right side). Such separating bands accompanied by dots are typical of "Eagle" *gül* group tent bands, but are also seen in other *aq yüp* presumably from southwest Turkmenistan (e.g. the all-pile *aq yüp* cat. no. 117).

Structure: The tent band shows the typical warp-faced weave of an *aq yüp* in mixed technique (for details see vol. 1, cat. no. 38). Magenta and green dyed silk are seen only minimally in two places.

Colours: The palette with its dominant, bright orange-red and brown tones is typical for early weavings of the Sarïq. The two *khali*, cat. no. 46 and 47, show a comparable colour scheme. Like most other small format Sarïq weavings, this band contains the exotic insect dyestuff cochineal from Mexico, although in very small amounts compared to other bands. To achieve the bright scarlet on wool, tin has been used as a mordant.[45]

Dating: The band seems likely to predate 1800, while the use of tin as a mordant in connection with Mexican cochineal excludes a date of production before 1600. A pre-1800 date is based on the high quality of colour and drawing, as well as the spare use of the then extremely precious insect dyestuff cochineal from Mexico (*dactylopius coccus*). In this regard, it clearly differs from cat. no. 39, a band which dates with all likelihood from the first half of the 19th century (see discussion below). Radiocarbon dating suggests two ranges, both with approximately the same statistical probability: one in the 19th century, and a second between ca. 1670 and 1780, which seems more likely. The two ranges in the 20th century can be excluded.

43 A detailed discussion on its origin and development is provided in the chapter "The *khaikelbagi* Design".

44 Another typical tent band design shows a different pomegranate tree which can also be traced back to Assyrian models (see the Teke tent band cat. no. 52).

45 For the result of mordant analysis, see Appendix II, Table 11, Ra 294.1, Ra 294.2.

Fig. 28: Rosette with four pomegranates and four palmettes, Assyrian knob-tile, 9th century B.C. Repr. from Muthmann 1982: Fig. 54.

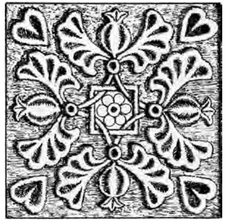


Fig. 29: Rosette with four pomegranates and four palmettes, Ma'arid IV, Sasanian stucco. Repr from Kröger 1982: 98, Fig. 54.

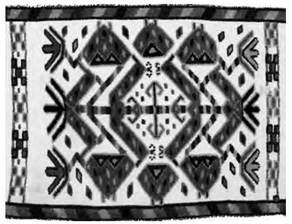


Fig. 30: Rosette with pomegranates and palmettes, 17th or 18th century. Detail from *aq yüp* cat no. 38.

Fig. 31: Pomegranate-tree from *aq yüp* cat. no. 38.

39

Sarïq (?) *aq yüp*

This band belongs to a group of nine *aq yüp* with similar designs and colour palette. The characteristic designs of this group are the "composite palmette tree" design and the *chamtos* border design, both of the Salor.[46] A Sarïq attribution of these nine bands, including cat. no. 39, is largely based on the use of Mexican cochineal and tin mordant,[47] but for cat. no. 39 also on the design in fig. 22, a typical Sariq marker-motif. Like cat. no. 39 (fig. 17), these nine bands all show the "composite palmette tree" design in the centre of the composition, clearly emphasizing its importance.

The band shows a damaged area at the end, which might have been caused by dampness (cf. fig. 17). The final design segment, with a stylized flower tree, is missing some 25 cm. Apart from that, the band is complete, though cut into four parts of different size.

Design: The characteristic design element of this small tent band group, is a "compound-palmette-tree" design with blossoms, which with all likelihood was adopted by the Sarïq (and/or the Teke) from the Salor in the 19th century in the Merv Oasis. But not only is the central "compound-palmette-tree" design based on the design of the Salor band cat. no. 4, so are all the rest of the designs, though here in a simplified forms.

Structure: Cat. no. 39 shows the characteristic warp faced structure with inserted knots for the design (mixed technique) typical for tent bands.

Colours: The band shows some interesting peculiarities of colour. It is colour-wise clearly divided into three parts; the colour palette gets darker and changes from bright red to brownish purple in three steps. The first three design segments show a colour palette reminiscent of the Salor. This first section ends with one of the above-described Sarïq marker-motifs (fig. 26).[48] The second sequence ends with the central "compound-palmette-tree" design, but instead of the bright (Salor) red shows a palette with considerably more brownish shades. The third part, practically the second half of the band, is still a step darker. These changes are even distinguishable in the black and white illustration of the complete band in fig. 17. The band also shows two different types of cochineal dyed wool, a bright scarlet, dyed on tin mordant,[49] and a purple tone, which has not been tested, but by visual comparison seems unlikely to contain tin, but rather a different mordant.[50]

Dating: The two different dyeing methods for Mexican cochineal clearly indicate a 19th century date of production, while the use of tin mordant likely rules out the second half of that century.[51] The adoption of Salor designs by the Sarïq and the Teke is primarily a phenomenon of the 19th century and no doubt is to some degree a result of their time together in the Merv Oasis,[52] though some designs might have been used by these tribes earlier.[53]

46 A detailed discussion on the origin and development of the "composite palmette tree" design is provided in connection with the *aq yüp* cat. no. 4 in the chapter "The Salor".

47 The Salor as a rule used lac, while cochineal is typical for the Sarïq and the Teke. For further discussions on the dyes, see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section "6. Tribal Attribution by Dye Analyses".

48 This change of colour is clearly visible in the colour plate in Vol. 2.

49 For the result of the analysis, see Appendix II, Table 11, R.a 618.1.

50 The hue is purplish and is dyed on 2-plied (2Z) woollen yarn. This is an indicator of "home work", in contrast to the purchased, finer woollen yarns (4–6Z) showing cochineal dyed on tin mordent. For further information, see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section "3.6 Insect Dyestuffs on Tin Mordant".

51 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section "3.1.2 Whitings Cochineal I and II". Fig. 5 shows another Sarïq tent band fragment with the same two different types of cochineal dyeings.

52 Specifically, the Salor *gül*, also known as Mari (Merv) *gül*.

53 Such as the Salor *khali* main border, which can also be found in early Sarïq and Ersarï carpets.

40

Sarïq *mafrash* with *aq yüp* design

Mafrash with this design are commonly seen among the Teke. However, based on its symmetrical knot, cat. no. 40 is Sarïq.

Design: The design of this *mafrash* shows an amalgamation of different traditions. We find influences from the Teke in the field design as well as Yomut influence in the main border design. However, there are also characteristic Sarïq designs, such as the minor border composed of multi coloured triangles. Related border designs are also seen among other groups, but not in the particular form we know from Sarïq weavings.

The field design might be a loan from the repertoire of tent band ornaments. Typically Sarïq are the little flowers in the corners of the four white ground *aq yüp* designs. Flowers drawn like this are generally not seen in Teke weavings. Only one of the 35 comparison examples (see Vol. 1, cat. no. 40, comparison piece no. 29, a Teke(?) *mafrash* with *aq yüp* design) shows comparable flower motifs, and its Teke attribution is questionable.

Structure: The symmetric knotting and the monochrome blue fringes at the lower edge are typical Sarïq features. The piece contains only a few knots in cotton, which is rather unusual, as cotton is generally seen in larger quantities in Sarïq pieces of that age.

Dating: Based on its colour quality, the drawing of the design, and the relatively high proportion of silk in the flower heads of the *aq yüp* design, this little "jewel" was presumably woven in the 18th, or at the latest in the early 19th, century.

141

Sarïq hanging with *kejebe* design

Sarïq hangings of great age with this design are rare. Of the few known Sarïq examples showing the Salor design prototype, this one might be considered outstanding in age and quality.

Design: The *kejebe* field design corresponds in detail to comparable Salor pieces.[54] The borders differ from the Salor prototype; this hanging shows a typical Sarïq main border with pearl bands in the minor borders.

54 For an interpretation of the *kejebe* design, see the discussion of the Salor hangings cat. nos. 5 and 130 in the chapter "The Salor".

Fig. 32: Sarïq hanging, cat. no. 142, 120 x 142 cm, 17th or 18th century. The State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg, N.F. Burdukov collection, KOB-193. The complete secondary motifs at the sides (not halved, as is usual) lend the hanging a balance and generosity not seen among its comparison pieces. Only the Sarïq *khali*, cat. no. 48, shows comparably spacious gaps between the primary designs and the sides.

142

Sarïq hanging (fig. 32)

Among the Sarïq, the "Memling" *gül* field design is even rarer than the *kejebe* design. The example discussed here surpasses all the known comparison pieces in its aesthetic qualities, although the differences seem to be minor at first glance.

Design: The "Memling" *gül* as seen here is not seen in Central Asia before the accession to power of Turkic speaking nomad groups and the increasing prevalence of Islam since about the early 10th century. It might represent a design influence of the early Turks, perhaps even of Turkic origin.

The secondary motif, composed of interlaced squares is, on the other hand, a design which clearly pre-dates the 10th century. It can be seen as an integral part of the Turkmen *kejebe* design composition, where it appears on the horizontal axis between the rows of mirrored niche forms.[55]

Cat. no. 142 particularly differs from its comparison examples (Hoffmeister 1980: No. 50; Andrews et al. 1993: No. 111; Dodds/Eiland 1996: No. 215) in that the secondary motifs are not cut at the left and right side. This awards the composition with a considerably more prominent overall impact. Also interesting are the small *sainak* motifs evenly distributed allover the field, a rare phenomenon.[56]

Colours: The palette with its deep red ground colour and the high percentage of orange-red in the secondary motifs is typical for the Sarïq.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, the hanging dates from between 1650 and 1810. Its outstanding drawing and quality of materials allow the exclusion of the range in the second half of the 19th century.

55 See cat. no. 5, fig. 83, in the chapter "The Salor".

41

Sarïq *chuval* with 3 × 3 *chuval gül* field design

As far as aesthetics is concerned, this must be one of the finest examples of a Sarïq *chuval*. The extremely well balanced composition is hard to surpass. No other Sarïq *chuval* comes closer in its overall impression to the fine Salor *chuval*, cat. no. 13. One could possibly describe this as a "folk art" version of the Salor piece, on the same high aesthetic level. Unfortunately the impression is somewhat compromised by the state of preservation, particularly the absence of the lower *alem*.

Design: While the *chuval gül* can be traced back to a pre-Islamic tradition seen in rosette designs of Sogdian silks,[57] the *chemche gül* corresponds to a later development,[58] which only started around the 10th century with the increasing occurrence of interlaced designs in Islamic art. Both designs, the *chuval gül* and the *chemche gül*, are of exceptional, balanced quality here.

The border shows an interesting, more "folk art" style version of the Salor *kochanak* boder design. The minor border too could be read as a stylized, "folky", version of a "classic" pearl border. Unfortunately the lower *alem* is missing. The fragment cat. no. 42 suggests how beautiful the *alem* of cat. no. 41 might have been.

56 For a discussion of the *sainak* motif, see the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".
57 See the introduction to the Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül* in the chapter "The Salor".
58 For a discussion of the *chemche gül*, see the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

Dating: There is no doubt that we are dealing here with a pre-1800 Sarïq weaving, as reinforced by comparison with cat no. 42. The radiocarbon dating result can therefore be interpreted such that the earliest of the three suggested ranges is possible. The piece dates from around 1700; the 19th century can be excluded with confidence, while the 18th century only has a probability of 1.3%. Among the radiocarbon dated Sarïq pieces, we have other examples such as the excellent *ensi* cat. no. 37 with a comparable test result.

42

Sarïq *chuval* fragment with 4 × 4 *chuval gül*

Although this fragment is also of outstanding quality, it stands in the shadow of its older "relative", the *chuval* cat. no. 41.

Design: As a result of its 4 × 4 *chuval gül* field composition, the individual ornaments are more flattened than in cat. no. 41. Particularly beautiful in this example is the *alem*, decorated with the typical Sarïq flower motifs.[59]

Dating: A comparison with cat. no. 41 reveals the age difference. The ornaments are no longer of the same high standard in cat. no. 42, and the colour palette is somewhat darker. Nevertheless, cat. no. 42 might still have been woven in the 18th century.

43

Sarïq *chuval* with small *chuval gül*

This design variant is rare, and not just among the Sarïq. The origin of the composition with offset rows of small *chuval gül* without a secondary motif is unclear. An additional upper *alem* can also be seen occasionally in other Sarïq weavings. Though the borders are also typically Sarïq, they are also seen in Ersarï pieces.[60]

59 On the flower design of this *alem*, see the discussion of the Sarïq *ensi* cat. no. 37.
60 See Loges 1978: No. 85, an *ensi* with *naldag* boder, or the *ensi*, cat. no. 37 with a minor border composed of multi-coloured triangles.

44 & 45

Sarïq *chuval* with Salor gül

Whether the Sarïq used the Salor *gül* for their *chuval* before the 19th century is uncertain, I think even rather unlikely. Presumably this "classic" and important Salor design was only used by other Turkmen after the decline of the Salor in the early 19th century.[61] However, since the 19th century, and since it has been used by other Turkmen, the design has undergone significant modifications within a relatively short period of time (compared to its antiquity of presumably more than 1000 years). As will be shown in the Teke chapter, the Teke also used and modified it starting in the early 19th century, although with less modification than the Sarïq.

Design: The two *chuval* discussed here show variations, unknown in Salor weavings, from the original Salor design composition. The Salor always used only one specific composition: a row of three Salor *gül* on the horizontal axis with three cut Salor *gül* at bottom and top, and the *sagdaq gül* secondary motif (fig. 12 in the chapter "The Salor").

In cat. no. 44, only two instead of three Salor *gül* appear on the horizontal axis, and the secondary motif is a downscaled modified version of the Salor *gül*. The beautifully drawn *naldaq* main border with the narrow minor borders composed of multicoloured triangles rounds out the composition to a well balanced design with an unmistakable Sarïq character. In spite of the successfully executed transformation of a Salor into a Sarïq design, this is the only example with this composition known so far.

Cat. no. 45 shows an unconventional transformation of the ancient Salor design, again known only in this one example. Here, one could even get the impression of an endless repeat of Salor *gül* with inserted "fragments" of the *sagdaq gül*, the "classic" secondary motif of all Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*. Like cat. nos. 42 and 43, this *chuval* also shows an upper *alem*. With the *kochanak* design, the main border follows the Salor archetype, while the minor borders show the typical Sarïq triangles.

61 For a discussion of the Salor *gül*, see the introduction to the Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* in the chapter "The Salor".

Colours: The two pieces show considerable differences in colour palette. While cat. no. 44 has saturated colours, the palette of cat. no. 45 is much softer.

Dating: Based on the advanced degree of modification of the Salor design concept on the one hand, and the high quality of the colours on the other, one might assume that both pieces do not pre-date 1800, but also are no later than 1850.

46 & 47

Sarïq *khali* with *temirjin gül*

Some of the Turkmen weavings pre-dating 1650 show somewhat simpler design drawings than their 18th century successors.[62] An example of this is the early dated, 16th/17th century Sarïq *khali* cat. no. 46. Compared to its slightly newer relative, cat. no. 47, it appears somewhat more "rustic". Also its warmer colour palette differs from the more reserved, cooler palette of cat. no. 47.[63] Furthermore the size and the resulting number of *temirjin gül* in the field also differ; the older piece is smaller than the newer. There are various possible explanations for these differences. They could be due to historical factors, e.g. economic bad times, or they could just be a consequence of different places of production and/or different social environments (urban/rural).

Design: Both carpets show a field design with the *temirjin gül* primary motif, also known as *onurga gül*, combined with "Memling" *gül* secondary motifs. The design of the main border of both carpets is the "classic" main border design of all Salor *khali*.[64] Cat. no. 46 shows minor borders composed of multi-coloured triangles, typical for the Sarïq. Cat. no. 47 shows two different minor borders: one with a pearl band, and a second one with small squares containing white quincunx motifs (4 + 1).

62 Examples are the Salor *khali* cat. no. 16, the Teke *torba* cat. no. 56, the Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127, and the "Eagle" *gül* tent bands cat. nos. 110 and 156.
63 This is perhaps not discernable from the colour illustrations, since only a 30 year old Ektachrome was available for the early dated Sarïq *khali*, cat. no. 46
64 For a discussion on the design, see the section: "The Border Design of the Salor *Khali*" in the chapter "The Salor"

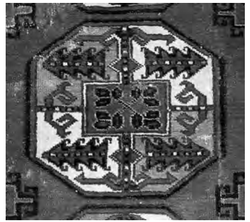


Fig. 33: The *temirjin gül* of the Sarïq. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 46, 16th or 17th century.

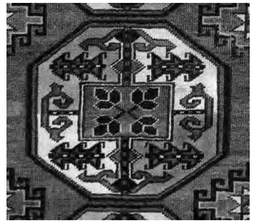


Fig. 34: The *temirjin gül* of the Sarïq. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 47, 17th or 18th century.

The *Temirjin Gül* Field Design (Figs. 28 and 29)

The *temirjin gül* of the two *khali* differ only in that the four "*onurga*" motifs of cat. no. 46 are composed of four interlocked elements (fig. 28), while cat. no. 47 has only three (fig. 29).

The *temirjin gül* is a characteristic Sarïq design, but is also seen quite frequently in Ersarï *khali*.[65] However, among the Ersarï it has been modified over time, and is seen in many variants up to strongly simplified versions, which has never been the case with the Sarïq.

The Possible Etymology of the Name "*Temirjin*"

Valentina Moshkova translates the Turkmen name t*emirjin gül* literally as "iron pattern".[66] She also mentions the name *onurga gül* as a variant, which she translates as "vertebrae pattern", referring to the three, or sometimes four, design components resembling vertebrae (fig. 35).[67] *Onurga* most likely is a modern Turkmen name, based on the design's

65 For examples, see Reuben 1998: Nos. 23 and 24; Pinner/Eiland 1999: No. 58; Reuben 2001: No. 12.
66 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 336.
67 Siawosch Azadi even combined these two names to "iron vertebrae", concluding that this is probably the correct name (in: Andrews et al. 1993: 156).

Fig. 35: Pinecone on a carved stone slab, decoration of the throne hall of the royal palace of Nineveh, 8th century B.C. Detail from fig. 36.

Fig. 36: Winged pinecone on a Sasanian stucco plate, 6th century A.D. Repr. from Kröger 1882: 124, fig. 67.

Fig. 37: Pinecone on a Samanid painted earthenware bowl, Bukhara or Samarkand, 10th century A.D. Detail from fig. 37. Repr. from Pancaroglu 2007: 70, no. 28.

Fig. 38: Pinecone on a silk and gold lampas weave, 13th or 14th century A.D. Persia or Central Asia. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Ekhtiar et al. 2011: 135.

Fig. 39: Pinecone on a carved wooden architectural panel from Morocco, 14th century A.D. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Welch 1987: 56-57.

Fig. 40: Pinecone on a Sarïq khali (cat. no. 47). Detail from fig. 29.

similarities to a backbone. The name *temirjin*, however, might in fact be of real age, presumably going back to the 14th century and Timur, probably even to the early 13th century and Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan's name was Temüjin, which has been translated as "blacksmith".[68] Based on the ability to forge iron, magical powers have been assigned to blacksmiths. For the Mongols, among others, iron had an apotropaic character. This power has also been associated with iron by many other peoples. The names of Genghis Khan (*Temüjin*) and Timur (*Temür*), in both Tartaric and Turkic languages, are derived from the root of the word for "iron". This is with all likelihood also the case with the Turkmen name *temirjin*. However, *temirjin gül* might not simply mean "iron pattern", it might rather refer to the name of Timur, or even of Genghis Khan, and therefore to a Timurid or Mongolian design. That the Turkmen named designs for peoples with whom they associated is witnessed by the name *sagdaq gül*, "Sogdian design", which goes back to an even earlier age in history of the same region.[69]

68 http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dschingis_Khan
69 See the discussion on cat. nos. 11 and 12 in the chapter "The Salor".

Furthermore, we have seen that the Teke *gül*, the *chemche gül*, and the *darvaza gül* all manifest Timurid influence, or can even be directly traced back to Timurid carpet designs.[70] The *temirjin gül* would just be another design, or a name for a design, which has been adopted by the Turkmen from the Timurids, or which was at least inspired by them, although the design's roots likely go back much farther. Beyond just the name, there are other clues pointing to the 14th century and beyond .

Backbone (*Onurga*) or Pinecone?

The components of the *temirjin gül* called *onurga* (fig. 40) actually represent pinecones rather than backbones. Since the Assyrians, the pinecone has been a symbol of protection (figs. 35–39).[71] It is seen on their

70 On the origin of the Teke *gül*, see the discussion on the *gülli gül* in the chapter "The Salor" and the chapter "The Teke". For a discussion of the *chemche gül*, see the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".
71 John Malcolm Russell convincingly attests to the cone shaped elements in the neo-Assyrian palace reliefs being pinecones with an apotropaic function (Russell 1998: 692), rather than male blossoms of date palms in context of fertility rites, as suggested by other archaeologists (e.g. Murray Eiland III, in Eiland 1993).

Fig. 41: Pinecones and lotus flowers on a carved stone slab, decoration of the throne hall of the royal palace of Nineveh, 8th century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image by the author.

Fig. 42: Pinecones and calyxes on a Sasanian stucco plate from the royal palace of Bishapur. Repr. from Krõger 1982: Plate 91, no. 5.

Fig. 43: Pinecones and calyxes on a Samanid painted earthenware bowl from Bukhara or Samarkand, 10th century. Repr. from Pancaroglu 2007: 70, no. 28.

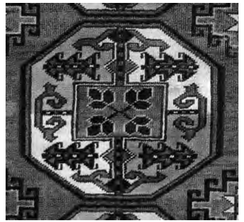


Fig. 44: The *temirjin gül* of the Sarïq. Detail from *khali*, cat. no. 47, 17th or 18th century. The *temirjin gül* with four pinecones most likely can be traced back to an ancient tradition at least from the neo-Assyrian period.

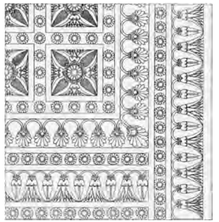


Fig. 45: Neo-Assyrian alabaster slab with carpet design (threshold to the throne hall), palace of Sennacherib, Nineveh, early 7th century B.C. (detail). British Museum, London. Repr. from Tilia 1978: Fig. 5a. (For a photo of the slab, see Dimand/Mailey 1973: 5, fig. 7).

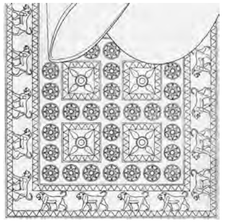


Fig. 46: Drawing of the Achaemenid design on the throne-cover from the audience scene on the western jamb, western doorway of the throne hall, Persepolis, 6th century B.C. The throne-cover hangs sideways visible from the throne seat. Repr. from Tilia 1978: Fig. 3.

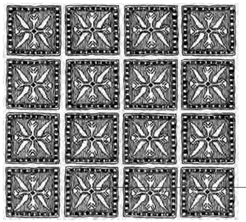


Fig. 47: Detail from the "Pazyryk carpet", Kurgan V, Pazyryk necropolis, ca. 183 x 200 cm, 4th or 3rd century B.C. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (For a complete image, see fig. 7 in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate"). Repr. from Jettmar 1964: Fig. 103.

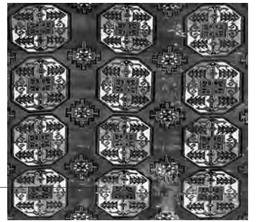


Fig. 48: The *temirjin gül* of the Sarïq. Detail from *khali*, cat. no. 46, 16th or 17th century. The *temirjin gül* with its four pinecones might go back to an Assyrian archetype, finding its way to Central Asia by the 4th or 3rd century B.C. via Achaemenid Persia (cf. figs. 45 – 47).

palace's thresholds carved in stone (figs. 35 and 41), expressing clearly its apotropaic function. Thresholds, particularly those of royal audience and throne rooms, were unequivocally considered "danger" zones, requiring high levels of protection.

With all likelihood, the pinecone had the same function among the Persian Achaemenids, who, along with many other things, adopted this powerful symbol via the Babylonians from the Assyrians. Thus, Achaemenid textiles related to throne representations show designs with pinecones (fig. 46). However, the borders of these royal textiles don't show lotus buds and lotus flowers, as seen in comparable border designs of royal Assyrian textiles (cf. fig. 45), rather, following the Neo-Babylonian style, striding lions (cf. fig. 46).

The Pazyryk carpet, which, according to David Stronach, corresponds with Achaemenid throne carpets except for small details (striding deer instead of lions, and griffins instead of rosettes),[72] also shows a field design with four pinecones and lotus flowers in compartments (fig. 47), as do the Achaemenid throne covers (fig. 46) and the Neo-Assyrian threshold carpets (figs. 41 and 45).

The pinecone designs of the Sasanians might be seen as a continuation of this tradition. There too, the design is seen in a royal context, not only as medallions (fig. 42), but also in the form of single pinecones over a pair of wings (fig. 36).

After the Sasanians, the symbol continued to be used in the early Islamic period. Pinecones decorate the filigree facade of the royal palace of Mshatta in the Syrian desert, and somewhat later we find them as a decoration of Samanid ceramic bowls from Samarkand (figs. 37 and 43). Fig. 38 is an example from the time of Mongol dominion, the Ilkhanid period of Iran.

In the Maghreb, pinecones are seen up to the 14th century in ivory or wood carvings (fig. 39). These latest examples no longer show a medallion form, and the pinecone may have become a purely decorative device.

72 Stronach 1993.

In conclusion, the Turkmen *temirjin gül* with its four pinecones is a stately medallion design, which, in the form familiar to us, has barely been modified since the 14th century. This is indicated, among other things, by its name: *temirjin gül*, "Timurid design", maybe even "Timur's design". It is very likely that related pinecone medallions were used in Central Asia much earlier. This is indicated by the 10th century Samanid painted earthenware bowl from Samarkand in fig. 37.

It is very likely that the Turkmen *temirjin gül* refers to a great and majestic past. Even though the 7th century neo-Assyrian archetypes were based on a square format and resulting compartment designs, rather than an octagonal medallion composition as did the final Turkmen link in the chain, the relation is still clear. The medallion composed of four pinecones found its way from Mesopotamia (fig. 45) via Achaemenid Persia (fig. 46) to Central Asia, where, in the 4th or 3rd century B.C. Pazyryk carpet, it found its earliest manifestation (fig. 47). A version of the pinecone design then survived up to the 19th century A.D., known among the Turkmen as *temirjin gül*, "Timur's design" (fig. 48).

The *dongus burun* hook forms

The hook forms on the vertical and horizontal axis have been described by the Turkmen weavers as *dongus burun*, literally "pig's snout". These could be the remnants of a motif of ancient Iranian mythology, the wild boar, as described in detail in the chapter "*Dongus burun*".

The *gujuk isi* design

Another interesting design detail is the four crossed cloverleaf-like forms called *gujuk isi* in the centre of the *temirjin gül*. As already stated in the discussion of the Sarïq *ensi* cat. no. 37, Valentina Moshkova translates the design name as "trace of a puppy". Furthermore, she suggests a possibly revealing significance for this design, referring to the perception of the dog as a sacred animal among the Turkmen.[73] The dog was considered a sacred animal in the burial rituals of Zorostrianism, going back many centuries.[74] However, any relationship between

73 Moshkova 1946 (1980): 18. See also the discussion of the Sarïq *ensi* cat. nos. 37 and 140.

74 See Stausberg 2005: 49, 71, 75, 115, and 118.

that fact and this design, which has also remained essentially unmodified for centuries, has no clear basis.

The "Memling" *gül* secondary motif
On the possible origin of the "Memling" *gül*, see the discussion of cat. no. 142. The design was apparently popular among the Sarïq, finding a wider distribution there than among other Turkmen groups.

Structure: As in many other Sarïq weavings, offset knotting has frequently been used in both these pieces (cat. nos. 46 and 47), although only in plain areas.[75] For the design, only normal knotting has been applied.

Colour: Cat. no. 46, with its warm and lively red ground colour, shows a considerably warmer palette than its relative, cat. no. 47, with its rather cool brownish to purplish reds. Otherwise, the colours and number of colours are very similar.

Dating: Cat. no. 46 ranks among the few Turkmen weavings which, according to radiocarbon testing, date from the 16th or at least the first half of the 17th century. Cat. no. 47, on the other hand, might date from a somewhat later period, namely the second half of the 17th or the first half of the 18th century.

48

Sarïq *khali* with Sarïq *gülli gül* field design

Only five Sarïq *khali* with the Sarïq *gülli gül* design are known, including cat. no. 48. Three of them are fragments.[76] An additional five Sarïq *khali* show the *gülli gül* of the Salor, although with slightly modified details in the *gül* centre.[77]

Design: This Sarïq *khali*, with its 3×9 *gülli gül*, "satellite" *gül* secondary, and *gujuk isi* tertiary motifs,[78] shows an extremely well-balanced field composition. The pronounced gaps between the edges and the *gülli gül* create a majestic presence, as also seen in the smaller Sarïq hanging cat. no. 142 (fig. 27). The large Sarïq *khali* fragment published by Hans Elmby in 1990 also shows this well-balanced principle of composition. It is surprising that this particularly effective style of composition has not been applied more often among the Turkmen, although its artistic quality is obvious. The slender Salor main border sets an ideal frame to the perfectly balanced field design, increasing the quality of the overall composition.

Structure: With its 2560 knots per dm^2, the piece shows a relatively high knot density for a Sarïq *khali*.

Dating: The great age of this carpet is an additional point of interest. According to radiocarbon dating, it with all likelihood was woven in the 17th century. Its radiocarbon age is comparable to that obtained from the Yomut *khali* with *chuval gül* field design and flower *alem*, cat. no. 101. As shown in the discussion of that *khali*, a 17th century date is highly probable.[79]

49

Sarïq *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

The group of published Sarïq *khali* with *chuval gül* field design is considerably larger than that with the *gülli gül*. Including cat. no. 49, there are 24 examples in all, of which three are fragments.

Design: Only three of the 21 complete pieces, including cat. no. 49, show the Salor main border as a border design. All others have the Sarïq-typical *naldaq* border. Apart from that, these Sariq *khali* vary mainly in the number of designs in the field: four, five, or six vertical rows with a varying number of *chuval gül*. The secondary motif is always another, smaller *chuval gül*.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating the carpet was woven either in the 17th or the 18th century.

75 See structure analysis of cat. nos. 46 and 47 in Vol. 1.
76 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 48 in Vol. 1.
77 Cf. figs. 200 and 202 in the chapter "The Salor".
78 For a discussion of the *gujuk isi* design, see cat. no. 46 in this chapter.
79 See the discussion of cat. no. 101, fig. 14 in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".

The Teke

Balkhan Mountains, Akhal Oasis, Merv and Tejen Oases
(See map in the chapter "The Sarïq")
Cat. nos. 50–74; 143–151

Introduction

According to Wolfgang König, the Teke are not mentioned in historical sources before the 16th century,[1] at which point there are references to two groups: the Hotamish and the Tokhtamish. Several sources mention their affinity to the Yomut,[2] at least before the 18th century, but also their alleged Salor origin.[3] This relationship pertains to the time when the Teke still inhabited the area of the Balkhan Mountains. According to William Wood,[4] even before the 18th century, they maintained good relationships with the Yemreli and the Qaradashlï in the Akhal Oasis, with whom they traded agricultural products for livestock. During the 18th century, the Teke expanded into the Akhal Oasis and finally expelled the local Yemreli, Qaradashlï, and Ali-Eli. In the course of the 19th century, the Teke and the Yomut were the largest and most powerful Turkmen groups in Southwest Turkmenistan. In the 1st half of the 19th century, the Teke advanced as far east as the Tejen and Merv oases, but in the 1880's, they were defeated by the Russians and forced to become settled. From then on, they produced not only carpets on a large scale for the Russian market, but also cotton.

Teke weavings

Teke weavings are characterized by their structure, colour palette, and design. Warps and wefts are generally of wool, the warps ivory, the wefts ivory and/or light brown. The knotting is asymmetric open right, usually on non-depressed warps. The weave density can vary widely, even within the same type of weaving (*chuval*, *torba* etc.). Later pieces are generally woven with a higher knot density, though early weavings can sometimes show a surprisingly high knot count (e.g. cat. no. 55). From six to eight colours is typical; older pieces generally show fewer colours. Cotton appears only infrequently and in small amounts. The same is true for silk, which is more often seen in later pieces. The fringes at the lower edge of *torba* are always multi-coloured (blue, red, orange, and green). The designs are generally typical for the Teke; even designs adopted from other Turkmen groups are executed in a clearly Teke style. A good example is the adoption and development of the Salor *gül* in the course of the 19th century. Typical Teke border designs are not woven by other Turkmen, or at least not the same way. An example is the *khaikelbagy* design. This design was used extensively by the Teke, particularly in the 19th century (cat. no. 61, fig. 68).

1 König 1962: 13.
2 Wood 1990: 30.
3 König 1962: 11.
4 Wood 1990: 30.

The ensi field design with a central niche and registers with gush motifs (throne bearers)

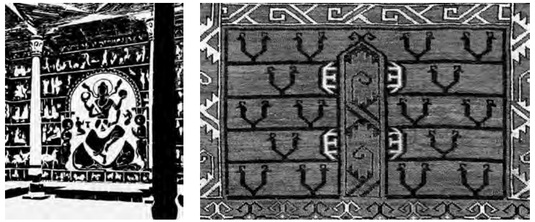


Fig. 1: Reception hall of a house of a Sogdian merchant in Pendjikent, 8th century A.D.
All four walls are decorated with murals showing narrative religious, heroic, and everyday scenes in registers. The wall opposite the entrance shows in addition a large niche with a four-armed Goddess, enthroned on an animal. Repr. from Azarpay 1981: Fig. 3.

Fig. 2: Detail from the Teke *ensi* cat. no. 50. As in the Sogdian model (fig. 1), the niche with a floral tendril (instead of the Goddess) is laid over registers containing gush motifs (throne bearers) instead of narrative scenes.

Ensi borders with a curled leaf meander

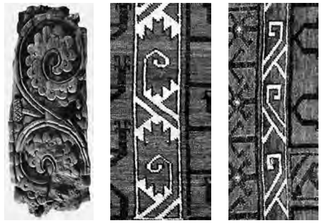


Fig. 3: Meander with curled leaves, architectural fragment, carved wood, Sogdian, Pendjikent, 7th or 8th century A.D. Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: 48, fig. 56.

Fig. 4: The detail of the 17th/18th century *ensi* border from cat. no. 50 shows a stylized form of the Sogdian meander with curled leaves in fig. 3.

Fig. 5: This detail of cat. no. 50 shows a further stylisation of the meander with curled leaves seen in fig. 4.

The *ensi* border with a stylized tree

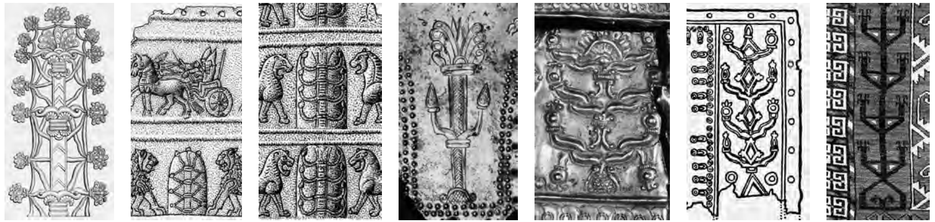


Fig. 6: The Assyrian sacred tree, 9th century B.C. Repr. from Riegel 1923: 99, Fig. 39.

Fig. 7: Fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, 7th century B.C. The stylized tree clearly shows its Assyrian origin. Repr. from Kellner 1991: Plate 34, no. 121.

Fig. 8: Fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, 7th century B.C. The stylized tree shows a transitional form between fig. 7 and fig. 9. Repr. from Kellner 1991: Plate 2, no. 10.

Fig. 9: Stylized tree on a horse frontlet. Scythian princely burial, Ziwiye, Iran, 7th century B.C. Repr. from Cat. Munich/Hamburg 2007: 234, no. 7.

Fig. 10: Stylized tree, fragment from a golden belt. Scythian princely burial, Ziwiye, Iran, 7th century B.C. Repr. from Cat. Munich/Hamburg 2007: 231, no. 4.

Fig. 11: Stylized tree on a fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, 7th century B.C. (for a complete image, see the chapter "Streams of Paradise"). Repr. from Azarpay 1968: 51, fig. 13.

Fig. 12: Stylized tree on a Teke *ensi*, 17th/18th century. Border detail of cat. no. 50.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Teke produced a large number of all kinds of weavings for the Russian international markets. These late products are characterised by a fully packed design composition and a high weave density.

In this study, we have been able to establish datings to the 16th/17th centuries for a small number of Teke weavings (cat. nos. 51, 56, 71, 73). For some additional pieces, a dating to the 17th or 18th century is within the realms of possibility.

50

Teke *ensi* [5]

Among Turkmen *ensi*, cat. no. 50 can be considered a real "classic". This exceptional piece belongs to a small group of Teke *ensi* with the "candelabra" border. Only 12 examples (incl. cat. no. 50) with this particular type of border are published.[6] Beyond question, this *ensi* is the most beautiful, and likely also the oldest of this small group. Its harmonious composition and precise drawing are outstanding. It is also consistent with our new understanding of the *ensi* design. Its design is composed of only the essential archaic *ensi* design elements. Finally, the fact that Teke *ensi* represent proportionally the largest number of all Turkmen *ensi* could suggest that the Teke *ensi* is actually the archetypal Turkmen *ensi*.

Design: The drawing of the field is of unsurpassed clarity. In their reduced simplicity, the spaciously arranged *gush* motifs (fig. 2) correspond perfectly to the new interpretation of the design as a stylized form of the Ancient Near Eastern motif of a throne bearer.[7] As discussed in chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*", the composition of a central niche flanked by multiple registers might be related to Sogdian models (cf. fig. 1). These Sogdian (Central Asian) models don't show throne bearers in the registers, rather narrative religious, mythological, and epic scenes, and the central niche shows not a ruler or a king, as in the Persian examples, but a deity, presumably related to Buddhist perceptions. These variations between the Mesopotamian and Persian traditions are standard for Central Asia. In the Islamic period, enthroned rulers are represented in the niches (*iwan*).[8] In this Teke *ensi* design, the form of Ancient Near Eastern throne bearers (fig. 2) has been preserved, as has the Ancient Near Eastern stylized tree in the main border (Figs. 6–12). This main border, characteristic of this small group, is not seen in other Turkmen weavings. The striking resemblance of this border design to the Assyrian and Urartian tree designs in fig. 8 – 11 is notable. Even the small elevation (*omphalos*), on which these Ancient Near Eastern trees stand (fig. 9 – 11), is present in the Turkmen *ensi* design (fig. 12), though in the stylized form typically seen in Turkmen piled weavings. Once again, elements of Ancient Near Eastern iconography seem plausible sources for this archaic border design. The same is true of the *ak su* design,[9] as well as other important components of the *ensi* design, such as the throne bearers and the *sainak* motif. All these designs might have come from Mesopotamia via Iran to Central Asia, forming the design tradition of the Greater Iranian World (Persia and Western Central Asia).

The meander with curled leaves in the vertical borders of this *ensi* (fig. 4) represents another late echo of this ancient design tradition (fig. 3). The triangles beside the curled leaves in the *ensi* border might represent abstracted remains of the bunches of grapes of the original vine (cf. fig. 3. The Sogdian example also shows remains of a bunch of grapes at the left edge of the image). Even greater abstraction is seen

5 For more information, see also the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

6 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 50.

7 On the Ancient Near Eastern throne bearer motif see the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*". See also figs. 27–30 in the discussion on the Salor *ensi* cat. nos. 1 and 2 in the chapter "The Salor".

8 As seen in fig. 94 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

9 See the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

Fig. 13: Lower left corner of a Teke *ensi* with the two *alem* and the *sainak* border (on the left hand side). The stylized flower tree is a typical *alem* design, which is also frequently seen in Yomut weavings.

Fig. 14: Right half of a late 19th century Teke *germech*. The design corresponds in detail to the two *alem* of the Teke *ensi*, including the characteristic *ensi sainak* border.

Fig. 15: Painted pottery, Altin Tepe, Turkmenistan, Namazga IV, 2700 – 2500 B.C. Repr. from Masson/Sarianidi 1972, plate 32.

Fig. 16: Painted pottery, Ulug Tepe, Turkmenistan, Namazga IV, 2700 – 2500 B.C. Repr. from Sarianidi 1986: 101, plate 18.

in the narrow horizontal borders above and below the central panel of the field (fig. 5).

Colour: With its reduced palette of only six colours, the *ensi* shows the classic colour combination of early Teke weavings, although the slightly pale red is seen only in a few other Teke pieces.

Dating: Although no radiocarbon testing has been performed, the *ensi* can reasonably be dated to at least the early 19th century, with all likelihood even to the 18th century. Such an estimate is largely based on the excellent quality of the drawing, reinforced by the high quality of the wool and the resultant bright colours.

51

Teke *germech*

Germech is a Turkmen word, and according to Valentina Moshkova translates as "small rug lay across the threshold".[10] According to Peter Andrews, *germech* literally means "barrier".[11] Moshkova says that the small pile weavings were laid across the threshold of the yurt,[12] while according to Peter Andrews they were hung over the threshold.[13] Whether pile woven *germech* really were hung over the threshold to keep out dust and small animals, as described by Peter Andrews, is rather questionable, at least piled examples like cat. no. 51. Textiles for daily use in a nomadic environment were more likely to be flat weaves or felt. Pieces like cat. no. 51, which even has silk in the pile, would

10 Moshkova 1946 (1980): 17.
11 Andrews et al. 1993: 13, *Germech* – Threshold rug, literally "barrier". But for threshold, Andrews also mentions the Turkish word *éshik*, or *ishik* (see Andrews 1999: 210, 452, 455). *Eshik* is also often translated with "door", as for example in the case of the Kirgis door rugs, called *eshik tysh* (for an example see fig. 5 in the chapter "The Turkmen *Ensi*").
12 Cf. footnote 10.
13 See Andrews 1980: 56; 1993: 13.

Fig. 17: Painted pottery, Kara Tepe, Turkmenistan, ca. 3000 B.C.. Repr. from Belenickij 1968: Plate 13.

Fig. 18: Painted pottery, Ulug Tepe, Turkmenistan, Namazga IV, 2700 – 2500 B.C. Repr. from Masson/Sarianidi 1972: Plate 33.

Figs. 19 and 20: Silver cup, Central Asia, end of 3rd/beginning of 2nd millenium B.C., height 12.4 cm. The crenellated decoration shows stepped rhombuses in three registers. Such patterns might have been transferred from basketry or textiles to ceramics (fig. 18 and 19) and metal objects. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: 360, no. 253.

Fig. 21: stylized flower tree on the 16th/17th century Teke *germech* cat. no. 51. This design is a typical *alem* pattern of *khali*, *chuval*, and *ensi* of Teke and Yomut weavings.

probably have been too precious for daily use. Perhaps they rather had a ritual and protective, and, together with the *ensi*, perhaps even a representative function. This seems to be confirmed by the great age of cat. no. 51, and also by the name, *germech*, which literally translates as "barrier". This little "jewel" was more likely an object of prestige with an apotropaic function, used only for special occasions. I shall come back to this later.

The search for evidence of the use of pile woven *germech* turned out to be even more fruitless than was the case with the *ensi*.[14] While there are at least three examples[15] showing a pile woven *ensi* in use as a door curtain, such evidence is completely missing in the case of the *germech* as a threshold rug or a "barrier for small animals". Furthermore, *germech* are considerably rarer than *ensi*. Few examples are published in literature,[16] and the great majority of these published examples are Teke pieces. Sixteen of the published *germech* are from the Teke, and only two from the Arabachi. [17] Moreover, eleven of these sixteen Teke pieces, including cat. no. 51, show a very similar design with very little variation, which is another unexplained anomaly. However, a number of Ersarï *germech* are known from internet retailing, and Peter Andrews mentions some additional examples of the Sarïq and the Chowdur, but also confirms that the number of known *ensi* far exceeds the number of *germech*.[18]

Design: The design of the Teke *germech* (fig. 14) is virtually identical to the lower two *alem* of the design of corresponding Teke *ensi* (fig. 13). At least among the Teke, *ensi* and *germech* were originally used as an ensemble.[19] The stylized "floral" design (fig. 14 and 21) might go back to designs from the 3rd millennium B.C. Namazga ceramics and metal vessels of Central Asia (modern Turkmenistan) (figs. 15–20). It

14 See the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".
15 There are indeed five images, but two pairs show the same *ensi* (see figs. 11–15 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*").
16 However, this can also be because small objects like *germech* often found little consideration in many publications.
17 See comparison pieces to the Teke *germech* cat. no. 51.
18 Andrews et al. 1993: 13.
19 Whether this was also the case with the Ersarï and the Arabachi is no longer provable, but might very well be.

Figs. 22 and 23: Audience scene with King Tiglatpileser III. Detail from a wall painting in room 24 of the Neo-Assyrian palace in Til Barsip, 8th century B.C. A smaller textile with a chequered design covers the seat of the throne, while a second, larger textile with the same design is hung over the high back of the throne. The narrow throne podium might have been covered with a carpet, most likely decorated with a comparable compartment design which might have been like the decoration of the threshold slabs of the throne room of the 7th century palaces of Khorsabad and Nineveh (figs. 24 and 25).

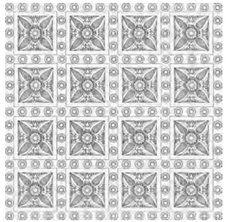


Fig. 24: Drawing of the design from a threshold pavement slab from a doorway to the throne hall in the palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh, Neo-Assyrian, 7th century B.C.. The design may have played a similar role to those depicted on royal garments and throne covers, as symbolically protective and representative of the king's power.

Fig. 25: Detail from a threshold pavement slab, Neo-Assyrian, 7th century B.C., probably from Nineveh, Gypsum alabaster. The Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, inv. no. X.153. Image by the author.

is made up of two components: a lower part, resembling a "fir" below a "blossom" in the form of a stepped rhombus (fig. 21). This is a typical *alem* design, seen in many *khali* and *chuval* of the Teke and the Yomut. The lower part of the design shows columns of closely arranged offset eight-petalled rosettes on a brown ground. A *sainak* border frames the two designs. The *sainak* design, which can also be traced back over several millennia,[20] is used as a border only and almost without exception on *ensi* and *germech*. The unusual conformity of the designs of the *alem* of the *ensi* and the *germech* leads to the conclusion that these objects should be seen in close context, that they originally formed a unit and were used as an ensemble. The use of only archaic designs could in addition point to an ancient tradition, to a relationship between these two objects over a long period of time. Weavings of different format with virtually the same design are not otherwise seen among the Turkmen.[21] Carpet ensembles (of different sizes) are otherwise only known from urban Persia,[22] although there presumably used in a different context.

I have mentioned in the *ensi* chapter that the pairing of *ensi* and *germech* can be compared to the pairing of footstool and throne among the Assyrians and the Achaemenids (cf. figs. 22 and 27). To the extent that the *ensi* is understood as representing sovereignty, the *germech* would too.

There are interesting parallels regarding the use of ensembles of textiles of different size, but the same design, in the field of Ancient

20 Cf. figs. 53–84 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

21 *Chuval* and *asmalyk* are pairs of identical objects whose production in identical pairs is explained by their paired use as animal transport bags (*chuval*) or decorative animal hangings (*asmalyk*).

22 Hubel 1972: 338. *Kellei* (also *ghali*), *Keleyghi* and *Kenareh* are different carpet formats, forming a unit when laid out together. I thank Gerd Näf from Basel for pointing to this.

Fig. 26: The so-called Arjan bowl (detail), found in a tomb of an Elamite ruler, Arjan, southern Iran, 7th or 6th century B.C. (for a complete image see fig. 110 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*"). In five concentric registers, several scenes representing the duties of a king are shown, all corresponding to Assyrian royal representations. The outermost register of the bowl shows a royal hunt and a subsequent royal banquet (see detail). The banquet scene with the enthroned king is shown in front of a royal yurt with a baldachin-like textile (*ensi*?) over the door supported by two poles. Repr. from Majizadeh 1992: Fig. 1.

Fig. 27: Achaemenid audience scene with the enthroned Darius I. End of 6th or beginning of 5th century B.C. The throne seat was covered with a textile as seen in fig. 28, while the low throne podium might have been covered with a carpet. According to David Stronach, such Achaemenid throne carpets might have served as models for the Pazyryk carpet (see figs. 45–47 in the chapter "The Sariq"). The deer and griffons in the Pazyryk carpet more closely correspond to an Eastern Iranian (Scythian) iconography, while the corresponding striding lions and rosettes in the Achaemenid iconography can be traced back to Assyrian and Babylonian models. They are seen in both the throne cover and the baldachin covering the whole scenery (as well as in the King's robe, not visible on the image) . Repr. from Tilia 1972, fig. 3.

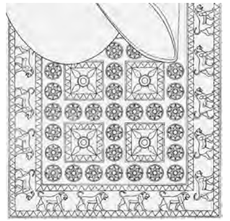


Fig. 28: Drawing of the design on the Achaemenid throne cover from the audience scene on the western jamb, western doorway of the throne hall, Persepolis, 6th century B.C. The throne cover hangs down over the side of the throne seat (cf fig. 27). Repr. from Tilia 1978: Fig. 3.

Near Eastern throne representations. Both the Assyrians[23] and the Achaemenids[24] used different types of textiles with matching designs as regalia of royalty.

8th century B.C. Assyrian murals from the palace of Til Barsip show throne scenes with textiles of different sizes, but the same chequered pattern (figs. 22 and 23). A smaller textile covers the seat of the throne, while a larger one is hung over the high backrest. Conceivably a carpet with a chequered pattern could have covered the low podium below the throne. Such a throne carpet could even have had a design like the stone slabs decorating the thresholds of the gates to the throne rooms of the palaces of Khorsabad and Nineveh (figs. 24 and 25).

This can be assumed based on comparison with later examples in royal Achaemenid audience scenes. The throne cover and the baldachin show the same iconography (cf. figs. 27 and 28). The king sits on a throne cover with a compartment design with pinecone medallions and rosettes, and striding lions in the border. Above him is a baldachin with the same type of striding lions, while below the throne most likely was a carpet with the same compartment design and striding lions in the border as seen in the throne cover. According to David Stronach, such a carpet could have been in many respects closely comparable the Pazyryk carpet.[25]

But let us come back to the *ensi* and the *germech* of the Turkmen. What has this set got to do with Assyrian and Achaemenid throne textiles? It can probably best be understood against the background of the setting of the enthroned ruler in front of the entrance of a yurt on the Arjan bowl (detail fig. 26). This representation dates from between the Assyrian and the Achaemenid examples in figs. 22 and 27. As discussed

23 Stronach 2002.

24 Stronach 1993.

25 Stronach 1993.

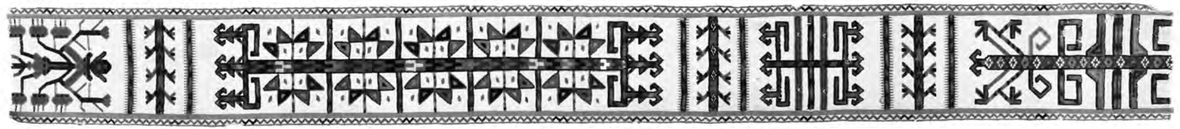


Fig. 29: Cat. no. 53, Teke *aq yüp*, 2 fragments:
(1) 24 x 236 cm, (2) 24 x 266 cm, 17th or 18th century

in the *ensi* chapter, this representation might convey an idea of how an *ensi* could have been used in the first millennium B.C. hung down in front of the door as a status symbol of the Khan (the ruler), or lifted like a canopy, as seen on the Arjan bowl.

Just as the *ensi* was used from very early times as a door curtain of a ruler's yurt as a status symbol, it appears likely that the *germech* too, in combination with the *ensi,* was used for decoration and/or protection of the threshold. As we have seen, the decoration of threshold and throne textiles already appears to have been coordinated among the Assyrians. These Assyrian threshold decorations had an apotropaic function. Their design was understood to protect both the throne hall and the ruler from demons and other negative influences. The threshold was a place of outstanding importance to the Assyrians, and was emphasized and provided with protective symbols. The same apotropaic symbolism may apply to the decoration of their throne textiles.

Did thresholds have a comparable meaning among nomadic people? Did the Turkmen *germech* not only emphasize the importance of the threshold, but also protect it from all conceivable negative influences? Peter Andrews refers to the importance ascribed to the threshold by the Mongols. The threshold of Genghis Khan's yurt was gold plated, doubtless a sign of rank.[26]

Andrews quotes the Franciscan Johannes von Plano Carpini (1185 – 1252), who became famous through his travel to Mongolia and his audience with Güyük Khan, a grandson of Genghis Khan. Carpini states that anyone who steps upon the threshold of the dwelling belonging to any leader is put to death.[27] However, the concept of the threshold as a sensitive place of transition was not unique to the Mongols. In many cultures around the globe, including the Ancient Near East, the threshold had a comparable symbolic significance.[28]

It is therefore reasonable to understand the *germech* not only as an adornment of this critical zone of transition, but also as an object with a protective function. The use of the *sainak* motif in the border supports such an idea. So the *germech* could well have been used in combination with the *ensi* for special occasions (receptions, banquets etc.), not as a barrier for dust and small animals, but as an object of prestige with an additional protective function. Hung down to cover the entrance to the yurt, the *alem* design of the *ensi* protects the threshold. With the *ensi* lifted like a baldachin, the *germech* takes over this function. This would at least be a plausible explanation for the corresponding designs. That the design of Teke *germech* is always composed of rosettes and stylised flowers (figs. 14 and 21) might also not be merely coincidental. All Assyrian thresholds are also composed of rosettes and blossoms (figs. 24 and 25), although in a different form.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, this *germech* was woven between 1490 and 1660. It is one of the few Turkmen weavings with a radiocarbon testing result pre-dating 1650.[29]

26 Andrews 1999: 560.

27 Andrews 1999: 475.
28 Cooper 1978: 171.
29 For a discussion on this topic see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".

52

Teke *kapunuk*[30]

The meander with curled leaves is the standard design for the *kapunuk* of the Teke, as it is for the Salor. Teke *kapunuk* are closely related to those of the Salor. However, the number of Teke *kapunuk* far exceeds that of the Salor, and they are not as homogeneous a group. As seen from the list of comparable pieces, Teke *kapunuk* fall into two groups. These groups differ most notably in the composition of the curled leaf meander; one is more packed, e.g. cat. no. 52, the other more open, more like the *kapunuk* of the Salor.

Cat. no. 52 shows a well balanced design and colour palette. The only shortcoming of this outstanding piece is the missing left side vertical panel.

Colour: This *kapunuk* is an exception among Turkmen weavings (other than those of the Salor) in the use of lac dye on wool. It shows the insect dyestuff used systematically and in a considerable amount along the middle axis of the horizontal panel. When found in Turkmen weavings other than Salor, lac dye is used only here and there in small amounts as highlights, not systematically.

30 For a general discussion of the Turkmen *kapunuk*, see cat. no. 3 in the chapter "The Salor".

53

Teke *aq yüp*

This two-part tent band fragment attributed to the Teke is of the highest quality both in its unusual colourfulness and its excellent drawing. A Teke attribution has admittedly to be taken with reservations. A third fragment of this same band, attributed to the Sarïq, was sold at Rippon Boswell.[31] That fragment connects directly to the truncated pomegranate tree at the left side of the left fragment in fig. 29 (cat. no. 53). The colour palette of these three fragments differs so greatly from a typical Sarïq colour palette that a Teke attribution has been favoured here.

Based on the Rippon Boswell fragment fitting directly to the left end of our first fragment, the truncated ornament on the right hand side of the left fragment (fig. 29) presumably shows the original centre of the band, from which matching ornaments have been repeated in mirror image in both directions.

Design: Tent band designs are generally difficult to interpret. Their possible background and meaning can be revealed and construed only in exceptional cases. The "compound-palmette-tree" design of the Salor *aq yüp* (cat. no. 4) is one of them. This Teke *aq yüp* (cat. no. 53, fig. 29) is another such exception. As with the Salor "compound-palmette-

31 Rippon Boswell 20, 1984: Lot 73.

Fig. 30: Stylized pomegranate tree on a Assyrian cylinder seal, time of Salmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). British Museum, London. Repr. from Muthmann 1982: 21, fig. 9.

Fig. 31: Stylized pomegranate tree on a Assyrian cylinder seal, 8th century B.C. Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, inv. no. 90/119. Repr. from Rehm 1997: 410, fig. 224.

Fig. 32: Detail from cat. no. cat. 53. Stylized pomegranate tree, Teke *aq yüp*, 17th or 18th century

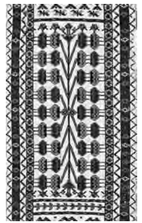


Fig. 33: Detail from cat. no. 39. Stylized pomegranate tree with double rows of pomegranates, Sarïq *aq yüp*, first half of the 19th century.

Fig. 34: Detail from a Yomut *chuval* with small pomegranate trees in the *alem*. 19th century. Jim Adelson Collection, Boston.

tree" pattern, we see here another stylized tree design, which is frequently seen on *aq yüp* of other Turkmen groups: the pomegranate tree.

The Pomegranate tree

According to Friedrich Muthman, the pomegranate tree is an ancient symbol originating in the Ancient Near Eastern world of Elam, Sumer, and Akkad.[32] Presumably one of the earliest representations of a stylized pomegranate tree is seen in the lowest register on the famous "Uruk" or "Warka Vase", a Sumerian alabaster vase from the mid 4th millennium B.C. Eanna temple in Uruk.[33] Since then, the historical development of this powerful symbol can be followed through the cultures of the Mediterranean, the Ancient Near East, and Central Asia like a golden thread.

32 Muthmann 1982: 9.
33 Muthmann 1982: Fig. 2–3.

Among the Turkmen, pomegranate designs are most often seen on tent bands, but this motif is not restricted to tent bands only. It is also a standard design for a group of white ground niche rugs from the Bukhara Oasis,[34] and it is seen now and then in the *alem* of Yomut *chuval* (fig. 34) and *khali*.[35] Even the "compound-palmette-tree" design of the Salor (fig. 38) incorporates this ancient and powerful symbol, though pomegranates play only a secondary role as inserted elements of the composition. This is not the case with the pomegranate tree designs seen in the *aq yüp* cat. no. 53 (fig. 32). It is intriguing how closely this tree design, with its two by seven pomegranates, resembles its supposed Assyrian archetypes.

The form of the pomegranate tree in Turkmen tent bands varies, though it generally shows the same basic structure. The design can be elongated as seen in the Arabachi *aq yüp* cat. no. 125, or the pomegranates can stand in a double row on each side of the stem, as seen in the *aq yüp* cat. no. 39 (fig. 33).

34 Kaffel 2007: Fig 1, and 4 – 6.
35 E.g. cat. no. 105.

Fig. 35: Rosette with pomegranates and palmettes. Assyrian knob tile, 9th century B.C. Repr. from Muthmann 1982: Fig. 66.

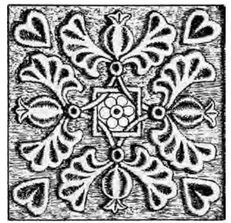


Fig. 36: Rosette with pomegranates and palmettes. Sasanian stucco plate. Repr. from Kröger 1982: 98, fig. 54.

Fig. 37: Detail from cat. no. 38. Rosette with pomegranates and palmettes, Sarïq tent band, 17th or 18th century.

Fig. 38: Detail from cat. no. 4. "Compound-palmette-tree" with pomegranates, Salor tent band, 17th or 18th century.

In addition to the pomegranate trees following Assyrian archetypes, Turkmen tent bands also frequently show pomegranate rosettes, as seen in the Sarïq *aq yüp* cat. no. 38 (fig. 37). Such rosettes might be traced via Sasanian models like fig. 36 to Assyrian archetypes like fig. 35. As shown in the Salor chapter, the pomegranate motif seen in the "compound-palmette-tree" also seems to go back to Sasanian, rather than to Assyrian archetypes directly. In Assyrian art, pomegranate trees (fig. 30 and 31)and pomegranate rosettes with palmettes are both seen (fig. 35).

The motif of the pomegranate tree, like a number of other Turkmen carpet designs, can be traced back with all likelihood to early first millennium B.C. Neo-Assyrian archetypes.

Colours: The warm and bright colours of this tent band are outstanding. The piece does not contain any insect dyed wool, which is one of the reasons for preferring a Teke rather than a Sarïq attribution.

Dating: According to radiocarbon testing, this *aq yüp* dates from between 1650 and 1800. Based on its outstanding overall quality, a 19th century date of production is unlikely. The finding of tin as a mordant confirms the post-1650 result of radiocarbon dating. Tin as a colour brightener with all likelihood was not used before 1610, but was most likely introduced to Central Asia shortly after its discovery by Cornelius Drebbel. [36]

36 For a discussion of this phenomenon, see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

Fig. 39: Stylized flower tree with confronted ducks on a split palmette. Fragment of a Sogdian silk, 8th or 9th century. Private collection New York.

Fig. 40: Stylized flower tree with confronted ducks on a split palmette. Sogdian or Byzantine silk fragment, 9th or 10th century, Aachen. Repr. from Lessing 1913.

Fig. 41: Silk lampas weave with a lattice of split palmettes. Spain, 14th century. Repr. from May 1957: Fig. 105.

Fig. 42: Anatolian carpet fragment with a lattice of split palmettes, 16th or 17th century. Repr. from Sotheby's New York, 16 December 1993: Lot 81.

Fig. 43: Silk velvet with a lattice of serrated leaves. Mughal India or Safavid Persia, 17th century. The David Collection, Copenhagen. Repr. from Folsach 2001: 399, no. 679.

Fig. 44: Detail from cat. no. 54, Teke *asmalyk*, 18th century. The lattice of serrated leaves with integrated animal tree might go back to textile designs as seen in figs. 39 – 43.

54

Teke *asmalyk*[37] *with animal tree design*

Asmalyk is a Turkmen word, and translates as "camel hanging".[38] *Asmalyk* were used to decorate the flanks of the wedding camel, on which the bride was brought to her groom.[39] Because of their use as camel hangings, *asmalyk* were woven in pairs.

Teke animal tree (cat. no. 54) and bird *asmalyk* (cat. no. 143) have been described in detail by Robert Pinner and Michael Franses.[40] Most of the comparable pieces were mentioned and/or published by them. Since then, only a few examples have been added to the group, this outstanding *asmalyk* from the collection of Marie and George Hecksher (cat. no. 54) among them.

The Hecksher animal tree *asmalyk* differs slightly from the other examples of the group. It shows a kind of transitional form, or a hybrid of the animal tree and the bird *asmalyk*. In contrast to the bird *asmalyk*, the "classic" animal tree *asmalyk* shows pairs of serrated leaves forming the lattice. Not so the Hecksher piece: its lattice of serrated leaves is of the same type as seen in all bird *asmalyk* (cf. cat. no. 143).

Design: Robert Pinner and Michael Franses traced the design of the Teke *asmalyk* back to Chinese silk and bronze designs of the Han period (202 B.C.–220 A.D.).[41]

But, as is apparent from figs. 39–43, the design seems rather to be based on a split palmette with confronted animals as seen in pre-10th century Sogdian silks (figs. 39 and 40). In the 14th century, the split palmette might have first developed into a lattice of diagonally placed and mirrored halved "palm" leaves enclosing a chequered diamond design instead of the animals, as seen in fig. 41, eventually becoming a totally floral lattice of serrated leaves and rosettes, as seen in 17th century Safavid and Mughal textiles (fig. 43). These examples are not only historically much closer to the Teke weavings than the Chinese Han examples suggested by Pinner and Franses, they are also more closely related to the design of the Teke *asmalyk*.

37 For a discussion of the origin of this kind of decorative camel hanging, see cat. nos. 76–78 in the chapter "The Qaradashli".
38 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 327.
39 See also Andrews et al. 1993: 14.
40 Pinner/Franses 1980: 114.
41 Pinner/Franses 1980: 128, figs. 250 and 251.

Fig 45: Stylized palm tree with confronted giraffes on a pre-dynastic Egyptian ceremonial palette, 3300 – 3100 B.C. Repr. from Schäfer/Andrae 1925: 187.

Fig. 46: Stylized palm tree with confronted lions on a split palmette, Sasanian (?) silk, 7th or 8th century, Repr. from Wilckens 1991: 46.

Fig. 47: Stylized palm tree with confronted lions and an eagle, portal of the Yakutiye Madrasa in Erzurum, Anatolia, Seljuk period, 13th century. Author's photograph, 1981.

Fig. 48: Detail from cat. no. 123, an 18th or 19th century Chowdur hanging. Half of an *ertmen gül* with an animal tree design after Sogdian or Sasanian models.

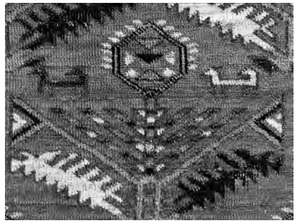


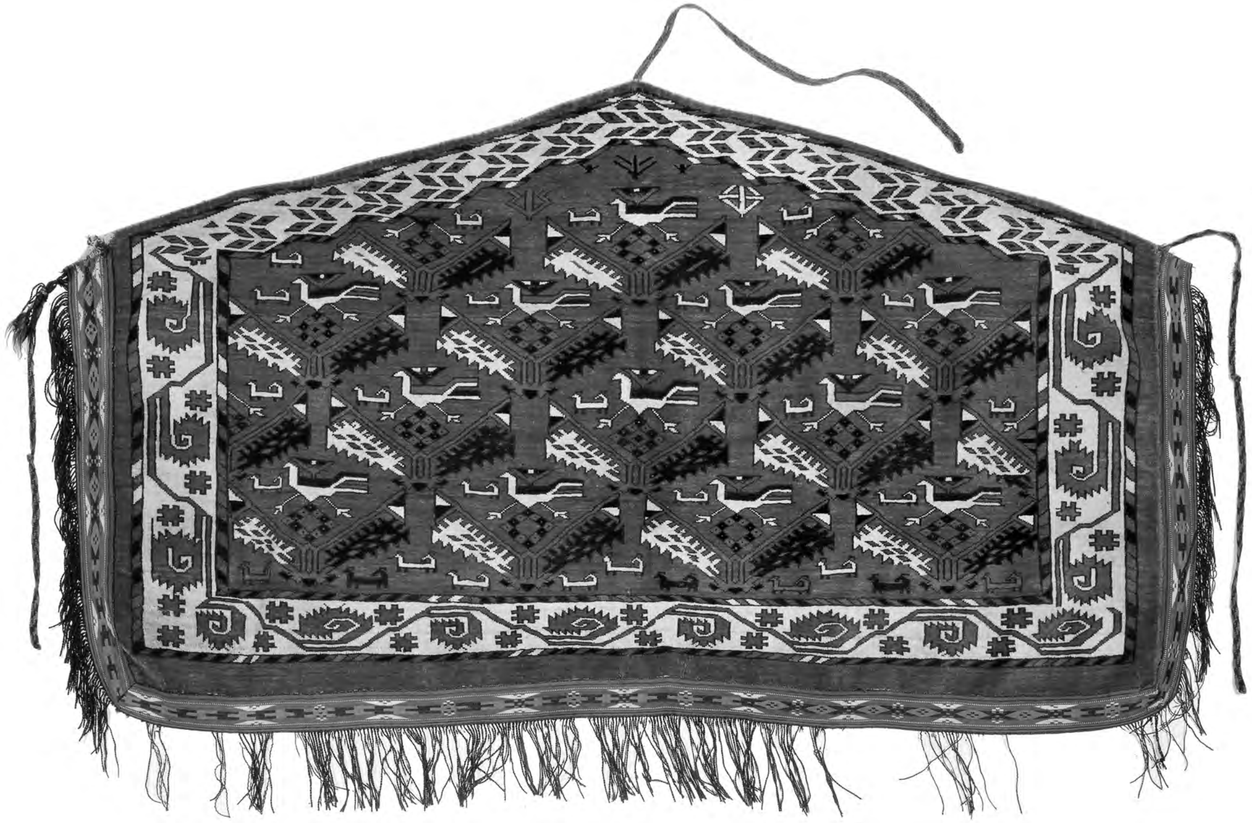
Fig. 49: Stylized animal tree design on the Teke *asmalyk* cat. no. 54.

As apparent from figs. 45 – 47, in the *asmalyk* design, the ancient animal tree[42] design was integrated into a "new" floral lattice, as seen in the silk design in fig 41. Instead of the animal tree (or the confronted animals as seen in figs. 39 and 40), the 14th century Spanish silk shows a geometric pattern. However, the halved (or split) palmette leaves are still clearly recognizable by their feathered structure and the volutes (cf. figs. 39 and 41). The same applies to the 16th century Anatolian carpet design in fig. 42. In the Safavid or Mughal velvet design in fig. 43, a further step is seen, in that the leaves are not halved, and are serrated on both sides, forming a totally floral design with a lattice enclosing rosettes and lotus flowers. As the earliest known examples of this newly developed "split palmette" lattice design do not pre-date the 14th century, it seems unlikely that the Teke *asmalyk* design with its floral lattice enclosing animal trees would be older. I even think that their direct models, at least in the case of the floral lattice, might well have been 16th or 17th century Safavid or Mughal textile designs. The survival of the ancient animal tree design instead of rosettes might be explained by Turkmen traditionalism: an old design has been preserved in conjunction with a new one. This is not an exception in the world of Turkmen weavings. Another such combination is the design of the "Eagle" *gül* group carpets: the new Persian palmette design (the "Eagle" *gül*) has been combined with an ancient pattern, the *dyrnak gül*.[43]

It is not clear why all these Teke animal tree and bird *asmalyk* show the uncommon border type of the group with a meander and curled leaves.[44] Pinner and Franses point out the same phenomenon in a small group of Teke *khali* with a comparable border (cf. cat. nos. 73 and 74). As a matter of fact the Teke animal tree and bird *asmalyk* show an early form of this Turkmen border type, with strong parallels to its possible 7th or 8th century Sogdian archetype.[45]

Dating: According to radiocarbon testing, this *asmalyk* was woven either around 1700 or in the 19th century. Although the statistical

42 On the "animal tree", see Pinner 1980.
43 See fig. 18 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups".
44 See further discussion of this border type at cat. no. 143.
45 See figs. 23–26 in the chapter "The Salor".



probability for the 19th century exceeds the probability for the range around 1700, much speaks in favour of the piece not having been woven in the 19th century. At 27%, the probability range around 1700 is still high enough to be entirely possible.

143

Teke bird *asmalyk* (fig. 50)

As it has long been considered one of the earliest examples of its type, this powerful bird *asmalyk* from the St. Petersburg Ethnographic Museum has been published several times.

Design: For a discussion on the possible origin of the field with a lattice with serrated leaves and the border with a meander with curled leaves, see cat. no. 54. The animal tree design has been replaced here by a bird and a small quadruped.

Identically drawn horizontal and vertical *ovadan* borders (meander with curled leaves) are only seen in Teke bird and animal tree *asmalyk*.[46] They could indicate a workshop production (see also the discussion on the *ovadan* border of the two Teke *khali* cat. nos. 73 and 74).

Dating: The piece seems likely to date from the 18th century. The similarities to the *khali* cat. nos. 73 and 74 support such a conclusion.

144

Teke *khalik*

The *khalik* is described in literature as a curtain for the bridal litter (*kejebe*).[47] The *khalik* indeed resembles a *kapunuk* and is often equipped with long fringes, protecting the bride from being seen. According to

46 See Pinner/Franses 1980: 114 et seq.
47 E.g. in: Andrews et al. 1993: 14.

Fig. 50: Cat. no. 143: Teke bird *asmalyk*, 151 x 88 cm, 18th century. Russian Ethnographic Museum St. Petersburg, Dudin Collection, no. 26-52/2.

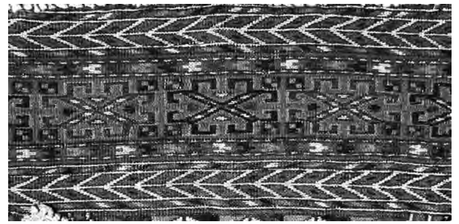


Fig. 51: *Gochak* cross from a Teke *khalik*, 19th century. The *gochak* cross is an ancient symbol of protection. Over the entrance to the bridal litter, it protected the bride from the "evil eye". Private collection.

Peter Andrews, however, this function is not yet supported by clear evidence.

The typical design of the upper horizontal panel of most Teke *khalik* is the *gochak* cross (fig. 51). The *gochak* cross is a ancient symbol of protection. Its background and meaning are discussed in connection with the *khaikelbagi* border design of the Teke *chuval* cat. no. 61. The apotropaic meaning of the *gochak* cross and its regular appearance on *khalik* would be consistent with the *khalik* indeed having served as a decoration for the entrance of the bridal litter *kejebe*.

55

Teke *torba* with *chuval gül*

This *torba* is an unusual example of this "classic" type of Teke weaving. Its fine weave and high wool quality create a soft and velvety touch.

Design: The field shows the "classic" Teke *chuval gül*,[48] combined with the likewise "classic" *chemche gül*.[49] The floral border, on the other

48 On the origin of the *chuval gül*, see the entry on cat. no. 13 in the chapter "The Salor".
49 On the origin of the *chemche gül*, see the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

Fig. 52: Teke *torba* cat. no. 56, 99×42 cm,
Radiocarbon dated, ca. 1440 – 1630 (95.4% confidence limit)

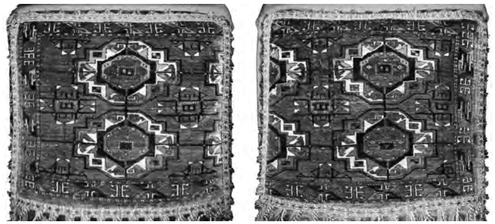


Fig. 53: Teke *torba*, cut into two parts and re-used as upholstery for the backrests of two chairs. Acquired 1893 by Walther von Hallwyl. This is the only known comparable piece to cat. no. 56. Whether the two pieces originally were a pair is not certain. The Hallwyl Collection of Oriental Carpets and Textiles, Stockholm. Photograph of the author (2011).

hand, is rather unusual, though seen now and then, mostly on pre-19th century Turkmen weavings. In the 19th century, other border designs such as the *kochanak* design of the Salor (fig. 98 – 100 in the chapter "The Salor") or the *khaikelbagi* design (fig. 75) were favoured.

Structure: With a weave density of up to 6000 knots per dm square, this *torba* is extremely fine for an early Teke piece. Otherwise the structure is typical. The absence of silk is standard for old Teke pieces.

Colour: The saturated palette of this little jewel is captivating, and seen only in very few other Turkmen weavings. The piece does not show any insect dyestuffs, which is again standard for old Teke pieces.

Dating: No radiocarbon dating has been performed. Nevertheless, a pre-1800 date of production seems likely.

56

Teke torba with *chuval gül* and "satellite" *gül* secondary motif

This Teke *torba* (fig. 52) is of great age and shows an unusual and rare design. Amazingly, a second example with a nearly identical design exists (fig. 53). Ascertaining whether the two are actually a pair (*torba* have always been woven in pairs), will require a closer examination side by side or radiocarbon dating. However, despite the close resemblance, there are also significant differences. The *torba* from the Hallwyl collection shows a better drawing of both the *chuval gül* and the "satellite" *gül*, and the minor borders differ. While this *torba* from the Hoffmeister Collection shows the *gyak* design, the piece from the Hallwyl Collection shows another typical Teke minor border: little squares, alternating plain or filled with a *quincunx* (five dots arranged 2-1-2). Also the gaps between the side borders and the *chuval gül* are significantly larger in the Hallwyl *torba*, while in the Hoffmeister piece, the *chuval gül* touch the side borders (cf. figs. 51 and 52). Sadly, the Hallwyl piece has been re-used as upholstery for the backrests of two chairs.[50]

Design: The design of this piece differs considerably from the design of a "classic" Teke *torba*. It shows influences from outside the Teke domain. The border design might represent a variant of the *naldag* border of the Sarïq, and the secondary motif (fig. 54), is related to "Eagle" gül group II *torba* of Southwest Turkmenistan.[51]

50 Cassel-Pihl et al. 2003: No. 52.
51 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 96.

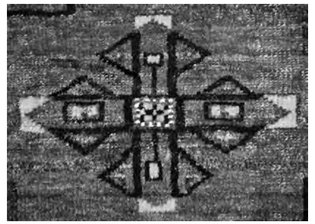


Fig. 54: "Satellite" *gül*, detail from cat. no. 96, 17th century. This is the typical secondary motif of "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*.

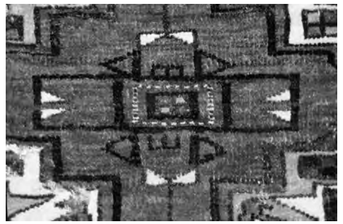


Fig. 55: Detail from cat. no. 56, 15th – 17th centuries. This unusual secondary motif looks like a "hybrid" of the gurgaga *gül* of Teke *khali* (fig. 56) and the "satellite" *gül* of "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* (fig. 54).

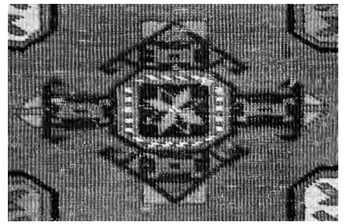


Fig. 56: *Gurbaga gül* from Teke *khali* cat. no. 71, 17th century. This type of secondary motif, the typical *gurbaga gül* of the Teke, might be a variant or a derivate of the "satellite" *gül* (fig. 53).

The Secondary Motif (Fig. 55):
A Derivate of the "Satellite" *gül* (Fig. 54)

The secondary motif shows elements of both the "satellite" *gül* of "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* (fig. 54) and the *gurbaga gül* of Teke *khali* (fig. 56). Both the secondary motif of this *torba* and the *gurbaga gül* of the Teke *khali* might go back to early Islamic interlaced designs. The origin and development of these two motifs are discussed in detail in the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval,* and *khali*". This particular secondary motif (fig. 54) is known only from the two Teke *torba* discussed here.

The *Naldag* Border with "pseudo-Kufic" Motifs

The border design shows similarities to the *naldag* border of the Sarïq (cf. cat. nos. 43 and 44). However, instead of the cross forms with attached double hooks[52] of the *naldag* border, the Teke border design (figs. 59 and 60) shows a "bracket" motif terminating in flag-like finials with a central pole reminiscent of Kufic characters (figs. 57 – 59). This motif in turn is related to motifs seen in a Yomut all-pile tent band (fig. 62, cat. no. 99).[53] The question remains whether these motifs are indeed related to Kufic writing or "pseudo-Kufic" motifs seen in earlier carpets. A comparison with 13th – 15th century carpet borders showing such motifs immediately suggests such a relationship.

As has been convincingly attested by Bailey, this design element, long described as a "pseudo-Kufic" motif resembling Arabic writing, can indeed be traced back to the Arab word *al mulk*, "sovereignty", more precisely to the three central characters "*lam-mim-lam*" of this Arab word.[54] Bailey calls this "pseudo-Kufic" configuration the "tall-short-tall" syndrome of Kufesque. At least in earlier times, this configuration obviously stood symbolically for "sovereignty". In the sense of "*pars pro toto*", it represents a reduction of the word *al mulk* to its

52 These cross forms with attached horseshoe-like double-hooks at the horizontal bar of the cross gave the name to the design *naldag*, "horseshoe".

53 In discussing the banded design of a late Sarïq *khorjin*, Jourdan has already suggested a possible relationship of this border design to Kufic writing (Jourdan 1989: 93, no. 36).
54 Bailey 2010.

"Pseudo-kufic" borders of the Seljuk, the Mamluk, the Timurids, and the Turkmen: 13th–17th centuries.

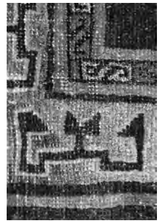


Fig. 57: Detail from a Seljuk period carpet border showing the logogram for al mulk, Anatolia, 13th century (^{14}C dated). Orient Stars Collection.

Fig. 58: Silk embroidery on linen, fragment, 10 x 9.5 cm, Egypt, Mamluk period (1250–1517). In this embroidery, the border design is already modified: every second Kufic design element stands upside down. Repr. from Ellis 2001: 83, no. 55.

Fig. 59: Detail from a 15th century Timurid miniature painting. The throne carpet shows the "classic" version of the old "pseudo" Kufic border design. Repr. from Sims 2002: No. 12-4.

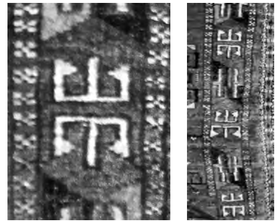


Fig. 60 and 61: (Detail from fig. 52) Side border of the Teke torba of the Hallwyl Collection, showing "pseudo Kufic" ornaments.

Fig. 62: "Pseudo Kufic" ornament in the aq yüp cat. no. 99, 2nd half of the 17th century. This is the only tent band known so far showing this type of "pseudo Kufic" ornamentation.

most decorative elements ("*lam-mim-lam*"), becoming a logogram for "sovereignty".[55]

Comparing the Teke border (fig. 60) with Seljuk (fig. 57), Ilkhanid, and Timurid (fig. 58) carpet borders reveals the similarity. The Turkmen variant is simplified, which is not surprising considering both the time span between these ornaments and the Turkmen tradition of mirroring and simplifying adopted ornaments. Although the Teke *torba* (cat. no. 56) is older than the Yomut all-pile tent band (cat. no. 99), the "pseudo-Kufic" motif of the band is better drawn than the comparable motif of the *torba*, and in addition still probably signified "sovereignty". Very possibly the weaver of the Teke *torba* was no longer aware of the origin and meaning of this once powerful motif. It appears to have been an unfamiliar border design for her, suggested by the different versions seen in the horizontal and vertical borders. She was not able to reproduce the design properly in the side borders. With the Hallwyl piece, however, this is not the case (cf. fig. 53). The border design on the right-hand side is of nearly the same quality as the bottom and top borders.[56] In one of the comparison pieces with "pseudo-Kufic" borders,[57] the side borders are completely different, showing instead the *kochanak* design. A possible explanation is that Turkmen weavers had difficulties turning designs by 90° from memory. [58]

Among other Turkmen groups like the Yomut, the Kizil Ayak, and the Ersarï, a slightly altered and simplified form of "pseudo-Kufic"

55 See also the discussion on the "pseudo-Kufic" design elements in the all-pile tent band cat. no. 99 in the chapter "The Yomut".

56 This could suggest that the two *torba* indeed might belong together, being a pair. While first weaving the Hoffmeister piece and then the Hallwyl piece on the same loom, the weaver passed through a "learning process". In the second attempt, she not only mastered the unusual secondary motif better, but also the uncommon border design.

57 Sotheby's NY, 16 December 1993: Lot 18.

58 The same can be observed with the meander with curled leaves border design of many Turkmen *khali*. The side borders show a different version of the design from the borders at bottom and top. The *khali* with *chuval gül* field design (cat. no. 84) is a good example. (See also cat. no. 106 with a lotus meander in the minor borders. The lotus meander at bottom and top are well drawn, while the side borders show a "distorted" version).

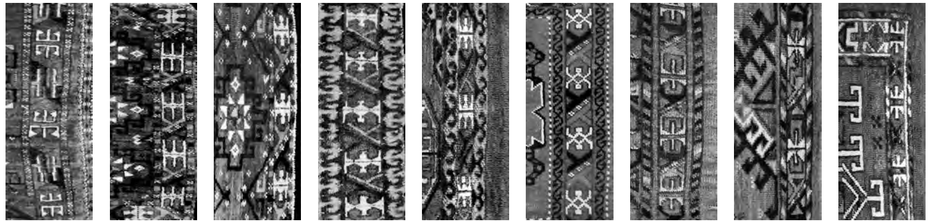


Fig. 63, a – i: "Pseudo Kufic" border of the Teke *torba* cat. no. 56 and its successors among the Yomut, Kizil Ayak, and Ersarï.

border design seems to have been carried on in the course of the 19th century (figs. 63 a – i).[59] It is unclear how directly these relate to "pseudo-Kufic" borders as seen in carpets of the 13th to 15th centuries. On the one hand, the similarity between the motif in the Teke border design (fig. 60) and the motif in the all-pile tent band cat. no. 99 (fig. 62) is sufficient to be considered to have the same origin. On the other hand, the "pseudo-Kufic" border design might have been altered and become purely decorative quite early. This is demonstrated in a 13th century embroidery from Mamluk Egypt (fig. 58). Presumably with a decorative intention, every second "pseudo-Kufic" motif has been turned to stand up side down. In 13th–15th centuries border designs with "tall-short-tall" elements, as described by Bailey, all characters point into the same direction, "readable" as seen from the centre of the carpet (fig. 59). The shift on the Mamluk period embroidery might be a first step toward purely decorative 19th century Turkmen "pseudo-Kufic" border design variants as seen in figs. 63 a–i.

59 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 56.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the border design saw a kind of "revival", turning up, reduced in size, in banded *khordjin* of the Teke and the Sarïq.[60]

The Field Design with *Chuval Gül*

This form of the *chuval gül* is seen now and then among the Teke, but, like the secondary motif in fig. 55, reflects an adoption from "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*, while the composition with 3×2 complete *chuval gül* in the field is typical for Teke *torba*. By contrast, the typical "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* field composition shows three complete *chuval gül* in a row, accompanied by rows of three truncated *chuval gül* above and below. This corresponds to the typical field composition of Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*. However, the typical "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* field composition is also seen in a few Teke examples. The following *torba* in this book is one of them (cat. no. 57).

60 Baluch examples are also known.

Colours: The ground colour tends to a purplish red, as can be observed in many other Turkmen weavings.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, this *torba* is one of the oldest known Turkmen weavings examined for this study. The piece contains neither Mexican cochineal on wool nor tin mordant. Either could have narrowed the dating range, which thus has to remain between 1440 and 1630.

145

Teke *torba* with "pseudo" Kufic border

This Teke *torba* is unusual both for its purple ground colour, and its scattered ornaments in the field, including little cross forms and little "crow feet". Four cross forms are arranged with a *chemche gül* in the centre to form a *quincunx*, while the "crow feet" are placed between the *chuval gül* as tertiary motifs. Also, the border belongs to an unusual design type, as seen in the early *torba* cat. no. 56. According to radiocarbon dating, this *torba* was woven either in the 18th or early 19th century.

57

Teke *torba* with unusual *chuval gül* field composition

Only eight Teke *torba* (incl. cat. no. 57) with this field composition are published. While cat. nos. 55 and 56 show the "classic" Teke *torba* composition with two rows of three complete *chuval gül*, the pieces of this small group show a row of three complete *chuval gül* with rows of three halved *chuval gül* above and below. This corresponds to the standard composition of "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*,[61] from which Teke weavers might have adopted it. Such design transferences are not unusual in

61 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 96.

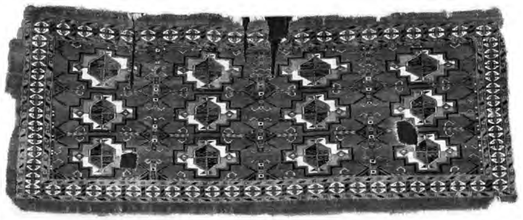


Fig. 64, cat. no. 58: Teke *torba* with small *chuval gül*, 122 x 51 cm, 18th or early 19th century. The great rarity and the similarities to the design of fig. 65 suggest a relationship between the two pieces. They might have been woven as a pair. No other Teke *torba* with this design is known so far.

Southwest Turkmenistan. The *torba* cat. no. 56 shows a secondary motif which also can be traced back to the "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* design.

Dating: As this piece most likely was woven in the 19th century, no radiocarbon dating has been performed.

58

Teke *torba* with small *chuval gül* (fig. 64)

Like the two *torba* cat. nos. 56 and 57, this outstanding piece shows various deviations from what we consider "typical" for Teke weavings. For example, the 4 × 3 *chuval gül* composition is rare among the Teke. Only a single other piece with the same design is published; given the strong similarities between the two pieces, it must be considered pos-

Fig. 65: Teke *torba* with small *chuval gül*, 116 x 50 cm, 18th or early 19th century. In design, these two pieces (figs. 64 and 65) are unique. There is no other *torba* known showing this border, this field design, and this particular form of *chemche gül*, otherwise unusual for the Teke. This all supports the idea that these two pieces (fig. 64 and 65) were woven as a pair. Repr. From Rippon Boswell 47, 1997, lot 140. (Also published in Hali 94, 1997: 129, fig. 4.)

sible that the comparison piece in fig. 65 originally was a pair with cat. no. 58 (fig. 64). Apart from the condition, the two pieces are so similar, down to the smallest details, that this possibility may not be completely excluded (the slightly poorer condition of cat. no. 58 [fig. 64] should not mislead one to an earlier dating). However, as I have not seen the Rippon Boswell piece in person, this has to remain unresolved.

Design: In addition to the small *chuval gül* and the 4 × 3 field composition, the form of the *chemche gül* is also unusual among the Teke. This type with the large W-forms turned by 90° is standard for Qaradashlï weavings. Presumably, once again, we are dealing with an exchange of designs among south-western Turkmen, as is also the case with the previously discussed Teke *torba* (cat. no. 57), and the following piece (cat. no. 59).

The border design is rare, but there are five other published Teke weavings, and a Sarïq *torba* with the same border.

Dating: Although not clearly indicated by radiocarbon testing, the piece dates at least to the early 19th, even more probably to the 18th century.

59

Turkmen *torba* with Qaradashlï *gül*

This *torba* has already frequently been published with a Sarïq attribution by Tsareva, most likely based on the symmetrical knotting. However, several features are at odds with such an attribution.

Design: One of these contradicting features is the field design with the Qaradashlï *gül*. This design, or at least a closely related form of it, is frequently seen in weavings of the Teke, but actually never in weavings of the Sarïq.[62]

Structure: The only thing which does not speak in favour of the Teke is the knot type. Teke weavings as a rule are knotted asymmetrically open to the right. To my knowledge, no symmetrically knotted Teke weaving is known so far.[63] Lately, however, we have found that the knot type of a weaving does not always correspond to our expectations. The *torba* cat. no. 96 with its typical "Eagle" *gül* group II design but symmetrical knot is one such example; Assuming the *torba* to be an "Eagle" *gül* group II piece, the typical asymmetric open right knot for this group was expected.[64]

Colours: Further features speaking more in favour of a Teke than a Sarïq attribution are the colour palette and the faded natural brown, both of which are typical Teke features. The polychrome fringes at the bottom of the *torba* also speak in favour of the Teke; Sarïq *torba* always have monochrome dark blue fringes.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, the *torba* was woven between ca. 1650 and 1820.

62 For Teke examples with Qaradashlï *gül* field design see Vol. 1, cat. no. 59.
63 However, many Teke weavings have symmetrical knots along the selvages.
64 See Hali 143, 2005: 79.

The Teke "ring tree design" and its possible Ancient Near Easter models

Fig. 66: Stylized Assyrian tree from the palace of Sargon II in Khorsabad, 8th century B.C., Louvre, Paris. Image by the author.

Fig. 67: Assyrian stylized tree motifs on a proto-Attic pitcher, ca. 700 B.C., Athens, Agora Museum. Repr. from Hampe/Simon 1980: Fig. 242.

Fig. 68: The "ring tree design". Detail from the *alem* of the Teke *chuval* cat. no. 60.

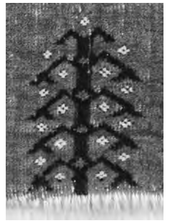


Fig. 69: Detail from the *alem* of the Salor *chuval* cat. no. 11, showing a stylized tree with branches bending downwards.

60 & 61

Teke *chuval* with 4 x 4 *chuval gül* field design

These two pieces belong to a small design group of Teke *chuval*. They are included here because of the obvious difference in their ages.

Design: The field and *alem* designs of the two weavings are nearly identical. Both pieces show a downscaled form of the *chuval gül*[65] primary motif combined with a *chemche gül*[66] secondary motif in the field, while the *alem* are patterned with a typical Teke tree motif, called "ring tree design" by Pinner (fig. 68).[67] Like a number of other typical Turkmen tree designs in *alem* (fig. 69) and borders (fig. 12), and also in tent bands (fig. 32), the Teke "ring tree design" might go back to Ancient Near Eastern models (cf. fig. 66). In the 9th to 7th centuries B.C., the Assyrian Empire had a cultural impact on the Greeks in the West (fig. 67), where it resulted in what is now called "the orientalising style", as well as on Central Asia in the East (figs. 68 and 69), where traces of it are still recognizable in 19th century traditional Turkmen weavings.[68]

The two *chuval*, however, show completely different border designs. While the earlier piece (cat. no. 60) shows a border design of vegetal origin, the border design of cat. no. 61 might belong to a group of ancient geometric patterns with an apotropaic function, of which some version is known among most Turkmen tribal groups. The Teke used it as a border design for *chuval* and *khali*.

For this *chuval* border design (fig. 70), Moshkova lists the name *khaikelbagi*. *Khaikelbagi* is a Turkmen word, and literally translated as "statue", "idol", but in common parlance means "amulet bag".[69] This name refers to the relationship between this Teke *chuval* border design (fig. 70) and Turkmen jewelry, more precisely to amulet bags as seen among the Teke (fig. 71).

65 On the possible origin of the *chuval gül*, see the chapter "The Salor", section "The *chuval gül*".
66 On the possible origin of the *chemche gül*, see the chapter "Flower Cross and Interlaced Star", section "2.5 The *chemche gül*".
67 Pinner 1980a: 208.
68 For more examples showing Assyrian influence, see the stylized tree designs in figs. 7–11 in this chapter.
69 For detailed information, see the chapter "The *khaikelbagi* design".

The *khaikelbagi* or "amulet bag design" of the Teke

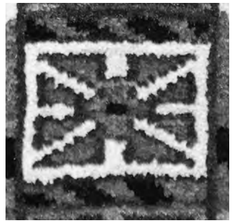


Fig. 70: The *khaikelbagi* design in the border of the Teke *chuval* cat. no. 61, 2nd half of the 19th century.

Fig. 71 and 72: Teke amulet bag (*khaikel*). The ornaments (amulets) on the leather strap (fig. 72) show close resemblance to the Teke border design (fig. 70). The carnelian in the centre could be the basis for the central little cross in the Teke *chuval* border design (fig. 70). Repr. from Schletzter 1983: 109.

Fig. 73: Teke amulet container (*acar bag*). Here, the diagonal lines are more accentuated, apart from that, the design is very similar to fig. 72. Repr. from Rudolph 1984: 198, D 185.

Based on its complex historical significance and its profound meaning, this motif is discussed separately.[70]

Colours & Dating: Neither of these pieces has been radiocarbon dated. But the colour palette and the use of Mexican cochineal in the cat. no. 61 clearly define the period of its production. The cochineal-dyed woollen pile yarn is 2-plied, as is the rest of the pile, and tin as a mordant was excluded by testing. These two factors indicate a date of production not earlier than about 1850.[71] In pieces clearly pre-dating 1850, Mexican cochineal on wool is dyed using tin mordant and on yarn with more than 2 plies.[72] Tin mordant produces a bright scarlet but in cat. no. 61, the cochineal dyed woollen pile yarn is violet-red. It is also known that the use of Mexican cochineal increased significantly starting about the middle of the 19th century; by 1880 it often replaced madder even as the entire ground colour. In cat. no. 61, the use of cochineal dyed woollen pile yarn is limited to the design and the ground colour is dyed with madder (though in a considerably less attractive shade than the ground colour of cat. no. 60).[73] Thus, cat. no. 61 must have been woven at a time when the price of Mexican cochineal was becoming more affordable. Further, the 2-plied cochineal dyed yarn might also suggest local dyeing consistent with the other pile colours.

Thus, cat. no. 61 might have been woven between 1850 and 1875, while cat. no. 60, based on its drawing, colour quality, and type of border, is clearly older, most probably even still from the late 18th century.

The older piece (cat. no. 60) does not contain any insect dyestuff, on wool or silk, and the palette is brighter and more colourful than in the later piece (cat. no. 61). Comparing these two *chuval* with the two following pieces (cat. nos. 62 and 63), further information about the dyes provides an even more specific framework for dating.

70 See the chapter "The *khaikelbagi* design".
71 See the text on the dye analyses in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".
72 4–6 plied as a rule. In the most extreme case, the woollen yarn is 18 plied [9 (Z_2S)] (Cat. no. 112).
73 No chemical analyses have been performed. This statement is based on comparison and experience.

62 & 63

Teke *chuval* with Salor *gül*

Design: The composition of the two Teke *chuval* with the standard design concept of Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*, *sagdaq gül*, and *kochanak* border (see fig. 74) was with all likelihood exclusively used by the Salor up to the early 19th century. The Salor appear to have used this design for several centuries. Of the 39 comparison pieces to the Salor *chuval* cat. no. 11, at least 29 are as alike as peas in a pod (see fig. 74, for example). In only 11 examples can minor differences be found, consisting of some additional small ornaments. The same applies to the Salor *khali*, of which the earliest example dates from between 1550 and 1650 (cat. no. 16). Though we have no Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* of such an early date, it seems likely that they, like the *khali,* must have existed in an unchanged form. This is not seen among any other Turkmen group. The downfall of the Salor caused by the Persians, the Sarïq, and the Teke in the early 19th century put an end to this long lasting tradition. Most likely the Sarïq and the Teke only adopted the *chuval* design composition with the Salor *gül* from the Salor at that point. What had been carefully maintained over several centuries, perhaps even over a whole millennium, changed considerably within only half a century in the hands of the "new" users, with the Sarïq pushing this process ahead in an even more pronounced way than the Teke. The changes of this design composition among the Sarïq are discussed in the Sarïq chapter (cat. nos. 44 and 45). In the following, we will address the changes seen among the Teke (figs. 75–77).

The first difference is that the *chuval* of the Teke are smaller than those of the Salor. Comparing one of the early Teke *chuval* (fig. 75) with a *chuval* of the Salor (fig. 74), we see immediately the more crowded composition of the Teke piece. The Salor design has more breathing room and a more monumental appearance. Compared to the Salor original, the field composition of the early Teke adaptation remained more or less without changes: a row of three complete Salor *gül* on the horizontal axis with a row of truncated *gül* (showing one quarter of the design) at bottom and top. These truncated quarters show just the edge of the Salor *gül*. Without variation, this is the way the Salor executed this design. In Teke versions, however, the truncated motifs can in some cases show up to half of a Salor *gül*. [74] What has been changed by the Teke from the very beginning is the borders. Ten of the fourteen listed comparable pieces of the group of early "copies"[75] show the *khaikelbagi* border design,[76] a border type that has exclusively been used by the Teke and primarily in the 19th century. These early adaptations, which I call the "first generation", might predominantly still date from the early 19th century.

The following "second generation" no longer shows truncated Salor *gül* at bottom and top, but two complete rows (fig. 76). This corresponds to an adaption to the design principle of other Teke weavings, such as *torba*. There too, with a few exceptions, we find mostly two rows of *chuval gül* in the field. The manner of use of Mexican cochineal, in such a *chuval* with two rows of Salor *gül* (cat. no. 62), provides an interesting dating clue for this "second generation". First, it should be emphasized that the wool and colour quality of this piece is still excellent. It still has the saturated, bright colours of older pieces, although it already shows the combination of two shades of cochineal: a bright scarlet dyed on tin mordant on a fine, more than 2-plied woollen yarn, used in small amounts only, and a purplish red (without tin) on the usual, 2-plied woollen pile yarn of most Turkmen piled weavings. Both shades are dyed with Mexican cochineal. In the chapter "Scarlet and Purple" I have indicated that early pieces, from a time when Mexican cochineal was prohibitively expensive, only show small amounts of this exotic dyestuff, and dyed on tin mordant on sometimes extremely fine yarns. When Mexican cochineal (*Dactylopius cocus* Costa) came to the markets in increasing amounts from various parts of the world for an increasingly reasonable price, carpet weavers in Turkmenistan started to process this colorant themselves, in addition to madder, indigo, and a yellow dyestuff. This is manifested by the 2-plied woollen cochineal yarns of this period. At the latest, this process might have started around the mid-19th century. However, the *chuval* discussed here (cat. no. 61) includes both cochineal dyeing processes, even though the scarlet dyed on tin mordant is only present in a few knots in the centre of the lower right Salor *gül*. Meanwhile, the purplish-red cochineal dyed wool has been used in considerable quantities in the centres of the Salor *gül* and the *sagdaq gül*, indicating that the piece must have been woven at a time when this dyestuff was available for a reasonable price. Thus, we can assume that the presence of both methods indicates a transitional period between the use of these two different cochineal dyeing methods. This suggests the "second generation" of Teke *chuval* with two complete rows of Salor *gül* could have developed around the mid-19th century.

Fig. 74: Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*, 152 x 88 cm, knotted asymmetric open to the left, 3168 knots per dm², 18th century. This is a "classic" example of a perfectly drawn Salor *chuval*. Everything of the design is there, up to the lateral margins beyond the side borders and the upper end frieze with the crenelation design. Rep. from Herrmann X, 1988: No. 93.

74 E.g. in Elmby V, 2003: 11, plate 3.
75 See Vol. 2, comparison pieces to cat. no. 62.
76 See the chapter "The *khaikelbagi* design".

Fig. 75: "First generation" Teke chuval with Salor gül, 115 x 79 cm, beginning of the 19th century. The first generation of these Teke chuval are still close in design to their Salor models. They show only one full row of well drawn Salor gül with a central star with attached double hooks, like the Salor model. What differs is the borders: here with the typical Teke khaikelbagi border design. Repr. from Loges 1978: No. 9.

Fig. 76: "Second generation" Teke *chuval* with Salor *gül*, cat. no. 62, 124 x 80 cm, mid 19th century. Presumably around the mid 19th century, the Teke might have adjusted the design to a concept more familiar to them, showing now two complete rows of primary designs (Salor *gül*). The Salor *gül* has also slightly been compressed and a small *chuval gül* has replaced the eight-pointed star in the centre.

Fig. 76: "Third generation" Teke chuval with Salor gül, cat. no. 63, 142 x 81 cm. At the end of the 19th century, a third row of "Teke-style" Salor *gül* has been added, and the colour palette has been adjusted to the "fashion" of the time: the ground colour is no longer a bright madder red, as seen in cat. no. 62 (fig. 76), but a purplish red dyed with Mexican cochineal.

The "third generation" of these Teke *chuval* shows three rows of Salor *gül* and an altered colour palette. This "development" is known exclusively from the Teke. Not a single example with triple row composition is known from the Sarïq or any other Turkmen tribe. That the pieces of this "third generation" are in turn later than those of the just described "second generation" is documented by the application of the first synthetic Ponceau dyestuffs. Instead of the exotic dyestuff cochineal from Mexico, another new exotic dyestuff from Europe has been used. The 2-plied woollen pile yarns in the centres of the Salor *gül* of cat. no. 63 are dyed with Ponceau RR. This dyestuff was invented in 1878, providing a *terminus post quem* of ca. 1880 for this *chuval* (cat. no. 63, fig. 77).

In addition to this early synthetic dyestuff, the *chuval* shows another phenomenon; it contains no madder dyed wool. Madder has been replaced as a red dyestuff by the insect dyestuff cochineal (*Dactylopius coccus*, Costa). The ground colour is no longer dyed with madder, but throughout with cochineal. Between 1880 and 1890 the worldwide production of Mexican cochineal reached such an extent that the market collapsed.[77] The prices on the international market reached such an irrationally low level, that Mexican cochineal became cheaper than madder. This phenomenon further helps to date the *chuval* cat. no. 63, and fits the previously suggested post-1880 dating indicated by the Ponceau dyestuffs. As the just described "cochineal glut" only lasted for a short time, such pieces with cochineal instead of madder were woven between 1880 and 1900. Thus, the "third generation" of Teke *chuval* with Salor *gül* must date quite specifically from this period.

Later forms of Turkmen *chuval* with Salor *gül* have not been considered for this study. They became purely commercial products of a market dominated by the Russians.

It is amazing that a design composition stemming from pre-Islamic times, and maintained over nearly a millennium among the Salor virtually without changes (fig. 74), changed so quickly among the Teke (fig. 76 and 77) and the Sarïq.[78] This would be consistent with the supposition that the Teke adopted the Salor *gül* shortly after 1800, the time of the beginning of the decline of the Salor as an important Turkmen group.

Concerning the dating of these four pieces (cat. nos. 60 – 63), it can be stated that cat. no. 60 certainly is the earliest example of this small comparison series, followed by cat. no. 62 (fig. 75), then cat. no. 61, and finally cat. no. 63, with its synthetic dyes, the final link of this short "chain" (fig. 77). It was above all the use of dyes in the course of the 19th century that leads to this relatively precise dating.

77 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".
78 See cat. nos. 44 and 45.

64

Turkmen (Teke?) *chuval* with Salor design (fig. 78)

This *chuval* with its Salor-based design has already been discussed in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple" (section "6. Tribal Attribution by Means of Dye Analysis"). That this might not be a Salor weaving is suggested by the colour palette and the lack of an insect dyestuff on wool. However, the degree of similarity to the design of comparable Salor *chuval* is perplexing, and also unusual for Teke weavings. The colour palette, however, speaks more in favour of the Teke than the Salor, while, based on the structure, no group other than those seems possible. Nonetheless it could be a Teke piece with strong Salor influence, or vice versa; I favour the Teke attribution.

The great similarity to its only known comparison piece (fig. 79), raises the question whether these two *chuval* originally might have been a pair. However, the colour illustration in the auction catalogue shows a *chuval* with a reddish ground colour and the colour arrangement of the little flowers in the *alem* is not consistent in the two pieces. Otherwise they are very similar – their measurements, the centres of the *chuval gül* worked in silk, the outer minor border with the light blue s-shapes, and most likely also the lack of an insect dyestuff on wool.[79] The existence of three further pairs of Salor *chuval* with comparable design similarities[80] supports the possibility that the two pieces discussed here belong together. The great rarity of this design type and the lack of typical Salor features[81] in both pieces speak in favour of their being a pair. In spite of all this, having not seen the Rippon Boswell piece in person, I must reserve judgment.

Colours: Although the light brownish red ground colour is actually quite unusual among the Teke, it can be seen in some exceptional cases such as the early dated Teke *khali* cat. no. 71.

Dating: The piece is not easy to date. Following the statements made earlier concerning the adoption of Salor designs by the Teke, the piece should date from the early 19th century. However, radiocarbon dating leaves everything open, providing several possibilities within the age range between 1650 and 1950 usually obtained for post 1650 pieces. Thus, one possibility is a range in the early 18th century, which cannot be completely ignored. Perhaps, this is the exception which proves the rule, and the piece is older than 19th century.

79 Only the *chuval* cat. no. 64 was tested.
80 Andrews et al. 1993: No. 100 and 101; TKF Grz 1999: No. 68; cat. no. 13 and Lefvre, 30 Nov. 1979, lot 1.
81 No warp depression, the colour palette, no insect dyestuff (lac dye) on wool, etc.

Fig. 78: Cat. no. 64, Teke(?) *chuval* with Salor design, 115 × 66 cm. It is not clear whether cat. no. 64 and the Rippon Boswell piece (fig. 79), the only known comparable piece, were originally made as a pair.

Fig. 79: Teke (?) *chuval* with Salor design, 117 × 70 cm. Repr. from Rippon Boswell 58, 2002: Lot 72.

65 & 66

Teke *kizil chuval* (all-pile)

All-pile *kizil*[82] *chuval* of the Teke have been highly sought by collectors in the past 20 years. They are considerably rarer than examples in mixed technique, where the design is executed in pile, while the plain bands are flatweave (weft tabby). In addition, the few all-pile examples are older than the majority of their relatives in mixed technique. This could be because they were always considered precious objects, which have been treasured. Up to now, only seven examples have been published, including cat. nos. 65 and 66.

That these *chuval* are Teke rather than Yomut[83] or even "Eagle" *gül* group[84] pieces, as has been assumed, is suggested by the comparison

82 *Kizil* is Turkmen for "red".
83 Dodds/Eiland 1996: No. 212.
84 Dodds/Eiland 1996: No. 127.

piece published by Thacher.[85] It shows, uniquely among *kizil chuval*, an *alem* decorated with small floral motifs identical to that of the *chuval* cat. no. 62. This floral *alem* design is typically Teke or Sarïq; on Yomut pieces this design is unknown.

Design: The banded patterns of all-pile and mixed technique *kizil chuval* are nearly identical. They seem to be borrowed from flat weave designs (presumably in soumak technique, cf. cat. no. 83), with the exception of the two main bands with crosses and eight pointed stars. Apart from these two main bands, the flatweave Qaradashlï *chuval* cat. no. 83 could have served as a model for the narrow bands. The cross and star design of the Teke *chuval*,[86] like the secondary motif of the Teke *khali* (cf. cat. no. 71), is called *gurbaga* by Moshkova.

Structure: The asymmetric knotting open to the right might have prompted Pinner to attribute these pieces to the "Eagle" *gül* group II.[87] But, based on both the colour palette and the design, a Teke attribution seems more probable. Asymmetric knotting open to the right is also standard for the Teke.

Colour: Both the respectively red and purple ground colours of the two *chuval* represent typical Teke colour palettes.

Dating: So far, some of these all-pile *chuval* have been attributed to the 18th century.[88] However, radiocarbon dating of cat. no. 65 suggests a dating either to the 19th century or to the 1st half of the 18th century. A 19th century dating, perhaps to the early 19th century, however, seems more reasonable to me than the first half of the 18th century.

67 & 68

Teke *kizil chuval* (mix of flatweave and pile technique)

Teke *kizil chuval* in mixed technique are considerably more common than their all-pile relatives, but still considerably rarer than their relatives, the *ak chuval* (cat. no. 70). As mentioned in connection with the all-pile *chuval* cat. nos. 65 and 66, the design of these mixed technique pieces might have served as a model for their relatives, the all-pile pieces.

Structure & Colours: The two examples discussed here differ not only in their knot density, but also in their colouring. Surprisingly, and an exception to the general rule, the older piece with 7200 knots per dm^2 is considerably finer than the later example with 3400 knots per dm^2. The older piece, with ten colours, also has more colour shades than the later piece. Cat. no. 68, coarser, with only six colours, synthetic dyes, and cochineal-dyed ground colour is without doubt the later one.

In the earlier example, cat. no. 67, the ground colour is dyed with madder, and cochineal appears only in highlights in the centre of the designs. Further, these cochineal shades are of an intensity which suggests tin as a mordant. Although the mordant has not been tested, it is very likely that tin is the reason for the bright red, and that cat. no. 67 is a piece, like the *chuval* cat. no. 62, from the waning days of the use of tin mordant in conjunction with Mexican cochineal.

Dating: The quality of the bright red suggests the use of tin mordant, which in turn suggests at least a mid-19th century dating for cat. no. 67. Such a dating is also justified by comparison with other *chuval* of this group.

Based on the use of both the synthetic dyestuff Ponceau G for "highlights" and Mexican cochineal instead of madder as a ground colour, cat. no. 68 is clearly datable to between 1880 and 1900.

69 & 70

Teke *ak chuval*

Quite a large number of Teke *ak*[89] *chuval* in mixed technique like cat. no. 70 are known, while all-pile examples like cat. no. 69 are extremely rare. In addition, the few known all-pile examples all date from the late 19th century. They might be seen as luxury versions of their relatives in mixed technique or even in flatweave. The same phenomenon is also known in the field of the Yomut[90] and the Ersarï.[91]

Design: The two technically different pieces are nearly identical in design.

Structure: In their structure they differ mainly in that cat. no. 69 is knotted asymmetrically open right throughout, while cat. no. 70 is woven in weft-faced tabby with additional knotted pile bands. The example in mixed technique is considerably finer than the all-pile piece. To achieve the high knot density of more than 7000 knots per dm^2, silk wefts have been used in the piled area, which suggests a workshop production. Silk wefts are rarely seen in older Turkmen weavings,[92] though standard in the few known pieces of the "Eagle" *gül* group I. Particularly the *khali* of that group show a systematic use of wefts in a combination of silk and wool.[93] For those, we can assume a workshop production following Persian models. The extremely finely woven late 19th century Teke *ak chuval* (cat. no. 70) might be the product of a workshop controlled by the Russians. Such workshops are known to have existed up to the early 20th century.

Colours: In terms of colours, both pieces belong to the same category, hardly showing any madder, as they originate from the time of the "cochineal flood" around 1880. At that time, cochineal nearly supplanted madder in Central Asia,[94] as, based on its high availability, the once-precious insect dyestuff was accessible for progressively lower prices.[95] In addition, both pieces also contain synthetic dyestuffs, which confirms the late 19th century dating based on the use of cochineal in place of madder. Although the analyses of the putative synthetic dyestuff in the all-pile piece did not provide any result, we can assume that it is synthetic; it runs. In my experience, natural dyes never run, while synthetic dyes sometimes do.

Dating: As with cat. no. 68, the use of Mexican cochineal in place of madder and the presence of a synthetic dyestuff both point to a post-1880 date of production. Both pieces, however, must be understood to be from a completely different context from cat. no. 68 (workshop vs. tradition).

Introduction to the Teke *khali*

A relatively large number of Teke *khali* with the Teke *gül* (figs. 80 and 81) are known. Including the extensive late 19th century production, they might well be the most common type of the Turkmen carpet. This is primarily due to the fact that, in the 19th century, the Teke, along with the Yomut, were the largest Turkmen group, and their carpets enjoyed a great popularity on the market.

On the other hand, early Teke *khali* are rare. It is therefore particularly pleasing to be able to present two of the earliest Teke *khali*, dating to the 16th or 17th century, in this study. Until recently, such early dates were purely speculative; they are now scientifically proven by radiocarbon dating. Though the two other examples discussed here (cat. nos. 72 and 74) are not as early, they probably date at least from the 18th century.

The "classic" Teke *khali* can easily be recognized by the tribe-typical form of the *gülli gül*. With the exception of the Arabachi (fig. 90), no other Turkmen group has ever used this particular type of *gülli gül*. It is therefore called "Teke *gül*" (figs. 80, 81, 88 and 89). For a discussion of the origin and development of the *gülli gül*, see the section "The *gülli gül* Field Design" in the chapter "The Salor".

The Teke *gül*

Despite its constant tribe-typical characteristics, the Teke *gül* is known in a number of variants. Beyond some differences of details of the interior drawing, two different basic contour forms can be observed.

85 Thacher 1978 (1940): Plate 16.
86 See fig. 74 in the chapter "Secondary motifs in Tutkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".
87 Dodds/Eiland 1996: No. 127.
88 Dodds/Eiland 1996: No. 127.
89 *Ak* is Turkmen for "white".
90 Particularly of the "Eagle" *gül* groups, but also of the Yomut, quite a number of knotted *khali* are known imitating flatweave designs. For examples, see Schürmann 1969: No. 22; Hali 2/4, 1980: 353, also Bausback 1980: 147; Hali 26, 1985: 88; Herrmann X, 1988: No. 97; Rippon Boswell 42, 1995: Lot 125; Moshkova 1970 (1996): No. 125; Rippon Boswell 54, 2000: Lot 143; Rippon Boswell 65, 2005: Lot 44; Hali 121, 2002: 49.
91 Ersarï examples are the saf carpets cat. nos. 32 and 33.
92 Cat. no. 97 is an example.
93 See Cat. nos. 112 and 113.
94 The same can be observed in many East Anatolian Kurdish weavings from the same time.
95 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section "3.1.3 Mexican Cochineal at the End of the 19th Century".

The two basic forms of the Teke *gül* (figs. 80 and 81)

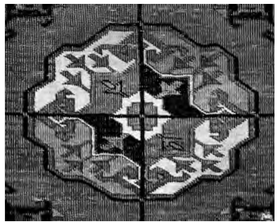


Fig. 80: "Roundish" Teke *gül* from cat. no. 71, 16th or 17th century. The accompanying secondary motif is the *gurbaga gül*.

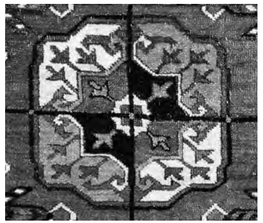


Fig. 81: "Box shaped" Teke *gül* from cat. no. 73, 16th or 17th century. The accompanying secondary motif is the *chemche gül*. As this somewhat more rustic version of the Teke *gül* is also frequently seen, it must be considered an independent second version of it.

Fig. 82: Timurid carpet design, drawing after a miniature painting from 1429/1430. This design has already been compared with the Turkmen *gülli gül* by Amy Briggs. Repr. from Briggs 1940: Figs. 42–44.

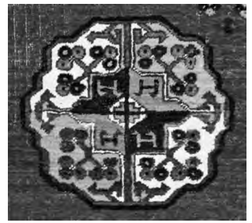


Fig. 83: The *gülli gül* of the Salor, 16th or 17th century, detail from cat. no. 16. The trifoliate flower motifs in the outer area are typical for the *gülli gül* of the Salor, the Sariq, and the Ersarï.

Slightly more common is a roundish contour, as seen in fig. 80, in contrast to a more squarish contour, as seen in fig. 81.

The Teke modified the *gülli gül* further than other Turkmen groups. While the *gülli gül* of the Salor (fig. 83), the Ersarï, and the Sarïq only show differences in their centres,[96] the Teke have also varied the outer area, probably adopting it to "newer fashion". In place of the usually seen three triple round blossoms (fig. 83), they have inserted three single buds (figs. 80 and 81). More changes are seen in the centre of the design: there, the Teke have inserted four buds of the same type as in the outer area in place of the animals of the Salor design or the two interlaced squares in the centre of the *gülli gül* of the Ersarï and the Sarïq. These differences in the Teke *gül* might well be traced back to Timurid influences (fig. 82). The same can be assumed for the *gülli gül* of the Arabachi, which also shows the buds instead of the triple blossoms in the outer area of the design (fig. 90). In addition, the Arabachi left the central area of the design empty, without the buds.

A further difference, seen only in a small minority of the roundish form of the Teke *gül*, might be traced back to Persian influence (fig. 89, circle). This appears as the "little tucks in the outline projecting inwards",[97] as described by Thompson,[98] and also as a kind of "shoulders"[99] (fig. 88, circle). Both features might have the same origin.

First of all it should be stressed that similar little tucks are also seen in the *gülli gül* of the Arabachi, also known as the Arabachi *gül* (fig. 90). However, among the Arabachi the tucks are (1) the rule, (2) more pronounced, and (3) always eight, whereas they are a great exception – and sometimes four and sometimes eight – among the Teke.[100] Furthermore, in contrast to the Salor, the Sarïq, the Ersarï, and the Teke, the Arabachi surprisingly never used the Arabachi *gül* on their *khali*, but exclusively on their *chuval*.

The special contour of the Arabachi *gül* (fig. 90), however, clearly shows a relationship to eight-lobed medallions as seen in 15th–18th century oriental carpets and textiles (figs. 85–87), suggesting an origin from such examples. These 15th–18th century eight-lobed medallions are, in turn, based on forms of interlaced eight-lobed medallions of late Antiquity (fig. 84).

The special contour of the Arabachi *gül* therefore likely came, between the 15th and the 17th century, via Persia to Central Asia. For these reasons it must be concluded that the Arabachi might have adopted these little tucks directly from Persia and not from the Teke, particularly as they are seen only rarely among the Teke. This unusual design detail probably originates in both tribal groups from the same source.

The version with eight little tucks has been interpreted by Thompson as the prototype of the Teke *gül*, and as derived from the Chinese cloud-collar or a lotus flower viewed from above.[101] Influences from China since the 14th century, not only in Persia and in Anatolia, but also in Central Asia, seem unquestionable, as demonstrated by the many dragon and lotus designs on carpets of different provenances. Thus, also the Turkmen have adopted the lotus flower design, although seen in profile, from Chinese models, perhaps ceramics or textiles. The Qaradashlï carpet cat. no. 88 is only one of many example which show such lotus flowers in the *alem*.[102]

However, it seems to make sense to see eight-lobed medallions from 15th–17th century oriental carpets and textiles (figs. 85–87) as a likely source for the little tucks in both the Teke and the Arabachi *gül* (figs. 89 and 90). As mentioned in the chapter "The Salor", the contour of the *gülli gül* (including the Teke *gül*) can be traced back to models from Late Antiquity, namely the "barbed quatrefoil".[103] But, while these influences on the contour go back at least to the time of the foundation of the Turkmen in the 8th–10th centuries, the little tucks might not have been added before the 14th or 15th century.

Thompson mentions a possible connection between the eight-lobed medallions in 15th and 16th century oriental carpets and Chinese cloud collars in the time of the Ilkhanids.[104] It is quite possible that the Chinese cloud collar, introduced by the Mongols (Ilkhanids) to the Islamic world in the 14th century, stimulated the revival of an ancient motif: the eight-lobed medallion. But eight-lobed medallions are known in the eastern Mediterranean since Late Antiquity; they do not have to be traced back to Chinese models. A similar case can be observed with the Lotus flower, which saw a revival in the Near East on the basis of Chinese models imported by the Mongols.[105]

Developments of designs are often complex, and hard to comprehend. We might well have to consider several influences leading to these special forms seen in the contour of the Teke *gül*.

The secondary motifs in Teke *khali*

The two typical secondary motifs in Teke *khali* are the *chemche gül* (cat. no. 73, 74, 148, and 149) and the *gurbaga gül* (cat. no. 71 and 151).[106] A third secondary motif, which has also frequently been used by the Teke, is the mini-*chuval gül* of the Salor (cat. nos. 72 and 150). Presumably influenced by the mini-*chuval gül* of the Salor, the small *chuval gül* of the Teke has also been used as a secondary motif in late Teke *khali*.[107]

An even rarer secondary motif in Teke *khali* is a small version of the Teke *gül*. This, however, might represent a late phenomenon.[108]

96 See figs. 198 – 204 in the chapter "The Salor".

97 Five Teke *khali* with little tucks in the outline are published (cat. no. 72 is one of them). Two of them have eight tucks, three of them only four (see cat. no. 72, comparable pieces with Teke *gül* with little tucks).

98 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 98.

99 Four Teke *khali* with "shoulders" in the outline of the Teke *gül* are published (see cat. no. 72, comparable pieces with Teke *gül* with "shoulders").

100 See cat. no. 72, comparable pieces – Arabachi *chuval* with *gülli gül* of the Arabachi.

101 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 63, fig. 34; Thompson 1981: 15.

102 See figs. 35–40 in the chapter "The Qaradashlï".

103 See figs. 190 – 195 in the chapter "The Salor".

104 Thompson 1981: 24.

105 In the Ancient Near East, the lotus goes back to dynastic Egypt, but, at least since the 1st millennium B.C. was also frequently used in Mesopotamia and Iran.

106 On the possible origin and development of the two secondary motifs, see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen torba, chuval, and khali".

107 See comparable pieces to cat. no. 72, Teke *khali* with small *chuval gül* secondary motifs.

108 An example is published in Austrian Auction Company, Auction 15th March 2014, lot 201.

Eight-lobed interlaced medallions from Late Antiquity as a possible source for the little tucks in the contour of the Teke *gül* and the Arabachi *gül* (figs. 88–90)

Fig. 84: Detail from a clavus of a woollen tunic, Egypt, 4th–6th century. Small eight-lobed interlaced medallions are lined up between pillar-like divider motifs. Repr. from Noever et al. 2005: Cat. no. 50. (For the 4th–6th century dating, see De Moor et al. 2008: 69, 163).

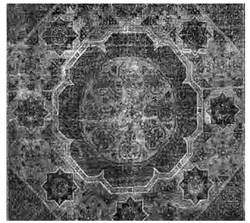


Fig. 85: Detail from a Mamluk carpet, 200 x 130 cm, Egypt, 15th or 16th century. Lobed eight-pass medallions of classical carpets like this could have been the models for medallions in traditional weavings as seen in figs. 86–87. Pratt Gift. Brooklyn Museum, Inv. no. 43.24.3. Repr. from Hali 92, 1997: 100.

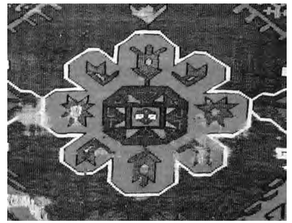


Fig. 86: Detail from an Anatolian village rug, 16th or 17th century. Such eight-lobed medallions might go back to influences from the sphere of classical workshop carpets as seen in fig. 85. Orient Stars Collection. Repr. from Kirchheim et al. 1993: No. 178.

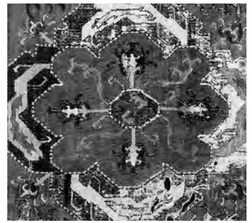


Fig. 87: Detail from an Armenian embroidery, Southern Caucasus, 17th century. Such eight-lobed medallions, inspired by models from classical workshop carpets, might have found their way to Central Asia and the Turkmen. Repr. from Hali 157, 2008: 31.

Fig. 88: Teke *gül* with "shoulders", 17th or 18th century, Teke *khali* fragment from the Islamic Museum Berlin, inv. no. 85, 1134. This well proportioned Teke *gül* shows the variant with the "shoulders" (encircled). Image by the author.

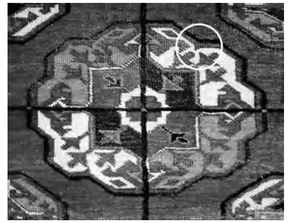


Fig. 89: Teke *gül* with four little tucks, from *khali* cat. no. 72, 17th or 18th century. This type of Teke *gül* differs in two little details from the examples in figs. 80 and 81: First and foremost in the four little tucks in the contour of the design (encircled), and second in the four additional little rhombuses at bottom and top, resembling comparable additions in the *gülli gül* of the Salor.

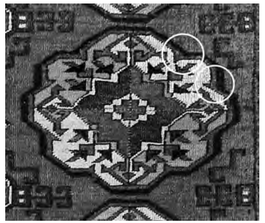


Fig. 90: Arabachi *gül* with eight little tucks. Detail from an Arabachi *chuval*, first half of the 19th century. The contour of the Arabachi *gül* with its eight little tucks might have been inspired by designs as seen in figs. 85–87. Private collection.

The borders of Teke *khali*

The majority of Teke *khali* show a main border design composed of octagons alternating with different geometric motifs. The octagons are filled either with four stars or a *gochak* cross. Variants of this border type are seen in the two *khali* fragments, cat. nos. 71 and 72. The borders of many 19th century Teke *khali* are, increasingly over time, filled with additional small ornaments, accompanied by an increasing number of minor borders.

Much less frequent are the different types of white ground borders with either lotus flowers[109] or curled leaves[110] in a meander. An example of the lotus border type is cat. no. 149. The two *khali*, cat. nos. 73 and 74, show the border type with curled leaves (figs. 92 and 93). A comparison between the meander with curled leaves design of the Teke, the Salor, the Qaradashlï, and the Yomut is seen in figs. 91 – 96.

109 On the origin of the lotus flower border, see figs. 35–40 in the chapter "The Eagle *Gül* Groups".

110 On the origin of the border with curled leaves, see figs. 23–25 in the chapter "The Salor".

With the exception of all Teke bird *asmalyk* (fig. 91), the side borders always differ, at least in drawing, from the design in the top and bottom borders.[111]

71

Teke *khali* fragment

This is an excellently drawn and particularly old Teke carpet, certainly an outstanding example of its kind.

Design: The Teke *gül* and the *gurbaga gül* are of extremely well balanced quality, but also the beauty of the border design might be unsurpassed. Only a handful of other Teke carpets rank with this example with its perfectly proportioned field composition and its exceptional and archaically drawn border.[112] Whether the carpet once had four or five columns of Teke *gül* is uncertain. With four columns, it would have hade a width of ca. 185 cm, with five, some 220 cm. Compared with the width of other Teke *khali*, either might be possible.

Colours: In comparison with other early Teke *khali*, the colours are the only "weak" point of this extremely beautiful fragment.

Dating: According to radiocarbon testing, this carpet is one of the few Turkmen weavings dating from the 16th or 17th century.

111 On possible reasons for this, see the discussion on the Teke *khali*, cat. no. 73 and 74.

112 E.g. the Teke *khali* fragment of the Islamic Museum in Berlin, in: Spuhler 1987: 269, no. 129, or the Teke *khali* in Mackie/Thompson 1980: No. 26.

72

Teke *khali* fragment with mini *chuval gül* secondary motif

This Teke *khali* fragment is one of the rare examples with the little tucks in the contour of the Teke *gül* (for the tucks see the introduction to the Teke *khali* and fig. 89). The side borders and presumably one column of Teke *gül* (where the piece is cut in the middle) are missing. The length is complete.

Design: Worth mentioning in terms of the design are the little tucks in the contour of the Teke *gül* (fig. 89) and the secondary motif in the field. Smaller than usual are the rays on the horizontal axis of the large star form within the Teke *gül* (cf. fig. 89). Usually all four rays of this star form are of equal length (cf. figs. 80, 81 and 88).

The "classic" Teke *khali* border with large octagons still shows a beautifully composed form, although small additional triangles have been added, as they are in an increasing number in later borders of this type. The composition of the border has still enough empty space, as would be expected in older pieces like this.

Colours: The saturated colour quality of this piece is outstanding.

Dating: According to radiocarbon testing, this carpet was woven with all likelihood in the 18th or at least in the early 19th century. However, a dating to the second half of the 17th century has also to be considered; such a notion is particularly supported by the early dating results of the two *khali* cat. no. 71 and 73.

Ovadan borders comparison: Examples from the Teke, the Salor, the Qaradashlï, and the Yomut

Fig.91: Ovadan border (meander with curled leaves) of the Teke *asmalyk* cat. no. 143, 17th or 18th century.

Fig. 92: Ovadan border (meander with curled leaves) of the Teke *khali* cat. no. 73, 16th or 17th century.

Fig.93: Ovadan border (meander with curled leaves) of the Teke *khali* cat. no. 74, 17th or 18th century.

Fig.94: Ovadan border (meander with curled leaves) of the Salor *ensi* cat. no. 1, 17th or 18th century.

Fig. 95: Ovadan border (meander with curled leaves) of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, 17th century.

Fig. 96: Ovadan border (meander with curled leaves) of the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 102, 17th century.

73 & 74

Teke *khali* with *ovadan* border

These two carpets belong to a group of six published examples with the more squarish Teke *gül* (fig. 81) and the *ovadan* border,[113] though one of the six published pieces shows the unusual *ovadan* border only in the lower third (the balance shows the standard Teke *khali* border with octagons). In addition, two unpublished fragments of this group are known to me. According to Moshkova, *ovadan* literally means "beautiful".[114]

Design: All eight known pieces with the *ovadan* border show the more squarish Teke *gül* in the field, seven of them in combination with the *chemche gül*, one with the *gurbaga gül* as a secondary motif.[115] The result of radiocarbon dating of cat. no. 73 clearly demonstrates that the more simple, squarish form of the Teke *gül* is by no means a later variant of the more "classic" Teke *gül* with the roundish form (fig. 80) as seen in cat. no. 72, at least not within the last 400 years.

The special form of the meander with curled leaves in the side borders of these carpets shows a variant to the side borders of the same type seen in Salor *ensi* and Qaradashlï *khali* (cf. figs. 94 and 95). The bird and animal tree *asmalyk* of the Teke represent the only group of Turkmen weavings showing the same form of the meander with curled leaves in the side and the end borders (fig. 91). Of the various *ovadan* border versions, that of the Qaradashlï (fig. 95) is the most frequently seen. That of the Teke and the Salor is less common.

The example of this special border type used by almost all Turkmen groups shows once more how one design has been interpreted in such different forms (particularly in the side borders), that the close relationship between them is only revealed upon careful inspection. Like the *ensi* design, its use by all Turkmen groups indicated the design's existence in Central Asia before the Turkmen.

Dating: According to radiocarbon testing, this carpet, like cat. no. 71, is one of the few Turkmen weavings dating from the 16th or 17th century. The somewhat later piece, cat. no. 74, dates with all likelihood to between 1650 and 1820. The great similarity to the earlier piece suggests a dating to at least the 18th century, while a possible origin in the second half of the 17th century should also not be ignored.

113 One in an English, and one in a German private colletion.
114 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 334.
115 On the *chemche gül* and the *gurbaga gül*, see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

148

Teke *khali* with unusual secondary motif

Even if not as old and magnificent as cat. no. 71, this carpet is certainly one of the few early examples of its kind. The rounded form of the Teke *gül* stands as a primary motif in the field. As a secondary motif, the *gurbaga gül* of cat. no. 71 is replaced by a kind of hybrid between the *gurbaga gül* and the "Satellite" *gül*.[116] The border is of the "classic" type with octagons and stars, although here in a version not quite as archaic as in cat. no. 71. As in almost all Turkmen *khali*, the drawing of the horizontal borders is not identical with the drawing of the vertical borders. Furthermore, the version of the horizontal borders is nearly identical to the main border of the B-type Salor *ensi* cat. no. 2. In spite of their various minor differences, cat. no. 71 and 148, might not be far apart in age. This has been confirmed by radiocarbon dating. Cat. no. 148 was woven in the 17th or 18th century.

149

Teke *khali* fragment

The crowded design, the triple minor border and the piled *alem* all indicate a 19th century date of production for his fragment. Although piled *alem* are often seen on carpets of the Yomut and the Qaradashlï, where this proclivity is documented by the early 17th century, among the Teke it is a later development. Perhaps, these piled *alem* in *khali* of the Teke result from the same 19th century zeitgeist as the all-pile banded *chuval* cat. no. 65, 66, and 69.

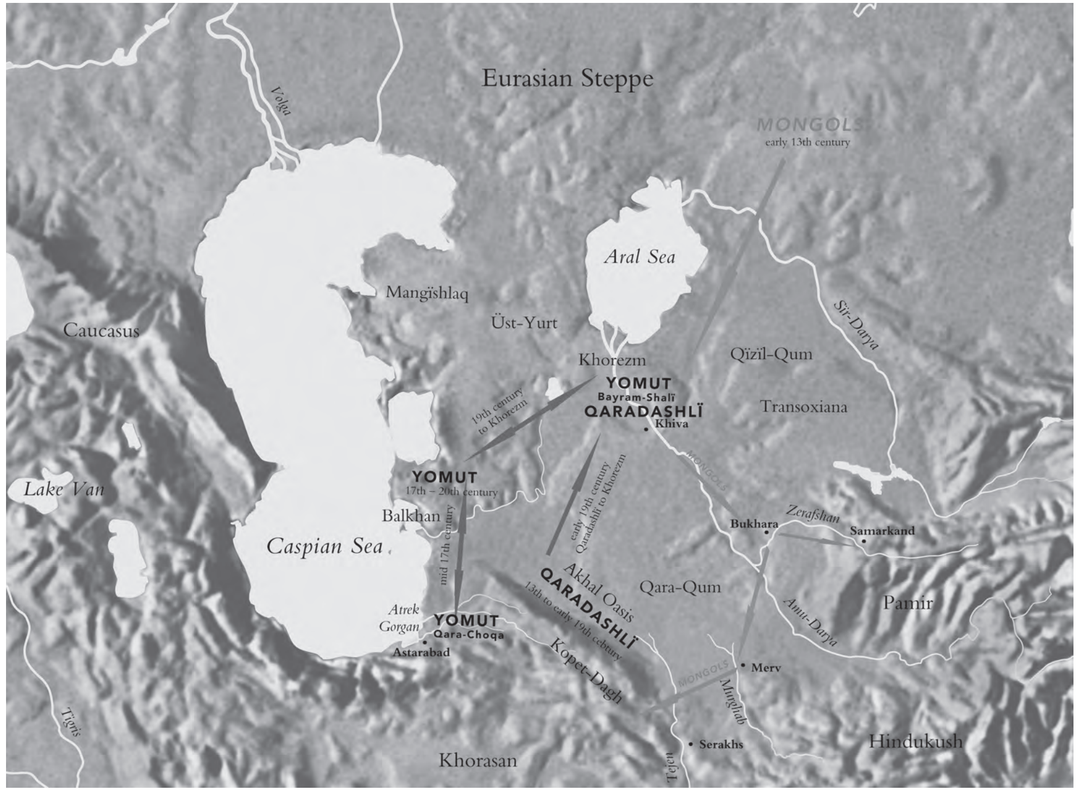
116 See fig. 69 in the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*". A Teke *khali* fragment with the same secondary motif, from the Museum of Ethnographic Art, Hamburg, is illustrated in Hali 5/3 1983: 266.

151

Teke *khali* fragment with lotus ("boat") border

The border design in this fragment is a 17th century invention, first seen as a standard border type in "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*, for which it was adopted from Safavid Persia.[117] In certain cases, it might have replaced the ancient meander with curled leaf border design, as seen in cat. nos. 73 and 74. The crowded composition and the triple minor border point to a 19th century date of production rather than around 1700; both are suggested as options by radiocarbon dating.

117 See figs. 35 – 40 in the chapter "The Eagle *Gül* Groups".



Map: The migration of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut, 17th – 19th centuries.
After Bregel 2003: Map 36A and B, and map 37; Wood 1990: 27, 34.

The Yazïr-Qaradashlï

Akhal Oasis, Sumbar Valley, Khiva Oasis
Cat. nos. 75 – 95; 152 and 153

Introduction

The weavings discussed in the following four chapters (the Yazïr-Qaradashlï, the Yomut, the "Eagle" *gül* groups, and the "P-Chowdur" group) have generally been labelled "Yomut" or "Yomut family" in the literature.[1] In the course of this study, however, a connection to a geographical area rather than to an ethnic group has become increasingly clear for this extensive cluster of weavings.

Southwest Turkmenistan's culture has been forged not only from the incursions of the Mongols, Timurids, Uzbeks, and Persians, but also from the coexistence of various Turkmen tribal groups. All of this complicates ethnic attribution of piled weavings.

However, older traditions of this area and its complex history contribute to the design and weaving traditions of the region, not just developments since the 13th century.[2] In fact, carpet weaving has been known in this area since the 2nd millennium B.C.[3]

In regard to the challenge of attribution, radiocarbon dating data is again helpful. We now know that we are faced with weavings from roughly the past 400 years. Interpolating this new data with Turkmen history at least helps to form groups of weavings and relate them to tribes who lived in Southwest Turkmenistan during this period. This, in many respects, places us in a better supported position than was the case before.

Jon Thompson was already aware in the late 1970s that the Yomut alone couldn't have produced all these quite different weavings.[4] Since then, some authors have, based on structural features, separated individual groups of weavings from the large Yomut cluster, and in some cases tentatively attributed them to a tribal group.

Attribution of pieces previously labelled "Yomut", or "Yomut family" to individual tribal groups was problematic at that time, and remains so today. Thompson certainly seems to have been correct to

1 Loges 1978: No. 57, our cat. no. 82; Cassin/Hoffmeister: Plate 17, our cat. no. 79. Most of the pre-1990 publications followed this kind of attribution.

2 Cf. Bregel 2003.
3 Khlopin 1982.
4 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 135, 145.

suggest that particular attention to earlier pieces might be useful in approaching the problems of attribution.

Radiocarbon dating executed in the course of this study has confirmed Thompson's assumption. A possible chronological order, indeed, has at least partly facilitated tribal attributions.

The Qaradashlï hypothesis

The relevance of such a chronological order is seen in relation to a group of piled weavings from the "Yomut family" first proposed by Azadi in 1980. Azadi associates these weavings with the Qaradashlï tribe.[5] He consequently also assigns them a design, the Qaradashlï *gül*.[6] Since Azadi's proposal nearly 40 years ago, the number of weavings recognized as having the characteristic features of this group has increased substantially. Furthermore, we know today of several examples of this group dating to the 16th or 17th century.

In relation to this group and its hypothetical Qaradashlï attribution I largely follow Azadi's proposal. Though over time there are more facts supporting such an attribution, incontrovertible evidence is still missing, so the attribution remains hypothetical. The historical existence of the Qaradashlï in Southwest Turkmenistan, however, is beyond dispute. From the 13th century on, they lived as sedentary farmers and breeders in the Akhal Oasis, and were there until they were expelled by the Teke in the early 19th century.[7]

The still popular Yomut attribution of these weavings is mainly based on the historical fact that the Yomut dominated this area in the 19th century, and the assumption that, with few exceptions, pieces of this group did not predate the 19th century. Pre-19th century datings have only rarely been ventured; they have generally been dismissed by connoisseurs and experts as too speculative. Today we know that this dating scepticism was based on an overly conservative assumption. It remains undisputed, however, that Southwest Turkmenistan, the border area with Persia, was the homeland of the Yomut for a long time.[8]

Other tribal groups who lived in this Southwestern region of Turkmenistan in the 18th century were to a great extent absorbed or driven out by the Yomut or the Teke in the 19th century. In the course of the 19th century, the Teke expanded eastwards in the direction of Serakhs and Merv, but also remained in the Akhal Oasis. The Akhal Oasis was, however, for some 600 years, the heartland of the Qaradashlï, who settled there in the 13th century as farmers and breeders under the name Yazïr.[9]

The historical background

In contrast to the Yomut and the Teke, the Qaradashlï are historically documented, under the name Yazïr, for a very long time. Mahmud al-Qashgari first mentioned them in the 11th century as one of the 24 Oghuz tribes.[10] In the course of the westward movement of the Seljuks, but perhaps also due to pressure from the advancing Mongols, the Yazïr are said to have moved westwards into the Akhal Oasis in the 13th century.[11]

At that time, with the Salor, the Yazïr were one of the most important Turkmen tribes. In the 17th century, Abu'l-Ghazi mentions the Yazïr for a last time as one of the 24 Oghuz tribes, after which only the name Qaradashlï is reported.[12] This may be due to the fact that the Yazïr were decisively defeated by the Mongols.[13]

On the origin of the name Qaradashlï, Dshikijew cites a legend, saying that the Qaradashlï marked out their territory in the Akhal Oasis with black stones against the intruding Teke, who therefore called them Qaradashlï, which means "the people with the black stones". According to Dshikijew, these incidents refer geographically to the Akhal Oasis (Bakharden) and historically to the first half of the 18th century.[14] It is not known exactly when the name Qaradashlï came into use, but presumably not before the 18th century. It therefore could be traced back to the Teke.

The Ali-Eli and the Yemreli were important neighbours of the Qaradashlï in the Akhal Oasis for several centuries, long before the arrival of the Teke. In the 16th – 18th centuries, the Ali-Eli and the Yemreli are said to have been of importance.

As a result of the incursion of the Teke, the situation of the Qaradashlï deteriorated in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries. Even though the Qaradashlï as descendants of the Yazïr were reportedly said to have had a high status, the Teke treated them like a subjected people. They no longer had any water rights and had to pay tribute to the Teke.[15] These difficult conditions of living may have induced them to relocate, first to the Sumbar valley, and later, in the early 19th century, to Khoresm, the Khanate of Khiva in the estuary of the Amu Darya.[16] There, they lived until the 20th century in the neighbourhood of the Yomut Bayram-Shali, the Yemrelï, and the Chowdur.[17] According to Karpov, the Qaradashlï were essentially absorbed by the Yomut in the 19th century, until they were no longer perceptible as an independent tribal group.[18]

Based on the shifts of political power in the early 19th century, the Yemreli, too, left their original territory in the Akhal Oasis to emigrate to the Khanate of Khiva in Khoresm.[19]

The weavings of the Qaradashlï

A Qaradashlï attribution of the weavings discussed here is still hypothetical. There are, however, various indications arguing for a Qaradashlï attribution.

Qaradashlï designs are largely identical to those of the Yomut, although in details some preferences can be observed. Particularly in border designs of *torba* and *chuval*, group specific designs as seen in cat. no. 81 (fig. 15) are typical. Also, the Salor *kochanak* border design, which is not often seen among the Yomut, is quite common on Qaradashlï *torba* and *chuval*. The same is true for the "bulls head" border design[20] derived from composite flowers in the Mughal flower style as seen in cat. no. 84. Beyond these tell-tale details, pieces of this group can be identified by their treatment of common designs. For instance, weavings of the Qaradashlï group have a tendency toward somewhat "stiff" designs. The field design of cat. no. 81 is an example, strangely in contrast to the exceptionally dynamic drawing of the border design with the running dog (fig. 15). Also the *chemche gül*, the secondary motif of many *torba* and *chuval*, shows a tribe-typical version with its two vertically arranged, confronted w-forms (fig. 13).

Although the Qaradashlï are said to have been settled farmers and breeders in the Akhal Oasis since the 13th century, they notably produced the complete repertory of nomadic tent furnishings, even into the 19th century. The group of weavings attributed to the Qaradashlï includes *ensi*, *kapunuk*, *aq yüp*, and most types of animal decoration and bags.

5 Talk given at the 3rd ICOC in Washington DC, October 1980 (so far unpublished). As a co-author of the catalogue of the Turkmen exhibition of the 7th ICOC in Hamburg, Azadi again addresses this attribution (Andrews et al. 1993: 18–20 and cat. nos. 61–64). Otherwise, this attribution remained widely unnoticed in carpet literature.
6 For the tribe-typical design of the Qaradashlï suggested by Azadi, see cat. no. 88.
7 Bregel 2003: Map 36A, 36B and 37.
8 Bregel 2003: Map 36A, 36B and 37.
9 Dshaikijew 1991: 109.
10 Dshikijew 1991: 107.
11 Dshikijew 1991: 115.
12 Dshikijew 1991: 109.
13 Dshikijew 1991: 73.
14 Dshikijew 1991: 111 et seq.
15 König 1962: 83.
16 Dshikijew 1991: 111.
17 See Bregel 2003: Map 36B and 37.
18 Karpov 1931: 46.
19 Dshikijew 1991: 96 et seq.
20 Loges 1978: No. 59, 60; Andrews et al. 1993: Nos. 51 and 68; Hodenhagen 1997: Nos. 55, 60, 66, 69; Pinner/Eiland 1999: Plate 39, 40.

The piled weavings attributed to the Qaradashlï show the following common features:

- Symmetrical knotting.
- Frequent use of offset knotting, often covering entire sections.
- Sometimes some rows, but often entire sections show asymmetrical open right knotting. In one *khali*, one half is symmetrically, the other half asymmetrically knotted.[21]
- Often cotton was used as part of the weft material; in some cases all wefts are continuously of cotton.
- The pile frequently consists of dry and brittle wool, particularly in older pieces, which are therefore often worn down to the knot.
- The design is often identical with Yomut designs, with the exception of the preference for certain border patterns.
- *Chuval*, as a rule, have a plain *alem*.
- The ground colour of the *alem* is generally slightly darker than the ground colour of the field, not only in *torba* and *chuval*, but also in *khali*.
- *Torba* are clearly wider than *chuval*.
- The colour palette is usually somewhat restrained and cooler than that of the design-related Yomut pieces.

Why is this group attributed to the Qaradashlï, rather than the Yemreli or Ali Eli? The fact that this group of weavings contains a number of pieces of different types with early radiocarbon dates[22] is one argument for a Qaradashlï attribution, as it is consistent with them having lived in the Akhal Oasis for centuries, and their being descendants of the Yazïr.

Finally, the consistency of their designs, indicating a long tradition, is also consistent with the long history of the Qaradashli.[23]

21 Sotheby's NY, 16 December 1993: Lot 42 (cover).

22 The *torba* cat. no. 79 and the two *khali* cat. nos. 84 and 89 are the most definitive examples concerning their radiocarbon dating results. A number of other pieces including cat. nos. 76, 80, 81, 82, 85, 87 88, 90, 93 and 94 can also be dated at least to the 18th century.

23 As examples, see the borders with curled leaves of cat. nos. 84, 91 and 93.

75

Turkmen *ensi*

The *ensi* cat. no. 75 belongs to a small group defined by David Reuben.[24] In spite of many similarities, the pieces of this group are rather diverse. They cannot be attributed with certainty to any of the known Turkmen tribes. David Reuben mentions the heterogeneous character of the group, in which he also includes "P-Chowdur" pieces. The colour palette of cat. no. 75 and its comparison pieces, however, clearly differs from what is understood here as typical "P-Chowdur". For the sake of a clearer differentiation, it seems useful to reduce the group to pieces that meet the criteria listed below, so "P-Chowdur" group pieces should not be included.

The *ensi* cat. no. 75 shows design parallels to pieces of the Teke, the Qaradashlï, and the Yomut. Therefore the piece has been placed between the Teke and Qaradashlï chapters.

The small group of *ensi* shows the following common features:

- Asymmetric open right knotting (As2), sometimes small sections with symmetric knotting.[25]
- Soft, high-quality wool.
- Often an unusually colourful and warm palette.[26]

24 Reuben 2007.

25 Cat. no. 75, comparison piece (10). From other pieces, so far only little and imprecise structural data is available. The parallels, however, are interesting. Furthermore we also know of this phenomenon among Qaradashlï, and its opposite: symmetrical knotting with asymmetrically knotted areas.

26 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (1) – (5).

- Either basically Yomut designs with Teke influence[27] or vice versa.[28] Sometimes influences from other tribal groups (Qaradashlï[29] and/or "Eagle" *gül* group II[30]) in small details like minor borders.
- Origin presumably from Southwest Turkmenistan.

In addition to the group of *ensi*, there are also *chuval* and *khali* which show the same features.

Design: The presence of Teke, Qaradashlï, and Yomut designs on a single piece illustrates the impossibility of categorizing things neatly. There are frequently fields which cannot unambiguously be defined, where several possibilities need to be considered. The phenomenon of design amalgamation described here for cat. no. 75 is absolutely not limited to this *ensi*, or even this group.

A combination of typical design elements from different tribes can also be seen on other, particularly older, pieces from Southwest Turkmenistan. An example is the early Teke *torba* cat. no. 56, which also shows a combination of designs from different tribal groups from this region. Related to Yomut design is the *pekwesh* field design, which can often be seen on Yomut *ensi*.[31] The same applies to the borders, particularly the inner minor border, called *syrga*, "earring", by Moshkova. The design of the main border is known only on two other published *ensi* of this group.[32] Also unusual is the stylized flower design in the upper of the two *alem*. A nearly identical pattern is seen in one of the two *alem* of cat. no. 94, the *khali* with *kepse gül* field design. Whether this *kepse gül* carpet is related to the *ensi* discussed here is unclear, but not unlikely.

Colours: The *ensi* shows a beautiful colourfulness with warm and harmonious well-matched shades. The lack of insect dyestuffs would be typical of the Yomut.

Dating: The earliest pieces of this group presumably still date from the 18th century,[33] while the latest examples from the late 19th, perhaps even from the early 20th century.[34] Cat. no. 75 doubtlessly belongs among the earlier pieces of this group.

Although a number of *ensi* with features typical of the Qaradashlï group are known, none of these pieces has been examined.

27 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (1), (3) – (6), (8) and (9).

28 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (2), (7) and (10).

29 Cat. no. 75, comparison piece (9).

30 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (10) with a border design like "Eagle" *gül* group II *asmalyk*.

31 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces with symmetrical knotting.

32 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (6) and (7).

33 Cat. no. 75, comparison piece (7).

34 Cat. no. 75, comparison piece (2).

76 – 78

Qaradashlï *asmalyk* with *erre gül*

The *asmalyk* (camel flank decoration) of the Qaradashlï are usually patterned with the *erre gül* (fig. 5) and the border design seen in the three pieces discussed here (cat. nos. 76 – 78).[35] Whether the latest piece, cat. no. 78, can still be ascribed to the Qaradashlï is unclear. In the late 19th century, characteristic features of Qaradashlï weavings became very similar to the Yomut, becoming increasingly indistinguishable from them.[36] The design, however, up to the minor borders, corresponds to the earlier pieces cat. no. 76 and 77. All three *asmalyk* originally had several rows of polychrome tassels at the lower edge, as seen in the comparison piece published by Mackie/Thompson.[37] This was standard for the *asmalyk* of most Turkmen groups.

35 This is the case with all listed comparison pieces (see Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 76).

36 See the discussion of *khali* with *chuval gül* field design cat. no. 89

37 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 164, no. 75.

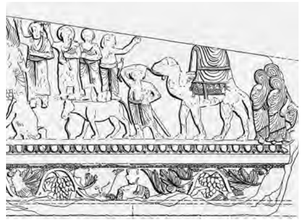


Fig. 1: Processional scene. Camel with litter and flank decoration, followed by veiled women. Architrave Fragment, Temple of Baal, Palmyra, 1st century A.D. Repr. from Keel 1972: 303, fig. 434a.

Fig. 2: A Turkmen bride on the way to her groom. The richly decorated camel carries a bridal litter *kejebe* and a camel flank decoration *asmalyk*. Photo William Irons. Repr. from Mackie/Thompson 1980: 165, fig. 47.

Fig. 3: Detail from fig. 1. Design and size of the camel flank decoration show similarities to the *asmalyk* of the Turkmen (fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Main and minor border of the *asmalyk* cat. no. 77. This is the most common border type of Qaradashlï *asmalyk*. The main border shows stepped rhombuses with a "running dog" in the minor borders.

An interesting parallel, perhaps even a possible clue to the origin of the camel flank decoration *asmalyk* and the bridal litter *kejebe* is seen on a architrave fragment of the Baal temple in Palmyra, Syria (fig. 1). Not only do the function and the size of the camel flank decoration resemble the *asmalyk* of the Turkmen in the 17th–19th centuries, there are also similarities in the design; both the Turkmen *asmalyk* and the Palmyra camel flank decoration show borders with stepped rhombuses and the "running dog" (figs. 3 and 4).[38] The field design of the Palmyra example is hidden by the cover of the litter. According to Othmar Keel, the representation on the architrave from the temple of Baal shows a procession of nomads transporting a holy object in a litter on the back of a camel.[39]

Based on the evidence for the Ancient Near Eastern origin of Turkmen carpet design (e.g. the *ensi* design, or the *ak su* design), and perhaps even the carpet weaving tradition itself, the question arises whether the Turkmen bridal litter and camel flank decorations might also go back to Ancient Near Eastern models. A field photograph by William Irons, taken in the 1960s,[40] illustrates both the use of the bridal litter *kejebe* and the camel flank decoration *asmalyk* in a Turkmen wedding ceremony (fig. 2) and the close similarity to the representation from Palmyra. Comparable representations from the Eurasian steppe belt, the original homeland of the Oghuz, are not known.

Design: The *erre gül* (fig. 5) is the most common field design of Qaradashlï and Yomut *asmalyk*,[41] whereas it is only seldom seen among other tribal groups and in other types of weavings.[42] Moshkova translates the Turkmen *erre gül* as "saw" pattern.[43] Although this name refers to the latticework (or the vertically standing serrated meander) rather than to the cross shaped ornaments connected by a vertical pole and standing between the serrated meander, Moshkova refers to a number of ornaments in plate LXVIII in her book, which shows different types of the cross-shaped designs and not the lattice.

38 A very similar border type is also typical for *chuval* among the Qaradashlï (see fig. 15, border of cat. no. 81). Also there, the main border shows a stepped rhombus and the minor border a running dog.

39 Keel 1972: Caption fig. 434a.

40 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 165, fig. 47. A second photograph by William Irons showing the same bridal camel is published in O'Bannon et al. 1990: 55. A photograph from 1924, of another Turkmen wedding camel with a bridal litter *kejebe*, is published in Pinner/Eiland 1999: 118.

41 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 76.

42 E.g. on an *ensi* of the Ighdïr (Andrews et al. 1993: No. 50), on Yomut *khali* (Rippon Boswell 62, 2004: Lot 60 and 76) and *mafrash* and *torba* of the Qaradashlï.

43 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 329.

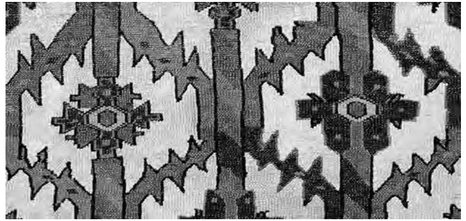


Fig. 5: The two variants of the *erre gül*, the most common field design of Turkmen *asmalyk*. Type A on the left and Type B on the right. Detail from cat. no. 76.

Generally there are two variants of the *erre gül* – type A and type B – either used in combination, namely in alternating diagonally arranged rows, or type A alone (fig. 5 left).

Of the 24 listed comparison pieces (see Vol. 1, cat. no. 76), 11 have only the A type design, while 13 show the combination of both types. Of the three *asmalyk* discussed here, only one has the single design, while the other two are decorated with the combination of both design types. When the *erre gül* appears on pieces other than *asmalyk*, the lattice is generally absent.[44]

The meaning of the different forms and the combined use of the *erre gül* remains unclear. There is, however, a possible 7th–9th century model for the A type design. A Sogdian (?) silk fragment found in the northern Caucasus (fig. 6) could represent an early form of the Turkmen design, or could at least be related to it.

Except for the somewhat stiff design of the newest example with early synthetic dyes, cat. no. 78, nothing has changed dramatically in either the overall composition or the individual patterns. This stable tradition suggests a great age for the design. The reason why this design was used only in the Southwest by the Qaradashlï and the Yomut, and never by the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke, could be local tradition, as indicated in the introduction to this chapter.[45]

Structure: The *asmalyk* cat. no. 76 is particularly dynamic in design, achieved by a virtuoso mastering of the technique of offset knotting. Although cat no. 77 is also completely interspersed with offset knotting, the appearance of the design is essentially more regular. Also unusual is the very irregular use of wool and cotton in the wefts of cat. no. 76, in combinations of up to 4 plies.

Colours: Cat. no. 76 shows the typical colour palette of this group, no insect dyestuffs on wool, and no silk.

Cat. no. 77, on the other hand, does contain small amounts of wool dyed with lac dye, namely in six small squares within the "arrows" of the *erre gül*.[46] Lac dye is rarely seen in Turkmen weavings other than those of the Salor, where it is the rule for insect dyestuff used on wool.[47]

Cat. no. 78, the latest piece of this little group, shows an interesting parallel to cat. no. 77. In place of the exotic insect dyestuff in the older piece, we find an early exotic synthetic dyestuff in the newer example. Early synthetic dyes were the last exotic dyestuffs, and were used as the insect dyestuffs were used before them.[48]

44 *Erre gül* Type A in the *alem* of an *ensi* published by Walker 1982: Plate 38; on a small rug published by Nagel 32, 1999, lot 152; as a field design of a kap (combination of *erre gül* Types A and B), or as a secondary motif of a chuval (only *erre gül* Type A), both in Andrews et al. 1993: No. 57, 83.

45 See the introduction to the chapters "The Ersarï" and "The Yomut".

46 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", fig. 10.

47 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", table 8, and the sections "3.4.1 The use of Lac Dye among the Salor", and "3.4.3 The use of Lac Dye among the other Turkmen".

48 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section "5. The first Synthetic Dyes".

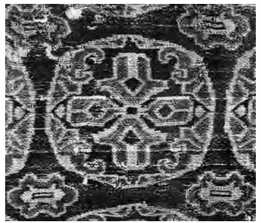


Fig. 6: Sogdian silk fragment, found in Chasaut, Caucasus, 7th–9th century. The design is in light green and beige on a dark blue ground. The cross shaped motif resembles the *erre gül* of the Turkmen (fig. 7). Repr. from Jerusalimskaja/Borkopp 1996: 87.

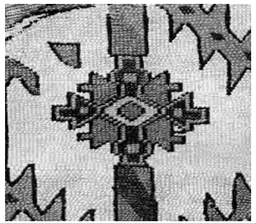


Fig. 7: Detail from the Qaradashlï *asmalyk* cat. no. 76. The *erre gül* shows similarities to the design of the Sogdian silk in fig. 6.

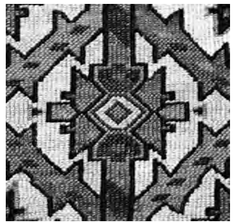


Fig. 8: Detail from the Qaradashlï *asmalyk* cat. no. 77. Compared with the Sogdian motif, the Turkmen *erre gül* has additionally been equipped with four "arrows". Like the Sogdian silk design in fig. 6, both types of the *erre gül* show little dots within the arrows of the cross shape.

Fig. 9: Detail from the Qaradashlï *asmalyk* cat. no. 78. Except for the proportions, nothing has changed in this late form of the *erre gül*.

Dating: Cat. no. 76, 77, and 78 clearly differ from each other in age, but are very close in design and with all likelihood belong in the same group.[49] The oldest example, cat. no. 76, clearly differs not only in the dynamic drawing of its design, but also in its smaller format. A late 17th or 18th century dating of this *asmalyk* has been confirmed by radiocarbon dating, the latest possibility being the first decade of the 19th century.[50] The newest example, cat. no. 78, on the other hand, already contains a mixture of madder with an early synthetic dyestuff. Perhaps because of this admixture of madder, the synthetic dyestuff might not be noticed at first sight. With the evidence of the synthetic dyestuff Ponceau G, this *asmalyk*, however, can be dated post-1880 with certainty, consistent with the somewhat stiff drawing of the design, in contrast to cat. no. 76 and 77.

49 For another series of pieces similar in design but different in age, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", section "2.1.3 Comparison Series" (cat. nos. 84–86).

50 See Vol. 1, cat. no. 76, Dating.

79

Qaradashlï *torba* with *chuval gül*

Although differing in some details from other Qaradashlï group *torba*, this early example shows all the typical features of the group. Atypical, however, is the orange-red ground colour. The main border (fig. 12) is also unusual; no other published Qaradashlï piece is known with this main border design. Finally, the secondary motif (fig. 11) is rare and the drawing of the *chuval gül* (fig. 10) is unusual. One possible explanation for all these peculiarities might be the age of the piece; it is older than all its relatives.

Design: The secondary motif (fig. 11) of this *torba* is uncommon. In this form, it is only known in five other Turkmen weavings: one

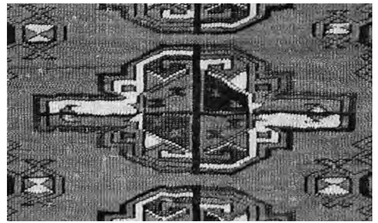


Fig. 10: Detail from the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79. Ca. 1450 – 1640. The *chuval gül* shows a distinct form not known from other Turkmen weavings.

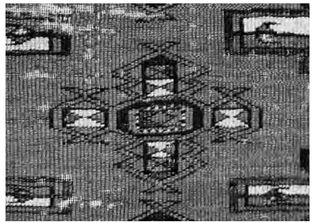


Fig. 11: Detail from the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79. This special type of secondary motif is only seen in a few other Turkmen weavings. This is the earliest example so far known with this type of secondary motif.

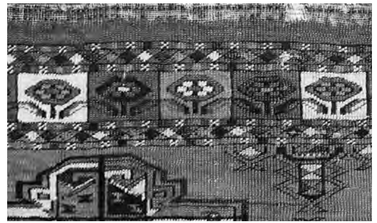


Fig. 12 : Detail from the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79. The little flowers in the border are of high quality in their drawing.

other Qaradshlï *torba*,[51] three Salor *chuval*[52] and one Ersarï *khali*.[53] The design is discussed in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*" (figs. 77–80).

The *chuval gül* (fig. 10) largely follows the "classic" form of this design. Somewhat peculiar are the slender protrusions on the horizontal axis. A possible origin of the design is discussed in the chapter "The Salor".[54]

The flower design main border (fig. 12) is frequently seen in early Turkmen *torba* (cat. no. 55), but occasionally also appears in the 19th century in a slightly simplified form.[55]

Structure: The structure of this *torba* is typical of the group: plain *alem*, frequent use of offset knotting, somewhat brittle wool quality, and the wide format. Cat. no. 79 might originally have measured more than 125 cm in width (cf. also cat. no. 80).

Colours: Orange-red as a field colour is a rare feature in this group. The same orange-red also appears in many other examples, but only in the design.[56] Used as a ground colour, it is more dominant, and adds a particular character to the piece.

In the upper border, however, the colour changes to the usual red-brown. Most other weavings of the Qaradashlï group have a red-brown or even brownish ground colour.[57] Cat. 79 contains no insect dyestuff, which is typical for the group.

Dating: Radiocarbon dating results indicate in an age range between ca. 1450 and 1650, making this *torba* one of the few Turkmen weavings pre-dating 1650.[58] It is remarkable that two other weavings of the Qaradashlï group have comparable radiocarbon dates.[59]

51 A piece from the Wiedersperg collection, published in Pinner/Eiland 1999: Plate 43. For the secondary motif see fig. 78 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

52 Cat. nos. 133 and 134 (fig. 79 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*"), and a third Salor piece of this type published in Hali 165, 2010: 75.

53 Fig. 80 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval,* and *khali*".

54 Cf. figs. 160–176 in the chapter "The Salor".

55 E.g. cat. no. 55, comparison pieces (1 – 8); Mackie/Thompson 1980: No. 70; Eskenazi 1983: No. 394; Hodenhagen 1997: No. 56; Reuben II, 2001: No. 25.

56 Cf. cat. nos. 83 and 84.

57 Cf. cat. nos. 83–85.

58 See the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", fig. 13.

59 Cat. nos. 84 and 89.

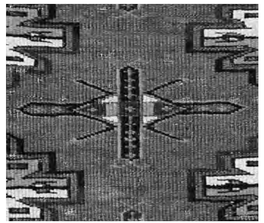


Fig. 13 : Detail from the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 80. Ca. 1700. This is the typical form of the *chemche gül* of the Qaradashlï.

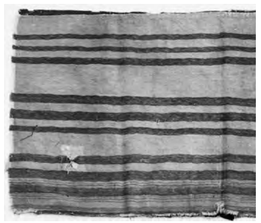


Fig. 14: Detail from the back of the *torba* cat. no. 80. Ca. 1700. Light brown stripes on an ivory ground.

80

Qaradashlï *torba* with *chuval gül*

This example more closely corresponds to the characteristics of a Qaradashlï *torba* than cat. no. 79. Nevertheless, with its well proportioned design, it is more similar to cat. no. 79 than any of the other comparison pieces. Unusually, the back has been preserved (fig. 14).

Design: This piece is more group-typical, in both colours and design, than cat. no. 79. The border design shows the version of the "classic" *kochanak* border typical for the Qaradashlï, a form not known among the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke. A comparable border is also seen in cat. no. 152, another early Qaradashlï *chuval*.[60] Typical for the group is also the *chemche gül* with its w-forms (fig. 13)[61] and the plain *alem*.

60 Also in the comparison pieces (1), (2), (4) and (6) to cat. no. 80.

61 For a discussion on the *chemche gül*, see the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

Structure: The structure of this *torba* shows the typical features of the Qaradashlï group.[62]

Colours: Both the colour palette and the ground colour of the field are different from cat. no. 79. Qaradashlï weavings as a rule are quite reserved in colour, with their red-brown or violet-brown grounds. As with most other weavings of the Qaradashlï group, this piece has no silk and no insect dyestuffs on wool.

Dating: Cat. no. 80 may be one of the oldest examples of Qaradashli *torba*. Radiocarbon dating resulted in two possible age ranges: either around 1700 or the 19th and early 20th century. The probability around 1700 is clearly higher, based primarily on comparison with cat. no. 79 and the few other comparison pieces (see vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 80), despite the smaller statistical probability for the earlier range. At 26.3%, the range is large enough to justify a likely dating around 1700.

81

Qaradashlï *chuval* with *chuval gül*

Judging by the number of published Qaradashlï *chuval*, there are many such weavings in Western collections.[63] Admittedly, a Qaradashlï attribution of weavings becomes more and more difficult in the course of the 19th century, as the typical features of Yomut and Qaradashlï weavings became increasing intermingled. Cat. no. 81, however, still exhibits clearly Qaradashlï features.

Design: The drawing of the meander ("running dog") in the minor borders is worthy of note (fig. 15); not only is the colour change from blue to green unusual and particularly beautiful, but also the elegantly curved shape of the meander. Here too, we see a masterful use of the technique of offset knotting. The main border with the cross form (or stepped rhombus) on an orange-red ground is seen frequently in Qaradashlï pieces. Other typical features are the somewhat stereotypical drawing of the design in the field, oddly in contrast with the dynamic drawing of the minor borders, and the secondary motif, which is related to the *sagdaq gül*, the secondary motif of Salor *chuval*.[64]

62 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.

63 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 81.

Fig. 15 : Detail from the Qaradashlï *chuval* cat. no. 81. End of the 17th or 18th century. This exceptional form of the minor borders with their beautiful curved shapes was achieved through offset knotting. It is extremely rare.

Structure: The structure is typical for the group: a plain *alem*, a frequent use of offset knotting, a somewhat brittle wool quality, and no silk.

Colours: The large proportion of medium blue and yellow in the secondary motifs is unusual. Comparable pieces, as a rule, are somewhat more restrained in colour (e.g. cat. no. 82). Of notable intensity is also the bright orange-red in the main border. Like most Qaradashlï pieces, cat. no 81 contains no insect dyestuff on wool.

Dating: This *chuval* with its outstanding drawing of the minor borders (fig. 15) and its excellent colour quality confirms the already mentioned phenomenon: pieces with characteristic indicators for great age do not necessarily pre-date 1650. Though this piece is with no doubt of great age, according to radiocarbon dating it is newer than the *torba* cat. no. 79. As a 19th century dating can certainly be excluded, the piece was very probably woven at least in the 18th century, perhaps even around 1700.

64 Cf. cat. nos. 11 and 12.

82

Qaradashlï *chuval* fragment with *chuval gül*

The design type with 4 × 4 *chuval gül* is less frequently seen in Qaradashlï *chuval* than the 3 × 3 type (e.g. cat. no. 81).[65] Other examples with "flags" instead of brackets (seen here) on the vertical axis of the *chuval gül* are known.[66]

Design: The *pekwesh* border design is not very common in Qaradashlï weavings, but is occasionally seen on both older and newer pieces of this group.

Structure: The structure shows all the typical features of the group: a plain *alem*, a frequent use of offset knotting, a somewhat brittle wool quality, and no silk.[67]

Colours: The piece shows the group-typical features: a red-brown ground colour, a somewhat cool palette, and no insect dyestuffs.

Dating: Radiocarbon testing virtually excludes a 19th century date of production. The piece must have been woven between ca. 1650 and 1800.

83

Qaradashlï *chuval* in flatweave

Flatweave *chuval* like cat. no. 83 have so far mostly been attributed to the Yomut, without much justification.[68] Attribution of flatweave *chuval* to a tribal group is in fact difficult; much too little is known about this type of weaving. Scholars and collectors have focused almost exclusively on their piled relatives.

The close resemblance of this piece to the piled weavings of the Qaradashlï group has led to its inclusion in this book. The attribution to the Qaradashlï is based largely on similarities in colours, the brittle wool quality, and the use of cotton. The *torba* cat. no. 80 and the *chu-*

65 Among other tribes, particularly the Salor and the Sarïq, *chuval* with a 4 × 4 field composition predominate.

66 See Vol. 1, cat. no. 81, comparison pieces with 4 × 4 *chuval gül* with "flags".

67 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.

68 Gombos 1975: No. 61.

Fig. 16: Representation of a landscape (1) with large flowering trees (2) and Chinese cloud wisps (3) in the border of a garden carpet from Kashmir or Lahore, Mughal India, ca. 1650. The field of this carpet shows a garden from a bird's eye view in the form of a lattice with palmettes and rosettes, which might be related to the *ak su* design (for a larger detail see fig. 35 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise"). Repr. from Walker 1997: 111, Fig. 110.

Fig. 17: Representation of a landscape (1) with large flowering trees (2) and cloud wisps (3). This design concept has presumably been adopted from Mughal models as seen in fig. 16. Detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, first half of the 17th century. This is the earliest known Turkmen version of this type of flower designed *alem*, in which individual elements like the landscape and some of the flowers are still drawn in more detail than seen in the slightly later Yomut pieces with comparable *alem* designs (fig. 24, see also figs. 42–47 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*").

val cat. no. 81 are comparable in their colouring. The orange-red in the flatweave, however, lacks the glowing quality seen in the older, knotted pieces.

The flatweave *chuval* might well date from the second half of the 19th century, perhaps, based on the vivid quality of the colours, even to the beginning of this period.

84

Qaradashlï *khali* fragment with *chuval gül* field design and one *alem* with flower design

Together with cat. nos. 153 and 101–103, this *khali* fragment belongs to an extremely rare and early group of Turkmen weavings with the representation of a garden in flower as an *alem* design (fig. 17). This example shows the best drawn Turkmen version of this design, borrowed from neighbouring Persia and/or India (fig. 16). In the drawing of its *alem* design, this carpet fragment shows graphic qualities which can to some degree still be seen in cat. no. 153, but no longer in this pronounced form in the pieces cat. nos. 101–103.

Design: Unusual in the design is the landscape garden with its flower motifs in one of the two *alem* (fig. 17).[69] This garden in flower is composed of a representation of a landscape (fig. 17, 1), large composite flowers (2), and Chinese cloud motifs (3).

Representations of gardens are part of the "classic" design repertoire in Oriental art. They have a long tradition in the Ancient Near East,[70] including the biblical garden of Eden. In the world of oriental carpets, representations of gardens have continued up to the 20th century. The design of this *alem* is in this tradition.

The carpet might originally have had three rows with nine or ten *chuval gül*. The *chuval gül* with small c-forms in the centre is typical for the Qaradashlï (fig. 18). The small c-forms are seen not only in the *chuval gül* of Qaradashlï *khali* (cat. nos. 84 – 86), but also in the *chuval gül* of some Qaradashlï *chuval*. Comparable c-forms can also be found

69 That this represents a garden landscape is illustrated in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen Carpets".

70 See the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

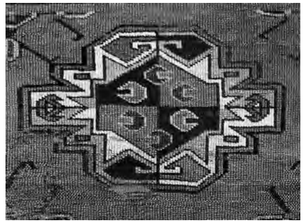


Fig. 18 : Detail from cat. no. 84. The inner drawing of the *chuval gül* with the little c-forms is typical for this group of *khali*.

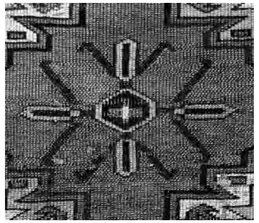


Fig. 19 : Detail from cat. no. 84. Caused by offset knotting, the petals of the flower crosses have a different angle from the diagonal lines in the *chuval gül*, providing the flower cross design with a great dynamic.

Fig. 20 : Detail from cat. no. 84. The curled leaves in the side borders are equipped at bottom and top (left and right) with flowers of the same kind as seen in the *alem* and the secondary motifs.

Fig. 21 : Detail from cat. no. 84. The upper and lower borders show a well-drawn version of the curled leaf meander design.

in early Yomut multiple *gül* carpets (cat. nos. 106 – 108) and the so-called c-*gül* carpets, where the design is even named for them.[71]

Unusual in this fragment is the secondary motif (fig. 19), a special form of a flower cross,[72] a variant of which appears in other Qaradashlï *khali* and *chuval*. The same type of flower buds are also attached to the curled leaves in the side borders (fig. 20).

Particularly beautiful are the minor borders with the "running dog" (fig. 20). They are of a rich colour tonality, which is only very rarely seen in later Turkmen pieces. Perhaps the closest comparison is the border of the Qaradashlï *chuval* cat. no. 80 (fig. 15).

Structure: The structural features are typical for the Qaradashlï.[73] The field and borders of the carpet are liberally interspersed with offset knotting. The borders show a frequent use of this technical feature (clearly visible in fig. 20), and the secondary motifs in the field achieve their dynamic appearance by its use (fig. 19). Offset knotting has also been used in plain areas in the field, perhaps to strengthen the structure.

More surprising is the total absence of offset knotting in the sophisticated flower design in the *alem*, where this technical peculiarity would most likely be expected. This might be explained as a traditional technical approach to the new flower designs inspired by Safavid and/or Mughal models.

Since the *alem* pattern was outside of any tradition of conventional geometric Turkmen carpet design, it must have been a real challenge for the weaver. Understandably uncertain with the unfamiliar design, she seem to have addressed the challenge using the normal knotting technique most familiar to her. As a result, the design appears a bit stiff and flattened in certain areas, although some design elements, such as the carnations and rosettes integrated into the landscape, are drawn in more detail than in the comparable pieces of the Yomut (cat. no. 101–103). Design details comparable to cat. no. 84 are also seen in cat. no. 153 (fig. 23), which is why that carpet has been attributed to the Qaradashlï and not to the Yomut.

71 On multiple *gül* carpets and the c-*gül* design, see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

72 On the origin and development of the flower cross design, see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

73 See the section "The Weavings of The Qaradashlï" in this chapter.

Colours: The red-brown ground colour is typical for this group of weavings. As might be expected, the piece contains no insect dyestuffs, which is also typical for the group. The orange-red was chemically analyzed, as an orange-red not from madder was found in the early Teke *torba* cat. no. 55.[74] However, this was not the case here. As with other tested orange dyes, the orange-red of this *khali* fragment (cat. no. 84) turned out to be dyed with madder.

Dating: The fragment belongs to the group of Turkmen weavings with a pre-1650 radiocarbon dating. The established period of time reaches from ca. 1490 – 1650. However, this period can be limited on the basis of a design which probably was not in use in this form before ca. 1600. The Safavid/Mughal flower design (fig. 17) suggests a *terminus post quem* of ca. 1600, assuming that the Turkmen adopted this design from the Safavid and Mughal design repertoire.[75] Thus, the carpet fragment dates with all likelihood from the first half of the 17th century.

153

Qaradashlï or Yomut multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 29)

This carpet is the only example known with the combination of a border with curled leaves, *alem* with composite flower design like cat. no. 84 (figs. 22 – 24), and a multiple *gül* carpet field design like cat. nos. 106 and 107 (fig. 29).[76] This is a hitherto unseen combination of two different, "new" designs; the designs in the *alem* (frieze with composite flowers)[77] and the field (*kepse gül*, c-*gül,* and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*)[78] are early 17th century adoptions.

74 According to Harald Böhmer, it is dyed with yellow bedstrow (*Galium verum* L.).
75 For a discussion, see the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
76 The carpet only appeared in October 2013, and is therefore only published with a black and white illustration in this book.
77 For a discussion of the flower design in the *alem* of these pieces, see the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
78 For a discussion of the carpets with *kepse gül*, c-*gül,* and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* (multiple *gül* carpets), see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

The similarities of border and *alem* designs of cat. no. 153 to the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, and the field design differing in its drawing from that of Yomut *khali* cat. nos. 106 and 107, suggest a stronger affinity to the Qaradashlï than to the Yomut. In age, cat. no. 153 might be only slightly newer than its comparison pieces of both groups (figs. 22 and 24). Like these, it might date from the 17th century; this was also confirmed by radiocarbon dating. It could be an attempt by Qaradashlï weavers to imitate not only the newly adopted flower design, but also the new multiple *gül* field design of the Yomut. Both these designs can be traced back to influences from early 17th century Safavid Persia and/or Mughal India.[79]

Design:

Borders and *alem* (fig. 23)

The border design with curled leaves is nearly identical to the border of cat. no. 84. Perhaps due to the small age difference, the main border of cat. no. 153 is already somewhat more densely packed and the minor borders are no longer as rich in colour.

The two *alem* show a mixture of stylistic elements of the comparable Qaradashlï and Yomut *alem* designs (cf. figs. 22 – 24).[80] The carnations left and right of the composite flowers and the cloud motifs at the upper edge (fig. 23, [3] and [4]) are from the Qaradashlï, the large round blossoms in the upper part of the shrub from the Yomut.

Slightly simplified, compared to cat. no. 84, are the "landscape" and the rosettes embedded therein (fig. 23, [1]). The lower *alem* includes neither the landscape nor the little "cloud wisps".

The Field Design (fig. 29)

In its field design, this *khali* differs completely from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84; it is entirely oriented towards the newly developed forms from the Yomut multiple *gül* carpets, which developed from models of late 16th or early 17th century Safavid sickle leaf and palmette carpets.[81]

79 A further group of muliple *gül* carpets from the same period and going back to the same Safavid influences are the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* (see the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups")
80 See also figs. 42 – 47 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
81 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

Fig. 22: Detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84. First half of the 17th century. Representation of a landscape with large flower shrubs and clouds. This earliest example of this comparison series shows the most complex form of the *alem* garden design (see also caption to fig. 17).

Fig. 23: Upper *alem* of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. Representation of a landscape (1) with large flower shrubs (2) and clouds (3). This *alem* shows a combination of Qaradashlï (fig. 22) and Yomut (fig. 24) design elements. From the Qaradashlï are the carnations left and right of every second flower shrub (4) and the clouds at the upper edge (3), from the Yomut the large oval blossoms at the upper end of the flower shrubs. The remaining elements are the same in both variants (Qaradashlï and Yomut).

Fig. 24: *Alem* of the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 101, mid 17th century. Compared with the Qaradashlï examples, the carnation motifs left and right of every second flower shrub (4) and the cloud motifs (3) at the upper end are missing.

Borrowings of designs between tribal groups is not unheard of; Teke examples include the secondary motif of the *torba* cat. no. 56, the field composition of the *torba* cat. no. 57, or the Salor *gül*, the primary motif of the two *chuval* cat. no. 62 and 63. Furthermore, cat. no. 153 differs from the Yomut models in the execution of the individual field designs (*kepse gül*, c-*gül,* and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*).

1. A Variant of the Early *kepse gül* (fig. 25)

The *kepse gül* is the Turkmen transformation of a Persian palmette. This is discussed in the chapter "From Persian Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*". Compared to the earliest form of the *kepse gül* in the two *khali* cat. nos. 106 and 107, the variant shown here represents a slight modification in the direction of an adaptation to Turkmen design tradition: the colour range has been mirrored around the vertical design axis. The design elements attached left and right to the vertical axis are both of the same colour (dark blue), a white and another dark blue element follow on both the right and the left side (cf. fig. 25). The

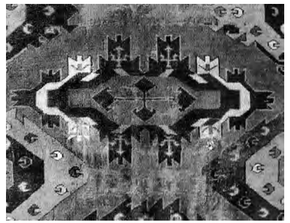


Fig. 25: Detail from cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. Early *kepse gül* with a colour range mirrored along the vertical axis.

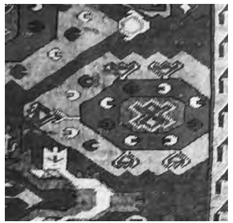


Fig. 26: Detail from cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. C-*gül* with unusual additional ornaments.

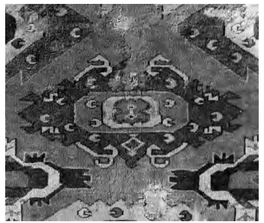


Fig. 27: Detail from cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. "Curled-edge cloudband" *gül*.

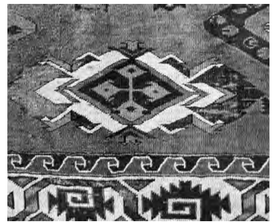


Fig. 28: Detail from cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. "Connecting" *gül*.

centre of the design is also slightly changed; it shows a cross form. This becomes more pronounced later, as seen in cat. no. 108.[82]

2. The Serrated c-*gül* (fig. 26)

The serrated c-*gül* in cat. no. 153 also shows changes in the form of additional design elements unknown in the "classic" form of the c-*gül* of the Yomut. In the c-*gül* of the Yomut, the eponymous c-forms are spread evenly in the outer two concentric octagons. Confronted "arrowheads" are added on the vertical axis in the outermost concetric octagon.[83] The c-*gül* in cat. no. 153 shows the same c-forms, but the "arrowheads" are missing or replaced by other ornaments (fig. 26). In addition, the central small octagons in the c-*gül* of cat. no. 153 contain various design elements, which are unknown in the Yomut carpets. Finally, even the serration of the C-*gül* differs. All variants known from Yomut c-*gül* carpets are seen in cat. no. 153 in a haphazard order.[84]

82 See also figs. 43 and 44 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
83 Fig. 53 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
84 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*", figs. 53–55 in the section "The Serrated c-*gül*".

3. The "Curled-Edge Cloudband" *gül* (fig. 27)

The design called "curled-edge-palmette gul" by Thompson, which we here call the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*,[85] is one of the rarest Turkmen carpet designs. Another design, which is equally rare among the Turkmen, also imitates a Chinese cloud pattern: namely the "cloud wisps" in the *alem* of the two *khali* cat. nos. 84 and 153.[86]

Surprisingly, in cat. no. 153 the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* appears more often than in any comparable carpet, namely 12 times (four times complete on the vertical middle axis, and eight times truncated along the left and right edges. The colourfulness and diversity of the motifs in the centre of the "curled-edge cloud band" *gül* is also unusual, virtually un-Turkmen, and is rather reminiscent of Caucasian carpets. Most comparable in this respect is the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (cat. no. 168). This unusual carpet not only shows the "curled-

85 For an explanation of the re-naming of this design, see the section "8. The Curled-Edge Cloudband *gül*" and figs. 74–77 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
86 For a discussion of the cloud design, see the section "4.1.2 The Chinese Cloud Motifs", figs. 48–50, in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".

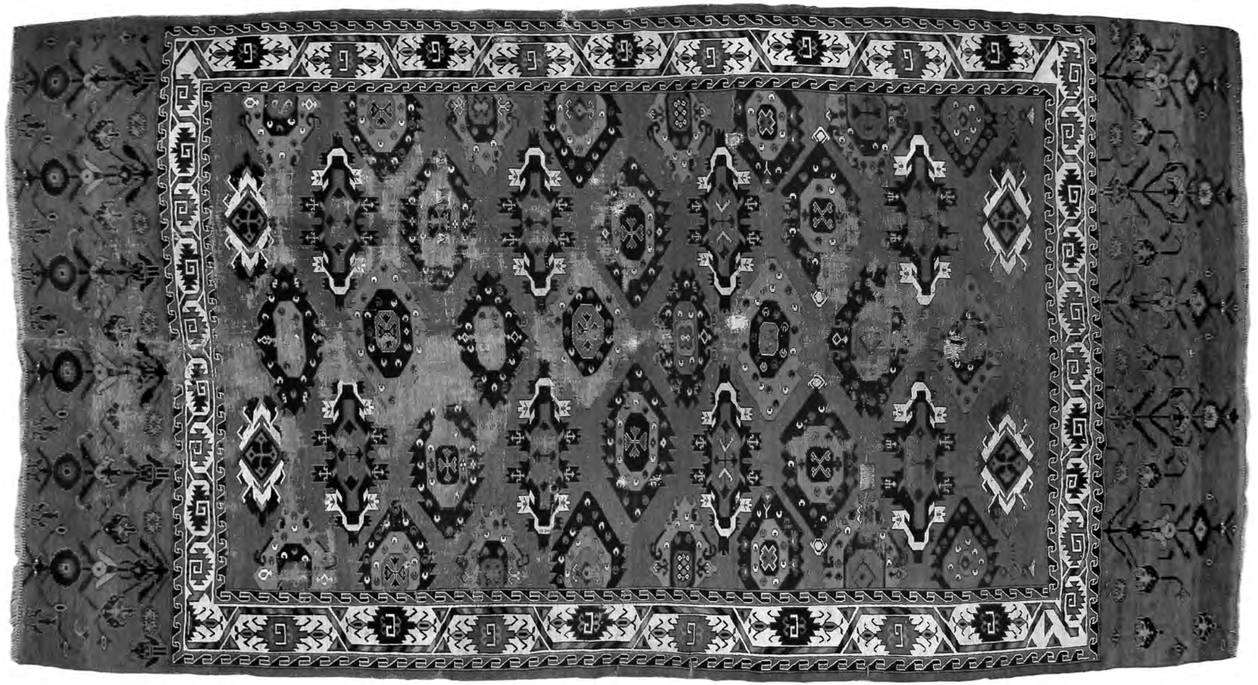


Fig. 29: Cat. no. 153. Multiple *gül* carpet with floral *alem* design, 183 x 306 cm, mid 17th century, Qaradashlī (or Yomut?), Southwest Turkmenistan. The carpet shows the *alem* design of *chuval gül* carpets like cat. nos. 84 and 101–103, and the field design of multiple *gül* carpets like cat. nos. 106 and 107.

edge cloud band" *gül*, but also a variant of the "cloud wisp" motif[87] and is unusually colourful, bringing Caucasian weaving to mind.

4. The "Connecting" *gül* (fig. 28)
Like the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*, the "connecting" *gül* is another rare Turkmen design. Derived from Safavid carpets with palmette, sickle leaf, and cloudband designs, it appears among the Turkmen in the early 17th century, disappearing shortly thereafter.[88] It is only known on five Turkmen carpets, in four cases together with the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*.[89]

Like the multiple *gül* carpet of the Wher collection, cat. no. 153 also shows the "connecting" *gül* twice at the beginning and twice at the end of the field (fig. 29).

Structure: The structural features of this fragment are typical for the Qaradashlï.[90] The piece is liberally interspersed with offset knotting, not only in the borders, but also in plain areas of the field.

In contrast to cat. no. 84, both *alem* with the "naturalistic" flower design show a frequent use of offset knotting. This could result from the new design having become familiar; cat. no. 153 is at least a generation newer than cat. no. 84.

Colours: Typically for the Qaradashlï, cat. no. 153 contains no insect dyestuffs.[91] Unusual and not typical for Qaradashlï weavings, however, is the colourfulness of some individual motifs in the field. Particularly the frequent use of yellow is remarkable and, in many design details, resembles Caucasian carpets. A relatively frequent use of bright red is also unusual for the Qaradashlï, though not unique.

Dating: The dating of this carpet fits neatly with the comparable examples, which is very helpful for the interpretation of radiocarbon dating. A radiocarbon age of 246 ± 30 years provides a 17th century dating with a statistical probability of more than 50 percent. The range in the late 18th and early 19th century can be excluded not only because of the strong similarities to the designs of cat. nos. 84, 101 – 103, and 106 and 107, but also based on the radiocarbon dating results of those pieces.

87 See fig. 58 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen Carpets".
88 For a detailed discussion of the "connecting" *gül*, see the section "The Connecting" *gül*" and figs 82 – 85 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups".
89 These five carpets are: (1) the multiple *gül* carpet with flower *alem* cat. no. 153 discussed here (fig. 29); (2) the multiple *gül* carpet of the Wher collection (fig 2 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*"); (3) the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (cat. no. 168, fig. 1 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*"); (4) the Pfadschbacher multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 41 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups"; (5) the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 116 (without "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*).
90 See the section "The Weavings of The Qaradashlï" in this chapter.
91 On the use of insect dyestuffs among the Qaradashlï, see the section "The Weavings of the Qaradashlï" sub-section "Common Features in Qaradashlï Weavings".

85

Qaradashlï *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

Despite its considerable age, this *khali* is a good example of a newer comparison piece to cat. no. 84. Although differing in many respects from the early fragment, it also shows similarities, namely three rows of *chuval gül* with the Qaradashlï-typical c-forms (fig. 18) and the first row of secondary motifs with flower crosses (fig. 31).

Design: The border design shows a variant to that of cat. no. 84; only the first motif at the bottom right side is still identical to the design of the earlier piece (cf. figs. 30 and 31). Both *alem* show the same design as the *alem* at the upper end of cat. no. 84.

Colours: The quality of the saturated colours is remarkable, particularly the dark violet ground colour.

Structur: The carpet shows the typical structural features of Qaradashlï group weavings.[92]

Dating: Radiocarbon testing clearly indicates a pre-1800 dating. Although the 16th and 17th centuries also have to be considered, stylistic features suggest a dating to the 18th century.[93] Design comparison with the earlier example cat. no. 84 supports such a conclusion.

92 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.
93 See the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", section "2.1.3 Comparison Series".

Fig. 30: Detail from cat. no. 84. The same flower buds as seen in the secondary motifs have been added to the curled leaves in the side bordres.

Fig. 31: Detail from cat. no. 85. With the exception of the first leaf at the bottom right side, the curled leaves in both side borders are already simplified. Only the first row of secondary motifs (flower crosses) at the bottom of the field still corresponds to those of the early piece (fig. 30).

86

Qaradashlï *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

With its obvious Yomut influences, the early 20th century Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 86 represents the end of a long tradition. Due to increasing pressure from the Teke, many of the Qaradashlï left the Akhal Oasis to migrate to the estuary of the Amu-Darya and the Khiva Oasis in the first half of the 19th century. At that time, the dominating tribal group there was the Yomut Bayram-Shalï. Without comparison with the two previous pieces cat. nos. 84 and 85, this *khali* would certainly be seen as a product of the Yomut. The similarities to the two earlier pieces and the knowledge of the historical events suggest, however, that this *khali* is a late example made by descendants of the Qaradashlï.

Structure: Although this late carpet differs considerably from the earlier prototypes, its structural features still largely correspond to the typical features of the Qaradashlï group, with the exception of a noticeably poorer wool quality. Reasons for this could have been the change of locality and/or the decline of the wool quality seen in many Turkmen weavings at the end of the 19th century. The borders also differ from Qaradashlï standard. They show a typical 19th century combination of stylistic elements from the Yomut and the Teke.

Colours: In conjunction with and to some extent a function of the lower quality of the wool, a general decline in colour quality can be observed. So it is hardly surprising that the colours of this *khali* no longer show much similarity to those of the earlier comparison pieces.

Dating: Initially a late 19th century date for this carpet was assumed, so the first result of radiocarbon dating was surprising: the 19th century was virtually excluded. Remaining were ranges in the 18th or the early 20th century. Based on stylistic reasons, however, the 18th century can definitely be excluded.

Several additional measurements have confirmed the first test, further reducing the possibility of a 19th century date of production.

87

Qaradashlï *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

A Qaradashlï attribution of this piece is largely based on several group-typical characteristics. Beyond those, the piece also shows parallels to the Yomut group.

Design: The drawing of the *chuval gül* is almost identical to that of the Yomut *khali* cat. nos. 98–100, while the drawing of the secondary

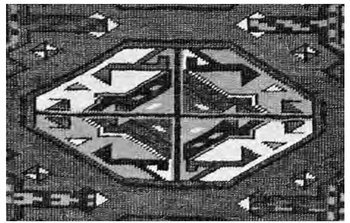


Fig. 32: The Qaradashlï *gül*, a special form of the *chuval gül* in the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 88, 18th century.

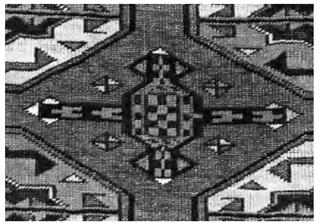


Fig. 33: Variation of the "satellite" *gül* in the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 88, 18th century. The relationship to the "satellite" *gül* is recognisable in the small rhombuses (triangles) pulled over the ends of the cross form. On the "satellite" *gül* see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".

Fig. 34: Lotus flower in a Sasanian capital, 7th century, Taq-e Bostan, Iran. Repr. from Flandin/Coste 1841.

Fig. 35: Lotus flower on a porcelain bottle with copper red décor, China, Ming period, 2nd half of the 14th century. Repr. from Ledderose 1985: Fig. 115.

motifs presumably shows a somewhat later variant of that of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84.[94]

Structure: The partly cotton wefts, the knot density, and offset knotting all fit into the set of typical Qaradashlï features.[95]

Colours: In regard to cpolours, the piece also fits well with the Qaradashlï group. *Alem* with darker ground colour are also seen in the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84.

Dating: Radiocarbon testing resulted in a dating range between ca. 1650 and 1800. The 20th century can be excluded for stylistic reasons. In comparison with dating results from other Qaradashlï and Yomut *khali* with *chuval gül* field design, a late 18th century date of production seems most probable.

94 See also the first row of halved secondary motifs of the same type in the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 85.

95 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.

88

Qaradashlï *khali* with Qaradashlï *gül* (fig. 32)

Only one other piece with four rows of this design is published so far, though with the more usual red-brown ground colour and the typical *chemche gül* secondary motif of the Qaradashlï (fig. 13).[96] All other published comparison pieces show three rows of Qaradashlï *gül*.[97]

Design: This primary field design was attributed to the Qaradashlï and named Qaradashlï *gül* by Azadi (fig. 2). The use of this design among such different tribal groups as the Teke, the Kizil Ayak (cat. no. 36), and on pieces of the "Eagle" *gül* groups and the "P-Chowdur" group, speaks in favour of an attribution at least to the southwest of Turkmenistan region.

96 Hali 89, 1996: 152.

97 See comparison pieces in Vol. 1.

Fig. 36: Lotus flower in an arabesque with split leaves, Timurid architectural décor, faïence mosaic, Iran, mid 15th century. Repr. from Brisch et al. 1986: 36, cat. no. 224.

Fig. 37: Lotus flower in a bowl, stone paste with underglaze painting, Iran, early 16th century. Repr. from Thompson/Canby 2003: 249, fig. 10.1.

Fig. 38: Lotus flower in a carpet from Kirman, Iran, 16th century. Repr. from Pope/Ackermann 1938: Fig. 775 f.

Fig. 39: Lotus flower in a vine leaf palmette from a Safavid carpet, Northwest Persia, 16th or 17th century. Repr. from Pope/Ackermann 1938: Fig. 779 a, plates 1112, 1126.

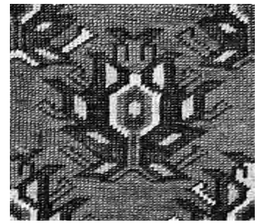


Fig. 40: Lotus flower in the *alem* of the Qaradashlï carpet cat. no. 88, 18th century.

No other example is known so far of the secondary motif of this *khali* (fig. 33), a derivate to the "satellite" *gül*. [98]

Particularly beautifully drawn are the lotus flowers in the two *alem* (fig. 40). Their Persian origin can hardly be overlooked. Lotus flowers can be observed already among the Sasanians (fig. 34). In the 16th and 17th centuries, in Persia, the lotus flower design experienced a true revival, going back to Chinese influences from the time of the Ilkhanids (Mongols), who brought the ancient design back into use in the Iranian world. (figs. 35–37). In the course of the 16th century, the lotus flower gained in importance in Safavid ornamentation and developed into large lotus palmettes (figs. 38 and 39). In Turkmen ornamentation these large lotus palmettes evolved into the *kepse gül*, which became one of the most popular Turkmen carpet designs in the course of the 19th century.[99]

98 On the possible origin of the "satellite" *gül*, see the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

99 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

Structure: The carpet shows the typical structural features of the Qaradashlï group.[100]

Colours: The purple ground colour is rather uncommon in Qaradashlï weavings, seen only occasionally, e.g. cat. no. 85, although there in a distinctly darker shade.[101] Similarities in the ground colour and also the overall colour palette can be seen in Kizil Ayak (cat. no. 36) and "P-Chowdur" pieces (cat. no. 121). What inter-relationships these similarities reflect is not clear for the time being.[102]

Dating: No radiocarbon dating has been performed. This impressive carpet, however, most likely dates from the 18th century.

100 See structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.

101 A hanging with a purple ground colour is published in: Hodenhagen 1997: No. 57.

102 See the discussion on cat. nos. 36 and 121.

Fig. 41: White ground Sasanian silk fragment with cock design ("tavuk nuska"), reliquary from the Lateran chapel Sancta Sanctorum, Rome, 6th or 7th century. Repr. from Zhao 1999: 116, fig. 03.08-6.

Fig. 42: Stylized palmette tree with confronted ducks, fragment of a Sogdian silk, 8th or 9th century. Private collection, New York.

Fig. 43: Two confronted cocks. Silk with gold threads, Iran or Central Asia, 13th or 14th century. This later form of a roundel with confronted birds developed under both Iranian and Chinese influence. Repr. from von Folsach 2001: 375.

Fig. 44: Reconstruction of the design of a Buyid silk, Iran, 11th century, rendered from a fragment of the Textile Museum, Washington D.C. Image and reconstruction by the author.

89

Qaradashlï *khali* with *tauk nuska* design

This *khali* is remarkable in several respects. Considering its great age, its condition is amazing.

Design: With its three columns of *tauk nuska*, the carpet shows the "classic" field layout of *tauk nuska* pieces of the Qaradashlï group. A further feature is the group-typical form of the *chemche gül* (fig. 47). In addition to the exceptional composition with an unusual amount of plain area in the field, the two dromedaries at the upper end of the field are remarkable (fig. 47). Such animal representations are rare in early pieces, in which they are also always small and heavily stylised, as they are known from "Eagle" *gül* pieces.[103] The Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127 is another early piece showing comparable stylized dromedaries, there in the side borders.

103 See fig. 55 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups".

The *tauk nuska* Field Design

According to Moshkova, the *tauk nuska* is the heraldic tribal design of the Arabachi.[104] However, it is well established that the *tauk nuska* design appears in early weavings of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut and, furthermore, goes back to pre-Islamic models. It well might have been one of the most popular *khali* design among the Arabachi, but they probably did not create it or use it first.[105]

Tauk (or *tavuk*), is a Persian word meaning, "cock", *nuska* (or *nusga*) is Turkmen and according to Moshkova means "design".[106] Thus, *tauk nuska* means, "cock design". In Iranian mythology, the cock was an important symbolic animal from the realm of the symbolism of the sun and light.[107]

In early Iranian silks we find water birds (fig. 42), birds of prey, and peacocks, but the cock has also been seen since the Sasanian period (fig. 41) and remained as a design in luxury textiles up to the 14th century (fig. 43). Thus, the Turkmen design name *tauk nuska* might go back at least to the Sasanians. Names for designs from such early periods are not unusual among the Turkmen. *Sagdaq gül*, "Sogdian design", the name for the secondary motif in Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*, is one example, going back to the same period of time as the *tauk nuska*. The *tauk nuska*, however, does not show cocks, but rather quadrupeds with two heads. Why the name "cock design" (*tauk nuska*) has been preserved is unclear, but seems to point to its Iranian origin.

104 Moschkova 1970 (1998): 226, 252, 253.
105 See also the chapter "The Arabachi".
106 Moschkova 1970 (1998): 261.
107 Zerling/Bauer 2003: 123.

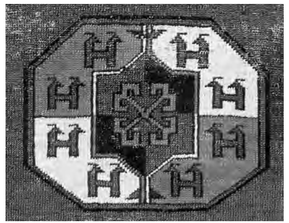


Fig. 45: *Tauk nuska*, detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 90, 17th or 18th century.

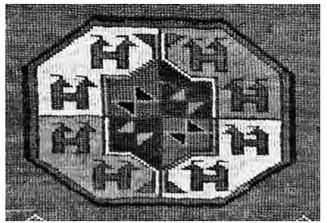


Fig. 46: *Tauk nuska*, detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 89, 16th or 17th century.

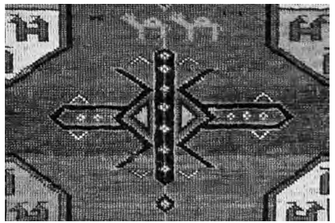


Fig. 47: Chemche gül, below two dromedaries decorated with asmalyk. Detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 89.

The *tauk nuska* is a quartered octagonal design with a diagonally arranged colouring. It was used only as a primary design for large format *khali* (figs. 45 and 46). Except for the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke, the *tauk nuska* was used by all Turkmen groups. This suggests considerable age for the design, which, in the area of modern Turkmenistan, might go back to the time when the Turkmen were first mentioned. The quartering of the design composition further confirms this hypothesis. Before the 10th century, this formal principle was extremely rare. Medallions showed single motifs (fig. 41), or the design within the medallion was mirrored along the vertical axis, as seen in the 7th – 9th century Sogdian silk in fig. 42. Since the 10th century, medallions with quartered design composition have become increasingly prevalent (fig. 44).

Medallion or octagon designs with confronted birds at a stylized tree were not only popular among the Sogdians, but were also adopted by the Turkmen and found their way to Anatolia. Undoubtedly the most widely used Turkmen examples are the *tauk nuska* and the *ertmen gül*. The early form of the *ertmen gül* still clearly shows two confronted birds at a stylized tree (fig. 48 in the chapter "The Teke"). Arguably the best known Anatolian variant of this design is in the small format rug found in Marby, Sweden. The design of this rug consists of two octagons one on top of the other, each containing two confronted birds on a split palemette and a stylized tree.[108]

Under the new religion, Islam, together with the new rulers, the Turks, this design concept developed further in Central Asia. The confronted animal design has been mirrored again to become a quadruple

108 Gantzhorn 1990: Fig. 296.

animal design. Angular forms like the octagon, often integrated into complex geometric interlacement, were increasingly favoured over round medallions. The Buyid silk in fig. 44 is a good example of this development. Such design developments might well also have appeared among the Turkmen. The *tauk nuska* is one of the logical consequences of this 10th century development. As is customary in Turkmen weavings, all details have been stylized and geometricized. The comparison of figs. 44 and 45 illustrates this clearly. Thus, the *tauk nuska* might represent an ancient, though newly "edited", design from Iranian Central Asia, in line with the new Turkmen habits since the 10th century.

The Flatwoven *alem*

It is amazing to find this type of flatwoven *alem* in practically identical form among nearly all Turkmen tribes. The design composition consists of only three groups of narrow stripes in light blue-green and/or dark blue on a red-brown ground. *Alem* of this type are also known among the Salor,[109] the Ersarï,[110] the Sarïq,[111] the Teke,[112] and "Eagle" *gül* group 2 carpets.[113] The explanation for this tribal overlapping similarity could go back to pre-10th century models, to the time before the Turkmen were first mentioned

Structure: The carpet shows the typical structural features of the Qaradashlï group. [114]

Colour: Like the structure, the somewhat subdued and rather cool colour palette is typical for the Qaradashlï.

Dating: This *khali* belongs to the small group of Turkmen weavings with a 16th or 17th century radiocarbon dating result.[115] As there are no other points of reference for a restriction of the calculated age range like an insect dyestuff and/or tin mordant, the whole range has to be considered. The piece could either date back to the 16th or the 17th century.

109 Concaro/Levi 1999: 126.
110 Thompson 1983: 96; Rippon Boswell 33, 1991: Lot 82.
111 Spuhler 1998: 255: No. 70.
112 Hali 130, 2003,: 83; Concaro/Levi 1999: 134.
113 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Fig. 10; Concaro/Levi 1999: 132. Only "Eagle" *gül* group II pieces have these traditional *alem*. However, *khali* from "Eagle" *gül* group I and III also have flatwoven *alem*, but with a more complex stripe design (see cat. no. 115).
114 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the Qaradashlï group in the introduction to this chapter.
115 See the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate" section 3.1, fig. 13.

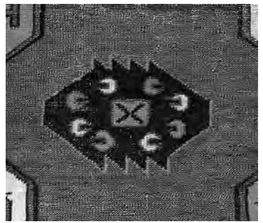


Fig. 48: C-*gül* secondary motif with central x-form. Detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 90.

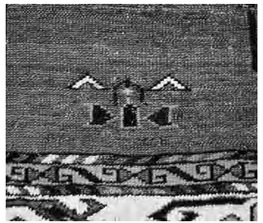


Fig. 49: Remains of a secondary motif. Detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 90.

90

Qaradashlï *khali* with *tauk nuska* field design

This carpet with *tauk nuska* design[116] shows great similarities to cat. no. 89. In their proportions and combinations of designs, both are pieces of almost unsurpassable beauty. The many repairs and the age related lack of the flatwoven *alem* might be considered small demerits.

Design: The c-*gül*[117] as a secondary motif (fig. 48) is considerably less common than the *chemche gül* of cat. no. 89. At the beginning of the carpet, the weaver started with a no longer identifiable version of a secondary motif (fig. 49), continued on the right and left hand sides with a cross-shaped secondary motif composed of five small squares with integrated eight pointed stars[118] (see colour plate in Vol. 1), and finally switched to the c-*gül* for the rest of the field composition. This could be a result of the "new fashion" of the multiple *gül* carpets. The proportions of the *tauk nuska*, the c-*gül*, and the plain areas in the field are perfectly balanced. As with the previous piece with the *chemche gül*, the border and field designs complement each other beautifully and, together with its harmonious colours, make the carpet a masterpiece.

Structur: The carpet shows the typical structural features of the Qaradashlï group.[119]

Colours: This carpet, like cat. no. 89, shows a somewhat subdued and rather cool colour palette in reddish-brown tones, typical for the Qaradashlï. In contrast to cat. no. 89, the orange-red in the *tauk nuska* motifs is slightly more intense. Also typical is the absence of insect dyestuffs. Particularly charming is the successful juxtaposition of orange-red and dark blue together with the well-balanced proportion of white and coloured areas.

Dating: Despite the high aesthetic quality, comparable to cat. no. 89, radiocarbon dating results did not exceed the mid-17th century. However, the carpet most likely dates at least from the early 18th, if not even from the second half of the 17th century.

116 For a discussion of the *tauk nuska*, see cat. no. 89.
117 For a discussion of the C-*gül*, see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
118 This secondary motif is frequently seen in *khali* with *chuval gül* field design and is probably related to the *saqdaq gül* of the Salor (cf. cat. nos. 81 and 85).
119 For details, see the structure in vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the Qaradashlï group in the introduction to this chapter.

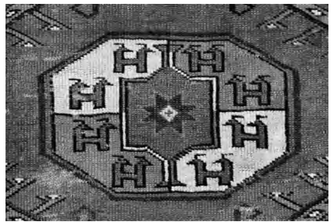


Fig. 50: *Tauk nuska*, detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 91.

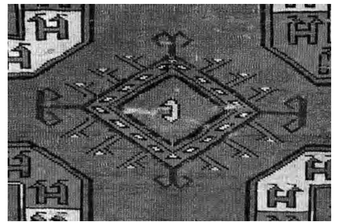


Fig. 51: Diamond shaped, hooked secondary motif. Detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 91.

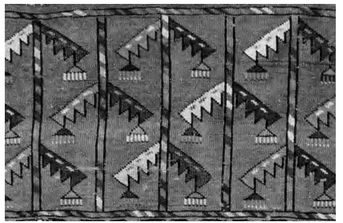


Fig. 52: *Alem* design of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 91.

91

Qaradashlï *khali* with *tauk nuska* design

With its well-balanced proportions of field, border and *alem* designs, this might be the most attractive example of the group of Qaradashlï *khali* with *tauk nuska* primary and hooked rhombus secondary motifs

field design. All evidence available points to the Qaradashlï group, although a Yomut attribution can not be completely excluded. The closest comparison piece turned up at Christie's in 2008; although it has a different type of border and is certainly not as old, it corresponds in many respects to cat. no. 91.[120]

Design: Worthy of note are the good proportions of the dimensions of the field and the size of both the *tauk nuska* and the secondary motifs. The c-forms in the centres of the secondary motifs are unique to this piece; no other *khali* with this secondary motif has them (fig. 51). The bold main border with its very impressive variant of the Turkmen meander with curled leaves is also remarkable.[121] The curled leaves are unusually large, which is extremely appealing and certainly adds much to the powerful overall effect of the carpet. Only seen in older pieces is the likewise attractive minor border, composed of a tendril with superimposed S-forms. The *alem* with their "Yomut firs" are composed in a rare form which presumably is also seen only in early pieces: the offset arrangement of the "firs" gives the impression of a diamond lattice (fig. 52).

Structure: Considering its virtuoso use of offset knotting, the additional asymmetric knots, and the somewhat "stiff" drawing of the field design, the carpets fits into the realm of the Qaradashlï group. Somewhat unusual is the soft touch of the piece.

Colours: Apart from slightly pale overall impression of the colours, the palette corresponds to the Qaradashlï group.

Dating: Compared with other *tauk nuska khali* of the Qaradashlï, this carpet most likely dates from the 18th century. Based on the high quality of the drawing, a 19th century date of production for this carpet is hardly conceivable; it is too similar to the early radiocarbon-dated piece cat. no. 89.

120 Christie's NY, 3 June 2008: Lot 41.
121 Compare the border of cat. no. 93.

92

Qaradashlï *khali* fragment with *tauk nuska* field design

This fragment has been included in the study because of its presumed great age. It convinces with its formal qualities, in which it clearly differs from later comparison pieces.

Design: The *dyrnak gül* as a secondary motif is rare among all Turkmen.

Structure: The carpet shows all the typical features of the Qaradashlï group.[122]

Colours: The somewhat subdued and rather cool colour palette with a purplish brown in various shades as a ground colour is typical for the Qaradashlï, as is the absence of any insect dyestuff.

Dating: The carpet dates from between 1650 and 1800. Based on the high colour and design quality of the piece, a 19th century dating seems unlikely.

93

Qaradashlï *khali* with *dyrnak gül* field design

Design: In addition to the alternation of two different *dyrnak gül*, the carpet shows a bold version of the border with curled leaves with an unusual version at the ends. Equally impressive are the minor borders with their large s-forms. Also the flower design in the *alem* is rare, if not even unique in this form.

Structure: The carpet shows all the typical features of the Qaradashlï group.[123]

Colours: The somewhat subdued and rather cool colour palette with a purplish brown in various shades as a ground colour is typical for the Qaradashlï, as is the absence of insect dyestuffs.

122 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the Qaradashlï group in the introduction to this chapter.
123 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the Qaradashlï group in the introduction to this chapter.

Dating: The carpet dates from between 1650 and 1800. Based on the high colour and design quality of the piece, a 19th century dating can be excluded.

94

Qaradashlï *khali* with *kepse gül* field design

Like cat. no. 90, this *khali* was included in the study based on the assumption of its great age. Although its condition leaves something to be desired, its high quality is beyond doubt.

Design: The drawing of the *kepse gül* alone suggests significant age.[124] Compared with *kepse gül* of 19th century carpets like cat. no. 95, cat. no. 94 still shows a powerful form of the design, though still not as impressive as the *kepse gül* of earlier pieces like cat. no. 108, or even the earliest form of the design with an asymmetric colour arrangement like cat. no. 106 and 107.[125]

Exceptional also is the design of the two *alem*. S-forms as seen in the beginning of the carpet are only very rarely seen in *alem*, which is also true for the flower motifs at the upper end. The same type of flowers also appear in the *alem* of the *ensi* cat. no. 75. This design parallel could indicate a correlation between the two pieces (see also "colours").

The combination of a main border with a meander and curled leaves and a *kochanak* minor border is typical for the Qaradashlï group. What resembles an "insect" in the main border, is nothing other than a curled leaf with attached buds on both sides. This playful use of design components is also seen in the early dated *khali* cat. no. 84. This type of bud also found a widespread use in the form of a quatrefoil secondary motif in *khali* and *chuval* not only by the Qaradashlï, but also other tribal groups.[126]

124 On the origin and development of the *kepse gül*, see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
125 See also the discussions of the pieces cat. nos. 105–108.
126 See also the discussion of the *khali* cat. no. 84 and the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".

Colours: The colour palette is slightly more intense than usual for the Qaradashlï group, and resembles the colour palette of the *ensi* cat. no. 75. Along with the *alem* design, this speaks for a possible relationship between the two pieces outside the Qaradashlï group.

Dating: In comparison with other *kepse gül* carpets, this *khali* may well predate 1800, but not 1700. One of the results of radiocarbon dating *kepse gül* carpets is the finding that the earliest form of the design had an asymmetrical colour scheme (see cat. no. 106 and 107). Therefrom, the type of *kepse gül* seen in cat. no. 108 developed in the 17th century, while the *kepse gül* seen here and in cat. no. 109 both represent yet a later development of the 18th century.

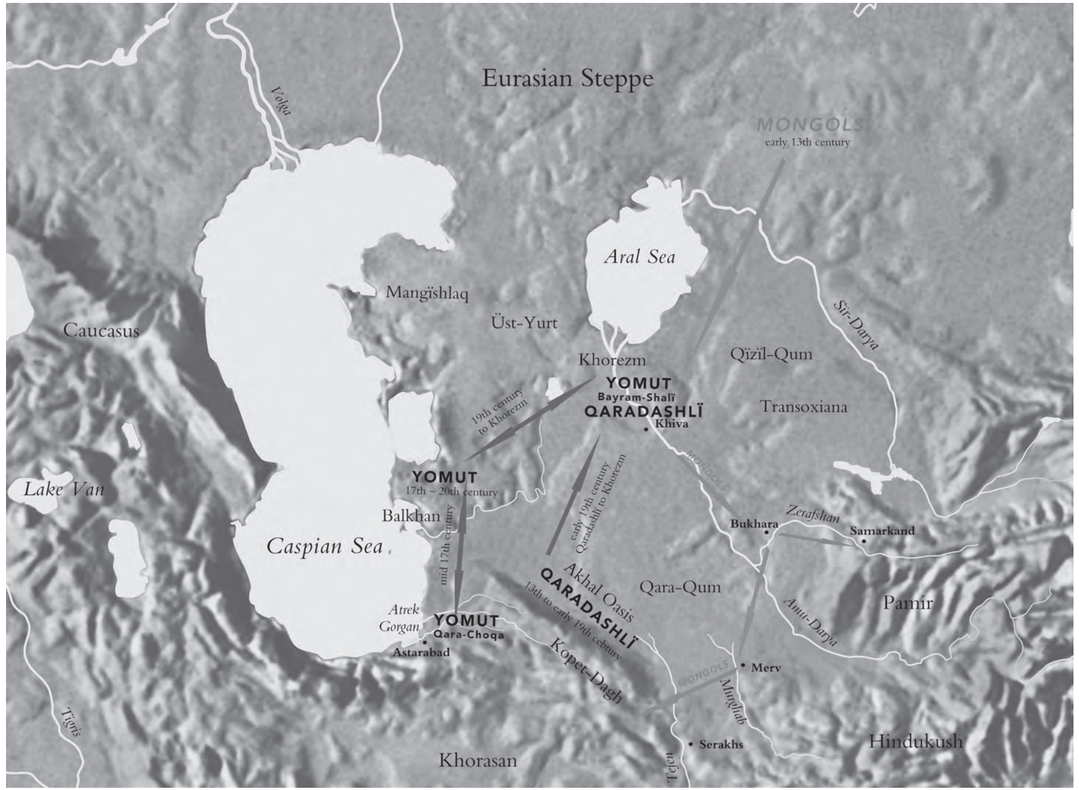
95

Qaradashlï *khali* with *kepse gül* and stylized flower design in the *alem*

It is difficult to say whether this *khali* can still be ascribed to the Qaradashlï or should rather be seen as a Yomut piece. The difficulty of distinguishing between the weavings of these two tribal groups in the course of the 19th century has been addressed in the discussion of cat. no. 86. Along with the Teke, the Yomut became the predominant tribal group in the 19th century.

Design: Of particular interest is the *alem* design (fig. 53). It undoubtedly shows a stylized version of the *alem* design of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 (fig. 54).[127] Also interesting are the similarities between the borders. The end borders of cat. no. 95 show a curled leaf tendril as seen in the Qaradashlï fragment cat. no. 84, while the end borders of the three Yomut pieces cat. nos. 101–103 show ashik motifs instead. The minor borders are also slightly different. They are

127 For a detailed design analysis, see the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the alem of Turkmen *khali*".



Map: The migration of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut, 17th – 19th centuries.
After Bregel 2003: Map 36A and B, and map 37; Wood 1990: 27, 34.

The Yazïr-Qaradashlï

Akhal Oasis, Sumbar Valley, Khiva Oasis
Cat. nos. 75 – 95; 152 and 153

Introduction

The weavings discussed in the following four chapters (the Yazïr-Qaradashlï, the Yomut, the "Eagle" *gül* groups, and the "P-Chowdur" group) have generally been labelled "Yomut" or "Yomut family" in the literature.[1] In the course of this study, however, a connection to a geographical area rather than to an ethnic group has become increasingly clear for this extensive cluster of weavings.

Southwest Turkmenistan's culture has been forged not only from the incursions of the Mongols, Timurids, Uzbeks, and Persians, but also from the coexistence of various Turkmen tribal groups. All of this complicates ethnic attribution of piled weavings.

However, older traditions of this area and its complex history contribute to the design and weaving traditions of the region, not just developments since the 13th century.[2] In fact, carpet weaving has been known in this area since the 2nd millennium B.C.[3]

In regard to the challenge of attribution, radiocarbon dating data is again helpful. We now know that we are faced with weavings from roughly the past 400 years. Interpolating this new data with Turkmen history at least helps to form groups of weavings and relate them to tribes who lived in Southwest Turkmenistan during this period. This, in many respects, places us in a better supported position than was the case before.

Jon Thompson was already aware in the late 1970s that the Yomut alone couldn't have produced all these quite different weavings.[4] Since then, some authors have, based on structural features, separated individual groups of weavings from the large Yomut cluster, and in some cases tentatively attributed them to a tribal group.

Attribution of pieces previously labelled "Yomut", or "Yomut family" to individual tribal groups was problematic at that time, and remains so today. Thompson certainly seems to have been correct to

1 Loges 1978: No. 57, our cat. no. 82; Cassin/Hoffmeister: Plate 17, our cat. no. 79. Most of the pre-1990 publications followed this kind of attribution.

2 Cf. Bregel 2003.
3 Khlopin 1982.
4 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 135, 145.

suggest that particular attention to earlier pieces might be useful in approaching the problems of attribution.

Radiocarbon dating executed in the course of this study has confirmed Thompson's assumption. A possible chronological order, indeed, has at least partly facilitated tribal attributions.

The Qaradashlï hypothesis

The relevance of such a chronological order is seen in relation to a group of piled weavings from the "Yomut family" first proposed by Azadi in 1980. Azadi associates these weavings with the Qaradashlï tribe.[5] He consequently also assigns them a design, the Qaradashlï *gül*.[6] Since Azadi's proposal nearly 40 years ago, the number of weavings recognized as having the characteristic features of this group has increased substantially. Furthermore, we know today of several examples of this group dating to the 16th or 17th century.

In relation to this group and its hypothetical Qaradashlï attribution I largely follow Azadi's proposal. Though over time there are more facts supporting such an attribution, incontrovertible evidence is still missing, so the attribution remains hypothetical. The historical existence of the Qaradashlï in Southwest Turkmenistan, however, is beyond dispute. From the 13th century on, they lived as sedentary farmers and breeders in the Akhal Oasis, and were there until they were expelled by the Teke in the early 19th century.[7]

The still popular Yomut attribution of these weavings is mainly based on the historical fact that the Yomut dominated this area in the 19th century, and the assumption that, with few exceptions, pieces of this group did not predate the 19th century. Pre-19th century datings have only rarely been ventured; they have generally been dismissed by connoisseurs and experts as too speculative. Today we know that this dating scepticism was based on an overly conservative assumption. It remains undisputed, however, that Southwest Turkmenistan, the border area with Persia, was the homeland of the Yomut for a long time.[8]

Other tribal groups who lived in this Southwestern region of Turkmenistan in the 18th century were to a great extent absorbed or driven out by the Yomut or the Teke in the 19th century. In the course of the 19th century, the Teke expanded eastwards in the direction of Serakhs and Merv, but also remained in the Akhal Oasis. The Akhal Oasis was, however, for some 600 years, the heartland of the Qaradashlï, who settled there in the 13th century as farmers and breeders under the name Yazïr.[9]

The historical background

In contrast to the Yomut and the Teke, the Qaradashlï are historically documented, under the name Yazïr, for a very long time. Mahmud al-Qashgari first mentioned them in the 11th century as one of the 24 Oghuz tribes.[10] In the course of the westward movement of the Seljuks, but perhaps also due to pressure from the advancing Mongols, the Yazïr are said to have moved westwards into the Akhal Oasis in the 13th century.[11]

At that time, with the Salor, the Yazïr were one of the most important Turkmen tribes. In the 17th century, Abu'l-Ghazi mentions the Yazïr for a last time as one of the 24 Oghuz tribes, after which only the name Qaradashlï is reported.[12] This may be due to the fact that the Yazïr were decisively defeated by the Mongols.[13]

On the origin of the name Qaradashlï, Dshikijew cites a legend, saying that the Qaradashlï marked out their territory in the Akhal Oasis with black stones against the intruding Teke, who therefore called them Qaradashlï, which means "the people with the black stones". According to Dshikijew, these incidents refer geographically to the Akhal Oasis (Bakharden) and historically to the first half of the 18th century.[14] It is not known exactly when the name Qaradashlï came into use, but presumably not before the 18th century. It therefore could be traced back to the Teke.

The Ali-Eli and the Yemreli were important neighbours of the Qaradashlï in the Akhal Oasis for several centuries, long before the arrival of the Teke. In the 16th – 18th centuries, the Ali-Eli and the Yemreli are said to have been of importance.

As a result of the incursion of the Teke, the situation of the Qaradashlï deteriorated in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries. Even though the Qaradashlï as descendants of the Yazïr were reportedly said to have had a high status, the Teke treated them like a subjected people. They no longer had any water rights and had to pay tribute to the Teke.[15] These difficult conditions of living may have induced them to relocate, first to the Sumbar valley, and later, in the early 19th century, to Khoresm, the Khanate of Khiva in the estuary of the Amu Darya.[16] There, they lived until the 20th century in the neighbourhood of the Yomut Bayram-Shali, the Yemrelï, and the Chowdur.[17] According to Karpov, the Qaradashlï were essentially absorbed by the Yomut in the 19th century, until they were no longer perceptible as an independent tribal group.[18]

Based on the shifts of political power in the early 19th century, the Yemreli, too, left their original territory in the Akhal Oasis to emigrate to the Khanate of Khiva in Khoresm.[19]

The weavings of the Qaradashlï

A Qaradashlï attribution of the weavings discussed here is still hypothetical. There are, however, various indications arguing for a Qaradashlï attribution.

Qaradashlï designs are largely identical to those of the Yomut, although in details some preferences can be observed. Particularly in border designs of *torba* and *chuval*, group specific designs as seen in cat. no. 81 (fig. 15) are typical. Also, the Salor *kochanak* border design, which is not often seen among the Yomut, is quite common on Qaradashlï *torba* and *chuval*. The same is true for the "bulls head" border design[20] derived from composite flowers in the Mughal flower style as seen in cat. no. 84. Beyond these tell-tale details, pieces of this group can be identified by their treatment of common designs. For instance, weavings of the Qaradashlï group have a tendency toward somewhat "stiff" designs. The field design of cat. no. 81 is an example, strangely in contrast to the exceptionally dynamic drawing of the border design with the running dog (fig. 15). Also the *chemche gül*, the secondary motif of many *torba* and *chuval*, shows a tribe-typical version with its two vertically arranged, confronted w-forms (fig. 13).

Although the Qaradashlï are said to have been settled farmers and breeders in the Akhal Oasis since the 13th century, they notably produced the complete repertory of nomadic tent furnishings, even into the 19th century. The group of weavings attributed to the Qaradashlï includes *ensi*, *kapunuk*, *aq yüp*, and most types of animal decoration and bags.

5 Talk given at the 3rd ICOC in Washington DC, October 1980 (so far unpublished). As a co-author of the catalogue of the Turkmen exhibition of the 7th ICOC in Hamburg, Azadi again addresses this attribution (Andrews et al. 1993: 18–20 and cat. nos. 61–64). Otherwise, this attribution remained widely unnoticed in carpet literature.
6 For the tribe-typical design of the Qaradashlï suggested by Azadi, see cat. no. 88.
7 Bregel 2003: Map 36A, 36B and 37.
8 Bregel 2003: Map 36A, 36B and 37.
9 Dshaikijew 1991: 109.
10 Dshikijew 1991: 107.
11 Dshikijew 1991: 115.
12 Dshikijew 1991: 109.
13 Dshikijew 1991: 73.
14 Dshikijew 1991: 111 et seq.
15 König 1962: 83.
16 Dshikijew 1991: 111.
17 See Bregel 2003: Map 36B and 37.
18 Karpov 1931: 46.
19 Dshikijew 1991: 96 et seq.
20 Loges 1978: No. 59, 60; Andrews et al. 1993: Nos. 51 and 68; Hodenhagen 1997: Nos. 55, 60, 66, 69; Pinner/Eiland 1999: Plate 39, 40.

The piled weavings attributed to the Qaradashlï show the following common features:

- Symmetrical knotting.
- Frequent use of offset knotting, often covering entire sections.
- Sometimes some rows, but often entire sections show asymmetrical open right knotting. In one *khali*, one half is symmetrically, the other half asymmetrically knotted.[21]
- Often cotton was used as part of the weft material; in some cases all wefts are continuously of cotton.
- The pile frequently consists of dry and brittle wool, particularly in older pieces, which are therefore often worn down to the knot.
- The design is often identical with Yomut designs, with the exception of the preference for certain border patterns.
- *Chuval*, as a rule, have a plain *alem*.
- The ground colour of the *alem* is generally slightly darker than the ground colour of the field, not only in *torba* and *chuval*, but also in *khali*.
- *Torba* are clearly wider than *chuval*.
- The colour palette is usually somewhat restrained and cooler than that of the design-related Yomut pieces.

Why is this group attributed to the Qaradashlï, rather than the Yemreli or Ali Eli? The fact that this group of weavings contains a number of pieces of different types with early radiocarbon dates[22] is one argument for a Qaradashlï attribution, as it is consistent with them having lived in the Akhal Oasis for centuries, and their being descendants of the Yazïr.

Finally, the consistency of their designs, indicating a long tradition, is also consistent with the long history of the Qaradashli.[23]

21 Sotheby's NY, 16 December 1993: Lot 42 (cover).

22 The *torba* cat. no. 79 and the two *khali* cat. nos. 84 and 89 are the most definitive examples concerning their radiocarbon dating results. A number of other pieces including cat. nos. 76, 80, 81, 82, 85, 87 88, 90, 93 and 94 can also be dated at least to the 18th century.

23 As examples, see the borders with curled leaves of cat. nos. 84, 91 and 93.

75

Turkmen *ensi*

The *ensi* cat. no. 75 belongs to a small group defined by David Reuben.[24] In spite of many similarities, the pieces of this group are rather diverse. They cannot be attributed with certainty to any of the known Turkmen tribes. David Reuben mentions the heterogeneous character of the group, in which he also includes "P-Chowdur" pieces. The colour palette of cat. no. 75 and its comparison pieces, however, clearly differs from what is understood here as typical "P-Chowdur". For the sake of a clearer differentiation, it seems useful to reduce the group to pieces that meet the criteria listed below, so "P-Chowdur" group pieces should not be included.

The *ensi* cat. no. 75 shows design parallels to pieces of the Teke, the Qaradashlï, and the Yomut. Therefore the piece has been placed between the Teke and Qaradashlï chapters.

The small group of *ensi* shows the following common features:

- Asymmetric open right knotting (As2), sometimes small sections with symmetric knotting.[25]
- Soft, high-quality wool.
- Often an unusually colourful and warm palette.[26]

24 Reuben 2007.

25 Cat. no. 75, comparison piece (10). From other pieces, so far only little and imprecise structural data is available. The parallels, however, are interesting. Furthermore we also know of this phenomenon among Qaradashlï, and its opposite: symmetrical knotting with asymmetrically knotted areas.

26 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (1) – (5).

- Either basically Yomut designs with Teke influence[27] or vice versa.[28] Sometimes influences from other tribal groups (Qaradashlï[29] and/or "Eagle" *gül* group II[30]) in small details like minor borders.
- Origin presumably from Southwest Turkmenistan.

In addition to the group of *ensi*, there are also *chuval* and *khali* which show the same features.

Design: The presence of Teke, Qaradashlï, and Yomut designs on a single piece illustrates the impossibility of categorizing things neatly. There are frequently fields which cannot unambiguously be defined, where several possibilities need to be considered. The phenomenon of design amalgamation described here for cat. no. 75 is absolutely not limited to this *ensi*, or even this group.

A combination of typical design elements from different tribes can also be seen on other, particularly older, pieces from Southwest Turkmenistan. An example is the early Teke *torba* cat. no. 56, which also shows a combination of designs from different tribal groups from this region. Related to Yomut design is the *pekwesh* field design, which can often be seen on Yomut *ensi*.[31] The same applies to the borders, particularly the inner minor border, called *syrga*, "earring", by Moshkova. The design of the main border is known only on two other published *ensi* of this group.[32] Also unusual is the stylized flower design in the upper of the two *alem*. A nearly identical pattern is seen in one of the two *alem* of cat. no. 94, the *khali* with *kepse gül* field design. Whether this *kepse gül* carpet is related to the *ensi* discussed here is unclear, but not unlikely.

Colours: The *ensi* shows a beautiful colourfulness with warm and harmonious well-matched shades. The lack of insect dyestuffs would be typical of the Yomut.

Dating: The earliest pieces of this group presumably still date from the 18th century,[33] while the latest examples from the late 19th, perhaps even from the early 20th century.[34] Cat. no. 75 doubtlessly belongs among the earlier pieces of this group.

Although a number of *ensi* with features typical of the Qaradashlï group are known, none of these pieces has been examined.

27 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (1), (3) – (6), (8) and (9).

28 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (2), (7) and (10).

29 Cat. no. 75, comparison piece (9).

30 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (10) with a border design like "Eagle" *gül* group II *asmalyk*.

31 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces with symmetrical knotting.

32 Cat. no. 75, comparison pieces (6) and (7).

33 Cat. no. 75, comparison piece (7).

34 Cat. no. 75, comparison piece (2).

76 – 78

Qaradashlï *asmalyk* with *erre gül*

The *asmalyk* (camel flank decoration) of the Qaradashlï are usually patterned with the *erre gül* (fig. 5) and the border design seen in the three pieces discussed here (cat. nos. 76 – 78).[35] Whether the latest piece, cat. no. 78, can still be ascribed to the Qaradashlï is unclear. In the late 19th century, characteristic features of Qaradashlï weavings became very similar to the Yomut, becoming increasingly indistinguishable from them.[36] The design, however, up to the minor borders, corresponds to the earlier pieces cat. no. 76 and 77. All three *asmalyk* originally had several rows of polychrome tassels at the lower edge, as seen in the comparison piece published by Mackie/Thompson.[37] This was standard for the *asmalyk* of most Turkmen groups.

35 This is the case with all listed comparison pieces (see Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 76).

36 See the discussion of *khali* with *chuval gül* field design cat. no. 89

37 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 164, no. 75.

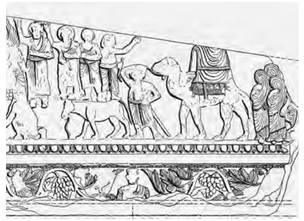


Fig. 1: Processional scene. Camel with litter and flank decoration, followed by veiled women. Architrave Fragment, Temple of Baal, Palmyra, 1st century A.D. Repr. from Keel 1972: 303, fig. 434a.

Fig. 2: A Turkmen bride on the way to her groom. The richly decorated camel carries a bridal litter *kejebe* and a camel flank decoration *asmalyk*. Photo William Irons. Repr. from Mackie/Thompson 1980: 165, fig. 47.

Fig. 3: Detail from fig. 1. Design and size of the camel flank decoration show similarities to the *asmalyk* of the Turkmen (fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Main and minor border of the *asmalyk* cat. no. 77. This is the most common border type of Qaradashlï *asmalyk*. The main border shows stepped rhombuses with a "running dog" in the minor borders.

An interesting parallel, perhaps even a possible clue to the origin of the camel flank decoration *asmalyk* and the bridal litter *kejebe* is seen on a architrave fragment of the Baal temple in Palmyra, Syria (fig. 1). Not only do the function and the size of the camel flank decoration resemble the *asmalyk* of the Turkmen in the 17th–19th centuries, there are also similarities in the design; both the Turkmen *asmalyk* and the Palmyra camel flank decoration show borders with stepped rhombuses and the "running dog" (figs. 3 and 4).[38] The field design of the Palmyra example is hidden by the cover of the litter. According to Othmar Keel, the representation on the architrave from the temple of Baal shows a procession of nomads transporting a holy object in a litter on the back of a camel.[39]

Based on the evidence for the Ancient Near Eastern origin of Turkmen carpet design (e.g. the *ensi* design, or the *ak su* design), and perhaps even the carpet weaving tradition itself, the question arises whether the Turkmen bridal litter and camel flank decorations might also go back to Ancient Near Eastern models. A field photograph by William Irons, taken in the 1960s,[40] illustrates both the use of the bridal litter *kejebe* and the camel flank decoration *asmalyk* in a Turkmen wedding ceremony (fig. 2) and the close similarity to the representation from Palmyra. Comparable representations from the Eurasian steppe belt, the original homeland of the Oghuz, are not known.

Design: The *erre gül* (fig. 5) is the most common field design of Qaradashlï and Yomut *asmalyk*,[41] whereas it is only seldom seen among other tribal groups and in other types of weavings.[42] Moshkova translates the Turkmen *erre gül* as "saw" pattern.[43] Although this name refers to the latticework (or the vertically standing serrated meander) rather than to the cross shaped ornaments connected by a vertical pole and standing between the serrated meander, Moshkova refers to a number of ornaments in plate LXVIII in her book, which shows different types of the cross-shaped designs and not the lattice.

38 A very similar border type is also typical for *chuval* among the Qaradashlï (see fig. 15, border of cat. no. 81). Also there, the main border shows a stepped rhombus and the minor border a running dog.

39 Keel 1972: Caption fig. 434a.

40 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 165, fig. 47. A second photograph by William Irons showing the same bridal camel is published in O'Bannon et al. 1990: 55. A photograph from 1924, of another Turkmen wedding camel with a bridal litter *kejebe*, is published in Pinner/Eiland 1999: 118.

41 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 76.

42 E.g. on an *ensi* of the Ighdïr (Andrews et al. 1993: No. 50), on Yomut *khali* (Rippon Boswell 62, 2004: Lot 60 and 76) and *mafrash* and *torba* of the Qaradashlï.

43 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 329.

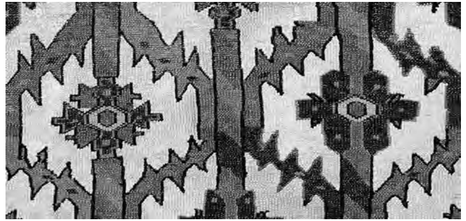


Fig. 5: The two variants of the *erre gül*, the most common field design of Turkmen *asmalyk*. Type A on the left and Type B on the right. Detail from cat. no. 76.

Generally there are two variants of the *erre gül* – type A and type B – either used in combination, namely in alternating diagonally arranged rows, or type A alone (fig. 5 left).

Of the 24 listed comparison pieces (see Vol. 1, cat. no. 76), 11 have only the A type design, while 13 show the combination of both types. Of the three *asmalyk* discussed here, only one has the single design, while the other two are decorated with the combination of both design types. When the *erre gül* appears on pieces other than *asmalyk*, the lattice is generally absent.[44]

The meaning of the different forms and the combined use of the *erre gül* remains unclear. There is, however, a possible 7th–9th century model for the A type design. A Sogdian (?) silk fragment found in the northern Caucasus (fig. 6) could represent an early form of the Turkmen design, or could at least be related to it.

Except for the somewhat stiff design of the newest example with early synthetic dyes, cat. no. 78, nothing has changed dramatically in either the overall composition or the individual patterns. This stable tradition suggests a great age for the design. The reason why this design was used only in the Southwest by the Qaradashlï and the Yomut, and never by the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke, could be local tradition, as indicated in the introduction to this chapter.[45]

Structure: The *asmalyk* cat. no. 76 is particularly dynamic in design, achieved by a virtuoso mastering of the technique of offset knotting. Although cat no. 77 is also completely interspersed with offset knotting, the appearance of the design is essentially more regular. Also unusual is the very irregular use of wool and cotton in the wefts of cat. no. 76, in combinations of up to 4 plies.

Colours: Cat. no. 76 shows the typical colour palette of this group, no insect dyestuffs on wool, and no silk.

Cat. no. 77, on the other hand, does contain small amounts of wool dyed with lac dye, namely in six small squares within the "arrows" of the *erre gül*.[46] Lac dye is rarely seen in Turkmen weavings other than those of the Salor, where it is the rule for insect dyestuff used on wool.[47]

Cat. no. 78, the latest piece of this little group, shows an interesting parallel to cat. no. 77. In place of the exotic insect dyestuff in the older piece, we find an early exotic synthetic dyestuff in the newer example. Early synthetic dyes were the last exotic dyestuffs, and were used as the insect dyestuffs were used before them.[48]

44 *Erre gül* Type A in the *alem* of an *ensi* published by Walker 1982: Plate 38; on a small rug published by Nagel 32, 1999, lot 152; as a field design of a kap (combination of *erre gül* Types A and B), or as a secondary motif of a chuval (only *erre gül* Type A), both in Andrews et al. 1993: No. 57, 83.

45 See the introduction to the chapters "The Ersarï" and "The Yomut".

46 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", fig. 10.

47 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", table 8, and the sections "3.4.1 The use of Lac Dye among the Salor", and "3.4.3 The use of Lac Dye among the other Turkmen".

48 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple", section "5. The first Synthetic Dyes".

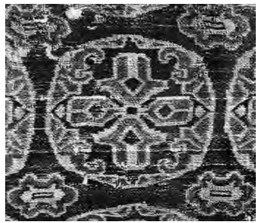


Fig. 6: Sogdian silk fragment, found in Chasaut, Caucasus, 7th–9th century. The design is in light green and beige on a dark blue ground. The cross shaped motif resembles the *erre gül* of the Turkmen (fig. 7). Repr. from Jerusalimskaja/Borkopp 1996: 87.

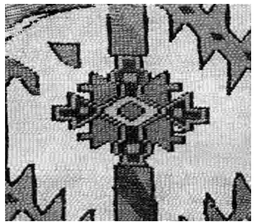


Fig. 7: Detail from the Qaradashlï *asmalyk* cat. no. 76. The *erre gül* shows similarities to the design of the Sogdian silk in fig. 6.

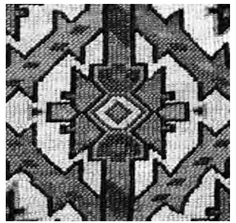


Fig. 8: Detail from the Qaradashlï *asmalyk* cat. no. 77. Compared with the Sogdian motif, the Turkmen *erre gül* has additionally been equipped with four "arrows". Like the Sogdian silk design in fig. 6, both types of the *erre gül* show little dots within the arrows of the cross shape.

Fig. 9: Detail from the Qaradashlï *asmalyk* cat. no. 78. Except for the proportions, nothing has changed in this late form of the *erre gül*.

Dating: Cat. no. 76, 77, and 78 clearly differ from each other in age, but are very close in design and with all likelihood belong in the same group.[49] The oldest example, cat. no. 76, clearly differs not only in the dynamic drawing of its design, but also in its smaller format. A late 17th or 18th century dating of this *asmalyk* has been confirmed by radiocarbon dating, the latest possibility being the first decade of the 19th century.[50] The newest example, cat. no. 78, on the other hand, already contains a mixture of madder with an early synthetic dyestuff. Perhaps because of this admixture of madder, the synthetic dyestuff might not be noticed at first sight. With the evidence of the synthetic dyestuff Ponceau G, this *asmalyk*, however, can be dated post-1880 with certainty, consistent with the somewhat stiff drawing of the design, in contrast to cat. no. 76 and 77.

49 For another series of pieces similar in design but different in age, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", section "2.1.3 Comparison Series" (cat. nos. 84–86).

50 See Vol. 1, cat. no. 76, Dating.

79

Qaradashlï *torba* with *chuval gül*

Although differing in some details from other Qaradashlï group *torba*, this early example shows all the typical features of the group. Atypical, however, is the orange-red ground colour. The main border (fig. 12) is also unusual; no other published Qaradashlï piece is known with this main border design. Finally, the secondary motif (fig. 11) is rare and the drawing of the *chuval gül* (fig. 10) is unusual. One possible explanation for all these peculiarities might be the age of the piece; it is older than all its relatives.

Design: The secondary motif (fig. 11) of this *torba* is uncommon. In this form, it is only known in five other Turkmen weavings: one

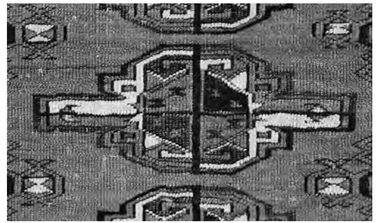


Fig. 10: Detail from the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79. Ca. 1450 – 1640. The *chuval gül* shows a distinct form not known from other Turkmen weavings.

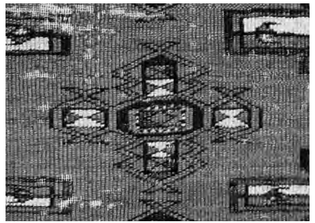


Fig. 11: Detail from the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79. This special type of secondary motif is only seen in a few other Turkmen weavings. This is the earliest example so far known with this type of secondary motif.

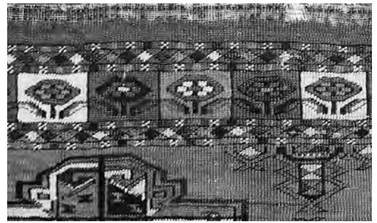


Fig. 12 : Detail from the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79. The little flowers in the border are of high quality in their drawing.

other Qaradshlï *torba*,[51] three Salor *chuval*[52] and one Ersarï *khali*.[53] The design is discussed in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*" (figs. 77–80).

The *chuval gül* (fig. 10) largely follows the "classic" form of this design. Somewhat peculiar are the slender protrusions on the horizontal axis. A possible origin of the design is discussed in the chapter "The Salor".[54]

The flower design main border (fig. 12) is frequently seen in early Turkmen *torba* (cat. no. 55), but occasionally also appears in the 19th century in a slightly simplified form.[55]

Structure: The structure of this *torba* is typical of the group: plain *alem*, frequent use of offset knotting, somewhat brittle wool quality, and the wide format. Cat. no. 79 might originally have measured more than 125 cm in width (cf. also cat. no. 80).

Colours: Orange-red as a field colour is a rare feature in this group. The same orange-red also appears in many other examples, but only in the design.[56] Used as a ground colour, it is more dominant, and adds a particular character to the piece.

In the upper border, however, the colour changes to the usual red-brown. Most other weavings of the Qaradashlï group have a red-brown or even brownish ground colour.[57] Cat. 79 contains no insect dyestuff, which is typical for the group.

Dating: Radiocarbon dating results indicate in an age range between ca. 1450 and 1650, making this *torba* one of the few Turkmen weavings pre-dating 1650.[58] It is remarkable that two other weavings of the Qaradashlï group have comparable radiocarbon dates.[59]

51 A piece from the Wiedersperg collection, published in Pinner/Eiland 1999: Plate 43. For the secondary motif see fig. 78 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

52 Cat. nos. 133 and 134 (fig. 79 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*"), and a third Salor piece of this type published in Hali 165, 2010: 75.

53 Fig. 80 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval,* and *khali*".

54 Cf. figs. 160–176 in the chapter "The Salor".

55 E.g. cat. no. 55, comparison pieces (1 – 8); Mackie/Thompson 1980: No. 70; Eskenazi 1983: No. 394; Hodenhagen 1997: No. 56; Reuben II, 2001: No. 25.

56 Cf. cat. nos. 83 and 84.

57 Cf. cat. nos. 83–85.

58 See the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", fig. 13.

59 Cat. nos. 84 and 89.

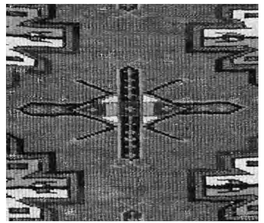


Fig. 13 : Detail from the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 80. Ca. 1700. This is the typical form of the *chemche gül* of the Qaradashlï.

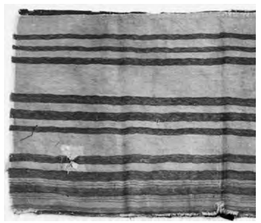


Fig. 14: Detail from the back of the *torba* cat. no. 80. Ca. 1700. Light brown stripes on an ivory ground.

80

Qaradashlï *torba* with *chuval gül*

This example more closely corresponds to the characteristics of a Qaradashlï *torba* than cat. no. 79. Nevertheless, with its well proportioned design, it is more similar to cat. no. 79 than any of the other comparison pieces. Unusually, the back has been preserved (fig. 14).

Design: This piece is more group-typical, in both colours and design, than cat. no. 79. The border design shows the version of the "classic" *kochanak* border typical for the Qaradashlï, a form not known among the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke. A comparable border is also seen in cat. no. 152, another early Qaradashlï *chuval*.[60] Typical for the group is also the *chemche gül* with its w-forms (fig. 13)[61] and the plain *alem*.

60 Also in the comparison pieces (1), (2), (4) and (6) to cat. no. 80.

61 For a discussion on the *chemche gül*, see the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

Structure: The structure of this *torba* shows the typical features of the Qaradashlï group.[62]

Colours: Both the colour palette and the ground colour of the field are different from cat. no. 79. Qaradashlï weavings as a rule are quite reserved in colour, with their red-brown or violet-brown grounds. As with most other weavings of the Qaradashlï group, this piece has no silk and no insect dyestuffs on wool.

Dating: Cat. no. 80 may be one of the oldest examples of Qaradashli *torba*. Radiocarbon dating resulted in two possible age ranges: either around 1700 or the 19th and early 20th century. The probability around 1700 is clearly higher, based primarily on comparison with cat. no. 79 and the few other comparison pieces (see vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 80), despite the smaller statistical probability for the earlier range. At 26.3%, the range is large enough to justify a likely dating around 1700.

81

Qaradashlï *chuval* with *chuval gül*

Judging by the number of published Qaradashlï *chuval*, there are many such weavings in Western collections.[63] Admittedly, a Qaradashlï attribution of weavings becomes more and more difficult in the course of the 19th century, as the typical features of Yomut and Qaradashlï weavings became increasing intermingled. Cat. no. 81, however, still exhibits clearly Qaradashlï features.

Design: The drawing of the meander ("running dog") in the minor borders is worthy of note (fig. 15); not only is the colour change from blue to green unusual and particularly beautiful, but also the elegantly curved shape of the meander. Here too, we see a masterful use of the technique of offset knotting. The main border with the cross form (or stepped rhombus) on an orange-red ground is seen frequently in Qaradashlï pieces. Other typical features are the somewhat stereotypical drawing of the design in the field, oddly in contrast with the dynamic drawing of the minor borders, and the secondary motif, which is related to the *sagdaq gül*, the secondary motif of Salor *chuval*.[64]

62 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.

63 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 81.

Fig. 15 : Detail from the Qaradashlï *chuval* cat. no. 81. End of the 17th or 18th century. This exceptional form of the minor borders with their beautiful curved shapes was achieved through offset knotting. It is extremely rare.

Structure: The structure is typical for the group: a plain *alem*, a frequent use of offset knotting, a somewhat brittle wool quality, and no silk.

Colours: The large proportion of medium blue and yellow in the secondary motifs is unusual. Comparable pieces, as a rule, are somewhat more restrained in colour (e.g. cat. no. 82). Of notable intensity is also the bright orange-red in the main border. Like most Qaradashlï pieces, cat. no 81 contains no insect dyestuff on wool.

Dating: This *chuval* with its outstanding drawing of the minor borders (fig. 15) and its excellent colour quality confirms the already mentioned phenomenon: pieces with characteristic indicators for great age do not necessarily pre-date 1650. Though this piece is with no doubt of great age, according to radiocarbon dating it is newer than the *torba* cat. no. 79. As a 19th century dating can certainly be excluded, the piece was very probably woven at least in the 18th century, perhaps even around 1700.

64 Cf. cat. nos. 11 and 12.

82

Qaradashlï *chuval* fragment with *chuval gül*

The design type with 4 × 4 *chuval gül* is less frequently seen in Qaradashlï *chuval* than the 3 × 3 type (e.g. cat. no. 81).[65] Other examples with "flags" instead of brackets (seen here) on the vertical axis of the *chuval gül* are known.[66]

Design: The *pekwesh* border design is not very common in Qaradashlï weavings, but is occasionally seen on both older and newer pieces of this group.

Structure: The structure shows all the typical features of the group: a plain *alem*, a frequent use of offset knotting, a somewhat brittle wool quality, and no silk.[67]

Colours: The piece shows the group-typical features: a red-brown ground colour, a somewhat cool palette, and no insect dyestuffs.

Dating: Radiocarbon testing virtually excludes a 19th century date of production. The piece must have been woven between ca. 1650 and 1800.

83

Qaradashlï *chuval* in flatweave

Flatweave *chuval* like cat. no. 83 have so far mostly been attributed to the Yomut, without much justification.[68] Attribution of flatweave *chuval* to a tribal group is in fact difficult; much too little is known about this type of weaving. Scholars and collectors have focused almost exclusively on their piled relatives.

The close resemblance of this piece to the piled weavings of the Qaradashlï group has led to its inclusion in this book. The attribution to the Qaradashlï is based largely on similarities in colours, the brittle wool quality, and the use of cotton. The *torba* cat. no. 80 and the *chu-*

65 Among other tribes, particularly the Salor and the Sarïq, *chuval* with a 4 × 4 field composition predominate.

66 See Vol. 1, cat. no. 81, comparison pieces with 4 × 4 *chuval gül* with "flags".

67 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.

68 Gombos 1975: No. 61.

Fig. 16: Representation of a landscape (1) with large flowering trees (2) and Chinese cloud wisps (3) in the border of a garden carpet from Kashmir or Lahore, Mughal India, ca. 1650. The field of this carpet shows a garden from a bird's eye view in the form of a lattice with palmettes and rosettes, which might be related to the *ak su* design (for a larger detail see fig. 35 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise"). Repr. from Walker 1997: 111, Fig. 110.

Fig. 17: Representation of a landscape (1) with large flowering trees (2) and cloud wisps (3). This design concept has presumably been adopted from Mughal models as seen in fig. 16. Detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, first half of the 17th century. This is the earliest known Turkmen version of this type of flower designed *alem*, in which individual elements like the landscape and some of the flowers are still drawn in more detail than seen in the slightly later Yomut pieces with comparable *alem* designs (fig. 24, see also figs. 42–47 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*").

val cat. no. 81 are comparable in their colouring. The orange-red in the flatweave, however, lacks the glowing quality seen in the older, knotted pieces.

The flatweave *chuval* might well date from the second half of the 19th century, perhaps, based on the vivid quality of the colours, even to the beginning of this period.

84

Qaradashlï *khali* fragment with *chuval gül* field design and one *alem* with flower design

Together with cat. nos. 153 and 101–103, this *khali* fragment belongs to an extremely rare and early group of Turkmen weavings with the representation of a garden in flower as an *alem* design (fig. 17). This example shows the best drawn Turkmen version of this design, borrowed from neighbouring Persia and/or India (fig. 16). In the drawing of its *alem* design, this carpet fragment shows graphic qualities which can to some degree still be seen in cat. no. 153, but no longer in this pronounced form in the pieces cat. nos. 101–103.

Design: Unusual in the design is the landscape garden with its flower motifs in one of the two *alem* (fig. 17).[69] This garden in flower is composed of a representation of a landscape (fig. 17, 1), large composite flowers (2), and Chinese cloud motifs (3).

Representations of gardens are part of the "classic" design repertoire in Oriental art. They have a long tradition in the Ancient Near East,[70] including the biblical garden of Eden. In the world of oriental carpets, representations of gardens have continued up to the 20th century. The design of this *alem* is in this tradition.

The carpet might originally have had three rows with nine or ten *chuval gül*. The *chuval gül* with small c-forms in the centre is typical for the Qaradashlï (fig. 18). The small c-forms are seen not only in the *chuval gül* of Qaradashlï *khali* (cat. nos. 84 – 86), but also in the *chuval gül* of some Qaradashlï *chuval*. Comparable c-forms can also be found

69 That this represents a garden landscape is illustrated in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen Carpets".

70 See the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

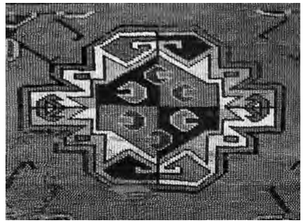


Fig. 18 : Detail from cat. no. 84. The inner drawing of the *chuval gül* with the little c-forms is typical for this group of *khali*.

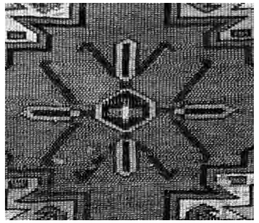


Fig. 19 : Detail from cat. no. 84. Caused by offset knotting, the petals of the flower crosses have a different angle from the diagonal lines in the *chuval gül*, providing the flower cross design with a great dynamic.

Fig. 20 : Detail from cat. no. 84. The curled leaves in the side borders are equipped at bottom and top (left and right) with flowers of the same kind as seen in the *alem* and the secondary motifs.

Fig. 21 : Detail from cat. no. 84. The upper and lower borders show a well-drawn version of the curled leaf meander design.

in early Yomut multiple *gül* carpets (cat. nos. 106 – 108) and the so-called c-*gül* carpets, where the design is even named for them.[71]

Unusual in this fragment is the secondary motif (fig. 19), a special form of a flower cross,[72] a variant of which appears in other Qaradashlï *khali* and *chuval*. The same type of flower buds are also attached to the curled leaves in the side borders (fig. 20).

Particularly beautiful are the minor borders with the "running dog" (fig. 20). They are of a rich colour tonality, which is only very rarely seen in later Turkmen pieces. Perhaps the closest comparison is the border of the Qaradashlï *chuval* cat. no. 80 (fig. 15).

Structure: The structural features are typical for the Qaradashlï.[73] The field and borders of the carpet are liberally interspersed with offset knotting. The borders show a frequent use of this technical feature (clearly visible in fig. 20), and the secondary motifs in the field achieve their dynamic appearance by its use (fig. 19). Offset knotting has also been used in plain areas in the field, perhaps to strengthen the structure.

More surprising is the total absence of offset knotting in the sophisticated flower design in the *alem*, where this technical peculiarity would most likely be expected. This might be explained as a traditional technical approach to the new flower designs inspired by Safavid and/or Mughal models.

Since the *alem* pattern was outside of any tradition of conventional geometric Turkmen carpet design, it must have been a real challenge for the weaver. Understandably uncertain with the unfamiliar design, she seem to have addressed the challenge using the normal knotting technique most familiar to her. As a result, the design appears a bit stiff and flattened in certain areas, although some design elements, such as the carnations and rosettes integrated into the landscape, are drawn in more detail than in the comparable pieces of the Yomut (cat. no. 101–103). Design details comparable to cat. no. 84 are also seen in cat. no. 153 (fig. 23), which is why that carpet has been attributed to the Qaradashlï and not to the Yomut.

71 On multiple *gül* carpets and the c-*gül* design, see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

72 On the origin and development of the flower cross design, see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

73 See the section "The Weavings of The Qaradashlï" in this chapter.

Colours: The red-brown ground colour is typical for this group of weavings. As might be expected, the piece contains no insect dyestuffs, which is also typical for the group. The orange-red was chemically analyzed, as an orange-red not from madder was found in the early Teke *torba* cat. no. 55.[74] However, this was not the case here. As with other tested orange dyes, the orange-red of this *khali* fragment (cat. no. 84) turned out to be dyed with madder.

Dating: The fragment belongs to the group of Turkmen weavings with a pre-1650 radiocarbon dating. The established period of time reaches from ca. 1490 – 1650. However, this period can be limited on the basis of a design which probably was not in use in this form before ca. 1600. The Safavid/Mughal flower design (fig. 17) suggests a *terminus post quem* of ca. 1600, assuming that the Turkmen adopted this design from the Safavid and Mughal design repertoire.[75] Thus, the carpet fragment dates with all likelihood from the first half of the 17th century.

153

Qaradashlï or Yomut multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 29)

This carpet is the only example known with the combination of a border with curled leaves, *alem* with composite flower design like cat. no. 84 (figs. 22 – 24), and a multiple *gül* carpet field design like cat. nos. 106 and 107 (fig. 29).[76] This is a hitherto unseen combination of two different, "new" designs; the designs in the *alem* (frieze with composite flowers)[77] and the field (*kepse gül*, c-*gül,* and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*)[78] are early 17th century adoptions.

74 According to Harald Böhmer, it is dyed with yellow bedstrow (*Galium verum* L.).
75 For a discussion, see the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
76 The carpet only appeared in October 2013, and is therefore only published with a black and white illustration in this book.
77 For a discussion of the flower design in the *alem* of these pieces, see the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
78 For a discussion of the carpets with *kepse gül*, c-*gül,* and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* (multiple *gül* carpets), see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

The similarities of border and *alem* designs of cat. no. 153 to the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, and the field design differing in its drawing from that of Yomut *khali* cat. nos. 106 and 107, suggest a stronger affinity to the Qaradashlï than to the Yomut. In age, cat. no. 153 might be only slightly newer than its comparison pieces of both groups (figs. 22 and 24). Like these, it might date from the 17th century; this was also confirmed by radiocarbon dating. It could be an attempt by Qaradashlï weavers to imitate not only the newly adopted flower design, but also the new multiple *gül* field design of the Yomut. Both these designs can be traced back to influences from early 17th century Safavid Persia and/or Mughal India.[79]

Design:

Borders and *alem* (fig. 23)

The border design with curled leaves is nearly identical to the border of cat. no. 84. Perhaps due to the small age difference, the main border of cat. no. 153 is already somewhat more densely packed and the minor borders are no longer as rich in colour.

The two *alem* show a mixture of stylistic elements of the comparable Qaradashlï and Yomut *alem* designs (cf. figs. 22 – 24).[80] The carnations left and right of the composite flowers and the cloud motifs at the upper edge (fig. 23, [3] and [4]) are from the Qaradashlï, the large round blossoms in the upper part of the shrub from the Yomut.

Slightly simplified, compared to cat. no. 84, are the "landscape" and the rosettes embedded therein (fig. 23, [1]). The lower *alem* includes neither the landscape nor the little "cloud wisps".

The Field Design (fig. 29)

In its field design, this *khali* differs completely from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84; it is entirely oriented towards the newly developed forms from the Yomut multiple *gül* carpets, which developed from models of late 16th or early 17th century Safavid sickle leaf and palmette carpets.[81]

79 A further group of muliple *gül* carpets from the same period and going back to the same Safavid influences are the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* (see the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups")
80 See also figs. 42 – 47 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
81 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

Fig. 22: Detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84. First half of the 17th century. Representation of a landscape with large flower shrubs and clouds. This earliest example of this comparison series shows the most complex form of the *alem* garden design (see also caption to fig. 17).

Fig. 23: Upper *alem* of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. Representation of a landscape (1) with large flower shrubs (2) and clouds (3). This *alem* shows a combination of Qaradashlï (fig. 22) and Yomut (fig. 24) design elements. From the Qaradashlï are the carnations left and right of every second flower shrub (4) and the clouds at the upper edge (3), from the Yomut the large oval blossoms at the upper end of the flower shrubs. The remaining elements are the same in both variants (Qaradashlï and Yomut).

Fig. 24: *Alem* of the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 101, mid 17th century. Compared with the Qaradashlï examples, the carnation motifs left and right of every second flower shrub (4) and the cloud motifs (3) at the upper end are missing.

Borrowings of designs between tribal groups is not unheard of; Teke examples include the secondary motif of the *torba* cat. no. 56, the field composition of the *torba* cat. no. 57, or the Salor *gül*, the primary motif of the two *chuval* cat. no. 62 and 63. Furthermore, cat. no. 153 differs from the Yomut models in the execution of the individual field designs (*kepse gül*, c-*gül,* and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*).

1. A Variant of the Early *kepse gül* (fig. 25)

The *kepse gül* is the Turkmen transformation of a Persian palmette. This is discussed in the chapter "From Persian Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*". Compared to the earliest form of the *kepse gül* in the two *khali* cat. nos. 106 and 107, the variant shown here represents a slight modification in the direction of an adaptation to Turkmen design tradition: the colour range has been mirrored around the vertical design axis. The design elements attached left and right to the vertical axis are both of the same colour (dark blue), a white and another dark blue element follow on both the right and the left side (cf. fig. 25). The

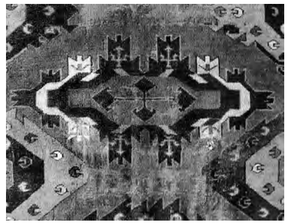


Fig. 25: Detail from cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. Early *kepse gül* with a colour range mirrored along the vertical axis.

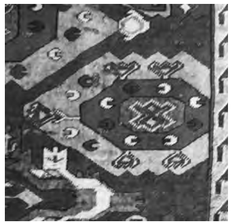


Fig. 26: Detail from cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. C-*gül* with unusual additional ornaments.

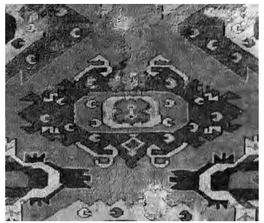


Fig. 27: Detail from cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. "Curled-edge cloudband" *gül*.

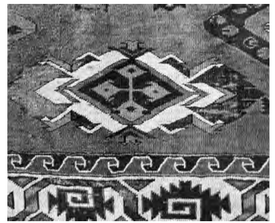


Fig. 28: Detail from cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. "Connecting" *gül*.

centre of the design is also slightly changed; it shows a cross form. This becomes more pronounced later, as seen in cat. no. 108.[82]

2. The Serrated c-*gül* (fig. 26)

The serrated c-*gül* in cat. no. 153 also shows changes in the form of additional design elements unknown in the "classic" form of the c-*gül* of the Yomut. In the c-*gül* of the Yomut, the eponymous c-forms are spread evenly in the outer two concentric octagons. Confronted "arrowheads" are added on the vertical axis in the outermost concetric octagon.[83] The c-*gül* in cat. no. 153 shows the same c-forms, but the "arrowheads" are missing or replaced by other ornaments (fig. 26). In addition, the central small octagons in the c-*gül* of cat. no. 153 contain various design elements, which are unknown in the Yomut carpets. Finally, even the serration of the C-*gül* differs. All variants known from Yomut c-*gül* carpets are seen in cat. no. 153 in a haphazard order.[84]

82 See also figs. 43 and 44 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
83 Fig. 53 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
84 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*", figs. 53–55 in the section "The Serrated c-*gül*".

3. The "Curled-Edge Cloudband" *gül* (fig. 27)

The design called "curled-edge-palmette gul" by Thompson, which we here call the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*,[85] is one of the rarest Turkmen carpet designs. Another design, which is equally rare among the Turkmen, also imitates a Chinese cloud pattern: namely the "cloud wisps" in the *alem* of the two *khali* cat. nos. 84 and 153.[86]

Surprisingly, in cat. no. 153 the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* appears more often than in any comparable carpet, namely 12 times (four times complete on the vertical middle axis, and eight times truncated along the left and right edges. The colourfulness and diversity of the motifs in the centre of the "curled-edge cloud band" *gül* is also unusual, virtually un-Turkmen, and is rather reminiscent of Caucasian carpets. Most comparable in this respect is the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (cat. no. 168). This unusual carpet not only shows the "curled-

85 For an explanation of the re-naming of this design, see the section "8. The Curled-Edge Cloudband *gül*" and figs. 74–77 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
86 For a discussion of the cloud design, see the section "4.1.2 The Chinese Cloud Motifs", figs. 48–50, in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".

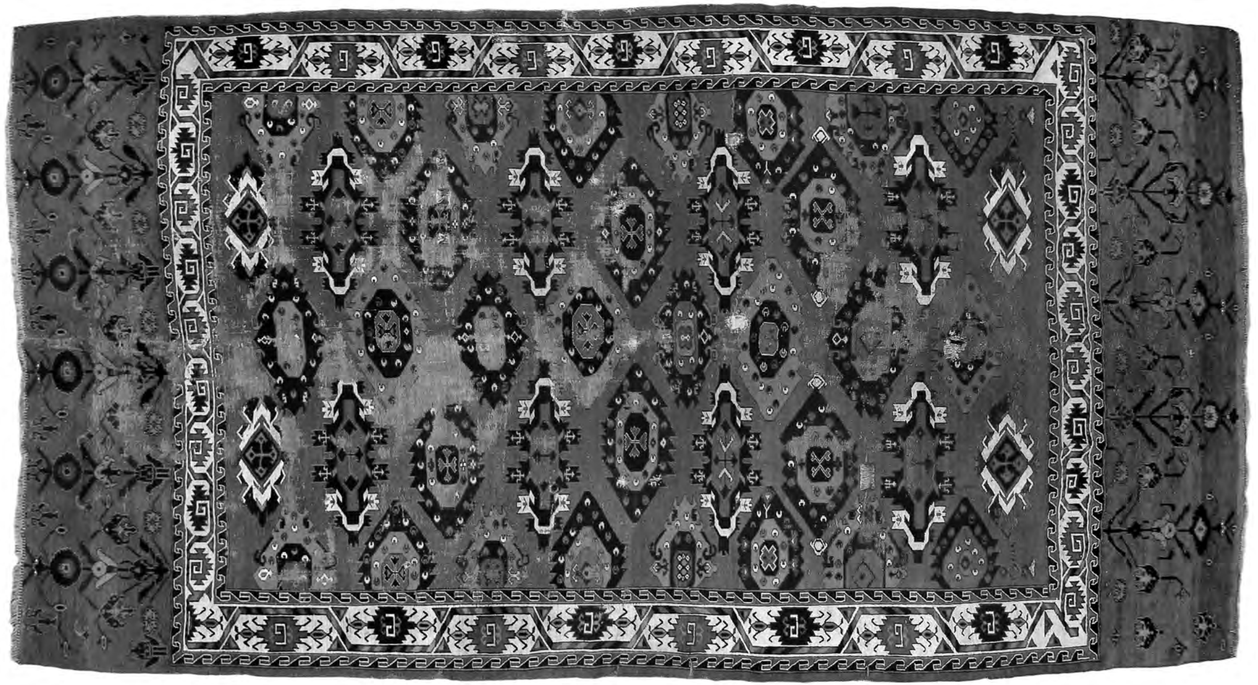


Fig. 29: Cat. no. 153. Multiple *gül* carpet with floral *alem* design, 183 x 306 cm, mid 17th century, Qaradashlī (or Yomut?), Southwest Turkmenistan. The carpet shows the *alem* design of *chuval gül* carpets like cat. nos. 84 and 101–103, and the field design of multiple *gül* carpets like cat. nos. 106 and 107.

edge cloud band" *gül*, but also a variant of the "cloud wisp" motif[87] and is unusually colourful, bringing Caucasian weaving to mind.

4. The "Connecting" *gül* (fig. 28)
Like the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*, the "connecting" *gül* is another rare Turkmen design. Derived from Safavid carpets with palmette, sickle leaf, and cloudband designs, it appears among the Turkmen in the early 17th century, disappearing shortly thereafter.[88] It is only known on five Turkmen carpets, in four cases together with the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*.[89]

Like the multiple *gül* carpet of the Wher collection, cat. no. 153 also shows the "connecting" *gül* twice at the beginning and twice at the end of the field (fig. 29).

Structure: The structural features of this fragment are typical for the Qaradashlï.[90] The piece is liberally interspersed with offset knotting, not only in the borders, but also in plain areas of the field.

In contrast to cat. no. 84, both *alem* with the "naturalistic" flower design show a frequent use of offset knotting. This could result from the new design having become familiar; cat. no. 153 is at least a generation newer than cat. no. 84.

Colours: Typically for the Qaradashlï, cat. no. 153 contains no insect dyestuffs.[91] Unusual and not typical for Qaradashlï weavings, however, is the colourfulness of some individual motifs in the field. Particularly the frequent use of yellow is remarkable and, in many design details, resembles Caucasian carpets. A relatively frequent use of bright red is also unusual for the Qaradashlï, though not unique.

Dating: The dating of this carpet fits neatly with the comparable examples, which is very helpful for the interpretation of radiocarbon dating. A radiocarbon age of 246 ± 30 years provides a 17th century dating with a statistical probability of more than 50 percent. The range in the late 18th and early 19th century can be excluded not only because of the strong similarities to the designs of cat. nos. 84, 101 – 103, and 106 and 107, but also based on the radiocarbon dating results of those pieces.

87 See fig. 58 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen Carpets".
88 For a detailed discussion of the "connecting" *gül*, see the section "The Connecting" *gül*" and figs 82 – 85 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups".
89 These five carpets are: (1) the multiple *gül* carpet with flower *alem* cat. no. 153 discussed here (fig. 29); (2) the multiple *gül* carpet of the Wher collection (fig 2 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*"); (3) the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (cat. no. 168, fig. 1 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*"); (4) the Pfadschbacher multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 41 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups"; (5) the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 116 (without "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*).
90 See the section "The Weavings of The Qaradashlï" in this chapter.
91 On the use of insect dyestuffs among the Qaradashlï, see the section "The Weavings of the Qaradashlï" sub-section "Common Features in Qaradashlï Weavings".

85

Qaradashlï *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

Despite its considerable age, this *khali* is a good example of a newer comparison piece to cat. no. 84. Although differing in many respects from the early fragment, it also shows similarities, namely three rows of *chuval gül* with the Qaradashlï-typical c-forms (fig. 18) and the first row of secondary motifs with flower crosses (fig. 31).

Design: The border design shows a variant to that of cat. no. 84; only the first motif at the bottom right side is still identical to the design of the earlier piece (cf. figs. 30 and 31). Both *alem* show the same design as the *alem* at the upper end of cat. no. 84.

Colours: The quality of the saturated colours is remarkable, particularly the dark violet ground colour.

Structur: The carpet shows the typical structural features of Qaradashlï group weavings.[92]

Dating: Radiocarbon testing clearly indicates a pre-1800 dating. Although the 16th and 17th centuries also have to be considered, stylistic features suggest a dating to the 18th century.[93] Design comparison with the earlier example cat. no. 84 supports such a conclusion.

92 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.
93 See the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", section "2.1.3 Comparison Series".

Fig. 30: Detail from cat. no. 84. The same flower buds as seen in the secondary motifs have been added to the curled leaves in the side bordres.

Fig. 31: Detail from cat. no. 85. With the exception of the first leaf at the bottom right side, the curled leaves in both side borders are already simplified. Only the first row of secondary motifs (flower crosses) at the bottom of the field still corresponds to those of the early piece (fig. 30).

86

Qaradashlï *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

With its obvious Yomut influences, the early 20th century Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 86 represents the end of a long tradition. Due to increasing pressure from the Teke, many of the Qaradashlï left the Akhal Oasis to migrate to the estuary of the Amu-Darya and the Khiva Oasis in the first half of the 19th century. At that time, the dominating tribal group there was the Yomut Bayram-Shalï. Without comparison with the two previous pieces cat. nos. 84 and 85, this *khali* would certainly be seen as a product of the Yomut. The similarities to the two earlier pieces and the knowledge of the historical events suggest, however, that this *khali* is a late example made by descendants of the Qaradashlï.

Structure: Although this late carpet differs considerably from the earlier prototypes, its structural features still largely correspond to the typical features of the Qaradashlï group, with the exception of a noticeably poorer wool quality. Reasons for this could have been the change of locality and/or the decline of the wool quality seen in many Turkmen weavings at the end of the 19th century. The borders also differ from Qaradashlï standard. They show a typical 19th century combination of stylistic elements from the Yomut and the Teke.

Colours: In conjunction with and to some extent a function of the lower quality of the wool, a general decline in colour quality can be observed. So it is hardly surprising that the colours of this *khali* no longer show much similarity to those of the earlier comparison pieces.

Dating: Initially a late 19th century date for this carpet was assumed, so the first result of radiocarbon dating was surprising: the 19th century was virtually excluded. Remaining were ranges in the 18th or the early 20th century. Based on stylistic reasons, however, the 18th century can definitely be excluded.

Several additional measurements have confirmed the first test, further reducing the possibility of a 19th century date of production.

87

Qaradashlï *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

A Qaradashlï attribution of this piece is largely based on several group-typical characteristics. Beyond those, the piece also shows parallels to the Yomut group.

Design: The drawing of the *chuval gül* is almost identical to that of the Yomut *khali* cat. nos. 98–100, while the drawing of the secondary

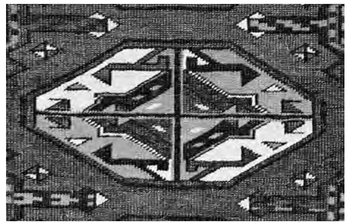


Fig. 32: The Qaradashlï *gül*, a special form of the *chuval gül* in the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 88, 18th century.

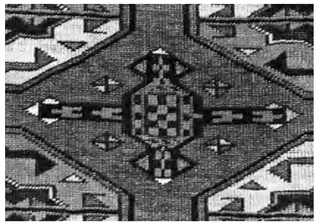


Fig. 33: Variation of the "satellite" *gül* in the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 88, 18th century. The relationship to the "satellite" *gül* is recognisable in the small rhombuses (triangles) pulled over the ends of the cross form. On the "satellite" *gül* see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".

Fig. 34: Lotus flower in a Sasanian capital, 7th century, Taq-e Bostan, Iran. Repr. from Flandin/Coste 1841.

Fig. 35: Lotus flower on a porcelain bottle with copper red décor, China, Ming period, 2nd half of the 14th century. Repr. from Ledderose 1985: Fig. 115.

motifs presumably shows a somewhat later variant of that of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84.[94]

Structure: The partly cotton wefts, the knot density, and offset knotting all fit into the set of typical Qaradashlï features.[95]

Colours: In regard to cpolours, the piece also fits well with the Qaradashlï group. *Alem* with darker ground colour are also seen in the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84.

Dating: Radiocarbon testing resulted in a dating range between ca. 1650 and 1800. The 20th century can be excluded for stylistic reasons. In comparison with dating results from other Qaradashlï and Yomut *khali* with *chuval gül* field design, a late 18th century date of production seems most probable.

94 See also the first row of halved secondary motifs of the same type in the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 85.

95 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.

88

Qaradashlï *khali* with Qaradashlï *gül* (fig. 32)

Only one other piece with four rows of this design is published so far, though with the more usual red-brown ground colour and the typical *chemche gül* secondary motif of the Qaradashlï (fig. 13).[96] All other published comparison pieces show three rows of Qaradashlï *gül*.[97]

Design: This primary field design was attributed to the Qaradashlï and named Qaradashlï *gül* by Azadi (fig. 2). The use of this design among such different tribal groups as the Teke, the Kizil Ayak (cat. no. 36), and on pieces of the "Eagle" *gül* groups and the "P-Chowdur" group, speaks in favour of an attribution at least to the southwest of Turkmenistan region.

96 Hali 89, 1996: 152.

97 See comparison pieces in Vol. 1.

Fig. 36: Lotus flower in an arabesque with split leaves, Timurid architectural décor, faïence mosaic, Iran, mid 15th century. Repr. from Brisch et al. 1986: 36, cat. no. 224.

Fig. 37: Lotus flower in a bowl, stone paste with underglaze painting, Iran, early 16th century. Repr. from Thompson/Canby 2003: 249, fig. 10.1.

Fig. 38: Lotus flower in a carpet from Kirman, Iran, 16th century. Repr. from Pope/Ackermann 1938: Fig. 775 f.

Fig. 39: Lotus flower in a vine leaf palmette from a Safavid carpet, Northwest Persia, 16th or 17th century. Repr. from Pope/Ackermann 1938: Fig. 779 a, plates 1112, 1126.

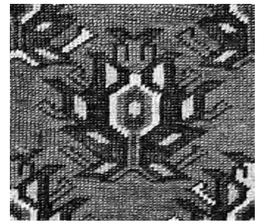


Fig. 40: Lotus flower in the *alem* of the Qaradashlï carpet cat. no. 88, 18th century.

No other example is known so far of the secondary motif of this *khali* (fig. 33), a derivate to the "satellite" *gül*. [98]

Particularly beautifully drawn are the lotus flowers in the two *alem* (fig. 40). Their Persian origin can hardly be overlooked. Lotus flowers can be observed already among the Sasanians (fig. 34). In the 16th and 17th centuries, in Persia, the lotus flower design experienced a true revival, going back to Chinese influences from the time of the Ilkhanids (Mongols), who brought the ancient design back into use in the Iranian world. (figs. 35–37). In the course of the 16th century, the lotus flower gained in importance in Safavid ornamentation and developed into large lotus palmettes (figs. 38 and 39). In Turkmen ornamentation these large lotus palmettes evolved into the *kepse gül*, which became one of the most popular Turkmen carpet designs in the course of the 19th century.[99]

98 On the possible origin of the "satellite" *gül*, see the chapter "Secondary motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval* and *khali*".

99 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

Structure: The carpet shows the typical structural features of the Qaradashlï group.[100]

Colours: The purple ground colour is rather uncommon in Qaradashlï weavings, seen only occasionally, e.g. cat. no. 85, although there in a distinctly darker shade.[101] Similarities in the ground colour and also the overall colour palette can be seen in Kizil Ayak (cat. no. 36) and "P-Chowdur" pieces (cat. no. 121). What inter-relationships these similarities reflect is not clear for the time being.[102]

Dating: No radiocarbon dating has been performed. This impressive carpet, however, most likely dates from the 18th century.

100 See structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the group in the introduction to this chapter.

101 A hanging with a purple ground colour is published in: Hodenhagen 1997: No. 57.

102 See the discussion on cat. nos. 36 and 121.

Fig. 41: White ground Sasanian silk fragment with cock design ("tavuk nuska"), reliquary from the Lateran chapel Sancta Sanctorum, Rome, 6th or 7th century. Repr. from Zhao 1999: 116, fig. 03.08-6.

Fig. 42: Stylized palmette tree with confronted ducks, fragment of a Sogdian silk, 8th or 9th century. Private collection, New York.

Fig. 43: Two confronted cocks. Silk with gold threads, Iran or Central Asia, 13th or 14th century. This later form of a roundel with confronted birds developed under both Iranian and Chinese influence. Repr. from von Folsach 2001: 375.

Fig. 44: Reconstruction of the design of a Buyid silk, Iran, 11th century, rendered from a fragment of the Textile Museum, Washington D.C. Image and reconstruction by the author.

89

Qaradashlï *khali* with *tauk nuska* design

This *khali* is remarkable in several respects. Considering its great age, its condition is amazing.

Design: With its three columns of *tauk nuska*, the carpet shows the "classic" field layout of *tauk nuska* pieces of the Qaradashlï group. A further feature is the group-typical form of the *chemche gül* (fig. 47). In addition to the exceptional composition with an unusual amount of plain area in the field, the two dromedaries at the upper end of the field are remarkable (fig. 47). Such animal representations are rare in early pieces, in which they are also always small and heavily stylised, as they are known from "Eagle" *gül* pieces.[103] The Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127 is another early piece showing comparable stylized dromedaries, there in the side borders.

103 See fig. 55 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups".

The *tauk nuska* Field Design

According to Moshkova, the *tauk nuska* is the heraldic tribal design of the Arabachi.[104] However, it is well established that the *tauk nuska* design appears in early weavings of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut and, furthermore, goes back to pre-Islamic models. It well might have been one of the most popular *khali* design among the Arabachi, but they probably did not create it or use it first.[105]

Tauk (or *tavuk*), is a Persian word meaning, "cock", *nuska* (or *nusga*) is Turkmen and according to Moshkova means "design".[106] Thus, *tauk nuska* means, "cock design". In Iranian mythology, the cock was an important symbolic animal from the realm of the symbolism of the sun and light.[107]

In early Iranian silks we find water birds (fig. 42), birds of prey, and peacocks, but the cock has also been seen since the Sasanian period (fig. 41) and remained as a design in luxury textiles up to the 14th century (fig. 43). Thus, the Turkmen design name *tauk nuska* might go back at least to the Sasanians. Names for designs from such early periods are not unusual among the Turkmen. *Sagdaq gül*, "Sogdian design", the name for the secondary motif in Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül*, is one example, going back to the same period of time as the *tauk nuska*. The *tauk nuska*, however, does not show cocks, but rather quadrupeds with two heads. Why the name "cock design" (*tauk nuska*) has been preserved is unclear, but seems to point to its Iranian origin.

104 Moschkova 1970 (1998): 226, 252, 253.
105 See also the chapter "The Arabachi".
106 Moschkova 1970 (1998): 261.
107 Zerling/Bauer 2003: 123.

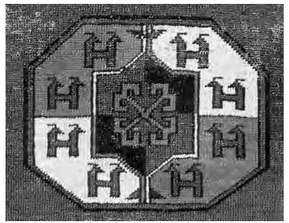


Fig. 45: *Tauk nuska*, detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 90, 17th or 18th century.

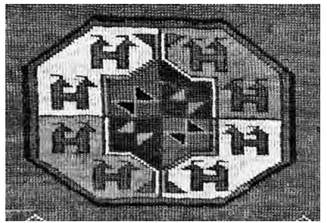


Fig. 46: *Tauk nuska*, detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 89, 16th or 17th century.

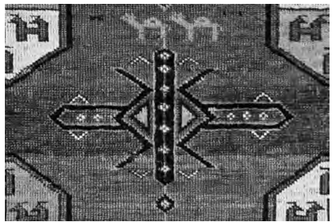


Fig. 47: Chemche gül, below two dromedaries decorated with asmalyk. Detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 89.

The *tauk nuska* is a quartered octagonal design with a diagonally arranged colouring. It was used only as a primary design for large format *khali* (figs. 45 and 46). Except for the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke, the *tauk nuska* was used by all Turkmen groups. This suggests considerable age for the design, which, in the area of modern Turkmenistan, might go back to the time when the Turkmen were first mentioned. The quartering of the design composition further confirms this hypothesis. Before the 10th century, this formal principle was extremely rare. Medallions showed single motifs (fig. 41), or the design within the medallion was mirrored along the vertical axis, as seen in the 7th – 9th century Sogdian silk in fig. 42. Since the 10th century, medallions with quartered design composition have become increasingly prevalent (fig. 44).

Medallion or octagon designs with confronted birds at a stylized tree were not only popular among the Sogdians, but were also adopted by the Turkmen and found their way to Anatolia. Undoubtedly the most widely used Turkmen examples are the *tauk nuska* and the *ertmen gül*. The early form of the *ertmen gül* still clearly shows two confronted birds at a stylized tree (fig. 48 in the chapter "The Teke"). Arguably the best known Anatolian variant of this design is in the small format rug found in Marby, Sweden. The design of this rug consists of two octagons one on top of the other, each containing two confronted birds on a split palemette and a stylized tree.[108]

Under the new religion, Islam, together with the new rulers, the Turks, this design concept developed further in Central Asia. The confronted animal design has been mirrored again to become a quadruple

108 Gantzhorn 1990: Fig. 296.

animal design. Angular forms like the octagon, often integrated into complex geometric interlacement, were increasingly favoured over round medallions. The Buyid silk in fig. 44 is a good example of this development. Such design developments might well also have appeared among the Turkmen. The *tauk nuska* is one of the logical consequences of this 10th century development. As is customary in Turkmen weavings, all details have been stylized and geometricized. The comparison of figs. 44 and 45 illustrates this clearly. Thus, the *tauk nuska* might represent an ancient, though newly "edited", design from Iranian Central Asia, in line with the new Turkmen habits since the 10th century.

The Flatwoven *alem*

It is amazing to find this type of flatwoven *alem* in practically identical form among nearly all Turkmen tribes. The design composition consists of only three groups of narrow stripes in light blue-green and/or dark blue on a red-brown ground. *Alem* of this type are also known among the Salor,[109] the Ersarï,[110] the Sarïq,[111] the Teke,[112] and "Eagle" *gül* group 2 carpets.[113] The explanation for this tribal overlapping similarity could go back to pre-10th century models, to the time before the Turkmen were first mentioned

Structure: The carpet shows the typical structural features of the Qaradashlï group. [114]

Colour: Like the structure, the somewhat subdued and rather cool colour palette is typical for the Qaradashlï.

Dating: This *khali* belongs to the small group of Turkmen weavings with a 16th or 17th century radiocarbon dating result.[115] As there are no other points of reference for a restriction of the calculated age range like an insect dyestuff and/or tin mordant, the whole range has to be considered. The piece could either date back to the 16th or the 17th century.

109 Concaro/Levi 1999: 126.
110 Thompson 1983: 96; Rippon Boswell 33, 1991: Lot 82.
111 Spuhler 1998: 255: No. 70.
112 Hali 130, 2003,: 83; Concaro/Levi 1999: 134.
113 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Fig. 10; Concaro/Levi 1999: 132. Only "Eagle" *gül* group II pieces have these traditional *alem*. However, *khali* from "Eagle" *gül* group I and III also have flatwoven *alem*, but with a more complex stripe design (see cat. no. 115).
114 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the Qaradashlï group in the introduction to this chapter.
115 See the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate" section 3.1, fig. 13.

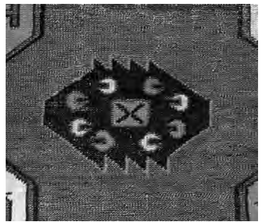


Fig. 48: C-*gül* secondary motif with central x-form. Detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 90.

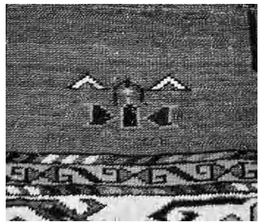


Fig. 49: Remains of a secondary motif. Detail from Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 90.

90

Qaradashlï *khali* with *tauk nuska* field design

This carpet with *tauk nuska* design[116] shows great similarities to cat. no. 89. In their proportions and combinations of designs, both are pieces of almost unsurpassable beauty. The many repairs and the age related lack of the flatwoven *alem* might be considered small demerits.

Design: The c-*gül*[117] as a secondary motif (fig. 48) is considerably less common than the *chemche gül* of cat. no. 89. At the beginning of the carpet, the weaver started with a no longer identifiable version of a secondary motif (fig. 49), continued on the right and left hand sides with a cross-shaped secondary motif composed of five small squares with integrated eight pointed stars[118] (see colour plate in Vol. 1), and finally switched to the c-*gül* for the rest of the field composition. This could be a result of the "new fashion" of the multiple *gül* carpets. The proportions of the *tauk nuska*, the c-*gül*, and the plain areas in the field are perfectly balanced. As with the previous piece with the *chemche gül*, the border and field designs complement each other beautifully and, together with its harmonious colours, make the carpet a masterpiece.

Structur: The carpet shows the typical structural features of the Qaradashlï group.[119]

Colours: This carpet, like cat. no. 89, shows a somewhat subdued and rather cool colour palette in reddish-brown tones, typical for the Qaradashlï. In contrast to cat. no. 89, the orange-red in the *tauk nuska* motifs is slightly more intense. Also typical is the absence of insect dyestuffs. Particularly charming is the successful juxtaposition of orange-red and dark blue together with the well-balanced proportion of white and coloured areas.

Dating: Despite the high aesthetic quality, comparable to cat. no. 89, radiocarbon dating results did not exceed the mid-17th century. However, the carpet most likely dates at least from the early 18th, if not even from the second half of the 17th century.

116 For a discussion of the *tauk nuska*, see cat. no. 89.
117 For a discussion of the C-*gül*, see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
118 This secondary motif is frequently seen in *khali* with *chuval gül* field design and is probably related to the *saqdaq gül* of the Salor (cf. cat. nos. 81 and 85).
119 For details, see the structure in vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the Qaradashlï group in the introduction to this chapter.

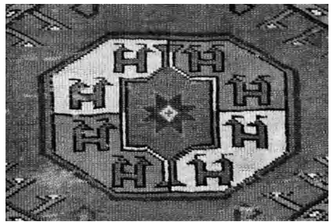


Fig. 50: *Tauk nuska*, detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 91.

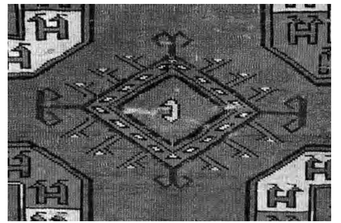


Fig. 51: Diamond shaped, hooked secondary motif. Detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 91.

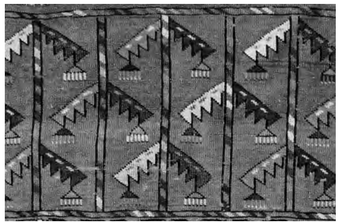


Fig. 52: *Alem* design of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 91.

91

Qaradashlï *khali* with *tauk nuska* design

With its well-balanced proportions of field, border and *alem* designs, this might be the most attractive example of the group of Qaradashlï *khali* with *tauk nuska* primary and hooked rhombus secondary motifs

field design. All evidence available points to the Qaradashlï group, although a Yomut attribution can not be completely excluded. The closest comparison piece turned up at Christie's in 2008; although it has a different type of border and is certainly not as old, it corresponds in many respects to cat. no. 91.[120]

Design: Worthy of note are the good proportions of the dimensions of the field and the size of both the *tauk nuska* and the secondary motifs. The c-forms in the centres of the secondary motifs are unique to this piece; no other *khali* with this secondary motif has them (fig. 51). The bold main border with its very impressive variant of the Turkmen meander with curled leaves is also remarkable.[121] The curled leaves are unusually large, which is extremely appealing and certainly adds much to the powerful overall effect of the carpet. Only seen in older pieces is the likewise attractive minor border, composed of a tendril with superimposed S-forms. The *alem* with their "Yomut firs" are composed in a rare form which presumably is also seen only in early pieces: the offset arrangement of the "firs" gives the impression of a diamond lattice (fig. 52).

Structure: Considering its virtuoso use of offset knotting, the additional asymmetric knots, and the somewhat "stiff" drawing of the field design, the carpets fits into the realm of the Qaradashlï group. Somewhat unusual is the soft touch of the piece.

Colours: Apart from slightly pale overall impression of the colours, the palette corresponds to the Qaradashlï group.

Dating: Compared with other *tauk nuska khali* of the Qaradashlï, this carpet most likely dates from the 18th century. Based on the high quality of the drawing, a 19th century date of production for this carpet is hardly conceivable; it is too similar to the early radiocarbon-dated piece cat. no. 89.

120 Christie's NY, 3 June 2008: Lot 41.
121 Compare the border of cat. no. 93.

92

Qaradashlï *khali* fragment with *tauk nuska* field design

This fragment has been included in the study because of its presumed great age. It convinces with its formal qualities, in which it clearly differs from later comparison pieces.

Design: The *dyrnak gül* as a secondary motif is rare among all Turkmen.

Structure: The carpet shows all the typical features of the Qaradashlï group.[122]

Colours: The somewhat subdued and rather cool colour palette with a purplish brown in various shades as a ground colour is typical for the Qaradashlï, as is the absence of any insect dyestuff.

Dating: The carpet dates from between 1650 and 1800. Based on the high colour and design quality of the piece, a 19th century dating seems unlikely.

93

Qaradashlï *khali* with *dyrnak gül* field design

Design: In addition to the alternation of two different *dyrnak gül*, the carpet shows a bold version of the border with curled leaves with an unusual version at the ends. Equally impressive are the minor borders with their large s-forms. Also the flower design in the *alem* is rare, if not even unique in this form.

Structure: The carpet shows all the typical features of the Qaradashlï group.[123]

Colours: The somewhat subdued and rather cool colour palette with a purplish brown in various shades as a ground colour is typical for the Qaradashlï, as is the absence of insect dyestuffs.

122 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the Qaradashlï group in the introduction to this chapter.
123 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1 and the characteristic features of the Qaradashlï group in the introduction to this chapter.

Dating: The carpet dates from between 1650 and 1800. Based on the high colour and design quality of the piece, a 19th century dating can be excluded.

94

Qaradashlï *khali* with *kepse gül* field design

Like cat. no. 90, this *khali* was included in the study based on the assumption of its great age. Although its condition leaves something to be desired, its high quality is beyond doubt.

Design: The drawing of the *kepse gül* alone suggests significant age.[124] Compared with *kepse gül* of 19th century carpets like cat. no. 95, cat. no. 94 still shows a powerful form of the design, though still not as impressive as the *kepse gül* of earlier pieces like cat. no. 108, or even the earliest form of the design with an asymmetric colour arrangement like cat. no. 106 and 107.[125]

Exceptional also is the design of the two *alem*. S-forms as seen in the beginning of the carpet are only very rarely seen in *alem*, which is also true for the flower motifs at the upper end. The same type of flowers also appear in the *alem* of the *ensi* cat. no. 75. This design parallel could indicate a correlation between the two pieces (see also "colours").

The combination of a main border with a meander and curled leaves and a *kochanak* minor border is typical for the Qaradashlï group. What resembles an "insect" in the main border, is nothing other than a curled leaf with attached buds on both sides. This playful use of design components is also seen in the early dated *khali* cat. no. 84. This type of bud also found a widespread use in the form of a quatrefoil secondary motif in *khali* and *chuval* not only by the Qaradashlï, but also other tribal groups.[126]

124 On the origin and development of the *kepse gül*, see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
125 See also the discussions of the pieces cat. nos. 105–108.
126 See also the discussion of the *khali* cat. no. 84 and the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".

Colours: The colour palette is slightly more intense than usual for the Qaradashlï group, and resembles the colour palette of the *ensi* cat. no. 75. Along with the *alem* design, this speaks for a possible relationship between the two pieces outside the Qaradashlï group.

Dating: In comparison with other *kepse gül* carpets, this *khali* may well predate 1800, but not 1700. One of the results of radiocarbon dating *kepse gül* carpets is the finding that the earliest form of the design had an asymmetrical colour scheme (see cat. no. 106 and 107). Therefrom, the type of *kepse gül* seen in cat. no. 108 developed in the 17th century, while the *kepse gül* seen here and in cat. no. 109 both represent yet a later development of the 18th century.

95

Qaradashlï *khali* with *kepse gül* and stylized flower design in the *alem*

It is difficult to say whether this *khali* can still be ascribed to the Qaradashlï or should rather be seen as a Yomut piece. The difficulty of distinguishing between the weavings of these two tribal groups in the course of the 19th century has been addressed in the discussion of cat. no. 86. Along with the Teke, the Yomut became the predominant tribal group in the 19th century.

Design: Of particular interest is the *alem* design (fig. 53). It undoubtedly shows a stylized version of the *alem* design of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 (fig. 54).[127] Also interesting are the similarities between the borders. The end borders of cat. no. 95 show a curled leaf tendril as seen in the Qaradashlï fragment cat. no. 84, while the end borders of the three Yomut pieces cat. nos. 101–103 show ashik motifs instead. The minor borders are also slightly different. They are

127 For a detailed design analysis, see the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the alem of Turkmen *khali*".

Fig. 53: *Alem* of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 95. In comparison with the *alem* design of cat. no. 84 (fig. 54), strong adaptations to the Turkmen design tradition can be observed. Although nearly everything is still present, the landscape and the clouds are missing. Added, however, are the many little white and black hooks.

Fig. 54: Detail with the *alem* of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, 1st half of the 17th century.

more expressively designed in the earlier piece than in cat. no. 95, where a Yomut influence can already be observed, which is not unusual for the 19th century.

The most substantial difference, however, is the field design: the early piece with the *chuval gül*, and the late piece with the *kepse gül*. Though the existence of late 19th century *chuval gül* carpets is proven by the example from the Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg,[128] in the 19th century the extremely popular *kepse gül* largely replaced the considerably older *chuval gül*.

128 See Tzareva 1984: Plate 69; and Tsareva 1993: No. 7. Presumably also this is an late Qaradashlï piece.

Colours: The colour palette of this *khali* is slightly paler than the palette of the comparison piece published by Herrmann. Both *alem* are darker in colour than the field, as in many other weavings of the Qaradashlï. The early radiocarbon dated *chuval gül* fragment cat. no. 84 and the *chuval gül khali* cat. no. 87 are just two examples.

Dating: Not only the stylized version of the Safavid/Mughal flower design, but also the rest of the design, suggest that a date of production before the 19th century is highly improbable.

The Yomut

Balkhan mountains, Gorgan/Atrek plain (Astarabad) and Khoresm (Khiva Oasis)
Cat. nos. 96 – 109; 154 – 156

The general problem of the use of the term "Yomut" or "Yomut family" as a tribal attribution of Turkmen weavings is discussed in the chapter "The Yazïr-Qaradashlï".

A brief historical background

Mahmud al-Kashgari's 11th century inventory of the Turkic speaking Oghuz tribes does not mention the Yomut. Rashid al-Din does not yet mention them in the 14th century. This might be explained by the Yomut being originally of Iranian origin. Only after the breakup of the Salor confederation, to which the Yomut belonged, Abul Ghazi mentions them for the first time, in the the 17th century.[1]

From the Balkhan Mountains, in the 17th century, the Yomut migrated south to the plain of the rivers Gorgan and Atrek. In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, they became more and more powerful. In the 19th century, one Yomut group, the Bayram-Shalï, migrated to Khoresm and lived there in the neighbourhood of the Chowdur.[2] The Yomut included both nomadic livestock breeders and settled peasants, farming particularly in Khoresm.[3] The Yomut living in the Gorgan/Atrek plain along the shores of the Caspian were engaged in fishing and are said to have been active as merchants. According to Moshkova, from early times the Yomut wove carpets not only for themselves, but also for the markets of Astarabad and even Teheran.[4]

In the 1960's, Andrews[5] and Irons[6] studied the customs and traditions of Yomut people living in Persian territory.

Yomut weavings

Particularly for pre-1800 pieces, there is some disagreement regarding the Yomut attribution. For some time now, "Yomut" has been used as a collective term for pieces that did not belong to the Salor, Sarïq, Teke, or Ersarï domains. Though the similarities in design and colour of many weavings are great, these weavings can vary considerably in structure, so it remains difficult to establish precise boundaries. Azadi

1 Abu'l-Ghazi Bahadur Khan 1958.
2 Bregel 2003: Maps 36A and 36B.
3 Wood 1990: 27–28.
4 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 229.
5 Andrews 1973; 1980; 1981; 1993b; 1997.
6 Irons 1975; 1980; 1990.

has made several attempts to separate groups out of the Yomut conglomerate. These include the Qaradashlï,[7] the Göklen,[8] the Ighdïr, and the Abdal.[9]

Weavings given a Yomut attribution here have the following common features:

- Primarily symmetrical knotting.[10]
- A purplish-brown palette with only occasional bright red shades.
- No insect dyestuffs on wool (with the exception of tent bands).
- No silk pile (with the exception of tent bands).
- A specific design repertoire, e.g. the *kepse gül*.
- *Khali* often have a white ground main border with *syrga* design or a meander, and "running dog" minor borders.
- *Chuval* as a rule have a patterned *alem*.
- *Ensi* as a rule have a quartered field without niche forms in the fields with the registers.[11]

"Betwixt and between" (Cat. nos. 96 and 97)

For both cat. nos. 96 and 97, an attribution to one of the known tribal groups is particularly difficult. Rather than present them out of context as "unknown Turkmen" at the end of the book, based on their symmetrical knotting and their designs, they have been placed between the Qaradashlï and the Yomut, to which they have a clear affinity.

7 See Footnote 5 in the chapter "The Qaradashlï".
8 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990.
9 Andrews et al. 1993: 16–23.
10 There is disagreement about this. Azadi considers the asymmetrically knotted pieces as typical Yomut products. However, 19th and early 20th century Yomut weavings are mostly symmetrically knotted.
11 See fig. 92 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

96

Turkmen *torba*

On the basis of its unusual design, colour palette, and structural features, a tribal attribution of this *torba* is problematic. Though possible attribution can be narrowed by a process of elimination,[12] a better case can be made for a geographical origin.

A geographical attribution is largely based on comparison with pieces of the "Eagle" *gül* group II, the Teke, and the Yomut. Since the 17th century – from which cat. no. 96 dates – all these groups lived in the area of the rivers Gorgan and Atrek and the city of Astarabad in southwestern Turkmenistan. The scarcity of extant 17th or 18th century weavings on which to base a comparison adds to the difficulty.

Design: The *torba* displays an extremely high quality drawing. Of particular note is the secondary motif (fig. 2), which is better drawn than most of the comparable secondary motifs in "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*.[13] Furthermore, the drawing of the *chuval gül* (fig. 1) and the border (fig. 3) show a quality achieved by very few other Turkmen weavings. The border design of the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79, which also dates from the 16th or 17th century, is clearly related.

The similarities of the *chuval gül* (fig. 1) to the *chuval gül* of the Teke, and particularly the similarity of the field design to "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*,[14] have led to questionable conclusions; it has been thought to be Teke or "Eagle" *gül* group II.[15] Close inspection of the piece reveals that it is symmetrically knotted throughout, not asymmetrically, as had been assumed. So in both structure and border design, cat. no. 96 clearly differs from Teke and "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*.

12 Excluded can be the Salor, the Ersarï, (and therewith all eastern Turkmen), the Arabachi and presumably also the Chowdur (and with these also the northern Turkmen of the Esen-Eli group).
13 A secondary motif of comparable quality is seen in an "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* in Thompson 2008: 144–145, plate 35.
14 See Vol. 1, comparable pieces to cat. no. 96 "Comparable designs in "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* and trappings".
15 Hali 143: 80.

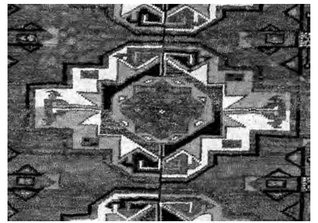


Fig. 1: The *chuval gül* of the *torba* cat. no. 96 is comparable to the *chuval gül* of "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* and a small group of Teke *torba*.

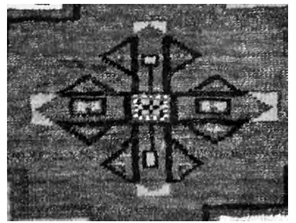


Fig. 2: Proto-*gurbaga gül* of the *torba* cat. no. 96, 17th century. This type of Turkmen secondary motif can be traced back to 13th and 14th century Islamic interlaced designs.

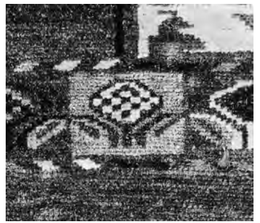


Fig. 3: Border detail from *torba* cat. no. 96, 17th century. The little flowers are similar to those in the border of the early radiocarbon-dated Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79.

It is, however, not without precedent to find combinations of designs and techniques in early pieces which are no longer, or only rarely, seen in the 19th century. Examples include the Teke *torba* cat. no. 56 and the Qaradashlï *torba* cat. no. 79. Like the *torba* cat. no. 96, both have unusual designs in unusual combinations.

Structure: Despite its similarity of composition and design, this symmetrically knotted *torba* does not belong to the "Eagle" *gül* group II. Also notable is the absence of offset knotting, a technique usually seen in early symmetrically knotted pieces in which this technique is used to achieve a more dynamic drawing of the design.

Colours: With its brownish purple ground colour and its somewhat pale bluish green, this *torba* is related to other early radiocarbon dated Yomut pieces (cat. nos. 101 and 102). The cool shade of rose red (insect dyestuff) in the centre of the *chuval gül,* though, is more in keeping with the Qaradashlï group than the Yomut. Insect dyestuffs are seen occasionally in Qaradashlï pieces, while, except for tent bands and late 19th century weavings, almost never among the Yomut. Although the cool shade of rose red in cat. no. 96 has not yet been chemically examined, it most likely is an insect dyestuff, which is suggested not only by the cool shade of the colour, but also by the 3 to 4-plied pile yarn.[16] The rest of the pile is 2-plied

Dating: With a statistical probability of 64%, radiocarbon dating suggests a 17th century date of production. This possibility is supported by comparable radiocarbon dating results for other pieces, e.g. the *chuval gül* carpets cat. nos. 84, 101, and 102.[17]

16 See section "2. Visual recognition of insect dyed woollen yarn" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".
17 See also the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".

97

Turkmen *chuval* with *chuval gül*

Like the *torba* cat. no. 96, this *chuval* fits neither into the Yomut group nor the Qaradashlï.

Design: Inconsistent with the Qaradashlï group are the drawing of both the *chuval gül* and the *chemche gül*. The *chemche gül* does not show the Qaradashlï-typical w-form as seen in cat. nos. 80 and 89. In the drawing of the *chuval gül*, the weaver went through a conspicuous learning process; the drawing improves from bottom to top. Unlike the unusual form of the *chuval gül* and the *chemche gül*, the border design with the little flower motifs is frequently seen in both Yomut and Qaradashlï pieces. Comparison with the early dated *torba* cat. no. 79 shows only a small simplification of the leaf shape, possibly a result of the age difference.

Structure: As with cat. no. 96, there is no offset knotting. Even more unusual is the use of silk as a weft material.[18] Though this phenomenon is also seen in a few other pieces from southwest Turkmenistan, in older pieces it is found only in weavings of "Eagle" *gül* group I and III.[19] In the late 19th and early 20th century, silk as a weft material is also seen in Teke weavings.[20] In these late Teke pieces and weavings of "Eagle" *gül* groups I and III, silk as a weft material suggests a workshop production. This seems less likely in the case of cat. no. 97 based on the irregularity of the drawing of the *chuval gül*.

Dating: The piece presumably dates from the first half of the 19th century. An earlier date of production is rather unlikely.

18 See structure in Vol. 1.
19 *Khali* cat. nos. 115 and 156.
20 *Chuval* cat. no. 70.

98

Yomut *aq yüp* fragments (all-pile)

Three all-pile tent bands have been examined for this study (cat. nos. 98, 99, and 117). All were produced in southwest Turkmenistan. While cat. nos. 98 and 99 might be Yomut pieces, cat. no. 117 belongs to the "P-Chowdur" group.

There are two additional small fragments showing one design element each, from the same band as the two fragments discussed here, in the collection of the de Young Museum in San Francisco.[21]

Design: All pile tent bands nearly always differ in their design from bands in mixed technique. In most cases, the difference is in the border design; in exceptional cases also in the field.[22] Five of the nine published Yomut all-pile tent bands show, in the borders, a meander with curled leaves borrowed from carpet designs. A number of later bands in mixed technique also show a meander with curled leaves, in addition to the usual zig-zag borders,[23] presumably imitating the luxurious all-pile models.

An exception in this respect are Salor tent bands, where the phenomenon of additional borders is already seen in early examples in mixed technique.[24]

Structure: Technically, all-pile tent bands are knotted like a "normal" carpet. In other words, they have stretched warps and wavy wefts (so-called weft faced weave). This technique deprives them of their suitability for the real purpose of tent bands; they are purely representational objects.

Colours: As a rule, Yomut weavings contain no insect dyestuffs on wool. But, as among other Turkmen tribes, tent bands are an exception: all three Yomut bands discussed here (cat. nos. 98, 99, and 100) contain an insect dyestuff on wool.[25]

Cat. no. 98 contains selectively used cochineal. The larger of the two fragments (b) shows this dyestuff in some of the small triangles next to the curled leaves in the border.

Dating: Based on the graphic qualities of this band, a 19th century date of production seems very unlikely. A first radiocarbon dating, executed in New Zealand, resulting in a radiocarbon age of 348 ± 66 yBP[26] (calibrated this would result in a pre-1650 dating) could not be confirmed in any of three later tests in Zurich. The band might therefore date from around 1700.

21 Museum of Fine Arts San Francisco, inv. no. 2000.186.4; 2001.143.12. One of the fragments is published in Dodds/Eiland 1996: 211, fig. 257 left.
22 Cat. no. 99 with "naturalistic" flower designs.
23 Eiland/Shockley 1976: No. 11; Hoffmeister 1980: No. 37; Dienes/Reinisch 2001: No. 225; Rippon Boswell 58, 2002: Lot 83.
24 See cat. no. 4.
25 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".
26 Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory, lab. no. NZA 6025, reported 15 February 1996.

99

Yomut *aq yüp* (all-pile)

This tent band is a masterpiece of Central Asian textile art. The all-pile structure, the perfect drawing of a then modern and exotic design, and the use of an even more exotic insect dyestuff from Mexico suggest an expensive commissioned work.

Such precious and perfectly executed objects raise the question of the nature of their production: tradition (home-made for owner use), cottage industry, or workshop? It is hard to believe that this band was woven in a household, let alone in a nomadic tent. It is rather the product of a workshop.

Beyond the precious and unusual weaving technique, professional production and a majestic use of this band are suggested by the systematic application of three patterns: the *sainak* tent band design (fig. 12), a "pseudo-Kufic" ornament (fig. 35), and a flower design composed of Mughal and Safavid stylistic elements (fig. 42).

Design: With a striped section at the beginning and the end and fourteen design segments between separation stripes, the band is symmetrically composed from the centre outwards. Flanked by two segments with flower designs, the eighth segment from left is the optical centre (figs. 4 and 5). The two largest segments, left and right of the centre, show four flowers composed of early 17th century Safavid and Mughal stylistic elements (fig. 5). These flower designs appear to grow out left and right from a powerful *sainak* motif. They might have been adapted from the *alem* design seen in carpets, or just from the same sources, possibly even in the same workshop. (figs. 41–44). Though some design elements of the band are nearly identical to design elements of the carpets, they are used in different context, not strictly in the flower design (cf. figs. 47–52).[27]

Another motif, which, like the Mughal flower design, reinforces the majestic character of the band, derives from "pseudo-Kufic" ornaments (fig. 35). Such motifs are known from 13th–16th century carpet borders (fig. 32–34). Julia Bailey has convincingly argued these "pseudo-characters" form a kind of "ideogram" for "stately representation" in the Islamic world.[28]

These two styles of ornamentation (Mughal flowers and "pseudo-Kufic") can be observed in ten of the fourteen design segments (see fig. 4). Furthermore, at the beginning of the band, the borders show some unusual motifs (fig. 4, left) with an uncertain origin and meaning. After that short section, the border design with a lotus meander begins.

The "pseudo-Kufic" elements are placed laterally, mirrored on either side of a central design element composed of a horizontal beam with an integrated *sainak* motif (see Fig. 5). The *sainak* tent band motif is one of the basic design elements of many Turkmen tent bands.[29]

27 See the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
28 Bailey 2010.
29 An exception is the "Eagle" *gül* group tent bands cat. nos. 110 and 111.

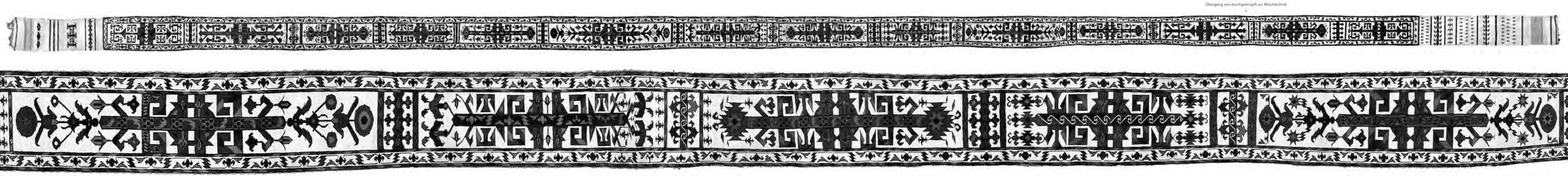


Fig. 4 top: All-pile tent band, Yomut, cat. no. 99, 28 x 1382 cm, 17th century (beginning of the band on the left), private collection.

Fig. 5 bottom: The centre of the band is formed by a combination of three design segments with "pseudo-Kufic" motifs accompanied by large segments with a Mughal flower design on the left and the right. This part of the band was placed directly above the Khan, seated in the back section of the yurt, receiving his entourage (begs) or other guests. Like the *ensi*, the status symbol of the Khan, a tent band like cat. no. 99 would have represented the high status of its owner.

1. The *sainak* motif in tent bands (figs. 6 – 23)

The quadruple spiral (Turkmen *sainak*) is a several thousand year old protection symbol (fig. 24). In Turkmen weavings it might be best known from the borders of *ensi* (figs. 26 – 28).[30] Specifically referring to its use in *ensi*, Moshkova has passed down the name: *sainak*. The motif, however, appears not only in the borders of *ensi*, but also in decorative hangings, in *asmalyk* (cat. no. 156), and as an important design in tent bands.

The Ancient Near Eastern origin of the motif (figs. 24 and 25) as a stately symbol of protection is discussed in the chapter "The Turkmen *Ensi*". Tsareva has also pointed to a possible Ancient Near Eastern origin of tent band designs generally.[31]

In cat. no. 99 (fig. 4), the *sainak* tent band motif plays an important role. It appears as a basic motif in all fourteen design segments (figs. 4, 5, and 12).[32] Similar in this respect are cat. no. 164 and a tent band published by Tzareva[33]; these two bands also show a *sainak* motif in every design segment. In the tent band cat. no. 111, the protection symbol (*sainak*, fig. 29) stands at the beginning and the end of the ornamentation. Such a use is also seen in other tent bands. In yet another variant, the *sainak* tent band motif together with other motifs appears scattered throughout the whole composition of the band, as seen in cat. nos. 4, 38, 39, 53, and 125.

The *sainak* motif is known in many variants and appears in one form or another in most Turkmen tent bands. The common characteristics are the clamp-like double hooks, which can enclose various different design elements.

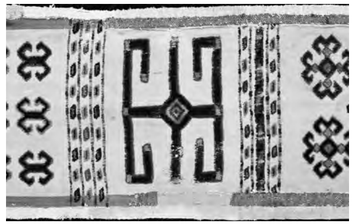
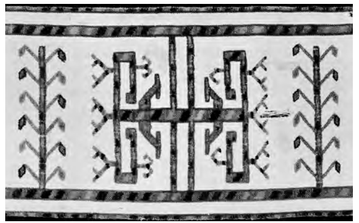
Figs. 6 – 23 illustrate the variety from a simple *sainak* motif like that of the *ensi* (figs. 26 – 28), to double-row *sainak* motifs (figs. 21 – 23), even to complex formations where the *sainak* motif is only recognisable at a second glance (figs. 18 – 20).

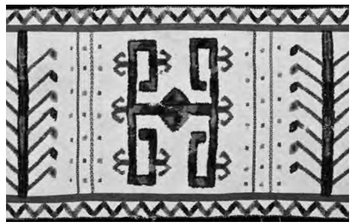
30 See the section "5.3 The two typical *ensi* designs: *Gush* and *sainak*, throne bearer and quadruple spirals" and "5.3.2 The *sainak* motif , a classic symbol of protection" in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

31 Tsareva 2011: 133.

32 The motif plays a comparable role in the tent band cat. no. 164.

33 Tsareva 2011: 138, no. 142.





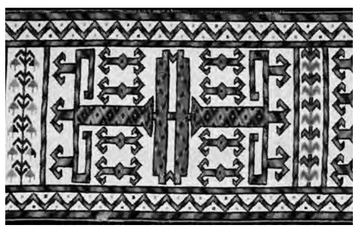
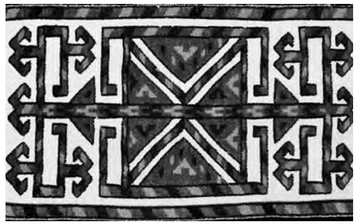



Fig. 6: *Aq yüp*, cat. no. 110, 17th century.
Fig. 7: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.
Fig. 8: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.

Fig. 9: *Aq yüp* , cat no. 164, 17th/18th century.
Fig. 10: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 18th/19th century.
Fig. 11: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 18th/19th century.

Fig. 12: *Aq yüp*, cat. no. 99, 17th century
Fig. 13: *Aq yüp*, private collection, first half of the 19th century.
Fig. 14: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.



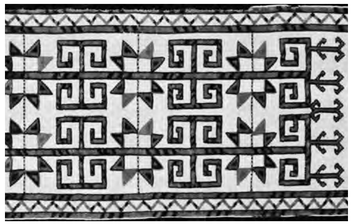
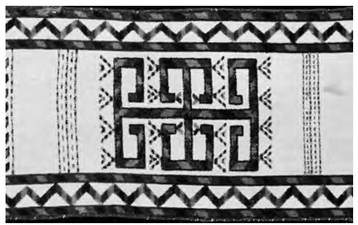
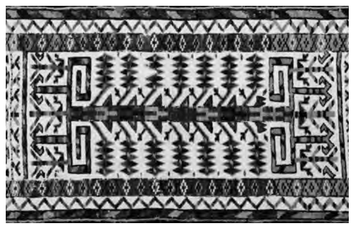
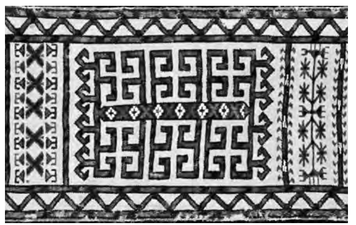
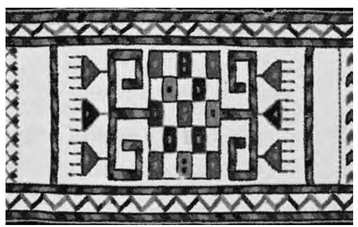






Fig. 15: *Aq yüp*, cat. no. 38, private collection
Fig. 16: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.
Fig. 17: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.

Fig. 18: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.
Fig. 19: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.
Fig. 20: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.

Fig. 21: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 18th/19th century.
Fig. 22: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.
Fig. 23: *Aq yüp*, private collection, 19th century.

Two opposing double spirals (quadruple spiral), an ancient protection symbol: from stately Assyrian throne to Turkmen tent decor.

Fig. 24: Jewellery, carved stone, Tepe Giyan, Iran, 4th millennium B.C. This quadruple spiral motif composed of two opposed rams heads points to a possible origin of the quadruple spiral from horn forms. Repr. from Herzfeld 1941 (1988): 67, Fig. 125.

Fig. 25: Aramaic relief with throne representation, 8th century B.C. Brace between the legs of the throne with quadruple spiral motifs (*sainak*). Image by the author, 2012.

Fig. 26 – 28: *Sainak* motif in an *ensi* of the Salor (top, detail of cat. no. 2), the Sariq (centre, detail of cat. no. 37), and the Teke (bottom, detail of cat. no. 50).

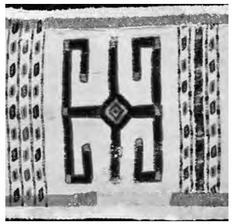


Fig. 29: The *sainak* motif in an "Eagle" *gül* tent band. Detail from cat. no. 111, 17th century.

Fig. 30: Drawing of a detail of an epigraphic band from a tiraz textile, Iran, 10th century. The detail shows the word *al mulk* with the characters *alif, lam, mim,* and *kaf*. Repr. from Bailey 2010: Fig. 10.

Fig. 31: Timurid miniature painting, 15th century. Throne scene in connection with a calligraphic frieze showing repeatedly the word *al mulk*, "sovereignty" (For the whole painting see fig. 38).

Fig. 32: Carpet border from a Timurid miniature painting, early 15th century. Repr. from Grabar 2000: 14.

Fig. 33: "Pseudo-Kufic" motif in the border of an animal carpet fragment, 14th or early 15th century (^{14}C dated). Orient Stars Collection (the fragment is illustrated in Franses 2013: 258, fig. 244).

Fig. 34: "Pseudo-Kufic" motif in the border of an Anatolian carpet fragment, 13th century (^{14}C dated). Orient Stars Collection. Image by the author.

Fig. 35: Detail from the all-pile *aq yüp* cat. no. 99, 17th century (back). The "pseudo-Kufic" motif appears at the beginning, in the centre, and at the end of the band (cf. fig. 4).

2. The "pseudo-Kufic" motif (fig. 35)

A rare motif in Turkmen weavings (fig. 35) is seen in several design segments in the centre of cat. no. 99 and in design segments at each end. The motif belongs to the ambit of "pseudo-Kufic" designs and, according to Bailey, goes back to the Arabic word *al mulk*, "sovereignty" (figs. 30–40).[34] In cat. no. 99, it is inserted systematically four times at the beginning, twelve times in the centre, and again four times at the end (fig. 4). An exception is the fourth design segment, which contains this motif four additional times.

The motif is clearly being used systematically and intentionally in this band, and the great similarity to border designs in Seljuk and Timurid carpets strongly suggests a relationship to "pseudo-Kufic" ornaments (figs. 32–34).

The two hooked elements at the side of the motif (in Arabic the letter *lam*), allude to forms seen in 13th–15th century carpet borders (figs. 32–34). The central part (in Arabic the letter *mim*) corresponds most likely to the 13th century example in fig. 34.

The Timurid carpet example (fig. 32) still clearly shows an elevation in the centre, the Arabic letter *mim*, with a lotus flower. In the Turkmen version, this elevation is reduced to a small notch at the bottom edge in the centre of the design (fig. 35) and the lotus flower is simplified to a shaft with a triangle standing on its tip. This reduction to geometric forms without curves is typical of the Turkmen tradition.

34 Bailey 2010.

Bailey has persuasively discussed the possible meaning of this "pseudo-Kufic" motif. Others have called this motif "tall-short-tall syndrome", tracing it back to the word for God – "Allah".[35] Bailey questions this interpretation, proposing other Arabic words including the "tall-short-tall" element in their spelling. Her conclusion is that the formula *al mulk lillah*, "Dominion belongs to God", later reduced to *al mulk*, "dominion" or "sovereignty" alone, is the most probable source for the decorative "tall-short-tall" element seen since the 11th century (figs. 30–40).

In her essay Bailey illustrates how the "pseudo-Kufic" motif systematically appears in 14th and 15th century miniature paintings as a border design, in conjunction with representations of enthroned rulers or members of the royal family.[36]

Thus, the "tall-short-tall" element is basically an ideogram for *al mulk*, "dominion", a reduction of a word to its most decorative graphic elements. In Islamic art and in conjunction with enthroned rulers, this ideogram or "tall-short-tall" element and also the written out word appear on 13th–15th century metalwork[37] and in miniature paintings.

An example of the reduction of the word to the "tall-short-tall" element is seen the early 14th century representation of the enthroned Ardashir in fig. 36. A frieze with "tall-short-tall" elements is seen on the backrest of his throne (fig. 37) and above the whole scene (fig. 36).

35 Ettinghausen, DeLorey, and Erdmann, see Bailey 2010: 19.

36 Bailey 2010: 18, figs. 1, 11, and 14.
37 Bailey 2010: 23, fig. 11.

Fig. 36 and 37: Miniature painting, ca. 1330, presumably Tabriz. The enthroned Sasanian King Ardashir, beside a counsellor or courtier. The *al mulk* ideogram appears in a frieze covering the whole scene (fig. 36), and also in a frieze on the backrest of the throne (fig. 37). Repr. from Robinson et al. 1988: plate 4. PP4.

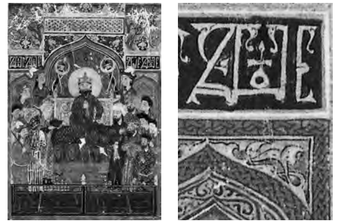


Fig. 38 and 39: Miniature painting, 15th century. Alexander the Great enthroned. Left and right of the central niche are two smaller niches bellow calligraphic friezes repeatedly showing the word *al mulk*, "sovereignty". Repr. from Kameroff/Carboni 2002: 53

Fig. 40: "The Khan's Kibitka". Drawing after a water colour by William Simpson. This "reception tent" of a Sarïq Khan presumably not only differed from other tents by having a luxury *ensi*, but also inside by having a luxury *aq yüp*. Repr. from Illustrated London News, 28 March 1885: 318.

The written out word *al mulk*, on the other hand, is seen in the Ilkhanid miniature painting with a representation of the enthroned Alexander (figs. 38 and 39).

I think it is likely that the "pseudo-Kufic" or "tall-short-tall" motif and its meaning were familiar to the Turkmen elite. There is no doubt that cat. no. 99 must have had enormous prestige value for its original owner. This and comparable luxury bands[38] were used for representative purposes on special occasions.[39]

Thus, in terms of its representative character, the *aq yüp* cat no. 99 has the same sort of representative significance as an *ensi* (fig. 40).[40]

The tent, in front of which the Khan has had himself portrayed in the drawing by William Simpson, is not an everyday tent, but his audience tent, where he received important visitors or met with his entourage.

In contrast to the *ensi*, however, this band was used inside the tent, presumably at the top of the trellis, where it, like the *ensi*, served to emphasize the owners high status. On the occasion of receptions, the Khan sat directly opposite the entrance, in the rear section of the tent.[41] Directly above him was placed the central area of the band, with the *al mulk* ideograms and the large flower motifs (fig. 5), emphasizing his power.

38 Cat. nos. 4, 111 and 117.
39 Andrews 1993b: 7.
40 For the significance of the *ensi* as a status symbol see the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

41 See Andrews 1999: 121.

Fig. 41: Stylized flower shrub in the Turkmen flower style, type 1. Detail from the top *alem* of *khali* cat. no. 101, 17th century.

Fig. 42: Stylized flower shrub in the Turkmen flower style, type 1. Detail from the all-pile *aq yüp* cat. no. 99, 17th century.

Fig. 43: Stylized flower shrub in the Turkmen flower style, type 2. Detail from the bottom *alem* of *khali* cat. no. 101, 17th century.

Fig. 44: Stylized flower shrub in the Turkmen flower style, type 2. Detail from the all-pile *aq yüp* cat. no. 99, 17th century.

Fig. 45: Detail from cat. no. 53. Stylized tree with pomegranates. Teke *aq yüp*, 17th or 18th century.

Fig. 46: Detail from cat. no. 4, compound tree design with pomegranates and palmettes. Salor *aq yüp*, 17th or 18th century.

3. The Mughal flower design[42]

Stylized tree forms such as the pomegranate tree, palmette tree, and flower tree are among the typical Turkmen tent band designs with an ancient tradition. While the pomegranate tree design (fig. 45) is based on 9th century B.C. Assyrian archetypes,[43] the palmette tree design (fig. 46) might go back to 6th/7th century A.D. Sasanian models.[44] The flower tree design discussed here draws on late 16th and early 17th century Safavid and Mughal carpet and textile designs (cf. figs. 80 and 83).

In the tent band cat. no. 99, these flower trees appear in two large design segments in slightly different variants: one with "leaves" attached on the sides of the uppermost large blossom (fig. 44), and one without these "leaves" (fig. 42). Both variants are also seen in the *alem* of carpets (figs. 41 and 43), and both continued into the later design tradition, each showing its own, independent development in the *alem* of carpets and in tent bands.[45]

Adaptations to traditional Turkmen design forms can already be observed in cat. no. 99. While the first flower tree design (in weaving direction) is still very similar to the models in the carpets[46] (figs. 41 and 43), the second flower tree already shows adaptations to the geometric Turkmen design style (fig. 44): first, the two laterally projecting round blossoms have been transformed into eight pointed stars,

42 A separate chapter is dedicated to the flower designs seen in figs. 41–44, also discussing in detail the tent band version of this design ("Flowering Gardens in the alem of Turkmen *khali*").
43 See figs. 30–34 in the chapter "The Teke".
44 See figs. 48–56 in the chapter "The Salor".

45 See figs. 80–92 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the alem of Turkmen *khali*".
46 Only the landscape below the flower shrub has been omitted.

Fig. 47: "Eye-buds" in a Safavid carpet with palmettes and sickle leaves, 17th century. Previously The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

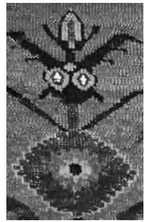


Fig. 48: Upper end of the Turkmen flower shrub with "eye buds". Detail from khali cat . no. 101.

Fig. 49: The "eye buds", at the upper end of the flower shrubs in the khali (fig. 48), appear in the tent band as a lateral attachment. Detail from cat. no. 99.

Fig. 50: Flower shrub with carnations, Safavid silk velvet with gold threads (detail), Iran, 17th century. Repr. from Thompson 2004: 40, no. 8.

Fig. 51: Stylized flower design with integrated carnation (see fig. 43). Detail from khali cat. no. 101 (back). 17th century.

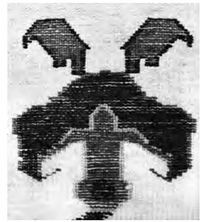


Fig. 52: Carnation from the aq yüp cat. no. 99. This flower form goes back to representations of carnations in the alem of khali cat. no. 101 (figs. 43 and 51).

second, their stems have become small rhombuses, and third, the uppermost large blossom is filled with an eight pointed star rather than concentric circles.

Further differences from the flower designs in the carpets are the absence of (1) the bell-shaped flower buds above the uppermost large blossom (fig. 41), (2) the upper ending with the "eye-buds" (figs. 41 and 48), and (3) the carnations integrated into the flower stem (figs. 43 and 51). Though these motifs are absent in the flower shrubs, they are still present in the band, just used differently from the *alem* design of the carpets.

3.1 Flower-buds , "eye-buds" and carnations

In the *alem* of the carpets cat. nos. 101 – 103, the flower-buds, "eye-buds", and carnations are components of the Mughal flower design. In the tent band, these three designs become independent ornaments (fig. 49 and 52). Both the "eye-buds" (figs. 48 and 49) and the carnations (figs. 51 and 52) are borrowings from Safavid Persia. In Safavid carpet designs, "eye-buds" often form the end of large palmette and arabesque systems (fig. 47),[47] while carnations are seen primarily in Safavid velvets (fig. 50).[48]

3.2 The continuity of the tradition up to the 19th century

Over the three centuries of its existence, the Mughal flower design in Turkmen tent bands shows an increasing geometrisation and simplification from the "naturalistic" flower design.[49]

47 See figs. 68–73 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
48 See figs. 74–79 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*". The "running dog" minor border design as seen in all *khali* of this design group has also been integrated into the design of cat. no. 99 (see fig. 5, second design segment from the right).
49 Fig. 80–92 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Tukrmen *khali*" illustrate this process of development.

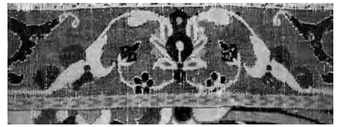


Fig. 53: Border detail of a Safavid carpet with large lotus palmettes and forked leaves (in white), 17th century. Gulbenkian Museum Lisbon. Image by the author.

Fig. 54: Border detail of a Safavid carpet with large lotus palmettes and forked leaves, Khorasan, Mashad (?), 17th century. Repr. from Völker 2001: 251.

Fig. 55: Stylized form of the Safavid meander with lotus palmettes and forked leaves. Border detail of the *aq yüp* cat. no. 99, 17th century. This is the only known tent band showing this unusual type of border.

Fig. 56: Stylized lotus palmette meander. Border detail of the *khali* with *chuval gül* field design cat. no. 104, 18th century.

Fig. 57: Heavily stylized lotus palmette meander. Border detail of the Rippon Boswell multiple *gül* carpet, 19th century. Repr. from Rippon Boswell 2009, lot 137. (For a complete image of the carpet, see fig. 17 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*").

4. The border with the lotus palmette meander (figs. 53 – 57)

The border pattern is also exceptional (fig. 55). Typically tent band borders show a continuous zig-zag line, flanked by a *gyak* stripe on each side, as seen in cat. no. 100.

A main border with a meander is not unusual in all-pile tent bands (see cat no. 98), but the type here is unusual. In place of the usual meander with curled leaves (as seen in cat. no. 98), we find a meander with lotus palmettes from which grow two forked leaves (fig. 55). This pattern is an adaptation of a border design seen frequently in 16th and 17th century Safavid carpets, showing a meander with lotus palmettes and two superimposed forked leaves (figs. 53 and 54).

Starting in the 16th or 17th century, this type of border appears in Turkmen *khali*. Cat. no. 106 shows the earliest example (fig. 93). In the 18th century, a stylised version of this border design is seen, particularly in *khali* with *chuval gül* field design (fig. 56), replacing the meander with curled leaves of the earlier carpets. A heavily stylised version can be found on carpets up to the 19th century (fig. 57).

Structure: This band is in a perfect state of preservation. This might not only be due to the high esteem in which it was held by its former owners, but also the use of cotton for the wefts throughout the whole band.

From a western aesthetic sensibility it might be difficult to understand why this luxury object is not woven in the velvet-like all pile technique throughout. The last two design segments show a less attractive variant in mixed technique; the design is in pile, while the white background is in flatweave.

Instead of the warp-faced technique standard for tent bands, the weft-faced technique typical for pile carpets has been used. Warp-faced weave, however, would have been a more practical technique for a tent band actually intended for tensile load. The use of weft-faced technique unmistakably confirms that here the purpose was representational rather than functional. All indications are that this band was produced as a custom-made item for a high-ranking personage.

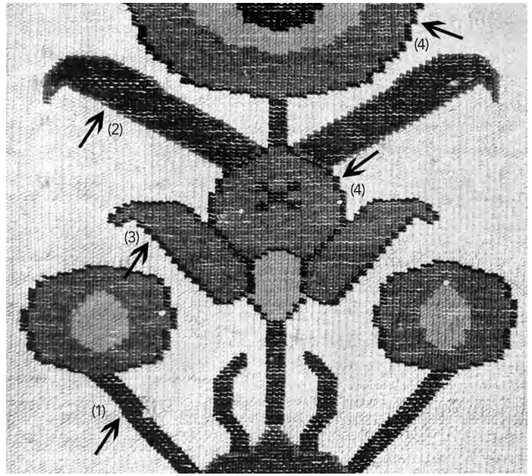


Fig. 58: Detail from the back of the tent band cat. no. 99. To achieve a more "naturalistic" reproduction of the flower design, in addition to offset knotting (3), the weaver used an unusual variety of combinations of "steps" to form different angles for diagonal lines and to create the impression of curved forms.
(1) Offset knotting, 1 knot vertical, 0.5 horizontal
(2) Normal knotting, 1 knot vertical, 1 horizontal
(3) Normal knotting, 2 knot vertical, 1 horizontal
(4) Normal knotting, varying numbers of knots vertical to each horizontal "step".

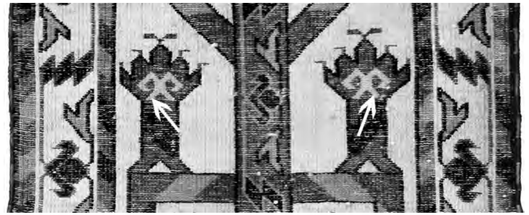


Fig. 59: Detail from the back of the tent band cat. no. 99 showing the two small double hooks, to the left and right of the middle beam (arrows) in the last design segment worked in all-pile technique, and dyed with Mexican cochineal on tin mordant. This is the only Mexican cochineal in the whole band. Such economical use of this luxury dyestuff is seen only in early weavings. The Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127 is another example.

Another uncommon structural feature in the band is seen in the two design segments with Mughal style flower designs, placed symmetrically to the left and right of the middle of the band (fig. 5). To achieve the curved forms and differently angled lines for the flower design the weaver utilised a number of different techniques (fig. 58). She applied not only offset knotting (fig. 58.1), but also different combinations of steps of the horizontal/vertical knot ratio. Angles have been achieved through a knot ratio of 1:1 (one knot vertical and one horizontal per step), resulting in a flattened angle of roughly 30° (fig. 58, 2), or 2:1 for a somewhat steeper angle of 45° (corresponding to offset knotting) (fig. 58, 3)[50], or even ratios of 4:1 or 6:1 to achieve the curved forms of the blossoms (fig. 58, 4).

Despite these stepped forms, the result looks round and dynamic from the front. This virtuoso use of different combinations of steps to achieve the curved forms is not seen in later bands.

50 For a discussion of the different types of knotting, see Mallett 1998: 35, Offset knotting, figs. 2.21, 2.22 and 2.26.

Colours: In addition to the usual vegetable dyes such as madder, indigo, and a variety of yellow dyestuffs, in exceptional cases the Yomut also used insect dyestuffs to achieve bright reds.[51] These exceptions occur primarily in tent bands. In cat. no. 99, the last design segment in all-pile technique shows two little double hooks in a bluish light red wool dyed with Mexican cochineal on tin mordant (fig. 59).[52]

In many places, the tent band shows a bright red on wool, which has not been chemically tested, but, based on experience, appears to be dyed with madder. Such a bright red is seen in cat. no. 104, the Yomut *khali* with *chuval gül* field design; in that case, chemical analysis has been performed, indicating madder.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, this band was woven either in the second half of the 17th or in the second half of the 18th century.

The great similarity of the flower design to the flower design in the *alem* of the *chuval gül khali* and the economic use of Mexican cochineal on tin mordant[53] are both signs of great age, suggesting the earlier of the two dating ranges.

Comparison with later tent bands showing a derivate of the Mughal flower design illustrates that cat. no. 99 represents the beginning of the development (figs. 60–63).[54]

100

Yomut aq yüp fragments in mixed techique

Design: The Mughal flower design[55] is already highly stylized (figs. 60–63) and adjusted to the width of the band. Small lotus flowers have

51 On insect dyestuffs, see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".
52 For the result of dye analysis, see appendix II, table 7, R.a 247-1. For the result of SEM element analysis, see appendix III, table 12, R.a 247-1.
53 Other early radiocarbon dated pieces, e.g. the Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127, show the same phenomenon.
54 See also figs. 81–92 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
55 See the discussion of the Mughal flower design of cat. no. 99 and the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".

Fig. 60 – 63: The tent band fragment ca. no. 100 (fig. 63) shows a form of stylization of the "naturalistic" flower design in cat. no. 99 (fig. 60) typical of the Turkmen. In cat. no. 99, the large uppermost blossom has been replaced by little lotus flowers. The two *aq yüp* in figs. 61 and 62 show an intermediate stage in the development of the design: a circular form (fig. 60) developed into a rhombus (fig. 61), then into a triangle (fig. 62) which in the end completely disappeared (fig. 63).

replaced the large blossom at the upper end, which is a typical later development of the tent band version of the flower design.[56]

The knotted designs are somewhat wider than usual, which gives the band a rare opulence.

Structure: The two fragments (both from the same band) are woven in mixed technique, i.e. the design has been knotted relief-like into the plain, warp-faced back ground. Everyday girths for holding together the trellis of the yurt have no piled designs.[57] Bands like this already belong to the realm of luxury objects, used only for special occasions.[58]

A structural peculiarity worthy of note is the silk wefts.[59] Silk wefts, however, are encountered more often in tent bands than in other Turkmen weavings.

56 See figs. 81–86 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
57 Andrews 1973: Pl. Va–d, VIa; Andrews 1980: Figs. 25 and 26.
58 Andrews 1993b: 7.
59 For details, see the structure in Vol. 1.

Colours: Generally, Yomut weavings contain no insect dyestuffs on wool. When an insect dyestuff was used, it was, as a rule, cochineal, and much more rarely lac dye. Ruby red lac-dyed wool, however, was found in small quantities in the small c-forms in the centre of the serrated section of cat. no. 100.

The first comparison example to cat. no. 100 (see comparison examples in vol. 1) also contains lac dye on wool.[60] The second was not available for examination.

Dating: These two fragments with their exceptional saturated colours and their glossy soft wool appear to be earlier than the published comparison pieces, and presumably date from the 18th century. No radiocarbon dating has been performed.

101 – 103

Yomut *khali* with *chuval gül* field design and floral *alem*

These three carpets belong to a group of four known pieces. Goguel published the fourth example in 1927; it is presumed lost (fig. 64–66).

Another member of this group of weavings is the tent band cat. no. 99. The great similarity of the flower design of that *aq yüp* to the flower design of the carpets suggests a possible common source, which could have been a workshop in Astarabad. In the 17th century, Astarabad was part of the Safavid empire, which, under the reign of Shah Abbas, reached a high point of Iranian art and culture.

A fifth carpet, cat. no. 84, shows in one *alem* a similar garden landscape, and also comparable designs in field and borders. However, based on its characteristic structural features, the piece has to be attributed to the Qaradashlï.[61]

In overall composition, the piece from the Textile Museum (cat. no. 102) with its beautifully drawn *chuval gül* is particularly well balanced and harmonious. The piece from the Concaro collection (cat. no. 101), despite the somewhat flattened *chuval gül* (fig. 68) has a powerful overall appearance. On the whole, this piece is also very harmonious.

The third piece, from the Tabibnia collection, (cat. no. 103), is most similar to the piece published by Goguel. These two pieces, cat. no. 103 and fig. 64, might be somewhat later than the pieces from the Textile Museum and the Concaro collection. The slightly simplified garden design in the *alem* (fig. 65)[62], the smaller size, and the more crowded overall composition all suggest a later date of production. Otherwise they are nearly identical. The great similarity of the rare flower design in these four carpets leads to the conclusion that the two later examples, cat. no. 103 and the Goguel piece, can not be significantly later than the two earlier ones (cat. nos. 101 and 102). In other words, even the two presumably later pieces most likely still date from the 17th century.

Although the flower design in the *alem* of the carpets was not widely used, it remained in use up to the 19th century. Over time, it was heavily simplified, losing its naturalistic character.[63]

Design: The three examples discussed here belong to the group of *chuval gül* carpets. The *chuval gül* is the typical design of *chuval*, where it appears frequently; on *khali*, however, it is quite rare.

The design composition of these carpets goes back to a design concept seen in 7th–9th century Sogdian silks. The carpet design, however, does not necessarily have to be derived directly from silks; both could have had the same source. A typical example of such a Sogdian silk is the shroud of St. Lambert, today in the treasury of the Liège cathedral in Belgium.[64]

60 For the result of dye analysis, see appendix II, table 6, Ra 291-1.
61 See cat. no. 84 in the chapter "The Yazïr-Qaradashlï".
62 See also figs. 42a–47 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
63 See figs. 14 – 23 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".
64 Fig. 124 in the chapter "The Salor".

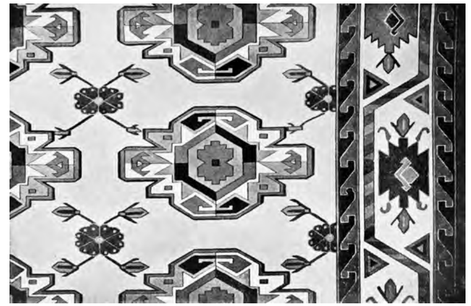


Fig. 64 – 66: The Goguel carpet from St. Petersburg, 287 x 175 cm. It is very likely that this carpet had 4 x 10 *chuval gül* in the field. Fig. 64 shows the beginning of the carpet. In both measurements and drawing of the design, the Goguel carpet is closer to the Tabibnia piece than to the examples from the Textile Museum and in the Concaro collection. Repr. from Goguel 1927: Fig. C, D, E, opposite p. 251.

Fig. 67: This rosette of a Sogdian silk could be related to the Turkmen *chuval gül*, perhaps even its direct model (for a reconstruction of the silk design see fig. 166 in the chapter "The Salor").

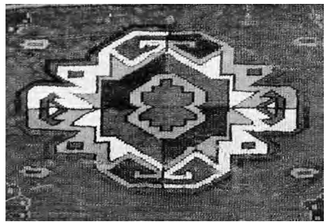


Fig. 68: *Chuval gül* of *khali* cat. no. 101. As discussed in the chapter "The Salor", the *chuval gül* of all Turkmen groups may have a common origin. The fragment of a red ground Sogdian silk found in Moscevaja Balka in the Caucasus could be an example of a precursor. For details, see the discussion of cat. no. 13 in the chapter "The Salor".

Fig. 69: Bud-cross as a secondary motif in a Sogdian stucco plate, representing a silk design. Repr. from Kröger 1982: 139, Abb. 76. For silk examples, see the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".

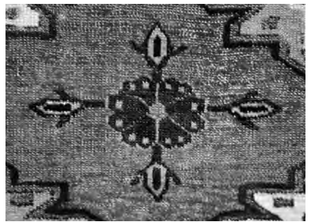


Fig. 70: Bud-cross from *khali* cat. no. 102. The secondary motifAs of the *khali* cat. no. 101–103 are stylistically adapted to the 17th century style.

1. The *chuval gül* Field Design

Like the whole composition of the *khali*, the *chuval gül* also shows parallels to rosette designs of Sasanian and/or Sogdian silks (fig. 67).[65]

2. The Flower Cross Secondary Motif

The flower cross is a motif known in the Ancient Near East at least since the mid 2nd millennium B.C. From Late Antiquity on, it has been a favoured secondary motif (fig. 69).[66] The Turkmen made use of several variants of the bud or flower cross as a secondary motif.[67]

65 On the origin and development of the *chuval gül*, see figs. 169–176 in the section "The *chuval gül*" in the chapter "The Salor".

66 See the section "The Flower Cross" in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".

67 See figs. 19–28 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".

3. The Meander with Curled Leaves in the Border

Like the *chuval gül* and the flower cross field design, the border design of the *chuval gül* carpets can be traced back to pre-Islamic models.[68] Some changes are seen, however, perhaps adaptations to the new 17th century style. The curled leaves, for example, show attached buds instead of the usual little double hooks (as seen in cat. no. 106), and small flower motifs in the centre (fig. 72) instead of the usual "spirals" (fig. 71). While the buds are borrowed from the *alem* flower design of the *chuval gül* carpets, the little flower motifs are a borrowing from the lotus palmette meander border design as seen in cat. no. 99 and 106 (figs. 73 and 74). Both the flower design of the *alem* and the lotus palmette meander border design have been adopted from early 17th century Safavid and/or Mughal models.

68 On the origin of the border design with a meander and curled leaves, see the chapter "The Salor", cat. no. 1, section "The Meander with Curled Leaves".

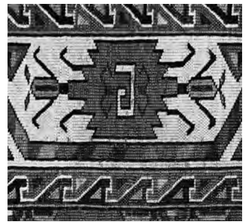


Fig. 71 : Detail from *khali* cat. no. 84. Typically, the curled leaf shows a geometricized spiral in the centre. Attached to the curled leaf are flower buds, adopted from the Mughal flower style design repertoire of the early 17th century.

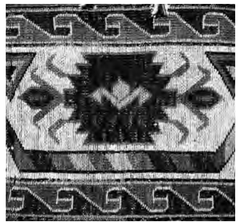


Fig. 72: Border detail from *khali* cat. no. 101. The centre of the curled leaf no longer shows a spiral, but a small lotus palmette, as in the minor border of the *khali* cat. no. 106 (fig. 73) or the border of the tent band cat. no. 99 (fig. 74).

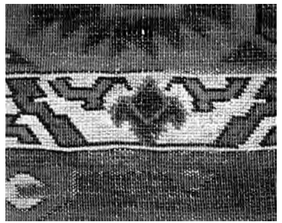


Fig. 73: Detail from the minor border of the multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 106. This is the earliest known Turkmen example of the Safavid border design with a meander with lotus palmettes and forked leaves.

Fig. 74: Detail from the *aq yüp* cat. no. 99, showing the same lotus palmette meander border as seen in the *khali* cat. no. 106 (fig. 73).

Cat. no. 102 still has some "spirals" (and other motifs) in the curled leaves, while in cat. no. 101, the curled leaves show the little lotus palmettes instead, with only a few spirals at the beginning. Cat. no. 103 finally only shows the little flowers in the curled leaves; the spirals are missing completely.

4. The Flower Design in the *alem*

Even rarer in Turkmen *khali* than the *chuval gül* field design is the flower design in the *alem* of the carpets discussed here.

The alignment of the flowers in a horizontal row, and also some of the individual design components, go back to 17th century Safavid and/or Mughal influences. The way these components have been pieced together, however, might be seen as a creation of the Turkmen. Despite their being unfamiliar forms to the Turkmen weavers, poppies, carnations, and lotus flowers have been assembled into a composite flower in a fanciful and playful way. The mirroring and piecing together of different design elements is a typical characteristic of the Turkmen design tradition.

The Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 best illustrates from where the *alem* design might have been adopted. A comparison with the border of an outstanding Mughal carpet reveals the similarities (fig. 75 and 76). This Mughal border design shows a landscape with large flower shrubs and Chinese cloud motifs. All these components are also present in the Qaradashlï *khali* fig. 76.[69]

In the somewhat later pieces (cat. no. 103, fig. 79) the design is slightly simplified. The landscape (fig. 76, 1) is no longer waved (fig.

69 See the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".

Fig. 75: Border of a Mughal garden carpet, Kashmir or Lahore, ca. 1650, showing a landscape (1) with large flowering trees (2) and Chinese cloud motifs (3). Repr. from Walker 1997: 111, Fig. 110.

Fig. 76: *Alem* of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, 1st half of the 17th century, showing a landscape (1) with large flower shrubs and (3) stylized cloud motifs.

Fig. 77: Compound flower shrub with integrated lotus flower. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 101, *alem* at the end of the carpet. Mid-17th century.

Fig. 78: Compound flower shrub with integrated carnation. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 101, *alem* at the end of the carpet. Mid-17th century.

Fig. 79: Compound flower shrub with integrated lotus flower. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 103 (back), 17th or early 18th century

77), or it's missing completely (figs. 78 and 79). Some of the composite flower shrubs are slightly simplified (fig. 79), and the stylized cloud motifs are absent; apparently, understanding of this motif was lost. The cloud motif appears for the last time in the Goguel carpet, no longer in the correct context, which should be to the left and right of the flower shrubs, but as a secondary motif in the first row at the beginning of the field (fig. 64).

The Turkmen flower design is composed of different blossoms and buds (poppy, carnation, and lotus). In addition, two differently composed flower shrubs alternate, one with an integrated lotus blossom (fig. 77) and one with a carnation (fig. 78).

In the carpets of the Concaro and the Tabibnia collections, compared to the Mughal models (fig. 80), the poppies are most recognisable: the two blossoms to the left and right of every second flower shrub, quartered in the earlier examples (fig. 77) and in six parts in the later ones (fig. 79). That poppies are depicted is shown by the Mughal model with its serrated leaf forms and the colouring of the petals with the dark areas around the centre (fig. 80). Both features are typical of real poppies. The Mughal poppies complete our understanding of how the Turkmen composite flower shrubs should be understood.[70]

Possible models for the representations of carnations are seen in Safavid velvets such as fig. 83.[71] The two Qaradashlï carpets, cat. nos. 84 and 153, show two different types of carnations: one is integrated in the stem of every second flower shrub (fig. 85), and a slightly different one appears left and right as a component of every other flower shrub (fig. 76).

Structure: Surprisingly, given the challenge of representing "naturalistic" flower motifs in the *alem* of the Yomut carpets cat. nos. 101–

70 For a discussion, see the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*", section "3. The Mughal Flowerstyle among the Turkmen".

71 See the chapter "Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*".

The Indian Origin of the Poppy Design

Fig. 80 : Flower design of a Mughal carpet. First half of the 17th century. Repr. from Dimand/Mailey 1973: Fig. 134.

Fig. 81: Compound flower shrub in Turkmen flower style. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 101, *alem* at the top of the carpet. Mid-17th century.

Fig. 82: Compound flower shrub in Turkmen flower style. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 103 (back), *alem* at the top of the carpet. Late 17th or early 18th century.

The Persian Origin of the Carnation Design

Fig. 83: Carnation on a Safavid silk velvet with gold threads (detail), Iran, 17th century, 198 x 57 cm. Repr. from Thompson 2004: No. 8.

Fig. 84: Compound flower shrub with integrated carnation. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 101 (back), mid-17th century

Fig. 85: Compound flower shrub with integrated carnation. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 84, first half of the 17th century

103, offset knotting is used only occasionally,[72] whereas, in the borders the use of this technique to create a more dynamic design is frequently seen. This is another indication that the flower shrubs were a "new" and unfamiliar design for the weavers.

Colours: The colouring of the three carpets is typical Yomut. The piece from the Concaro collection is just slightly lighter in colour, and also shows two more shades than the piece from the Textile Museum; this is particularly noticeable in the *alem*. All three pieces contain no insect dyestuffs.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, the two *khali* cat. nos. 101 and 102, are somewhat less old than cat. no. 84, the comparison piece from the Qaradashlï; however, they in all likelihood still date from the 17th century. [73]

No radiocarbon dating has been performed for cat. no. 103, which, based on design details, is presumably only slightly more recent than cat. nos. 101 and 102.

72 The Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 shows no offset knotting in the *alem*, while this technique is frequently seen in the field and the borders.

73 For a discussuion on the dating of cat. nos. 101 and 102, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", section "3.2.2.1 The Yomut *khali* with Flower *alem*".

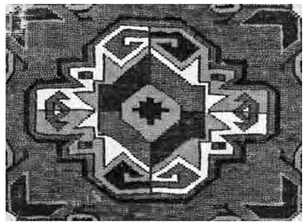


Fig. 86: *Chuval gül* primary motif from cat. no. 104, Yomut *khali*, 18th century.

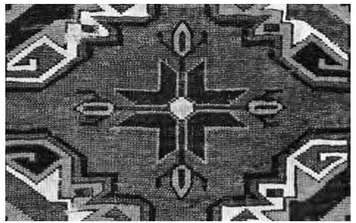


Fig. 87: Bud-cross secondary motif from cat. no. 104, Yomut *khali*, 18th century.

Fig. 88: Detail from *khali* cat. no. 104, 18th century. Is the *pekwesh* related to the *kejebe* design?

104

Yomut *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

Cat. no. 104 is a "classic" 18th century *chuval gül* carpet.

Design: The overall composition and the *chuval gül*, except for the centre (fig. 86), are the same as in the three previously discussed carpets with the flower design *alem* (cat. nos. 101–103, fig. 68).

The secondary motifs consist of an eight-pointed star in combination with a bud cross, the latter going back to 17th century influences. Identical bud forms are seen in the flower design in the *alem* and the main border of cat. nos. 84, 101, and 102, as well as in the secondary motifs of a large number of later pieces.[74]

The design of the main border (fig. 96) goes back to a Safavid carpet border design with a meander with lotus palmettes and forked leaves (figs. 91 and 92). Among the Turkmen, this border design is first seen in the late 16th or early 17th century (fig. 93). In this early version, the lotus palmettes and the forked leaves can still be clearly recognised. In cat. no. 104, they are already stylized and adapted to the geometricized Turkmen design style (fig. 96). The version of this border in cat. no. 104 is frequently seen in other 18th century Yomut *chuval gül* carpets.

The origin and meaning of the *pekwesh* design seen in the *alem* of this carpet are still not clear. However, the design of the carpet discussed here at least suggests directionality of the design. In many early *khali*, the *alem* design is oriented such that it can be read correctly seen from the centre of the carpet; the carpets with the flower design *alem* are examples.

Structure: In many places, the carpet shows offset knotting, both for the design and in solid colour areas.[75]

Colours: With its reddish-brown ground colour, this *khali* shows the typical Yomut colour palette. The bright red in the *chuval gül*, which looks like an insect dyestuff in combination with tin mordant, is very uncharacteristic; as a rule, the Yomut did not use any insect dyestuffs. Furthermore this bright red not only resembles an insect dyestuff, it is also used like one in the design.[76] Chemical analysis, however, indicates madder,[77] leaving open the question of how this unusual bright red was dyed. Tin mordant was also excluded according to SEM element analysis.[78] The intense madder red must therefore have been produced in some other way.[79]

Dating: Radiocarbon dating suggests a pre-19th century date of production, which is also supported by the high quality of the design and colours, particularly the bright red, and the frequent use of offset knotting. All this speaks in favour of an 18th century dating for this carpet.

74 See figs. 31–34 in the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval*, and *khali*".

75 See structure in Vol. 1.

76 For an example, see the *chuval gül* of the Salor *chuval* cat. no. 13.
77 See appendix II, table 6, Ra 250-1.
78 See appendix III, table 13, or vol. 1, data of cat. no. 102.
79 See section "4. Bright red dyed with madder" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".
80 Cf. cat. no. 93.
81 See Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 105.

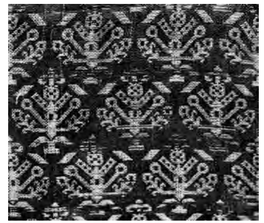


Fig. 89: Pomegranate motif in a Spanish silk, 15th century. Repr. from May 1957: 203, Fig. 133.

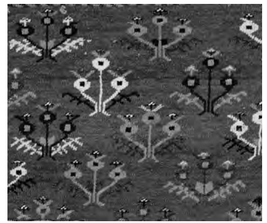


Fig. 90: Pomegranate motif in the *alem* of the carpet cat. no. 105, 16th or 17th century. This design may be adopted from the silk design in fig. 89, or is at least related to it.

105

Yomut *khali* with *dyrnak gül* field design

Cat. no. 105 is an extraordinary example of an aesthetically sophisticated early carpet with *dyrnak gül* field design.

Design: The piece shows excellent design quality, consistant with its great age. The *dyrnak gül* is perfectly drawn and well proportioned in the field. Atypically, only one version of the design has been used throughout; most of the comparison pieces show two alternating variants.[80]

In both *alem*, a rare version of a pomegranate design is seen, showing great similarities to a design in a 15th century Islamic silk (fig. 89). Only three other carpets with such a pomegranate design in the *alem* have been published. [81]

Three different pomegranate designs are known in Turkmen carpets: (1) the variant discussed here (fig. 90), (2) a variant which is predominantly seen in tent bands (fig. 45)[82] and in rare cases also in the *alem* of *khali*[83] and *chuval*[84], and (3) a variant seen in a group of Ersarï carpets with niche design.[85, 86]

Structure: The carpet is in an exceptional state of preservation for its age.

Colours: In regard to its colouring, the piece impresses by its warm and harmonious shades. As is typical for Yomut weavings, no insect dyestuffs have been used.

Dating: Dating from the 16th or early 17th century, this carpet with *dyrnak gül* field design is one of the relatively few pre-1650 radiocarbon-dated Turkmen weavings.[87]

82 Cat. nos. 38, 39, 53 and 125.
83 Dienes/Reinisch 2001: No. 227.
84 Hodenhagen 1997: No. 71.
85 Mackie/Thompson 1980: No. 95; Kafel 2007: Figs. 1 and 4–7.
86 On the origin and meaning of the pomegranate, see Muthmann 1982.
87 See section "3.2.1 ^{14}C Results Covering The Period of 1450–1650 AD" in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".

The multiple *gül* carpets of the Yomut (cat. nos. 106–108)
The origin and development of the Turkmen multiple *gül* carpet and its designs (*kepse gül*, C-*gül*, and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*) is the topic of a dedicated chapter.[88]

106

Yomut multiple *gül* carpet
This *khali* belongs to a group of only three known examples.[89] They are the only Yomut multiple *gül* carpets with three different designs of equal importance in the field: the early *kepse gül*, the C-*gül*, and the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*. The design concept of the multiple *gül* carpets is a Turkmen adaptation of the design of Safavid Shah Abbas carpets with large palmettes, sickle leaves, and cloudbands.[90] Radiocarbon dating of two of these three multiple *gül* carpets to the 16th/17th centuries is consistent with a Safavid design origin.

In addition to the rare field design, the borders of cat. no. 106 show other unusual features. The main border has a red ground, which is rare in Turkmen carpets. Furthermore, the minor borders have a meander with lotus palmettes (fig. 93), which in this early form is known only in the tentband cat. no. 99 (fig. 95). Like the field design, the origin of this border goes back to Safavid Persia, to a meander with lotus palmettes and forked leaves as seen in figs. 91 and 92. Later Turkmen versions are seen in a slightly simplified form in 18th and 19th century *khali* (fig. 96).

That the border design of this carpet (cat. no. 106) was new and unfamiliar to the weaver in the 17th century can be seen in the somewhat awkward version of the side borders (fig. 93); apparently, it was difficult for the weaver to reproduce the design turned by 90°.

88 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
89 See figs. 11–13 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*". A fourth example appeared in 2013, but might rather belong to the Qaradashli group than to the Yomut (see cat. no. 153 in the chapter "The Yazïr-Qaradashli").
90 See the section «2.3 The Shah Abbas carpets with large palmettes" in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

Fig. 91: Border detail of a Safavid carpet with large lotus flowers and forked leaves (in white), 17th century. Gulbenkian Museum Lisbon. Image by the author.

Fig. 92: Border detail of a Safavid carpet with large lotus palmettes and forked leaves, Khorasan, Mashad (?), 17th century. Repr. from Völker 2001: 251.

Fig. 93: Stylized meander with lotus flowers and forked leaves from the border at the beginning of the multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 106, 16th or 17th century.

Fig. 94: Stylized meander with lotus flowers and forked leaves from the side borders of the multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 106, 16th or 17th century. This detail clearly shows the weaver's inability to turn the new design by 90° from a horizontal to a vertical direction.

Fig. 95: Stylized form of the Safavid meander with lotus flowers and forked leaves. Border detail of the *aq yüp* cat. no. 99, 17th century. This is the only tent band known so far with this unusual type of border.

Fig. 96: Stylized lotus meander. Border detail of the *khali* with *chuval gül* field design cat. no. 104, 18th century. The lotus flower must have been too complicated or too unfamiliar for the weaver, and was replaced by a rhombus.

Dating: This carpet has been radiocarbon dated to between 1450 and 1640, thus being contemporary with the Shah Abbas carpets.[91]

107

Yomut multiple *gül* carpet from the Woger collection
Design: Rather than the three field designs of cat. no. 106, this multiple *gül* carpet shows only two: the early *kepse gül* and the C-*gül*. The "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* is gone; it was apparently too foreign to the Turkmen weavers and was therefore abandoned relatively quickly. In only a few later pieces, e.g. the Pfatschbacher carpet and its comparison piece published by Bausback, did a much simplified version of the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* find a late reprise.[92]

Worthy of note is an unusual feature in the lower border. The triangles, usually loosely inserted into the meander between the curled leaves, are partly attached to the curled leaves, becoming somewhat reminiscent of "pseudo-Kufic".[93]

Colours: The somewhat subdued colours might be due to chemical washing. Originally, the colours might have been as vibrant as those in cat. no. 106.

Dating: Like cat. no. 106, this piece was radiocarbon dated to the 16th or 17th century. Based on its reduced multiple *gül* design, however, dating it around 1600 seems most likely.

108

Yomut multiple *gül* carpet from the Hecksher collection
This *khali* is an outstanding and impressive example of the small group of multiple *gül* carpets with a transitional form between the early and the "classic" *kepse gül*.

91 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
92 See figs. 74–76 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
93 On "pseudo-Kufic" designs in Turkmen weavings, see the discussion of the Yomut tent band cat. no. 99 and the Teke *torba* cat. no. 56.

While the multiple *gül* carpet from the Baer collection is nearly identical to cat. no. 108, the two other comparison pieces, the multiple *gül* carpet from the Keshishian collection and the Rippon Boswell piece, already show significant signs of further design development and are therefore probably later.[94]

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, an origin in the second half of the 17th century is possible. However, it is also possible that this exceptional carpet dates to the early 18th century.

109

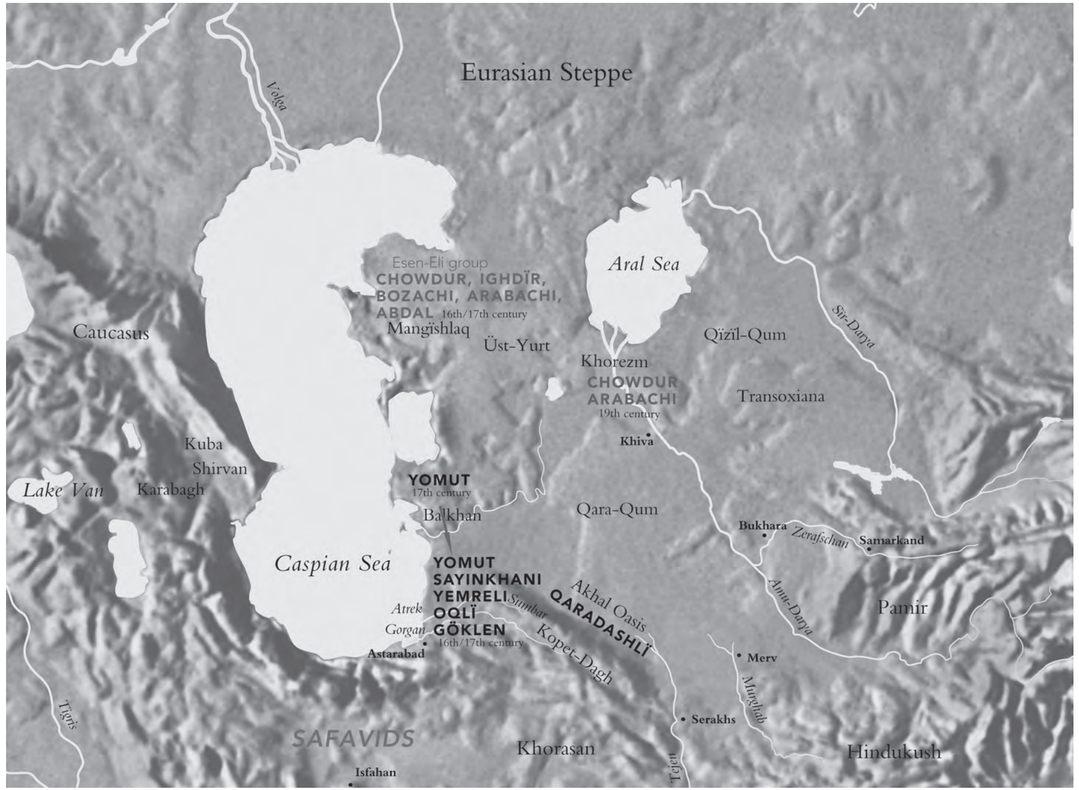
Yomut *khali* with *kepse gül* field design
This is one of the earliest carpets with the "classic" *kepse gül* and a simple, but impressive and powerfully drawn, archaic border.

Design: The "classic" *kepse gül* in the field is of a graphic quality attained by very few other related pieces. Of comparable quality might be the *kepse gül* in cat. no. 94.

The drawing of the border looks somewhat awkward, but nevertheless has a powerful appearance and matches the field design perfectly. This might have been an attempt by the weaver to combine the ancient meander with curled leaves with the new meander with lotus palmettes border design (fig. 91 – 93). This would be consistent with the great age of the piece. Also, the *ashik* motifs in the upper border and the curled leaves in the lower border are unusually archaic and powerful in appearance.

Dating: This might be one of the earliest pieces known with the "classic" *kepse gül*.[95] An 18th century dating seems appropriate and is also suggested by radiocarbon dating.

94 See figs. 14–17 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
95 See the section "The heritage of the multiple *gül* design: The *kepse gül* carpets" in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".



Map: The Turkmen tribes in North and Southwest Turkmenistan.
The "Eagle" *gül* and "P-Chowdur" groups, 16th–19th centuries.
After Bregel 2003: Map 36.

The "Eagle" *gül* Groups

Yomut, Göklen, Yemreli, Oqlï, Sayinkhani, or other group
Balkhan Mountains, Gorgan/Atrek Plain, Astarabad, Sumbar valley
Cat. nos. 110–116; 157–160

Introduction

Together with the pieces in the previous two chapters "The Qaradashlï" and "The Yomut" (cat. no. 75–109) and those of the following "The P-Chowdur group" (cat. no. 117–121), up to the late 1970's the pieces of the so called "Eagle" *gül* groups have been generally attributed to what was considered the larger "Yomut-family". This "Yomut-family", located in southwest Turkmenistan, is one of the main groups of Turkmen weavings. The difficulties concerning the term "Yomut", or "Yomut-family" and its use are discussed in the introduction to the chapter "The Qaradashlï".

This chapter also includes the group of pieces defined in 1980 as "fine brown Yomut" by Thompson, who attributed some of them tentatively to the Yemrelï.[1] Rautenstengel together with Azadi have followed up working on this group, with Rautenstengel emphasizing technical features, and Azadi proposing a possible tribal attribution to the Göklen, rather than Thompson's suggested Yemrelï. Although Azadi made an effort to substantiate his Göklen attribution, clear evidence is just as lacking as in the case of Thompson's Yemrelï attribution. The palmette design adopted from Safavid Persia which gives its name to this group was first described as "Eagle" motif by the Russian pioneer Bogolyubov.[2] With a few exceptions,[3] this terminology has been retained until now. Thompson inherited this naming, expanding it to "spread eagle" gul.[4] In her book, Rautenstengel follows Thompson, but reduces the name to "Eagle" *göl*.[5] As this naming has become standard in the carpet literature it shall be retained here, despite not only being incorrect, but even misleading.[6] Surprisingly, Rautenstengel, in her design analysis of the "Eagle" *gül* group I pieces, speaks of palmette border designs (though without further explanation),[7] but

1 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 135 et seq.

2 Bogolyubov 1973 (1908/09): No. 13.
3 John Eskenazi assumes a Safavid floral origin for this Turkmen design (Eskenazi 1983: 389, fig. 90).
4 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 136.
5 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990.
6 Instead of a Safavid palmette, the interpretation as an "eagle" suggests, to some, an origin from Turkic people and their traditions immigrated to Central Asia from the Eastern steppes.
7 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: 32.

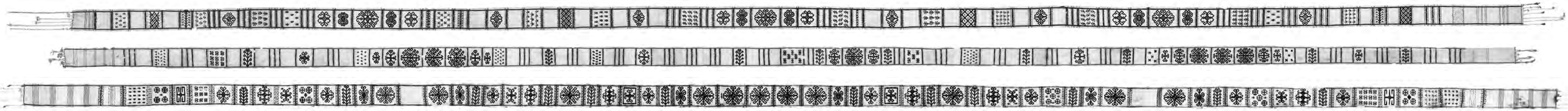


Fig. 1, top: "Eagle"*gül aq yüp* cat. no. 110, private collection.
Fig. 2, middle: "Eagle"*gül aq yüp* cat. no. 158, Hoffmeister collection.
Fig. 3, bottom: "Eagle"*gül aq yüp* cat. no. 111, private collection.

ignores the similarities of the "Eagle"*gül* field design to 16th/17th century Safavid palmette designs. These Safavid models will be discussed in more detail when discussing the *khali* of the "Eagle"*gül* group I below.

The historical environment of the "Eagle"*gül* groups

Radiocarbon dating revealed that not only the *aq yüp*, but in all likelihood also the *khali* of the "Eagle"*gül* group I, date from the 17th century. They originate from southwest Turkmenistan, the plain of the rivers Gurgan and Atrek and the city of Astarabad, which at that time were part of Safavid Persia, and their designs demonstrate Safavid influence. Even later pieces still clearly show traces of this Persian influence, which was retained up to the 20th Century. A good example is the *khali* cat. no. 159 (fig. 44) with its Hebrew inscription naming Astarabad as the place of its production. The problems of a specific tribal attribution of these pieces have already been indicated. With all likelihood, they should rather be attributed to southwest Turkmenistan, and at least some of them possibly even to Astarabad, than to an ethnic group. This group of asymmetrically knotted pieces shows an unmistakably Persian influence from the time of the Safavids. The most magnificent pieces, those of the "Eagle"*gül* group I, not only show the classical Persian knot, asymmetrical and open to the left, but also weft material of silk and wool plied together. These products and their successors could represent a development which started in workshops and found its way into the regional tradition. Turkmen carpet designs like the "Eagle"*gül* and its appropriate palmette border (also called "boat border" in the literature), actually the whole design concept of the "Eagle"*gül* carpets and tent bands, were not known before 1550. Clearly, they represent "new" developments of the late 16th or early 17th centuries.

Weavings of the "Eagle"*gül* groups I, II, and III

The "Eagle"*gül* groups as defined by Rautenstengel comprise a relatively homogeneous design group. They are a sub-group of the so-called multiple *gül* carpets, representing a new design development with its beginnings in the late 16th or early 17th centuries.[8] The field design of these *khali* is composed of a palmette, the so-called "Eagle"*gül*, and the *dyrnak gül*. The whole group has been thoroughly studied by Rautenstengel and divided by her into three sub-groups.[9] However, she limited her comments to structural peculiarities and a resulting classification into three groups, separate from Azadi's Göklen attribution.

8 See the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
9 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990.

With the results of radiocarbon dating and the dye analyses of our study, we now strengthening the case for a Safavid origin of the "Eagle"*gül* groups as suggested by Eiland.[10]
The three groups show the following structural peculiarities:[11]

Group I:
- Wefts of wool and red dyed silk.
- Extremely precise drawing of the design.
- Deeply saturated colours.

Group I & III:
- Asymmetric, open left knots.
- 3Z pile yarn (instead of 2Z, as usual)
- flat woven striped *alem* decorated with brocaded barber-pole (*gyjak*) design.

Group II:
- Wefts of wool and cotton.
- Asymmetric, open right knots.
- Mostly 2 plied (2Z) pile yarn.
- Coarser weave than Group I and III.
- Warmer and lighter colour palette than group I and III.

In the following, a selection of pieces of "Eagle"*gül* group I and III will be discussed in detail, and compared with some other pieces not strictly belonging to one of the groups defined by Rautenstengel, but bearing some resemblance to them.

10 Eiland 2001.
11 For more details, see Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: 18–23.

The tent bands of the "Eagle"*gül* groups (figs. 1–3)

As of now, the group of "Eagle"*gül* tent bands (*aq yüp*) consists of eight published examples. The presumably least old one[12] already differs considerably from the earlier 17th century pieces, but still shows most of the features typical for the group.

Two additional pieces, both dating from the late 19th century, are also related, but only in a wider sense. The first one, from St. Petersburg,[13] is not only comparable to the "Eagle"*gül* groups in regard to design, but also in having silk wefts, while the second one, published by Jourdan,[14] is closer to what is considered "Yomut" tradition. Furthermore, some tent bands attributed to the Arabachi can certainly be recognised as copies of "Eagle"*gül* pieces.[15]

The eye-catching similarities of the eight published "Eagle"*gül* tent bands are: their narrow width of only 17 to 23 cm; no piled borders with the classical zigzag-lines along the edges;[16] a sophisticated design reduced to rhombuses, cross, and hook forms, perfectly ar-

12 Herrmann 1, 1989: Plate 48a.
13 Tsareva 1993: Plate 44.
14 Jourdan 1989: No. 183.
15 Unpublished.
16 E.g. cat. nos. 4, 38, 39, 99, 125, 153, 154.

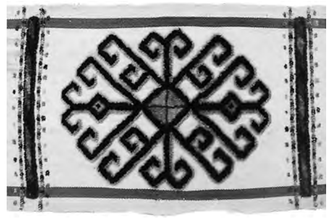


Fig. 4: Rosette in the very centre of cat. no. 110.

Fig. 5: Rosette in the very centre of cat. no. 158.

Fig. 6: Rosette in the very centre of cat. no. 111.

The central rosettes of the three *aq yüp* are designed differently. A different number of hooks decorate the horizontally/vertically/diagonally shaped cross-forms. The rosette in cat. no. 111 (fig. 6) is the best-balanced example with the best proportions.

ranged in a central composition; and finally their colour palette, at first giving the impression of being reduced to dark blue and red. In reality their range of colours can include up to 13 shades, which corresponds to other classical high quality Turkmen tent bands.[17]

In spite of the homogeneous overall appearance, the design of each band differs slightly, demonstrating an unexpected richness in variations. Common to all are the rosettes based on hooked diamond-crosses placed always in the centre of each design composition (figs. 4 – 6). But these central designs also show differences in having more or fewer hooks attached to the diamond-cross. That the number of hooks does not correlate to the age of the bands is shown by the two pieces dated to the 17th century (cat. no. 110 and 158): one shows the highest, the other the lowest number of hooks. The kinship of these *aq yüp* to the "Eagle" *gül khali* is not only manifested by the mechanical, regular drawing of the design and the colour palette, but also by some technical peculiarities like the use of silk, cotton, and wool as weft materials, and the multi-coloured wrapped fringe at the beginning and end of the band, at least in the case of cat. no. 111 (fig. 9). Such multi-coloured wrapped fringes are a typical feature of "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*.[18] Furthermore, parallels can also be observed in the design. One is the triple-rhombuses with attached double hooks (fig. 7), another the barber-pole design (small *gyjak* motifs, or rhomboids) in the dividing stripes (fig. 8). The design with the triple rhombuses (fig. 7) is seen in an "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*,[19] the barber-pole design (small *gyjak* motifs, fig. 8) is a typical feature of the flat woven *alem* with brocaded patterns shown by all "Eagle" *gül* group I and III *khali*.[20] This small group of tent bands clearly differs, by the special features just described, from the majority of Turkmen tent bands. Usually tent bands of south-west Turkmenistan are not only considerably wider, but also more opulent in both design and colouring (e.g. cat. nos. 4, 38, 53), and the design in many cases is not centralised. For these reasons, the kinship of these *aq yüp* to the *khali* of the three "Eagle" *gül* groups as suggested by Rautenstengel seems quite clear.[21] More difficult to understand is her attribution of some individual bands to one or the other of the

17 In some cases this number can clearly be exceeded. An example is the opulent Salor *aq yüp* cat. no. 4.

18 See cat. no. 114 and its comparison pieces.
19 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Fig. 3, there clearly visible in both border and field.
20 Cf. fig. 21 in this chapter.
21 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: 34.

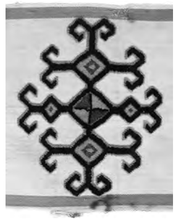


Fig. 7: Detail from cat. no. 111. This design variant with three connected hooked rhombuses can also be seen both in the border and the field of one of the seven published "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* (Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Figs. 3 and 49).

Fig. 8: Detail from cat. no. 111. The tripartite stripes decorated with little rhombuses (*gyjak* motifs) are a characteristic feature not only of the tent bands, but of the flat woven *alem* of all "Eagle" *gül* group I and III *khali* as well (cf. cat no. 113, and Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Figs. 50 and 52).

Fig. 9: Detail from cat. no. 111. The ends of the braided fringes are decorated up to a length of 7 cm with bi-coloured wrapping in wool. This is quite an unusual phenomenon for this group of tent bands, but on the other hand a typical feature of all "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* (see comparison pieces to cat. no. 114)

three "Eagle" *gül* groups, mainly based on technical peculiarities. Rautenstengel assigns the band cat no. 111 to "Eagle" *gül* group I, cat. no. 157 to group II[22], and a piece published by Andrews to group III.[23] As these bands, based on their typical structure (mixed technique on a warp faced plain weave), always show symmetrical knot, an attribution to one of the three groups based on the knot type is not possible. Rautenstengel presumably made her attributions based on the presence or absence of silk, wool, and/or cotton for the wefts. The 3-plied (3Z) pile material found in cat. 111 might also have been one of the criteria for her "Eagle" *gül* group I attribution. This 3-plied pile material, however, has neither been used consistently nor dominantly (cf. structure analysis of cat. no. 111 in vol. 1). Only the insect dyed material, here dyed with Mexican cochineal, is more than 2-plied (2Z), namely mostly 4-plied (4Z), which is typical of the fine wool always used in connection with insect dyestuffs. However, this has nothing to do with the 3-plied pile yarn of group I and III "Eagle" *gül khali*, but finds its explanation in connection with insect dyed woollen yarn used by the Turkmen before ca. 1850.[24] Not only the sometimes inconsistent use of different materials for the wefting (wool, cotton, and silk), but also a relatively free handling of the design, is typical for these bands. Although all these bands unmistakably speak the same "language of design", the similarities within the group are not as close as is the case with the related carpets of group I in regard to both design and structure. Nevertheless this small group of *aq yüp* seem to stem from a workshop production, which brings them, most likely, into the neighbourhood of the carpets of group I and/or III. Not only does their remarkably well-organised and balanced design speak for a workshop production, but also their strictly arranged "reduced" colouring and the use of silk for the wefts.

22 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: 17.
23 Andrews et al. 1993: No. 43.

24 See the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

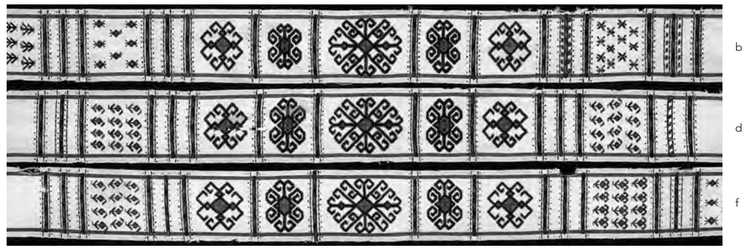


Fig. 10: Three sections of the "Eagle" *gül aq yüp* cat. no. 110, showing the primary design elements of the band, one in the centre, and one each on the left and right hand side (cf. fig. 1). All three sections are extremely similar in design, nearly identical, suggesting a professional production, perhaps a workshop.

110

"Eagle" *gül aq yüp*

The *aq yüp* cat. no. 110 is somewhat more simply executed than cat. no. 111, but interestingly provides an earlier ^{14}C dating. The weave is coarser and the design less complex and less splendid. Because of the slightly higher pile, it also looks coarser than cat. no. 111. Some 60 cm of its length are missing from the stripe design at the beginning of the band (cf. fig. 1 left side)

Design: The design shows a clearly accentuated centre, which corresponds – presumably not accidentally – to the more frequently used type of the repetitive design-composition of the tent bands of this small (workshop?) group. Cat. no. 111 and 158 also show centralised designs, although in a slight variation. The primary design in the middle of cat. no. 110 (cf. fig. 1) is repeated left and right, giving additional emphasis to the centre. The precise regularity of the design demonstrated by comparison of the three primary design elements (fig. 10) can be interpreted as a sign of a planned professional production, most likely in a workshop. In the centre of each secondary design element there is a grid (fig. 13) separating the primary designs from each other like a fence (cf. figs. 1 and 13). These secondary designs are placed at the beginning and the end, and always between two primary designs of the band. An important part of the whole design is the stripes accompanied by little dots to the left and right. Often these stripes appear as a triple arrangement (cf. figs. 10 and 11). With its somewhat sparse general composition this *aq yüp* is much closer to cat no. 158 than to the more richly decorated cat. no. 111. Compared to cat. no. 111 and 158, it shows a higher number of design segments with little flowers. The tree forms found in nearly all examples of this little group deviate slightly in this band in that the hook forms (cf. colour plate cat. no. 110 bottom and top) usually attached to the branches became little rhombuses (fig. 12). As is typical of most *aq yüp* of this group, cat no. 110 shows a unique design not seen in any other of the comparison examples: here, it is the many little flowers.

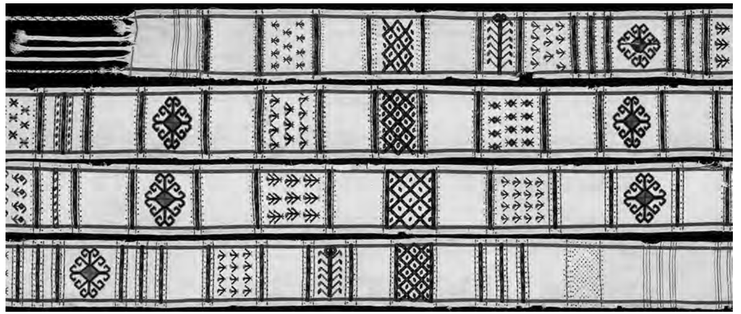


Fig. 11: Four sections of the "Eagle" *gül aq yüp* cat. no. 110 , showing the secondary design elements of the band. They are placed at beginning and end (a, f) and between each primary design respectively (b/c, d/e). The primary designs a/b, c/d and e/f (cf. fig. 10) are each placed between the cutting points a/b, c/d of the secondary designs.

Structure: The coarser weave differs from cat. no. 111, as does the weft material. Instead of only silk, as in cat. no. 111, a combination of silk (Z) plied with cotton (Z) was used. Moreover, four colours of silk have also been used in this band for the pile (fig. 14).

Colours: Beside the standard plant dyestuffs - indigo for blue and madder for all kind of reds and purple, this band, like cat. no. 111, shows a generous amount of woollen pile yarn dyed with Mexican cochineal, an insect dyestuff expensive at that time. As in both other *aq yüp* of this type (cat. no. 111 and 158), this bright red, dyed on wool with this exclusive dyestuff, is found in the quartered rhombuses in the centre of each cross form with attached hooks. To increase the brilliance of the red, tin was used as a mordant.[25]

Dating: ^{14}C testing of this band resulted in an unambiguous dating between 1520 and 1670. The proof of Mexican cochineal narrows the result to 1550 as the lower end of the dating range, as this dyestuff with all likelihood was not available in Central Asia before that date.[26] The use of tin as a mordant further limits the date range, to the 17th century, as tin with all probability was not in use before 1610. This band may presumably be a product of the Shah Abbas I workshop in Astarabad, mentioned by Krusinski to have produced carpets and related objects in a local tradition.

25 On the use of tin mordant, see section 3.6 "Insect Dyestuffs on Tin Mordant" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

111

"Eagle" *gül aq yüp*

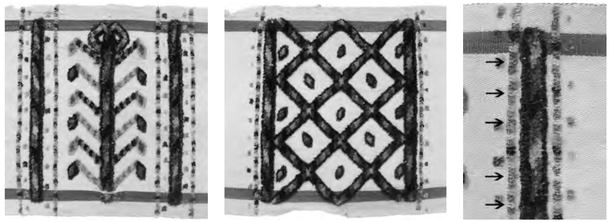
This is the finest example of all published tent bands of this group. It is also one of the few complete pieces, and at an impressive length of fourteen meters, it is the longest of this group. Some of the compari-

26 For more information on cochineal, see section "3.1 Mexican Cochineal" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

Fig. 12: Detail from cat. no. 110. The tree forms of this band are drawn somewhat differently from all other examples of this group. An exception is the band formerly in the Rothberg collection, where a single tree motif shows a very similar drawing (cf. Isaacson 207: No. 5). The hook forms otherwise attached to the branches here became little rhombuses (*gyjak* motifs).

Fig. 13: Detail from cat. no. 110. Each band of this small group on the one hand shows designs common to all other members, but on the other hand also designs only to be found in the corresponding example. The detail shown here is such a design from cat. no. 110. The lattice forms the centre of all secondary design elements (cf. fig. 11).

Fig. 14: Detail from cat. no. 110. Like cat no. 111 this band shows silk not only in the wefts, but also in the pile on the patterned surface (arrows).



son pieces are missing only a little of the original length,[27] while others are to a greater or lesser extent fragments of varying size.[28]

Design: This is the only example of this group to show a single monumental primary design composed of 34 design elements in the centre of the composition. It has a secondary design on each side, with an orientation of its design structure towards the centre (cf. fig. 3). It is also the only example of this group to have five large rosettes with hooks in the centre (cf. colour plate cat. no. 111); all other published pieces have only three. As in other examples of this group, some design elements appear only in this piece. Such are the rhombuses with hooks in a frame in the primary design (fig. 16), but especially the large hook motifs at beginning and end of the band (fig. 15). These two large hook motifs presumably represent a version of the *sajnak* motif seen in the outermost border of most *ensi*, which also seems to play an important role in tent band design.[29]

As clearly illustrated in figs. 4–6, this band shows the best-drawn design not only of the three examples examined here, but of all the published pieces belonging to this group. In terms of its design, cat. no. 111 might be considered the most magnificent example of the whole group. This is without doubt an object of high prestige, a "princely status symbol".

An interesting side note is that, in the 2nd half of the 19th century, this opulent band was in the possession of Tewfiq Pascha,[30] the last Khedive (Ottoman viceroy) of Egypt. Tewfiq was a great-uncle of the Egyptian king Faruk. According to Harold Keshishian, who bought this *aq yüp* (cat. no. 111) together with a group of other tent bands[31] from a Coptic dealer in Egypt, little textile badges labeled with ink in Arab letters were attached to the back of all of these bands. These labels referred to "khedive Tewfiq", the owner of these bands before they were passed to King Faruk. It is said that the Coptic dealer acquired them at an auction of property of King Faruk. Keshishian does not remember whether the fire damage caused to all of the bands (cf. fig. 16) goes back to a fire in the warehouse of the Coptic dealer or to an incident during the property of Faruk or even Tewfiq.[32] The labels

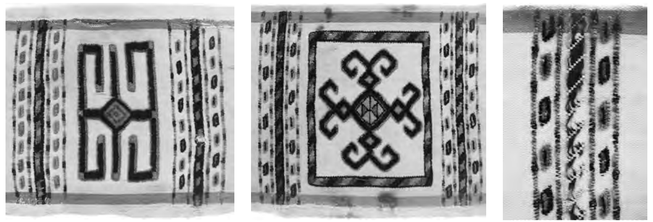
27 Cat. no. 110; Andrews et al. 1993: No. 43; Isaacson 2007: No. 5.
28 Rippon Boswell 58, 2002: Lot. 84; Isaacson 2007: No. 6.
29 See the discussion of the *aq yüp* cat. no. 99 in the chapter "The Yomut".

30 Muhammad Tewfiq (1852–1892).
31 Hali 6/1, 1983: 12.
32 I thank Richard Isaacson from Arlington for this information, which he got from Harold Keshishian.

Fig. 15: Detail from cat. no. 110. Each band of this small group on the one hand shows designs common to all other members, but on the other hand also designs only to be found in the corresponding example. These large double hook motifs (*sainak*) at beginning and end of the band are only seen in this example (cf. fig. 3).

Fig. 16: Detail from cat. no. 111. The detail shown here represents a second motif found only in this example. This ornament is seen twice in the central primary design, symmetrically arranged left and right of the centre (cf. fig. 1).

Fig. 17: Detail from cat. no. 111. Like cat. no. 110, this band shows silk not only in the wefts, but also as floating wefts on the patterned surface.



were unfortunately removed from these bands by Keshishian, so no such label is attached to this piece.[33]

Structure: In five of the tripartite stripes between the individual design elements, silk has been used in the form of floating wefts (fig. 17). Therefore, silk has not only been used for the unseen wefts of the ground weave, but also for the design on the surface in the form of floating wefts. To my knowledge, this is not seen in any other example of this group; if silk was used for the design, it is in other cases exclusively for the pile (cf. fig. 14).[34] Otherwise the band shows the usual warp faced weave structure. It has the highest knot density of all published pieces of this group; therefore is not only the longest, but also the most finely woven example.

Colours: This group of tent bands exhibits an unusual colour palette with a strong emphasis on dark blue and red shades. Beside the usual plant dyestuffs - indigo for blue and madder for purple and all kind of reds - this band shows a lavish use of pile yarn dyed with the then precious insect dyestuff cochineal from Mexico.[35] As with the other two tent bands (cat. nos. 110 and 158), the bright red dyed with this exotic dyestuff appears in the quartered rhombuses in the centre of all cross shapes with attached hooks. To increase the luminance of the red, tin mordant has been used, rather than the more typical alum or iron. This is an unusual procedure, discovered (rediscovered?) in the early 17th century in England by the Dutchman Cornelius Drebbel, and shortly thereafter encountered as far afield as Central Asia. Nearly all of the cochineal dyed woollen yarns in early Turkmen weavings show this shade of scarlet, including the example discussed here.[36] A bright, but somewhat warmer red is dyed with madder, and not with an insect dyestuff.[37] But the scarlet used for key parts of the design are all dyed with the insect dyestuff Mexican cochineal. Unfortunately the scarlet has lost much of its luminosity due to the fire damage the band has suffered, as is shown by comparison with the scarlet of the two other bands (cat. no. 110 and 158).

Dating: This band with all likelihood can still be dated to the 17th century, although radiocarbon dating reports the 17th century range

33 Richard Isaacson still owns some of these labels, which he got from Harold Keshishian in connection with his tent band exhibition in the Textile Museum in Washington D.C., unfortunately without knowing, which label originally belonged to which band (see Isaacson 2007: No. 12).
34 Cf. cat no. 110.
35 On cochineal, see section "3.1 "Mexican Cochineal" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

36 On the use of tin mordant, see section "3.6 Insect Dyestuffs on Tin Mordant" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple". For the results of dye analyses, see Vol. 1, appendix II, table 7, Ra 694-1. For the result of the mordant analysis, see Vol. 1, appendix III, table 11, Ra 694-1.
37 See Vol. 1, appendix II, table 7, Ra 694-2.

with the smallest statistical probability. A comparison with the two early dated bands, cat. no. 110 and 158, and the other published examples of this group shows cat no. 111 can hardly be much younger than its two relatives with unambiguous 17th century dates. It contains the same insect dyestuff Mexican cochineal dyed on tin mordant, and with its fine weave, its well balanced design, and its high over all quality is certainly an early example of its kind. Apart from the result of radiocarbon dating, there is not a single argument to give this band a lower age than the comparison piece cat. no. 110. The two objects are so similar to each other that they hardly can differ significantly in age.

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"Eagle" *gül aq yüp*

Like cat. no. 111 and the piece published by Herrmann,[38] this is one of the few complete pieces of this group.

Design: The third *aq yüp* belonging to the "Eagle" *gül* group examined on the occasion of this study shows a composition with three primary designs comparable to cat. no. 110, and a comparably early ^{14}C dating as well. Although not of the same degree of elegance as cat. no. 111 (cf. figs. 5 and 6), the composition of this band is harmonious and powerful. Like cat no. 110 it shows a simpler version of the design than the exuberant piece with a single primary design (cat. no. 111).

Structure: Not only is the design of this example somewhat simpler than that of cat. no. 111, its weave is considerably coarser as well. It contains no silk, either in the wefts or in the pile. The weft material is 2-plied (2Z) cotton.

Colours: Compared to cat. nos. 110 and 111, the colour palette, with only six hues, is more limited in this piece. As in the other two pieces, the scarlet is dyed with cochineal.[39] However, the rhombuses in the centres of the hook motifs are considerably smaller than those in the comparison pieces, requiring considerably less of the precious insect dyestuff.

Dating: Like cat. no. 110, this band has been radiocarbon dated to the period 1490 – 1670. The use of cochineal, presumably from Mexico, and the mordanting with tin to achieve the bright scarlet (as in the other two bands) abridge this long range to the 17th century alone.

38 Herrmann 1, 1989: Fig. 48a.

112

"Eagle" *gül torba* with *ak su* design

The *ak su* design is a relatively uncommon, but typical Turkmen pattern found among a number of Turkmen groups. It was popular among what is called the "Yomut-family" in southwest Turkmenistan, but the Salor/Sarïq/Teke and Ersarï used it as well. A detailed discussion on the origin and the history of the *ak su* design can be found in the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

Design: The "Yomut" version of the *ak su* design is identical to the one used by the Salor. Interestingly the border of the *torba* cat. no. 112 also shows parallels to Salor design. It is almost identical to the innermost border of the Salor *torba* cat. no. 9 (with *ak su* design as well) and the typical minor borders of all Salor *khali*, (cat. nos. 16 and 18). How these similarities came to be is at present still not resolved. Despite significant differences between weavings of the Salor and the "Eagle" *gül* groups, this is not the only parallel. Others include the precise drawing of the design and the small design repertoire of both groups. The use of an insect dyestuff on wool in "Eagle" *gül* pieces, especially in the earlier ones, is more similar to its use among the Salor than to other tribal groups like the Sarïq, the Teke, the Ersarï, and the Yomut. Finally, a Salor *ensi* recently auctioned by Grogan in Boston likewise shows design elements from the repertoire of the "Eagle" *gül* groups: namely little flower motifs in the main border and the *alem*.[40]

Structure: Cat. no. 112 shows some structural features unusual for Turkmen piled weavings. Although the materials used and the way they have been applied strongly resemble "Eagle" *gül* groups I or III, the structure of the torba doesn't really compare to either of the two groups. The pile material, for example, is mostly 2-plied, only partly 3-plied. According to Rautenstengel, it is completely 3-plied in both groups. Closely comparable are the saturated colour palette and the relatively high knot density with an asymmetric open left knot. For several reasons, Rautenstengel's group II can be excluded with certainty as well. The light blue cotton and light red silk weft materials are unusual and the silk wefts are dyed with madder, which is also highly atypical. Silk used for the pile is with no exception always dyed with an insect dyestuff (cochineal in Turkmen carpets). Silk weft material dyed with madder was also found in the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* cat. no. 113, among other factors suggesting a workshop production. Economic reasons seem the likely motive for such a practice. Madder was considerably less expensive than the insect dyestuff cochineal, then imported from Mexico. For this reason, the unseen weft material was dyed with the lower priced dyestuff. A similar practice can be observed in Sogdian silks from the 7th – 9th centuries. There too, the unseen warp yarns were dyed with the lower priced madder, while all visible wefts with an insect dyestuff (lac dye in Sogdian silks).[41]

Colours: This small piece contains extremely fine, 18-plied lac dyed woollen pile yarn [9(Z_2S)]. That means, one knot is composed of 18 single woollen threads. Pile yarn for carpets is usually 2-plied (2Z), while this extremely fine lac dyed woollen yarn was likely not prepared to be used for the pile of carpets, but rather for woollen fabrics or even clothing. It has been twisted together by the Turkmen weaver for the pile of the *torba* until its volume corresponded to a "normal" 2-plied carpet knot. This is very unusual and can only be observed in a few other Turkmen weavings.[42] This could be taken as supporting evidence for a workshop, producing not only carpets, but woollen cloth as well.

The "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*

The eight known "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*[43] belong to one of two larger groups of so-called multiple *gül* carpets of the Turkmen.[44] Both of these sub-groups involve the adoption of 16th/17th century Safavid palmette designs. The first group is dominated by a combination of the *kepse gül* and the c-*gül*, the second by the "Eagle" *gül* and the *dyrnak gül*.[45] In addition, there are different hybrids, which might have developed from these two basic types.[46] The multiple *gül* carpets with *kepse gül* and c-*gül* and their development from the 17th to the 19th centuries is described in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*". The multiple *gül* carpets with "Eagle" *gül* or "compound" *gül* in combination with the *dyrnak gül* are discussed below.

The multiple *gül* carpets with *kepse gül* and c-*gül* are a late 16th or early 17th century invention of the Turkmen. Prior to that date these designs did not exist in this form. They follow to a large extent the Safavid design concept of the so called Isfahan carpets with their large palmettes, serrated sickle-leaves, and cloud bands, described by May Beattie as the "In and Out Palmette Design".[47]

39 As the analysis was performed by Harald Böhmer using thin-layer-chromatography (tlc), an identification of the cochineal species was not possible. However, the similarity to the two other bands (cat. nos. 110 and 111) suggests not only Mexican cochineal as the relevant species, but also the use of tin mordant. For more information, see also the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

40 A first hint regarding a possible relationship between the Salor and the producers of "Eagle" *gül* group I and III weavings is offered by Yuri Bregel. He describes the Yemreli as distant relatives of the Salor [Bregel 1981 (1987): 150, footnote 50]. This could at least be a hint to the parallels between the weavings of the two groups. It should be remembered here that also Thompson tentatively connected the Yemreli with weavings of the "Eagle" *gül* group III (Mackie/Thompson 1980: 135 – 141). The English translation of Bregel's essay was published in 1981; Thompson can not have known of it when making his comments in 1980. For some additional information see also the discussion of the Salor *ensi* cat. no. 1 in the chapter "The Salor".

41 For a further discussion on the use of madder on silk, see Vol. 1, section "3.5 Insect Dyestuffs on Silk" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

42 The Arabachi tent band cat. no. 125 is one of them.

43 See comparable pieces to cat. no. 113. "Eagle" *gül* groups I, II, and III have been specified by Rautenstengel based on technical features (Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990). The technical peculiarities have already been described in the introduction to this chapter.

44 "Multiple *gül*" because they show more than one design of equal prominence.

45 Like the "Eagle" *gül*, the "compound" *gül* can been traced back to Safavid palmette designs.

46 E.g. cat. nos. 116 and 168.

47 See figs. 3 and 4 in the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

On the other hand, the group of carpets with the combination of "Eagle" *gül* and *dyrnak gül* represent a kind of "modernized" traditional Turkmen design, adding not only the newly invented palmette field design, but a new border design as well: a meander with lotus flowers and sickle leaves (figs. 35–40). To the traditional *dyrnak gül* (fig. 20), a "modern" Safavid palmette design – the "Eagle" *gül* (fig. 19) – has been added by inserting it in rows between the former (cf. fig. 18, the McMullan "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*).

Cat. no. 105 is a good example of a traditional 16th or 17th century Turkmen carpet with *dyrnak gül*. The composition of this early *khali* – following the old traditional Turkmen model – uses a primary design alone. In addition, it also shows only one version of the *dyrnak gül* throughout, while most other *dyrnak gül* carpets show a slightly different second *dyrnak gül* version placed offset between the former, as if resembling or replacing a secondary motif. Cat. no. 93 is such a carpet. The row of *dyrnak gül* between the "Eagle" *gül* in the carpets discussed here is similarly composed of two different types of the design. Moreover, the early *dyrnak gül khali* (cat. no. 105) has a version of the traditional Turkmen curled leaf meander in the border, and not the "newly" invented 16th or 17th century type of border of the "Eagle" *gül* group carpets showing the meander with lotus flowers and sickle leaves. Finally, the *khali* cat. no 105 manifests the existence of carpets with the *dyrnak gül* alone in at least the 17th, if not even the 16th century.

The design composition of the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* might be traced back to a Safavid influence during the time of Shah Abbas I. It shows an unusual kind of combination of two primary designs not otherwise seen in traditional Turkmen carpets, and also differs from its contemporary relatives, the multiple *gül* carpets with *kepse gül* and *c-gül*. All this seems to point to a professional production, possibly from a workshop founded by Shah Abbas I in Astarabad, as discussed below.

Fig. 18: Cat. no. 159, "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*, 200 x 239 cm (279 cm incl. *alem*), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, MMA 1974.149.45, Joseph V. McMullan Collection.

Fig. 19: Detail from cat. no. 159 (fig. 18): Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* (Type A) with three double hooks only at bottom and top.

Fig. 20: Detail from cat. no. 159 : The *dyrnak gül* is the basic design element of all "Eagle" *gül* carpets. It stands for the old Turkmen tradition in this new design composition of all of these carpets. The 17th century "Eagle" *gül* palmette design is inserted in rows between the old *dyrnak gül*.

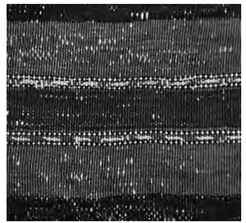

Fig. 21: Detail from cat. no. 159: Not only the broad stripes of the *alem*, but particularly the brocaded *gyjak* motifs in all "Eagle" *gül* group I and III *khali* are unusual.

Krusinski's Shah Abbas workshop in Astarabad

Pope and Ackerman published an interesting article by Tadeusz Mankowski on "Some Documents from Polish Sources Relating to Carpet Making in the Time of Shah Abbas I".[48] In this article Mankowski quotes a Polish Jesuit, a missionary called Krusinski, who stayed in Persia between 1704 and 1729. Krusinski published an article in 1740,[49] which deals, among other things, with the textile and carpet production in Safavid Persia, not only of the early 18th century, the time of Krusinski's visit, but of the 17th century and particularly the time of Shah Abbas I as well. Krusinski describes how Shah Abbas, with wise farsightedness, installed textile and carpet workshops in several provinces of his empire, all supervised by the court in Isfahan. For these workshops, Krusinski mentions locations like Shirvan, Karabagh, Gilan, Kashan, Mashad, Astarabad, and the capital Isfahan itself. Continuing he writes: "According to the Shah's orders, each place was to weave in its own manner. Evidently the Shah intended to preserve the specific characteristics of the artistic weaving of each locality. The central manufactories were organized under the management of royal officers to assure the king's household as well as the state a profitable share in these domestic establishments".[50] The earnings of this provincial workshop went into the imperial treasury of Shah Abbas in Isfahan.[51]

The workshop carpets from the Caucasus with large palmettes are well enough known. But what did the carpets from the Astarabad workshop look like, and what products can we expect from a workshop supervised by the Safavid court? In the 17th century, Astarabad, being the capital of the southeastern Caspian area with the rivers Gurgan and Atrek, inhabited among others by Turkmen people, was part of the Safavid empire. From a courtly workshop, no "ordinary" pieces, as we know them from rural, nomadic, or small town productions could be expected. The courtly supervisors mentioned by Krusinski might have brought their own master-weavers from other Persian weaving centres, or might even have been master-weavers themselves. They, on the other hand, might have recruited local weavers to produce carpets and textiles in a local style and of high quality, following the instructions of the Shah. A workshop supervised by the Safavid

48 Mankowski 1938.
49 Mankowski 1938: 2431, footnote 5.
50 Mankowski 1938: 2431.
51 For more information on this workshop in Astarabad mentioned by Krusinski, see the discussion of cat. nos. 113, 157, and 158.

court could not afford and with all likelihood did not want to produce "normal" products for the local Astarabad market, and even less for the court in Isfahan. The local population was already doing this and there was no need to compete against this indigenous local production. Therefore the question rises anew: What would these courtly workshop products from Astarabad have looked like? In searching for them today, what would we have to look for? They should preferably stem from the 17th century, and they should be of outstanding quality. They should reflect local tradition, and show aspects of workshop products, as we know them from other Persian carpet workshops.

There is actually only one group of Turkmen carpets fulfilling all these high requirements: "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* from southwest Turkmenistan. These carpets are not only woven with the typical Persian knot (asymmetrical, open to the left), which is quite unusual for Turkmen carpets, they also have a complex system of wefting, of which a quarter of the material is silk. Furthermore, this silk is dyed red with madder, and not, as one might expect, with an insect dyestuff. This is very unusual. Silk dyed with madder is extremely rare in Turkmen weavings, as madder is much less lightfast on silk than on wool. The silk dyed with madder in the wefts of "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*, must have been intended for a specific use, with the less expensive dyestuff used where it wouldn't be seen. A very similar phenomenon can be observed in silks from the area of Bukhara and Samarkand 1000 years earlier. There too the unseen silk warps are dyed with madder, while all the visible wefts are dyed with lac, an insect dyestuff. This was certainly not done to add an additional working process to the production, but to keep the production costs low in the part that would not be seen.[52] An additional factor speaking for workshop production of the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* are the flat woven *alem* with their brocaded designs (fig. 21). Such brocading is the rare exception among Turkmen carpet *alem*, while it is a rule among the "Eagle" *gül* groups I and III. This can also be considered an additional decoration in the sense of an enrichment to these high quality and certainly expensive luxury piled weavings.

A similar argument can be made regarding the 3-plied (3Z) pile yarn throughout these carpets. This is also very seldom found in other Turkmen weavings and is yet another enrichment or refinement. The 3-plied pile yarn awarded these already finely knotted carpets with an increased pile density of one third and therefore an even more velvety surface. Last but not least, the perfectly balanced design composition also points to a professional production. All known pieces of this group are identical up to their borders, varying only in little details. Among the Turkmen, this only occurs in a comparable way among the Salor. I have already pointed to design parallels between the "Eagle" *gül* groups and the Salor. This is just another one.

The *khali* of the "Eagle" *gül* group II, on the other hand, are made much more in a "classical" Turkmen style. Colouring, knot density, and the design with only three instead of four rows of "Eagle" *gül* in the field corresponds much more with a Yomut or Yazïr tradition.[53]

The Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* (figs. 22 – 25)

The "Eagle" *gül* belongs to the group of 16th/17th century Turkmen palmette designs adopted from Safavid Persia (figs. 23–30). Such palmette designs, in addition to being ubiquitous in Safavid art, were also adopted by their direct neighbours. We know of such palmette designs in Ottoman Anatolia, the Caucasus, and Mughal India.

The significant impact of this new fashion on Central Asia, and the traces it left behind there, is the subject of the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*". Among the various types of Turkmen palmette designs – all going back to Safavid influence – only the *kepse gül* endured. In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries it became one of the most popular designs among the Yomut and their neighbours in southwest Turkmenistan. The "Eagle" *gül*, on the other hand, was a much less popular design, although it appears in quite a large number of *khali* of the "Eagle" *gül* groups I, II, and III as well as in some successors, up to the late 19th century. However, one couldn't really call the "Eagle" *gül* a real success compared to the *kepse gül*. Figs. 26, 27, and 30, 31 give an impression of the type of Safavid models the Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* design is basically derived from. Most of these Safavid palmettes show a lotus flower in the centre, with a superimposed vine leaf. They are clearly directionally oriented. As shown by the rosettes (mutated from palmettes) seen in the border of a large garden carpet in the Louvre in Paris (fig. 30), such special forms of palmettes, strongly resembling the mirrored versions of Turkmen palmettes like the "Eagle" *gül* (fig. 29), were known in Persia since the late 16th century. The Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* is known in a number of versions, but principally goes back to two basic types. One of them is somewhat simpler – only mirrored along the horizontal axis (fig. 22, type A) – while the other is a bit more complex, being mirrored along both horizontal and vertical axis (fig. 23, type B). The simpler version is more common, while the complex version is only seen in two of the eight known "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*, but re-emerges in the late 19th century (as seen in one of the two pieces from the time around 1900, published by Bogolyubov). The simpler version of the design is seen in six "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* (fig. 22) and in all the pieces of "Eagle" *gül* group II (fig. 25). "Eagle" *gül* group III *khali* sometimes even show a kind of hybrid form of the two. Furthermore group III *khali* show an "Eagle" *gül* already slightly adapted to the Turkmen tradition, indicated by the considerably stylized form of the design (cf. fig. 24). In short, the "classical" Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* is a Persian palmette, mirrored downwards along the horizontal axis to become a Turkmen double-palmette. In its composition, the "Eagle" *gül* follows the "classical" Safavid palmette with a lotus flower in the centre, framed by or superimposed on a serrated leaf-form (figs. 26 and 27). Pope called this a "leaf palmette". In the Turkmen "Eagle" *gül*, these forms are heavily geometricised and stylized, but still clearly recognisable as being composed of two interleaved, different forms, exactly like the Safavid models.

52 The same phenomenon has already been addressed while discussing the *torba* cat. no. 112. This piece also shows silk wefts dyed with madder and with all likelihood can be considered similar (or a comparable) workshop production.

53 Cf. thereon the *khali* cat. nos. 84–86. The carpets with flower *alem* and four rows of *chuval gül* in the field (cat. nos. 101–103) might also stem from another professional production in southwest Turkmenistan. For the Yazïr see the chapter "The Yazïr-Qaradashli".

The Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* of group I, II and III, 17th to 19th centuries

Fig. 22: Type A "Eagle" *gül* design of "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* , with three double hooks at bottom and top. 17th/18th centuries. Detail from cat. no. 159.

Fig. 23: Type B "Eagle" *gül* design of "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*, with three double hooks not only at bottom and top, but left and right hand side as well. 17th/18th centuries. Detail from cat. no. 158.

Fig. 24: "Eagle" *gül* design of "Eagle" *gül* group III *khali*, slightly adapted to the Turkmen tradition, 19th century. Private collection. Image Hans Christian Sienknecht.

Fig. 25: "Eagle" *gül* design of "Eagle" *gül* group II *khali* . Like the "compound" *gül*, the "Eagle" *gül* is a Safavid palmette design mirrored downwards. Repr. from Andrews et al. 1993: No. 35.

Fig. 26: Leaf-palmette from a Safavid carpet, 16th/17th centuries. Repr. from Pope/Ackerman 1938: Fig. 779a, plate 1112, 1126.

Fig. 27, Leaf-palmette from a Safavid carpet fragment, 16th/17th centuries. Repr. from Wearden 2003: Plate 34.

Fig. 28: Detail from cat. no. 158 (fig. 18): Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* with three double hooks at bottom and top (Type A). 17th/18th centuries.

Fig. 29: Detail from cat. no. 157: Well balanced Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* motif with three double hooks at bottom and top and left and right hand side as well (Type A). 17th/18th centuries.

Fig. 30, Palmette design from the border of a Safavid carpet, 16th/17th centuries. Repr. from Sarre/Trenkwald 1927: Vol. II, plate. 32.

A close relative of the "Eagle" *gül* is the so-called "compound" *gül*, also adopted from a Persian palmette, doubled by being mirrored downwards along the horizontal axis (figs. 60–67). The "Eagle" *gül* in fig. 29 shows an already modified version of the design in fig. 28. To complete the outer edge of the design, the upper part (of fig. 28) has been turned by 90°, resulting in having three double hooks on each side of the horizontal axis as well. Thus the "double palmette" (figs. 22 and 25) becomes rather a kind of rosette (figs. 23 and 24).

The Caucasian "Eagle" design (figs. 33 – 34)

A very similar phenomenon concerning the adoption of Safavid carpet designs can be observed in the Caucasus, especially in the regions mentioned by Krusinski having Shah Abbas worksops: Shirvan and Karabagh. There, as with the Turkmen, different types of palmette designs can be seen: on the one hand palmettes with a clearly recognisable lotus flower in the centre,[54] and on the other hand with a stylized centre comparable to the Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* (figs. 32 – 34). Interestingly these carpets from the Karabagh area have been called "Eagle Kazaks" in the literature.[55]

Hence the Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* can be understood as an evolutionary step between a "classical" Safavid and a "typical" Turkmen carpet design. Nevertheless it must have been somewhat too alien to the Turkmen weavers, to become really successful, as was the the *kepse gül*. However, even the *kepse gül* had to change considerably in the process of becoming a successful 19th century design.[56] The "Eagle" *gül* also got some changes in the course of time, but these changes were minor by comparison. Even in the late 19th century the "Eagle" *gül* still shows a form very similar to that of the 17th century. One of the two *khali* with "Eagle" *gül* design publishd by Bogolyubov clearly illustrates this.[57] The piece may have been brand new when Bogolyubov aquired it around 1900.

54 Ellis 1975: Plate 3, 6, 7, 10, 12, 19, 20 etc.

55 Eder 1979: 144 et seq.
56 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
57 Bogolyubov 1973 (1908/1909): No. 14.

Fig. 31: Palmette design from a Safavid floral carpet, Eastern Persia, ca. 1600. Repr. from Pope/Ackerman 1938: Plate 1185, fig. 770.

Fig. 32, Palmette design from a carpet, Shirvan or Karabagh area, the Caucasus, 18th century. The border design is a loan from the Turkmen. Repr. from Ellis 1975: Plate 35.

Fig. 33: Rosette design representing a further development from a mirrored palmette, from a Caucasian carpet, Shirvan area, 19th century. Repr. from Lefevre & Partners, 28 November 1980: Lot 62.

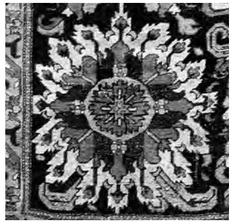

Fig. 34: Rosette design representing a further development from a mirrored palmette, from a Caucasian carpet, Karabagh area, 19th century. Repr. from Dodds/Eiland 1996: No. 84.

The new Turkmen meander border design (figs. 35 – 40)

The curled leaf meander border must have been known among the Turkmen over roughly 1000 years,[58] but the 16th/17th centuries brought novelty not only to the form of palmette field designs, but to border designs as well.

What is generally called the "boat" border in the literature[59] could go back – like the "Eagle" *gül* – to a creation of the Shah Abbas workshop in Astarabad mentioned by Krusinski. This "boat" border with all likelihood was part of the newly adopted design repertoire in relationship for the "Eagle" *gül* group I carpets. On these carpets, this "new" border type was the rule. The improbability of this border pattern predating the mid-16th century is revealed by the history of Safavid carpet design.

Since the mid-16th century carpets were woven in Persia showing large, powerful palmettes as a novelty, not only for the field design, but also in the borders.[60] In the borders, these large palmettes are often embedded in a powerful meander made of large forked leaves,[61] in exceptional cases even with birds replacing the leaves.[62] Since about 1600, in addition to the so called Isfahan palmettes, smaller lotus palmettes are seen in borders. Perhaps one of the most distinguished and earliest examples with such a border is the large, blue ground carpet with palmettes and sickle leaves in the Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon. In a narrow main border, this carpet shows a meander made of forked leaves with lotus flowers.[63] This carpet already shows the *soldat* motif in the minor border, a motif seen so often in minor borders of Safavid carpets of the 17th century (fig. 35) but also in most of the Turkmen "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* (fig. 38, cat. nos. 113 and 158). Although the *soldat* motif is a common ornament in Turkmen weavings, it is more frequently seen in tent bands than in carpets.

58 See the section "The meander with curled leaves" in the chapter "The Salor".
59 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 152.

60 E.g. in Gans-Ruedin 1978: 83, 99, 100, 104, 108.
61 Gans-Ruedin 1978: 56, 63, 92, 94.
62 E.g. the borders of the Kashan silk carpets (see Ekhtiar et al. 2011: No. 182).
63 See fig. 53 in the chapter "The Yomut". For the complete carpet, see Gantzhorn 1990: Fig. 533.

From a Safavid lotus meander with forked leafs....

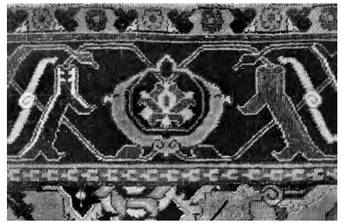

Fig. 35: Meander with serrated sickle leaves and lotus flowers in the main border, and *soldat* motifs in the minor border. Safavid palmette carpet. Isfahan, 17th century. Private collection. Image of the author.

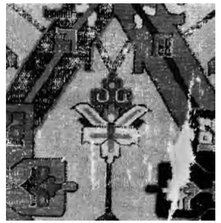

Fig. 36: Lotus flower in a floral carpet, Khorasan, Mashad (?), 17th century. Repr. from Kichheim et al. 1993: No. 63.

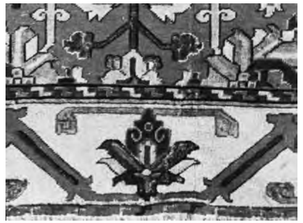

Fig. 37: Meander with lanceolate leaves and lotus flowers in the main border of a Caucasian carpet, Karabagh area, 17th century. Repr. from Sarre/ Trenkwald 1927: Vol. I, no. 40.

A further Safavid example, a vase carpet in the collection of the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst (MAK) in Vienna shows a border design with a meander with serrated leaves and lotus flowers.[64] This border type is also seen quite often in commercially produced 17th century Isfahan carpets. Fig. 35 shows a detail of such an Isfahan carpet border: a lotus flower with two serrated sickle leaves.

Very similar borders with lotus flowers and forked sickle leaves can be found in 17th century carpets from the Karabagh region in the Caucasus (fig. 37).

These meanders with lotus flowers or palmettes and serrated leaves may all refer back to Safavid Persia, where they became popular border designs in the course of the 16th/17th centuries.

Among the Turkmen the meander is an often used border pattern, with the difference that in most cases a curled leaf takes the place of the lotus flower. This type of border ornament is very ancient; we already find such meanders with curled leaves in a surprisingly similar form in Sogdian art.[65] Many Turkmen groups sharing the curled leaf meander border developed it over the centuries into nearly endless variations. This type of design appears not only in the borders of *khali*, but in many *ensi* and *kapunuk* as well.

On the other hand, the meander with lotus flowers – the so called "boat" border – is a "classical" feature of "Eagle" *gül* group I and III carpets and their relatives. We can assume with all likelihood that this border type, also highly regarded in the Caucasian Karabagh area and in Khorasan since the early 17th century, was unknown among the Turkmen prior to that. It is therefore not really surprising that this innovation originating from southwest Turkmenistan, the borderland to Persia, was not really adopted by the other Turkmen. Among the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Ersarï it was unkown. Outside the domain of the Yomut it is seen only in a few Teke *khali* (e.g. cat. no. 149). Since the 17th century, the Teke lived in close proximity to the Yomut, which might explain this.

64 See fig. 54 in the chapter "The Yomut". For the complete carpet, see Völker 2001: 221, inv. no. T8340/ 1922 KB.

65 Figs. 22 and 23 in the chapter "The Salor".

.... to the "new" Turkmen meander with lotus flowers of "Eagle" *gül* group I and III *khali*

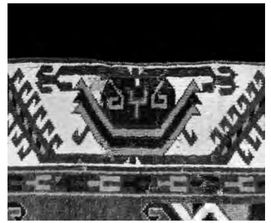

Fig. 38: Meander with serrated "lanceolate" leaves and stylised lotus flowers in the main border of *khali* cat. no. 113. 17th/18th centuries. This border type is also called "boat" border.

Fig. 39: Meander with serrated "lanceolate" leaves and stylised lotus flowers in the main border of the Pfadschbacher multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 41). Detail from the long side border. 18th/19th centuries.

Fig. 40: Meander with serrated "lanceolate" leaves and stylised lotus flowers in the main border, Ballard multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 167. Detail from the long side border. 17th/18th centuries.

Simultaneously, a comparable border design, a version of the meander with lotus flowers in the *khali* of "Eagle" *gül* group I and III, developed in the realm of the Yomut.[66] This phenomenon resembles the parallel development of the "Eagle" *gül* and the *kepse gül* in the field of Turkmen palmette designs: the "Eagle" *gül* likely being a workshop creation, while the *kepse gül* represents a different (more traditional) transformation among the Yomut, but both originating from much the same model. Thus, not surprisingly, the second version of the lotus flower border first appears in connection with the early *kepse gül*. It is seen first in a 16th/17th century Yomut multiple *gül* carpet,[67] a bit later, presumably in the second half of the 17th century, in a Yomut *aq yüp*,[68] and during the 18th and 19th centuries in a more and more stylized form in several Yomut *khali*, interestingly always with a *chuval gül* or *kepse gül* field design.[69] In the 19th century, this border type mostly disappeared from the Turkmen design repertoire. What remained in the late 19th century is an entirely simplified and compressed form, hardly recognisable as a meander with lotus flowers.[70]

In summary: the Turkmen basically used two different forms of meander borders - the ancient curled leaf meander border and the "newer" lotus flower meander border with serrated or forked leaves. Both types developed into dozens of variants; in some few cases even hybrids of the two are known. However, the curled leaf meander border is the much more common type.

An attempt to date the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*

Three of the eight known "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*[71] have been radiocarbon dated for this study. However, as all three tests showed ambiguous results, it might be helpful to compare them with the results obtained from the tested "Eagle" *gül aq yüp*. Although these *aq yüp* on a structural basis can only with qualifications be compared with their

66 See the section "The border with the lotus meander", figs. 53–57, in the chapter "The Yomut".

67 Cat. no. 106 in the minor borders, figs. 95 and 96 in the chapter "The Yomut".

68 Cat. no. 99, fig. 55 in the chapter "The Yomut".

69 Cat. no. 104, fig. 98 in the chapter "The Yomut".

70 See fig. 57 in the chapter "The Yomut".

71 See comparable pieces to cat. no. 113.

related *khali* – and therefore are difficult to assign to one of the three "Eagle" *gül* groups – they show certain parallels to them, and can perhaps be related to one of the groups with reservations. According to the results of this study, they exhibit greater affinity to group I (or III) than to group II. One aspect of this affinity is the strictly composed and drawn design, another is the weft materials: silk and/or cotton, either alone or unsystematically combined. An affinity between "Eagle" *gül* group *aq yüp* and "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* is also based on my proposed workshop attribution for both of them,[72] even the possibility of both originating from the same workshop. As discussed above, two of these three *aq yüp* (cat. no. 110 and 157) unambiguously date from the 17th century, very possibly even from the first half of the 17th century. Based on the use of Mexican cochineal dyed on wool on tin mordant, the 16th century can be excluded with all likelihood.[73] The third band (cat. no. 111) like the carpets, has an ambiguous radiocarbon dating between 1650 and 1950. However, a direct comparison between the three bands suggests that cat. no. 111 can only be marginally younger than its two early relatives. Both the earlier dated pieces, cat. nos. 110 and 158, show a simpler design than cat no. 111, and a somewhat coarser weave as well. But the somewhat later dated piece is – despite all its fire damage – aesthetically the best example of this group of eight known tent bands. The design of this piece, in its details, shows a magnificence and a sophistication unreached by the other two bands. Hence one could draw the conclusion that what we see is evolution, refinement developed to a pinnacle represented by cat. no. 111. All other *aq yüp* of this group are less opulent, even if not directly comparable to the two simply designed, early dated pieces.

Interestingly, a comparable development can be observed among the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*, at least in regard to the drawing of the "Eagle" *gül* design itself. Six of the eight known pieces show a somewhat simpler drawing of the "Eagle" *gül* design (fig. 22), while the two remaining pieces exhibit a more complex, arguably perfected form of the design (fig. 23). Here, the "Eagle" *gül* has been transformed into a "rosette", showing a perfectly designed outer form mirrored along the horizontal axis (as seen in the simpler version fig. 22), and also along the vertical axis. The inner form remains the same.

At first, only the two examples with the more complex designed *"Eagle" gül* (cat. nos. 113 and 158) were radiocarbon dated. After recognizing the difference between the two types of *"Eagle" gül* designs, the question arose of a possibility of a parallel to the phenomenon observed in the tent bands: are the more opulently designed carpets the later ones, while the more simply designed pieces represent an earlier stage of the development? To approach this question, *khali* with the simpler "Eagle" *gül* design had to be investigated. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York agreed to my request to radiocarbon date their more simply designed "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*.[74] Thus at least a single piece with the simpler type of the "Eagle" *gül* design was radiocarbon dated. The result of this test, however, did not confirm the hypothesis. The dating of this third "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* with its slightly simpler "Eagle" *gül* design offered an ambiguous result comparable to that obtained from the two other pieces with the more complex design: the earliest possible date of production is the second half of the 17th century. Therefore, my theory did not apply in this instance. What can we conclude from the available radiocarbon dating results obtained from these six "Eagle" *gül* group weavings? At least the dating of the two *aq yüp*, cat nos. 110 and 157, showed a possible date of production during the reign of Shah Abbas I (1587–1629). With the *khali* this could not be established. Further radiocarbon dating would be helpful, as very likely not all *aq yüp* of the simpler design type would deliver a pre-1650 dating. But the dating of the third *aq yüp* shows a result comparable to the three *khali*. As already asserted, the third band can hardly be much younger than its two early dated relatives, and

72 "Eagle" *gül* group II pieces might originate from somewhere near of this workshop. They show clearly traditional features of Yomut pieces not only in their structure and colour palette, but also in their design composition (only 3-rows of designs instead of four in the field).

73 See the discussion on these three tent bands in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

74 My sincere thanks go to Dr. Sheila Canby, Dr. Florica Zaharia and Prof. Walter Denny from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York for their agreement to have this carpet sampled for radiocarbon dating.

therefore with all likelihood also dates from the second half of the 17th, or at least from the early 18th century. I think it is not too far-fetched to assume the same for the three radiocarbon dated *khali* cat. nos. 113, 158, and the McMullan piece cat. no. 159. The Shah Abbas workshop in Astarabad, mentioned by Krusinski, apparently still existed in the early 18th century, producing not only tent bands, but carpets as well.

Later products of the Shah Abbas workshop in Astarabad

The Shah Abbas workshop in Astarabad mentioned by Krusinski, or at least a continuation or a successor of it, possibly existed up to the early 20th century.[75] Where can evidence for such an assumption be found?

The *Khali* of "Eagle" *Gül* Group III

The "Eagle" *gül* group III defined by Annette Rautenstegel might unite the later products of the Astarabad workshop. In spite of small differences in design (cf. figs. 23 and 24) these *khali* still show strong similarities to the *khali* of group I. They are knotted open left with 3-plied pile yarn, and their *alem* show the brocaded stripes with *gyjak* design (which perhaps could be "trademark" of a workshop).

The Pfadschbacher Multiple *Gül* Carpet (fig. 41)

The carpet formerly in the Austrian Pfadschbacher Collection and its presumably somewhat later comparison piece published by Bausback[76] both stem most likely from a production succeeding the workshop founded by Shah Abbas in Astarabad. They still show the asymmetrical open left knotting with mostly 3-plied pile yarn, [77] but a considerably lower knot density.[78] The main border, although here in an apparently derivative form of a mixture of "Eagle" *gül* group I and II types,[79] still shows the typical lotus flower meander attended by the soldat motif in the minor border, which, as we have seen, was characteristic for the Astarabad workshop (and the Safavid models). Both *alem* of the Pfadschbacher carpet, or the remnants of them, are decorated with the same type of brocaded stripes with *giyak* motifs as seen in the earlier "Eagle" *gül* group I and III pieces. The only difference is that the Pfadschbacher carpet has three such decorated stripes in the *alem*, instead of only one like the "Eagle" *gül* group I and III carpets (cf. fig. 41).[80] Finally, the drawing of the field design seen in both the Pfadschbacher and the Bausback carpets already can be seen as a kind of caricature of the c-*gül* and the "curled-edge cloud band" *gül* of the 16th/17th century Yomut multiple *gül* carpets. Furthermore, in its first row of field designs the Pfadschbacher carpet shows a motif which also appears in the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet (cf. fig. 82). The same design can also be seen in the multiple *gül* carpets of the Ballard (fig. 84, cat. no. 167) and the (formerly) Wher collection piece (fig. 83). The Bausback carpet does not show this design.

Both the Pfadschbacher and the Bausback carpet can be considered as sort of imitations of the design from Yomut multiple *gül* carpets such as cat. no. 106, the c-*gül* and the "curled-edge cloud band" *gül*, of which they show heavily stylized versions.

The Schürmann Multiple *Gül* Carpet (fig. 42)

The design of the somewhat "chaotic" multiple *gül* carpet first published by Ulrich Schürmann[81] represents a kind of hybrid of the groups of multiple *gül* carpets of the 16th/17th centuries with *kepse gül*, "curled-edge cloud band" *gül* and c-*gül* on the one hand, and "Eagle" *gül* or "compound" *gül* design on the other. Its asymmetric open left knotting, the knot density of about 3500 knots per dm^2, the border with a lotus

75 A. Mazaheri points out that the glass and paper workshops founded by Shah Abbas I still existed in Iran in the 19th century (Mazaheri 1970: 245).

76 Bausback 1978: 467; Rippon Boswell 30, 1989: Lot 118; Herrmann 2, 1990: No. 63.

77 According to Rautenstengel the Pfadschbacher carpet is still 3-plied throughout, while in the comparable, but later Bausback piece we find both 2- and 3-plied pile wool.

78 According to Rautenstengel ca. 3500 knots per dm^2 in the Pfadschbacher carpet, but only ca. 2000 knots per dm^2 in the Bausback piece.

79 Borrowed from the borders of "Eagle" *gül* group II are the small, hooked rhombuses instead of the lotus flowers.

80 In my eyes, this is really convincing evidence speaking for a common place of production of all of these carpets. *Alem* designed like this are not known among any other Turkmen group of weavings.

81 Also published in Herrmann 1980: No. 93, and Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Fig. 59.

Fig. 41: The Pfadschbacher multiple *gül* carpet, 165 x 203 cm, 18th/19th centuries. Repr. from TKF Wien 1986: No. 115.

Fig. 42: The Schürmann multiple *gül* carpet, 165 x 250 cm, 18th/19th centuries. Repr. from Schürmann 1969: No. 23.

flower meander, and finally its reciprocally designed *alem* in tapestry technique bring this carpet at least in the neighbourhood of carpets of the "Eagle" *gül* group III. Another, though perhaps distant relative of the Schürmann multiple *gül* carpet might be the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet, cat. no. 116, though it might be the output of a different production (workshop?). The Hecksher piece is also worked with the asymmetric open left knot, but with its 2000 knots per dm^2 has a considerably lower knot density than usually seen in "Eagle" *gül* group III *khali*. Moreover it shows a strongly Caucasian (Karabagh/Shirvan area) inspired composition. (For a detailed discussion of the Hecksher carpet, see cat. no. 116 below).

Basically the Schürmann multiple *gül* carpet shows a combination of newly adopted 16th/17th century Safavid palmette designs like the *kepse gül* ("para" *kepse gül*),[82] the "Eagle" *gül*, the "compound" *gül*, and in a single instance a c-*gül* or a "curled edge cloud band" *gül*[83] as seen in the design of the Pfadschbacher multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 41).

The Mehdi Khan Carpet (fig. 44, cat. no. 160)

The *khali*, cat. no. 160, with its "compound" *gül* field design, its lotus flower meander border, its silk wefts, and its inscription referring to Astarabad as the place of production is presumably one of the latest known candidates for a workshop product in the succession of the Shah Abbas workshop in Astarabad, mentioned by Krusinski in 1740. A detailed discussion of this *khali* follows below (see cat. no. 160)

113

"Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*

This fragment, today separated into its component pieces, formerly belonged to Rudolf Neugebauer, who first published it in 1909.[84] At that time, the various fragments were still sewn together to form a "complete" piece. Only when it came on the art market in the 1980s was it "de-constructed". This is the condition shown on the colour image cat. no. 113. The fragment is one of two pieces belonging to "Eagle" *gül* group I showing the more complex version of the "Eagle" *gül* (fig. 23). Thus it most clearly resembles cat. no. 158, the second piece with this more complex version of the "Eagle" *gül* design. One row of "Eagle" *gül* is missing: it originally had, like all other complete *khali* of this group, 4 rows of the design. For more details, see the introduction to the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* above.

82 See chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
83 On the "curled-edge-cloud band" *gül*, see the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
84 Neugebauer/Orendi 1909: Fig. 138.

158

"Eagle" *gül* group I *khali*

Due to its considerably better state of preservation than cat. no 113, and despite its extensive damage in the field, this *khali* is perhaps the most beautiful example of this group of only eight known pieces. For more details, see the introduction to the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* above.

159

"Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* (fig. 18)

This example from the Joseph McMullan Collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is the best preserved of the group. It is the only piece of the group showing complete *alem* on both ends. According to Rautenstengel, it is also the only piece with a 2-plied all silk weft in the ground weave.[85] For more details, see the introduction to the "Eagle" *gül* group I *khali* above.

160

The Mehdi Khan carpet (fig. 44)

This *khali* is possibly a late successor of the "Eagle" *gül* groups, presumably even of "Eagle" *gül* group III. When it first appeared, the carpet's rare design and the unusual inscription caused quite a stir.

It was Michael Franses who brought the piece to public attention. Its owner, not being a collector, brought the carpet to Franses to have the inscription deciphered. As a connoisseur of Turkmen weavings, Franses immediately recognized the uncommonness of the inscription and took charge of the carpet. After some initial difficulties, it proved to be not only Hebrew letters, but also a Hebrew date. But the inscription held another challenge. Although written in Hebrew letters, the language of the inscription was Farsi, at least for the few words which were not names. The translation suggested by Franses was: "Ordered by Kahn Mehdi in Astarabad." The Hebrew date he converted to 1660.[86]

Thereupon the carpet, henceforth called the "Mehdi Khan carpet", was radiocarbon dated.[87] However, the results obtained from three independent tests could not confirm the 1660 date suggested by Franses.

The carpet was exhibited during the 1990 symposium and generated animated discussion as to its actual age. The majority of the collectors and experts present had great doubts about the suggested 17th century date of this piece. It was not only its excellent state of condition that caused these doubts, but its crowded design too (cf. figs. 51 and 52). This did not correspond to what was seen in other pieces unambiguously dating from the 16th/17th century, shown side by side with the Mehdi Kahn carpet in the exhibition.

It was obviously necessary to have the inscription and particularly the date, re-read.

The new translation of inscription and date (fig. 43)

This situation led to two further independently executed translations of both inscription and date, which cleared up the confusion. The inscription itself had been translated correctly, but the date, on the contrary, turned out to be 1911 (or 1931). Both are possible, based partly on poor legibility of the in-woven date, caused by the weaver. 1931, however, might be too late.

A small, symmetrically knotted Yomut (?) carpet (figs. 45 and 46) with two niches and the in woven date ۱۳۵۶ = 1356 (1934) looks newer than the Mehdi Khan carpet, which might well be a generation older, suggesting that the earlier date, 1911, might be more appropriate.

85 Rautenstengel /Azadi 1993: 157 et seq.

86 See Hali 104, 1999: 82–85.
87 For a discussion on the problems of radiocarbon dating objects of the 17th–20th centuries, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate" with a more detailed discussion on the dating of this carpet.

פרמאהש חן מהדי ן....
אסתראבאד
תרעב (תרצב)

Fig. 43: Detail from *khali* cat no. 160 showing the in-woven Hebrew inscription in Farsi and the Hebrew date. The Hebrew inscription reads:
פרמאהש חן מהדי ן... (Farmaesh Hn Mehdi) אסתראבאד (Astarabad) תרעב (תרצב) 5672 (or 5692?). Translated into English: Ordered by Mehdi Khan Astarabad 1911 (or 1931?).

The two new readings of the inscription are in total agreement, including the date (except the additional later possibility of 1931, only mentioned by one of the two interpreters). The wording including calendar date is now as follows (Hebrew, to be read from right to left):
פרמאהש חן מהדי ן.... אסתראבאד תרעב (תרצב)
"Farmaesh Hn Mehdi ..... Astarabad 5672 (5692?)" which translates to: «Ordered by Khan Mehdi ..... Astarabad 1911 (1931?)».

The last five letters of the upper line of the inscription (seen from right to left) are indecipherable. The first of these five letters looks like a ן "Nun Sofeet". But ן "Nun Sofeet" stays always and only at the end of a Hebrew word, never at the beginning. Its function at this place is unclear. The only explanation could be that the letter still belongs to the name Mehdi, which would become Mehdin. The remaining four letters are unreadable.[88]

Fig. 44: *Khali* cat. no. 160 showing the "compound" *gül* as a single field design and a lotus flower meander border in the style of the "Eagle" *gül* group I and III *khali*. The inscription is seen in the left corner of the upper *alem*.

This new interpretation of the Hebrew date is now also in agreement with radiocarbon dating. The range between 1911 and 1950 would therefore be the right one.

Turkmen weavings with in-woven dates and inscriptions

All of the few known Turkmen pieces with in-woven dates and inscriptions date from the second half of the 19th century,[89] and they are not written in Turkmen using Arab characters, but in Armenian[90] and Russian[91] in the corresponding alphabet. Cat. no. 160 is the only known Turkmen carpet with a Hebrew date and an inscription in Hebrew letters, although written in Farsi. Hebrew inscriptions are documented in Ottoman niche rugs, used in synagogues as *torah* curtains (*parokhet*). They date from the 17th to 19th centuries[92] and all show better drawn Hebrew inscriptions than the Turkmen example discussed here. The 17th century *torah* curtain in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. is the earliest known example and has the best-drawn inscription (fig. 48).

Design: The field design, described by Robert Pinner as "compound" *gül*,[93] belongs to the realm of palmette designs adopted by the Turkmen in the late 16th or early 17th century from Safavid Persia and first established among the Turkmen in their so called multiple *gül* carpets.[94] The only successful version from this sphere of design

88 My sincere thanks go to Dr. Albert Gabbaï from Geneva for reviewing the translation and his additional explanatory words, and to Prof. Zvi Koren from the Shenkar College of Engineering and Design in Ramat-Gan, Israel, for his third reading and the reference to the alternate reading of the date.
89 See section "1.8 Inscriptions and Dates" in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".
90 Gantzhorn 1990: Fig. 680; Hali 60, 1991: 122.
91 Hali 35: 10 – 13. In addition to the Russian inscription, this carpet also shows a hitherto undeciphered second inscription in Arab letters.
92 Denny 2002: Fig. 20, No. 45 and 48.
93 On the origin and the development of the "compound" *gül*, see cat. no. 116, section "The compound *gül*" and figs. 60–67 in this chapter.
94 See also chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

Figs. 45 and 46: Small rug with two niches (?), Yomut (?), 106 x 115 cm, symmetrically knotted on depressed warps, 2556 knots per dm², 8 colours. The date ١٣٥۴ (or ١٣۵۶) 1354(6) = AD 1932(4) is seen at the upper edge between the niches. The complexity of the date showing figures like 5, 4 and 6 leaves no doubt to be a real date, and not merely a decoration. Such decorations often consist of figures like 1, 2 and 3 only. Private collection.

influence among the Turkmen was the *kepse gül*. In the 19th century, it became one of the most popular designs among the Yomut. Other Turkmen palmette designs like the "compound" *gül*, and the "Eagle" *gül* did not really succeed and vanished or remained rather rare. Only in the late 19th century did these palmette designs experience a kind of "revival". This is attested by a small group of carpets showing these designs, the Mehdi Khan carpet being one of them.[95] The Turkmen adaptation of Safavid palmettes will be discussed in more detail below when focusing on the unusual Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet with Caucasian/Safavid influences (cat. no. 116).

But much closer to cat. no. 160 are the *khali* of "Eagle" *gül* groups I and III (cat. nos. 113, 158 and 159). First of all, the Mehdi Kahn carpet has the same border design as the "Eagle" *gül* group I and III pieces (figs. 51, 52). Beyond that, the secondary motif (fig. 49) between the

95 E.g. Milhofer 1968: Fig. 59; or Rippon Boswell 62, 2004: Lot 70.

The 20th century Hebrew carpet inscription in comparison with a 17th century Hebrew carpet Inscription

Fig. 47: Detail from *khali* cat no. 160, showing the in-woven date and inscription (for a decipherment of date and inscription see fig. 43)

Fig. 48: Detail from a coupled-column Ottoman *parokhet* (Torah-curtain). Egypt, Cairo, early 17th century, 165 x 186 cm. The Hebrew inscription quotes Psalm 118:20 "This is the Gate of the Lord: Through it the Righteous Enter". The quality of the Hebrew inscription clearly differs from the one in the Turkmen khali on fig. 47. Repr. from Gantzhorn 1990: Fig. 687.

palmettes ("compound"*gül*) of the Mehdi Kahn carpet shows strong similarities to a secondary motif seen in all "Eagle" *gül* group I carpets (fig. 50, also always placed between two palmettes ["Eagle"*gül*]). Just as there are *khali* with "compound" *gül* combined with *dyrnak gül* offset like a secondary motif, [96] there are late "Eagle"*gül* group carpets with *dyrnak gül* placed offset in the same way.[97] This new composition in the 16th/17th centuries showing alternating rows of Persian palmette designs ("Eagle"*gül* or "compound"*gül*) and Turkmen *dyrnak gül*, reappears in the late 19th century modified by the Turkmen to a more customary format: a field primary design with a secondary motif placed offset in between.

Structure: Annette Rautenstengel examined the structure of the carpet on the occasion of the 1999 Turkmen Symposium in Liestal, Switzerland, detecting wool, cotton, and silk as weft materials.[98] This brings the carpet at least in the general realm of "Eagle"*gül* group III. Unfortunately, the information on the knot type has been lost, but with all likelihood the knotting is asymmetrical.

Dating: The in-woven date of 1911 (or 1931) was confirmed by radiocarbon dating. With a statistical probability of 18.6% the third range covers both 1911 and 1931, while the originally suggested 1666 dating, based on an erroneous interpretation of the in-woven date, can be eliminated. From a stylistic point of view the piece is clearly late (cf. figs. 51 and 52), which is in accordance with all other Turkmen weavings showing in-woven dates and inscriptions.

96 See Hali 5/2, 1982: 183; or Jourdan 1989: 161, no. 112.
97 E.g. Ford 1982: 189, fig. 424.
98 Information from Hans Christian Sienknecht (E-Mail from 8 December 2003).

The parallels between cat. no. 160 and "Eagle"*gül* group I *khali*

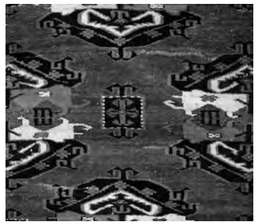

Fig. 49: Detail from *khali* cat. no. 160 (fig. 44). Between the "compound"*gül* a small secondary motif is inserted, with all likelihood going back the "Eagle"*gül* group I *khali* (cf. fig. 50).

Fig. 50: Detail from *khali* cat. no. 158. All eight known "Eagle"*gül* group I *khali* show this little (tertiary) motif between the palmettes ("Eagle"*gül*). This might have been the model for the small motif on fig. 49, which is also placed between two palmette designs ("compound"*gül*).

Fig. 51, left: Border of the *khali* cat. no. 160, early 20th century.
Fig. 52 right: Border of the *khali* cat. no. 113, 17th/18th centuries.
A comparison between the two borders reveals the time-changes even more clearly than the "compound"*gül*.

114

"Eagle"*gül* group II (?) *torba*

A tribal attribution of this *torba* is difficult for several reasons. Late 19th century pieces are frequently a problem to assign to a specific tribal group. One reason for this is a change in the colour palette, caused by developments on the international dyestuff market. It presumably all started with the first synthetic dyes and the consequent overproduction of Mexican cochineal on the international market. This resulted in a considerable change of the colour palette of Turkmen weavings, which complicates a comparison between older and newer pieces. This change of the colour palette occurred contemporaneously with an amalgamation of tribal structures in Turkmenistan. During the 19th century, particularly in the second half, both the Teke and the Yomut became more powerful by absorbing other tribal groups.

Design: Interestingly the design of this *torba* is seen by some authors as being connected with the Teke,[99] while others see a Yomut origin in it.[100] Here we are confronted with the problem just indicated: the expansion of the Teke and the Yomut tribe in the second half of the 19th century. While cat. no. 114 definitely has nothing to do with the Teke, this is not so clear regarding a Yomut attribution. Another problem regarding this question of attribution is the design itself, which is not known in pieces pre-dating the 19th century. All published examples date from the mid-19th century or later. If there is any relationship to older weavings, it is in the sphere of the "Eagle"*gül* groups. There we see similar reciprocal designs in the minor borders of many *khali* belonging to "Eagle"*gül* group II (fig. 54), while the *soldat* motif, seen so often as a minor border in the *khali* of "Eagle"*gül* group I, plays a considerable role in the design of this *torba* too (fig. 54). In colour palette as well as in design we find the closest parallels to this unusual *torba* in the realm of the *"Eagle" gül* groups. In favour of such an attribution is another detail of this *torba*, which until now has never been noted: the monochrome blue fringes with decorative multi-coloured wrapping, attached to the lower edge of the piece (fig. 53). Such

99 Gombos 1975: No. 56; Tzareva 1984: No. 61; Eiland 1990: No. 157 (Teke ?).
100 Loges 1978: No. 63. Bausback gives Ighdïr attribution, which seems rather questionable.

Fig. 53: Detail from *torba* cat. no. 114. The monochrome blue fringe with multicoloured wrapping is standard for all "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*, but also the colour palette and the design speak in favour of an "Eagle" *gül* group II attribution.

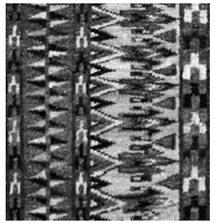

Fig. 54: Detail from *torba* cat. no. 114. The design is comparable with the one of "Eagle" *gül* group II carpets, even though the *soldat* motif only appears on *khali* of group I.

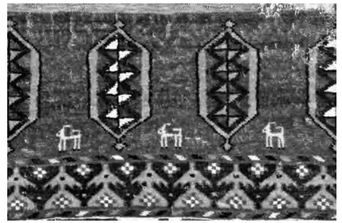

Fig. 55: Detail from cat. no. 115. The piled *alem* of this *khali* shows an unusual cartouche design. A comparable motif is also seen in the centre of the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 168. The small quadrupeds between the cartouches are typical for "Eagle" *gül* group pieces from southwest Turkmenistan, as is the reciprocal border design.

wrapped fringes are a feature typical of "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*. Wherever there remain fringes, or remnants of them, at the lower edge of an "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*, they are monochrome blue showing this kind of multi-coloured wrapping. The "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* in the Museum "Fünf Kontinente" in Munich[101] represents the best-preserved example of this kind, even if not the earliest.

Structure: The asymmetric open right knot is just another feature which connects this *torba* with the "Eagle" *gül* groups, although the "P-Chowdur" group can not be completely ignored as another possibility. But the blue fringes with their multi-coloured wrapping (fig. 53) indicate a strong relationship to the "Eagle" *gül* group II. Not only is the multi-coloured wrapping unusual for a *torba*, but the monochrome blue fringe itself. Blue fringes are usual among the Salor and the Sarïq. It is the shade of mid-blue for the fringes of this *torba* that differs from the dark blue shade seen in Salor and Sarïq pieces. Mid-blue fringes can, on the other hand, also be seen in some pieces tentatively ascribed to the Ersarï and the Kizil Ayak.[102]

101 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Fig. 25; Andrews et al. 1993: No. 41.
102 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 114, "Ersarï and Kizil Ayak pieces with monochrome blue fringes".

Colours: The colour palette of *torba* cat. no. 114 fits well into the "Eagle" *gül* group II, although it contains a probably synthetic orange (indicated as synthetic because of showing tip-fading). This, however, has not been chemically tested.

Dating: As just mentioned, the piece with all likelihood contains an early synthetic dye and therefore has to be dated to the end of the 19th century. Radiocarbon dating therefore was unnecessary here.

115

"Eagle" *gül* group II (?) *khali* with *dyrnak gül* field design

This carpet was first published by Clark.[103] It shows several structural features which bring it into the general realm of "Eagle" *gül* group II. In connection with the "Eagle" *gül* group tent bands cat. no. 110, 111, and 158, the Rautenstengel attributions based on structural features have been addressed as being problematic, and generally only applicable without qualification for "Eagle" *gül* group I carpets. With most

103 Clark 1922.

pieces of group II discrepancies exist which are not entirely in agreement with Rautenstengel's groupings. Cat. no. 115 is such a piece. Colour palette and design, as well as many technical features, correspond to Rautenstengel's "Eagle" *gül* group II, as do the quadrupeds in the upper *alem* (fig. 55).

Design: The field design of this *khali* abstains from the 16th/17th centuries Safavid palmettes ("Eagle" *gül*) by just repeating the older traditional *dyrnak gül*. For this group of carpets, this is rather the exception. Both main and minor border largely correspond to what is considered standard for "Eagle" *gül* group II *khali*. Anomalous, on the other hand, are the pile woven *alem* with their unusual cartouche design.

Colours: The saturated colour palette of cat. no. 115 is typical for all "Eagle" *gül* groups, relating this piece once again to them. Further reinforcing the relationship is the use of the insect dyestuff cochineal from Mexico, not only found in this piece, but as a rule in most "Eagle" *gül* group pieces.

Dating: There are several criteria pointing to a post 1800 date of production for this piece. One is the many little dots and ornaments scattered in the border. Furthermore, the pile woven *alem* has to be interpreted as a 19th century feature; earlier examples of this group always show flat woven *alem*. Finally, the single-*gül* design composition, representing a kind of "return to tradition", can be seen as a late feature. Considering all these factors, the carpet can with all likelihood be dated to the first half of the 19th century, as the overall quality excludes a post-1850 date of manufacture.

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The Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 58)

This multiple *gül* carpet is one of the most unusual "Turkmen" weavings from southwest Turkmenistan. It remains a unique piece to this day. Since its appearance at Sotheby's in 1995 no other remotely similar designed Turkmen carpet has become known. Although its design is rather Caucasian, its colouring and structural features bring it closer to the area of southwest Turkmenistan (or possibly even Khorasan) than to the Caucasus. Two designs have never been seen elsewhere in Turkmen weavings. They are the large irises (fig. 78), with all likelihood borrowed from Safavid vase carpets, and one of two designs, appearing always between two irises or an iris and a palmette ("compound" *gül*), sort of connecting them. In the following these two designs are referred to as "connecting" *gül*: the first one which is only known from the Hecksher carpet, and the second one, which also appears in a small number of other Turkmen carpets (fig. 83–85), though not always in a connecting function. All the Turkmen carpets showing this second type of the "connecting" *gül*. belong to the larger group of multiple *gül* carpets, going back to Safavid influences of the late 16th or early 17th century. We will come back again to this "connecting" *gül* below, to discuss its possible origin and its appearance in Turkmen weavings.

The reciprocal crenellated border in a very similar form can be seen in only one other Turkmen weaving.[104] A slightly modified version of it appears in "Eagle" *gül* group II *khali* (fig. 55). Such borders are more common on Safavid and Caucasian carpets (fig. 57).

Various small rhombuses and rosettes can be seen scattered in the field, as well as six "feathered" designs with indeterminate origin at the beginning of the carpet.

In the following, the most important design elements - the "compound" *gül*, the iris, and the "connecting" *gül* - their origin, and a possible correlation between Safavid, Caucasian, or other Turkmen designs are discussed.

The unusual appearance and the special structural features of this carpet have led to differing assumptions regarding its origin. Pinner saw a certain affinity to the "Eagle" *gül* groups, based on some structural similarities.[105] Eiland, seeing a hybrid form in the carpet, had his concerns in attributing it to one of the Turkmen tribal groups. [106] Poullada finally even went one step further, interpreting it as the product

104 An *asmalyk* in the Musée des Art Décoratifs in Paris, published in: Hali 25 years anniversary edition 2004: 28, no. 1.
105 Dodds/Eiland 1996: 162, no. 180.
106 Pinner/Eiland 1999: 19.

Fig. 56: Detail from a carpet with leaf palmettes, lotus palmettes, forked leaves and stylised irises in vertical rows, Caucasus, Karabagh, 17th century. Repr. from Sarre/Trenkwald 1927: Vol. 1, plate 40.

Fig. 57: Detail from a Caucasian dragon carpet with reciprocal border design, Caucasus, Karabagh, 17th century. Repr. from Sarre/Trenkwald 1927: Vol. 1, plate 39.

Abb. 58: Cat. no. 116, the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet with palmettes («compound»-*gül*) and stylised irises, integratede in Caucasian style in vertical rows.

of a non-Turkmen tribal group of Khorasan, using Caucasian as well as Turkmen designs.[107]

As this unique piece shows so many unusual technical features, any tribal attribution must be considered questionable, whether to a Turkmen or a non-Turkmen origin. It seems much more to be an effort of a commercial production to meet the spirit of the time, with the apparent aim being a "modern" product for the market following the new fashion of the 17th century. The producers must have been geared to the design repertoire of the multiple *gül* carpets, but also have been exposed to designs coming from the Caucasus.

Comparison with a likewise weirdly designed, but symmetrically knotted blossom carpet from the Karabagh area is revealing in its many parallels.[108] It is a carpet with five rows of alternating rosettes, palmettes, and stylized irises alongside a meander with lotus flowers, out of which grow two forked leaves (fig. 56). This meander with lotus flowers and double forked leaves corresponds both to the border designs of Safavid and also Turkmen carpets (cf. figs. 35–40). The Karabagh carpet (fig. 56) has five vertically adjoined rows of designs as does the Hecksher carpet, and also shows stylized irises and rosettes,

107 Poullada 2008.

108 Völker 2001: 339, no. 124.

both quite similar to the irises and the "connecting" *gül* of the Hecksher carpet. In both pieces, the wefts are of cotton, though with the Karabagh rug the warps too. But this is not so unusual for a Caucasian carpet as it is for a Turkmen.

Like the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet, the Karabagh carpet from the Vienna Museum dates from the 17th or 18th century. Like the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet, the Vienna carpet is unique. Possibly this too was an unsuccessful attempt to meet the market's demand for something "new". Perhaps such was also the case with the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet in southwest Turkmenistan around the regional metropolis Astarabad. The design was certainly not a bestseller, which could explain its speedy disappearance. This would also explain the survival of a single piece, although others almost certainly existed at the time. Another possible explanation would be a small workshop of minor importance with a small output back then.

Interestingly there is a single carpet which in certain respects resembles the Hecksher mutiple *gül* carpet: a multiple *gül* carpet with "Eagle" *gül* and *dyrnak gül* design in the Hoffmeister collection (fig. 59).[109] Although the piece largely inherits the design of "Eagle" *gül* group III carpets, it, like the Hecksher carpet, doesn't belong to one of Rautenstengels "Eagle" *gül* groups. The parallels between the Hecksher and the Hoffmeister carpets come down to similar, very unusual structural features. Both show cotton wefts (although in the Hoffmeister carpet combined with silk and wool),[110] and asymmetric open left knotting with roughly 2000 knots per dm^2. The two pieces may also be comparable in age. They almost certainly both date from the 17th or 18th century.[111] It would indeed make sense to posit the same professional production (workshop?) for both these outsiders, a production following the new design fashion, trying to create a "modern" product for the market.[112] Astarabad as a place of origin for these two "eccentric" Turkmens would just be as reasonable as it is for the pieces of the "Eagle" *gül* group I (and III), which I'm proposing to be products of a Shah Abbas workshop from that commercial centre.[113] From the 16th to the 19th centuries, Astarabad was part of the Persian sphere of control, first of the Safavids, and later of the Qajars, their successors,[114] which would explain the Persian influence.

In the following, the particular designs of the Hecksher carpet will be discussed in more detail to explain their possible origin and their relationship to other groups of Turkmen weavings.

Fig. 59: Multiple *gül* carpet of the Hoffmeister Collection. In its rustic design, 3-plied pile yarn, cotton wefts (here combined with wool and silk), asymmetrical open left knotting, and knot density, this carpet shows some interesting similarities to the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 116.

109 Tsareva 2011: No. 87; Hali 142, 2005: 33.
110 For a structure analysis, see Tsareva 2011: 161, no. 87.
111 As I have not seen the Hoffmeister multiple *gül* carpet in person, this assumption must remain hypothetical.
112 See also the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

113 See discussuion on the *khali* of "Eagle" *gül* group I above.
114 Bregel 2003: Map 26 – 32.

Fig. 60: Detail from a Safavid silk carpet, Kashan, 16th century. Repr. from Herrmann 1986: 9.

Fig. 61: Lotus palmette, detail from a Safavid carpet, Isfahan, 16th/17th century. Repr. from Pope 1939: 2415, fig. 779d.

Fig. 62: Stylised lotus palmette, detail from a Caucasian carpet with palmettes in the "Isfahan style", 17th/18th century. Repr. from Kirchheim et al. 1993: no. 81.

Fig. 63: Stylised lotus palmette, detail from a North-west Persian Aserbaijan carpet with palmettes in the "Isfahan style", 17th/18th century. Repr. from Kirchheim et al. 1993: no. 75.

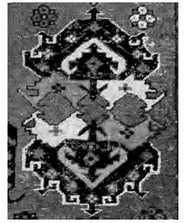

Fig. 64: "Compound" gül from *khali* cat. no 116, 18th century.

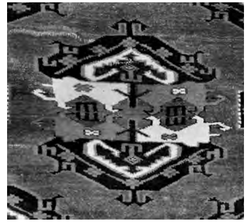

Fig. 65: "Compound" gül from *khali* cat. no. 160, early 20th century.

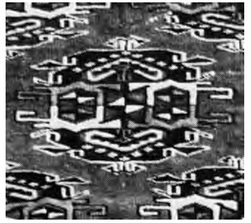

Fig. 66: "Compound" gül from a Teke *khali*, first half of the 20th century. Repr. from Milhofer 1968: fig. 5.

Fig. 67: "Compound" gül from a Kordi carpet, Khorasan, ca. 1900. Repr. from Stanzer 1988: 73.

The "compound" *gül* (figs. 64 – 67)

The "compound" *gül*[115] also goes back to Safavid palmette designs adopted by Turkmen in the 16th/17th centuries. Like the "Eagle" *gül*, the "compound" *gül* represents a palmette design mirrored downwards along a horizontal axis, presumably stemming from palmette designs from the so-called Isfahan carpets. Like the Isfahan palmette, the palmette form of the "compound" *gül* is tripartite: a lotus flower with a superimposed serrated leaf form is placed on a calyx. Possibly the earliest form of such an Isfahan palmette is seen in a silk carpet from Kashan (fig. 60). The form of many palmettes found in the somewhat later Isfahan carpets might be successors of this (fig. 61), being in turn the model for the so-called Harshang palmette of Armenian and Caucasian carpets. Many 18th and 19th century Caucasian carpets show such Harshang palmettes. Its latest form is seen in Balouch weavings up to the 20th century. An already stylized form of the Isfahan palmette, shown here to help understand the stylisation of the Turkmen "compound" *gül* – a kind of intermediate stage between a Safavid Isfahan palmette and the Turkmen "compound" *gül* – is seen in two examples: one from the Caucasus (fig. 62) and one from northwest Persia, presumably from Armenia (fig. 63). In these, the palmettes, still not mirrored, show a less stylisation than the "compound" *gül*, and a possible development from a naturalistic floral to geometric form of the lotus flower in the centre too. The "Eagle" *gül* has run through a very similar process. It also shows a strongly stylised lotus flower form in the centre with a superimposed outer leaf form. The same also applies to the *kepse gül*, which also shows a still recognizable lotus in its centre, with a superimposed serrated leaf form.[116] Strictly speaking, these forms should be called "lotus palmettes", which also applies to the earliest known form, the prototype of this design from Egypt.[117]

The iris flower (fig. 78)

Uniquely among Turkmen weavings, the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet shows a strongly stylized form of an iris flower in its field design (fig. 78), appearing at first to be copied from Caucasian models, but originally going back to Kirman. The flower of an iris plant as a carpet design first appears in the so-called vase carpets of Kirman in the late 16th century, where it belongs to the standard design repertoire of this group (figs. 71 – 74). Presumably since the early 17th century, it also appears in a stylized form in the jufti knotted carpets of Khorasan (fig. 75),[118] not only showing the flower of an iris plant but adopting a transformed version of the whole design composition of the vase carpets as well. In the course of the later 17th century, the iris can also be seen in the carpets of the Karabagh area in the Caucasus (fig. 76), where it persisted up to the 19th century, though only on a small number of pieces and in a more stylized form (fig. 77). The final stage of this stylisation is seen on a small Kordi carpet from Khorasan (fig. 79), also showing the "compound" *gül* (fig. 67).

It was Ellis who first saw an iris (lily) in this flower design.[119] Other authors rather saw a tulip, or at least a "tulip-like" palmette in it.[120] This point of view may have been caused by the design's advanced stage of stylisation to such a degree that it became impossible to recognize the flower clearly within the design composition, and what is the bottom and what is the top of the flower. This is true not only the carpets of Khorasan, but particularly those from the Karabagh area.

However, this is not the case with the earlier vase carpets. There, the position of the flower is clear, namely with the outer "falls" dropping downwards on each side (figs. 72 – 74). This alignment of the flower is seen clearly in at least two vase carpets, showing complete inflorescences with exactly such iris flowers. One of them is a fragment of a vase carpet (fig. 71),[121] the other is a piece from the McMullan collection.[122] Furthermore, the McMullan vase carpet shows palmettes having an iris flower in their centre instead of the usual lotus. The form of the flower in these carpets is very much like an actual iris (figs. 68–70). The flower of an iris is composed – like these specific flowers in the vase carpets – of three larger sepals, or "falls" dropping downwards, and three somewhat smaller petals, or "standards", standing upright. All this is clearly comprehensible with the special flower form of the vase carpets: both sepals ("falls") and petals ("standards") are clearly recognizable.

115 The name "compound göl" goes back to Pinner (see Dodds/Eiland 1996: 162, no. 180).

116 See figs. 34–42 in the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

117 See fig. 24 in the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

118 Thereon see Franses 2004: 92–99.

119 Ellis 1975: 100, described there as "lily forms".

120 Franses in: Kirchheim et al. 1993: 92, 129.

121 Beattie 1976: Plate 5, cat. no. 13.

122 McMullan 1965: 82, no. 16.

Fig. 68: Iris in a Mughal watercolour and gold painting, India, ca. 1635. Repr. from Walker 1997: 87, fig. 82.

Fig. 69: Iris on a Mughal carpet, 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Dimand/Mailey 1973: 150.

Fig. 70: Iris on a Safavid silk lampas, 17th century. Musée des Tissus de Lyon, France. Repr. from Baker 1995: 115.

Fig. 71: Iris on a Safavid carpet, Kirman(?), 17th century. Repr. from Beattie 1976: Plate 5, cat. no. 13.

Fig. 72: Iris on a Safavid vase carpet, Kirman(?), 16th/17th century. Repr. from Wearden 2003: Plate 63.

Fig. 73: Iris on a Safavid vase carpet fragment, Kirman(?), 2nd half of the 17th century. Repr. from Sarre/Trenkwald 1927: Vol. 1, plate 23

Fig. 74: Iris on a Safavid vase carpet fragment, Kirman(?), 17th/18th century. The Textile Museum Washington D.C. Repr. from Beattie 1976: No. 46.

Fig. 75: Stylised iris on a Safavid carpet, Khorasan, 17th/18th century. Repr. from Sarre/Trenkwald 1927: Vol. 2, plate 5.

Fig. 76: Stylised iris on a Caucasian carpet, Karabagh, end of 17th or 18th century. Repr. from Sarre/Trenkwald 1927: Vol. 1, no. 40.

Fig. 77: Stylised iris on a Caucasian carpet, Kuba district, 18th century. Repr. from Schürmann 1964: 257, no. 94.

Fig. 78: Stylised iris on the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet, 18th century (cat. no. 114).

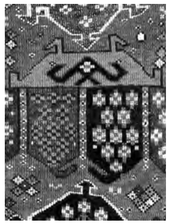

Fig. 79: Iris stylised beyond recognition on a Kordi carpet, Khorasan, ca 1900. Repr. from Stanzer 1988: 73.

Caused by the increasing stylization in the copies from Khorasan, and particularly in those from the Caucasus, a clear identification of direction of the flowers becomes more and more difficult. While the position of the flowers within the whole design composition being the same as in the Kirman vase carpets is still recognizable in the examples from Khorasan, this is not the case any more in the Caucasian pieces.

Enough of the original design remains on both Khorasan carpet fragments in the Orient Stars Collection[123] and in the Islamic Museum in Berlin[124] clearly to show two iris flowers attended by a pair of serrated sickle leaves growing out on the vertical axis from a central stepped rosette, while two palmettes take the same position on the horizontal axis. The somewhat earlier blue ground fragment in Berlin, with its more roundish flower forms, shows its origin from the Kirman vase carpet even more clearly (fig. 75). In all Caucasian examples from the Karabagh area with this iris flower design, this relationship to Kirman is no longer traceable. The whole Caucasian group, including the early Karabagh carpet (fig. 56), might be of a somewhat later date than the two fragments from Khorasan (figs. 75 and 76).

However, the Hecksher carpet shows some similarities in design to these early Karabagh pieces. Both show five vertical rows of alternating iris flowers, palmettes, and rosettes. The difference lies merely in the choice of the additional flower and palmette forms.

While the Karabagh carpet still shows the "classical" leaf palmettes with an integrated lotus flower, the Hecksher carpet shows strongly stylized, mirrored Isfahan palmettes ("compound" *gül*) with the lotus flower in the centre stylized beyond recognition. The Karabagh carpet has, in every other row, a large meander of two lotus flowers with forked leaves growing out from it, similar to the border design of the same carpet (cf. fig. 56). Furthermore, the five rows in the Karabagh carpet are considerably closer to each other than in the Hecksher piece. Apart from that, the two carpets are quite similar.

Later pieces from the Karabagh area[125] are somewhat simpler in design, showing a lattice with integrated iris flowers and a kind of connecting design similar to the "connecting" *gül* of the Hecksher carpet (fig. 82). Whether the "shield carpets" from Shirvan[126] can be considered a last group whose design goes back the iris flower is not certain, but not impossible. It could also represent a development from Safavid lotus palmettes. However, the "shield carpets" are workshop products as well, and therefore might have adopted the new design fashion from Persia, whether iris or palmette.

The "connecting" *gül* (fig. 82)

Beside the "compound" *gül* and the iris flower, the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet shows two other unusual designs, one extremely rare, the other unique in Turkmen weavings: an octagonal and a star-like (fig. 82) "connecting" *gül*. As these two designs usually connect two other designs with each other, the name "connecting" *gül* seemed appropriate. Although these design elements in the Hecksher carpet are always placed between two iris flowers, or between an iris flower and a "compound" *gül*, the connection happens on the vertical axis, and not horizontally, as seen in the supposed Safavid models (figs. 80 and 81). A Safavid example of a design which could be interpreted as the origin of our Turkmen "connecting" *gül* is seen in a pair of large Safavid carpets showing scrolling arabesques with flowers, palmettes, cloud bands, and animals: one in the collection of the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna, the other in the Metropolitan Museum of art in New York, there known as "The Emperor's Carpet" (fig. 80).[127] The centre of the carpet (fig. 80) is accentuated by four large palmettes and cloudbands, all attached to a central rhombus with four small palmettes. The two cloudbands on the horizontal axis (weft direction) of the composition are facing the centre, while the two other cloud bands on the vertical axis are averted from it. As the four large palmettes in the centre are oriented outwards, the result is an asymmetrical composition. This central composition has been adopted and slightly transformed by Armenian weavers (fig. 81). This Armenian carpet is one of the early examples with the Harshang palmette design, no longer showing cloud bands, but rather slightly transformed remnants of them.

123 Kirchheim et al. 1993: 129, no. 63.
124 Franses 2004: 97, fig. 6.

125 E.g. Kirchheim et al. 1993: No. 62; Schürmann 1964: Nos. 6 and 94.

126 Schürmann 1974: 189, no. 62.

127 For the Vienna carpet, see Völker 2001: No. 80, for the New York carpet, see Hali 170, 2011: 74–75.

36: Possible Safavid precursors of the "connecting" *gül*

Fig. 80: Detail from the centre of a Safavid carpet with Isfahan palmettes, cloudbands and animals, integrated into a system of scrolling arabesques. 350 x 744 cm, 2nd half of the 16th century. Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna (inv. no. T8334/ 1922 KB). This design shows a slightly earlier version of the design with Harshang palmettes from northwest Persia in fig. 81. Repr. from Sarre/ Trenkwald 1927: Vol. 1, plate 7.

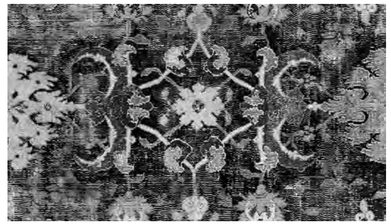

Fig. 81: Detail from a carpet with Harshang design and an Armenian inscription, northwest Persia or southern Caucasus (Armenia). First Half of the 17th century. The "connecting" design (the model for our "connecting" *gül*) was originally placed in the centre of the carpet, connecting two Harshang palmettes. The Harshang palmette is derived from an Isfahan palmette. Repr. from Gantzhorn 1990: fig. 530.

The upper part of the cloudband in the Vienna carpet, protruding from behind the large palmettes like a "bracket" has been transformed in the Armenian carpet to become an autonomous design somewhat resembling the iris flowers of the vase carpets (cf. figs. 72 with 81). One could even say it represents a kind of coalescence of the upper part of a cloudband and an iris flower. The rest of what originally belonged to the cloudband has vanished in the "new" Armenian design. It is exactly this "connecting component" (fig. 81) in the Armenian carpet fragment (the original centre of the carpet), which could have served as a model for the Turkmen "connecting" *gül* (fig. 82). At least in the Ballard carpet, our Turkmen "connecting" *gül* actually connects two large palmettes (fig. 84), as seen in the Safavid and the Armenian examples (figs. 80 and 81).[128]

The similarities between the "connecting" *gül* of the Ballard carpet (fig. 84), or at least what remained of it, and the "connecting" *gül* of the Hecksher carpet (fig. 82) are certainly not an accident: it is the same design. The only difference is the way the design connects two palmettes (or other designs): in the case of the Ballard carpet, the "connecting" *gül* connects two large palmettes horizontally, as seen in the Safavid models, while in the Hecksher carpet the connection happens on the vertical axis between a palmette and another flower design. While trying to find an explanation for this divergence one should remember that it is a Turkmen adoption of a classical workshop design from Persia, the time difference of roughly 100 years separating the "copy" from the original, and the geographical distance from the place of origin. The context of the design has changed as well; from being part of a complex system of scrolled arabesques it has become an independent design. The ultimate isolation the design experienced is seen in the multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher collection (fig. 83) and in cat. no. 153. In these two examples, it stays – like the other designs in these carpets – alone in the field, detached from

128 See also fig. 1 in the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

37: The Turkmen "connecting" *gül* of the 17th/18th centuries

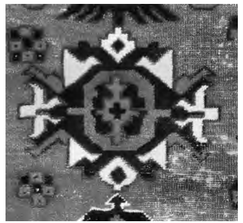

Fig. 82: Detail from cat. no. 114. The "connecting" *gül* of the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet.

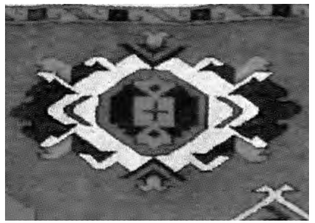

Fig. 83: Detail from the multiple *gül* carpet of the ex-Wher collection (cf. fig. 2 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*"). What is dark-blue in the design of the Hecksher carpet is white in this design. The octagon in the centre of this design is very similar to the Hecksher carpet. Private collection.

Fig. 84: Detail from the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet, cat. no. 167. Caused by the fragmentation of the carpet, the middle part of the design is missing. But the motif is still in its original context: it connects two large palmettes.

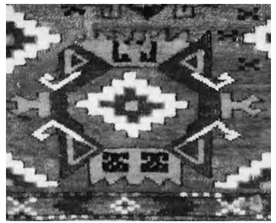

Fig. 85: Detail from the Pfadschbacher multiple gül carpet (fig. 42). Like the rest of the carpet design, the "connecting" gül is a simplified version of the "connecting" gül in the Hecksher carpet. Here it stands between two "cloudband" gül.

its original context as a connecting design element.[129] Apart from being elongated and having its light/dark contrast inverted, the parallels between the design of the Wher carpet and the Hecksher carpet are highly visible. Last but not least, there is a third Turkmen carpet with this design, again in a simplified version: the carpet formerly in the Austrian Pfadschbacher colletion (fig. 84). There as well, the design is seen twice at the beginning of the carpet, and there again it stays between two other designs, quasi-connecting them. Even if the "connecting" *gül* in the Pfadschbacher carpet already shows a strong stylisation, as do all the other designs in this carpet, the common root of the "connecting" *gül* of the Hecksher, Ballard, Wher, and Pfadschbacher carpets is beyond doubt. Finally, it is worth reiterating that all these carpets belong to the larger group of Turkmen multiple *gül* carpets copying Safavid designs, and their commencement can not be assumed earlier than the end of the 16th century. The Turkmen multiple *gül* carpet obviously is a corrupted derivative form from the realm of Safavid workshop carpet ornaments, which not only found an echo among the Turkmen, but in the Caucasus as well.

129 For an image of the whole Wher carpet, see fig. 2 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

The "P-Chowdur" Group

Yomut, Göklen, Yemreli, Oqlï, Sayinkhani, or other group
Balkhan mountains, Gorgan/Atrek plain (Astarabad), Sumbar valley
(See map in the chapter "The "Eagle" *gül* groups)
Cat. nos. 117–121; 161

Introduction

Together with the weavings of the "Eagle" *gül* groups, the Yomut, and the Qaradashlï, until the late 1970's "P-Chowdur" group weavings were generally labelled "Yomut" or "Yomut family".[1] All the tribal groups whose weavings make up the large "Yomut family" are geographically located in Southwest Turkmenistan.

The problem of the use of the term "Yomut" or "Yomut family" as an attribution for Turkmen weavings has been discussed in the introduction to the Qaradashlï chapter. The objects discussed here highlight some of these challenges of attribution. Most of them have previously been attributed to the Yomut.

Radiocarbon dating undertaken for this study has demonstrated that "Yomut family" pieces have been produced over a period of at least 400–500 years. Combining that data with Turkmen history helps group extant pieces with considerably more certainty than was the case 30 years ago.

As with the weavings of the "Eagle" *gül* groups discussed in the previous chapter, the group under consideration here cannot be attributed to one of the known tribal groups without qualification. While they rather resemble the Chowdur in design, they are closer to the Yomut in colours and structure. Among themselves, "P-Chowdur" weavings show similarities which suggest grouping them together. The geographic provenance of southwest Turkmenistan favoured here is largely based on parallels to other pieces originating from this region.

The label "P-Chowdur" inaccurately connotes a closer relationship to the Chowdur living in the north of Turkmenistan than to the Yomut in the Southwest. Furthermore, there are two interpretations of what the "P" in "P-Chowdur" could stand for. Jon Thompson suggested "proto-Chowdur"[2] whereas more recently the term has come to be understood as "pseudo-Chowdur".[3]

1 Both names "Eagle" *gül* group and "P-Chowdur" group are just provisional names for groups of weavings which can be defined by technical features.

2 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 119.
3 Andrews et al. 1993: 21.

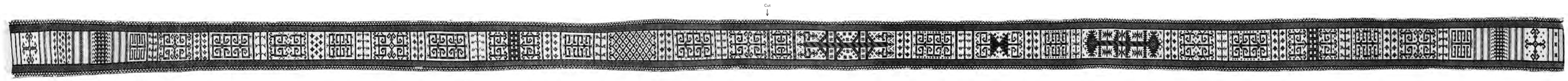

Fig. 1: Cat. no. 117, tent band fragment, all-pile, "P-Chowdur" group, 29–36 × 1010 cm, first half of the 17th century.
The band consists of two fragments sewn together (see arrow).

However, proposing an origin from southwestern Turkmenistan suggests attributing these pieces to a group other than the Chowdur. Like the "Ersarï problem", attributing Ersarï weavings to the region of the Middle Amu Darya (MAD) rather than to a specific ethnic or tribal group, our approach to "P-Chowdur" weaving is largely based on attribution problems heretofore addressed.

Most of the weavings which can definitively be attributed to the Chowdur and to northern Turkmenistan date from the second half of the 19th century, to which they can be dated based on their colour palette. Often, a relatively high percentage of cochineal on wool goes hand in hand with the use of a pale grey-green dyed with the semi-synthetic dyestuff indigo sulfonic acid.[4] Green[5] dyed with indigo sulfonic acid runs when washed and changes to an unattractive grey-green with a brownish tinge.

4 I thank Kurt Munkacsi from New York for the information on his hitherto unpublished dye tests on Chowdur weavings conducted by Harald Böhmer in Istanbul. These tests showed the use of indigo sulfonic acid, a semi-synthetic dyestuff that only came in use among the Chowdur in the second half of the 19th century. Among other Turkmen, this dyestuff has not been indicated in any dye tests so far.

5 Green is always a combination of blue, here indigo sulfonic acid, with a yellow dyestuff.

Dating from the early 19th, or even the 18th, century, many "P-Chowdur" weavings show considerable age,[6] which might explain the interpretation as proto-Chowdur. On the other hand "P-Chowdur" pieces seem to demonstrate more affinity to weavings of southwest Turkmenistan than to the north, where the Chowdur lived with the Ighdïr, the Bozachi, the Arabachi, and the Abdal, in a tribal confederation known as "Esen-Eli".[7]

But what are the similarities between "P-Chowdur" pieces and weavings from the Yomut, the Qaradashlï (cat. no. 88), and the Kizil Ayak (cat. no. 36) from Southwest Turkmenistan? Parallels to weavings from the Southwest are particularly the colour palette and the regular knotting structure with an asymmetrical open right knot. The colour palette is slightly lighter and more colourful (with more yellow than usually seen in other Turkmen), and the degree of warp depression is greater than seen in Chowdur examples.

6 Cat. nos. 118, 120, 121, 122.

7 See Bregel 2003: Map 36 A.

Should these weavings in fact originate from the Southwest and from a tribal group other than the Chowdur, the interpretation of the name as "pseudo Chowdur" is more accurate than "proto-Chowdur".

"P-Chowdur" group weavings show the following common features:

- Frequent use of slightly depressed warps.
- Usually ivory warps (rather than brown warps in Chowdur weavings).
- Usually no cotton wefts.
- Asymmetrical open right knotting as a rule.
- Usually a higher knot density than Chowdur pieces.
- High quality wool.
- No silk in the pile (with the exception of tent bands).
- Often a light and warm colour palette with a relatively high proportion of yellow, bright reds, and an intense turquoise.
- No insect dyestuffs on wool (with the exception of tent bands).
- *Khali* often have a white ground border with *syrga* design or a meander.
- *Chuval*, as a rule, have a patterned *alem*.

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"P-Chowdur" *aq yüp*, all-pile

On tent bands in all-pile technique, see the discussion of cat. nos. 98 and 99 in the chapter "The Yomut".

This *aq yüp*, assembled from two fragments, might originally have had a length between 1300 and 1400 cm. The fragments measure 490 and 520 cm in length (fig. 1). A middle section of some 200 to 250 cm is missing. Only the patterned part was woven in pile technique. Beginning and end are flat weave, of which only a few centimetres remain; visible at the beginning, and folded under at the end. Originally these flat weave sections had a length of approximately 60 cm (or more) and were patterned in extra weft technique. As all other published all-pile tent bands show complete flat weave sections at beginning and end,[8] it is safe to assume this one did, too.

Design: The band apparently did not have a centralized design. Almost the first half of it is decorated with filigree patterns, while the somewhat more compact and powerful designs only appear in the sec-

8 See comparison pieces to cat. nos. 98 and 117.

ond half. Design compositions without a defined centre are seen in other all-pile tent bands, e.g. the piece from the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C.[9]

The similarity of some design details to the tent bands of the "Eagle" *gül* groups is also remarkable.[10] This is a further clue to a south-western origin for this band.

Structure: In the pile part, the structure of this band corresponds to the structure of a carpet or other knotted objects; the warps are straight, the wefts are wavy, and two wefts are inserted between rows of knots. The knotting is asymmetrical open right.

Surprisingly, the flatwoven parts at beginning and end are executed in tabby weave (not in weft-faced weave as in cat. no. 99, or in warp-faced weave as in all mixed technique tent bands). Such an anomaly could suggest a non-traditional manufacture environment, perhaps a workshop.

Colours: The band shows the typical "P-Chowdur" colour palette with a relatively high percentage of yellow, bright reds, and a deep turquoise. With 14 colours, it is considerably richer than the other weavings of the group, for which 6 to 8 colours is the rule.[11] The use of relatively small amounts of Mexican cochineal on wool is typical for the early period in which, according to radiocarbon dating, the band was woven.[12] The dyestuff was unsystematically used in small amounts, but, somewhat surprisingly, in nearly all design segments of the band.

Dating: With its pre-1650 radiocarbon dating, this band belongs to a small group of 16th or 17th century Turkmen weavings. The presence of Mexican cochineal dyed on tin mordant, however, limits the range obtained by nearly two thirds: Mexican cochineal was not available in Central Asia before 1550 and tin as a mordant was only discovered in London in 1610. Cat. no. 117 might therefore have been woven in the first half of the 17th century.

9 See Mackie/Thompson 1980: 52, fig 1, and Isaacson 2007: No. 2.

10 Similar design references exist in tent bands of the Sarïq and the Teke, who, in the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, also resided in the southwest of Turkmenistan. Should these designs be assigned to a region rather than to an ethnic group?

11 This is not really unusual. Other *aq yüp* often have a considerably richer palette than *khali* and other weavings made by the same tribal group.

12 Some other pieces with early datings also contain the same exotic insect dyestuff. For more information, see the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

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"P-Chowdur" *kapunuk*

This *kapunuk* is unique. In his 1978 Turkmen publication, Werner Loges attributed it to the Chowdur,[13] while in the 1993 Hamburg ICOC exhibition it was given a "P-Chowdur" attribution.[14]

Design: In place of the meander with curled leaves often seen in *kapunuk*,[15] this piece shows other pre-Islamic patterns: the *kejebe* design in the horizontal panel and the *kochanak* and the *khamtos*[16] in the vertical panels. This is exceptional for a *kapunuk*. The *kejebe* design (figs. 2 – 4) in the upper panel could have been inspired by the niche friezes at the upper end of the *ensi*.[17] The mosaic-like pattern at the lower ends of the vertical panels is reminiscent of the *khamtos* design of the Salor, who used it in the *alem* of their *torba* and hangings (cat. nos. 5, 7, 9, 10, 130). Comparable mosaic designs are to be found in architectural décor in the Sasanian palace complex of Shapur I in Bishapur, Iran (241 – 272 A.D., fig. 5) and as a "*kapunuk*-like" decoration on the portals of the Great Mosque of Córdoba, Spain (961 – 966 AD, figs. 6 and 7). The parallels between the type of decoration of the portals of the Great Mosque in Córdoba and the shape of the

13 Loges 1978: No. 69.

14 Andrews et al. 1993: No. 82.

15 See the Salor *kapunuk* cat. no. 4 and the Teke *kapunuk* cat. no. 52.

16 On the *kejebe* and the *khamtos*, see the section "Introduction to the Hangings of the Salor" in the chapter "The Salor".

17 See the Sarïq *ensi* cat. nos. 37 and 140, and fig. 10 in the chapter "The Sarïq".

Fig. 2: Ossuary in the form of a temple, 7th or 8th century. Molla-Kurgan (Uzbekistan). Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: 2, fig. 1.

Fig. 3: Detail from fig. 2 showing a pearled niche with a fire altar and the holy fire on it.

Fig. 4: Detail from a Salor hanging, 17th or 18th century. Pearled niche with a fire altar and the holy fire (?) on it.

Fig. 5: Sasanian mosaic from the palace complex of Sahpur I (241 – 272 A.D.). Bishapur, Southern Iran. (For the dancer in the niche, see also figs. 37 – 40 in the chapter "Flowering gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*". Repr. from Seipel 2003: 266, fig. 5.

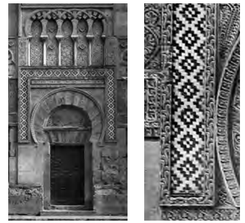


Fig. 6 and 7: Portal of the Great Mosque in Córdoba, Andalusia (961 – 966). The portal shows a *kapunuk*-like border with mosaic rhombus design, above the portal a frieze with blind niches. Repr. from Sourdel-Thomine/Spuhler 1973: Fig. 91.

kapunuk are amazing and illustrate the use of similar design components for portals throughout the Islamic world from Central Asia to Spain.[18]

Colours: The colour palette with its relatively high proportion of yellow is one of the indicators for an attribution to the "P-Chowdur" group.

Dating: The rather dark colour palette and the slightly lower wool quality suggest a 19th century date of production. As a rule, older pieces, e.g. the *mafrash* cat. no. 119 and the *khali* cat. no. 212, show a lighter colour palette with brighter shades.

18 A comparable combination of architectural decor elements for portals is seen in the mausoleum of the Samanid Ismael in Bokhara from the year 906.

119 & 120

"P-Chowdur" mafrash

The *mafrash* cat. no. 119 is one of the earliest examples of a small group with this unusual design. Most other known pieces with this design can also be attributed to the "P-Chowdur" group. Compared to the later example with a very similar design (cat. no. 120), cat. no. 119 impressively illustrates the difference between pieces from different periods. The earlier piece has better colours, and slightly better proportions of the design, which, otherwise, is nearly identical in the two pieces. The knot density is about the same in both pieces, though the ratio of horizontal to vertical knots differs. The newer piece shows a higher vertical knot density, which results in a slightly more condensed design (cf. figs. 8 and 9).

Fig. 8: Detail from the back of cat. no. 119, "P-Chowdur" *mafrash*, 2nd half of the 17th or 18th century. Except for some minor differences, the design of the two *mafrash* cat. no. 119 and 120 (fig. 9) is nearly identical.

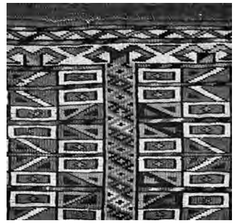
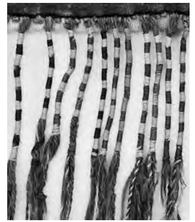


Fig. 9: Detail from the back of cat. no. 120, "P-Chowdur" *mafrash*, end of the 19th century. The later piece has been more densely packed during the knotting process.



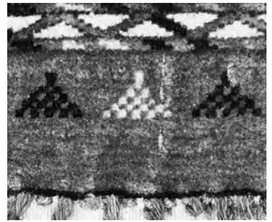


Fig. 10 and 11: Details from cat. no. 120, "P-Chowdur" *mafrash*. Both the monochrome blue fringes with their coloured wrappings and the "chequered" triangles are also seen in (borrowed from?) "Eagle" *gül* group weavings. Such mixing of tribe-typical features is seen in the late 19th century.

For cat. no. 120, an Ighdïr attribution has been suggested.[19] By current standards, such an attribution can be excluded with all likelihood. The piece originates from the Southwest, and not from the North, the homeland of the Esen-Eli group (the Chowdur, Ighdïr, Bozachi, Arabachi, and Abdal) in the 19th and early 20th century, as we will see in a moment.

The monochrome blue fringes wrapped in various colours strongly suggest a southwestern origin (fig. 10, colour plate cat. no. 120). Such wrapped fringes are standard for "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba*.[20] The *torba* in the Museum "Fünf Kontinente" in Munich[21] is the best-preserved example of this kind. Otherwise, such wrapped fringes are only known from some *kapunuk* and *khalik*.[22]

The fringes are not the only parallel to "Eagle" *gül* group II weavings. Another is the "chequered" triangles at the lower edge of the *mafrash* (fig. 11, colour plate cat. no. 120), which are seen in "Eagle" *gül* group II pieces as scattered ornaments in the field.[23] Furthermore, such "chequered" triangles also appear on an *ensi* of uncertain, but possibly "Eagle" *gül* group II, origin.[24]

Despite those similarities to "Eagle" *gül* group II pieces, based on colour palette and design this *mafrash* belongs to the "P-Chowdur" group of weavings, and to the Southwest rather than the North with the Ighdïr.

Some of the confusion probably results from the same phenomenon discussed in connection with the "Eagle" *gül* group *torba* cat. no. 114. The amalgamation of different tribal groups under the leadership of the Yomut and the Teke in the 19th century likely led also to an amalgamation of stylistic elements.

19 Rippon Boswell 44, 1996: Lot 142. In the auction catalogue reference is made to an Ighdïr attribution, presumably based on George O'Bannon's Ighdïr attribution of a small bag with the same design (O'Bannon 1990:90).

20 See Vol. 2, comparison pieces to cat. no. 114: "Eagle" *gül* group II *torba* with wrapped blue fringes.

21 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Fig. 25; Andrews et al. 1993: No. 41.

22 Various *khalik* and hangings show the same type of monochrome blue fringes wrapped in various colours as in cat. no. 120 (published in black-and-white by Pinner/Franses 1980: Fig. 417).

23 See the *torba* from the Rickmers collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (published in Pinner 1993: No. 50).

24 Eiland 2003: 193.

With the earlier *mafrash* cat. no. 119 we don't have this problem. Particularly in its bright colours, the piece closely resembles the *khali* cat. no. 121, representing a "classic" early example of the "P-Chowdur" group.

Colours: The palette, with its light colouring and a (for Turkmen) high proportion of yellow, can be observed in both pieces. The difference lies in the quality of the hues; bright and saturated in the older piece, and comparably dull and less harmonious in the newer piece. These colour differences are primarily because of the synthetic dyestuffs in the newer piece, though the wool quality, which is much better on the earlier piece, also plays a considerable role.

Dating: On the basis of the synthetic dyestuffs used in the newer piece, it clearly dates post-1880, while the earlier piece with its excellent colours presumably dates from the early 18th, possibly even from the late 17th century.

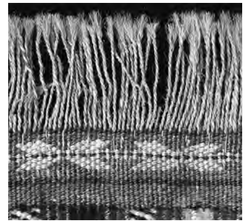


Fig. 12: Brocaded decor in the *alem* of the "P-Chowdur" *khali* cat. no. 121. Such brocading is extremely unusual in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*.

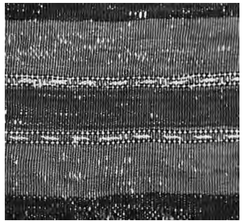


Fig. 13: Detail from cat. no. 158: In "Eagle" *gül* group I and III *khali*, brocaded *alem* patterns are standard. This is with all likelihood indicative of workshop production.

121

"P-Chowdur" *khali* with *tauk nuska* field design

This exceptional carpet is one of the key pieces of the "P-Chowdur" group.

Design: Despite the somewhat crowded and repetitive composition, the carpet shows a harmonious overall design.

The field shows the *tauk nuska* primary design, combined with a small *chuval gül* secondary pattern and a double hook tertiary motif. The systematic use of tertiary motifs is unusual in Turkmen carpets.

The powerful open drawing of the side borders contrasts effectively with the crowded field. They show a precisely drawn version of the meander with curled leaves. Influences from the sphere of the meander with lotus flowers are suggested by the drawing of the top and bottom borders.[25]

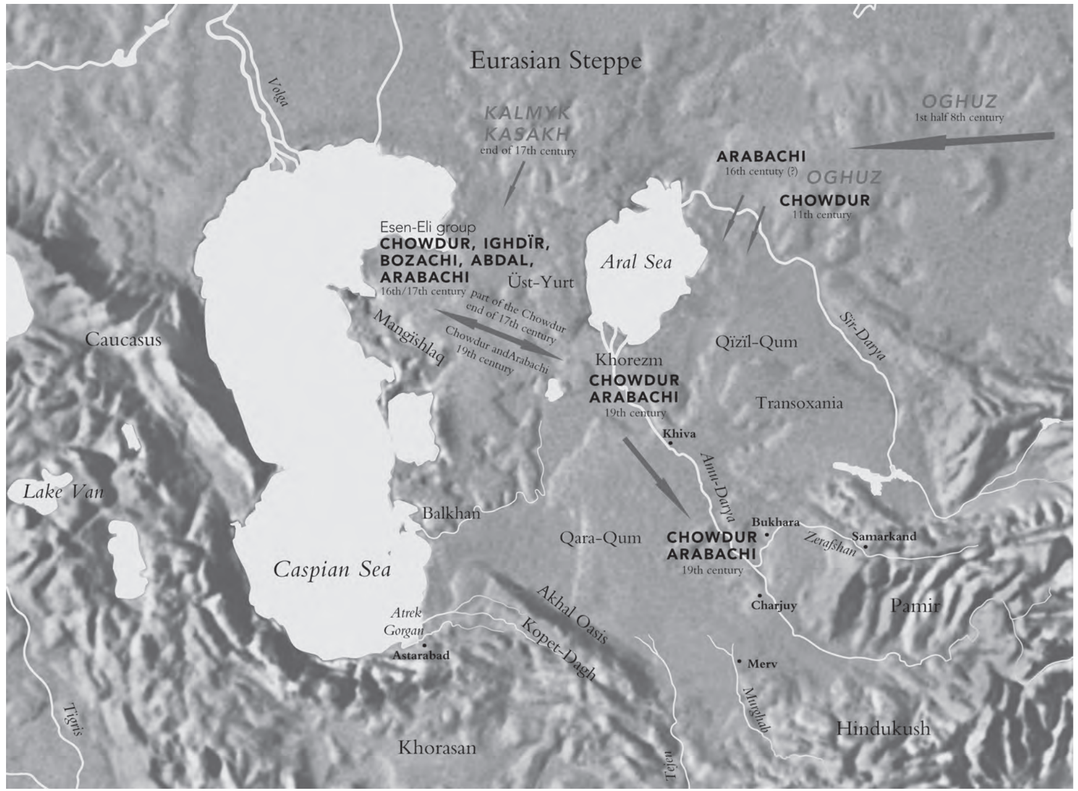
The brocaded decoration in the *alem* (fig. 12) is very unusual for Turkmen *khali*. *Alem* with brocaded decoration are standard (fig. 13) only in "Eagle" *gül* group I and III *khali*. Otherwise, flat woven *alem* of Turkmen carpets as a rule have only narrow, triple stripes (cf. cat. no. 89). The brocaded design here is a further indication of a Southwestern origin. Possibly the carpet was even a workshop product.

Colours: The colour palette of this *khali* is typical for weavings of the "P-Chowdur" group. Particularly splendid are the bright red in combination with a bright blue and a saturated turquoise on a light purple ground.

The colourful tripartite composition of the minor border speaks for the great age of the piece, resembling the expressive and colourful minor borders of the early Qaradashlï *khali* fragment cat. no. 84. This fits neither with the Chowdur nor the Yomut.

Dating: According to radiocarbon testing, the carpet dates from the 17th or 18th century, while the 17th century has a higher statistical probability.

25 See figs. 35–40 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups", and figs. 93–98 in the chapter "The Yomut".



Map: The migrations of the Chowdur
and the Arabachi in the 16th–19th centuries
After Bregel 2003: Map 36, and Wood 1990: 33–35.

The Chowdur

Esen-Eli group (Chowdur, Ighdïr, Bozachi, Arabachi, Abdal)
Mangïshlaq, Üst-Yurt and Amu-Darya Region (Khoresm, Khiva-Oasis, Charjuy)
Cat. nos. 122 and 123; 161

Introduction

Very few Chowdur weavings pre-date 1800; most of them are apparently from the second half of the 19th century. Since the original purpose of this study was to explore radiocarbon dating results, and nothing is to be achieved by testing pieces that are clearly 19th century, only three early examples are included here.

Mahmud al-Kashgari first mentions the Chowdur in the 11th century as one of the 24 Oghuz tribes. Where they resided at that time is not clear; possibly they lived in the neighbourhood of other Oghuz groups in the estuaries of the Sïr-Darya and the Amu-Darya.[1] From there they might have been pushed westwards by Genghis Khan and the Mongols in the 13th century, migrating to the Mangïshlaq and Üst-Yurt area between the Aral and Caspian Seas.[2]

1 See Bregel 2003: Maps 13 and 14.
2 Bregel 2003: 72.

Due to the increasingly dry climate and pressure from other nomadic groups like the Kalmyk and the Kazakh, the Chowdur returned from Mangïshlaq and Üst-Yurt to the Amu-Darya at irregular intervals. In the 17th and 18th century, some of them even migrated to the Volga region north of the Caspian Sea.[3] In the 19th century, the Chowdur who stayed in Turkmenistan were farmers in the Khiva Oasis.

Chowdur weavings

There is little known about early Chowdur weavings. The majority of the pieces known today date from the 19th century, the period when the Chowdur were settled agriculturalists growing cotton and other crops.[4]

Piled weavings of the Chowdur show the following common features:

– Asymmetrical open right knotting.
– Warps mainly of brown wool or brown camel hair.
– Wefts often of cotton, combined with brown wool and/or brown camel hair.

3 Moshkowa 1970 (1996): Wood 1990: 33 and 34; Munkacsi 1994.
4 Tsareva 2011: 92.

Fig. 1: Palmette tree with birds, Sasanian stucco plate. Repr. from Kröger 1982: 99, fig. 55.

Fig. 2: Palmette tree with two ducks on a split palmette, Sogdian silk, 8th or 9th century. Private collection, New York.

Fig. 3: Stylized flower tree with two ducks on a split palmette, Byzantine silk, 9th or 10th century, Aachen, Germany. Repr. from Lessing 1913.

Fig. 4: Detail from cat. no. 123, Chowdur hanging, 18th century. Halved *ertmen gül* with an animal tree design after a Sogdian model.

Fig. 5: Detail from a Chowdur *chuval*. Complete *ertmen gül* with an animal tree design. Repr. from Volkmann 1985: No. 98.

– Mostly an irregular weave, with inconsistent use of different material such as wool, camel hair, and cotton.[5]

122

Chowdur hanging with *ertmen gül*

This hanging is one of a group of eight known pieces with this large format. With its balanced and well-drawn design and outstanding colour quality this is one of the best, and presumably also one of the oldest, of its kind.

Design: The *ertmen gül* (figs. 4 and 5) is a typical Chowdur design. Moshkova translates *ertmen* (ortmen) literally as "covering", a type of cloth worn over the shoulders.[6] The significance of that translation is not clear; it could be a reference to the design of such a textile. The *ertmen gül* has only rarely been used by other tribes of the Esen-Eli group, e.g. the Arabachi hanging cat. no. 162.[7]

5 For additional information on Chowdur weavings see Mackie/Thompson 1980: 119.
6 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 334.
7 See Vol. 1, appendix I.

Like some other Turkmen carpet designs, the *ertmen gül* can be traced back to Sasanian and/or Sogdian medallion patterns, in this case with two birds and a stylized tree on a split palmette. (figs. 1–3).[8]

In its geometrical modification, the Turkmen design is comparable to the design of the so-called Marby rug in Sweden; as early as the 1960s, the Swedish textile expert Agnes Geijer saw the design of the Marby rug as a reproduction of a Sasanian silk design.[9]

In all of the Chowdur hangings similar to cat. no. 122, the animal tree design appears only in a halved *ertmen gül*. The alternating complete medallion shows only floral elements, not animals. On *khali* and *chuval*, the complete version with animal trees appears, mirrored horizontally downwards (fig. 5).[10] In later examples, the birds are stylized almost beyond recognition.[11]

Colours: For Chowdur work, this example shows an unusual colourfulness, featuring a beautiful green.

8 On the origin and development of the animal tree design see figs. 57 – 66 in the chapter "The Salor".
9 Geijer 1963.
10 A good example is published in Volkmann 1985: No. 98.
11 Hali 105, 1999: 111.

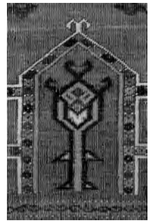


Fig. 6: Detail from a Salor hanging, 17th or 18th century. Private collection

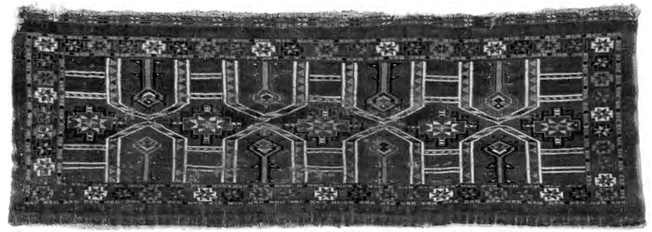


Fig. 7 and 8: Cat. no. 161, Chowdur hanging, 18th century. The *kejebe* design of this hanging differs slightly from the Salor model. The secondary motifs no longer are the ancient designs composed of two interlaced squares, seen in Salor hangings, but a Memling *gül*, and the surroundings of the niches show triangles instead of the pearl bands of the Salor. Such design developments could have happened very early in peripheral areas like Mangïshlaq and Üst-Yurt, and did not necessarily result from a late date of production.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, the hanging was woven in the second half of the 17th, the 18th or early 19th century. Chowdur weavings from this early period are extremely rare.

161

Chowdur hanging with *kejebe* design (fig. 8)

Because of its rarity and its great age, this hanging is difficult to classify. It is not entirely certain whether it really is an early Chowdur piece from northern Turkmenistan, or should be attributed to the "P-Chowdur" group and the Southwest.

Design: Compared with the Salor models, the *kejebe* design has been modified. While the "fire altars" (fig. 7) are still clearly in accordance with the Salor models, the design of the niche frame has been simplified. In place of the Salor pearl bands (fig. 6), borrowed from Sasanian and/or Sogdian art, we find triangles in the Chowdur version. Furthermore, the ancient design composed of two interlaced squares seen on the horizontal axis of Salor hangings with *kejebe* design has been replaced by a Memling *gül* in cat. no. 161. The Memling *gül* is not seen in Central Asia before the 10th century. It may have developed there only under the leadership and influence of Turkic speaking people.

The border pattern with stars is another standard design, which complements the simplified version of the *kejebe* design and the Memling *gül* on the horizontal axis very satisfactorily.

All these simplifications speak more for a Chowdur than a "P-Chowdur" attribution.

Colours: The saturated palette is darker than usually seen in "P-Chowdur" pieces. Furthermore, in place of the yellow in "P-Chowdur" pieces, we find an apricot. Like the slightly simplified design, the colours seem more consistent with a Chowdur product from the North than a "P-Chowdur" weaving from the Southwest.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating this hanging was woven either around 1700 or in the 19th century. Considering its high colour quality and its well balanced design, a dating to the second half of the 19th century can be excluded. The lack of comparable pieces makes it difficult to know whether the piece was woven around 1700 or perhaps in the early 19th century.

123

Chowdur *khali* with *tauk nuska* field design

In regard to tribal attribution, the *khali* cat. no. 123 raises the same questions as the hanging cat. no. 161. The simplification of the border design (figs. 9 – 12), the colour palette, the brown ground weave of wool and camel hair and the composition with 5 × 12 *tauk nuska* motifs[12] seem more consistent with an early Chowdur piece from the North than a "P-Chowdur" weaving from the Southwest.

Design: Beside the *ertmen gül*, the *tauk nuska* is the most frequent primary motif in Chowdur *khali*.[13] The secondary motif in cat. no. 123 is related to the *saǧdaq gül* of the Salor; it is seen most frequently on weavings of the Qaradashlï from the Southwest. The *saǧdaq gül* is an ancient design, known on Central Asian ceramics since the early Bronze age.[14] With almost square compartments, the design is exceptionally well drawn in this *khali*.

In the border, we find a simplified form of the "classic" meander with curled leaves typical for weavings of the Esen-Eli group, to which the Chowdur belong (fig. 12). The Arabachi also used a version of this border (fig. 11), although there the origin from the curled leaf is even clearer (figs. 9 – 12).

Structure: While the soft and floppy handle clearly speaks in favour of a Chowdur attribution, the knot density is relatively high for a Chowdur *khali*.

Colours: The *khali* (cat. no. 123) and the hanging (cat. no. 161) show a very similar colour palette including a saturated purple and a beautiful green.

Dating: A dating to the 18th or early 19th century, as also suggested by radiocarbon dating, might be justified by the high quality of the colours.

12 Later pieces can have up to 18 *tauk nuska* motifs in each column. The rarer 5 × 12 layout of this piece could be consistent with greater age.
13 On the *ertmen gül*, see cat. no. 122, on the *tauk nuska* design, see figs. 41 – 45 in the chapter "The Qaradashli", cat. no. 89, section "The *tauk nuska* field design".
14 See figs. 150 – 153 in the chapter "The Salor".

Fig. 9: Border with a meander and curled leaves from the Teke *asmalyk* cat. no. 143, 17th or 18th century.

Fig. 10: Border with a meander and curled leaves from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 93, 17th or 18th century.

Fig. 11: Border with a meander and "curled leaves" from the Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127, 17th century.

Fig. 12: Border with a meander and "curled leaves" from the Chowdur *khali* cat. no. 123, 17th or 18th century.

Figs. 9 – 12: The four details show changes of the border design with a meander with curled leaves, which are based on regional differences. Compared to the Teke example in fig. 9, the Arabachi and the Chowdur variations (figs. 11 and 12) show more pronounced simplification than that of the Qaradashlï (fig. 10).

The Arabachi

Esen Eli group (Chowdur, Ighdïr, Bozachi, Arabachi, Abdal)
Mangïshlaq, Üst-Yurt, and Amu Darya Region (Khoresm, Khiva-Oasis, Charjuy)
Cat. no. 124 – 128; 162 and 163

Introduction[1]

The little historical information about the Arabachi and their origin is based mostly on legends. They are not mentioned by Mahmud al-Kashgari or by Rashid al-Din, and thus do not belong to the original 24 Oghuz tribes.

According to William Wood, since the 16th century the Arabachi have been closely linked to the Chowdur and the Ighdïr, both of which have Oghuz roots.[2] When he mentions the Arabachi as members of the Esen-Eli group since the 16th century, Yuri Bregel presumably refers to the same Russian sources as William Wood. A relationship between these tribes can unquestionably be recognized in their somewhat rustic weavings. Moshkova mentions the Arabachi only in her chapter on the Ersarï.[3]

1 For an overview on the Arabachi and their weavings, see Rothberg 1998.
2 Wood 1990: 35.
3 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 276.

But who were the Arabachi? Could their name possibly be a clue to their origin? Did the other members of the Esen-Eli group call them "Arabachi" because the newcomers arrived on carts? Arabachi means "cart driver", coming from *araba*, cart. Accordingly, the Arabachi could have been the nomads who, as described by S.G. Kljaštoryj and T. I. Sultanov, emigrated on carts in the 16th century into the oases of what is today Turkmenistan.[4]

Peter Andrews confirms the use of carts among the Kazakh into the 16th century: "...for it was still characteristic of the Qazaq in 1509, when more than 10,000 dwellings on camel carts were reported captured".[5] According to Andrews, carts as transport vehicles are first documented in the Ukrainian steppes in the late 4th millennium B.C.[6]

4 S.G. Kljaštoryj and T. I. Sultanov 2004 (2006).
5 Andrews 1999: 5.
6 Andrews 1999: 7.

Arabachi weavings

Arabachi weavings show a mixture of designs and structural features from a great variety of Turkmen groups – the Chowdur, Yomut, Qaradashlï, Salor, Teke, and the Ersarï. They use the asymmetrical open left knot and combine a range of different materials in their products in a manner not seen among other Turkmen. The warp is often slightly depressed, and for the wefts they used wool, camel hair, and cotton. Here and there also dyed cotton wefts are found. The ground weave is relatively loose. For the pile, they frequently used an unusual bright red dyed with madder. Otherwise, the colour palette is rather restrained and sombre. In the course of the 19th century, the Arabachi increasingly used silk in many their weavings (cat. no. 126). However, in tent bands silk can be found earlier (cat. no. 125). The *tauk nuska* as a *khali* field design and a comb-like flower design (fig. 3), seen in field, borders, and *alem* of all types of weavings can be considered typical Arabachi designs. Both designs, the *tauk nuska* and the comb-like flower pattern, are also seen repeatedly in weavings of other Turkmen groups (for the comb-like flower pattern, see cat. no. 75, 93, and 94).

Salor influences might go back as far as the 16th century, when the Salor also lived on the Mangïshlaq peninsula.[7] Influences from the sphere of the Yomut could possibly go back to the same period, when the Yomut lived in the Balkhan mountains in the area south of Mangïshlaq. Yomut influence, however, is noticeable right up to the 19th century. Thus, the wedding caravan (fig. 1) in the *alem* of Arabachi *ensi* might be a 19th century development. Instead of the deer frieze of the Salor *ensi* we see a wedding caravan in the *ensi of the* Arabachi. Representations of wedding caravans are typically seen in 19th century Yomut *asmalyk*[8] and tent bands (see Vol. 1, appendix I, cat. no. 153). They are unknown in pre-19th century examples. However, animal representations can already be found in 16th and 17th century carpets, but there they are always small and heavily stylized. Examples are the 16th or 17th century Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 89 (fig. 47 in the chapter "The Qaradashlï") and the 17th century Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127 (fig. 11 in the chapter "The Chowdur").

7 Bregel 2003: 72.

8 For a Yomut *aq yüp* with a wedding caravan, see appendix I, cat. no. 154; for a Yomut *asmalyk* see Tsareva 2011: No. 79.

124

Arabachi *ensi*

Werner Grote-Hasenbalg first published this *ensi* in 1922. Presumably because of its rarity and its exceptional quality, since then not only did Ulrich Schürmann publish this unusual piece (in his 1969 "Central Asian Rugs"), but others have done the same. Perhaps based on its uniqueness, almost all of them dated the piece to the 18th century. Comparable examples appeared only in the 1970s, all of lower quality in the drawing of the design. The unusual field design diverging from the characteristic *ensi* model[9] shows offset rows of the comb-like flower motifs typical for the Arabachi (fig. 3) arranged in an X-shaped design by colours. This principle of composition is seen in only four other published pieces, all of them, however, of lower aesthetic quality. A fifth so far unpublished Arabachi *ensi* with this field design is in the collection of the de Young Museum in San Francisco. This is the only example comparable in quality to the *ensi* discussed here (cat. no. 124). The rarity of the X-shaped field design and the aesthetic superiority over the comparison pieces probably has led most authors to date the piece too early, namely to the 18th century. Interestingly, the curators of the 2008 exhibition "For Tent and Trade: Masterpieces of Turkmen Weaving", at the de Young Museum in San Francisco, dated the just mentioned unpublished Arabachi *ensi* of the same quality as cat. no. 124 to the 19th century, and rightly so, as we will see in the following.[10] That cat. no. 124 is probably not older than that is consistent

9 See the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

10 As mentioned in the text, the piece is not published, but I was able to see it on the occasion of the 2008 exhibition at the de Young Museum in San Francisco to assess its quality. A report on the exhibition is published in Hali 155, 2008: 119 – 120.

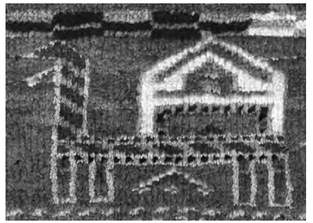


Fig. 1: Camel with a bridal litter *kejebe*. Instead of the deer in the *alem* of the Salor *ensi* (fig. 2), a camel caravan decorates the *alem* of the Arabachi *ensi*. Detail from cat. no. 124, Arabachi *ensi*, 19th century.

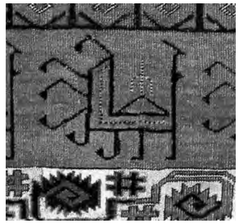


Fig. 2: Deer-like mythological mixed creature with lowered antlers. *Alem* of the A-type Salor *ensi* cat. no. 1, 17th or 18th century.

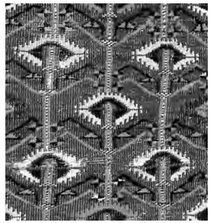


Fig. 3: Together with the *tauk nuska* (fig. 12), the comb-like flower design can be considered a typical Arabachi design. Comparable patterns are also seen among other Turkmen (fig. 4). Detail from the Arabachi *ensi* cat. no. 124, 19th century.

Fig. 4: Comb-like flower design in the *alem* of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 93, 18th century.

with the results of dye testing, particularly the new insights into the use of Mexican cochineal over the centuries.[11]

Design: Seen from a design historical perspective, cat. no. 124 shows a late development of the *ensi* design, typical of the flexibility with which the Arabachi handled ancient traditions. The two characteristic ancient *ensi* motifs, the *sainak* and the *gush*, have been abandoned, as well as the ancient field composition with its division in three parts (cf. the Teke *ensi* cat. no. 50). What remains of the ancient *ensi* design components are the border with a meander and curled leaves and the small niche on top of the field. The orientation of the design with the small niche on top and the bottom *alem* is also in keeping with the ancient tradition. Adapted to the 19th century fashion, however, are the animal representations in the *alem*. The ancient animal tree design in Teke *ensi*, or the deer frieze in the *ensi* of the Salor, has become a frieze of camels each equipped with a bridal litter *kejebe* (fig. 1). The whole might represent a wedding caravan as occasionally seen in 19th century Yomut *aq yüp* (cat. no. 153) and *asmalyk*. The almost squarish format also differs from the usual rectangular *ensi* format. Finally, the unusual field design, differing considerably from the traditional Turkmen *ensi* design, is standard for the Arabachi. The comb-like flower form (fig. 3) is one of two typical Arabachi designs, though it probably is not a creation of the Arabachi, but adopted and slightly adapted from other Turkmen, namely the Yomut and the Qaradashlï (cf. cat. nos. 75, 93, and 94).

Thus the composite design of this *ensi* can be considered typically Arabachi. Not only does it show a combination of ancient and "modern" designs, but the individual designs are borrowed from other Turkmen groups such as the Salor, the Teke, the Ersarï, the Yomut, and the Qaradashlï.

Structure: The structural features of this *ensi* are consistent with the features of the design. Both the weave itself and the use of materials are best described as consistently inconsistent. Different materials

11 See the discussion in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

Fig. 5: Arabachi *aq yüp* cat. no. 125. 31–36 x 1270 cm, 18th or early 19th century.

including wool, goat hair, camel hair, and cotton have been used unsystematically for the ground weave, some of the cotton wefts are dyed light blue, the pile material is not consistently 2-plied, and there are more colours than seen in other Turkmen weavings.

Colours: The preference for a 19th century dating over the 18th century for this *ensi* is based not only on details of the design such as the camel caravan in the *alem*, but also on the quality of the colours. The generous use of Mexican cochineal and its type of processing both suggest a 19th century date of production. In particular, the shade of cochineal clearly differs from cochineal hues seen in 17th and 18th century pieces. Cat. no. 124 shows a slightly purplish shade of cochineal dyed on exclusively 2-plied woollen yarn. Comparative dye examinations show that such cochineal hues dyed on 2-plied woollen yarn are not seen before the 19th century. Earlier weavings exclusively show scarlet shades of cochineal dyed on a finer 3-, 4-, or 6-plied woollen yarn. Examples are the Arabachi *aq yüp* cat. no. 125, the Arabachi *chuval* cat. no. 126, and the Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127. Furthermore, the earlier the pieces are, the less cochineal dyed scarlet woollen pile yarn there is. The early dated *khali* cat. no. 127 contains no more than two dozen scarlet knots of 4-plied woollen yarn dyed with Mexican cochineal; its bright scarlet has been achieved by dyeing on tin mordant.

In the *ensi* cat. no. 124, however, tin mordant for the cochineal dye was excluded by SEM analysis; furthermore, there is too much cochineal dyed wool in the piece, comparable to the amount of cochineal in other 19th century Turkmen weavings (e.g. the Ersarï *chuval* cat. no. 24). 18th century pieces show only scarlet shades of cochineal, and only in small amounts, as cochineal was still expensive.

One last peculiarity regarding colour in this *ensi* is the extremely bright red. This red is unambiguously dyed with madder, as chemically proven by HPLC analysis. Tin mordant, though assumed at first as the cause for this bright red, was also excluded by SEM analysis. This curious bright red is seen in many Arabachi weavings and can be considered a typical feature for this tribe.

Dating: The large proportion of Mexican cochineal dyed on a mordant other than tin and exclusively on 2-plied woollen yarn strongly suggests a 19th century date of production. Radiocarbon dating, however, almost totally excludes the 19th century, with the exception of the first five years. As a 20th century dating can be excluded with certainty, the strong evidence of a typical 19th century use of Mexican cochineal on wool suggests that the piece might nevertheless date from the 19th century.

Why the radiocarbon dating probability for a 19th century decreased with an increasing number of tests is not clear for now.

125

Arabachi *aq yüp*

An Arabachi attribution for this tent band is based on its structure, drawing, and colour palette. The structure is irregular and somewhat coarse, and the design, compared with tent bands of the Southwest and the South, is slightly simplified. It might therefore be a product from the "periphery", from the area of Mangishlak and Üst Yurt, the homeland of the Esen-Eli Turkmen, which include the Arabachi.

Design: In the centre, the composition of this tent band shows a design element composed of three rhombuses in a row with attached rosettes at both ends. Left and right of this centre, nearly identical design elements are arranged in mirror image. Worthy of note is the large pomegranate tree, a typical Turkmen tent band design.[12] In comparison with other Turkmen tent bands, the rendition of the known traditional designs is less refined.

Structure: With its knot density of ca. 2500 knots/dm^2, this band is considerably more coarsely woven than comparable objects of the Salor, Teke, Sarïq, or the Yomut (with up to 5800 knots/dm^2). In addition to the somewhat "rustic" design, this speaks for a product from the periphery of the territory inhabited by Turkmen tribes.

Colours: The presence of lac dye is quite unusual for a weaving from the North, though perhaps less surprising for the Arabachi. They used everything at their disposal, even for such a luxurious object as a tent band.

Dating: No radiocarbon dating has been performed. However, based on its high colour quality, the band dates from at least the early 19th century.

12 On the origin of the pomegranate tree tent band design, see figs. 30–32 in the chapter "The Teke".

126

Arabachi *chuval*

This Arabachi *chuval* is a typical 19th century example. Apart from the missing lower *alem*, the piece is complete.

Design: The field shows a small *chuval gül* primary and a simplified *chemche gül* secondary motif. The 4×5 design composition is most likely borrowed from Teke and/or Sarïq models. Like in the Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127 and 128, tertiary motifs have been added here: eight pointed stars, and in one row "hour glass" motifs, appear between the *chuval gül* and the *chemche gül*. The simplified drawing of the design should not be interpreted as a sign of degeneration, but rather as typical for weavings from the periphery (Mangïshlaq or Üst Yurt) not only from the Arabachi, but also the Chowdur.

The border shows an even greater simplification of the *kochanak* design than seen in the already stylised version in the border of the Sarïq *chuval* cat. no. 41. The type of minor border with little triangles also resembles the Sarïq. This chuval exemplifies once again how lib-

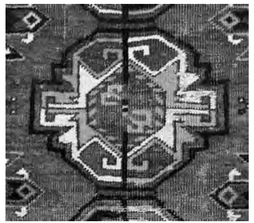


Fig. 6: The *chuval gül* of the Arabachi in *khali* cat. no. 127, 17th century. Compared with the *chuval gül* of the Yomut (fig. 7) and the Salor (fig. 8), the *chuval gül* of the Arabachi shows a simplified, "rustic" reframing.

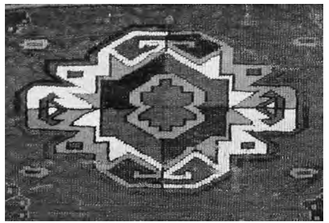


Fig. 7: *Chuval gül* from the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 101, 17th century.

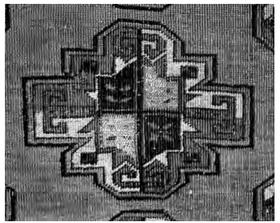


Fig. 8: *Chuval gül* from the Salor *chuval* cat. no. 15, 17th or 18th century.

erally the Arabachi simplified and innovatively arranged diverse designs of various other Turkmen groups.

Structure: The irregular structure with its asymmetric open left knot, brown and ivory mottled, slightly depressed warp, and camel hair and cotton wefts is typical Arabachi. In most of the rhombuses composed of four triangles in the centres of the *chuval gül*, the slightly bluish light red is worked in silk. Here too, there is no consistency.

Colours: An exception in material and colour is seen in the central *chuval gül* in the top row: there, woollen yarn dyed with Mexican cochineal on tin mordant was used for the bluish shade of scarlet.

Dating: No radiocarbon dating has been performed, as a pre-19th century date of production was beyond reasonable possibility. The use of tin mordant, however, is evidence that the piece was woven by 1850 at the latest. Later than that, tin mordant was no longer used.[13]

13 See section "3.6 Insect Dyestuffs on Tin Mordant" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".

127

Arabachi *khali* with *chuval gül* field design

The *chuval gül* field design makes this *khali* a rarity among the weavings of the Arabachi. Furthermore, this carpet is one of the few Turkmen weavings which, according to radiocarbon dating, pre-date 1650.[14]

The carpet lacks its outer minor borders on both sides, and there were piled *alem* at beginning and end. A remnant of the piled *alem* remains at the beginning of the carpet.

Design: The combination of the *chuval gül* and *chemche gül* in the field is the "classic" design composition for bags; on carpets, the *chuval gül* as a field design is unusual. Also remarkable is the design concept with only three rows of *chuval gül* and four rows of complete *chemche gül*, not truncated by the side borders. As a consequence of this, the *chemche gül* secondary motifs receive more "weight" in the field composition, becoming visually virtually equal to the *chuval gül* primary motif. This feature makes the overall impression fundamentally different from *chuval gül* carpets of other Turkmen groups.

14 See the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".

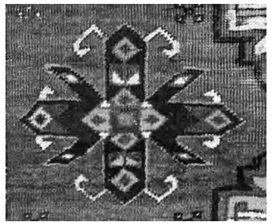


Fig. 9: The chemche gül of the Arabachi from khali cat. no. 127, 17th century.

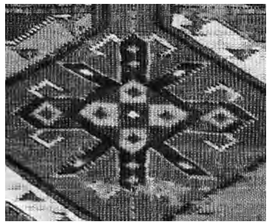


Fig. 10: The *chemche gül* of the Kizil Ayak from the *khali* fragment cat. no. 36, 17th century.

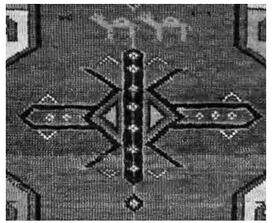


Fig. 11: The *chemche gül* of the Qaradashlï from the *khali* cat. no. 89, 16th or 17th century.

While the *chuval gül* can be traced back to Late Antiquity,[15] the *chemche gül* originates from the 8th – 10th century,[16] the time of the first mentions of the Turkmen. In contrast to the *chuval gül* of the Salor and the Yomut, the 17th century *chuval gül* of the Arabachi already shows a simplification in the contour and individual components of the design (figs. 6–8). Thus, the strap-like double hooks on the vertical axis became somewhat blockish, and the hook forms on the horizontal axis are reduced to little squares. The four small quartered squares (figs. 7 and 8), which originated from the interlacements of the Late Antique models, have also disappeared (fig. 6).[17]

Compared with other Turkmen versions, significant changes are also seen in the *chemche gül* (fig. 9), which does, however, show marked similarities to the *chemche gül* of the Kizil Ayak (fig. 10). The difference primarily consists in the more prominent centre of the Kizil Ayak version; otherwise the two designs are very similar.

The two W-forms, recognisable in the *chemche gül* of the Arabachi and the Kizil Ayak, are related to the *chemche gül* of the Qaradashlï (fig. 11). These W-forms are the common feature among these three 17th century secondary motifs.

Serving as a tertiary ornament, small *quincunx* motifs appear regularly between the *chuval gül* and the *chemche gül* (fig. 9, two below and two above the *chemche gül*). This tertiary ornamentation is typical for the Arabachi, as seen in both the *chuval* cat. no. 126 and the *khali* cat. no. 127. This phenomenon is only rarely seen in weavings of other Turkmen groups.[18] This is yet another example illustrating the "carefree and playful" Arabachi way of dealing with designs adopted from other Turkmen.

The border also shows a typical Northern simplification of another ancient design, the meander with curled leaves (see fig. 1 in the chapter "The Chowdur"). The borders at beginning and end show a row of simple *ashik* motifs instead of curled leaves. Such simplification of the border design at the bottom and top is seen in many Yomut *khali*.

However, these simplifications are not a sign of degeneration or decadence, rather a characteristic feature of products from the periph-

15 See the chapter "The Salor", figs. 168–176.
16 See the chapter "Secondary Motifs in Turkmen *torba*, *chuval,* and *khali*".
17 See the chapter "The Salor", figs. 171 and 172.

18 Perhaps comparable is the tertiary ornamentation of the early Salor *khali* cat. no. 16. This Salor *khali* with its purple ground colour might as well be a product from Mangishlak and probably is related to the tertiary ornamentation often seen in Arabachi weavings.

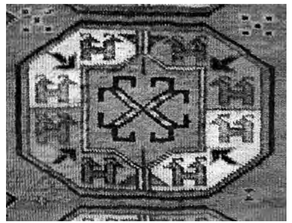


Fig. 12: *Tauk nuska* design from the *khali* published in Andrews et al. 1993, 18th century. Cat. no. 128 shows the same buds attached to the inner form of the *tauk nuska*, very similar to the *gülli gül* of the Arabachi (fig. 13). These buds are borrowed from the Teke design repertoire.

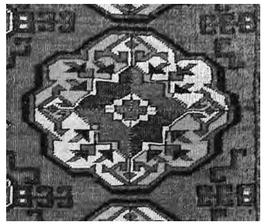


Fig. 13: Arabachi *gül* with "Teke-buds" attached to the inner form. Detail from an Arabachi *chuval*, ca. 1800. Private collection.

Fig. 14: Border design of the Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 128, 18th century. This might be an expanded version of the Salor minor border shown in fig. 15.

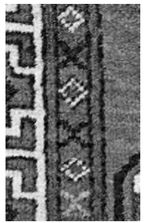


Fig. 15: Minor border design of all Salor *khali*, showing an alteration of small X-shapes and rhombuses. Private collection.

Fig. 16: Golden cup with X-shaped ("*khaikelbagi*") design, Tepe Fullol, North Afghanistan, ca. 2000 B.C. Repr. from Cat. Bonn 2010: 118.

ery (Mangïshlaq and Üst-Yurt). The same holds true for the weavings of the Chowdur, who are also members of the Esen-Eli group.

Structure: The irregular structure with asymmetric open left knot, brown and ivory mottled, slightly depressed warp, and camel hair and cotton wefts is typical Arabachi.

Colours: The bright light-red, seen only in one of the four double hooks of the *kochak* crosses in the centres of the *chuval gül*, results from the then costly insect dyestuff cochineal from Mexico used in conjunction with tin mordant. This is characteristic for early pieces; the insect dyestuff only appears in small amounts and the wool has been treated with tin mordant to enhance the colour.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, this carpet was woven between ca. 1490 and 1660. The presence of Mexican cochineal provides a first *terminus post quem* of ca. 1550. Before that, Mexican cochineal was not available on the markets of Central Asia. The evidence of tin, however, brings a further *terminus post quem* of ca. 1610. The treatment with tin to achieve a brighter shade of colour was a chance discovery in the early 17th century.[19] Thus, the Arabachi *khali* cat. no. 127 dates from the first half of the 17th century.

128

Arabachi *khali* with *tauk nuska* field design

Of the thirteen known Arabachi *khali* with *tauk nuska* field design, only the example published by Andrews et al. 1993: No. 88 is of comparable quality and age to cat. no. 128. Both pieces, nearly identical at first glance, might well date from the 18th century.

Design: Moshkova sees the *tauk nuska* design as the tribal or heraldic design of the Arabachi.[20] It certainly was a design often used by the Arabachi, but, with the exception of the Salor, the Sarïq, and the Teke, it was also used frequently by all other Turkmen.

19 See the section "3.6 Insect Dyestuffs on Tin Mordant" in the chapter "Scarlet and Purple".
20 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 276, 319, 321.

Tauk (or *tavuk*), is Persian meaning "rooster", and *nuska* is Turkmen and, according to Moshkova, means "pattern".[21] Thus, *tauk nuska* means "rooster pattern". In Iranian mythology, the rooster is an important symbol associated with the sun and light.[22] The *tauk nuska* design is discussed in more detail in the chapter "The Qaradashli". Worth mentioning in cat. no. 128 is the version of the *tauk nuska* seen in the third row from the top; the three *tauk nuska* motifs in this row show a peculiarity only seen in the nearly identical example published by Andrews et al. 1993. Four little buds are attached to the inner "square" of the *tauk nuska* in a diagonal position (fig. 12), resembling the buds in the *gülli gül* of the Arabachi (fig. 13), and most likely borrowed from the Teke design repertoire.[23]

The *chemche gül* secondary motif is nearly identical to that in cat. no. 127, just somewhat more slender in shape.

Typical for the Arabachi, and known only in their pieces, is the design of the main border (fig. 14). At first one might think of it as a cartouche with floral filler motifs, but it might rather be an alternation of X-shaped motifs with small flower shrubs. This border design is related to the minor borders of Salor *khali*, where alternating X-shaped motifs and rhombuses are seen (fig. 15). The rhombus in the Salor borders belongs to the ambit of fertility symbols, which can also be assumed for the little flower shrub in the Arabachi design. The X-shaped cross is an extremely ancient symbol, (fig. 16) which is discussed in the chapter "The *khaikelbagi* Design". An X-shape is also the basis of the *kochak* cross in the centre of the *tauk nuska* design (fig. 12). Based on this original X-form, the Arabachi weavers have created a new decorative border design effectively enriched with tribal-typical motifs, which are also seen in many later Arabachi weavings. Perhaps because of its complexity, the 17th century design was later simplified to such an extent that in 19th century pieces the original form can scarcely be seen.

21 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 334.
22 Zerling/Bauer 2003: 123.
23 See the chapter "The Teke", figs. 88 – 90.

Structure: The irregular structure, with asymmetric open left knot, brown and ivory mottled, slightly depressed warp, and camel hair and cotton wefts, is typical Arabachi.

Colours: In colours, this carpet is very similar to the slightly earlier example cat. no. 127 (the colour image of cat. no. 128 is slightly too yellowish). Unlike cat. no. 127, though, visual inspection indicates no presence of insect dyestuffs, which is another parallel to the comparison piece published by Andrews et al.

Dating: According to radiocarbon dating, this carpet was woven either around 1700 or in the 19th century. Based on comparison with other Arabachi *tauk nuska khali*, which, with one exception[24], all date from the 19th century, it seems unlikely that cat. no. 128 dates from that period. The earlier radiocarbon dating range might be appropriate here, and also be applicable to the nearly identical comparison piece.

24 Andrews et al. 1993: No. 88; Hali 96, 1998: 93.

Designs in Turkmen Weavings
Origin and Development

Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction to Vol. I ("A New Prespective"), the importance of local traditions of the oases of Margiana, Bactria, Sogdiana, and Khoresmia have increasingly been taken into consideration by carpet scholars over the past 20 years,[1] though these approaches have not really progressed beyond comparing a few designs from the environment of these early Central Asian cultures[2] with designs mostly from 19th century Turkmen weavings.[3]

My own research has increasingly led to the conclusion that a large proportion of Turkmen carpet designs have their roots in the cultures of the oases of Central Asia, rather than from nomads of the Eurasian steppes. Since the 3rd millennium B.C., these early Central Asian civilisations had close contact with the civilisations of the Iranian plateau (Elam), Mesopotamia, and the eastern Mediterranean. Central Asian carpet designs are only related to nomadic culture in that nomads, including the Turkmen since the 10th century, have repeatedly adopted designs from the oasis cultures, and, as necessary, adapted them to fit their own perceptions and traditions. Over time, this process occurred again and again, with the result that today we see a rich repertoire of Turkmen carpet designs passed down from several epochs. Over the millennia, these patterns have left their traces like archaeological layers in the repertoire of traditional Central Asian carpet designs.

Early examples, such as the *sainak* motif, on the Iranian plateau and presumably also in Central Asia, go back to the fourth millennium B.C.[4] Others, like the *kejebe* design, have their roots in Late Antiquity, coming from the eastern Mediterranean via Sasanian Iran to the oases of Central Asia, to the Sogdians, the Bactrians, and the Khoresmiens.[5]

A last important wave of influence emanated from the Safavid Empire, particularly during the reign of Shah Abbas I. A newly composed and extremely successful design composition based on large palmettes, sickle leaves, and cloudbands, swept in all directions and was adopted by neighbours all around the Safavid Empire. Among the Turkmen it

1 In English publications, referred to as "Middle Amu-Darya Groups".
2 Some scholars call it the "Oxus Culture", others speak of the "Bactria-Margiana Archaeological Complex" (BMAC).
3 Cassin/Hoffmeister 1988; Tsareva 2011a; Tsareva 2011b: 24, fig. 2.
4 Fig. 61 and 62 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".
5 Fig.. 135 in the chapter "The Ersari" and figs. 71 – 76 in the chapter "The Salor".

appears as the design concept of the multiple *gül* carpets with the newly invented *kepse gül*, which can be traced back to this influence. In the 19th century, the *kepse gül* became one of the most popular Turkmen carpet designs ever.

Not all Turkmen carpet designs remained as stable and unchanged in their composition as the *ak su* design. The *ensi* design, for example, shows an integration of different components from different periods over more than 2000 years.

The origin and the age of a design can also be indicated by its name; the *sagdaq gül* of the Salor is a good example therefore. Sagdaq is Turkish for Sogdian, thus *sagdaq gül* means "Sogdian design". This name was still in use in the early 20th century, although the Sogdians, a once prominent ethnic group known in large parts of Central Asia over a period of roughly 1600 years, completely disappeared in the 10th century. Another example is the *ak su* design. *Ak su* is Turkish, literally translated "white water", perhaps even "water of life". The name *ak su* is still associated with the design and its meaning, a representation of an irrigated garden, over a period of almost 3000 years, regardless of whether the meaning was understood by the Turkmen weavers in the 19th century.

The local origin of Turkmen carpet designs from the oases of Central Asia and from a period covering several thousand years is clearly attested by archaeological finds proving the existence of piled carpet weaving in this area since the Bronze Age (2nd millennium B.C.).[6]

The new perspective, therefore, is not only that piled carpet weaving originated in the world of Ancient Near Eastern civilisations and the cities of the oases of Central Asia, the Iranian Plateau, and in Mesopotamia, but also that many Turkmen carpet designs originate from this cultural sphere. Turkmen carpet design with an origin from the eastern Eurasian steppes or China are the exception, not the rule.

Designs of particular interest in the context of this new perspective, e.g. the *ensi* design, have been addressed in dedicated chapters.

Further explanations of the origins of designs, for example the *mina khani* of the Ersarï, are included in the discussions of the weavings in the chapters on the various tribes.

Table 17 provides an overview of all designs discussed, showing in which chapters they are addressed.

6 Khlopin 1982

Appendix V: Table 17
Designs in Turkmen Weavings: Origin and Age

Name	Origin	Age	Reference to Illustrations
Khaikelbagi (border design)	East Europe, A. N. East, Indus Culture	5th millenium B.C.	Figs. 24–42 in the chapter "The Turkmen *khaikelbagi* Design"
Sainak	Ancient Near East	4th millenium B.C.	Figs. 59–90 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*"
Animal-tree design	Ancient Near East	4th millenium B.C.	Figs. 45–49 in the chapter "The Teke"
Sagdaq gül	Ancient Near East, Oxus Culture	4th/3rd. mil. B.C.	Figs. 150 – 153 in the chapter "The Salor"
Gush	Elam, Ancient Near East	3rd millenium B.C.	Figs. 42–58 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*"
Gapyrga (stylized tree design)	Ancient Near East, Oxus Culture	3rd millenium B.C.	Figs. 13–21 in the chapter "The Teke"
***Kochanak* border**	Ancient Near East	8th/7th century B.C.	Figs. 98–108 in the chapter "The Salor"
Ak su	Ancient Near East	8th/7th century B.C.	Figs. 37–41 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise"
Stylized tree design (*gopuz* border)	Ancient Near East	7th century B.C.	Figs. 6–12 in the chapter "The Teke"
Temirjin gül	Ancient Near East, Assyrians	7th century B.C.	Figs. 33–48 in the chapter "The Sarïq"
Pomegranate tree (tent band design)	Ancient Near East, Assyrians	7th century B.C.	Figs. 30 – 34 in the chapter "The Teke"
Ring tree (*alem* design)	Ancient Near East	7th century B.C.	Figs. 66–68 in the chapter "The Teke"
Flower-cross (primary motif)	Assyrians, Achaemenids, Samanids	7th century B.C.	Figs. 41–48 in the chapter "The Sarïq"
Darak nuska (Ikat design)	China	4th/3rd century B.C.	Figs. 50–66 in the chapter "The Ersari"
Composite palmette tree (tent band design)	Sassanids	5th–7th century	Figs. 48–66 in the chapter "The Salor"
Dongus burun (ancien Iranian boar›s head motif)	Sassanids	5th–7th century	Figs. 12–13 in the chapter "*Dongus burun*"
Senmurv	Sassanids	5th–7th century	Figs. 67 – 75 in the chapter "The Ersarï"
Mina khani	Sassanids	5th–7th century	Figs. 76–83 in the chapter "The Ersarï"
Flower-cross (secondary motif)	Late Antiquity, Sassanids, Sogdians	5th–7th century	Figs. 1–9 in the chapter "Cross-formed Secondary Motifs"
Pomegranate rosette (tent band design)	(Assyrians), Sassanids	5th–7th century	Figs. 28 – 30 in the chapter "The Sarïq"
Curled leaf (border design)	Sassanids, Sogdians	5th–7th century	Figs. 23–25 in the chapter "The Salor"
Ersarï *gül*	Late Antiquity, Sassanids, Sogdians	5th–7th century	Figs. 93 – 96 in the chapter "The Ersarï"
Kejebe	Late Antiquity, Sogdians	5th–7th century	Fig. 135 in the chapter "The Ersarï", and Figs. 71–76 in the chapter "The Salor"
Salor *gül*	Sassanids, Sogdians	7th–9th century	Figs. 128–131 in the chapter "The Salor"
Shemle gül	Sassanids, Sogdians	7th–9th century	Figs. 110–113 in the chapter "The Salor"
Ertmen gül	Sassanids, Sogdians	7th–9th century	Figs. 1–5 in the chapter "The Chowdur"
Erre gül	Sassanids, Sogdians	7th–9th century	Figs. 6–7 in the chapter "The Yazïr-Qaradashlï"
Ak gajmak (Ersarï Ikat design)	Sassanids, Sogdians	7th–9th century	Figs. 29 – 36 in the chapter "The Ersarï"
Chuval gül	E. Mediterranian, Late Antiquity, Sogdians	7th–9th century	Figs. 167–176 in the chapter "The Salor"
Mini *chuval gül*	Sassanids, Sogdians	7th–9th century	Figs. 14 – 15 in the chapter "The Salor"
Memling *gül*	Oghuz (?)	8th–10th century	Cat. no. 142 in the chapter "The Sarïq"
Dyrnak gül	Oghuz (?)	8th–10th century	Cat. no. 105 in the chapter "The Yomut"; Cat. no. 115, "The Eagle *gül* Groups"
Pseudo Kufic design (*al mulk* ideogram)	Islamic World	10th century	Figs. 30–35 in the chapter "The Yomut"; Figs. 57–62 in the chapter "The Teke"
Cross and star design	Islamic World	10th century	Figs. 2–11 in the chapter "The Ersarï"
Tauk nuska	Islamic World	10th century	Figs. 41–45 in the chapter "The Yazïr-Qaradashlï"
Gülli gül	Islamic World	13th/14th century.	Figs. 90–205 in the chapter "The Salor"
Darvaza gül	Islamic World	13th/14th century.	Figs. 88–97 in the chapter "The Salor"
Grid of palmettes (Teke *asmalyk*)	Islamic World	14th century.	Figs. 39–44 in the chapter "The Teke"
Proto gurbaga gül (secondary motif)	Islamic World	14th century.	Figs. 18–28 in the chapter "Cross-formed Secondary Motifs in"
Chemche gül (secondary motif)	Islamic World, Timurids	14th/15th century.	Figs. 42–44 in the chapter "Cross-formed Secondary Motifs"
Kepse gül	Islamic World, Safavids	17th century.	Figs. 35–39 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes"
"Eagle" *gül*	Islamic World, Safavids	17th century.	Figs. 26–30 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups"
Compound *gül*	Islamic World, Safavids	17th century.	Figs. 60–67 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups"
Connecting *gül*	Islamic World, Safavids	17th century.	Figs. 80–85 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups"
Lily	Islamic World, Safavids	17th century.	Figs. 68–79 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups"
Lotus meander (border design)	Islamic World, Safavids	17th century.	Figs. 35–40 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups"
Moghul flower design (*alem* and tent band design)	Islamic World, Mughal India	17th century.	Figs. 41 – 42 in the chapter "Flowering Gardens"

Fig. 1: "The Khan's Kibitka. The Khan Starting for a Raid". Drawing after a watercolour by William Simpson. The drawing reveals several interesting details: amongst others, the *ensi* not being a ordinary door rug, but a prestigious object revealing the status of its owner. The "baldachin" above the *ensi* accentuates its importance. Comparing the Khan's yurt with the second yurt seen in the background, it is not white, as that of the Khan, but brown, and only has a common felt door flap, a *tarp yapar,* and not an *ensi.* Repr. from "The Illustrated London News", 28 March, 1885: 318.

The Turkmen *ensi*

An Icon of Dominion: The Status Symbol of the Khan

1. Introduction

Moshkova translates *ensi* as "rug hanging for the yurt entrance".[1] The standard door rug of a Turkmen yurt, however, was not a pilewoven rug. It was made of felt, like the rest of the yurt, or of felt backed with reeds (figs. 2–5, and 7), at least until about the 1920's, when felt door flaps were replaced with wooden door leaves.[2] Andrews calls the Turkmen felt door flap *tarp yapar,* "closes loud", indicating the sound with which it closes,[3] thereby clearly distinguishing it from the pilewoven *ensi*.[4] Thus we have two types of door hangings, differing not only in appearance and technique, but also in what they are called: the *tarp yapar* and the *ensi*. Furthermore, the design of the pilewoven *ensi* does not seem to be rooted in nomadic culture, as has been suggested to date, whereas the design of the felt door flap *tarp yapar* clearly does. The two designs are completely different from one another (cf. figs. 2–10). As will be shown, the *ensi* design is associated with sovereignty, with its roots in the cultures of the Ancient Near East. A first important clue to the antiquity of the *ensi* design is the use of the same complex design-plan among all Turkmen (cf. figs. 8–10).[5] This in turn suggests that the composition is older than at least the 9th or 10th century, the time of the formation of the Turkmen. In addition, the *ensi* was not an ordinary door rug, but rather may have served the elite for representative purposes; as a symbol of status. This might suggest that *ensi* are rare, which surprisingly is not the case. There are many *ensi* in private and public collections, though most of them are from the 19th

1 Moshkova 1979 (1986): 329. The term "yurt" is standard in carpet literature for "trellis tent", but according to Peter Andrews yurt describes the territory on which the tent stands. Its general meaning is "camping place" (Andrews 1980: 43). As the name yurt became standard in carpet literature, it shall be retained here. The yurt, constructed on a self-supporting wooden framework covered with felts is used here in contrast to what is called a "tent", constructed of fabric guyed with ropes on wooden poles (cf. fig. 24).

2 Andrews 1997: 67.

3 Andrews 1973: 102; 1993a: 12; 1997a: 67.

4 According to Andrews, an *ensi* is a "pilewoven carpet, hung in front of the yurt door with the pile looking outside" (Andrews 1993a: 12).

5 See also Thompson 2008: 137.

Turkmen yurt door rugs: the *tarp yapar*, the felt door flap for the ordinary yurt.....

Fig. 2: Nomadic camp showing a yurt with felt door flaps. Detail from a drawing from the Diwan of the Sultan Ahmed Jalair, page 23a, Persia, ca. 1400. Repr. from Sims 2002: 255, no. 171.

Fig. 3: Felt door flap, *tarp yapar*, Atabai Yomut, Iran 1970 (Photo Peter Andrews). Repr. from Andrews 1973: Pl. VIc.

Fig. 4: Felt door flap, *tarp yapar*, Qucuq Yomut, Bagli Marmara, Iran 1970 (Photo Peter Andrews). Repr. from Andrews 1993b: 14, Fig. 2.

Fig. 5: Felt door flap, *eshik tysh*, Kirgiz, 95 × 147 cm, 1st half 20th century. Repr. from Music for the Eyes 1997: 80.

Fig. 6: Pile woven door rug, *eshik tysh*, Kirgiz (?), 136 × 184 cm, 1st half 20th century. Private collection.

Fig. 7: Door flap of reed and felt. Wrapped with wool. Karakalpak, 36 × 184 cm, 20th century. Repr. from Music for the Eyes 1997: 82.

century, or even the 2nd half of the 19th century.[6] Earlier pieces are rare. The dearth of evidence about the use of the pilewoven *ensi* as a door rug is also significant. New findings about the use of the *ensi*, and on the origin and meaning of its designs and complex composition, will be discussed below.

2. Use and meaning of the *ensi*

Just as wooden doors were unusual for a Mongol *yurt* at the time of Genghis Khan – though they are reported as status symbols for the Khan himself[7] – so it may have been with the Turkmen *ensi*. The common Turkmen had a felt door flap to cover the entrance of his *yurt*, a *tarp yapar*, as seen on the yurt in the background in fig. 1. The *ensi* was reserved to the elite. Just as the luxury *aq yüp*, the white tent bands for the wedding tent or the reception tent of the khan, had no practical purpose, but rather a purely representative function,[8] such must have been the case with the *ensi* as well.

Despite the many questions to which there have been no satisfying answers to date, much attention has been paid to the Turkmen *ensi* since the late 19th century. Robert Pinner comprehensively outlined the subject and its complex problems, particularly addressing questions about use and tribal attribution.[9] He also clearly reckoned the *ensi* to be a "pilewoven door curtain". He did not consider any alternative use for it, despite the assumption of several authors that the *ensi* could have served as a prayer rug. But Pinner also concludes that the last word regarding use and meaning of the *ensi* has not yet been written.[10]

For a better understanding of the background and meaning of the *ensi* and its design, we should look at two other closely related topics: the audience tent and the baldachin. That reception tents were used

6 The reasons for increased production of *ensi* in the course of the 19th century will be addressed at the end of this chapter.

7 Andrews 1999: 332. Wooden doors are an architectural feature of settled people. They were still not in use among ordinary Mongols during the time of Genghis Khan. Wooden doors were probably unknown among nomads before the 10th century (Andrews 1973: 102).

8 Andrews 1993b: 7.

9 Pinner 2004.

10 Pinner 2004: 101.

.... and the pile woven *ensi* as a status symbol for the Khan's reception tent

Fig. 8: Salor *ensi*, cat. no. 1, 123 × 170 cm, slightly shortened on all four sides. 18th century. Private collection.

Fig. 9: Sarïq *ensi* fragment, cat. no. 37, 123 × 170 cm, 18th century. Collection of Marie and George Hecksher.

Fig. 10: Teke *ensi*, cat. no. 50, 114 × 156 cm (lower *alem* only partly preserved), 18th century. Private collection.

among the Turkmen is confirmed by Peter Andrews.[11] According to him, the reception tent of a Turkmen tribal leader is characterized by its particularly luxurious decoration. Simpson's drawing in fig. 1 shows not only a decorative band as a decoration of the yurt, but also an *ensi* and a textile over it, which appears likely to be a baldachin, forming an ensemble with the *ensi*. Andrews writes about the outfitting of such a tent (yurt): "White bands, *aq yüp*, are not the only distinctive equipment of a wedding tent, nor are they exclusively used for weddings. A white tent, *aq öy*, is simply a fine tent, the ideal to which any Central Asian nomad aspires, and it can also serve as the reception tent of a tribal leader". He continues: "We think of the white band *aq yüp* as the main decorative item in a wedding tent, but it could be used in a reception tent just as well; in contrast to other Turkmen tent bands it is always non-structural".[12] In "The White House of Khorasan"[13] he also mentions the *ensi* as part of a wedding tent.

11 Andrews 1993b: 7.

12 Andrews 1993b: 7.

13 Andrews 1973: 102.

In addition to the *aq yüp* and the *ensi*, the reception tent of a Khan was equipped with other luxury objects. The intention clearly was to impress the guests in every way; the *ensi* was just one of several such. It was not an ordinary door rug; it was an ostentatious decorative object for the *yurt* of the Khan, his status symbol. The door of a common yurt was covered with a *tarp yapar*, a felt door flap. The pilewoven *ensi* (figs. 8 – 10) decorated the entrance of the reception tent of a tribal leader, identifying it as such. Among the Turkmen, the yurt of the elite differ only in size and rich decoration from those of their tribesmen.

2.1 Historical evidence for the use of the *ensi*

There is very little evidence on the use of the *ensi* as a door rug. Only five illustrations are known (figs. 11 – 15)

Considering the many 19th and early 20th century photographs and drawings illustrating the daily life of the Turkmen, it is surprising to find only five images showing the *ensi* in use as a door rug. These five are the drawing by Simpson[14] (figs. 1 and 11), a watercolour by Edward Durand, showing the same yurt as Simpson's drawing (fig. 12), and three photographs. Two of these photographs are from the Russian photographer Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii (figs. 13 and 14).[15] Both of these images show both the same yurt with the same Teke *ensi* rolled up over the door. However, Prokudin-Gorskii's photographs have been questioned as to their evidentiary value regarding the use of an *ensi* as a door rug.[16] A number of Prokudin-Gorskii's photographs appear to be posed; this seems clear in the digitalized colour images in the Library of Congress.[17] Whether the pictures are posed or not, the *ensi* might indicate a special yurt, as there is only one yurt decorated with an *ensi*.

14 Simpson painted a watercolour in Penjdeh, which was copied for the Illustrated London News. The watercolour is published (in black and white) in Moran 2005: 45.

15 Thompson shows one of the photographs in colour, together with a Teke *ensi* of the type as seen in Prokudin-Gorskii's photography (Thompson 2008: 137).

16 Hali 133: 11, letter to the editor by Thomas Cole.

17 Prokudin-Gorskii developed his own method for colour photography. For explanations, see the website of the Library of Congress http://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/prok/ (Section: Color Photography Method).

"The largest and finest *kibitka* I have yet seen in Penjdeh had only one door. This was a very handsome residence. It was hung round with fringes and tassels, and the door was covered with a beautiful carpet. It had a bloom on it like a peach. Some suggested that it would be the Lord Mayor's residence, and it was at once christened "The Mansion House"..."
Report by an officer with the Afghan Boundary Commission, dated 7 December 1884, in the Daily News of 7 February 1885, p. 3.

The five known examples of evidence showing the *ensi* in use as a door curtain

Fig. 11: "The Khan's *Kibitka*". Drawing after a watercolour by William Simpson (see also fig. 1).

Fig. 12: *Kibitka*, Penjdeh, 4 December 1884. Watercolour by Edward Durand. British Library, OIOC, London, Inv. no. WD404. It shows the same yurt as the one drawn by William Simpson. Repr. from Hali 92, 1997: 71.

The third photograph was published in a 1963 Russian publication (fig. 15).[18] It is only a small picture of low quality, showing a yurt with an *ensi* in a walled courtyard of a house. Based on the design, the *ensi* might be of Yomut origin, while the large format shows that it is a late piece. Unfortunately this photograph is even less meaningful than those of Prokudin-Gorskii. Thus, the five images together merely show three *ensi* in use (one Sarïq in figs. 11 and 12, one Teke in figs. 13 and 14, and one Yomut in fig. 15).

There is no clear evidence for the use of an *ensi* as a door rug from fieldwork. Peter Andrews reports, "I have never seen one used in this way, and only old people remember how they should be used".[19]

Another kind of evidence for the use of the *ensi* as a hanging (door curtain?) is provided by a late Sarïq *ensi* from Penjdeh. It shows damage in the pile of the upper two corners, running diagonally into the field, certainly from hanging, presumably over the yurt door as a door curtain.[20]

Even less evidence for the use of pilewoven door curtains is known from the neighbours of the Turkmen. Richard Isaacson has published a single image, showing an *eshik tysh* of the Kirgiz, a pilewoven door rug in use as a door curtain, photographed in 1899 by the French ethnographer Louis Marin.[21] For now, this photograph proves no more than that the Kirgiz in the late 19th century also used pilewoven door rugs. Kirgiz *eshik tysh* (fig. 6) all show the same reciprocal design derived from felts; they are clearly pilewoven copies of the Kirgiz felt door flaps. A few such pieces have been published.[22]

Given all of this, it is worth having a closer look at the drawing by William Simpson. This seems to be the only credible source of information, the best piece of evidence that we have.

18 Tolstov et al 1963: 64
19 Andrews 1973: 102; 1981: 115.
20 Pinner 1993: Plate 3.

21 Jarrige et al. 1993: 82 – 83; Isaacson 2009: 33, Fig. 8.
22 Tzareva 1984: No. 140; Hali 114, 2001: 15; Hali 123, 202: 78; Hali 132, 2004: 106.

Fig. 13: LC-DIG-prokc-20062, "Three *yurt*, man seated in doorway of the yurt in the foreground". Photography by Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii, between 1905 and 1915. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

Fig. 14: LC-DIG-prokc-20069 "Man in uniform beside building, *yurt* in background". This is another view of the *yurt* seen in fig 13. Photography by Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii, between 1905 and 1915. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

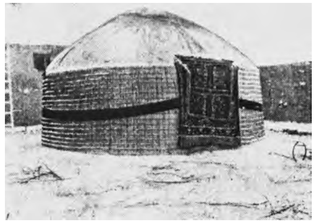


Fig. 15: This is the third photograph showing a yurt with an ensi. It appears to show a late Yomut *ensi* in use as a door curtain. Photographed before 1963. Repr. from Tolstov et al. 1963: 64.

2.1.1 William Simpson's Drawing from 1884 (fig. 11)
The significance of this drawing is in the details of the drawing itself combined with reports in the contemporary English daily press.[23] In addition to the *ensi*,[24] the drawing shows further details which support the meaning and origin of the *ensi* and its design proposed here: a status symbol based on Ancient Near Eastern archetypes. The Turkmen standing in front of his yurt is identified in "The Illustrated London News" as the Khan of the Sarïq. The way the *ensi* is presented is also worthy of note: not only does it hang in front of the door of the yurt, it is also accentuated by another textile, presumably a baldachin. Furthermore the yurt is not brown, as all the other yurts in Simpson's drawings, but white,[25] and decorated with additional embellishment. In "The Illustrated London News" of March 28, 1885, it is explicitly stated that Simpson was attracted by the beauty of this particular yurt, and that he therefore had chosen it as the subject for one of his drawings.[26] Two further details: (1) the yurt seen in the background on the right hand side of the drawing shows an ordinary felt door flap, a *tarp yapar*, with a woman coming through the doorway. (2) The yurt is brown, not white like the Khan's.[27] It is conspicuous that the pretended proud and wild Turkmen Khan posed not only with his beloved horse, but also with his wife and his son. Even beyond that, he rests his arm on his wife's shoulder, a gesture unimaginable in most other Islamic countries. The informative value of Simpson's drawing is amazing, and a confirmation of its accuracy is provided not only by the reports in the English press, but also by a different watercolour by another Englishman, who surprisingly painted the same dwelling.

2.1.2 Edward Durand's Watercolour from 1884 (fig. 12)
Like Simpson, Durand accompanied the ABC expedition (Afghan Boundary Commission, 1884–1886) to Serakhs and Penjdeh, the fron-

23 See Moran 2005.
24 That the door curtain is indeed a pilewoven rug is confirmed by Simpson himself in The Illustrated London News from March 28, 1885. Simpson writes: "The door itself being formed by a beautiful carpet".
25 See "The White House of Khurasan": The Felt Tents of the Iranian Yomut and Göklen", Andrews 1973.

26 The Illustrated London News, 28 March 1885: 321.
27 Neil Moran has published another watercolour by William Simpson, showing two other yurts. Both are brown, having felt door flaps, no carpets (Morn 2005: 33).

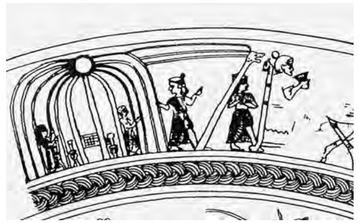


Fig. 16: The Arjan bowl, found in a tomb of an Elamite ruler, Arjan, southern Iran, 7th or 6th century B.C. (for a complete image, see fig. 101). This is the earliest known evidence showing not just a yurt, but a yurt in connection with a banquet. The baldachin over the entrance to the yurt (behind the enthroned ruler) might be the earliest known precursor of the baldachin over the entrance of the yurt of the Sarïq Khan in fig. 1, perhaps even showing the earliest form of the use of an ensi. Repr. from Majizadeh 1992: Fig. 1.

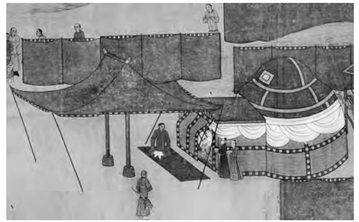


Fig. 17: Khitan trellis tent (*yurt*) with a trellis porch and ridged reception tent. Detail from episode 10 of the story of Lady Wen. 14th century copy after a 12th century original. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of the Dillon Fund, 1973.120.3. Repr. from Rorex/Fong 1974: No. 10.

Fig. 18: Trellis tent in a royal garden. Next to the trellis tent, a baldachin is just being set up. In the lower left corner, a man is seen hammering a plug for a guy rope. Detail from an Ilkhanid miniature painting, Baghdad, ca. 1400. Repr. from Denny 1979: 46.

tier area of Russia (today Turkmenistan) and Afghanistan. While Simpson accompanied the expedition as an artist, Durand was a survey officer with the rank of Captain. Durand's watercolour shows a yurt in the Penjdeh Oasis decorated with fringes and tassels, the door covered with a textile, not precisely recognisable, but clearly red and patterned. Above the door something is shown that seems to resemble a curtain. This is with no doubt the same yurt of the Sarïq Khan as depicted in the drawing by Simpson.[28] Without Simpson's drawing it would be nearly impossible to identify the details in Durand's picture. But comparing the two images and the descriptions in the daily London press makes it clear: it is the same yurt in both paintings. Both an ABC officer in "The Daily News" from February 7, 1885, and William Simpson in "The Illustrated London News" from March 28, 1885 write about a meeting of an English delegation with Russians in a camp of the Sarïq in Penjdeh. Both Simpson and Durand were particularly excited by a richly decorated unusual large yurt in this camp. In both newspapers, the owner of the yurt is described as a leader. Simpson in "The Illustrated London News" calls him a Khan, the ABC officer of "The Daily News" designates him as "Lord Mayor", and his yurt the "Lord Mayor's residence", or even "The Mansion House". These statements clearly allude to the importance of this unusual tent of the Khan.

Simpson, in his drawing, not only delivered a more precise image of this "Residence" than Durand, but also the correct title "Khan", of the owner. Therefore we should take another close look at Simpson's drawing, particularly at one very unusual detail, which resembles a baldachin.

3. Excursus on the topic of "stately representation"

3.1 The "baldachin" in William Simpson's drawing

This "baldachin" over the *ensi* in Simpson's drawing might at first appear somewhat odd, but it is a quite unusual and interesting object. It

28 My thanks to Kurt Munkacsi, New York, for poiting out the watercolour by Edward Durand in Neil Moran's article in Hali 92, 1997: 71, Fig. 1.

Fig. 19: Jahangir giving the traditional New Year's audience *nauroz durbar*. Jahangir is enthroned below a baldachin in a princely tent on two poles in front of two *yurt*. Repr. from Beach et al. 2011: Vol. I, p. 146.

Fig. 20: Audience tent (*yurt*) of Abu'l Khayr Khan, Khan of the Qazak. Over the Khan hangs a baldachin. Audience of the German adviser to the Russian Empress Catharine II, Christoph von Schmidt, called Phiseldeck, in the year 1740/41. Repr. from Richardson 2012: 61.

Fig. 21: The reception tent of the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien-lung, 1793. A giant *yurt* with a porch, resembling the baldachin over the *ensi* of the Sarïq *yurt* in fig. 21. In the foreground, the arrival of the Emperor with his throne bearers, his guards, and his baldachin is shown. Watercolour (Detail) by William Alexander. The British Museum. Repr. from Andrews 1999: fig. 133.

Fig. 22: "The Khan's *Kibitka*. The Khan Starting for a Raid". Drawing after an watercolour by William Simpson, 1884. Note the resemblance of the baldachin over the *ensi* to the porch of the audience tent of the Chinese Emperor Ch'ien-lung in fig. 20, or even more to the baldachin in Abu'l Khayr Khan's audience *yurt* in fig. 19.

has hardly been mentioned in carpet literature. Pinner commented on it as "a textile cover, which would be closed at night".[29] As will be shown, it with all likelihood had a completely different function and siginficance, closely related to the meaning given to the *ensi* in this chapter: representation of sovereignty. It is therefore not surprising that the two objects, baldachin and *ensi*, continued to be used together by the Turkmen in this connection up to the late 19th century. As such a context is unknown in the field of Turkmen carpet studies, it will be helpful to have a closer look at the baldachin and its origin and significance; this will contribute to a better understanding of the ensuing explanations of the origin and meaning of the *ensi* design.

Based on the accurate reproduction of all details in Simpsons drawing, such as clothing and jewelry of the Khan's wife, the horse and its bridle, the form of the yurt and its embellishments, it can be assumed that the baldachin was also accurately reproduced by Simpson. The detailed reproduction of the *ensi* supports such a notion. It is clearly identifiable as Sarïq work (cf. figs. 1, cat. no. 37). Thus, the baldachin as a yurt embellishment must have been part of the Khan's insignia, just like the *ensi*. But what was its meaning?

A first clue can be found in a drawing illustrating a banquet at the occasion of an audience given by Abu'l Khayr Khan, Khan of the Qazak in the year 1740/41 (fig. 20).[30] The occasion was the reception of the German Christoph von Schmidt, called Phiseldeck, envoy of the Russian empress Catharine II (the Great). In the back of the yurt, a baldachin is shown over the Khan, resembling the baldachin above the *ensi* of the yurt of the Sarïq Khan in fig. 22.

An example showing the meaning of the baldachin, namely "representation of sovereignty" in connection with throne symbolism, is a depiction of the New Year's audience *nauroz durbar* at the royal court of the Mughal emperor Jahangir. The ruler is enthroned under a baldachin in front of two yurts, covered by a large canopy on two poles with a sub-canopy underneath (fig. 19).

29 Pinner 2004: 98.

30 Richardson 2012.

Fig. 23: Front of the throne-base of Shalmaneser III (858 –824) from the palace in Nimrud. According to Bartel Hrouda, it depicts an encounter between the Assyrian King Shalmaneser III and the Babylonian King Marduk-zakir-shumi, below a baldachin. Repr. from Hrouda 1991: 131.

Fig. 24: Baldachin-like royal banquet tent with a cross-legged table and food (?), a wine jar (?) in a bay and a servant. Detail from the bronze gate from the Palace of Shalmaneser III in Balawat. Neo-Assyrian, 858 B.C. Repr. from Riegl 1923: Fig. 35.

Fig. 25: This gargantuan tent of Ptolemy II, Philadelphos (285–246 B.C.) was built 278–270 B.C. for a Dionysian feast. The central part (*oikos*) measures 32 × 43 m with a height of 26 m. This tent accommodated 200 men participating in the feast (*symposion*). Drawing after a description by Kallixeinos from Rhodos. (For additional details of the tent see figs. 138 – 141 in the chapter "The Ersarï"). Repr. from Stuniczka 1914: Plate 1.

A watercolour by William Alexander provides a further example. It documents the reception of Lord Maqartney, the English envoy to the Chinese emperor Ch'ien-lung in Jehol in 1793 (fig. 21). The centre of attention is a large imperial yurt with a porch, showing similarities to the baldachin of the Sarïq Khan's yurt. That the construction around the yurt entrance seen in front view in fig. 21 is a porch and not a baldachin is shown in the plan of the audience camp published by Andrews.[31] Regarding the size of the imperial yurt, Andrews writes: "A trellis tent (yurt) of 10 m diameter and 120 (roof) struts could hold about two hundred people". He continues:"Evidently the tent was intended to be impressive, and was used to impress quite deliberately".[32] A last intriguing detail of this picture worth noting in this context is the manner in which the emperor arrives at the reception: he is being carried.[33] The baldachin as an royal insignia is carried in umbrella form in front of the emperor's delegation.

31 Andrews 1999: Abb 134.

32 Andrews 1999: 401 Peter Andrews also quotes Wilhelm von Rubruk, who in the 13th century saw dwellings (yurt) measuring 30 feet in diameter among the Mongols (Andrews 1999: 468).

33 On throne bearers, see the section "5.3.1 The *gush* Motif" and figs. 48–57.

Another courtly scene showing a royal yurt with a baldachin in a garden is found in a Persian miniature painting from the Ilkhanid period (fig. 18). The baldachin next to the yurt is just being pitched. This yurt may well have served for a stately reception in a royal garden.

The stately tent of a Khitan Khan in fig. 17 shows another example. Attached to the yurt door is a porch comparable to the porch of the Chinese Emperor's yurt in fig. 21. In front of the porch is an additional baldachin-like tent for audiences and banquets, comparable to the one of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir in fig. 19.

The last example impressively demonstrates how early such royal yurts were documented. The detail in fig. 16 is from a richly decorated, late 7th or early 6th century B.C. bronze bowl, found in a princely tomb in Arjan, southern Iran (for a complete image of the bowl, see fig. 101 at the end of this chapter). Javier Alvarez-Mon describes the representation on the bowl with its five concentric registers as an *imago mundi*,[34] showing a hunting and a banquet scene with a royal yurt in the outermost register (fig. 16 shows a detail of the banquet scene). In

34 Alvarez-Mon 2004.

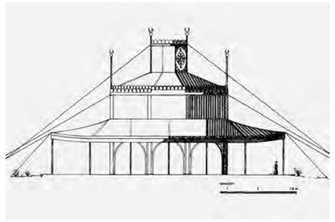


Fig. 26: Peter Andrews' reconstruction of Timur's audience tent after a description by Ruy González de Clavijo from the year 1404. Clavijo describes a twelve pole square plan for the tent. Visible are the four corner poles with crescents on top. Repr. from Andrews 1999: Fig. 12.

Fig. 27: Reception tent of a Mughal sovereign, 7.4 × 7.4 m, 3.8 m high. India, 18th century. Like Timur's tent from around 1400, this little pavilion has a square plan with a central main section and a tower gallery. This was already the case with Philadelphos' tent in the 3rd century B.C. (cf. fig. 24). Mehrangarh Museum Trust, Fort Jodhpur. Repr. from Welch 1985: 254/55, cat. no. 165.

Fig. 28: Reception in a "tent of state", presumably Bukhara, around 1900. The tent has been opened on two sides, by folding two of the tent walls aside. The view inside shows the honourees sitting at a low table. In the background, curious viewers have climbed the trees to get a glimpse. Repr. from Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: 197, fig. 378.

front of the yurt with its baldachin (*ensi*?)[35], a king sits on a throne with a cross-legged table in front of him. Because this is the earliest pictorial evidence of a yurt, we will come back to this bowl at the end of this chapter. For the moment, let it suffice that it shows a yurt with a baldachin and enthroned ruler in front of it, representing the earliest comparison example to the drawing of the Sarïq Khan by William Simpson (fig. 1 and 21). It is certainly conceivable that even then a textile related to the Turkmen *ensi* was part of the furnishings of such a royal yurt.[36]

In conclusion, the object above the *ensi* in Simpson's drawing most likely represents a baldachin or perhaps a vestige of a guyed reception tent (like fig. 17), following an ancient princely tradition (the parallels to the representation of the ruler in front of his royal yurt on the Arjan bowl [fig. 16] are remarkable).

35 See fig. 98–100 and section "8. Concluding remarks on the *ensi* as a door curtain".

36 On the newly discovered etymology of the word *ensi*, see section 7. "New insights on the etymology of the word ensi".
end of this chapter.

This conclusion raises new questions: how did such baldachins and stately tents develop, where do they first appear, and finally, what do they have to with the Turkmen? A closer look at these questions requires further discussion of the meaning and origin of the *ensi*. This will show how closely the *ensi*, its meaning, and its origin are connected to the meaning and origin of such baldachins and stately tentage. Therefore let us dare a further step, looking for the origin of these objects, and how they developed to end up as a baldachin among the Turkmen.

3.2 Baldachins and princely tents in urban environments

The origin and the use of both baldachin and princely tents reach far back in history. Andrews mentions the earliest form in referring to an example from the Maikop Culture in the Northern Caucasus (late 4th/ early 3rd millennium B.C.), of which remnants have been excavated from a burial of a nomadic ruler. This baldachin is assumed to have artistic links to the Near East and to have been used at the funeral of a nomadic ruler.[37]

37 Andrews 1999: 34, 35, fig. 29.

The first evidence for tents in the Ancient Near East in connection with audiences and banquets is found in 9th century B.C. Neo-Assyrian representations. Fig. 23 shows an encounter between Assyrian and the Babylonian Kings beneath a baldachin or baldachin-like tent. Fig. 24, on the other hand, might depict a stately banquet tent. It shows a servant, a cross-legged table with bread, and a bay with a wine jar.

From the second half of the first millennium B.C. records refer to tents of state of Alexander the Great and his successors in Egypt, the Ptolemy (fig. 25). Already at that time, the latter used banquet tents of almost inconceivable size.[38]

The enormous size and magnificence of Timur's reception tent (fig. 26) is reported by Ruy González de Clavijo, the ambassador of Henry III of Castille, Spain, to Timur's court in Samarkand in 1403 – 05.[39]

The Mughals continued this tradition in India. For his New Year's reception *nauroz durbar* Jahangir used not only baldachins and large guyed tents, but also two yurts (fig. 19). Although the tents of Jahangir did not reach the dimensions of those of Timur, they retain certain affinities to them.

The Mughals also used movable tents of state of smaller size, but nonetheless equipped with great extravagance (fig. 27). Examples include 17th/18th century tents preserved in the fort of Jodhpur. They convey an impression of the enormous effort devoted to the representation of sovereignty.[40]

The reception tents of the last Emirs of Bukhara form the end of this courtly urban tradition in the early 20th century (fig. 28).

3.3 Baldachins and princely tents in nomadic environments

The rulers of settled cultures were not alone in enjoying such extravagance; their nomadic counterparts were no less ostentatious. We know of the adoption of exorbitant princely tents by nomads in the Eurasian steppe at least as early as the 6th century A.D. As such princely tents and their history are discussed in the chapter "The Ersarï",[41] we will mention here only examples of interest in connection with the baldachin in Simpson's drawing (fig. 1).

Possibly the earliest account mentioning such tents originates from the mid 6th century AD. The Byzantine historian Menander conveys a detailed description of how Zemarchus, an envoy of the Byzantine Emperor Justin II, was received at an audience in 569 A.D. at the *ordu* (court) of Sizabul (Istämi), the Qaghan of the Western Turks in Central Asia.[42] This meeting resulted in an alliance between Byzantium and the Türk Qaghanat against Sasanid Persia. The Qaghan lavishly entertained the Byzantine embassy over three consecutive days in three different tents.

Just after their arrival, the Qaghan received them, sitting on a golden throne with two wheels, which could be drawn when necessary by one horse (cf. fig. 41) in a large tent furnished with silken hangings, described by Zemarchus as being "dyed without skill in various colours".[43] This rather disparaging description of precious silk hangings is somewhat difficult to comprehend, considering what we know of published silks from this period.[44] I assume that "silks dyed without skill" with all likelihood refers to Central Asian ikat weaving, which the Byzantine envoy obviously had never seen before. The highly developed stage of ikat weaving in 6th century Central Asia is demonstrated by some gorgeous silk ikat fragments today housed in the Tokyo National Museum in Japan (fig. 29). They are from the Horiyu-ji shrine in Nara, at which they arrived during the Asuka period (552 – 644).[45] That these ikats might be of Sogdian origin is suggested by a wall painting from Pendjikent, which shows a caftan with an ikat design (fig. 30) with a slightly stylised version of the design in fig. 29.[46] Trade relations between central and eastern Asia are known from at least the 1st century A.D., both from the Tillia Tepe finds from north Afghanistan[47] and, in this connection even more significantly (though somewhat later), by the presence of Korean and Chinese ambassadors in the large wall painting of the audience hall of the palace of the Sogdian King Varkhuman in Afrasiab (old Samarkand). The painting has been dated to 647 – 649 by Markus Mode, authority on Sogdian art.[48] With Zemarchus' (Menander's), description, we not only have a first historical reference for the use of silk hangings in a nomadic environment by the early Turks, but also a first literary reference to Central Asian ikat weaving. Nearly 1500 years later, we still find silk ikat hangings in reception tents in Central Asia. The audience tents of the emirs of Bukhara were to a large extent furnished with silk ikat weavings (figs. 31 and 32). The persistence of this very specific practice over 1500 years is indeed remarkable. An impressive example of such a late "tent of state" is the one presented in 1893 by

6th and 7th century Sogdian ikats

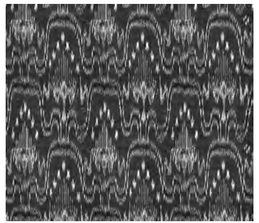


Fig. 29: Fragment of a red ground silk ikat (digitally reconstructed), Sogdian (?), Horiyu-ji, Nara, Japan. Asuka Period, AD 552 – 644. Ca. 30 cm high. Repr. from Matsumoto 1984: Fig. 106 and 120.

Fig. 30: Ikat design on a Sogdian wall painting from Penjikent, temple I, late 7th century AD. The blue ground ikat design is related to the one in fig. 29, and might be a stylized variant of it. Repr. from Raspopova 2006: 64, fig. 36.

19th century Uzbek tent hangings with silk ikats

Fig. 31: Tent wall hanging for a reception tent as in fig 28. Bukhara, 19th century. Height 180 cm, width of each niche 60 cm, silk ikat appliqué work. Acquired 1972 in Herat, Afghanistan. The niches of these tent hangings have mostly been decorated with silk ikat cloth. The *qanat* in fig. 27 shows the same type of niche design. Repr. from Larson 1976: 181, d.

Fig. 32: Tent wall hanging for a reception tent as in fig. 28. Bukhara, 19th century. Height ca. 192 cm, silk ikat appliqué work, Ethnographic Museum, St. Petersburg. Repr. from Cat. Antwerp 1997: 51, no. 11.

38 See the discussion on the Ersarï saf carpets in the chapter "The Ersarï", figs. 138 – 141.
39 For details, see Andrews 1999: 687 et seq.
40 For more examples of Persian and Ottoman tents, see figs. 126 and 127 in the chapter "The Ersarï".

41 See text to the Ersarï saf carpets cat. no. 32 and 33 in the chapter "The Ersarï".
42 Menander: 119 – 121. Menander's Sizabul must be Istämi (Andrews 1999: 135). See also Scharlipp 1992: 27.

43 Menander: 121.
44 E.g. in various publications of the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg.
45 Alfred Bühler, amongst others, has attributed these ikat fragments to Central Asia (Bühler 1972: Vol. 1, p. 125). For a description of the design, see cat. no. 25 and figs. 29 – 47 in the chapter "The Ersarï".
46 Other Sogdian ikats are known, but they were produced by Sogdians in China for the Chinese market, adapted to Chinese taste. They are not as colourful as the supposedly Sogdian examples found in Japan (for an example showing Chinese influence, see: de Guardiola Callanan 2005: No. 11).

47 Sarianidi 1985: 70 – 76; Cat. Washington/San Francisco/Houston/New York 2008/2009: 284; Cat. Bonn 2010: 218.
48 Mode 1993: The wall painting was heavily damaged during an Arab attack on Samarkand between 675 and 677.

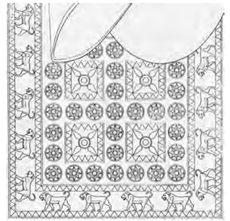


Fig. 33: Drawing of the Achaemenid design on the throne-cover from the audience scene on the western jamb, western doorway of the throne hall, Persepolis, 6th century B.C. The throne-cover hangs over the side of the throne seat. Repr. from Tilia 1978: Fig. 3.

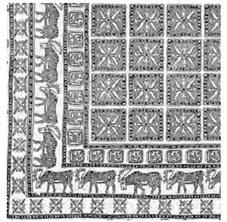


Fig. 34: Detail from the "Pazyryk carpet", Kurgan V, Pazyryk necropolis, ca. 183 x 200 cm, 4th or 3rd century B.C. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (For a complete image, see fig. 7 in the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".

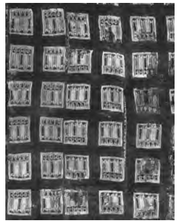


Fig. 35: Detail from a saddle-cloth (shabraque) with tassels on both short sides (60 x 235 cm). The saddlecloth was re-purposed from an extremely precious royal Achaemenid garment, dyed with real Mediterranean purple. Repr. from Loukonine/Ivanov 2003: 69, cat. no. 30.

Fig. 36: Half of a saddle-cloth (shabraque) with tassels on both short sides (63 x 226 cm) re-purposed from a Chinese embroidered silk. Repr. from Rudenko 1970: 175, fig. 89.

Fig. 37: Large felt hanging (for an audience tent?), 4.5 x 6.5 m, Kurgan V, Pazyryk, 3rd century B.C. Parthian horseman opposite a Queen or Goddess (?). Presumably scene from a heroic epic. Repr. from Rudenko 1970: plate 147.

the next to last Emir of Bukhara, Abdulla Khan, to the Russian Tzar Alexander II. The tent is today in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg.[49]

But let us return to the reception of the Byzantine envoys at Sizabul's *ordu*. On the first day, after the customary gifts were presented, Sizabul entertained his guests with feasting, accompanied by lavish amusement. On the second day, he received them in a "hut" (yurt),[50] which was also furnished with silk hangings. Sizabul was seated on another golden throne. There was again lavish feasting and entertainment until the evening. On the third day, the envoys were again received in a large dwelling (tent) supported by gilded wooden pillars. There was yet another golden throne, this time in the form of a couch supported by four peacocks (a so-called *klinai*-throne).[51] Zemarchus was impressed. He reported: "In front of this tent were drawn up over a wide area wagons containing many silver objects, dishes, and bowls, and a large number of statues of animals, also of silver and in no way inferior to those which we make; so wealthy is the ruler of the Turks".[52]

Andrews annotates this report, suggesting it refers to guyed tents, as used by the Romans, for these large dwellings; the third has been described by Zemarchus as supported by gilded pillars. The smaller "hut" of the second day suggests to Andrews a trellis tent (yurt). Part of the silver might have been booty from the Hephtalites, vanquished by Sizabul (Istämi) five years earlier. The silver animal figures and the golden throne supported by peacocks are reckoned by Andrews to be

49 The tent is discussed in detail and illustrated in: Hali 161: 70–73. See also the discussion on the Ersarï saf carpets and the origin of the saf design in the chapter "The Ersarï".

50 The description "hut" goes back to the original Greek text. Peter Andrews points out that "hut" probably meant a felt tent (*yurt*), which Istämi (Sizabul) erected together with large guyed tents in his headquarters (*ordu*). (Andrews 1999: 136). Cf. also fig. 18.

51 Such *klinai*-thrones borne by animals were used particularly by Sasanian Kings. Various Sasanian silver plates show depictions of a ruler enthroned on such thrones borne by animals. (E-g. Gobineau 1971: 151; Cat. Brussels 1993: Cat. no. 61 and 62; Seipel 2003: Cat. no. 156; Cat. Paris 2006: Cat. no. 34 and 35). On the various throne forms in the Iranian tradition see: von Gall 1971. A number of Sasanian *klinai*-thrones borne by animals are also illustrated there.

52 Menander: 121.

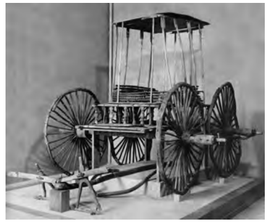


Fig. 38: "State carriage", eventually throne carriage of a nomadic chieftain, Kurgan V, Pazyryk. The baldachin of the carriage was equipped with four swans (fig. 33) hanging down from the corners. Repr. from Rudenko 1970: Plate 131.

Fig. 39: Four three-dimensional felt sculptures of swans were hanging from the corners of the baldachin of the carriage in fig. 32. They might have been thought of as guides to the afterworld. Repr. from Rudenko 1970: Plate 166.

Fig. 40: Sasanian silver plate, showing a throne carriage drawn by zebus. Winged creatures replace the swans of the Pazyryk carriage (fig. 32). Repr. from Cat. Brussels 1993: 213, cat. no. 66.

Fig. 41: Sasanian silver plate, showing Dionysus on a carriage, drawn by two maenads, followed by a hero with a mace (Heracles), above two winged creatures (erotes), below the carriage a panther (attribute of Dionysus). At the left edge, a vine branch, also an attribute of Dionysus. Repr. from Cat. Paris 2006: No. 36.

inspired by, if not even made by, the Sogdians.[53] This clearly shows that the early Turks already enjoyed gracious living, which they adopted first from the elite of the Chinese, then, as they moved further westward, from their Iranian speaking neighbours living south of the steppes.

The large audience and banquet tents, the silk hangings, and the throne supported by four peacocks are a heritage of the Ancient Orient and Iranian speaking people.

Findings from Pazyryk indicate comparable situations among nomadic rulers in the Eurasian steppe as early as the 3rd century B.C. In Kurgan V, not only was the famous carpet (fig. 34), presumably of Bactrian origin,[54] uncovered, but also a fine woollen Achaemenid tapestry dyed with purple from the Mediterranean (fig. 35). With all likelihood, this woollen tapestry originally was part of a royal Persian caftan, which came as a "robe of honour" to the nomadic chieftain in Pazyryk, where it later was repurposed into a saddlecloth (shabraque).[55] An extremely fine Chinese silk embroidered with filigree foliage and birds, from the Warring States period (4th/3rd century B.C.), was discovered in the same tomb, also repurposed into a saddlecloth (fig. 36).[56]

In context with princely insignia, two more objects found in Kurgan V are of interest. One is a large felt hanging with the impressive measurements of 4.5 meters high by 6.5 meters wide (fig. 37). This felt hanging was folded when found in the grave. It presumably was a decorative hanging for a large audience tent. The design shows a repeated scene with a Parthian style horseman in front of a crowned woman sitting on a chair (throne). The woman's crown suggests a sovereign, the horseman's hairstyle and moustache a probable Iranian origin. The other object of note is a carriage with a baldachin-like structure and spoke wheels 1.6 meters in diameter (fig. 38). According

53 Andrews 1999: 137–138.

54 de la Vaissière 2005: 21.

55 Rudenko 1973: See figs. 86–88 in the chapter "The Ersarï".

56 For a second Chinese silk found in Kurgan II in the Pazyryk necropolis, see fig. 53 in the chapter "The Ersarï".

to Rudenko, this vehicle was not suitable for the Pazyryk region terrain. It must have been an object of pure prestige, perhaps for ceremonies. This "caroche", originally drawn by four horses, must have looked impressive with its original decoration; imagine, for example, the three-dimensional felt swans, hanging at the four corners of the baldachin (fig. 39), the whole most probably covered with precious textiles.[57] The Pazyryk carpet and its design parallels to Achaemenid throne covers is also worth noting.[58] Possibly it was also used as a throne carpet on the occasion of audiences and banquets. Likewise, the carriage could have been used as a throne (cf. figs. 40 and 41) during receptions in a large audience tent furnished with large felt hangings, very similar to Zemarchus's description of the audience at the *ordu* of Sizabul. In place of the silk hangings in Sizabul's tent, 800 years earlier we find large felt hangings with scenes showing details from heroic epics. In the 3rd century B.C., the period of the sovereign buried in Pazyryk, silks were even a greater luxury than in the time of Sizabul. They were extremely rare and valuable, being produced exclusively in China.

The nomadic ruler entombed in Kurgan V in the necropolis of Pazyryk was equipped for his afterlife with the most exquisite objects of luxury of his courtly life, his insignia of power and sovereignty. In addition to the treasures already listed, worthy of mention are a number of precious Achaemenid textiles.[59] In antiquity, grave robbers looted the golden tableware and jewelry which certainly were there as well. What we have today is what the grave robbers left behind.

3.4 Princely insignia among the turkmen

The elite of the Turkmen were by no means averse to luxury either, even though it might have been – at least in the 19th century – more moderate than in earlier times. The richly decorated late 19th century reception tent of the Khan of the Sarïq, equipped with a gorgeous *ensi* and a baldachin, and likely furnished with luxury carpets, tent bands, a *kapunuk*, and other precious textiles, is an example. The *ensi* is clearly not a common door curtain. It "labels" the yurt of the Khan, illustrating his rank as a leader of the tribe or clan. It is a status symbol. The equipment of the yurt in fig. 1 leaves no doubt: this is not the *yurt* of a common Sarïq family, but the representative yurt, the "reception tent" of a Khan, equipped with the full panoply of trappings of importance: The Lord Mayor's Residence, The Mansion House, as an officer of the Afghan Boundary Commission described it in "The Daily News" of February 7, 1885. This description and the drawing by Simpson both speak a clear language: they define the *ensi* as a status symbol of outstanding significance.

That the origin and early meaning of the *ensi* design is comparable to that of the baldachin is further demonstrated by the following design analysis.

4. The *ensi* design and its components

It is not only the *ensi* composition which is unique. The *ensi* also shows two characteristic design elements almost never seen on other Turkmen weavings: the *sainak* motif in the border and the *gush* motif in the field.

4.1 The borders: The *sainak* motif and the meander with curled leaves

It is notable that the main border frames the field only on three sides, not all four, as usually seen in Turkmen weavings.[60] Most *ensi* show, at least in the side borders, a meander with curled leaves or a tree design. Nearly all *ensi* show the *sainak* motif in the outermost border (figs. 88 – 90). This is one of two typical *ensi* motifs, which is seldom seen in other Turkmen weavings. Systematically applied, the *sainak* motif is also seen in the *germech*,[61] which forms an ensemble with the *ensi,* in Turkmen tent bands[62] and in the Salor hangings with *darvaza/kejebe* design,[63] though in a slightly modified form. But on both tent bands and hangings, the motif likely has the same meaning as on the *ensi* and the *germech*: it is a symbol of protection.

4.2 The *alem*: Two friezes with animal and/or plant motifs

The lower end of the *ensi* always shows a double *alem*, decorated with friezes of animals (Salor, Teke, Arabachi, Chowdur) or plants (all other Turkmen). This double *alem*, present at only one end of the design composition, is also unique to the *ensi*. Carpets (*khali*) always have only a single *alem* at each end. The unusual arrangement of border and *alem* gives the *ensi* not only a distinctive appearance, but also a directional composition.

4.3 The field: Registers with *gush* motifs and niches with a meander

The design of the field also follows an unusual formal principle typical for the *ensi*: a composition of two larger nearly square rectangles at bottom and top, enclosing a smaller elongated horizontally arranged rectangle in between. The two larger rectangles are divided in two, vertically, by a central slender niche (Salor, Sarïq, Teke, in Ersarï pieces the niche can be slightly wider).[64] This often suggests a "quartering" of the field, while the "quarters" are each composed of horizontally arranged registers. These registers usually contain Y-shaped motifs (fig. 58), also called *gush* or *kush* (Turkmen for "bird"), or *insi kush* (younger brother of the bird). Along with the *sainak* (figs. 88 –90), the *gush* is the second characteristic *ensi* motif. But in contrast to the *sainak*, the *gush* or *insi kush* is a motif exclusively seen on *ensi*. It appears in no other Turkmen weaving. It is seen in slightly different forms among the Salor, the Teke, the Sarïq, and the Ersarï.[65] Among all other Turkmen groups, the *gush* motif shows a variation of one of these four, or it is replaced by another motif.[66] In some exceptional cases the whole field of an *ensi* can be composed throughout with only one design, without the slender niche forms.[67] This might represent a historically later development of the design, though it could still be several centuries old.

4.4 One single niche or a niche frieze above the field

Below the upper border, a single small niche (Teke, fig. 10), or sometimes a frieze of niches in a row (Sarïq, Arabachi etc., fig. 9) appears. These niche forms are so similar to the niche forms of the so-called *kejebe*[68] design that it can be assumed that both have the same historical roots. These niche forms are not seen in the *ensi* of the Salor (fig. 8) and the Yomut.

5. The origin of the *ensi* design

5.1 The geographical origin

The *ensi* design originates from a very specific region, bordered by the Üst Yurt Plateau and the Aral Sea in the north, the Sir Darya and the Pamir mountains in the east, the Hindu Kush and the Kopet Dag mountains in the south, and the Caspian Sea in the west.

As shown above, the door curtain of a standard Turkmen *yurt* is made of felt and/or reed screen, and is called *tarp yapar.* These felt door flaps were decorated with simple hook or spiral forms (figs. 2–5, and 7). Pilewoven door rugs were the exception, and other than the Turkmen only known among the Uzbeks and the Kirgiz (fig. 6). In contrast to the Turkmen and Uzbek pilewoven *ensi*, the pile woven door rug of the Kirgiz, the *eshik tysh*, has a design identical to the design of felt door flaps; a continuous pattern of reciprocal hooks and spirals. They have only one thing in common with the Turkmen *ensi*: both were door rugs. Apart from that they are completely different. The often-published *eshik tysh* of the Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg is an example.[69]

57 Water birds were also a recurrent motif among the Sogdians.
58 Cf. figs. 89 – 91 in the chapter "The Ersarï".
59 See figs. 86–88 in the chapter "The Ersarï".
60 With the exception of both types of Salor *ensi*, which have a main border on all four sides.
61 For a discussion of the *germech,* see cat. no. 58 in the chapter "The Teke".
62 See the discussion on the *aq yüp* cat. no. 98–100 in the chapter "The Yomut".
63 See fig. 72 and the discussion on Salor hangings cat. no. 5 and 130 in the chapter "The Salor".
64 I will come back to this special type of tripartite field composition at the end of this chapter.
65 For the Salor cf. cat. no. 1 and 2, for the Ersarï cat. no. 19, for the Kizil Ayak cat. no. 35, for the Sarïq cat. no. 37, and for the Teke cat. no. 50.
66 In cat. no. 75, an *ensi* with Yomut influence, the *gush* motif is replaced by the *pekwesh* motif.
67 E.g. with the Chowdur and the Arabachi (cat. no. 124).
68 For an explanation of the *kejebe* design, see the discussion of cat. no. 5 in the chapter "The Salor".
69 Tzareva 1984: Plate 140.

The northern and northeastern neighbours of the Turkmen did not know the typical Turkmen *ensi* design. The same is true to the south and the southwest. In both Afghanistan and Persia we seek in vain for a design composition comparable or related to the Turkmen *ensi*, in spite of the fact that since the 10th century Turkmen tribes from what is today Turkmenistan migrated westwards into Iran, the Caucasus, and Anatolia. But neither the *ensi* design nor the typical colour palette of Turkmen weavings of Central Asia were carried westwards with these migrating Turkmen.[70] Wherever they went, they tended to adopt the local tradition, at most adapting it to their taste by preferring certain designs and developing them and avoiding others.[71] This is true to the *ensi* design, as well as most other Turkmen carpet designs. This is rather surprising behaviour for a group of people said to have a strong consciousness of tradition.

Thus, the Turkmen *ensi* design has its geographical origin in the oasis territories of Central Asia around the rivers Amu Darya (Khiva), Zerafshan (Bukhara and Samarkand), Murghab (Merv) and Gorgan and Atrek (Astarabad). These oasis districts correspond to the ancient cultural centres Khoresm, Sogdiana, Bactria, and Margiana. Up to the 10th century, Iranian-speaking people, historically noted there since the incursion of the Achaemenid Cyrus the Great in the 6th century B.C., have inhabited these areas. They may have immigrated to this area in the early 2nd millennium B.C.[72]

70 What at first glance might suggest a Turkic origin of Anatolian carpet designs, on closer inspection rather seems to be Central Asian urban/Iranian influence. An example of this is the border design of an Anatolian carpet with two large stars (figs. 227 and 228 in the chapter "The Salor"). Although this Anatolian border design is closely related to the typical border design of Salor carpets, it shows a much greater affinity to the design of a Sogdian silk, which, in turn, might have been the model for the Salor border design (see figs. 222 – 224 in the chapter "The Salor"). Similarly, the Anatolian "*gülli gül*", which resembles the *gülli gül* of the Teke, is actually much closer to Timurid carpet designs presented by Amy Briggs in her seminal 1940 article on Timurid carpet design (cf. figs. 188 and 212, 213 in the chapter "The Salor"). The Anatolian "*gülli gül*" with all likelihood was adopted from Timurid workshop carpets. An Iranian origin might also be assumed for the Anatolian Holbein designs, also known from Salor weavings.

71 The boar's head is only one of many of such examples. See also the explanations in the introduction to the chapter "The Salor".

72 Baumer 2012.

5.2 The historical origin

Most Turkmen *ensi* show the typical design composition previously described. This homogeneity in design across different Turkmen tribal groups is explained both by a common archetype and by the great age of the design.

In my opinion, the origin of the Turkmen *ensi* design has nothing in common with nomadic/shamanistic archetypes of the Eurasian steppe, as has been suggested. Rather, it originates from traditions of the Ancient Near East and its stately insignia. This might seem surprising, but it is consistent with Ulrich Türck's work on the origin of Anatolian kilim design.[73] In his work, Türck has shown representative architectural depictions of the Ancient Orient, such as the Mural Crown or the City Gate, finding their way into the design repertoire of traditional Anatolian kilim weaving. Such designs can be found in kilims up the early 20th century.

It might have been likewise with the Turkmen *ensi* design. It shows analogies to Assyrian throne representations, which found their way via the Iranian Achaemenids, the Parthians and Sasanians to the east and the greater area of the oases of Khoresm, Sogdiana, Bactria, and Margiana. I have already pointed to the uniqueness of the *ensi* design to the area of these ancient oasis cultures. It is still not clear why this design did not find a wider diffusion and was used only in this narrow region, in spite of the fact that this region has been significantly involved in international trade since the 3rd millenium B.C..

First we should be aware that, despite its apparent stability, this ancient (*ensi*) design composition has passed through several developments, modifications, and adaptations in the course of the centuries. It might not have existed from the beginning in the form familiar to us from the past few hundred years. Like sediments, several epochs have left their traces, shaping the design to what it became in the 17th – 19th centuries. Nevertheless, I propose, as explained below, that its meaning remained the same: representation of sovereignty in the form of a throne borne by the ruler's subjects.

73 Türck 2000/2001 – 2009.

Ancient Near Eastern representations of rulers being carried by their subjects go back to at least the late second millennium B.C., to the Elamites of Southern Iran. One of the earliest representations of a ruler carried by his people can be found in an Elamite rock relief at the sacred site of Kul-e Farah, near Izeh/Malamir in the Bakhtiari mountains. It originates from the transition from the Elamite to the Iranian period, perhaps from the early Iranian epoch of the 8th or 7th century B.C.

The free-standing rock Kul-e Farah III (figs. 48 and 49) is decorated all around with reliefs. On one side, a ruler with right hand upraised in prayer stands on a platform carried by figures (fig. 49). Behind the ruler, arranged in four registers, stand his people, depicted considerably smaller than he himself. The ruler is being literally carried by hand, a practice still in use today to express the preferential treatment of a person.

In addition to the relief of Kul-e Farah, the ruler on a throne borne by his people is also seen in Neo-Assyrian and Urartian throne representations (figs. 50 – 53). From there, such representations may have found their way into Achaemenid culture. The reliefs on the Achaemenid tombs at Naqsh-e Rustam show similar huge throne-like platforms held up by the representatives of all subject peoples of the Achaemenid Empire (figs. 55 and 56). The reveals of the doorways to the Throne Hall of Persepolis have reliefs 9 meters high showing a giant stool supported or carried by the people (fig. 54); on this stool, the Achaemenid King of Kings sits on a throne under a large baldachin, which is decorated with a double frieze of striding lions. The Faravahar, the symbol of "royal fortune" hovers above the whole scene.

In contrast to the stately representation on the reveals of the gateways to the throne hall of Persepolis, the tomb reliefs at Naqsh-e Rustam show a religious ceremony. There, the King of Kings stands on a three-stepped podium paying tribute to the fire altar in front of him with his right hand raised in prayer. The whole is staged on a large platform in the form of a throne-stool supported by the representatives of all subject peoples of the Achaemenid empire (figs. 55 and 56). That the tradition of the Persian King of Kings being carried by his people was alive in Persia up to the 18th century is demonstrated by the famous Takht-e Marmar (fig. 57), the "Marble Throne", today housed in the great Iwan of the Golestan Palace in Teheran. This throne is said to have been the property of Karim Khan Zand (1705 – 1779), the founder of the Kurdish Zand Dynasty. The Qajar Aga Mohammed Shah brought the Takht-e Marmar from Shiraz to Teheran. Hubertus von Gall assumes that the unusual decoration of the Takht-e Marmar supported by figures is based on the legend of the throne of Solomon (Suleiman). He interprets the figures as diverse *djin*; though by legend they were defeated by Solomon, according to Islamic traditions, they helped him build his palace and the city wall of Jerusalem.[74] Altough von Gall points out that the *djin* carrying the Takht-e Marmar have nothing to do with a continuation of the tradition of the throne bearing peoples of the Achaemenid empire, it is nonetheless interesting that the motif of the throne bearer was still known in the 18th century, even though with a slightly different meaning. At that time, Qajar rulers were also represented with sword and mace as insignia of their power and sovereignty, another ancient symbol readopted by the Qajars. The mace as a symbol of power can be traced back several millennia; as discussed in the chapter "The Salor". The re-adoption of such ancient traditions in the 19th century parallels the revival of ancient carpet designs.[75]

Finally we have interesting evidence that the concept of a ruler being born by his subjects was still alive in Samarkand in the second half of the 19th century. The Emir Sayed Mir-Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur-Khan (who ruled between 1860 and 1885) was lifted on a felt carpet during his enthronement.[76]

74 von Gall 1971: 233 – 234. I thank Prof. Markus Ritter from the University of Vienna for pointing to this context.

75 See the discussion in the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

76 Naumkin 1993: 24.

Fig. 42: Proto-Elamite small-scale sculpture of a lioness, height 8.4 cm, Iran, ca. 3000 – 2800 B.C. Such sculptures might have served as models for the seal carvers. Repr. from Porada 1950: Fig. 1.

Fig. 43: Proto-Elamite seal impression from Susa, Iran, 3000 – 2800 B.C. A lioness demon "supports" a landscape with mountains and trees (the country of Elam?). Repr. from Amiet 1972: No. 1012.

5.3 The two typical *ensi* designs: *Gush* and *sainak*, throne bearer and quadruple spirals

The two motifs particularly reserved to the *ensi*, the *gush* and the *sainak*, show interesting parallels to details in Assyrian and Achaemenid throne representations.

5.3.1 The *Gush* Motif (Fig. 58)

According to Moshkova, *gush* is Turkmen for "bird", which with all likelihood is a later denomination after the ancient meaning of the design faded into obscurity. As will be seen in the following, a completely different meaning stands behind this ancient motif.

Particularly in Salor *ensi*, the *gush* motifs with their slightly divided legs and up-raised Y-positioned arms in the horizontal registers in the field resemble stylised human figures rather than birds (fig. 58), recalling Ancient Near Eastern supporting figures, (*Stützfiguren*, figs. 43 – 57), as seen in representations of Assyrian and Achaemenid thrones (figs. 50 – 56).[77] So, the *gush* motif interpreted as a supporting figure (*Stützfigur*) would also correspond closely to the interpretations of the *sainak* motif (fig. 88 – 90) and the niche form (fig. 97) as symbols of protection and sovereignty.

5.3.1.1 Early Forms of Supporting Figures in the Ancient Near Eastern World (Figs. 43 – 47)

In the 3rd and 2nd millennium B.C., we find supporting figures exclusively in the realm of gods and demons. An early example, a Proto-Elamite seal impression from Susa, shows a goddess or demon in the form of a leonine figure,[78] supporting a landscape with mountains and trees (the country of Elam?) on her upraised arms (fig. 43).[79] According to Edith Porada, "lioness-demons had great power over the mountainous country". They might even represent the Elamite goddess of the earth and of war, corresponding to the Mesopotamian Ishtar.[80] According to Holly Pittman, such lioness demons were also understood as "potent symbols of association or of rank within the Proto-Elamite communities".[81] Sculptures like the lioness in fig. 42 show the same type of goddess figure and might well have served as models for Elamite seal carvers.

Since the mid-second millennium B.C., in Egypt (figs. 44 and 45) as well as in Mesopotamia (fig. 46), we find images of divine figures or demons supporting either the firmament or the sun.[82]

A Hittite example (fig. 47) could be of particular interest in connection with the Turkmen *ensi* design. It presumably shows the front of a temple, and, according to Eduard Meyer, represents a Hittite image of the world, an *imago mundi*.[83] In the lower part, it shows five mountain gods (symbolizing the sun gates in the East and the West, and the centre [2:1:2], or the four regions and the navel of the earth [4+1]), in the centre a royal or divine couple, and in the upper part, following the Egyptian archetype, the morning and the evening sun, both supported by demons. At the top is the firmament, also supported by demons. The parallel to the *ensi* design is the overall representation of an *imago mundi*, as will be explained in more detail.

Starting in the early 1st millennium, human rulers, rather than the sun, are seen supported by figures (*Stützfiguren*). One of the earliest of these representations goes back to Elamite tradition. The early first millennium rock relief of Kul-i Farah shows a ruler, standing on a platform carried by figures (figs. 42 and 43). Literally "behind him" stand his people in four registers.

In the Assyrian realm of stately representations, the ruler is no longer represented standing on a platform carried by people, but sitting on a throne supported by human figures (*Stützfiguren*, figs. 48 and 49). A transitional form, from earlier representations showing demons to later representations of human figures supporting a god (fig. 44), the sun (fig. 45) or a ruler (fig. 48), is seen in the Assyrian example in fig. 52. It shows the throne of the Goddess Ishtar, on a relief made under the dominion of Sennacherib. This appears to be an archaic type of representation showing demons and animals as supporting figures, which have persisted in the religious context, while the throne of Sennacherib, following a newer development, is already supported by human figures (fig. 50). This new form was subsequently adopted by the Achaemenids and other neighbours of the Assyrians (figs. 53 – 56).

The symbolic meaning of this new form is clearly expressed in Achaemenid throne representations; the throne is literally carried by the representatives of the 28 satrapies of the Achaemenid empire, de-

77 See also figs. 27 – 30 in the chapter "The Salor".
78 According to Edith Porada, the feminine form of the lower body and the absence of male genitals indicate to a female figure. (Porada 1950: 223, footnote 1)
79 Porada 1950: 225.
80 Porada 1950: 225.
81 Pittman in: Aruz et al. 2003: 45, discussion of cat. no. 14, with a colour image of the same leonine figure and an additional seal impression.
82 Perhaps by chance, one of two Egyptian hieroglyphs for "support of heaven", (Himmelsstütze), showing a Y-form (see Kurt 1975: 75), looks very similar to the gush motif of the Teke (cf. fig. 2 in the chapter "The Teke"). In fig. 44, four Y-shaped hieroglyphs for "support of heaven" are seen below Tefnut's body.
83 Meyer 1914: 114.

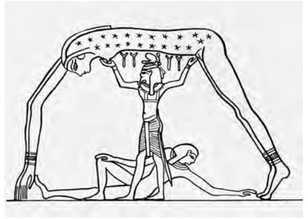


Fig. 44: Detail from a painted coffin, Egypt, New Empire, (1570 – 1058 B.C.). Shu, the god of the wind and the air, holds up Tefnut, the goddess of the sky, separating her from Geb, the god of the earth, therefore enabling human life. Repr. from Keel 1972: Fig. 28.

Fig. 45: Nun lifts the solar barque with the new-born sun from the primordial waters. Sarcophagus of Sethos I (1290 – 1279), 19th Dynastie. Repr. from Hornung 1989: 107, Fig. 18.

Fig. 46: Two demons supporting the winged sun. Seal impression of Enlil-mudammig, Assur, 13th century B.C. Repr. from Meyer 1914: Fig. 54.

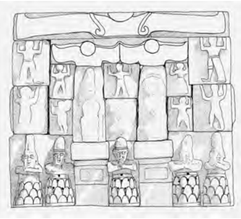


Fig. 47: Hittite spring sanctuary and temple of Eflatun Pinar near Beyshehir, Anatolia. 12th century B.C. Mixed creatures (demons?) support two winged sun discs (morning and evening sun), above, another large winged symbol (the firmament), below, five mountain gods, representing the earth. Repr. from Zurkinden-Kolberg 2015.

Fig. 48: Kul-e Farah III, Elamite rock relief on a large boulder, southeast and south side, 8th or 7th century B.C. The scene on the south side shows a ruler on a platform with his right hand upraised in prayer. The platform is supported by figures (see fig. 49); behind the ruler his people are represented in four registers. (Photo by G. Grunewald). Repr. from Calmeyer 1973: plate 34 top.

Fig. 49: Detail from fig. 36. The platform with the ruler borne by figures.

Fig. 50 and 51: Throne of Sennacherib, detail from a scene of the capture of Lachish. The throne is supported by throne bearers and decorated with quadruple spirals. Neo-Assyrian, beginnig of the 7th century B.C. Repr. from Hrouda 1965: Plate 15, 1.

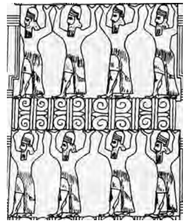


Fig. 52: Throne of the Goddess Ishtar, rock relief 1 of Sennacherib at Malatai (705 – 681 B.C.). Following earlier traditions, Ishtar's throne is supported by scorpion-men (demons) and animals, not human figures. Repr. from Hrouda 1965: Plate 15, 2.

Fig. 53: Reconstruction of a throne, presumably from King Rasus II. Toprakkala, Urartu, 1st half of the 7th century B.C. Repr. from Seidl 2004: 63, fig. 25.

scribed by David Stronach as symbolically standing for the totality of Achaemenid rule, or even as a statement of world dominion.[84] Most clearly, the representations on the Achaemenid rock tombs in Naqsh-e Rustam, show a giant platform in the form of a stool-throne (cf. figs 55 and 56), supported by 28 figures. The feet of the platform clearly hover above the ground (cf. fig. 56). Perhaps following an earlier tradition, the Achaemenid ruler is not enthroned, but stands on the platform, like the ruler on the earlier Elamite rock relief of Kul-i Farah (cf. figs 48).

A late survival of this particular type of stately representation is seen in the *that-i marmar*, the marble throne in the Golestan palace in Teheran (fig. 57), which was still used by the Qajars in the 19th century. This throne is also supported by figures (allegedly demons).

84 Stronach 1993: 28.

This interpretation of the *gush* motif as "throne bearer" is supported by other parallels between the *ensi* design and Achaemenid throne representations. In addition to the throne bearers, friezes with striding lions are part of any Achaemenid throne representation (figs. 54 – 56). This is also the case with the *ensi* design, at least the *ensi* of the Salor,[85] in which a frieze with striding deer in the *alem* is standard (fig. 58).[86] However, striding deer replacing the striding lions as a choice of animal representation might indicate a closer connection to the Scythian tradition of the steppes and the animal style of the 1st millennium B.C., and a cultural orientation to the eastern Iranian people of Central Asia. The Pazyryk carpet with its eastern Iranian background also shows striding deer in one of the main borders. Lions were more common in Mesopotamia and among the western Iranian Achaemenids.

85 In some cases also in the ensi of the Teke and the Arabachi.
86 See cat. no. 1 and 2 in the chapter "The Salor".

Fig. 54: Reveal of a doorway to the 100 Columns Palace of Persepolis, 9 m high. Late 5th century B.C. The King enthroned on a giant stool, carried by 14 throne bearers. Repr. from Flandin-Coste 1848.

Fig. 55: Achaemenid rock tomb, Naksh-e Rustam. The upper part of the tomb shows a ceremony with the King, worshiping fire, above him the Faravahar, the symbol of "royal fortune". The middle part, representing the facade of an Achaemenid palace, bears the entrance to the burial chambers. Repr. from Flandin-Coste 1848.

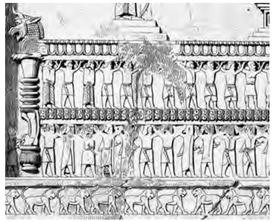


Fig. 56: Throne platform with animal protomes, 28 throne bearers (the feet of the platform clearly hover above the ground), and double volutes (sainak motifs) on the bridge. The King is standing on the platform, his right hand upraised in prayer. Below the throne platform is a frieze with striding lions. Repr. from Flandin-Coste 1848.

Fig. 57: The "Takht-e Marmar" in the great Iwan of the Golestan Palace in Teheran. The throne from the Qajar period (18th century) is supported by human figures, demons, and animals (below the throne, not visible on the image). Photo Jörg Affentranger, 2013.

Fig. 58: Detail from Salor *ensi*, cat. no. 1. *Gush* motifs (throne bearers) in several registers. Below is a frieze with striding deer, having their antlers in a vertical position (on the deer motif in Salor *ensi*, see figs. 16–19 in the chapter "The Salor").

Thus, in both the Achaemenid throne representations and the Salor *ensi* design, animal friezes accompany the throne bearers. In addition, the *ensi* shows a second ornament, which can be found exclusively in this type of design composition: the *sainak* motif (figs. 88–90).

5.3.2 The *Sainak* Motif (Figs. 88–90)

As already mentioned, the *sainak* is one of two typical *ensi* motifs, but in contrast to the *gush* motif it does not appear on *ensi* exclusively, but also on tent bands and on Salor hangings with *kejebe/darvaza* design. According to Ponomarev *sainak* (*sojnak*) comes from Persian meaning "to give, to distribute", or "welcome".[87] Whether this translation has any relation to the origin and the meaning ascribed to the *sainak* motif in the following, has to remain open for the moment, but seems rather unlikely. If the *sainak* motif is an appotropaic symbol, as suggested here, quite the opposite should be expected.

Based on its form, the *sainak* motif with its four angular "spirals" and the attached vertical bar in the centre (cf. figs. 73 and 75) can be traced back to a specific ancient form of a quadruple spiral, in particular to a form composed of a pair of double spirals, bound together back to back. This corresponds to a type of quadruple spiral motif common in the Near East in jewelry since the third millennium B.C. (figs. 54 –61). But as will be shown, the roots of the quadruple spiral go back even further.

87 Ponomarev 1931 (1979): 25. Moshkova indeed lists the *sainak* motif, but doesn't provide any translation [Moshkova 1970 (1996): 335].

Fig. 59: "Gebildebrot" (sacred bread) of clay with a quadruple spiral motif. Cult object from the sphere of the Great Neolithic Goddess. 5000 – 4500 B.C. Vinca culture, Serbia. Repr. from Gimbutas 1989: Fig. 227.

Fig. 60: Painted pottery with a quadruple spiral motif, Zengővárkony, Pécs, Hungary. 4900 – 4600 B.C. Repr. from Müller-Karpe 1966 – 1989: vol. II plate 192.

Fig. 61: Cup with a pair of wild sheep (moufflon) with spiral horns, forming a quadruple spiral. Painted pottery from Teel-i Bakun, Fars, Iran, ca. 3500 B.C. Height ca. 12 cm. Repr. from Herzfeld 1941 (1988): Plate XII.

Fig. 62: Jewelry, carved stone, Tepe Giyan, Iran, 4th millennium B.C. This quadruple spiral motif composed of two opposed rams heads, like fig. 61, points to a possible origin of the quadruple spiral from horn forms of wildlife. Repr. from Herzfeld 1941 (1988): 67, Fig. 125.

Fig. 63 and 64: Two stone screens with four spirals from the second Temple of Tarxien, Malta, width ca. 100 cm. Ca. 3000 B.C. The two screens were originally painted red andd placed in the middle apse left and right of the passage to the first apse. They were replaced by replicas in the 1950's. The originals are exhibited in the Museum in Valletta, Malta.

5.3.2.1 The Precursor or Archaic Form of the Quadruple Spiral

The quadruple spiral motif might have its roots in the Neolithic, when, in the broadest sense, it was a symbol of fertility. As will be shown, it is an abstract representation[88] of a female deity, the mistress of birth, death, and regeneration.

The earliest quadruple spiral motif known to me is seen on a 5th millennium B.C. loaf shaped clay model of sacred bread (fig. 59). The model stems from the Vinca culture from the Balkans, today Serbia. Gimbutas describes such sacred loaves as cult objects, consecrated to a female deity and used as offerings in rituals dedicated to her. The following examples (figs. 60 – 68) show that the design on this loaf of bread represents an abstract form of a female deity. This bread, decorated with a quadruple spiral, is one of the earliest examples of ritual bread ("Gebildebrot"); various kinds of ritual breads are still used today for traditional observances and special religious holidays.[89]

Also from the 5th millennium B.C. is the painted pottery in fig. 60. The bowl, showing a quadruple spiral similar to that on the loaf of bread in fig. 59, was excavated in southern Hungary.

The relation between spirals and animal horns (mouflon horns), the probable origin of the spiral motif generally, is illustrated by a painted cup from Persepolis in Southern Iran, showing a pair of wild sheep in the form of a quadruple spiral (fig. 61). The cup is dated by Herzfeld to 3500 B.C. The next example, a small piece of stone jewelry also from the 4th millenium B.C., shows the same issue (fig. 62). Another important clue to the early meaning of the quadruple spiral

88 Female deities have also been represented in a naturalistic form.

89 See Adrian 1951: 85 – 94.

Fig. 65: Sealing slab of a stove shaped rock tomb, height ca. 60 cm (?), Castelluccio necropolis, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa, Sicily, 3000 – 2500 B.C. Repr. from Gimbutas 1989: Figure 96.

Fig. 66: Sealing slab of a stove shaped rock tomb, height ca. 50 cm (?), Castelluccio necropolis, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, Siracusa, Sicily, 3000 – 2500 B.C. Repr. from Biedermann 1987: 202.

Fig. 67: Seal impression. Anthropomorphic figure with legs bent upwards and arms downwards, combined with a large quadruple spiral (symbol for Innana/Ishtar?). Susa, Iran, ca. 2500 B.C. Repr. from Amiet 1972: Pl. 110, no. 1023.

Fig. 68: Seal impression, Tell Brak, Syria, ca. 2900 B.C. Enthroned figure (divinity?) combined with a large quadruple spiral (symbol for Inanna/Ishtar?). Repr. from Maxwell-Hyslop 1989: 221, Fig. 2.

can be found in one of the Neolithic temples of Malta, dated to around 3000 B.C. In the middle apse of the second Tarxien temple, two stone screens with four spirals and a disc in the centre were placed to the left and right of the passage from the second to the first apse (fig. 63 and 64). Here too, the design likely points to an abstract representation of the goddess worshipped in this temple and, in addition to these symbolic images, also represented in naturalistic forms, from small figurines up to an impressive 2.75 meter tall sculpture.[90]

The following two examples clearly show the early form of the quadruple spiral to be a symbolic representation of a female figure, most probably a deity. The door slabs of two rock cut tombs placed side by side in the necropolis of Castelluccio, Sicily, clearly indicate the anthropomorphic character of the archaic form of the quadruple spiral (figs. 65 and 66). These door slabs are much smaller than the four-spiral screens of Malta, only about a third as wide.

Our next example, a proto-Elamite seal impression from Susa, shows for the first time a combination of a quadruple spiral with an anthropomorphic figure and animals. In this impression, the anthropomorphic (female?) figure and the quadruple spiral next to it might both represent the same concept. Udo Hirsch interprets the representation in fig. 67 as a combination of a "naturalistic and abstract birth symbol with vultures and a bull".[91] We have already established that the earliest forms of the quadruple spiral belong to the ambit of the Great Goddess. To reduce this symbol of the Great Mother to a birth symbol alone doesn't really do justice to its profound meaning. In ad-

90 A fragment of a female goddess figure, originally 2.75 m tall, was found in the first apse of the Hal Tarxien temple.

91 Mellaart/Hirsch/Balpinar 1989: Vol. I, Plate XI, fig. 2.

Fig. 69: quadruple spiral bead, gold, Anatolia, Troy, ca. 2 cm long, ca. 2500 – 2300 B.C. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: 266, cat. no. 170a.

Fig. 70: String of beads, silver and gold, with three quadruple spiral beads comparable to fig. 54. The quadruple spiral beads are ca. 1.2 cm long. Tell Brak, Syria, ca. 2500 – 2159 B.C. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: 233, cat. no. 159.

Fig. 71: quadruple spiral bead, copper alloy, Ikiztepe, Anatolia, ca. 11.4 cm long, late 3rd millennium B.C. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: 266, cat. no. 170b.

Fig. 72: quadruple spiral piece of jewelry, lapis lazuli, Necropolis of Gonur, South Turkmenistan, late 3rd millennium B.C. Repr. from Rossi-Osmida et al. o.J.: 99.

Fig. 73 and 74: Assyrian relief, 9th century B.C. The three hornpairs, "strung" on the trunk of the holy tree like beads, correspond to the quadruple spiral motifs embellishing the Assyrian thrones (cf. figs. 75 and 76). Repr. from Layard 1849.

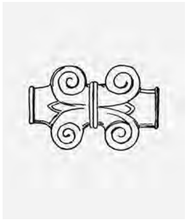


Fig. 75: quadruple spiral "bead", copper, ornament of an Neo-Assyrian throne, 8./7. century B.C. (cf. fig. 76). Repr. from Herzfeld 1941 (1988): 243, Fig. 345.

Fig. 76: Parts of a Neo-Assyrian throne-stool, wood with copper decoration. The bridge between the legs is decorated with quadruple spiral "beads" (cf. fig. 75), 8th/7th centuries B.C. Repr. from Schäfer/ Andrae 1925: 576

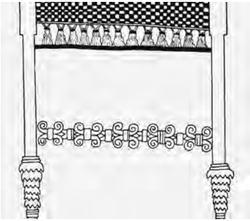


Fig. 77: Detail from a Neo-Assyrian throne on a mural in the Til Barsip palace, 8th century The bridge between the legs is decorated with quadruple spiral "beads" (*sainak*). Repr. from Hrouda 1965: Plate 15, 1.

dition, the posture of the anthropomorphic figure with the legs bent upward and arms downward is probably not a birth position. Nor does the anthropomorphic figure on the seal impression give the impression of a pregnant woman giving birth. However, according to Erich Neumann and Hans Peter Dürr, it might instead represent another aspect of the Great Goddess, also related to the ambit of fertility: the cultic-ritual exposure of the genitals.[92] Neumann shows additional examples from Mesopotamia, distinguishing them clearly from representations of women giving birth,[93] while Dürr describes the phenomenon in a cultic context among differing people and eras.[94] Could this seal impression from Susa show a combination of a realistic and a symbolic representation of the same concept? In contrast to the Tell Brak example (fig. 68), this seems entirely possible here.

The quadruple spiral on the seal impression from Tell Brak, Syria (fig. 68), is our earliest piece of evidence connecting this motif directly with an enthroned figure, and consequently with a throne (cf. fig 76 – 87). Max Mallowan, who unearthed it, dates the seal impression to 2900 B.C. In connection with the interpretation of the quadruple spiral as a symbolic representation of a female deity, it makes sense also to examine the other representations on the same seal impression. The enthroned figure is described by Mallowan as "bird-headed man", and the animal above him as an antelope. Referring to the rosette with the seven circles, Mallowan mentions the existence of comparable rosettes on seal impressions from Ur.[95]

92 To the same type of representation belong the female figurines in figs. 3 – 5 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise". They are all nude, some presenting their breasts with their hands, which is interpreted as preparedness for the *hieros gamos* ("sacered marriage").

93 Neumann 1956 (1981): Fig. 23 – 25, and plate 54e and 55a.

94 Dürr 1984: 202 – 207. For a 19th century Anatolian example, see Rageth 1991.

95 Mallowan 1947: 148, Description of no. 8.

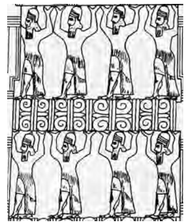
As the representation of celestial bodies was already widespread among the Sumerians, the seven circles on the seal impression could represent the Pleiades (seven sisters).[96] The rosette, on the other hand, was a common symbol for goddesses in Mesopotamia, e.g. Inanna/ Ishtar. Rosettes in rows decorate the Ishtar Gate in Babylon.[97] Thus, the rosette with the seven circles (Pleiades, seven sisters) could consequently be associated with the symbolic representation of a goddess (Inanna/Ishtar?) below it, the quadruple spiral. The animal above the enthroned figure I would interpret as a hare rather than an antelope.[98] Because of his fertility and in connection with the hunt, the hare was an attribute of several goddesses of the Ancient Near East. However, the hare was also a symbol of the Mesopotamian moon god Nanna/ Sin. The enthroned figure could therefore be either a goddess (Inanna/ Ishtar) – hence an anthropomorphic analogy to the symbolic representation in the form of a quadruple spiral – or it could represent a moon god (Nanna/Sin), corresponding to Mesopotamian moon gods of the 3rd millennium B.C. Even though it is not clear whether we are dealing here with an enthroned female or male deity, it is clearly the earliest representation of a quadruple spiral in connection with a throne (fig. 68), as we still see 2000 years later on Assyrian thrones (figs. 75 – 82).

Since the 3rd millennium B.C., in addition to its archaic symbolism, the quadruple spiral seems to have taken on an increasingly apotropaic character. We find it much reduced in size in the form of jewelry (figs. 69 – 72). During the mid 3rd millennium B.C. in the form

96 The Pleiades were already known among the Sumerians.

97 Comparable seven-petaled rosettes decorated several buildings of the Resh sanctuary in Uruk (cf. Cat. Berlin/Mannheim 2013: Fig. 12.6, 59.3, 59.4)

98 It at least looks like this on the line drawing made after the seal impression. The photograph illustrated in Mallowan's publication is unfortunately too small to identify such details (Mallowan 1947: Plate XXIV, no. 8).



Figs. 79 and 80: Throne of Sennacherib, detail from a scene of the capture of Lachish. The throne, standing on four pine cones, is supported by throne bearers and decorated with quadruple spirals on the bridge between the legs. Neo-Assyrian, beginning of the 7th century B.C.

Figs. 81 and 82: Aramaic relief, 8th century B.C., Bar-Rakib, king of Sam'al (today Zencirli, Southeast Anatolia). The throne corresponds in detail to the Assyrian archetype. (cf. fig. 76). Image by the author, 2012.

Fig. 83 and 84: Achaemenid stool-throne (*diphros*) with quadruple spirals on the bridge between the legs. Persepolis, eastern stairway of the Apadana, 5th century B.C. Repr. from Koch 1992: Fig 83 shows a detail of the bridge with the quadruple spirals.

of jewelry, geographical dissemination of this symbol from the Aegean to Central Asia and the Indus is also traceable.[99]

Our first example shows a golden quadruple spiral bead from Troy, western Anatolia (Fig. 69). The next example, from Syria (fig. 70), illustrates how such quadruple spiral beads were strung with other beads to form a necklace. A slightly larger piece of jewelry (fig. 71) comes from Anatolia. It is not of gold, as the beads in figs. 69 and 70, but of a copper alloy. Based on the confrontation of the quadruple spiral with an enthroned figure on the seal impression from Tell Brak (fig. 68), Joan Aruz suggests a symbolic meaning and a ritual connotation for figs. 69–71.[100]

An early quadruple spiral from Central Asia is seen in fig. 57, a piece of lapis lazuli jewelry from a Bronze Age burial in the necropolis of Gonur in the delta of the Murgab river (Merv oasis). Along with other exotic grave goods, this precious object identifies its former owner as a member of the elite.

In the early 1st millennium B.C., we finally find the first unambiguous evidence of the meaning of the quadruple spiral in connection with kingship, throne symbolism, and protective function. It appears as an adornment on Assyrian thrones, continuing the ancient tradition of the use of the quadruple spiral in the 3rd and 2nd millennium B.C. in the form of jewelry with apotropaic character. This is particularly indicated by the way the quadruple spiral is used to embellish the thrones: "strung" like a bead on the bridge between the legs of the throne (cf. figs. 75 and 76). This might also explain another type of Assyrian motif: the bead-like embellishments on the trunk of the Assyrian sacred trees (figs. 73 and 74). There, it might have had the same protective function. Furthermore, an archaic version of the quadruple

99 See Joan Aruz, Art and Interconnections in the Third Millenium B.C. in: Aruz et al. 2003: 239 – 250.
100 Aruz et al. 2003: Discussion of cat. no. 170a and b.

Fig. 85: Throne platform with animal protomes, throne bearers (the feet of the platform clearly are off the ground), and quadruple spirals (*sainak* motifs) on the bridge between the legs. The King is standing on the platform, his right hand upraised in prayer. Below the throne platform is a frieze with lions. Repr. from Flandin-Coste 1848.

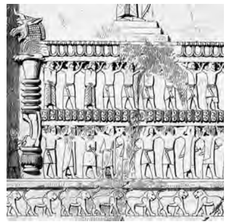


Fig. 86: Bridge of the throne platform with quadruple spirals, above and below are throne bearers. Achaemenid, Naqsh-e Rustam, Tomb of Xerxes I, early 5th century B.C. Repr. from Koch 1992: Taf. 35.

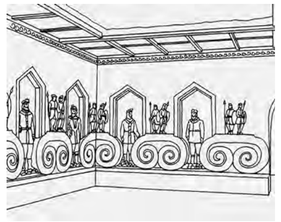


Fig. 87: Audience and Banquet Hall of the Toprak-Kala castle, Khoresm, 2nd/3rd century A.D. Kushan period. The walls are decorated with large double volutes (half quadruple spirals) and rulers standing within niches. Below and all around are built-in seating benches. Repr. from Stawiski 1979: 193.

Fig. 88 – 90: Sainak motifs (quadruple spirals) in *ensi* of the Salor (top, from cat. no. 2), the Sarïq (middle, from cat. no. 37), and the Teke (bottom, from cat. no. 50).

spiral has been preserved there in the form of three pairs of mouflon or ram's horns "strung" on the trunk like a bead. This adherence to the archaic form of the quadruple spiral motif can be explained by a more conservative use of symbols in a sacred or religious context. That the embellishments of these sacred trees represent rams horns is further indicated by a detail on a representation of a royal Assyrian tent, showing tent poles decorated very similarly to the trees of life.[101] The tent poles are topped with a pair of horns (a half quadruple spiral motif) as are the sacred trees. In the entrance area of the tent, two poles are topped with sculptures of naturalistic rams.[102] This type of reduction of a symbol to only a part of it (here from the ram to its horns) is a common feature in Ancient Oriental art.[103] Achaemenid thrones, for another example, are always embellished with quadruple spirals. So, since the early first millennium, the quadruple spiral is a typical element of throne decoration, and generally appears in conjunction with another royal symbol: the throne bearers (cf. figs. 79, 80, 85, 86).

A final example related both to symbolism and form of the quadruple spiral as a symbol of power and sovereignty is seen in a 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Kushan wall painting from the throne hall of the Toprak Kala castle in Khoresmia, east of Khiva, Uzbekistan (fig. 78). This impressive wall painting shows a relationship to both Achaemenid and later Sasanian and Sogdian throne representations, and consequently to the Turkmen *ensi* design as well. Large figures, accentuated by large niches, stand between the double spirals (a halved quadruple spiral), while each double spiral is the base of two armed guardians, clearly smaller in scale than the figures in the niches. The larger figures

101 The ram also stays closely related to kingship among the Persian Achaemenids (see Bivar 2006: 9 – 11).
102 Cf. fig. 145 in the chapter "The Ersari".
103 See figs. 9–11 in the chapter "*Dongus burun*".

Fig. 91: Ctesiphon, Sasanian Palace from the time of Khosrow I, 531–579 A.D. (condition before 1888). The facade of the Ctesiphon Palace shows a giant iwan, the Taq-i Kisra (the arch of Khosrow) in the centre, flanked on each side by rows of blind niches in five stacked registers. (The *ensi* shows a comparable composition in the fields with the *gush* motif and the niche. Cf. fig. 97). This form of a barrel-vaulted iwan as a throne and audience hall goes back to the Parthians (an early form is the iwan of Mansur-Depe near Nisa. See Ellerbock/Winckelmann 2012: 88). It found its continuation and wide distribution in Sasanian and later in Islamic art. Repr. from Erdmann 1943 (1969): Plate 5.

Fig. 92: The Taq-e Bostan, the large iwan of Khusrow II (590–628), Kermanshah, western Iran. The Taq-e Bostan is a large barrel-vaulted iwan showing the investiture of Khosrow II on a platform supported by pillars on the back wall. Winged creatures flank the iwan (cf. also fig. 40). Repr. from Erdmann 1943 (1969): Plate 8.

Fig. 93: Sasanian silver plate, Qazvin, 7th century, diameter 21 cm. The image on the plate shows the king on a *klinai* throne on a platform supported by two lions. The mural crown at the top of the iwan clearly refers to architecture. Teheran, National Museum, inv. no. 904. Repr. from Seipel 2003: 286.

Fig. 94: Alexander the Great enthroned in a large iwan (niche). Page of the Mongolian Shahnameh, Iran, (Tābriz?), ca. 1330. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Also in 14th century Ilkhanid Persia, rulers were represented enthroned in a large iwan following Parthian/ Sasanian traditions. Repr. from Kameroff/Carboni 2002: 53.

within the niches represent high-ranking persons, perhaps chosen members of the entourage of the Kushan ruler. These large niches are a new historical development based on Roman and Parthian archetypes; they became significant in Sasanian and Sogdian art and architecture, always representing power and sovereignty, and they also found an echo in the Turkmen *ensi* design, as discussed below.

The *sainak* motif (figs. 88–90) with all likelihood can be seen as a geometric variant of the quadruple spiral, deeply rooted in archaic symbolism of fertility and protection, and the later sphere of stately representation in the world of the Ancient Near East. This notion is supported by the interrelation of all components of the *ensi* design, such as the meander with curled leaves (vine branch) and the registers with the throne bearers.

5.3.3 The Niche Forms and the Registers in the Field of the *Ensi* Design (fig. 97)

The niche forms (fig. 97) above the registers in the field might be a later addition to the repertoire of the *ensi* design. While the registers with the throne bearers go back to Elamite and Mesopotamian origins of the early 1st millennium B.C., the niche might have taken on the meaning as a stately symbol only under the the Romans and the Parthians, and in subsequent Late Antiquity.[104]

The *ensi* design's combination of registers with a large niche above finds its archetype possibly in Sogdian art. Particularly in their wall paintings, such niche forms embedded in or above registers, showing

104 On the other hand, already by the 2nd half of the 4th millennium B.C., the Sumerians furnished the facades of their monumental buildings with a niche structure to represent sovereignty (see cat. Berlin 2013: 213).

Fig. 95 : Reception hall of a wealthy Sogdian merchant in Penjikent, 8th century. Reconstruction by L.L Gurevich. The main wall opposite the entrance shows a large niche with a four-armed goddess enthroned on an animal. The niche is "superimposed" over the registers below it. Repr. from Azarpay 1981: Fig. 3.

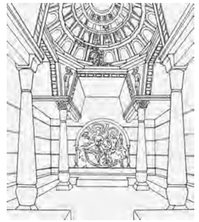


Fig. 96: Similar situation as in fig 95, with the exception of the figural representation within the niche. Here two gods, seen as a pair, are enthroned on a *klinai* throne supported by animals (a camel and a ram). The male deity to the right is presenting a camel on his right hand, the female deity a ram. According to Boris Marshak, main deities of the family cult have been represented in such niches. Rep. from Marshak 2002: Fig. 10.

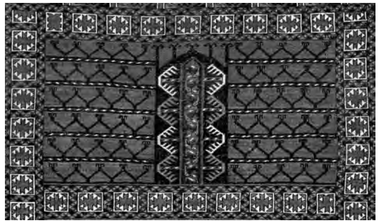


Fig. 97: Lower rectangular field of the *ensi* cat. no. 35. It shows a niche (iwan) in the centre, to the left and right several stacked registers with *gush* motifs (throne bearers). The *ensi* design seems to follow Sasanian/Sogdian archetypes, in which the registers show religious and epic scenes, topped off by a large niche with a king or a deity. The *ensi* design shows all in a stylised version, and a leaf tendril has replaced the deity. Animal representations might have survived in the form of birds, stylised to their spread wings.

religious and epic scenes, were quite popular (figs. 95 and 96). These Sogdian examples might be traced back to Parthian and Sasanian archetypes. Particularly in Sasanian architecture (figs. 91 and 92), but also in other arts (fig. 93), representations of throne niches (iwan) are frequently seen. The central audience hall in the palace of Ctesiphon, the Taq-i Kisra (the arch of Khosrow), was a giant barrel-vaulted iwan (fig. 91). The same is true of the Taq-e Bostan, the "arch of the garden" (fig. 92) of the Sasanian summer palace. The huge iwan, showing on the back wall the investiture of Khosrow II on a throne platform, clearly parallels other audience halls. Thematically related is the silver plate in fig. 93. The image on this plate shows architectural features with a large iwan and its mural crown. It strongly resembles the Taq-e Bostan, furnished with a comparable mural crown.[105] Hubertus von Gall provides the appropriate background and explanations for these iwans as "throne and audience halls".[106] The miniature painting in fig. 79 documents this kind of representation for the Islamic period. Alexander the Great is enthroned in a large niche (iwan), flanked by two smaller niches, each with the Arab inscription "*al mulk*", sovereignty, written twice above.[107]

For the *ensi* design such representations – all belonging to the realm of throne symbolism – presumably were adopted from different epochs, superimposed on each other like "archaeological layers". That such iconography found its way into the design repertoire of Turkmen

105 The mural crown of the Taq-e Bostan is still visible at the upper edge of fig. 92, though truncated.
106 von Gall 1971: 215 et. seqq.
107 See also the discussion on the tent band cat. no. 99. In the chapter "The Yomut".

weavings might at first seem surprising, but becomes easier to accept in context with other Turkmen carpet designs with comparable roots.[108] The *ensi* design is not an isolated case.

6. Preliminary summary

The function of the *ensi* as a door curtain among the Turkmen seems beyond dispute. However, the common door flap of a Turkmen *yurt* was made of felt, and called *tarp yapar.* The use of the pile woven *ensi* remains poorly documented. Why is there such little evidence? There are only five pictorial records. This stands in glaring contrast to the number of *ensi* known. A small number of them, e.g. the Sarïq *ensi* fragment cat. no. 37, or the fragment of the Ersarï *ensi* cat. no. 136, presumably date from the 17th century.

The *ensi* as a door curtain with all likelihood was only used by the elite, valued as a symbol of status and rank. William Simpson's 1885 drawing of the Sarïq Khan in front of his richly decorated white yurt, embellished with a beautiful pile woven door rug, an *ensi*, and in addition even with a baldachin above it, shows a tribal leader equipped with all his regalia. The tent has been spruced up for the reception of the English envoys of the Afghan Boundary Comission (ABC) in 1884. The goal of impressing the foreigners was obviously achieved. Simpson, the "press photographer" of the delegation, was indeed impressed, and not only described the richly decorated yurt in "The Illustrated London News", but also made a beautiful drawing of it which was published together with his report. The Khan's yurt, or reception tent, differs from the yurt behind it not only in its rich decoration, but also by its colour, white rather than brown.[109] Another ABC officer in "The Daily News" describes the Khan as "The Lord Mayor", declaring his yurt to be his "Residence" and calling it "The Mansion House". Thus, Simpson's drawing reveals more to us than had previously been observed.

The issue remains whether the only use of the *ensi* was as a door curtain for reception tents of the elite. The large number of preserved examples might call this into question. Could it have had another use, perhaps within the yurt as a hanging, or even a use in a non-nomadic context? The most probable explanation, particularly given the increasing number of *ensi* in the 19th century, might be commerce. The *ensi* with its beautiful and impressive design and its practical format became a desirable object for an international market.

In the past, remnants of ancient shamanistic beliefs of nomadic people of the Eurasian steppe have been suggested as sources for the *ensi* design. However, these romantic notions don't seem to be supported or confirmed by archaeological findings. The design rather shows an interaction of diverse components of Ancient Near Eastern and Iranian iconography and culture, all having the same basis: representation of sovereignty and power.

Like sediments, diverse forms of stately representation have been accumulated in this textile design. The *ensi* is a status symbol of high-ranking persons. It symbolises status and power by representing a throne (ruler, state) carried by the people, with all its associated symbolism.

The survival of such concepts up to the 19th century is demonstrated not only by the Turkmen *ensi* design, but also by the carrying of the Emir of Bukhara on a felt carpet during his enthronement.[110] Sayed Muzaffar ad-Din Bahadur Khan (1860 – 1885), the Emir who replaced the old saf carpet (cat. no. 32) of the Bala Hauz mosque in Buchara with a rewoven new example with the same design (cat. no. 33)[111] was carried in this traditional manner during his installation in Samarkand in 1867.

Similar traditions continuing in Persia is illustrated by a Persian throne from the Qajar period, today housed in the large iwan of the Golestan Palace in Teheran (fig. 37). The *ensi* design and its message can allegorically be compared with Darius' message in the rock inscription of Bisutun, in which he calls on its people to follow him (to bear him) and Ahuramazda, to worship the god who has chosen him to lead the Achaemenid Empire.[112] Updated and transposed to the Turkmen context, the message is still both the status and power of the Khan and the importance and benefits of honouring and respecting him.

7. New insights on the etymology of the word *ensi*

As previously mentioned, Moshkova "translated" *ensi* as "rug hanging for the yurt entrance".[113] But in neither Turkish nor Persian nor Arabic does the word *ensi* or anything related to it correspond to the word for "door" or "yurt". In contrast, the common Turkmen felt flap for the yurt door was called *tarp yapar*, which is Turkish and translates literally as "closes loud".[114] I have also indicated that the design of the piled *ensi* is not rooted in nomadic culture, as has been assumed so far, whereas the design of the *tarp yapar,* the common Turkmen felt door flap, is. We have seen that the *ensi* design is deeply rooted in the culture of the Ancient Near East, representing power and sovereignty. The *ensi* is an ancient icon of dominion, and among the Turkmen became a status symbol of the Khan.

Is it within the realm of possibility that not only the *ensi* design, but also the word *ensi*, could have roots in the Ancient Near Eastern world? Oskar Kaelin, Ancient Near Eastern archaeologist at Basel University, drew my attention to the fact that *ensí* was a Sumerian title, meaning "ruler", a "king of a city-state".[115] In the "Realexikon für Assyriologie", under the heading "Ruler", for cities like Lagash, *ensí* has also been used as a synonym for *lugal*, King (literally "big man").[116] The letter *EN*, in ancient Sumerian, has also been used in connection with the names of gods like *en-ki*, "Lord of the Earth", or titles like *en-kul-aba*, "Lord of Kulaba", used by heroic kings like Gilgamesh.

But how did the Sumerian word find its way to Central Asia? One example of the use of the word *ensí* as a title of a ruler in the Ancient Near East outside Mesopotamia is found in Egypt. There is evidence that nzw[117] (pronounced *ensí*) for "King" has been used in Egypt since the first Dynasty and King Narmer. Carsten Peust posits *nzw* (*ensí*), the Egyptian title for a ruler, to be a borrowing from Sumerian. He writes: "It seems plausible that the Egyptians became acquainted with the concept of the state from the Sumerians, thereby also adopting an important key term from this field. The borrowing of the Sumerian title for "ruler" by the Egyptians fits well into our scenario."[118] This is consistent with the possibility that *ensí* as a loanword could have reached Iran and Central Asia quite early. This is the case for the Sumerian title *lugal*, "King", which was adopted by Cyrus II,[119] a clear demonstration that such titles were also adopted in Greater Iran.

There are other examples of loanwords from Ancient Oriental languages being used outside Mesopotamia. A good example of the staying power of Ancient Near Eastern names is *nisannu*, since 2500 B.C. the Akkadian name for the first month of the Babylonian calendar. Known as *nisanic* in Sogdian, *nisan* in Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Kurdish, and Turkish, it is still in use today for the month of April.

The names of cities can reach comparably far back in time. The largest city in Syria, Aleppo (*Halab* in Arabic), has been known since 1900 B.C. as *Haleb* in Akkadian, *Halpa* in Hittite, *Chalba* in Egyptian, *Hlb* in Aramaic, and *Halep* in Turkish.

As shown in the chapter "The Salor", the heritage of ancient names was also known among the Turkmen, traceable back to the first millennium B.C. The name *sagdaq gül* for the secondary motif of the Salor *chuval* with Salor *gül* is an example. *Sagdaq* is the name given to the

108 E.g. the tent band cat. no. 99, or the *ak su* design (see the chapter "Streams of Paradise").
109 According to Peter Andrews, the *yurt* of a ordinary Turkmen is brown (Andrews 1973: 103).
110 Naumkin 1993a: 24. See Andrews 1999: 121 for this custom among the early Turks, and Weatherford 2004: 66 among Genghis Khan and the Mongols.
111 See "The Saf Carpets of the Bala Hauz Mosque in Bukhara" (cat. nos. 32 and 33) in the chapter "The Ersarï".
112 For the Bisutun inscription, see Koch 1992: 294.
113 Moshkova 1979 (1996): 329.
114 Andrews 1973: 102; 1993a: 12; 1997a: 67.
115 See Cat. Berlin/Mannheim 2013: 215.
116 Reallexikon der Assyrologie: 337.
117 For the correct pronunciation of the Egyptian *nzw*, see Peust 2007: 60 – 61.
118 Peust 2007: 61.
119 Reallexikon der Assyrologie: 340.

Fig. 98: Detail from the Arjan bowl (fig. 101). Drinking from a bowl scene in front of a royal yurt. This is not only the earliest representation of a yurt per se, but also the earliest representation of a yurt in the context of a "banquet". The baldachin stretched over the entrance of the yurt could be an example of the double function of the ensi: as a door curtain when hung down, and as a baldachin when stretched out and fixed on two wooden poles.

Fig. 99: Scenery with courtly ladies in a royal garden, Safavid miniature painting, Herat, ca. 1520. A baldachin is pitched in front of the yurt. Repr. from Loukonine/Ivanov 2003: Cat. no. 170.

Fig. 100: The white audience tent of the Khan of the Sarïq is furnished with all kind of prestigious textiles, including ensi and baldachin. Drawing after a watercolour by William Simpson (see also fig. 1).

Sogdians by the Turks. The Sogdians are mentioned in historical sources in the Iranian World from the 6th century B.C. to the 10th century A.D., and their name even survived as the name of a Turkmen carpet design up to the 20th century. This is a mere 2600 years, compared to 4000 years for the name of Aleppo, or even nearly 6000 years for the word *ensi*.

How the Sumerian title for a ruler, *ensí*, found its way to the Turkmen tradition is still not clear. In view of the many Turkmen designs with Ancient Near Eastern roots,[120] e.g. the *ak su* and *ensi* designs, we can reasonably conjecture that the title *ensí* for a ruler survived into the 20th century A.D. as the name of a traditional design for the regalia of a ruler, a Khan. The borrowing of the Sumerian title for ruler, *ensí*, not only fits well into the context of early dynastic Egypt, as stated by Peust, it also fits perfectly with the Ancient Near Eastern iconography of the Turkmen *ensi*.

120 See the chapter "Streams of Paradiese".

8. Concluding remarks on the "ensi as a door curtain"

A final but not least interesting item of evidence concerning the possible use of the *ensi* is provided by a representation on a late 7th or early 6th century B.C. bronze bowl uncovered from a royal burial in Arjan in southern Iran (fig. 101). The set of scenes represented in the seven concentric registers of this bowl has been interpreted by Xavier Alvarez-Mon as an imago mundi, representing the "world of a King" and his ceremonial duties.[121] One of the outstanding features on this bowl is the representation of a yurt with a baldachin stretched out over the yurt doorway (fig. 98). The yurt is part of the equipment of a ritual banquet, celebrated by the King following a royal hunt (hunt and subsequent banquet are both royal duties in the life of a King). Comparable scenes with yurts and baldachins are still seen in Islamic miniature paintings (fig. 99). The richly decorated white yurt of the Sarïq

121 Alvarez-Mon 2004.

Fig. 101: The Arjan bowl, from a princely burial of an Elamite ruler, Arjan, Southern Iran, 7th or 6th century B.C. Five concentric registers show various scenes comparable to Phoenician, Urartian, and Assyrian representations. The outermost register shows two scenes: a royal hunt and the subsequent ritual banquet. The banquet scene is shown in front of a royal yurt (fig. 107). Repr. from Majizadeh 1992: Fig. 1.

Khan on William Simpson's drawing (fig. 100) represents the end of this ancient princely tradition. It is certainly conceivable that, already in the time of the Arjan bowl, an "*ensi*", functioning both as door rug and baldachin, was part of the furnishing of a royal yurt. This is suggested not only by the unusual and ancient name of this object, "*ensi*", but also by a number of ancient *ensi* designs such as the tripartite field composition, the *sainak* border, and the *gush* motifs in registers. All these features are related to concepts of sovereignty and all of them are deeply rooted at least in the first millennium B.C. Clear evidence for the existence of carpets in the first millennium B.C. is provided by the Pazyryk carpet (fig. 34). By that time, two thousand years ago, carpet weaving already had a standard comparable to "modern" Turkmen weaving.

The *ensi* as a pile woven prestige object might indeed have been used as a combined door curtain and baldachin since the first millennium B.C. as seen on the Arjan bowl.

9. Additional considerations on the possible origin and meaning of the tripartite field design of the *ensi*

So far, there is very little information on the possible origin and meaning of the tripartite field composition of the ensi design.[122] This design principle is very uncommon in Oriental carpets. Consistent with my new interpretation of characteristic *ensi* designs such as the *sainak* motif (fig. 57–84), the registers with the *gush* motifs, and the superimposed niche forms (figs. 85–91), as being connected to Ancient Near Eastern throne symbolism and the representation of power and sovereignty, perhaps there is also a new way to look at this tripartite *ensi* design principle.

The resemblance between the field composition of the *ensi* (fig. 103) and the tripartite composed facades of the Achaemenid rock tombs in Naqsh-e Rustam (fig. 102) have intrigued me for quite some time. However, these parallels seemed possibly just coincidental, and too far away from each other in time. In the light of the new interpretation of the *ensi* design, particularly of the *gush* motif as a throne bearer, and even more so with the new discovered etymology of the name "*ensi*" as an ancient, Sumerian loanword, these concerns have now been mitigated. The composition of the *ensi* could indeed relate to the composition of the Achaemenid rock tombs in Naqsh-e Rustam.

9.1 The similarities between the *ensi* design and the Achaemenid rock tombs (fig. 102 and 103)

What first catches the eye about both is the division into three sections: a rectangular and shallow horizontal field in the centre, and two larger and squarer fields above and below. While the Achaemenid rock tombs show the façade of a palace in the central rectangular field, the *ensi* design merely shows a geometric pattern. In the upper squarish field, however, the *ensi* and the rock tombs share an important parallel. The Achaemenid rock tombs show a cultic scene with the ruler, standing on a large platform in the shape of a throne stool. This platform is supported by 28 figures (throne bearers), representing the 28 satrapies of the Achaemenid empire, arranged in two registers.[123] A comparable representation is also seen in the two larger, squarish fields of the *ensi* design. There too, we find registers with supporting figures[124] (Stützfiguren), although in more than only two registers and heavily stylized, and in place of the ruler, we find a powerful symbol, a large (throne) niche on top of the upper squarish field. [125] Over the centuries, this (throne) niche may have replaced the figure of the ruler. In contrast to the *ensi* design, the squarish field below the rectangular central field of the Achaemenid tombs has been left plain. The reason for this is unclear, but it most likely goes back to earlier Median rock tombs.

What does this unusual practice of "multistoried" representation on the Achaemenid rock tombs mean? Why are three representations simply placed on top of each other? Multi-storey buildings of this kind were unknown in Achaemenid palace architecture.

Can the *ensi* design be based on the same concept? A possible, even likely, explanation, at least for the Achaemenid rock tombs, is to be found in examples from the Ancient Near Eastern world.

Fig. 102: Fig. 98: Achaemenid rock tomb, Naksh-i Rustam. 5th century B.C. Repr. from Flandin-Coste 1848: Pl. 173.

Fig. 103: Teke ensi, cat. no. 50, 114 × 156 cm (lower alem only party preserved), 18th century. Private collection.

9.2 The Ancient Near Eastern way of transposing three dimensional representations in two dimensions (Figs. 104 – 110)

Lacking perspective in drawing, artists of the Ancient Near Eastern world resorted to a convention; they simply placed background scenes above foreground scenes. This kind of representation is encountered at least since the mid 2nd millennium B.C. Fig. 104 shows an Egyptian example, a scene from a papyrus from the time of Ramses II (ca. 1303 – 1213 B.C.). The king holds the centre of a cable to be pulled by sixteen men in two rows. The scene recalls the erecting of the Djed column, the King here seeming to take the role of the column. The row with eight figures in the background was simply placed above the row of eight figures in the foreground, to make them visible.

Examples from Mesopotamia follow in the early first millennium B.C. A stone relief from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883 – 859 B.C.) showing a scene with horses is shown in fig. 105. The foreground shows horses at a feeding trough, while horse grooming is taking place in the background (above the foreground). A further example (fig. 106), this time from architecture, is taken from a bronze gate of the palace of the Assyrian King Salmaneser III (859–824). The representation shows a Chaldean city with a double circular wall. Since the period of Darius I (549–486 B.C.), this concept was also widely seen in Achaemenid Persia, and might well explain the multi-storey composition of the rock tombs of Naqsh-e Rustam.

Let us re-examine the representation on the Achaemenid rock tombs (fig. 108) in light of this convention. The centre of the composition shows the façade of a palace (The Achaemenids did not have temples). A representation of a cultic scene appears above it. This scene could have taken place within the palace which appears just bellow it, or in an inner courtyard of this palace (e.g. the Treasure House of Persepolis had an inner courtyard). Below (which would be in front of) the façade of the palace, a plain area is seen. This lower plain area combined with a façade of a palace was adopted by the Achaemenids from the Medes, who had very similar, though smaller, rock tombs (fig. 107). Added, in the Achaemenid tomb architecture from the time of Darius I, is the cultic scene with the King above the palace façade.

A comparable façade composition can be seen in the 1st century A.D. Nabataean rock tombs of Petra, Jordan (fig. 109). There, too, the columned façade of a temple is represented with a background scene placed above it, showing the inner courtyard of the temple with a colonnade and a small round temple (*tholos*).[126]

Our last example of a comparable temple representation is seen in a 3rd century A.D. temple (fig. 110). The obverse of a coin shows a temple complex with a columned façade and a columned inner courtyard behind it. In place of the *tholos* in the inner courtyard of the temple seen on the Nabataean rock tomb, stands a large cone. The temple

122 See Hoffmeister and Tsareva in Eiland 2003.

123 David Stronach describes this scenery as a representation of "world dominion" of the Achaenmenids (Stronach 1993: 28).

124 See section "5.3.1.1 Early Forms of Supporting Figures in the Ancient Near Eastern World" (Figs. 37 – 41).

125 See section "5.3.3 The Niche Forms and the Registers in the Field of the Ensi Design" (Fig. 97).

126 See cat. Basel 2012: 114.

...Background scenes are simply placed above foreground scenes... (Collin 2008: 30, on Assyrian methods to simulate "perspective")

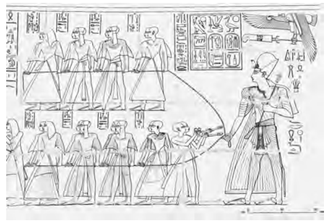


Fig. 104: The Festival of Sokar. In front of the hennu barque of Sokar, the King (Ramses II, 1279 – 1213) holds the centre of a cable to be pulled by sixteen figures in two rows, recalling the erection of the Djed column, the King here seeming to take the role of the column. Repr. from Medinet Habu, University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 1940, vol. IV, plate 224.

Fig. 105: Horse care in an Assyrian army camp. Relief from the palace of Ashurnasirpal II, 883 – 859 B.C. Background scenes are simply placed above foreground scenes, a common practice of representation in 7th – 9th centuries Assyrian palace reliefs. Repr. from Schäfer/Andrae 1925: 536.

Fig. 106: Representation of a city on the bronze gate of Balawat, palace of Shalmaneser III, 859 – 824 B.C. This is not meant to be a two-storey building, but a Chaldean city with a double circular wall. Background scenes are simply placed above foreground scenes. Repr. from Barnett/Forman o.J.: Plate 165.

in question is dedicated to the Goddess Astarte with a cone, her cult symbol, seen in the inner courtyard. This coin confirms that this kind of representation – placing background scenes above foreground scenes – was common in the Ancient Near East at least up to the 3rd century A.D.[127]

9.2.1 Background scene above foreground scene: A possible explanation for the tripartite composition of the *ensi* design

I am not suggesting that the *ensi* design directly copies the composition of the rock tombs in Naqsh-e Rustam or the Astarte temple in Byblos. Rather, the *ensi* design follows the same Ancient Near Eastern principle as seen in these representations. It is possible that in the *ensi* design, what is represented one on top of the other should be thought of as one behind the other. The actual meaning of this is certainly not firmly established; the representation of a palace is only one hypothetical interpretation.

It is possible that the Achaemenid rock tombs represent a dualistic conception of the world: the opposition of inside and outside, structured and unstructured, or chaos and cosmos.

The same concept could be transferred to the *ensi* design, though only hypothetically. The bottom squarish field is in almost all cases smaller that the top one. Many Teke *ensi*, particularly older pieces, have

127 See also Brunner-Traut 1990. She calls this type of represenation "aspective", in contrast to "perspective" (Aspektive im Gegensatz zu Perspektive).

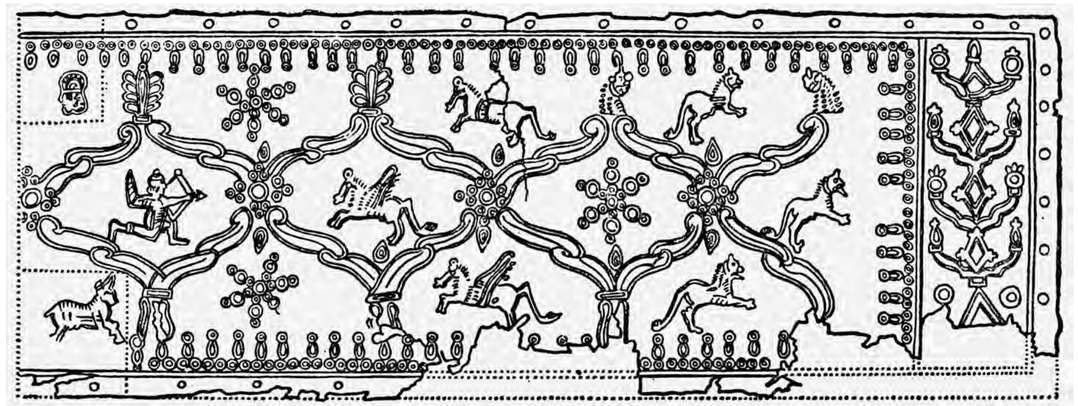
Fig. 107: Da-u Dukhtar, late Median or early Achaemenid rock tomb (640 – 560 B.C.),forerunner of the Achaemenid rock tombs at Naqsh-e Rustam (fig. 104). Repr. from Herzfeld 1941 (1988): Plate XXXV.

Fig. 108: Achaemenid rock tomb, Naksh-e Rustam, 5th century B.C. The upper part of the tomb shows a ceremony with the King, worshiping fire, above him the Faravahar, the symbol of "royal fortune". The middle part, representing the facade of an Achaemenid palace, bears the entrance to the burial chambers. Repr. from Flandin-Coste 1848. Coste 1848.

Fig. 109: Façade of the Khazneh, Nabataean rock tomb, Petra, Syria. Late 1st century B.C. Repr. from Cat. Basel 2012: 219, fig. 2.

Fig. 110: Bronze coin, Byblos, Roman Emperor Macrinus (217 – 218). The inscription reads HIEROS BYBLOY, "The Holy Byblos".

five registers with *gush* motifs in the lower field, while the upper field has seven. The background of this could be seen in a dualistic concept: five [4+1] stands for the earth, and seven for the [7] heavens.



Left: Fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, height 10.6 cm, 7th century B.C. Hunting scene in a garden crossed by waterstreams. Represented are a hunter, lions, winged horses, a bull (or another bovid), two lions heads, the head of a helmed man (upper left corner), two small palmettes, pomegranate (?) rosettes, and a stylized tree attached at the right end. Repr. from Ghirshman 1964: Fig. 571.

Streams of Paradise

The Turkmen *ak su* Design

Introduction

The *ak su* (fig. 13) is an ancient and relatively rare Turkmen carpet design. It is most frequently seen among the "Yomut" in Southwest Turkmenistan,[1] less frequently among the Salor, the Sarïq, the Teke, and the Ersarï (figs. 41–44).[2] It is rare among all other Turkmen groups, appearing only on later pieces. On weavings of the 17th to the early 19th centuries it is seen only on small format weavings. Only in the 19th century, it occasionally appears on larger formats like a *kapunuk* of the Ersarï,[3] or even on a *khali* of the Chowdur.[4] This late re-use of an ancient design is also seen with other rare designs like the "Eagle" *gül* and the compound *gül*. This has been referred to as a "revival" of ancient designs in the late 19th century.

Occasionally, the *ak su* design is also seen outside the Turkmen tradition, for instance on weavings of the neighbouring Kordi of Khorasan.[5]

Although the *ak su* design is rare, it belongs to the "bedrock" of Turkmen carpet designs, to a group of patterns which I propose go back to Mesopotamian archetypes of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. Other members of this group are the *gush* and the *sainak* motif of the *ensi*,[6] certain forms of trees of life in the *alem* of Salor *chuval* (cat. no. 11), and the borders of Teke *ensi* (cat. no. 50). The *kochanak* border of Salor *chuval* (cat. no. 11–15) and a special form of pomegranate trees on Turkmen tent bands (cat. no. 53) also belong to this group.

During the early 1st millennium B.C., Central Asia adopted designs from Mesopotamia, as did the Scythians and the Greeks. Among

1 See cat. no. 111 and its comparison pieces.
2 See cat. no. 9 and its comparison pieces.
3 Azadi 1975: No. 43.
4 Loges 1978: No. 67.

5 Thompson 2008: 184, 185, soumak bags; Stanzer 1988: 213, a pile carpet. Interestingly this applies also in a very similar form to the "Eagle" *gül* and "compound"*gül*, which are also documented among the Kordi (Stanzer 1988: 213)
6 See figs. 30–50 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

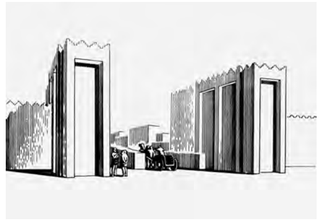


Fig. 1: The city gate of Altyn Tepe, 3rd millennium B.C., reconstruction. Two powerful pylons form the 15 meter wide entrance to the city.

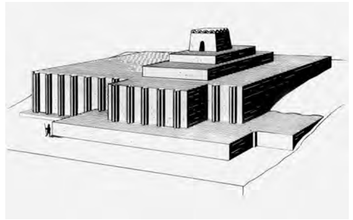


Fig. 2: Altyn Tepe, sacred area with a small temple on a 12 meter high four-stage platform constructed on a hill of deposits of earlier buildings, 3rd millennium B.C., reconstruction by Vadim M. Masson. This kind of temple built on a terrace-like platform goes back to models from Susa (late 5th millennium B.C.) and/or Uruk (4th millennium B.C.). The Sumerian word *zikkurat*, "step pyramid", could go back to the Elamite word root *zik*, "to bank up", "to fill up" (Koch 2006: 6–7). Repr. from Masson 1982: 31.

Fig. 3: Female figure, h. 14 cm, late 3rd millennium B.C., Ishtar temple, Mari, Syria. National Museum, Aleppo, Syria. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: No. 107a.

Fig. 4: Female figure, h. 8.7 cm, late 3rd millennium B.C., Susa, Iran. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Repr. from Harper et al. 1992: No. 119.

Fig. 5: Female figure, h. 8.7 cm, late 3rd millennium B.C. Altyn Tepe, Turkmenistan, National Museum. Repr. from Rossi-Osmida et al. 1996: 41

Fig. 6: Small statue of a seated priestess, Mari, Syria, 2500 – 2250 B.C., H. 23 cm. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: No. 92a.

Fig. 7: Smal statue of a female figure, wearing a kaunakes, H. 14.9 cm, Chafadschi, Irak, ca. 2500 B.C. Repr. from Moortgat 1982: Plate 97.

Fig. 8: Statue of the seated Goddess Narundi/Narunte, H. 109 cm, Susa, Iran, after the archetype of the Akkadian Godess Ishtar, ca. 2100 B.C. Repr. from Harper et al. 1992: 91.

Fig. 9: Figurine of a seated princess or priestess (?), Bactria or Margiana (Gonur) or Iran, 2000 – 1650 B.C. The seated female figure wears a *kaunakes* after Mesopotamian models. Repr. from Sarianidi 1986: 125.

Fig. 10: Figurine of a seated princess or priestess (?), Bactria or Margiana (Gonur), H. 9 cm, 2000 – 1650 B.C. The seated female figure wears a *kaunakes* after Mesopotamian models. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: 368, no. 259b.

the Scythians this is evidenced by the Ziwiye hoard in Iran[7] and the findings in Kelermes kurgans in the northern Black Sea area.[8] Among the Greeks, this Ancient Oriental influence is seen particularly in vase painting. One even speaks of an "orientalising style" there.[9] How did such design adoptions from remote Mesopotamia come about in Central Asia?

Early contacts to Elam, Mesopotamia and the Indus Culture

Cultural exchanges between Central Asia and Iran, as well as Mesopotamia, have occurred at least since the proto-Elamite period, the 4th millennium B.C. Altyn Tepe developed from about 3200 B.C. to become a Bronze Age city, having its cultural peak between 3200 and 2100 B.C. The city gate of the walled town (fig. 1) resembled the impressive city gates of Mesopotamia.[10] To the east, Sarazm in the valley of the river Zerafshan was another important Bronze Age site. In both places remains of temples in the form of step pyramids have been excavated. The Russian archaeologist Masson, involved in the excavations of both places, compared these Central Asian step pyramids (fig.2) to the ziggurats of Mesopotamia.[11] Similar buildings have also been found in other places: Tepe Sialk (Iran, near Kashan, ca. 2900 B.C.), Tureng Tepe (Northeast Iran, near Astarabad/Gorgan), Mundigak (Afghanistan, near Kandahar), and Shahr-i Sokhta (Eastern Iran, border to Sistan, Pakistan).[12] A 5th millennium B.C. cult site in Susa, a two-tiered constructed platform 10 meters high and 80 × 80 meters in area, is considered by Heidemarie Koch, professor of Elamite studies, to be a precursor of these Mesopotamian and Central Asian step pyramids (*ziggurat*). This Elamite building complex in Susa older than the Mesopotamian and Central Asian temples; Koch also traces the Sumerian name *ziggurat* back to the Elamite language: the root of the Elamite word *zig* means "to raise", "to bank up", "to fill".[13]

The stylised female idols found in Altyn Tepe might also go back to proto-Elamite and Sumerian models (cf. figs. 3 – 5). Masson sees analogies to proto-Elamite pictography in the symbols carved into the bodies of these idols (a sprig or a branch in fig. 5).[14] The domestication of the camel and the adoption of the four wheeled wagon in Altyn Tepe and Goeksyur enabled and facilitated trade not only with Mesopotamia, but also with the cultures of the Zerafshan valley (Sarazm I– III) and the Indus (Mohendjo Daro). This is documented by archaeological finds from the time around 3000 B.C. of objects from the Indus civilisation, e.g. seashells from a burial of the "Princess of Sarazm".[15]

Further parallels between Iran and Mesopotamia are traceable in Gonur and in the Murghab delta for the first half of the 2nd millennium B.C.: a large number of small female figurines clothed in costumes very similar to the Mesopotamian *kaunakes* (figs. 6–10).[16] In the 3rd millennium B.C., such clothing was "fashionable" for Sumerian and Akkadian gods, kings, and priests. The "*kaunakes*"-wearing female figurines from Gonur have been traced back by archaeologists to the

7 Ghirshman 1964: 98 et sqq.
8 Schiltz 1994: 65 – 69.
9 See Boardman 1998: 83.
10 Baumer 2012: 66.
11 Masson 1982: 31, 35.
12 Baumer 2012: 68, 69; Aruz et al. 2003: 349; Maurizio Tosi et al. Unseco vol. 1 : 199, 206, 215.
13 Koch 2006: 6–7. In offering a different explanation, the Ancient Near Eastern archaeologist Oskar Kaelin suggests that the Akkadian word for "stepped pyramid" *ziggurat* "zqr" goes back to the Egyptian lexem "sql/r" for "elevate, make high", therefore being an Egyptian loan word (Kaelin 2007). The first Egyptian stepped pyramids are actually a few centuries earlier than the earliest in Mesopotamia. The Elamite temple complexes cited by Koch are more like terraces with a temple built on top than real stepped pyramids, such as the first *ziggurat* from Ur.
14 Masson 1982: 39.
15 Baumer 2012: 73.
16 Hirsch 1991.

Fig. 11: The "*ak su*" design in Scythian animal style. The detail highlighted shows the "cambered brackets" (volutes) forming the lattice, which represents watercourses. Detail from the belt fitting in fig. 20, 6th century B.C. Repr. from Ghirshman 1964: Figs. 143, 146.

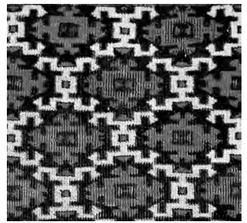


Fig. 12: Detail from the Salor torba, cat. no. 9, 17th/18th century. The Turkmen ak su design shows amazing parallels to the lattice design of the Scythian gold belt.

Mesopotamian Goddess Inana or Ishtar. Inana has been preserved as Nana in Sogdia up to the Islamisation in the 8th/9th centuries.[17] Also, the early Central Asian scripts including Parthian, Khoresmian, Sogdian, and Bactrian go back to Aramaic and therefore to Mesopotamia.[18]

Bronze Age sites such as Gonur (2000–1650 B.C.) were the forerunners of the Central Asian cities with a town wall, living quarters (*shahristan*), and a citadel (*ark*). In a burial of the elite in Gonur, both a seal from Harappa (Indus culture) and an Egyptian makeup pencil made of ivory were found.[19]

The Turkmen *ak su* design and its archetypes

A good example of the link between one of the indicated Ancient Oriental designs and the Turkmen *ak su* design is provided by the decoration of a Scythian metal belt from the 6th century B.C. (fig. 11).

17 Baumer 2012: 108, 112.
18 Baumer 2012: 203
19 Baumer 2012: 108.

But the affinity between the design of the Turkmen carpet and the Scythian belt far exceed the mere resemblance. The name and the meaning of the design have also been preserved over a period of more than 2500 years.

Ak su is Turkmen and literally means "white water". Nicholas Purdon translates *ak su* not only as "white water", but interestingly also as "stream".[20] "Stream", "running water", or just "watercourse" seem better suited to the term *ak su* and its corresponding lattice design. "White water" could also be a synonym for "pure water", maybe for "drinking water", or even for "water of life". In fact, water symbolism generally connotes water of life. The Sumerian goddess of water in fig. 25 illustrates this with her symbolic language reduced to the basics. She holds a vase, the well of all waters, from which the waters spring to be distributed to the four corners of the earth. The location of this well of all waters is identical with the location of the tree of life. From the vase, the well of all waters, held by the Goddess, a plant also arises, a symbolic representation of the tree of life.

20 Purdon 1996: 50.

As we will see, such representations run throughout the cultures of the Ancient Orient. Representations of landscapes with water courses, plants, animals, and depictions of rituals can be found very early on (figs. 21–27), and they have survived up to the present. The Turkmen *ak su* design is a vivid example of this, even though in an abstract form (fig. 12). One of the earliest representations showing a landscape with a watercourse, plants, and animals is seen on a silver jar from the Maikop culture from the northeastern Black Sea region. This culture dates from around 4000 B.C. (figs. 21 and 22). One of the earliest representations of watercourses in the form of a lattice appears on a fragment of a stele of the Sumerian King Gudea (fig. 13). A slightly later example appears on an Elamite stele from Susa (figs. 14 shows the lower half), which originally had the imposing height of 260 cm.

The Urartian and Scythian metal belts and their designs

The Turkmen name *ak su* "stream" or "water of life" supports the possibility of connections between the Turkmen carpet design and the already presented designs on the Urartian and Scythian metal belts of the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. (figs. 17–20). These correlations concern not only the resemblance of the designs, but also the mythological and symbolic backgrounds. I start with the Scythian example because many readers might know it rather than its Urartian archetype, and because of its better suitability for a direct comparison with the Turkmen *ak su* design.

The belt made of goldfoil (fig. 20) stems from the legacy of a Scythian nobleman.[21] It belongs to a chance find of the 1950's, known as the "Ziwiye hoard". Roman Ghirshman considers the decoration of the belt to be a mixture of a lattice in Urartian style and Scythian animal representations, produced under the influence of the supposed Scythian client and the fashion of the 7th/6th centuries B.C. Such Urartian influence is not unusual and can be seen frequently in Scythian art. It can be seen, for example, on Scythian gold work from Kelermes in the northeastern Black Sea area.[22] Richly decorated bronze belts were highly esteemed by the Urartian elite.[23]

21 Ghirshman 1964: Fig.143, 146, and 571.

Various factors speak for a Urartian origin of the lattice. Both belts, the Urartian[24] and the Scythian[25], show a combination of a lattice in the field with a tree of life at the closure. Further, in both belts, the lattice and the tree of life are composed of the same "cambered brackets", presumably derived from a volute (cf. fig. 12, detail).[26] Ghirshman describes the lattice of the Scythian belt as "rhombic fields, composed of 'cambered brackets', joined at the corner points with lion's heads".[27] However, Barthel Rhouda speaks of "volute and animal decoration",[28] thereby pointing to the supposed origin of the design elements (volutes) of the lattice. The belt fragment from the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Mass., published by Hourda, shows the lower left corner of the Scythian belt, thus proving that also in the Scythian belt the closure with its tree of life design was placed at the right hand end.

The Urartian lattice and the appendant tree of life design[29] might in turn go back to Assyrian archetypes. These Assyrian models show "holy trees" embedded in, or in front of, a lattice (fig. 16). Such repre-

22 See Schiltz 1994: 65 – 69.
23 Kellner (1991) in "Gürtelbleche aus Urartu" lists 449 belts. Urartu was an ancient Near Eastern empire in the area of lake Van.
24 Among the many Urartian bronze belts, those with a lattice form a sub group, dated to the 7th century by Kellner (Kellner 1991).
25 It is not certain whether both parts of the Scythian belt from Ziwiye (fig. 20a and b) are from the same original piece. Ghirshman suggests doubts. Comparison with the design of the Urartian belt fig.17 and the fact that the two fragments (fig. 20 a and b) were found together argue for their being from the same belt. Anyhow, both fragments certainly stem from Urartian archetypes like fig. 17.
26 Kellner 1991 calls the lattice "garland design".
27 Ghirschman 1964: 110.
28 Hrouda 1991: 421.
29 Similar Urartian tree of life designs are also seen on the golden handle and the scabbard of a 7th century B.C. Scythian sword, illustrated in Schiltz 1994: 65 and 321–324. On such Urartian tree of life designs, see also figs. 6 – 12 and the discussion of the border design of the Teke *ensi* cat. no. 50 in the chapter "The Teke".

Fig. 13: Fragment of a stele of King Gudea, Neo Sumerian, 22nd century B.C. This might be the earliest known representation of a lattice of watercourses. Repr. from Parrot 1960: 196.

Fig. 14: Stone stele from Susa (detail), Elamite, 14th century B.C. The upper register shows two water goddesses, six jars, and a lattice of watercourses. In the lower register a holy tree stands between two mouflon men. Repr. from Harper et al. 1992: 128, 42.

Fig. 15: Assyrian stone relief, 9th century B.C. A large palmette tree stands in the middle of a garden crossed by watercourses. This representation might have been the model for the Urartian metal belts. Repr. from Layard 1849, plate 7.

Fig. 16: Assyrian stone relief, 9th century B.C. Detail of a holy tree. The wavy bands between the trunk (right hand side of the image) and the palmettes (left hand side of the image) represent running water. National Museum Copenhagen. Image by the author.

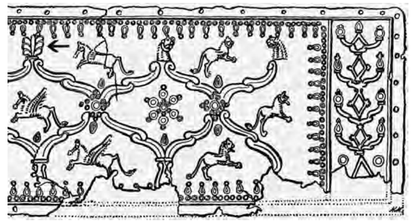


Fig. 17: Fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, height 10.6 cm, 7th century B.C. Hunting scene in a garden crossed by watercourses. Represented are a hunter, lions, winged horses, a bull (or another horned animal), two lions heads, the head of a helmeted man (see fig. 1, upper left corner), two small palmettes (arrow, upper left edge of the lattice), pomegranate (?) rosettes, and a stylized tree attached at the right side. The lattice composed of volutes is very similar to the one in the Scythian gold belt from Ziwiye (fig. 20). Repr. from Ghirshman 1964: Fig. 571.

sentations are frequently seen in Assyrian art, where composite mythical creatures always flank the trees.

Walter Andrae, in the 1920s, connected the lattice work on the Assyrian representations with water. About compositions with palmette trees, as seen in fig. 16, he writes: "The trunk is decorated with chevrons, bindings, volute-sprouts, and brackets, while waved bands emanate from it to reach an outer continuous band with palmettes framing the whole composition. Possibly this lattice work of waved bands represents a garden crossed by little watercourses."[30] A connection not only to the Urartian belts, but also to the Scythian belts and the Turkmen *ak su* design, seems reasonable and likely.

The Assyrian representations of gardens crossed by a lattice of watercourses in combination with a tree of life as seen in fig. 15 might go back to even earlier archetypes. A Sumerian stele from Lagash (fig. 14) and an Elamite stele from Susa demonstrate this impressively (fig. 15). In the stele from Susa, below a lattice of watercourses, is a tree of life comparable to the Assyrian palmette tree. Most importantly, both the Sumerian and the Elamite examples prove the latticework to be watercourses. It certainly seems likely that the lattice also represents watercourses in a garden in the Urartian belts shown in figs. 17–19. This is supported by the hatching of the lattice in one of the belts (fig. 19).

The large palmette tree standing in front or in the middle of the Assyrian garden (fig. 15) is placed beside the garden in the Urartian counterpart, at the beginning of the belt (fig. 17). Animals and a winged hunter have been added, anticipating an Iranian hunting garden, a *pairi-daeza*, Greek *paradeisos*. The Avestan word *pairi-daeza* means "enclosed", "fenced", or "walled".[31] The Forbidden Tree of the Bible also

30 Schäfer/Andrae 1925: 687–688, text to no. 531.

31 Nunn 2006: 20.

Fig. 18: Fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, height 9.8 cm, 7th century B.C. The fragment shows a simplified version of the lattice with some parallels to the Scythian gold belt. At the intersections of the lattice are palmettes instead of the animal heads of the Scythian example. Repr. from Kellner 1991: Tafel 59, Nr. 233

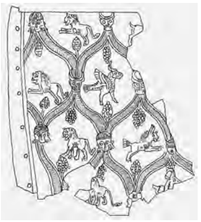


Fig. 19: Fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, 7th century B.C. The hatching of the lattice probably represents flowing water. The intersections are accentuated with both human and bull's heads, while the Scythian example only shows animal heads. Repr. from Seidl 2004: Folded plate C, 2.

Fig. 20a and b: Fragments of a golden belt with volutes (white rectangular selections) and animals, height 16 cm, 6th century B.C. Ziwiye hoard, Iran. The lattice composed of volutes (fragment a) follows a Urartian archetype (fig. 17), while the deer, goats, and lions are worked in Scythian animal style. The fragment b at the beginning of the belt shows a tree of life design, as seen in the Urartian archetype fig. 17. This Scythian example already shows a degree of stylisation, revealing itself as a (hunting) garden with watercourses only by comparison with the Urartian archetypes. Repr. from Ghirshman 1964: Fig. 143, 146.

stands in the middle of a garden, and from it spring the four streams of paradise (Genesis 2, 10).

Among Urartian works of art, such lattice designs combined with palmettes and animals are seen not only on belts, but also in other media.[32]

Pairi-Daeza, Paradeisos, Paradise

The Urartian belt design in fig. 17 thus represents a garden with watercourses, wild animals, and a hunter. Such landscapes or gardens crossed by watercourses with ritual scenes are known not only from the Ancient Orient, but also from the Mediterranean area.

Our first example is a silver vessel with incised decoration from the Oshad kurgan of the so-called Maikop culture in the Northwestern Caucasus (figs. 21 and 22). The vessel dates from the Bronze Age around 4000 B.C. and shows a landscape with a mountain ridge, and two rivers falling into a lake or swamp. Plants (reeds?) and diverse wild animals are represented.

The next example, a cylinder seal, a thousand years later, shows a watercourse with fish and plants along the bank (fig. 23). These plants show surprising similarities to those on the silver vessel from the Oshad kurgan (fig. 22). They are probably reeds. Such representations of landscapes with watercourses are also seen on painted ceramics like those from Susa.[33]

On an Akkadian cylinder seal from around 2350 – 2150 B.C. we encounter for the first time a hunter (fig. 24). He stands in a landscape crossed by a watercourse with plants (reeds?) growing from the bank, a scaled mountain, and diverse wild animals.

32 See Collon 1987: 87, 403; Seidl 2004: 164, 114e.

33 Herzfeld 1941 (1988): 71 and 75.

Fig. 21, 22: Silver vessel, height 10 cm, Maikop kurgan, late 4th to early 3rd millennium B.C. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Probably an early Bronze Age import from Mesopotamia. It shows one of the earliest landscape representations with a mountain range, two watercourses flowing into a lake or a swamp in the centre, reeds along one of the watercourses (above the lion) and various wild animals. Figs 23–27 represent a continuation of this tradition. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: 293, 82.

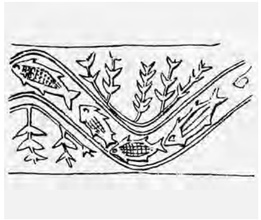


Fig. 23: Proto-Elamite cylinder seal, showing a watercourse with reeds, elements it has in common with fig. 22. Iran, ca. 3200–2800 B.C. Repr. from Herzfeld 1941 (1988): 71 a.

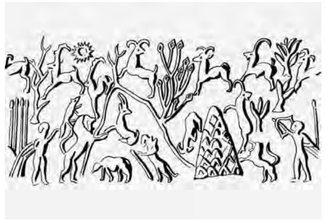


Fig. 24: Akkadian cylinder seal, 2350–2150 B.C. It shows various plants and wild animals – lions, goats, a fox, and a bear (?) – in a landscape crossed by a watercourse rising from the scaled "mountain" to the right. For the first time, we also encounter a hunter. Repr. from Keel 1972: 49, fig. 59.

Thematically appropriate is the 16th century B.C. Greek wall painting from the Cycladic island of Thera (fig. 26). It shows a lush landscape with a river, palm trees, and various wild animals. Erika Simon compares this scene with that on a Minoan signet ring (fig. 27).[34] This signet ring also shows a landscape or a garden crossed by watercourses. Along these watercourses, which divide the landscape into quarters, we find plants (top middle), a recumbent lion on a couch (*klinai*) in the upper left quarter, a griffin sitting on a stool (*diphros*) in the lower left quarter, together with one kneeling and three dancing female figures, two of them with "insect-heads". The lower edge might represent the sea with a fabulous creature which Simon calls a "sea griffin".[35] At the upper right edge are butterflies, described by Simon as important creatures of the Minoan cult. The whole is described by her as symbolizing a vegetation cult. Lion and griffin, the Minoan heraldic animals, represent a god or the king (the griffin), and a goddess or the queen (the lion). Simon sees both the attendance of the Minoan royal couple at the vegetation cult and the adoration of the divinities at the same time.

Somewhat later Assyrian mural reliefs show similar images with hunting scenes[36] and irrigated gardens.[37] Such representations, showing kings hunting deer or boar in a hunting garden (*paradeisos*), continued in the cultures of the Ancient Orient up to the Sasanians in Iran.[38]

34 Hampe/Simon 1980.

35 Comparable "water griffins" are still known in Sogdian art of Central Asia. For an example, see Belenizki 1980: 46, 17.

36 Schäfer/Andrae 1925: 562.

37 Keel 1972: 202.

38 Ghirshman 1962: 236 and 237.

Fig. 25: Wall painting from the Palace of Mari, 1800 B.C. A Water Goddess bears the well of all waters, from which all streams of the world emanate. Repr. from Moortgat 1982: 122.

Fig. 26: Wall painting from Akrotiri, isle of Thera (Santorin), Cyclades, 16th century B.C. Height 20 cm. The painting shows a fluvial topography with palm trees and other plants, birds, gazelles, a griffin, and a leopard. The image shows only about half of the painting. An entire image of the painting is illustrated in: Aruz et al. 2008: 138. Repr. from Hampe/Simon 1980: Fig. 43.

Fig. 27: Minoan gold signet ring, 15th century B.C. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Male and female dancers are represented in a landscape quartered by watercourses. The royal Minoan heraldic animals are shown in the left half if the representation: in the upper quarter a lion on a couch (*klinai*) and in the lower quarter a griffin on a stool (*diphroi*). The upper quarter of the right half shows butterflies, important creatures of the Minoan cult. Repr. from Hampe/Simon 1980: Fig. 288.

The floral-figurative form of the *ak su* design

Representations of landscapes and gardens were not only carved in stone or incised in metal (figs. 28 and 29); they were also always a popular subject in textiles. An early example is a 5th/6th century Sasanian silk, today cut into several fragments (fig. 30).[39] Following the tradition of the Assyrian/Urartian garden representations, the silk shows a lattice (water) with birds and palmettes (tree of life). Although the lattice of this silk has been changed into a leaf tendril, the design might be derived from the just-described models of an irrigated garden with trees and animals.[40] This kind of adaptation of a design to a temporary style or fashion is not unusual. In this silk design, there are still plants growing along the "watercourses", and the interspaces are filled with palmettes and animals, as in the Assyrian/Urartian archetypes. This is not the case any longer with our next example.

The decoration of the Sasanian capital in fig. 31, dating from approximately the same period as the textile in fig. 30, shows the garden theme in a further abstracted form. The animals have been omitted, giving the lattice an even more floral character. But comparison with the Urartian belt argues for the two designs being related.

39 Several fragments of this silk are known, divided among the Musée du Louvre in Paris, the Musée des Tissus in Lyon, the Musée de Cluny, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. A good reproduction of the Paris fragment is published in: DeMoor/Fluck 2007: 116. This fragment has also been radiocarbon dated (^{14}C age 1575 ± 25; AD 420–550, 95.4% confidence limit). A good reproduction of the Lyon fragment is published in: Schorta 2006: 27, 12. The fragment in Boston is reproduced with a black and white illustration in: Otavsky 1998: 151, Fig. 83.

40 A silk fragment with a comparable lattice, although reduced in colour to red (ground colour) and white (design), attributed to Antinoë, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Evans/Ratliff 2012: 150, 99C. A second fragment of a comparable Antinoë silk is in the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg (Schrenk 2004: Cat. Nr. 115). A third, slightly different piece is published in: Muthesius 1997: Plate 109B.

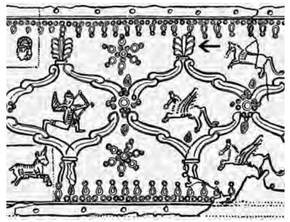


Fig. 28: Detail from fig. 17. Fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, 7th century B.C. Repr. from Ghirshman 1964: Fig. 571.

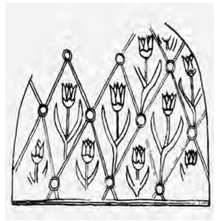


Fig. 29: Sogdian wall painting, Jar-Tepe, 5th century. Representation of a Garden with a lattice of little streams and tulips. Although the representation is altready heavily stilized, it still clearly shows the basic schema of a lattice of water courses and flowers. Repr. from Sims 2002: 15.

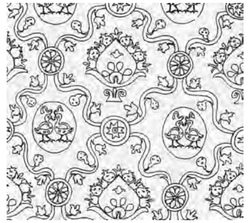


Fig. 30: Design of a Sasanian silk found in Antinoë, Egypt, 5th/6th century. The whole represents a garden with little streams, analogous to the representation on the Urartian metal belt in fig. 29. Repr. from Cat. Paris 2006: 163, cat. no. 103, drawing by S. Forestier.

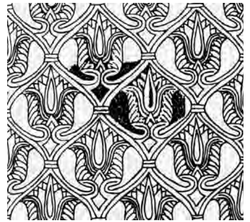


Fig. 31: Sasanian stucco, Nizamabad, wall panel 255-6. 7th century. Repr. from Kröger 1982: Fig. 93.

Fig. 32: Early Islamic stucco decoration, Khirbat al Mafjar, wall panel 20. 8th century. Repr. from Hamilton 1959: 201, 146.

Fig. 33: Detail from a Mughal silk carpet fragment, showing a white lattice with flowers on a red ground. Northern India, 2nd half of the 17th century. Repr. from Walker 1997: 143.

Fig. 34: Detail from a Mughal pashmina carpet fragment, showing a white lattice with rosettes and palmettes on a red ground. Northern India, 2nd half of the 17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Walker 1997: 109.

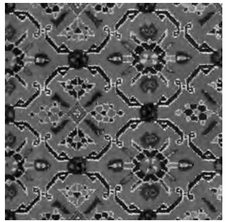


Fig. 35: Detail from an Ersarï *khali*. 19th century. The grid shows parallels not only to the grid of the Urartian metal belt in fig. 29 and to the floral-figural form of the *ak su* design (fig. 30 – 35), but also to the abstract-geometric form as seen in figs. 38 – 40. Repr. from Herrmann IV, 1982: No. 95 1997: 143.

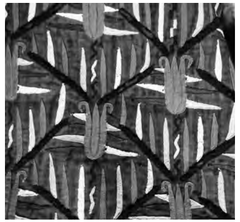


Fig. 36: Detail from an embroidered Teke-*çyrpy*, 19th century. The lattice with tulips shows strong parallels to the Sogdian and Sasanian garden designs in figs. 29 and 31. Private collection.

In an only slightly modified form, the design was also used in the early Islamic period. Like the Sasanian model, the example in fig. 32 shows stucco decoration, this time from the desert castle Khirbat al Mafjar, built in the first half of the 8th century.

In Islamic art, there are many related examples. For instance, consider the design of a group of 17th century Mughal carpets (fig. 32). In the lattice, these carpets interestingly resume the volute-like forms, as seen in the Assyrian (fig. 15), Urartian (fig. 17), and Scythian examples (fig. 20). Is it by chance that in all these carpets the volute-like forms of the lattice are also white, as in the Turkmen *ak su* design, possibly even referring to the "white waters of paradise" in the Koran?[41] The carpet indeed represents a "paradise" garden with watercourses and flowers. That these carpet designs really represent gardens is shown clearly by another example from Mughal India (fig. 34). This carpet shows a garden full of flowers (in the form of rosettes and palmettes), a white lattice representing the watercourses in the field, and its borders showing a fanciful landscape in the form of a garden. While the field, like the *ak su* design, shows a garden from a bird's eye view, the border shows a garden from the side rather than from above. Other carpet examples with paradise garden imagery include the hunting carpets of 16th century Safavid Persia[42] and the 17th/18th century garden carpets from Persian Kurdistan.[43]

In addition to the "classic" Turkmen *ak su* (fig. 41, the abstract-geometric form of the design), the Ersarï also used the floral-figural form (fig. 35). Among the Turkmen, this form is limited to the Ersarï, and is also extremely rare.[44] That the abstract-geometric form was used more frequently among the Turkmen is not surprising; it is easier to weave from memory. That the floral-figural form is more frequently found on workshop products is explained by the production process; workshop weavers don't work from memory, but from a draft/cartoon. Based on its size (2 by 4 meters) and what has just been said, the Ersarï carpet in fig. 36 might be a Turkmen workshop product. Notable about the Ersarï design is not only its simplicity, but its close resemblance to the grid design of the Urartian archetype (fig. 28), and also to the grid of the abstract-geometric form of the design seen on non-Turkmen artefacts (figs. 38 – 40). The interlocked volutes (fig. 28) have been slightly changed to become a single element with a knot (fig. 35) instead of the interlocking. The field no longer shows a combination of animal and plant motifs, as seen in the Urartian archetype, but only rosettes (flower motifs) as in all other versions of the floral-figural form of the design (figs. 30–35). The example in fig. 35 proves that the floral-figurative form of the Urartian garden design, not just only the abstract-geometric form (fig. 41 – 44), was used among the Turkmen and survived up to the 19th century.

A final, most recent example of the floral figurative form is provided by the pattern of a Teke *chirpy* (a woman's mantle worn over the head as a veil) (fig. 36, see also the frontispiece in Vol. 1). The floral design of this embroidered textile shows a rhomboid grid with tulips, clearly following the tradition of the Sasanian, Sogdian, and early Islamic examples in figs. 29, 31 and 32.

The abstract-geometric form of the ak su design

An abstract form of the garden design is known in addition to the floral-figural form. The Urartian bronze belts and the Scythian parade belt found in Ziwiye are the earliest known examples. The Scythian belt already shows considerable differences from the Urartian arche-

41 Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair interpret verse 46 of sura 37 in such a way. They write: "white is the quality of the water in paradise and can be understood as a symbol of purity" (Bloom/Blair 2011: 14.)

42 Dimand/Mailey 1973: 64, 78.

43 See also Erdmann 1966.

44 Another example is published in Grote-Hasenbalg 1921: Folder I, plate 52.

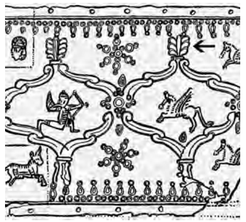


Fig. 37: Detail from fig. 17. Fragment of a bronze belt, Urartu, 7th century B.C. Repr. from Ghirshman 1964: Fig. 571.

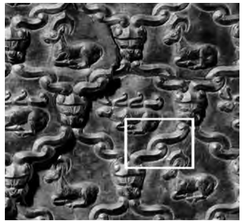


Fig. 38: The *"ak su"* design in the Scythian animal style. Detail from the golden belt fragment in fig. 20. 6th century, Ziwiye hoard, Iran. The lattice composed of volutes is nearly identical to that of the Urartian bronze belt (Fig. 37). Repr. from Ghirshman 1964: Fig. 143, 146.

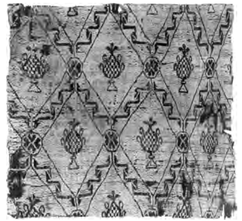


Fig. 39: Silk samite with the *"ak su"* design, detail from a fragment found in Egypt, 7th–9th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Evans/Ratliff 2012: 150, no. 99B.

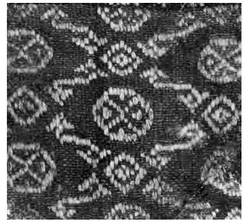


Fig. 40: Woollen textile fragment. A white design on a red ground field and a blue ground border. 7th–9th centuries. The pattern not only resembles the Turkmen *ak su* design in fig. 41, but also the Scythian lattice of the metal belt in fig. 38. Katoen Natie Collection, Antwerp, inv. no. 772-04. Image by the author.

type (cf. figs. 37 and 38); the floral elements and the hunter are no longer present. The abstract geometric style of the Scythian belt continues right up to the 19th century Turkmen examples (figs 41 – 44). From the time in between we have only two examples with this version of the design, both textiles (figs. 39 and 40). Both can be traced back to the Sasanians and their culture, although both were found in Egypt and possibly also produced there. The first is a fragment of a silk samite (fig. 39). The formerly red ground colour has faded to beige, suggesting redwood as a dyestuff; this is seen in other silks, particularly of Sogdian origin.[45] Presumably contemporaneous with the Sasanian silk is the second example, a woollen textile fragment from the Katoen Natie Collection in Antwerp (fig. 40). It also shows a simple lattice, very similar to the Turkmen ak su design, and with affinities to both the Sasanian silk design (fig. 39) and the Turkmen ak su (fig. 41). Though this may be an Egyptian copy of a Central Asian silk design, it is likely that such woollen fabrics were also woven in Persia and/or Central Asia. That copying of textile designs was common practice in Egypt is shown by other fragments showing Sasanian or Sogdian designs on 7th – 9th centuries Egyptian textiles.[46] The Turkmen carpet design, the *ak su*, forms the end of this development. Figs. 41–44 illustrate a continuity of the design without changes over at least 300 years.

45 E.g. the silk with humped cattle and the silk saddle cover with pheasants in the Abegg-Stiftung (Otavsky/Wardwell 2011: No.15 and 16).

46 E.g. the hanging with winged horses in the Abegg-Stiftung (Schrenk 2004: 76, no. 18), the fragment of a woollen tapestry. with a pheasant within a pearled roundel in the Hermitage Museum in St. Peterburg (Ierusalimskaja/Borkop 1996: 63, no. 71), or the border fragment of a woollen tapestry showing a boar's head (see fig. 22 in the chapter "*Dongus Burun*").

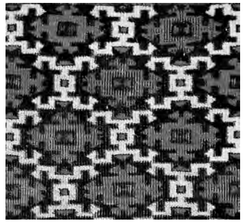


Fig. 41: Detail from the Salor *torba*, cat. no. 9, 17th/18th centuries. The Turkmen *ak su* design shows amazing parallels to the lattice of the Urartian and Scythian metal belts in figs. 37 and 38 and to the textile designs in figs. 39 and 40.

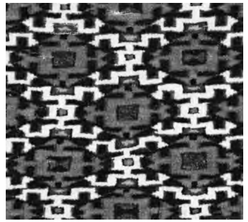


Fig. 42: Detail from the "Eagle" *gül* group *torba*, cat. no. 112, 18th/19th centuries. The Turkmen *ak su* design remained nearly unchanged over the centuries among all Turkmen tribes. Private collection.

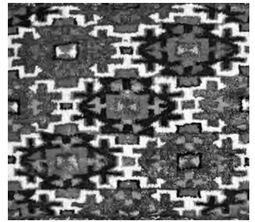


Fig. 43: Detail from a Yomut *kap*, 20th century. Private collection.

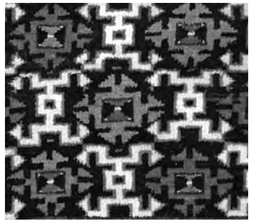


Fig. 44: Detail from an Ersarï hanging, 20th century. Private collection.

Design continuity over 2500 years?

How is it that a design could last over a period of 2500 years showing only minor changes, and retaining its ancient name and meaning? The first explanation might be its simple geometric form. It is reproducible from memory without difficulty, which would also account for its unchanged form over the last 300 years. The stability of the design would be consistent with the retention of its name. There are other examples of the Turkmen having continued to use the same name for designs over comparable long periods.[47] In court art, the abstract geometric form of the design is only known up to the 9th century. Further development in courtly examples can only be observed in the floral-figurative form, which was used much more widely up to the 19th century (figs. 30–35).

In conclusion I would like to mention two additional examples showing a design tradition from the oriental cultural sphere, spanning a comparably long period of time: a 4th/3rd century B.C. Scythian belt buckle and a 14th century A.D. Persian miniature painting (figs. 45 and 46). The remarkable similarity between the two scenes excludes mere coincidence as a reasonable possibility. Both representations apparently show a scene from a heroic epic. The epic in the Shahnameh is about King Kezra (Khosrow) and his vizier Bozorjmir.[48] Both the storyline and the names of the heroes in the Scythian representation remain unknown. Could the story of Bozorjmir have emerged from a Scythian version of the epic? Maria Zavitukhina, in the catalogue of the exhibition "The Golden Deer of Eurasia", writes "Much attention has been given to the subject of the plaque (the belt buckle, Ed).

47 E.g. the *saqdaq gül* of the Salor (see the chapter "The Salor") or the design name *dongus burun* (see the chapter "*Dongus Burun*").

48 Ferdowsi/Davis 2004: 321 et seqq.

Fig. 45: Golden belt buckle, width 16 cm, Scythian, 4th/3rd centuries B.C., Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Allegorical representation from Iranian mythology. Repr. from Catalogue Munich 1984: 157.

Fig. 46: "Anushirvan and Bozorjmir rest under a tree". Allegorical representation from a "small Shahnameh". Miniature painting, Iran, ca. 1340. Museum Rietberg, Zurich, RVA 1026.

M.P. Griaznov has proposed that the figures are drawn from a tale in a mid-first-millenium B.C. Turkic-Mongolian epic in which a dead hero is brought back to life under a poplar tree by his wife and sworn brother. According to another interpretation, the plaque illustrates a scene from an epic tale in which Zariander, the brother of the Median king Histapes, disguised as a Scythian, abducts a maiden with whom he has fallen in love".[49] Particularly the second version is consistent with Ferdowsi's heroic tales and love stories of the Shahnameh, although there is no direct link to the epic of Bozorjmir.

The story of Zariander and his beloved reminds us rather of that of Bizhan and Manizheh, discussed in connection with the boar motif in the chapter "*Dongus Burun*". In reference to that story, there is also a Scythian belt buckle and an illustration in the Shahnameh.[50] So we have three different Scythian belts with representations of mythological scenes which have been passed down to the Islamic period – in the case of the *ak su* design, even to the 20th century.

49 Aruz et al. 2000: 292.

50 See Figs. 29 and 33 in the chapter "*Dongus burun*".

The Turkmen *khaikelbagi* design

An Ancient Symbol of Protection

1. Introduction

The *khaikelbagi* is one of the few Turkmen carpet designs with roots in the Neolithic period, as does the *sainak* motif of the *ensi*. Both are border designs, and both, with all likelihood, have had the symbolic function of protection for several thousand years.

According to Valentina Moshkova, the name *khaikelbagi* (Turkmen for "amulet bag") comes from the Teke, but the carpet design, in one form or another, can be encountered among all Turkmen tribes.

The basic element of this protection symbol is an X-shaped cross (see fig. 1). Reduced to its basic form, an X, it appears in the centre of field designs like the *tauk nuska* (fig. 2) and the *chuval gül* (cf. cat. no. 15). Moreover, we find this reduced form of the design in the minor borders of Salor *khali* (fig. 3), alternating with rhombuses. A more complex version of the design, alternating with flowers instead of rhombuses, is seen in the main border of a group of Arabachi *khali* with *tauk nuska* field design (cf. cat. no. 128).

Among collectors probably the best known Turkmen carpet design based on an X-shaped cross form is the *gochak* cross (fig. 4).[1] Like the *khaikelbagi,* the *gochak* cross is seen both in borders (fig. 5) and in the centres of field designs (cat. nos. 90, 123 and 128).

We will focus here on the version of the design called *khaikelbagi* by Moshkova, a border design, which, in the 19th century, was widely used by the Teke (fig. 10).[2] Fig. 9 shows a possibly earlier, perhaps preliminary form of the same design, which, however, is known to me from only one Teke *chuval* fragment.[3] In addition, a form closely related to the Teke *chuval* border design is also seen in the borders of two

1 *Gochak* is Turkmen for "horns", "spiral". See Moshkova 1970 (1996): 330

2 Moshkova 1970 (1996): Plate LIII, 3. Moshkova also shows a variant of the *khaikelbagi* design in the Salor chapter [Moshkova 1970 (1996): Plate XXXIV/7]. However, no Salor work with this design is known to me.

3 Rippon Boswell 62, 2004, lot. 77.

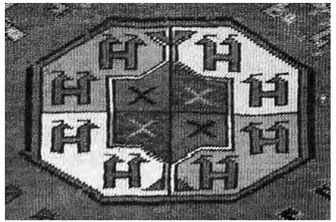


Fig. 2: Four X-shaped crosses in the centre of the *tauk noska* field design from the Qaradashlï (?) *khali* cat. no. 92, 18th century.

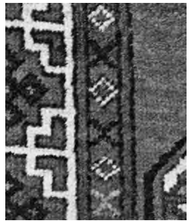


Fig. 3: The Salor *khali* minor border (centre of the image) shows X-shaped crosses alternating with rhombuses, 18th centuty. Private collection.

Fig. 4: Design from the main border of an Arabachi *khali*, 18th century. This is an additional variant of the *khaikelbagi* border design with the X-shaped cross in the centre. Private collection.

Fig. 5: The *gochak* cross, a relative of the *khaikelbagi* design, in the border of an Ersarï *ensi*, 18th century. Private collection. (The *ensi* is published in colour in Hali 111, 2000: 8).

small groups of Teke *khali* (Fig. 7 and 8).[4] Also related to these Teke designs is a Sarïq tent band design (fig. 6).[5] The design composition based on the X-shaped cross and the four additional triangles (cf. fig. 1), and particularly the small triangles in the tent band design (cf. fig. 6, circled) constitute the connection to the Teke designs. These triangular forms (as seen in the Teke *chuval* border design in fig. 9) appear on all Sarïq tent bands with the *khaikelbagi* design, both within the *khaikelbagi* design and also as an independent small ornamental feature in the dividing bands between the main ornaments. [6]

4 Examples are published in: (1st group) Christie's New York, 16.12. 1993: Lot. 12; Pinner/Eiland 1999: Plate 11; Tzareva 2012: No. 32; Austrian Auction Company II, 15. 3. 2014: Lot 41. (2nd group) Herrmann VII, 1985: No. 77; Dodds/Eiland 1996: No. 187; Rippon Boswell 62, 2004: Lot 5.

5 See also figs. 23–27 in the chapter "The Sarïq".

6 Andrews et al. 1993: No. 62c; Pinner 1993: No. 62; TKF 1999: Plate 77/2; Isaacson 2007: No. 10.

2. The *khaikelbagi* Design of the Turkmen (Figs. 6 – 10)

Khaikelbagi is the Turkmen word for "amulet bag". This indicates a relationship between the name of the Teke *chuval* border design (fig. 10) and Turkmen jewellery, specifically amulet bags, like those used by the Teke up to the early 20th century (fig. 12).

Valentina Moshkova reports the name *khaikelbagi* for the border design of Teke *chuval*, without including a translation in her glossary.[7] However, in the same glossary, she does list *khaikel* without the additional word *bagi*, translating it into Russian as "ладанка (*ladanka*): general use – little bag (bundle) for incense (amulet bag), literally – 'statue', 'idol' ".[8] George O'Bannon and Ovadan K. Amanova-Olsen suggest translating *khaikelbagi* as "amulet bag",[9] which is probably correct. The meaning of the additional word *bagi* is addressed in the section "The Etymology of the Word *khaikel*" at the end of this chapter.

7 Moschkowa 1970 (1998): 258 (German translation); Moshkova 1970 (1996): 332. O'Bannon translates *khaikelbagi* as "amulet bag", which, as will be shown, might turn out to be correct.

8 Moshkova 1970 (in Russian). I thank Lena Renz from Basel for the translation.

9 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 332.

Fig. 6: The *khaikelbagi* design in the 17th or early 18th century Sarïq tent band, cat. no. 38. The little triangles with their rectangular indentations (circled) refer to the relationship to the *khaikelbagi* design of the Teke (figs. 8, 9 and 10).

Fig. 7: The *khaikelbagi* design in the border of a small group of Teke *khali*, 18th/19th century (image from the back). Private collection.

Fig. 8: The *khaikelbagi* design in the border of a small group of Teke *khali*, 18th/19th century (image from the back). This version of the *khali* border design is already considerably closer to the *chuval* border design than fig. 7 (cf. fig. 9 for the *chuval* border design). Private collection.

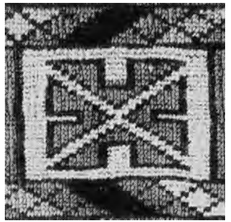


Fig. 9: The *khaikelbagi* design in the border of a Teke *chuval* fragment, first half of the 19th century (image from the back). Repr. from Mackie/Thompson 1980: 207, fig. 83. (For a colour image, see Rippon Boswell cat. 62, 2004, lot 77).

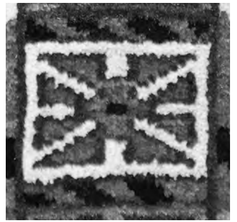


Fig. 10: The *khaikelbagi* design in the border of the Teke *chuval* cat. no. 61, 2nd half of the 19th century.

Though not familiar in the terminology of Turkmen carpet designs, *khaikel* is a common term in the field of Turkmen jewellery.[10] It refers to leather amulet bags embellished with silver fittings (figs. 12 and 13). In his seminal book on Turkmen jewellery, Reinhold Schletzer writes:

> *cheikel* are leather bags showing on the front a partly gilded silver fitting decorated with cornelian and facetted glass stones. They are worn diagonally over chest and shoulder suspended by a leather strap with attached squarish gilded silver fittings. The term *cheikel* is derived from Persian and generally interpreted as "statue", "monument" (Borozna 1975: 291 [German translation Borozna 1975 (1987): 107–108]; Suchareva 1975: 33). It refers to the content of these bags. (……) At the turn of the century, the two types of jewellery (*khaikel* and *doga kumush*, ed.) were mainly common among the Teke in the Akhal and the Merv Oases and among the Yomut.

The diffusion of the term *cheikel* is said to be related to the period of prosperity of the Iranian speaking Sogdians by whom figurines of wood and clay were kept in bags (Suchareva 1975: 33). In the 10th century, the Persian historian Narshakhi reports on the sale of large numbers of such figurines in the bazaar of Bukhara (Frye 1954: 20–21). With the spread of Islam in Central Asia, such bags were used to keep prayers, talismans, keys, coins, and valuables.[11]

The widespread 19th century variant of the Teke *chuval* border design (figs. 9 and 10) even seems to imitate the design of the Teke amulet bags called *khaikel*. This could explain the small cross form (or dot) in

10 For jewellery, in his German translation Schletzer uses the transcription *cheikel* (Schletzer 1983: 108), Rudolph transcribes *cheykel* (Rudolph 1984: 194), while for the carpet design Moshkova uses *khajkelbagi* [Moshkowa 1970 (1996): 332].

11 Schletzer 1983: 108.

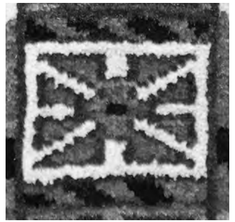


Fig. 11: The *khaikelbagi* design in the border of the Teke *chuval* cat. no. 61, 2nd half of the 19th century.

Fig. 12 and 13: Teke amulet bag (*khaikel*). The ornaments (amulets) on the leather strap (fig. 13) show close resemblance to the Teke border design (fig. 11). The carnelian in the centre could explain the central little cross in the Teke chuval border design. Repr. from Schletzter 1983: 109.

Fig. 14: Teke amulet container (*acar bag*). The diagonal lines are more accentuated; apart from that, the design is very similar to fig. 13. Repr. from Rudolph 1984: 198, D 185.

the centre of the carpet design: it might correspond to the cornelian in the centre of the silver fittings of the amulet bags (fig. 13).

Also interesting is Schletzer's reference to the possible Sogdian origin of these Teke amulet bags; the Sogdians used such bags to keep little figurines. Small Sogdian terracotta figurines are documented in large quantities from archaeological excavations (figs. 20 and 21). Wooden examples are also said to have existed, but did not survive the centuries.[12] Right up into the 20th century, in addition to the amulet bags (*khaikel*), small wooden idols were also used by the Turkmen as pendants or to be attached to clothing (fig. 22 and 23). Some wooden amulets of the Nokhurli were even decorated with the *khaikelbagi* design (fig. 22). A continuity of such female figurines and idols over a period of roughly 6000 years is suggested by figurines from Yalangach Tepe (fig. 15), from Altyn Tepe (fig. 16), from Margiana (Merv Oasis, fig. 17 and 18), from Tillya Tepe (fig. 19), and from Samarkand (figs. 20 and 21).[13] These devotional objects were mostly made of inexpensive materials (terracotta, wood, and lead) and in large quantities, thus being accessible to almost everybody. The golden figurine from Tillya Tepe is an outstanding example, documenting the use of such objects also among the elite. The continuing use and manufacture of such idols up to the 20th century is documented by the examples from the Nokhurli Turkmen from Southwest Turkmenistan.

The apotropaic symbolism of this ancient pattern (X-shaped cross with four inserted V-shapes or triangles) is suggested by the anthropomorphic amulets of the Nokhurli (fig. 22), the Sarïq tent band design (fig. 6), the Teke border design (figs. 7–11), and particularly by the frequent use of this design in Turkmen jewellery (figs. 12–14).

12 Frye 1954: 21.

13 See also Rudolph 2007: 325.

Fig. 15: Terracotta figurine from Yalangach Tepe, (Namazga II period) 3500 – 3100 B.C., height 28 cm. Repr. from Masson/Sarianidi 1972: Plate 10.

Fig. 16: Terracotta idol, late 3rd millennium B.C. Altyn Tepe, National Museum Turkmenistan. Repr. from Rossi-Osmida et al. 1996: 41.

Figs. 17 and 18: Terracotta idols from Margiana (Merv Oasis), 3rd century B.C. – 3rd century A.D. Repr. from Masson 1982: 161 and 105.

Fig. 19: Figurine of gold, Tillya Tepe, Afghanistan, 1st century A.D. Repr. from Cat. Bonn 2010: 219.

Figs. 20 and 21: Sogdian terracotta idols from Samarkand, 4th – 6th centuries A.D. Presumably they represent the Iranian Goddess Anahita. Repr. from Masson 1982: 105.

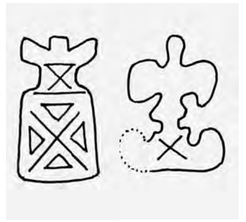


Fig. 22 and 23: Anthropomorphic amulets, wood, Nokhurli Turkmen. The design on the lower part of the idol's "dress" on the left shows the apotropaic *khaikelbagi* design. Repr. from Schletzter 1983: 51.

3. The Origin of the *khaikelbagi* Design

Like the *sainak* design in Turkmen *ensi*[14] and tent bands,[15] the *khaikelbagi* design in Teke *chuval* (figs. 9 and 10), Teke *khali* (figs. 7 and 8), and Sarïq tent bands (fig. 6) has a long history and a distribution from the Aegean to the Indus.

3.1 The "*khaikelbagi*" Design on Ceramics (figs. 24–33)

Perhaps the earliest version of the "*khaikelbagi*" design is known from a 6th millennium B.C. Anatolian ceramic from the Neolithic site of Hacilar (fig. 24). A very similar form of it is seen on 5th and 4th millennium B.C. ceramics from Mesopotamia (fig. 25) and Central Asia (fig. 27). However, the Central Asian ceramic from Geoksjur (fig. 27) already shows a simplified version of the earlier design of the Iranian ceramic from Arpachya (fig. 25): the diagonal crosses in the chequers are only indicated visually by the white background. On the other hand, the adjacent rectangular field to the right (fig. 27), shows a large inscribed X-shape with inserted stepped triangles. In the next example, more than a thousand years later, from Kara Tepe (fig. 28), this large square with its inscribed X-shape and the four inserted stepped triangles becomes the only design, seen fourfold painted on the ceramic vessel. In both examples (figs. 27 and 28), a stripe with a zigzag line separates the rectangular fields with the X-shaped patterns.

A ceramic from Mehrgarh, Baluchistan (Indus valley), dated to 3300 B.C. (figs. 29 and 30), in turn, shows a version of the design which is even more similar to the Hacilar example (fig. 24) than to the examples from Iran and Turkmenistan. The design on the gold cup from Tepe Fullol (fig. 31), North Afghanistan, on the other hand, seems to follow the Central Asian versions as seen on figs. 27 and 28.

14 See figs. 59 – 90 and section "5.3.2 The *sainak* Motif" in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

15 For the tent bands, see figs. 6–23 in the chapter "The Yomut".

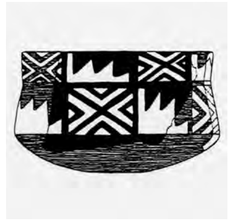
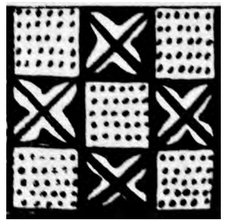


Fig. 24: Neolithic painted ceramic (Ø ca. 15 cm) from Haçilar, level II B, Southwest Anatolia (Burdur), 5400 – 5200 B.C. The design shows two rows with offset, alternating *khaikelbagi* designs, and large serrations in squares. Repr. from Mellaart 1970: Vol. 2, plate 343.



Figs. 25 and 26: Eneolithic painted ceramic from Tel Arpachiya, Iraq, 5th millennium B.C. Compared to the 6th millennium B.C. ceramic from Haçilar, the "*khaikelbagi*" design appears here in a slightly simplified from. However, the relationship between the two designs (figs. 24 and 26) is still clearly recognisable. Repr. from Müller-Karpe 1980: plate 68, no. 3, Iraq.

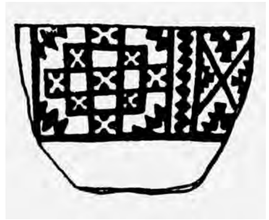


Fig. 27: Eneolithic painted ceramic from the Tedjen Oasis (Geoksjur), 4th Millennium B.C., South Turkmenistan. Repr. from Rossi-Osmida 1996: 34.

Fig. 28: Ceramic from Kara Tepe with a variant of the "*khaikelbagi*" design, Namazga III period, South Turkmenistan, early 3rd millennium B.C., height 20 cm. Repr. from Aruz 2003: 359.

There too, large X-shapes with inserted stepped forms dominate the six squares on the surface of the cup, resembling the ceramic designs from Goeksjur (fig. 27) and Kara Tepe (fig. 28). However, the presentation and the size of the design also resembles the ceramic from Mehrgarh (figs. 29 and 30). The precious gold cup from Tepe Fullol can be seen as a luxury version of the ceramics, as the golden figurine in fig. 19 is a luxury version of the figurines in figs. 15 – 18 and 20 – 23.

The last ceramic example comes not from the Ancient Near East directly, but in the context of the design discussed here, can be traced back to Ancient Near Eastern influence. Furthermore, it is an early example with the "*khaikelbagi*" design on textiles, even if only a textile represented on ceramics. The garments of Greek goddesses on early 6th century B.C. black figured Attic vase paintings repeatedly show the "*khaikelbagi*" design integrated within a checkerboard design, very similar to the considerably earlier ceramics in figs. 24–27. An example of this is the garment of Athena (figs. 32 and 33).[16]

The use of the *khaikelbagi* design on textiles up to the 20th century is documented not only on all kind of different Turkmen weavings, but also on Turkmen costumes and on the amulets of the Nokhurli (fig. 22).

3.2 The "*khaikelbagi*" Design on Seals (figs. 34–38)

Since the late 6th or early 5th millennium B.C., the "*khaikelbagi*" design is also known from seals, of a type not intended for personal labelling of property, as made clear by the simplicity and uniformity of the geometric designs, by their wide geographical distribution, by their presence over several millennia, and finally by the many examples known from archaeological discoveries. Our examples range from Afghanistan in the East to the Balkans in the West, and from the late 6th or early 5th millennium B.C. to the 1st millennium B.C. The Swiss archaeologist Othmar Jäggi suggests a use as an insignia or badge of rank,[17] while the Russian archaeologist Viktor Sarianidi interprets such seals as amulets.[18] I think both explanations are possible, perhaps even a combination of the two. Turkmen jewellery provides a similar duality; it not only served for "protection and blessing", to use Hermann Rudolph's words,[19] but also to show rank and social status.

16 For further examples, see: Schefold 1978: Figs. 4, 37, 59, 121, 246, 345; Schefold 1993: Figs. 219, 364, 365, 376.

Fig. 29 and 30: Painted ceramic from Mehrgarh IV, Indus culture, Baluchistan, 3300 B.C. The vase (ca. 40 cm high) shows a row of square "*khaikelbagi*" motifs (fig. 30) at the upper rim. The design presumably came via the Iranian plateau and Central Asia to Mehrgarh and the Indus Valley. Repr. from Shaffer 1993: 250, fig. 1.

Fig. 31: Golden cup with a variant of the "*khaikelbagi*" design, Ø 10 cm, Tepe Fullol, North Afghanistan, 2000 B.C. Similar designs are known on Namazga III period ceramics from South Turkmenistan (see Aruz 2003: 359, no. 252.). Repr. from Cat. Bonn 2010: 118.

Fig. 32 and 33: Athena and Hermes, Attic black-figure pottery, the judgement of Paris, around 570 – 580 B.C. The dress of Athena shows a checkerboard design with the "*khaikelbagi*" in every other square . Repr. from Schefold 1993: 290, fig. 309.

In contrast to the designs on the ceramics (and most textiles) are the round shape of the seals, and the additional v-shapes inserted into the quadrants.

But let us get back to our examples. Fig. 34 shows a stamp seal from the Vinca culture of the Balkans, fig. 35 a stamp seal from Tepe Gaura, North Iraq, fig. 36 the imprint of a cylinder seal from Susa, Iran,[20] fig. 37 a stamp seal from Mundigak, Afghanistan, and fig. 38 another Iranian example of a stamp seal from Marlik Tepe. All show the same design: a circular stamp area, divided into four sectors, containing multiple angles of decreasing size engraved towards the outside. These angles produce a large X-shape in the centre, either positive (figs. 34, 36, and 37) or negative (figs. 35 and 38).

Moreover, the cylinder seal from Susa (fig. 36) shows not only the "*khaikelbagi*" design, but also a stag (?), a fish, and below the stag a human (?) figure. The imprint comes from a ceramic vessel and, with its banded décor, somewhat resembles the decoration on the Greek ceramic vessel from West Anatolia (fig. 39). This Greek *dinos* (wine-mixing bowl) shows ibexes, water birds, lions, and boars in combination with small geometric symbols in two registers, among them repeatedly the "*khaikelbagi*" design. Like our last example from the ce-

17 Othmar Jägg in: Bignasca et al. 1992: 72, cat. no. 21.
18 Sarianidi 1986:226.
19 Rudolph 2007.

20 For further examples, see: Amiet 1972; von Wickede 1990.

Fig. 34: Stamp seal, Vinca culture, Medvednjak, ca. 5000 B.C. Repr. from Gimbutas 1989: Fig. 21 (see also Gimbutas 1989: Fig. 20)

Fig. 35: Stamp seal from Tepe Gaura, level XI/X A, North Iraq, ca. 3800 B.C. Repr. from von Wickede 1990: 164, fig. 34/7.

Fig. 36: Imprint of an Elamite cylinder seal on a ceramic vessel, Susa, Iran, ca. 3000 B.C. Repr. from Amiet 1973: Pl. 31, no. 1403.

Fig. 37: Stamp seal from Mundigak, Afghanistan, 3rd millennium B.C. Repr. from Sarianidi 1986: 226.

Fig. 38: Stamp seal from Marlik Tepe, Gilan, North Iran, 1250 – 1000 B.C. Repr. from Seipel 2003: 162, cat. no. 89.

Fig. 39 and 40: *Dinos* (wine mixing bowl), Aeolis (West Anatolia), 600 – 575 B.C. Comparable to the imprint of the cylinder seal in fig. 36, the "*khaikelbagi*" seal design is placed between animals in the friezes. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, inv. no. BS 452. Repr. from Bignasca et al. 2002: No. 42.

ramic series (figs. 32 and 33), this wine-mixing bowl dates from the early 6th century B.C., the orientalising period in Greek vase paining, and strictly speaking also belongs to the ceramic examples. But, based on the similarity between its "*khaikelbagi*" design and the stamp seals, I preferred to show it with them. However, it is possible that, in the case of the Greek example from West Anatolia (figs. 39 and 40) the design had become purely decorative.

3.3 The "*khaikelbagi*" Design on Jewellery (figs. 41 – 45)

At least since the 3rd millennium B.C., the "*khaikelbagi*" design in a form very similar to that on the stamp seals is also known on pendants (amulets) (fig. 42).[21] Such pendants, presumably worn around the neck or attached to clothing, strongly suggest an apotropaic function of the design. Also in traditional jewellery, we have clear evidence for the use of this design, and its apotropaic function, up to the 20th century (figs. 43 – 45).

3.4 The "*khaikelbagi*" Design on Textiles (figs. 48 – 56)

To elucidate the relationship, I again shown two examples of early ceramic designs (figs. 46 and 47) to start the series of textile designs. The example from Haçilar shows the design in black on a white background, while the example from Mehrgarh shows it in white on a dark background (the X-shape and the frame are black in one, white in the other).

As already mentioned, an early representation of textiles with the "*khaikelbagi*" design is seen on early 6th century B.C. black-figured Attic vase paintings. Fig. 48 shows a detail from the garment of the Goddess Athena.[22] This type of textile design can with all likelihood be traced back to Ancient Near Eastern influence.[23] Assyrian courtly textiles are often decorated with a checkerboard design. Such check-

21 Three other comparable 3rd millennium B.C. stone moulds are published in: Aruz 2003: Cat. no. 163b, 163c and 164. Two of them, like fig. 101, are from Anatolia (one from Titris Höyük, East Anatolia, and the second presumably from the region of Akhisar-Thyatira, West Anatolia), and one from Mesopotamia (Sippar). All of them show forms for female figures (goddesses), animals, amulets, and seals (with the "*khaikelbagi*" design).

22 Further examples of goddesses with such garments are illustrated in: Schefold 1978: Figs. 4, 37, 59, 121, 246, 345; Schefold 1993: Figs. 219 and 364.

23 See Gunter 2009: 67, footnote 78.

Fig. 41 and 42: Mold for pendants (amulets) and an idol, Anatolia, ca. 2000 B.C. Below left, a pendant in the shape of the "*khaikelbagi*" design (fig. 42), in the middle a female idol. Repr. from Keel/Schroer 2004: Fig. 60a. For other examples, see Aruz 2003: Cat. no. 163b, 163c, and 164.

Fig. 43: The ornaments on the carrying strap of Teke amulet bags (*khaikel*) show broad similarities to the Teke *chuval* border design in fig. 10. Repr. from Schletzter 1983: 109.

Fig. 44: Teke amulet container (*acar bag*). In this type of amulet container, the diagonal cross is accentuated. Striking is the use of the word *bag* (bundle) for these containers. Repr. from Rudolph 1984: 198, D 185.

Fig. 45: Nomadic woman from Pakistan. The amulet bag she wears around her neck is comparable to the *acar bag* of the Turkmen (fig. 44). Repr. from Prokot 1981: 4, fig. 8.

erboard designs, however, are seen not only on 8th and 7th century B.C. royal Assyrian garments, but also on other textiles such as the "threshold rugs" carved in stone at the entrances to the throne halls of the Neo-Assyrian palaces. Even when the royal Assyrian garments show rosettes (a symbol of Astarte/Ishtar) in place of the "*khaikelbagi*" design, the protective function remains the same.[24] On the threshold rugs, however, we find pine-cones in an X-shaped cross form, combined with lotus flowers. These cross forms show the same basic structure as the "*khaikelbagi*" design, and can be seen as a floral type of the "*khaikelbagi*" design, having, with their pine-cones, a clear apotropaic function,[25] as did the checkerboard design itself.

Our Greek example seems to reflect a popular fashion of the time; even the Goddesses are dressed in such fashionable garments.[26] Garments with the "*khaikelbagi*" design are not known from 8th and 7th century B.C. Greece, or from the Classical and Hellenistic period of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Our design appears to have been a 6th century Greek fashion, adapted from Ancient Near Eastern models.

Not surprisingly, we also find the "*khaikelbagi*" design in Late Antique textiles from Egypt. There too, it is integrated into a geometrical grid, although not in a checkerboard design, but in a grid of rhombuses, a "checkerboard design" turned by 45°. One example is a woollen fragment from the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland (fig. 49), though other such textiles are documented.[27] The woollen fabric from Egypt in fig. 49 shows the "*khaikelbagi*" design in two different variants. The first shows the design in a circular form, comparable to the seals (figs. 34 – 38), and the border design of Teke *khali* (fig. 52). The other shows a reduced form consisting of only four angles, clearly suggesting the basic X-shape, in the centre of a small, eight-lobed medallion (fig. 49, in the lower left rhombus).

From 11th century Fatimid Egypt is the knitted textile fragment in fig. 50. Like figs. 48 and 49 it was originally part of a costume, more precisely the border of a costume. Being a border pattern, it can be

24 See figs. 84 and 85 in the chapter "The Ersarï".

25 See figs. 35 – 47 in the chapter "The Sarïq".

26 An apotropaic meaning has repeatedly been attributed to the checkerboard design too. This would enhance the meaning of the design, and would also apply to the Greek textile examples in figs. 32, 33, and 48.

27 Du Bourguet 1964: Fig. F22, I 19; De Moor et al. 1993: 37, cat. no. 129.

Fig. 46: The "*khaikelbagi*" design on a painted ceramic bowl from Haçilar, 5400 – 5200 B.C. (fig. 24).

Fig. 47: The "*khaikelbagi*" design on a painted ceramic vase from Mehrgarh, 3300 B.C. (fig. 29)

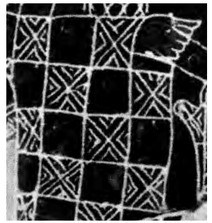


Fig. 48: Garment of Athena, decorated with a checkerboard design with additional "*khaikelbagi*". Attic black-figure pottery, around 570 – 580 B.C. Repr. from Schefold 1993: 290, fig. 309.

Fig. 49: Fragment of a woollen fabric with a rhomboid grid pattern, Egypt, 6th–8th century A.D. Detail (width ca. 22 cm) from a band with an original width of 32 cm with original selvages on both sides. The rhombuses enclose two different forms of the "*khaikelbagi*" design. Presumably edging of a garment. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 35. © Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg (Photo: Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 50: Fragment of a knitted woollen textile with a rhomboid grid pattern, Fatimid Egypt, 11th century. Detail (height of detail ca. 9 cm), The rhombuses enclose a type of "*khaikelbagi*" design. Presumably edging of a garment. Repr. from Martianiani-Reber 1993: 262, no. 161.

seen as a forerunner of the Turkmen examples, and being integrated into a grid (here, a hexagonal grid), it harks back to the example of Late Antiquity in fig. 49.

In the 2nd millennium A.D., the *khaikelbagi* design is still seen in the earliest extant Turkmen weavings. The Turkmen used the design for such varied objects as clothing (figs. 55 and 56), tent bands (fig. 51), *bogça*, bags for ceremonial bread (fig. 54), *chuval* (fig. 53), and *khali* (fig. 52). In the borders of *khali* it varies in form, (figs. 3, 4, 7, 8, and 52) from the small scale version in the Salor *khali* minor border (fig. 3) to the powerful version in Teke *khali* main borders (fig. 52).

A particularly intriguing variation in concept is seen in the *bogça* (*bokche*) of the Yomut (fig. 54). On the *bogça*, the *khaikelbagi* design is not limited to the borders, but dominates the whole surface of the bag; the four folded corners visually form a large X, the basic form of the *khaikelbagi* design. Three of the four folded corners are sewn together; the fourth remains open, similar to an envelope.

The *bogça* is of interest in two respects. The first is its function and related symbolism. Such pouches were initially made to carry a large flat loaf of bread in connection with the wedding ceremony.[28]

The second, not less interesting, aspect concerns the etymology of the word *bogça*. The Turkish word *bogça* goes back to the old Turkish word *bog*, "bundle".[29] As previously mentioned, the design name *khaikelbagi* is a composite of the two words *khaikel* and *bagi*. According to the linguist Gerard Clauson, the old Turkish word "*bog*" is "presumably a secondary form of '*bag*' ",[30] which supports the meaning "bundle", or "pouch", for *bagi*.

The most recent Turkmen examples showing the *khaikelbagi* design on textiles are the 20th century anthropomorphic amulets, called *dogdan*, of the Nokhurli (fig. 56). We have already seen that these amulets represent a long tradition of female idols (figs. 15–23); in pre-Turkmen times, they always represented a female goddess. How the Nokhurli

28 Irons 1975: 136–141; Rautenstengel 1992.
29 Clauson 1972: 311.
30 Clauson 1972: 311.

Fig. 51 Sarïq (?) tentband cat. no. 38. 17th/18th century. See also fig. 6.

Fig. 52: Border design from the same Teke *khali* as fig. 7. 18th/19th century (image from the back).

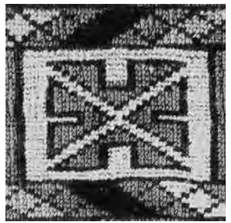


Fig. 53: The *khaikelbagi* design in the border of a Teke *chuval* fragment, first half of the 19th century (image from the back). Repr. from Mackie/Thompson 1980: 207, fig. 83. (For a colour image, see Rippon Boswell cat. 62, 2004, lot 77).

Fig. 54: Yomut *bogça* (*bokche*), originally used to keep a large loaf of bread for the wedding ceremony. The X-shape (with its apotropaic meaning) on the top achieved by folding the four corners corresponds to the design of jewellery and the *khaikelbagi* design of Teke *chuval*. Private collection.

Fig. 55: The *khaikelbagi* design in the embroidered trimming *elek* of a child's dress, Ersarï, Northern Afghanistan, first half 20th century. Private collection.

Fig. 56: Anthropomorphic wooden amulet (idol?) of the Nokhurli Turkmen. 20th century. The apotropaic pattern on the lower part of the costume corresponds to the design in the checkerboard pattern on the garment of the Greek Goddess in fig. 48. Repr. from Schletzter 1983: 51.

interpreted these amulets is not known, but the relation to the older models is obvious. Also from the 20th century, and the field of costume, is the example in fig. 55. According to Herman Rudolph, this design from children's clothing clearly has an apotropaic function and is called *gül yaydi* by the Turkmen.[31] However it seems to be a variant of, or is at least related to, the *khaikelbagi* design.

The *khaikelbagi* and the *sainak* motif had similar functions and distribution. The quadruple spiral, since about the same time (ca. 3000 B.C.) was also in use as an amulet and, also became a Turkmen border design (*sainak*, with apotropaic meaning). Both motifs, the quadruple spiral and the "*khaikelbagi*", were in use at least by the 3rd millennium B.C. from the Balkans (the Danube) to the Indus. Both motifs belong to the ambit of 4 + 1 (*quincunx*) cosmic symbols of the centre. Among the Turkmen, both motifs appear as border designs (figs. 52 and 53) and also on tent bands (fig. 51), though the *khaikelbagi* is rather rare on tent bands, while the *sainak* can be considered a standard tent band design.[32]

4. On the etymology of the Turkmen word *khaikel*

The Turkmen word *khaikel* is either from Turkish *heykel* or Persian *haikal*. Both are borrowings from Arabic *haikal*.

According to modern Turkish dictionaries, *heykel* means "statue". However, for Ottoman Turkish, Korkut M. Bugday also refers to "talisman" as an alternate meaning.[33] A comparable meaning, "amulet", was known among the Turkmen of Central Asia. The Persian *haikel* has several meanings, including "statue". The Arabic *haikel* is yet different, although there are similarities to the Persian *haikel*, at least in some of the meanings.

According to Reinhold Schletzer, who refers to the Russian linguists Boroznova and Suchareva, the Turkmen word *khaikel* is derived

31 Hermann 1984: 73.

32 For the *sainak* motif on tent bands, see figs. 6–23 and the discussion of cat. No. 99 in the chapter "The Yomut".
33 Korkut 1996: 344.

from Persian. The Persian word for "statue", *haikel*, can also have the meaning of "temple", as in the case of *haikal-e Soleyman*, temple of Solomon, [34] which points to its Semitic (Arab) origin from *haikel*, "temple". [35]

According to the Arab-German dictionary of Hans Wehr,[36] the Arab word *haikel* also has several meanings including temple, large building, altar, and the like.[37] The Arab word *haikel* goes back to the Akkadian *ekallu*,[38] also "temple", which in turn is a loanword from the Sumerian $E_2.GAL$, "palace", "temple" (literally, big house).[39]

The transition or expansion of the meaning of "temple" in the Semitic languages to "statue" in Persian and Turkish could be because the Persians (Achaemenids) had no temples, but statues (statues of kings).[40] In Mesopotamia, on the other hand, temple and cult statue can be considered a unit; they are inseparable. Every city-state had a temple with a cult statue of the patron goddess or god. This indicates the close relationship between temple and statue, which in turn might help explain the Persian meaning of "statue" for the word *haikel*.[41] So also might it have been with the Turkish word *heykel*; the early Turks also did not have temples, just statues.[42] It is also conceivable that the early Turks adopted the word from the Sogdians, before coming in contact with the Arabs during the 8th–10th centuries.

But what of the word *bagi*? As I have already indicated, according to Gerard Clauson, *bag* might be identical with *bog*, meaning "bundle". This would be consistent with George O'Bannon's suggested translation of *khaikelbagi* as "amulet bag", and also fits well into our context.

In conclusion, both the word *haikel* and the design with which it has become associated have an ancient history in central Asia going back several millennia.

34 Junker/Alavi 1965. See also Persian Dictionary DEKODA. I thank Assadollah Tabatabai from Basel for the confirmation and the reference.
35 www.wiktionary (English version), see *haykal*.
36 Wehr 1985.
37 Such as skeleton; scaffold (of a structure), frame; chassis (of a car); colossal; giant.
38 von Soden 1965: 191.
39 See ePSD (Electronic Pennsylvanya Sumerian Dictionary). I thank Dr. Oskar Kaelin from the Basel University for this information.
40 E.g. a larger than life-size statue of Darius I, found in Egypt.
41 The meaning "idol" for the Turkmen word mentioned by Moshkova could correspond to a diversification of "statue".
42 See Stark 2008.

5. Closing remarks

The "*khaikelbagi*" is an ancient protective design used from the Indus to the Danube (figs. 24 – 42) over a period of roughly 8000 years. It is found on such diverse materials as stone, metal, ceramics, and textiles.

Khaikelbagi, the name of the Turkmen carpet design (figs. 6 – 10) originates from the field of jewellery (figs. 12 – 14), and was presumably adopted as a carpet pattern name only in the 19th century based on its parallels to jewellery design. Small Teke amulet bags embellished with silver fittings are called *khaikel*. According to Borozna, the Turkmen *khaikel* is derived from Persian *haikal*, generally interpreted as "statue" or "idol". Furthermore, the Teke amulet bags *khaikel* are said to be related to a Sogdian tradition of keeping figurines or idols (*haikal*) of terracotta or wood in small leather bags.[43]

The word *bagi* has ancient Turkish roots and might be identical with *bag*, or *bog*, "bundle", from which "*bogça*", the name for Yomut bread bags, is derived. Thus, the name of the Teke carpet design *khaikelbagi* is composed of the two words *khaikel* and *bagi*, meaning "amulet bag", or "idol bag"

Why the amulet bags of the Teke are called *khaikel*, and not *khaikelbagi*, which actually would make sense, remains unclear. There are, however, amulet bags to hang around the neck, called *acar bag* (figs. 44 and 45).[44] Thus, the word combination is also used in the field of jewellery.

Although the Teke carpet design can been seen in a similar form on silver fittings of Teke amulet bags, and the protective function of the design on both media has been known for a long time, in the field of carpets the name of the design is based on the word for another object decorated with that design, rather than on a name for the design per se.

However, both the x-shaped protection design and the word *khaikal* for "statue", or "idol", are evidenced through several millennia.

43 Borozna 1975 (1989): 107 – 108.
44 Schletzer 1983: 106, Abb. 39.

Dongus burun

The Ancient Iranian Boar Motif among the Turkmen

Introduction

It might seem surprising that the Turkmen, affiliated with Islam for more than 1000 years, would have a motif based on and named after a pig. Nevertheless, evidence of this comes from Russian fieldwork of the early 20th century. At least two authors have documented the Turkmen name *dongus burun*, literally "pig's snout", for a detail of a Turkmen carpet design. Although experts in the past have not ignored this curious appellation, it has remained misunderstood.[1]

Yet, Indo-European mythology recognises an ancient symbol of power behind this name: the boar. For the Turkmen, *dongus burun* probably did not refer to a pig's snout. For the Muslim, the pig is unclean. The name more likely goes back to an ancient Iranian symbol of power and war, the boar, or the boar's head. Therefore, *dongus burun* is better translated as "boar's head", and not as "pig's snout", as has been the case in the Russian and consequently in the German and English literature.

1 For an example see "Pig Snouts Glow Brightly" in Hali 71, 1993: 95.

But how could such an ancient name survive up to the early 20th century, even though the boar's head design had essentially not been used in an Islamic context for more than a 1000 years?

Dongus burun in carpet literature

In Ponomarev's 1931 essay "The Motifs of Turkmen Ornaments", the name *dongus burun* appears for the first time.[2] Ponomarev refers to double hook forms of the Teke *gül* (Fig. 7, arrow), calling them *dongus burun*, without giving any source for this designation. A few years later, in 1946, *dongus burun* appears again in Moshkova's article "Tribal Göl in Turkmen carpets". Like Ponomarev, she is referring to the same double hooks of the Teke *gül*, but it is unclear whether this was the result of her own field work (from 1929) or adopted from Ponomarev's publication. However, she mentions that the name originates from Teke weavers.[3] In her posthumously published 1970 book "Carpets of

2 Ponomarev 1931 (1979): 23.
3 Moshkova 1946 (1998): 203.

The *dongus burun* type double hooks (figs. 4, arrow 1) in different Turkmen medallion designs (figs. 1 – 8)

Fig. 1: The so-called mini *chuval gül*, the secondary motif of all Salor *khali* and Salor *chuval* with *chuval gül* field design. Detail from a Salor *khali*, 18th century. Private collection.

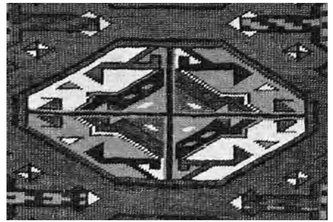


Fig. 2: The Qaradashlï *gül*. Detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 88, 18th century.

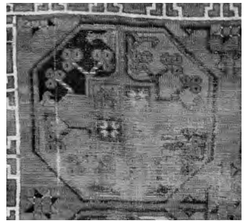


Fig. 3: Octagonal *gülli gül*. Detail from a Ersarï *khali*, 18th/19th century. Private collection.

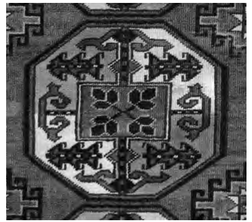


Fig. 4: The *temirjin gül* of the Sarïq. Detail from the Sarïq *khali*, cat. no. 47, 17th/18th century.

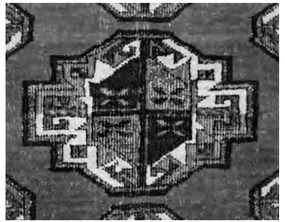


Fig. 5: The *chuval gül* with a quartered centre and pointed hook forms on the vertical axis, 18th/19th centuries. Detail from a Salor *chuval* with 4 × 4 *chuval gül*. Private collection.

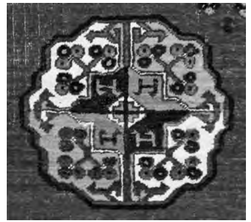


Fig. 6: The *gülli gül* of the Salor. Detail from the Salor *khali*, cat. no. 16, ca. 1550 – 1650.

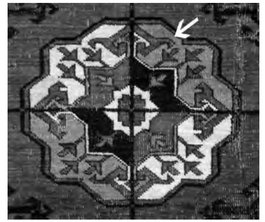


Fig. 7, top: Teke *gül* from a Teke *khali* fragment, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. no. 85, 1134). 18th century or earlier.

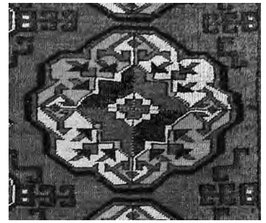


Fig. 8: The *gülli gül* of the Arabachi. Detail from an Arabachi *chuval*. 1st half of the 19th century. Private collection.

the People of Central Asia", there is again a reference to *dongus burun*. Surprisingly it is not in the chapter on the Teke, where one might have expected to find it, but in the chapter on the Salor, though she does indicate there that it is the name of a detail of the Teke *gül*, based on information from Teke weavers.[4] But instead of pointing to the corresponding detail of the Teke *gül*, as she did in her 1946 article, she refers to a detail of the *chuval gül* of the Salor [Moshkowa 1970 (1996): Plate XXXVIII, 1, 2]. This detail consists of symmetrically arranged pairs of hooks on the vertical axis at the upper and lower edge of both the Teke *gül* (fig. 7, arrow) and the *chuval gül* (fig. 5).

It is not clear from Ponomarev's (1931) explanations whether this includes all four double hooks of the Teke *gül* or only those on the vertical or those on the horizontal axis (which differ slightly from one another). He may have meant all of them. This is not the case with Moshkova. She makes a distinction between the hooks on the vertical axis and those on the horizontal axis. However, in the German translation of her 1946 article the double hooks on the horizontal axis are referred to,[5] while in the English translation the double hooks on the vertical axis.[6] I have not been able to check the 1946 Russian original yet. As already mentioned, in the posthumous 1970 edition of her book *dongus burun* does not refer to the double hooks of the Teke *gül*, but to related double hooks on the vertical axis of the *chuval gül* of the Salor, in both the German and the English translations [Moschkowa 1970 (1998): Plate XXXVIII, 1, 2, and p. 149, and Moshkova 1970 (1996): Plate XXXVIII, 1, 2, and p. 182].

An explanation for this apparent inconsistency could be that originally all four double hooks were referred to as *dongus burun*. There are good reasons for such an assumption.

4 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 182.

5 Moschkowa 1946 (1998): 203 and fig. 8b.
6 Moshkowa 1946 (1980): 24 and Fig. 8b.

From the boar's head to the boar's tusks: *pars pro toto*

The *dongus burun* double hooks are not only a characteristic component of the Teke *gül* (fig. 7) and the *chuval gül* (fig. 5), as described by Ponomarev and Moshkova; they are also a characteristic part of a number of other Turkmen medallion designs. These include the secondary motif of all Salor *khali*, the mini *chuval gül* (fig. 1), as well as the Qaradashlï *gül* (fig. 2), the *temirjin gül* (fig. 4) and the *gülli gül* of the Salor, the Ersarï, the Sarïq, and the Arabachi (figs. 3, and 6 – 8).[7]

But what explains the discrepancy between the proper name *dongus burun*, „boar's head", and the actual Turkmen design, namely a simple symmetrically arranged pair of hooks? These double hooks don't seem to have an affinity with any of the many known boar's head motifs (cf. figs. 18 – 23).

Karel Otavsky provides an interesting clue. He interprets a specific form of edging of a roundel on a group of Sogdian silks (fig. 14) as a necklace made of boar's tusks with metal fittings: "This medallion border consists of 20 elements resembling boar's tusk amulets, aligned in pairs at their "roots" by opposed heart-shaped motifs, all together forming a collar. This kind of medallion border is not often seen in Sasanian art, at least judging by the extant material. However, it must originally have been an ambitious ornament, as its more simple variant, consisting of only four pairs of the jaw-shaped elements, is documented in two prominent works: the textile design on the trousers of the mounted Khosrow II in the stone reliefs of Taq-i-Bostan (fig. 12 in this chapter, ed.), and the silk with cocks from the Sancta Sanctorum in the Museo Sacro."[8]

This might be the solution to our problem: the four *dongus burun* double hooks of the Turkmen design show great similarities to the boar's tusks collar described by Otavsky (figs. 12 and 14), and the Turkmen name confirms such a correlation. The Turkmen hook design could represent boars tusks as a adoption of a Sogdian/Sasanian

7 For further examples, see the discussion on the *gülli gül* in the chapter "The Salor" (cat. no. 16 – 18).

8 Otavsky 1998: 21 (original text in German), for the silk with cocks, see fig. 77.

Fig. 9: Boar dashing through the swamps, presumably part of a royal hunt (below the boar is water, behind him the reeds). Sasanian stucco plaque from Um-Za atir near Ctesiphon, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Repr. from Erdmann 1943 (1969): Plate 41.

Fig. 10: Bronze bridle embellishment in the form of a boar's head. Seven Brother Group, Kurgan 4, length 7 cm, 5th century B.C. Repr. from Schiltz 1994: Fig. 19A.

Fig. 11: Boar tusk with engraved deer, bridle embellishment, length 12.5 cm, 5th century B.C. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2000: Cat. no. 128.

tradition. Even the heart-shaped metal fittings present on the silks are still present in all variants of the Turkmen designs, although no longer in a heart shape (figs. 1–9).

Worthy of note in this context is not only the Turkmen name *dongus burun* and its reference to ancient Iranian mythology, but also the way the design has been applied. As in Sasanian Persia and in Sogdian Central Asia, such boar's tusk collar borders for medallions were used by the Turkmen, particularly the Salor, for both primary and secondary motifs (figs. 12–15). We have so far referred to the Teke *gül* and the *chuval gül*, both primary designs. However, it is interesting to have a closer look at the mini *chuval gül*, a characteristic secondary motif of the Salor (fig. 13). It is a small octagon (rosette) composed of four symmetrically arranged double hooks (pairs of boar's tusks). As noted in the Salor chapter, the Salor never used the "new" *chemche gül* as a secondary motif, as did all the other Turkmen. Instead, they used the mini *chuval gül*. The *chemche gül* was unknown before the 10th century, before Islamisation and the coming into power of the Turks. It is a new design developed in connection with these cultural changes.[9] Not so the mini *chuval gül* of the Salor. As discussed in the chapter "The Salor", the design repertoire of the Salor, in contrast to other Turkmen tribes, is essentially unchanged since the 10th century. The Salor exclusively continued to use nothing but pre-Islamic designs, often with Sogdian roots. The mini *chuval gül* as a derivative of the *chuval gül* is definitely in this category. Not only is it a close relative of the *chuval gül*, but, with its simplification to only four double hooks and a quartered rhombus in the centre, it is also closely related to the secondary motif in the design of the silk trousers of Khosrow II in Taq-i-Bostan (fig. 12). The secondary motif on this Sasanian silk is also reduced to four pairs of

9 For a detailed discussion on the *chemche gül*, see the chapter "Flower Cross & Interlaced Star".

Fig. 12: Secondary motif of a Sasanian silk. Boar's tusk collar made of four symmetrically arranged pairs of boar tusks. The opposing boar's tusks could have served as the model for the double hooks called dongus burun by the Turkmen (cf. fig. 13).

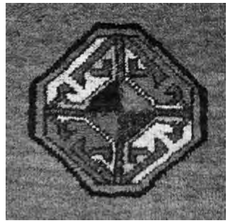


Fig. 13: The mini *chuval gül*, the "classic" secondary motif of all Salor *khali*. This Turkmen design might have had secondary motifs of Sasanian silks like fig. 12 as models.

Fig. 14: The pearled medallion (collar of pearls) has been replaced here by a medallion bordered with paired boar tusks (collar of boar tusks). Fragment of a Sogdian silk, 7th/8th century. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 4901. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo Christoph von Viràg).

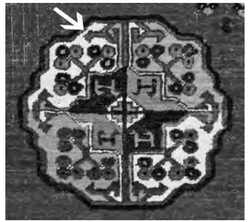


Fig. 15: The *gülli gül* of the Salor. Detail from *khali*, cat. no. 16, ca. 1550 – 1650. The double hooks (arrow) were still called *dongus burun*, "pig's snout", by the Turkmen of the early 20th century. The name and the design are most probably based on the tusks of a boar, as in figs. 11 and 12.

opposed boar's tusks with a rosette in the centre. The reduction of the boar to its head and further even to its tusks is a well-established process of stylisation in symbolic animal representations (cf. fig. 9 – 11). This process can be seen as far back as Neolithic Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia, e.g. in a collar made of the two opposed boar's tusks, and in a fragment of a boar sculpture (figs. 16 and 17). A second, considerably later example is a boar's tusk decorated with a deer from the Scythian environment, demonstrating the process of symbolic reduction at the time of the Sasanian and Sogdian silks (fig. 11).

Kurt Erdmann comments on this process of symbolic reduction: "…Wherever we can trace the development of representations from an entire animal to its reduction to a protome or the head alone, and everywhere we find animals or parts of animals marked with bands or wings (Erdmann refers here to a Sasanian tradition, ed), we are dealing with symbolic representations. The number of such representations is surprisingly high…".[10] Seen as the result of such a process, the Turkmen motif called *dongus burun* might be interpreted as two opposed boar's tusks, forming an amulet.

The boar in mythology

In early mythology, the boar played an important role in connection with fertility and particularly with power and war. The Neolithic culture of the Near East was already familiar with this symbol. One of the earliest three-dimensional representations of a boar, carved in stone, was excavated in Göbekli Tepe in Southeast Anatolia in the 1980s. This boar sculpture, roughly 11,000 years old, was found in a presumably religious context in a monumental Neolithic site.[11] In the later Neolithic, in Çatal Hüyük, discovered and excavated by James Mellaart,

10 Erdmann 1943 (1969): 87. See also Erdmann 1942: 363.
11 Schmidt 2006: 151, fig. 60.

Fig. 16: Boar tusk collar with incised decoration, from a woman's burial, dwelling E VII, 12, Çatal Hüyük , ca. 6100 B.C. Repr. from Mellaart 1967: Plate 98.

Fig. 17: Boar's head, terra cotta (presumably from a boar sculpture), Çatal Hüyük, Level VI, ca. 5900 B.C. Repr. from Mellaart 1967: Plate 17.

Fig. 18: Boar's head in a pearled medallion, Sasanian stucco plaque. Palace of Damghan. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum. Repr. from Erdmann 1942: Plate 76, fig. 2.

Fig. 19: Boar's head within two interlaced squares. Detail from a Sasanian silver plate. 3rd – 7th centuries. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M. 76.174.14. Repr. from Moorey et al. 1981: Fig. 712B

fragments of a boar sculpture (fig. 17) and also a collar of two boar's tusks (fig. 16) were found, which are 6000 to 8000 years old.[12] The Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures were familiar with the boar as a mythical symbol as well, but of special interest here is the boar in Indo-European, and particularly in Indo-Iranian, mythology.

The boar in Indo-European mythology

Among Iranian speaking people, the boar had a clear symbolic meaning. Up to the appearance of Islam, it was omnipresent all over the Orient. In Persia, among the Scythians of the steppe belt, in the oases of the Tarim Basin (later East Turkestan), and in the oases of Choresmia, Sogdia, and Bactria (later West Turkestan), the boar was of great importance as a symbol of power and war.

While among the Achaemenids – under Elamite, late Assyrian, and New Babylonian influences – boar representations were only infrequently seen, the Indo-European heritage intensively revived under the Sasanians.[13] They returned to Iranian roots, with the consequence that ancient Indo-European symbols like the boar reappeared. This can also be seen in Sasanian names such as Warazdan, translated as "confessing the religion of the boar".

What religion and which God might this refer to? In his 1942 essay "Eberdarstellungen und Ebersymbolik in Iran" (Boar Representations and Boar Symbolism in Iran), Erdmann writes: "In the Mihr Yast it says: We make sacrifices to Mithra, the lord of the wide fields, the truthful, the head of the congregation, the one with a thousand ears, the well-shaped, the one with a thousand eyes, the great, the knowledgeable, the powerful, not sleeping, always awake, in front of him paces Verethragna, the one created by Ahura, in the stature of an attacking boar, with pointed tusks, a male, with sharp claws, a boar that kills with one stroke…."

12 Mellaart 1967: Plate 13, 27, 98.

13 Erdmann 1942: 348.

Fig. 20: Boar's head in a medallion, painting, ceiling of grotto D, Bamyan, Afghanistan, Musée Guimet, Paris. Image by the author.

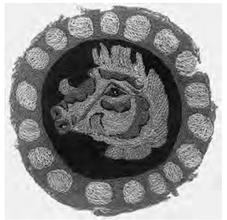


Fig. 21: Boar's head in a pearled medallion, Sogdian or Sasanian wool embroidery on linen. 6th–8th centuries, fragment, diameter ca. 8 cm, The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. (3.304). Repr. from Harper 1978: Cat. no. 53.

Fig. 22: Boar's head in a pearled medallion, fragment of the border of a red ground hanging. Wool and linen tapestry. Egypt or Eastern Mediterranean area, 6th–8th centuries. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Repr. from Zhao 1999: 110, Fig. 03.06b.

Fig. 23: Boar's head in a pearled medallion, silk, Astana, 7th century. Repr. from Otavsky 1998: Fig. 100.

"likewise it is said in the Bahram Yast: Who among the heavenly bodies is the best armed? Ahura Mazda answers: Verethragna, the one created by Ahura, o Spitama Zarathustra….A fifth time Verethragna, the one created by Ahura, hurried to him in the form of a boar, the one who rushes forward to attack with pointed tusks, a male with sharp claws, a boar who kills with one stroke…." These verses of the Avesta illustrate the meaning of the boar among the Iranians.[14]

For the Sasanians, the boar allegorically stood for Verethragna, the god of war and victory (comparable to the Greek Ares). Further, in Ferdowsi's Shahnameh, the book of kings, several kings are compared with a boar, or even called one. For example Gourazeh, who calls himself "the boar" in the Shahnameh, displays a boar's head in his banner.[15] Probably in reference to the war god Verethragna, the attacking boar, Farrukhan, the highest commander in the army of Khosrow II, had the title *Shahrawaraz* "imperial boar".[16] Moreover, in Iran, names derived from *Waraz*, "boar", like *Waraza*, *Warazman*, *Warazward*, *Warazdat*, or *Waraz-Gnel* were common.[17] This tradition has persisted in the German speaking part of Europe down to the present day. Names like Ebersold, Eberhard, Eberlin are quite common (Eber = boar).

Did the Turkmen in the early 20th century really remember such ancient symbols, which went out of style more than 1000 years ago? At least as far as the terminology, it appears they did! We know of other names of comparable age among the Turkmen. That the name *sagdaq gül* for a secondary motif refers to the Sogdians and goes back to pre-Islamic times has already been mentioned.[18] *Sagdaq* is the Turkish word for Sogdian, as shown by V.V. Barthold.[19] *Dongus burun,* like *sagdaq gül*, is a relic from pre-Islamic times.

The boar with such mythological background is not limited to the Iranian world discussed here, but is also a prevalent symbol for a god of

14 Erdmann 1942: 366–367.
15 Erdmann 1942: 360–361.
16 Erdmann 1942: 366.

17 Erdmann 1938: 366.
18 See the chapter "The Salor".
19 Barthold 1929 (1962): 80. See the sub-chapter "The Historical Background" in the chapter "The Salor".

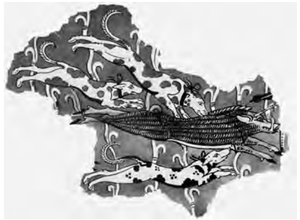


Fig. 24: Boar hunt, wall painting (fresco), Mycnaean, Tyrins, 13th century B.C. Athens, National Museum. Repr. from Hampe/Simon 1980: Fig. 22.

Fig. 25: The Calydonian boar hunt. To the left of the boar – Meleager and Peleus (followed by Atalanta and Mailanion, not visible in the picture), to the right – Castor and Polydeukos, the twin sons of Zeus. Upper edge of the krater of the potter Ergotimos and the painter Kleitias (so-called François vase). Repr. from Schefold 1993: 291b.

war and victory among many other Indo-European people. It is found not only in Iranian mythology, but also among Germanic tribes (e.g. as Freyr's boar "Gullinborsti") and in the Greek world. One of the earliest boar representations from the Greeks is in a hunting scene on a Mycenaean wall painting from the 13th century B.C. (fig. 24). One of the best-known Greek heroic tales in connection with a boar hunt is about Heracles and the Erymanthian boar (fig. 27). But the most interesting epic in our context is that of Meleager and the Calydonian boar hunt (fig. 25). It not only shows amazing parallels to an epic in Anatolian Lydia, but also to a heroic tale in the Iranian Shahnameh.

Meleager and the Calydonian boar hunt (fig. 25)

The fatal romance of Meleager, the son of the Calydonian king Oineus, with the huntress Atalanta, is part of the epic of the hunt of a boar with tusks like an elephant which was wreaking great damage and destruction in Calydon. Meleager appealed to the Greek heroes to join the hunt for the monster. In addition to the famous Isaon, Peleus, the twins Kastor and Polydeukos, Akastos, Admet, Nestor, and Ankaios, the heroic vestal Atalanta also came. An interesting detail of the Calydonian hunt is that Nestor, escaping from the boar, took refuge in the branches of a tree.[20] There is a scene on a Greek wine jar of the late 6th century B.C. where, not Nestor, but Peleus, is shown escaping from a boar into the branches of a tree (fig. 26). An intriguingly similar situation is seen on a Scythian belt buckle (fig. 29), and also a much later Safavid miniature painting (fig. 34). The miniature painting shows a scene from Ferdowsi's Shahnameh, to which I will come back momentarily.

But let us first return to Meleager and the Greeks. The Calydonian boar was hunted down thanks to Atalanta, and Meleager was unexpectedly killed in connection with the hunt, not by the boar, but by his own mother. Blamed for the presence of the boar was King Oineus, who attracted Artemis' anger by failing to acknowledge her in his harvest offerings. She punished him with the death of his son, and by the destruction of the new harvest by the rampaging boar.[21]

20 Schwab 1975 (1932): First part, 136.
21 Schwab 1975 (1932): First part, 135 ff.

Fig. 26: Wine jar of the "London painter", end of the 6th century B.C. Shown is Peleus, escaping from a boar and a lion, in the branches of a tree. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Joseph Pulitzer Bequest. Repr. from Pinsent 1969: 115.

Fig. 27: Eye-cup of the Lysippides painter. Heracles with the boar from Eurystheus. Attic black-figure vase painting, ca. 525 B.C. Antikenmusem Basel & Sammlung Ludwig. Repr. from Blome 1999: 46, fig. 54.

Fig. 28: Boar hunt, wall painting from the grave of Alexandrowo, Thrace, mid 4th century B.C. Repr. from cat. Bonn 2004: 319, fig. 4.

A boar hunt with a comparable background story is reported by Herodotus for the Lydians and their king Croesus. The story tells of a boar besetting Mysia, whose inhabitants called their Lydian neighbours for help. There again it was an act of retribution by the gods, annoyed by Croesus' smugness; he was also punished with the death of his son.[22]

Bizhan and the boar hunt of Erman (Fig. 32 – 34)

In the Iranian Shahnameh, The Book of Kings, we find another similar heroic tale about a boar hunt, the story of Bizhan and the boar hunt of Erman, recorded in the late 10th century by Ferdowsi.[23] Here too, the king is asked for assistance combating the scourge of boars with tusks like elephant's. The adolescent Bizhan volunteers, and with his comrade Gorgin, goes to Erman on the border of Turan, to hunt the boars. During this adventure, he meets and falls hopelessly in love with Manizheh, the daughter of Afrasiab, the king of Turan, the archenemy of Iran.

22 Herodotus: First book 34–45.
23 Davis 2000: 137.

Some ensuing details have been modified over the course of 1700 years: Bizhan is only sentenced to death, but does not actually die, and the woman is not involved in the hunt, though she is involved with unfortunate consequences for our hero. In the Islamic (Iranian) version, Bizhan's companion does not directly take part in the hunt, but only follows the events from a safe distance. Afterwards, he tricks Bizhan into ruin, while he returns alone to the court with the trophies, to get the promised reward (cf. fig. 34).

Pictorial representations of boar hunts
(6th century B.C. – 16th century A.D.)

The story of Bizhan and Manizheh, appearing from Scythian times on golden belt buckles (fig. 25), was as popular in the Iranian world as the Calydonian boar hunt and the story of Meleager and Atalanta had been among the Greeks. The companion of the hunter has escaped to a tree (like Nestor in the Calydonian boar hunt, cf. fig. 26), while the

Fig. 29: Golden belt buckle, 16 cm wide, Scythian, 3rd century B.C. Allegorical representation from Iranian mythology: a hero kills a boar, while his companion hides in the branches of a tree to watch (the upper right section shows his head in profile). Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Repr. from Sims 2002: 105, fig. 19.

Fig. 30: Boar hunt, stucco plaque, Sasanian, 7th/8th century. Chal Tarkhan-Eshqabad, Main Palace, 35 × 34 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Rep. from Harper et al. 1978: 113, no. 46.

Fig. 31: Silver plate with Shapur II, hunting boars, Sasanian, D. 28 cm. Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Repr. from cat. Brüssels 1993: 198, no. 55.

Fig. 32: Bizhan kills the boars of Erman. Painted ceramic beaker (so called Freer Beaker), Iran, 12th/13th century. The mounted Bizhan kills a boar with his sword. To the right of Bizhan, his companion Gorgin watches the scene from safety on a hill. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

mounted hero armed with bow and arrow chases the boar and kills it.[24] Ferdowsi recorded these epics in the late 10th/early 11th century; we have no earlier Iranian sources other than such pictorial representations. Possibly the Scythian belt buckle is a precursor of the representations we know from the Shahnameh. All these images might well be related to the epic of Bizhan and the boar hunt of Erman. One of the earliest representations of this boar hunt with a direct reference to the Shahnameh is on a 12th century painted ceramic beaker. Scenes of the epic of Bizhan are shown in three registers (fig. 32). Later examples follow in 13th and 14th century book illustrations (fig. 33). Of particular interest is a 16th century Safavid book painting. It shows the boar hunt with the juvenile hero Bizhan, while Gorgin, his companion, watches from behind trees at a safe distance on a "hill",[25] biting on his forefinger, an ancient Iranian gesture expressing astonishment and admiration.

In Iranian heroic tales, such boar hunt images served as "icons" or "ideograms" for epics like that of Bizhan and the boar hunt of Erman. These "icons" were displayed by storytellers to illustrate their stories, as was done centuries earlier in the time of Homer and the Greek epics.

Uwe Ellerbrock and Sylvia Winkelmann have referred to parallels between Iranian epic poetry and the epics of other Indo-European peoples. According to them, a correlation between the love stories of Vis and Ramin (Parthian) and Tristan and Isolde (Germanic) has been recognized in literary studies. Beyond that, parallels are seen between

24 A third belt buckle with the same hunting scene, slightly different in style, shows the companion of Bizhan more clearly standing in a tree (published in Ghirshman 1962: 267, fig. 345).

25 The same is also shown on the ceramic beaker in fig. 32.

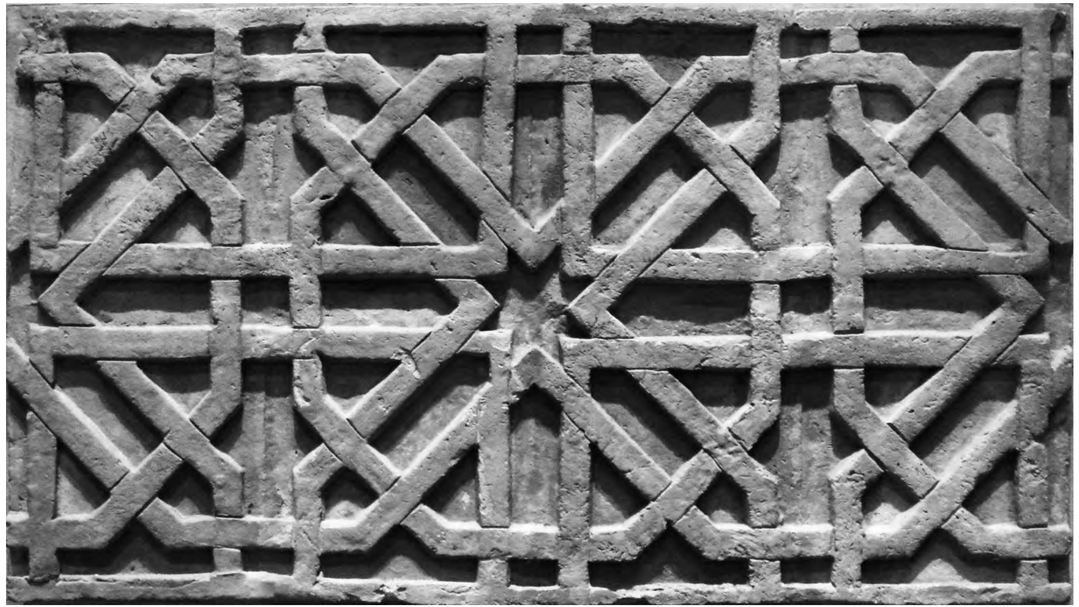
Fig. 33: Bizhan kills the boars of Erman. Miniature painting from a small Shahnameh, Iran, 1st half of the 14th century. This miniature painting and the corresponding epic in the Shahnameh impressively illustrate the continuity of the epic, and of the corresponding iconographic representation. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Sims 2002: 224, Fig. 137.

the Germanic Hildebrandslied and the tragic tale of the Parthian Rustam who killed his son Sohrab in a duel. Likewise parallels are seen between the story of princesse Rudbeh and Zall in the Shahnameh, father and mother of Rustam, and Brunhilde in the Nibelungenlied.[26] These parallels are not coincidental, but go back to common Indo-European roots.

This digression into the world of mythology demonstrates the long continuity of boar symbolism and its corresponding representations up through the Turkmen and their carpets of the 19th century. That the Turkmen carpet design called *dongus burun* (boar's head) does not represent a unique case of such long-lasting tradition is shown by the *ak su* design, discussed in the previous chapter.

26 Ellerbrock/Winkelmann 2012: 159 – 162.

Fig. 34: : Bizhan kills the boars of Erman. Miniature painting from Ferdowsi's Shahnameh of Shah Tahmasp, Tabriz, between 1525–35. This version shows also Gorgin, watching and biting on the forefinger of his left hand, an ancient Iranian gesture of astonishment (cf. foot note 24). The Keir Collection, London. Repr. from Sims 2002: 225, fig. 139.



Left: Interlaced star design, compsed of octagons, squares, and zigzag bands. Cut terracotta, originally painted red, blue, and white. Nishapur, Seljuk period, 11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see Wilkinson 1986: 103). Image by the author.

Cross Form Secondary Motifs in Turkmen weavings

Flower cross, proto-*gurbaga gül*, *gurbaga gül*, and *chemche gül*

1 Introduction

The field composition of the majority of Turkmen weavings shows an endless repeat of large primary motifs with offset smaller secondary motifs in between, a design concept deeply rooted in the world of the Ancient Near East.

This chapter will focus on the secondary motifs in Turkmen weavings. It is a very diverse group of ornaments; there are certainly more than a dozen different types with an endless number of variations. In general, however, they fall into two major categories: (1) cross-shaped,[1] and (2) medallion-shaped.[2] Medallion-shaped secondary motifs have also been used as, or may have originally even been, primary designs, e.g. the *chuval gül* among the Sarïq,[3] while the cross-shaped type has been used exclusively as a secondary motif.[4] Among the Turkmen, the cross shape can even be considered a characteristic feature of a typical secondary motif. This will be discussed in more detail in this chapter.

Among the cross-shaped secondary motifs, in addition, two different types can be distinguished: (1) floral and (2) geometric. The floral cross form, henceforth called flower cross, is limited to tribal groups in Southwest Turkmenistan, while the many different geometric cross forms are seen among all Turkmen, except for the Salor.[5]

The earliest flower cross designs known are from the Ancient Near East, going back to the second millennium B.C., whereas the geometric cross form developed only since the 9th century A.D.

1 Like figs. 15 and 16.
2 Like the mini *chuval gül* of the Salor (see fig. 15 in the chapter "The Salor").
3 Mackie/Thompson 1980: Figs. 16 and 18.

4 A single exception is the *temirjin gül* of the Sarïq (see figs. 33 – 48 in the chapter "The Sarïq").
5 With only one exception (TKF Wien 1986: No. 101), the Salor did not used cross-shaped secondary motifs.

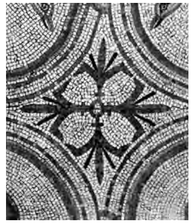


Fig. 1: Flower cross, secondary motif from a Byzantine mosaic, Qabr Hiram near Tyre, 575 A.D. Repr. from Muthman 1982: Fig. 99.

Fig. 2: Flower cross, secondary motif from a Sasanian stucco plate. Repr. from Kröger 1982: 139, fig. 76.

Fig. 3: Flower cross, secondary motif in a Sogdian silk, 7th–9th centuries. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 4901. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo: Christoph von Viràg).

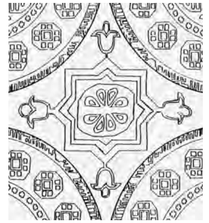


Fig. 4: Flower cross, secondary motif from a Sogdian silk, 9th century (reconstruction). Repr. from Stauffer 1991B: 120, fig. 53.

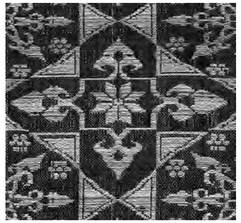


Fig. 5: Flower cross from a silk, Near East or Spain, 14th century, Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 899. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo: Christoph von Viràg).

2. The flower cross as a source for the floral cross form

The earliest examples of Ancient Near Eastern flower crosses[6] often show palmettes as well as flowers.[7] The flower cross appears as a primary design,[8] often even as a solitary ornament. Only since Late Antiquity have flower crosses increasingly been used as secondary motifs, which seem likely to be direct models for the Turkmen flower cross (figs. 1–4).

In the course of time, the centre of the flower cross, often composed of four double volutes (fig. 3),[9] has been replaced by a geometric design, becoming, by the 9th/10th century, an eight-pointed star with attached flowers (fig. 4), probably already representing influence from the Islamic World.[10] Since the 9th century, such star patterns developed into the "cross and star" design (fig. 4), which became ubiquitous throughout the Islamic world.[11]

6 (1) In a celling painting from a tomb in Thebes, Egypt, 15th/14th century B.C. in: Wilson 1986, plate 67. (2) On a golden plaque from a royal tomb in Qatna, Syria, 15th/14th century B.C., in: Al-Maqdissi et al. 2009: 221.

7 E.g. on Assyrian knob tiles from the 9th century B.C., in: Muthmann 1982: 28, fig. 18 (see also fig. 25 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*").

8 E.g. in Assyrian and Achaemenid stone reliefs (see figs. 41, 45, and 46 in the chapter "The Sarïq").

9 This type of cross form composed of four double volutes as an independent ornament existed already in 7th century B.C. Urartian art, but can also be seen in 11th century Islamic textiles. See figs. 174–176 in the chapter "The Salor".

10 For a further example of a 9th/10th century Sogdian silk with a geometric secondary motif, see fig. 167 in the chapter "The Salor".

11 See figs. 2–15 in the chapter "The Ersarï".

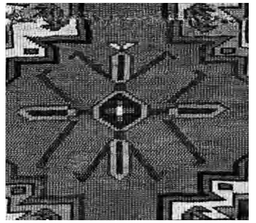


Fig. 6: Flower cross secondary motif from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, 17th century (cf. fig. 1).

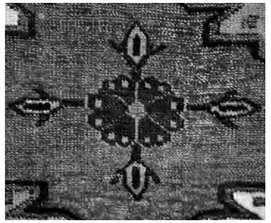


Fig. 7: Flower cross secondary motif from the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 102, 17th century.

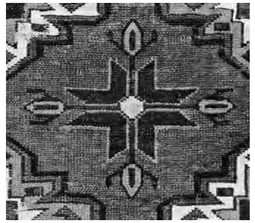


Fig. 8: Flower cross secondary motif from the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 104, 18th century (cf. fig. 4).

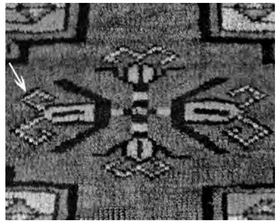


Fig. 9: Hybrid form of flower cross and *chemche gül*, secondary motif from a Yomut *chuval*, 19th century. The attached hook forms (arrow) are borrowed from the chemche gül. Private collection.

2.1 Turkmen Flower Crosses (Figs. 6–9)

Among the Turkmen, the flower cross secondary motif is seen in many variants and almost exclusively together with the *chuval gül*, not only on bags (*chuval* and *torba*), but also on carpets (*khali*). This makes sense given that the *chuval gül* and the flower cross are both ancient designs used together in Central Asia most likely since before the formation of the Turkmen. On *chuval* the flower cross was kept in regular use until more recently than on *khali*. Finally, the flower cross as a secondary motif is much rarer among the Turkmen than the various geometric cross-forms like the proto-*gurbaga*, the *gurbaga,* and the *chemche gül* with all their variants and derivates.

The flower crosss from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 (fig. 6) shows amazing parallels to the flower cross seen in the late Antique mosaic in fig. 1.

We also find the flower cross combined with a star, following the Sogdian example in fig. 4, on *khali* (fig. 8)and *chuval*, though on *chuval* only in a simplified, presumably later, version with little rhombuses replacing the flowers, or in most cases even reduced to a star alone.

The version of the flower cross with a rosette in the centre, as seen in some *khali* (fig. 7), is to date unknown on *chuval*.

Finally, we also find hybrid forms of flower cross and *chemche gül*; the flower cross in fig. 9 shows attached hooks, typical of the *chemche gül* (cf. fig. 44).

These hybrid forms, however, are known only in *chuval*, probably because *khali* with *chuval gül* field design are seen only occasionally in the 19th century, while *chuval* with *chuval gül* and flower crosses remained quite common.

Fig. 10: Tabula fragment of a cushion or a cover, woollen tapestry, 4th – 6th centuries, Egypt. Museum for Applied Arts, Vienna. Repr. from Noever 2005: 139, cat. no. 79.

Fig. 11: Tabula fragment of a cushion or a cover, woollen tapestry, 4th – 6th centuries, Egypt. Abegg-Stiftung, Inv. no. 608. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo: Christoph von Viràg).

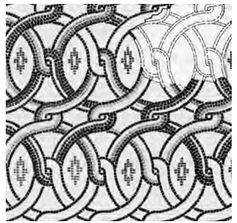


Fig. 12: Early Islamic mosaic, Qusair Amra, 711 – 715. Repr. from Almagro et al. 1975: 52, fig. 9.

Fig. 13: Early Islamic wall painting with simurghs in Sasanian style, Khirbat al Mafjar, palace, Syria, 724 – 743. Repr. from Hamilton 1959: 298, fig. 253.

Fig. 14: Curvilinear interlaced bands, stucco, Nouh Goumbad Mosque (Masjid-i-Tarikh), Balkh, Afghanistan, 9th century. Repr. from Du magazine no. 381, Nov. 1972: 846.

Fig. 15: Geometric Interlaced bands, showing the "cross and star" pattern, stucco, Nouh Goumbad Mosque (Masjid-i-Tarikh), Balkh, Afghanistan, 9th century. Repr. from Du magazine no. 381, Nov. 1972: 848.

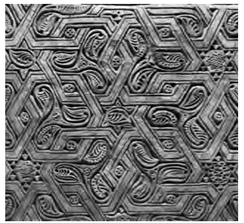


Fig. 16: Interlaced hexagons with feathered palm leaves, stucco, Nishapur, 10th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image by the author.

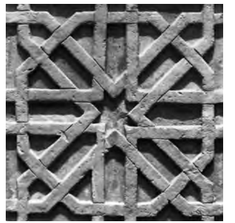


Fig. 17: Interlaced star pattern, composed of octagons, squares and zigzag bands. Cut terracotta, painted red, blue, and white. Nishapur, Seljuk period, 11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (see Wilkinson 1986: 103). Image by the author.

3. Interlaced patterns as a source for the geometric cross form

3.1 Late Antique and early Islamic Interlaced Designs

The earliest forms of interlacement can be made out in the 4th millennium B.C.[12] However, geometric interlacement of purely ornamental character is only known in Mesopotamia (Mitanni and Assyria) since the 14th century B.C., where it appears primarily as borders made of two interlaced bands.[13] Only in Late Antiquity did a more complex ornamental style of interlacement start to develop (figs. 10 and 11),[14] culminating in Islamic art (figs. 12 – 25).

12 Harper et al. 1992: 55, no. 22.
13 Layard 1853: Plate 86; Riegl 1923: 88, Fig. 33.
14 For a 2nd – 4th century Egyptian example, see Schrenk 2004: Cat. no. 31.

While early Islamic ornamentation under the Umayyads still used only curved interlaced designs of Late Antiquity, e.g. in Qusair Amra (fig. 12) or Khirbat al Mafjar (fig. 13), this was no longer the case under Abbasid rule after the mid 8th century. The Umayyad legacy dwindled, giving place to new forms. In the Nouh Goumbad Mosque (*Masjid-i-Tarikh*) in Balkh, North Afghanistan, in addition to the curved interlaced forms of the Umayyads (fig. 14), purely geometric interlacement (fig. 15) appears for a first time in the early 9th century. Comparable geometric interlaced designs can be seen only slightly later in Nishapur (fig. 16). However, this early geometric interlacement still shows floral filler motifs such as feathered palmettes within volutes or palmette leaves as seen in split palmettes in the Umayyad style (figs. 15 and 16).

The preference for abstract geometric forms increased in the early 11th century with the arrival of Turkic speaking nomadic people into both Central Asia (Karakhanids) and Persia (Ghaznavids). This new geometric style, which became predominant during the time of the Seljuks, is essentially what is known as the typical Islamic style of ornamentation in the following centuries (figs. 18 – 25). This is also clearly evident in textiles, where geometric patterns have replaced floral motifs since the 10th century.[15]

The origin of the other type of Turkmen cross form secondary motifs, the proto-*gurbaga gül*, the *gurbaga gül*, and the *chemche gül,* can be traced back to such developments.

15 See fig. 4 in this chapter, and fig. 167 in the chapter "The Salor". Both silks show geometric secondary motifs in place of the floral precursors.

3.2 From Islamic Interlaced Design to Turkmen Geometric Cross Form Secondary Motifs

Of particular interest in regard to the origin and development of the geometric cross form are interlaced designs, and their development since the Seljuks (figs. 18 – 25). They are seen widely from the 11th century on, from Central Asia to Spain. From the basic 11th century interlaced patterns (fig. 18), increasingly complex variants developed (fig. 19) up to labyrinthine patterns (fig. 22) as early as the 13th/14th century.[16] Numerous examples can be found in the Islamic world, not only in textiles (fig. 19), but also in book illustrations (fig. 20) and architecture (fig. 22).

16 For a 13th century Anatolian example, see Thompson 2006: 42, fig. 8 – 12

Fig. 18: Interlaced star pattern, composed of octagons, squares, and zigzag bands. Cut terracotta, painted red, blue, and white. Nishapur, Seljuk period, 11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (see Wilkinson 1986: 103). Image by the author.

Fig. 19: Detail from a silk tapestry, 1st half of the 13th century, Al Andalus, Spain. Burgos, Monasterio de Huelgas. Repr. from Herrero 1988: 122.

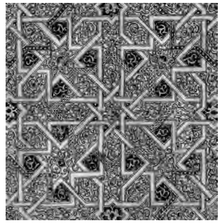


Fig. 20: Detail from a Quran manuscript, dated 1304, Al Andalus, Spain. Bibilothèque Nationale, Paris. Repr. from Dodds 1992: No. 85.

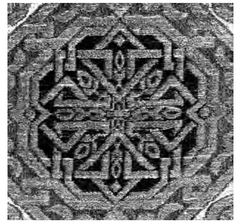


Fig. 21: Detail from a silk and gold lampas weave, Toledo or Granada, Al Andalus, Spain, ca. 1300. The Hispanic Society of America, New York, inv. no. H909. Repr. from May 1957: 135, fig. 89.

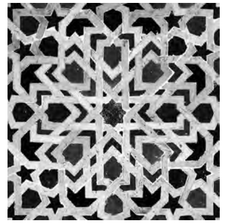


Fig. 22: Detail from a wall tile mosaic panel, Palacio de Comares, Alhambra, Granada, 14th century, Museo de la Alhambra, inv. no. 1612. Repr. from Dodds 1992: 374, no. 119.

Fig. 23: Detail from a silk and gold lampas weave, Al Andalus, Spain, 1st half of the 14th century. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Repr. from May 1957: 123, fig. 86.

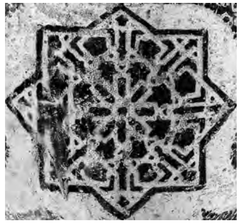


Fig. 24: Detail from a vase, tin-glazed earthenware with cobalt and luster, Malaga (Kingdom of Granada), Spain, 15th century. Repr. from cat. Granada 2006: 166, no. 11.

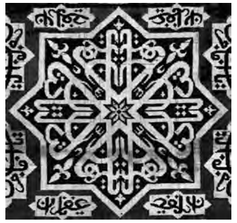


Fig. 25: Eight-pointed star with integrated calligraphy, detail from a 17th century Safavid silk. Private collection, New York.

In the late 13th or early 14th century, a type of intertwined star design of interest in our context starts to develop (figs. 21 and 27). The star-like design is composed of eight intertwined squares alternately rotated by 45° (fig. 26, arrow 1 and 2). The Turkmen proto-*gurbaga gül* (fig. 28) shows such strong parallels to this Islamic design (fig. 21, and 26 – 28) that it seems reasonable to assume that this is the source of the Turkmen geometric cross from secondary motif (see figs. 27 and 28).

3.3 The Proto-*Gurbaga Gül* (Fig. 28) and its Variants

Historically, the proto-*gurbaga gül*[17] shows the earliest known variant of the geometric cross form of Turkmen secondary motifs. The name proto-*gurbaga gül* has been chosen because the *gurbaga gül* (fig. 42 and 43) may have developed from it.

Moshkova only knew of the *gurbaga gül*, decribing it as a typical Teke secondary motif. As will be seen in the following, it is closely related to the proto-*gurbaga gül*, from which it appears to have developed. The frequent use of the *gurbaga gül* among the Teke even in the late 19th century might explain why Moshkova mentioned it. The proto-*gurbaga gül*, on the contrary, is much rarer and as a rule is also found in earlier pieces.

This newly developed geometric cross form of secondary motif can be traced back to Islamic influence and the evolving ethnohistorical context, and might be seen as a later development from the ancient floral cross form, the flower cross. As already mentioned, a comparable tendency is seen in secondary motifs in 9th/10th century silks, in which the type of secondary motif changes from floral to geometric.[18]

The proto-*gurbaga gül* is the typical secondary motif of a small group of *torba* with an asymmetrical open right knot and a characteristic design, first identified by Rautenstengel as a group with common technical features and attributed to what she defined as "Eagle" *gül* group II.[19] The best drawn version of this design composition is seen in the *torba* cat. no. 96 (detail with the secondary motif in fig. 28). Although this piece, with its symmetrical knot and the deviating border design, does not belong to the "Eagle" *gül* group II as defined by Rautenstengel, it shows the typical field design of this group and might be related to it. It is the earliest piece with this design, and also shows the design in its best drawn version. The proto-*gurbaga gül* of this *torba* turned out to be a keystone in understanding the possible origin and development of the geometric cross form of Turkmen secondary motifs.

However, from this eight part interlaced construct (figs. 26 and 27), the proto-*gurgaba gül* only adopts the four rhombuses (fig. 26, ar-

17 The design is known as "Satellite" *gül* among German collectors, most likely inspired by Ersarï (fig. 29)and Sarïq (fig. 30) versions, which somehow resemble the Sputnik satellite with its four antennas. "Eagle" *gül* is a comparable token name; Russian scholars of the late 19th and early 20th century, seeing parallels to the Russian imperial eagle, called the design – which in fact represents a Turkmen version of a 16th/17th century Persian palmette design – an "Eagle with spread wings" (see the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups").

18 See fig. 4 and footnote 15.

19 Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990: Fig. 25. First presentation of this thesis at ICOC 6 in Vienna/Budapest 1986.

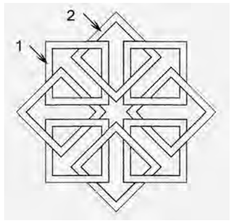


Fig. 26: Drawing of the basic elements of the design of the lampas weave in fig. 21 and 27. The basic structure of the design is composed of four intertwined squares (arrow 1) and four rhombuses (arrow 2).

Fig. 27: Detail from a silk lampas weave, Al Andalus, Spain, 14th century. The design is similar to fig. 21. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brüssel. Repr. from Errera 1927: 98, no. 79A.

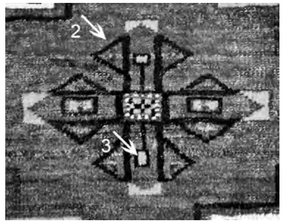


Fig. 28: Proto *gurbaga gül* from *torba* cat. no. 96, 17th century. This type of Turkmen secondary motif finds its closest parallels in 13th and 14th century Islamic interlaced designs as seen in fig. 21 and 27.

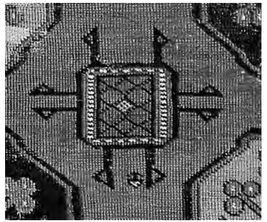


Fig. 29: Ersarï variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, detail from *khali* cat no. 31, 16th or 17th century. In spite of its great age, this variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül* already shows a simplified version of the design seen in fig. 28.

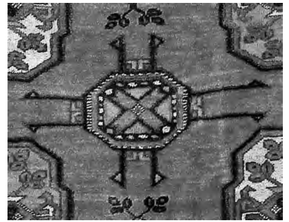


Fig. 30: Sarïq variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 49, 17th/18th century.

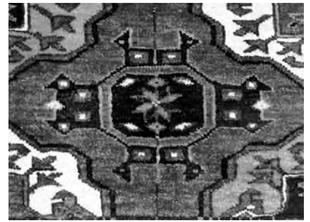


Fig. 31: Teke variant of the proto *gurbaga gül*, detail from cat. no. 148, 17th or 18th century.

Fig. 32: Ersarï variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, detail from a 19th century hanging. Private collection.

row 2), therefore appearing to be a fragmentary interpretation of the design. The triangles attached to the end of the "arms" of the cross form with its endings in the form of peaks accentuated in white (fig. 28, arrow 2) correspond to the four rhombuses on the horizontal and the vertical axis of the 14th century Islamic design (figs. 26 and 27, arrow 2). The proto *gurgaba gül* lacks the squares on the diagonal axes (fig. 26, arrow 1).

The floral filler motifs of the 13th/14th century star design (fig. 27, arrow 3) have also been transferred to the Turkmen design, though only in a stylized form. We find them in the form of little oblongs and squares on the horizontal and vertical axes attached by a line to the centre (fig. 28, arrow 3). Like the squares on the diagonal axes, the stylized floral filler motifs have been omitted. Thus the proto-*gurbaga gül* can be considered a simplified version of the interlaced star design in figs. 21 and 27.

The proto-*gurgaba gül* of the 16th/17th century Ersarï carpet, cat. no. 31 (fig. 29), is a variant of the proto-*gurgaba gül* of the *torba*, cat. no. 96 (fig. 28). This version of the design shows alterations not only in a simplification, but also in a shift in proportions. The white elements, composed of two triangles, attached to the four ends of the cross have vanished, the centre has been enlarged to become an octagon, and the attached triangles (forming the rhombuses of the 14th century design in fig. 27) have been reduced in size. The same applies to the proto-*gurgaba gül* of the Sarïq (fig. 30).

The Teke also used variations of the design very similar to those of the Ersarï and the Sarïq (fig. 31).

Among the Ersarï, several variants of the proto-*gurgaba gül* are known, illustrating the complex developments of this design. Fig. 32 is one example. It is from a decorative hanging[20] and clearly shows similarities to the motif in fig. 31, but also additional and new alterations. A further, obviously earlier variant appears in a 16th or 17th century Qaradashlï *torba* (fig. 34). Additional examples of this particular variant are seen in another Qaradashlï torba,[21] three Salor *chuval*[22] (fig. 35), and in an Ersarï *khali* (fig. 36).

The variant in fig. 37 is also seen only in a few weavings of southwest Turkmenistan from the ambit of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut. The relationship to the archetype in fig. 33 is still recognisable, although it already shows some similarities to the *chemche gül* (cf. fig. 47). Such mixed forms have also been noted in connection with the floral cross form, the flower cross (see fig. 9)

Further examples of variation and reduction of the design are seen in figs. 38–40. In the secondary motif in fig. 40, the process of stylisation has advanced so far that from the original interlaced star design composed of four equally sized squares and four rhombuses, only the four rhombuses (fig. 26, arrow 2) remain.

Like the above discussed variants of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, the *gurbaga gül*[23] of the Teke (figs. 42, 43), which became a "classic" in the mean time, is another variant of the proto-*gurgaba gül*, or perhaps even a derivate of it (fig. 28). Fig. 42 shows the typical Teke version on the 16th or 17th century *khali* cat. no. 71. This early variant of the design reveals its marked similarity to the proto-*gurgaba gül* particularly in design elements seen on the vertical axis (fig. 42, arrow). These elements are often no longer seen in later examples (fig. 43). On the other hand,

20 Reproduced in Loges 1978: No. 106.
21 Pinner/Eiland 1990: Plate 43.
22 An early example is published in Hali 165, 2010: 75, the other two are cat. nos. 133 and 134

23 *Gurbaga* is Turkmen for "frog" [see Moshkova 1970 (1996): 331, and plate XLIV 7–9, 11 and 12]. This name, however, only indicates that the design suggested a frog to some Turkmen weavers.

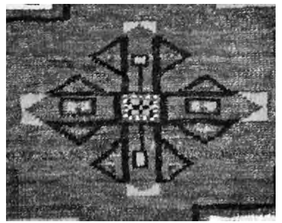


Fig. 33: Proto-*gurbaga gül* from *torba* cat. no. 96, 17th century.

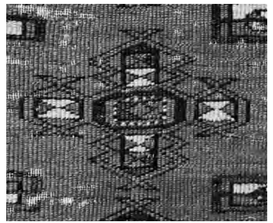


Fig. 34: Variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, from cat. no. 79, a 16th or 17th century Qaradashlï *torba*. This type of secondary motif is seen only in a small number of Turkmen weavings (cf. figs. 35 and 36).

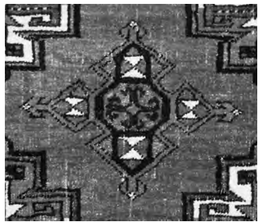


Fig. 35: Variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, from cat. no. 133, a 19th century Salor *chuval*.

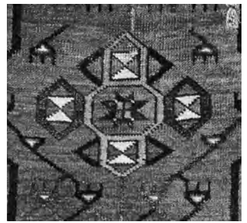


Fig. 36: Variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, from a 19th century Ersarï *khali*. Private collection.

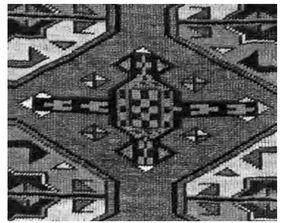


Fig. 37: Variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, from cat. no. 88, an 18th century Qaradashlï *khali*. The relationship to the proto *gurbaga gül* (fig. 33) is seen in the rhombuses attached to the ends of the arms of the cross.

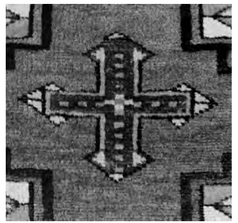


Fig. 38: Variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, from a 19th century Yomut *chuval*. This might be a later form of the design in fig. 37. Private collection.

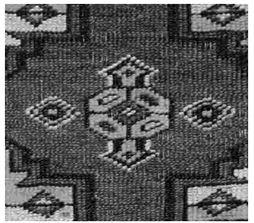


Fig. 39: Variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, from a 19th century Yomut *chuval*. This versions still clearly show close affinities to the motifs in figs. 34–38, and therefore to the proto-*gurbaga gül*. Private collection.

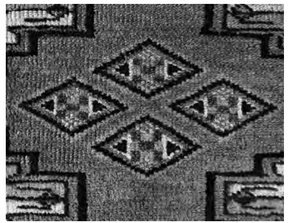


Fig. 40: Variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül*, from a 19th century Yomut *chuval*. The relationship to the proto-*gurbaga gül* is only recognisable by comparison with the other variants (figs. 34–39) and the drawing in fig. 26. The whole design is reduced to the four rhombuses (fig. 26, arrow 2), reaching its peak degree of stylization.

the early *gurbaga gül* in fig. 42 demonstrates above all that the design was already fully developed in the 16th/17th century, undergoing only minor changes in the 18th and 19th centuries (fig. 43).

Fig. 41 is a rare hybrid form of the proto-*gurgaba gül* in fig. 28 and the *gurbaga gül* in fig. 42. The Teke weaver may well have used a model like the proto-*gurgaba gül* as seen in fig. 28, simply modifying it in accordance with a form familiar to her, the "classic" *gurbaga gül* (fig 42); the vertical axis has been shortened, consequently the triangles (the rhombuses of the interlaced star design, fig. 26, arrow 2) directly join the central octagon, comparable to the *gurbaga gül*. In keeping with the proto-*gurgaba gül*, the rectangle in the centre has been retained, and not converted to an octagon. The triangles (rhombuses) on the horizontal axis are missing, as is the case with the *gurbaga gül*.

The early dating of both the Teke *torba* with the hybrid design (fig. 41) and the Teke *khali* with the "classic" *gurbaga gül* (fig. 42) confirm that the both these designs in addition to the proto-*gurgaba gül* were fully developed by the 16th or at least the 17th century.

These different forms and variants illustrate the long-term development of the geometric cross form as a secondary motif, the beginnings of which can be dated back to the 13th or early 14th century (fig. 21 and 27). The "classic" *gurbaga gül* of the Teke is without doubt the most successful type of these variants; it was commonly used up to the 20th century.

3.4 The *chemche gül* (Fig. 46)

Chemche is Turkmen for "spoon", or "scoop".[24] Like *gurbaga* (frog), *chemche* (spoon) is just an token name which provides no clue to the origin or meaning of the design. In the literature, *chemche gül* has also repeatedly been used as a general term for secondary motifs, thus for the various forms of the flower crosses (figs. 6–9) and the proto *gurbaga gül* (figs. 28–40). This might be explained by the fact that, among the geometric cross form secondary motifs, in the 19th century, the *chemche gül* clearly prevailed among the Turkmen as the most popular secondary motif ever.

Comparable to the key role played by the 13th and early 14th century interlaced design in figs. 21 and 27 for the proto-*gurbaga gül*, 14th and 15th century interlaced Timurid designs as seen in figs. 44 and 45 most likely can be seen as archetypes for the *chemche gül*. Since the 14th century, these designs exhibit a development of interlaced ornamentation typical of the arts of the Timurids, particularly for their carpets. The interlaced latticework forming outline of the primary medallions in fig. 45 forms a kind of secondary motif, to which the *chemche gül* comes very close.[25]

There is another Timurid carpet design (fig. 44), in which the floral inner drawing of the latticework of the interlaced star design (cf. figs. 18–25) developed into an independent double cross form integrated into an interlaced latticework of lobed medallions, as seen in fig. 44. The Turkmen *chemche gül* also shows parallels to this design.

The *chemche gül* of the Sarïq, the Teke, and the Ersarï generally show the form seen in fig. 46. The differences are largely based in the attached hook forms (fig. 46, arrows) or "triangles" (fig. 49, arrow). While the "triangles" presumably can be traced back to the proto-*gurbaga gül* (cf. fig. 50), the arrow-like attachments might correspond to the interlacements of the Timurid carpet designs (fig. 45). However, both are derived from interlacement in Islamic designs.

Among the Yomut and the Qaradashlï, the *chemche gül* shows some variations typical for these two groups from the southwest of Turkmenistan. An example is the quartered little squares or octagons attached to the ends of the diagonal cross of the Yomut *chemche gül* in fig. 47, which presumably can also be traced back to interlacement (cf.

24 Moshkova 1970 (1996): 328. Plate XXXVIII, 7; plate XLI, 11–13; plate XLIV, 5, 6; plate XLV, 1–5; plate LXXIX, 7; plate LXXXI, 10.

25 This has already been indicated by Robert Pinner and Michael Franses in Pinner Franses 1980: Fig. 130. For another beautiful 14th century example, see Sims 2005: No. 114.

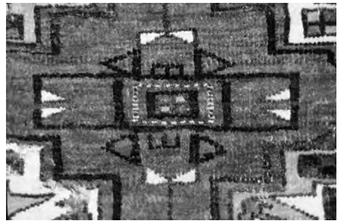


Fig. 41: Hybrid form of the proto *gurbaga gül* and the *gurbaga gül*. Detail from *torba* cat. no. 56, 16th or 17th century.

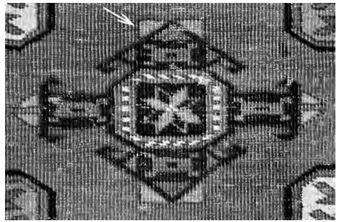


Fig. 42: Gurbaga *gül* of the Teke. It is a variant of the proto-*gurbaga gül* (fig. 50) and exhibits clear parallels to the hybrid form of the Teke secondary motif in fig. 41.

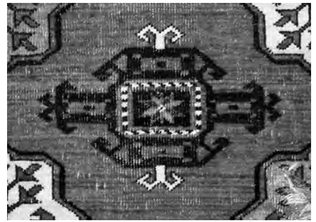


Fig. 43: *Gurbaga gül* from a Teke *khali,* 18th/19th century. Private collection.

fig. 45).[26] The W-forms turned by 90° in the *chemche gül* as seen in fig. 48 (arrow) are typical for of the Qaradashlï.

Thus, the secondary motif with a geometric double cross form, known as *chemche gül*, most likely goes back to influences from the sphere of Timurid carpet work shops and their designs.

In the 19th century, the *chemche gül* is by far the most commonly used secondary motif in Turkmen weavings. As did the *kepse gül* from the field of palmette designs, the *chemche gül* from the realm of interlaced designs became a "classic" in the design repertoire of the Turkmen in the 19th century.

4. Summary

Secondary motifs in Turkmen weavings generally fall into two major categories: (1) cross-shaped, and (2) medallion-shaped. This chapter exclusively has addressed the cross-shaped type, which is most frequently used among the Turkmen. Furthermore, of the cross-shaped type, two different forms can be distinguished: (1) a floral and (2) a geometric cross form.

Probable models for the floral cross form, the flower cross (figs. 6–9), can be made out since Late Antiquity (figs.1–4). The flower cross as a secondary motif has particularly been used by Turkmen living on both sides of the border of Iran and Turkmenistan. It generally was used in context with the *chuval gül*, another ancient design, on *chuval* and *torba* (fig. 9), as well as on large format *khali (*figs. 6–8, cat. nos. 84–87, 101–104).

The geometric cross forms, the proto-*gurbaga gül, gurbaga gül,* and *chemche gül*, are developments from interlaced star designs seen since the 14th century (figs. 21 and 27). Those, in turn, represent developments from interlaced star designs of the 11th century (figs. 18–20).

The geometric forms of secondary motifs such as the proto-*gurbaga gül*, *gurbaga gül,* and *chemche gül* can be considered typical Turkmen designs, while this is not the case with the floral form, the flower cross. The floral form can already be seen in Sogdian art from pre-Turkmen times (figs. 3 and 4), and it is very likely that it was also used for piled carpets, although only examples with animal designs are know so far from this area and period.[27]

26 See also fig. 160 (arrow 3) and figs. 170 – 173 and the discussion on the origin of the *chuval gül* in the chapter "The Salor".

27 Spuhler 2014.

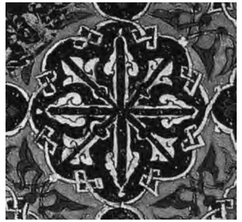


Fig. 44: Carpet design, detail from a Timurid miniature painting, 1470 – 1490. Tabriz, Iran. Topkapi Serai Müsezi Istanbul, inv. no. H.2153. Repr. from Roxburgh et al. 2005: Cat. 218..

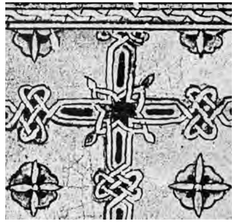


Fig. 45: Carpet design, detail from a Timurid miniature painting, end of 14th, beginning of 15th century. Repr. from Briggs 1940: Fig. 23.

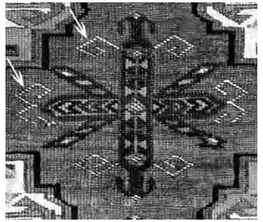


Fig. 46: *Chemche gül* from cat. no. 55, Sarïq *torba*, 17th or 18th century. The *chemche gül* most likely represents a somewhat later development from the same roots as the proto *gurbaga* gül. It became the most popular secondary motif in Turkmen weavings of the 19th century.

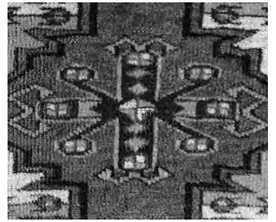


Fig. 47: Unusual variant of the *chemche gül* from a symmetrically knotted 19th century Yomut *chuval*. Unusual are the four little octagons with quartered squares attached to the ends of the diagonal cross. Private collection.

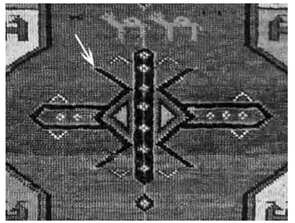


Fig. 48: *Chemche gül* from cat. no. 89, a 16th or 17th century Qaradashlï *khali*. Like the proto-*gurbaga gül,* the distinctive form of the typical *chemche gül* of the Qaradashlï could be explained by its also originating from interlaced star designs.

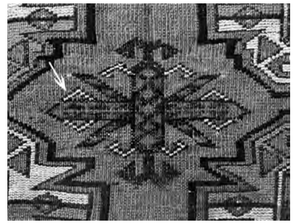


Fig. 49: *Chemche gül* from cat. no. 22, an 18th century Ersarï *chuval* (seen from the back).

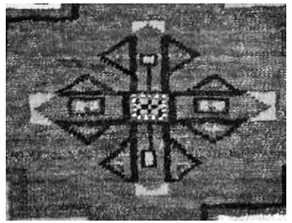
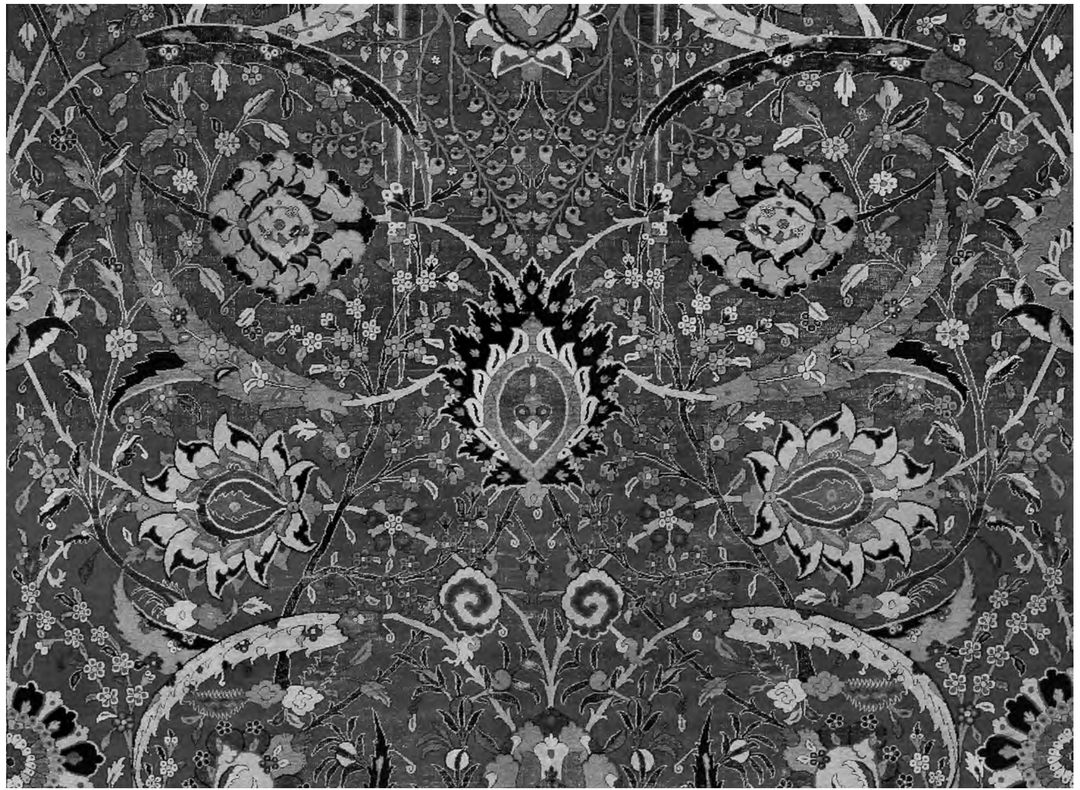


Fig. 50: Proto-*gurbaga gül* from *torba* cat. no. 96, 17th century.



Left: Detail from fig. 4, Safavid carpet with large palmettes and sickle leaves, first half 17th century. Repr. from Carpet Collector 2/2013, cover.

From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *Kepse Gül*

The Origin of the Turkmen Multiple *Gül* Carpet Design

1. Introduction

Multiple *gül* carpets[1] are one of the last great innovations in the history of Turkmen carpet design. Together with the *kepse gül*, multiple *gül* carpet design goes back to Safavid influences from the time of Shah Abbas I, to the so-called Isfahan carpets and what May Beattie has called the "In-and-out Palmette Design".[2]

For a long time, multiple *gül* carpets have attracted the attention of collectors. Multiple efforts have been made to integrate this design phenomenon into Turkmen tradition. Amongst other theories, amalgamation of tribal groups or clans,[3] or even a production outside of the Turkmen territory,[4] have been suggested. Some of these assumptions may have been looking in the right direction but not being interpreted quite correctly. The 16th and 17th centuries certainly saw considerable movements in Turkmen tribal structures and their history, but exactly that same period saw prominent design influences emanating from Safavid Persia to all its neighbours. Multiple *gül* carpets with all likelihood have little or nothing to do with tribal amalgamations and a corresponding heraldic denotation; rather, like the palmette carpets of Kurdistan, Armenia, the Caucasus, and Northern India (figs. 5 – 9), they are a product of 16th and 17th century design developments.

The relatively small number of multiple gül carpets is rather heterogeneous, but can basically be divided into two groups. In addition to these two groups, there are a few other pieces of very different appearance. In spite of their heterogeneous appearance, common to all multiple *gül* carpets is the alternation of a palmette design such as the *kepse gül*, the "Eagle"*gül,* or the "compound"*gül*, and a second design such as the *dyrnak gül*, the c-*gül*, or the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*[5].

The two groups mentioned above are defined mainly by similarities in design.

1 Multiple *gül* carpet design is assembled of more than only one "primary" field design (see figs. 1 and 2), a feature not common among Turkmen carpets of Central Asia. The design composition can consist of two, three, or even four designs of equal importance side by side. There is no differentiation between primary and secondary ornaments.
2 Beattie 1972: 39, 57, 61.
3 Azadi in Hali 130, 2003: 80–83.
4 Poullada 2008.

5 A definition of the "Eagle" *gül*, the "compound" *gül*, the c-*gül* and the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* will follow below. The "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* was called "curled-edge-palmette gul" by Jon Thompson (Mackie/Thopmson 1980: 147).

(1) One group shows alternately the *kepse gül* and the c-*gül* as a field design. While the *kepse gül* is a 16th/17th century innovation, the c-*gül* is an old Turkmen design predating the 16th century, adapted to the new condition in connection with the multiple *gül* carpets. I will come back to this later. In three of the early pieces of this first group (figs. 11, 13, and 13.1), another new design appears together with the *kepse gül*. Being presumably a Turkmen copy of a Chinese cloud band in Safavid carpets, it shall be referred to as "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* in the following. Anyhow, the new "exotic" design soon vanished, probably as a result of being too alien to Turkmen weavers and their tradition.

(2) The other group consistently shows the "Eagle" *gül* alternating with the *dyrnak gül* in the field. Here, the "Eagle" *gül* is the new 17th century innovation, while the *dyrnak gül* – predating the new fashion – is an old design, adapted for the new composition. Finally, the group with the combination of "Eagle" *gül* and *dyrnak gül* is not only the largest in number, but also the most thoroughly researched.[6] For more information on the "Eagle" *gül* groups see the chapter "The Eagle-*gül* Groups", cat. no. 110 – 116, and 156 – 159 in this volume.

The additional unique examples not only stand out due to significant technical differences, but also due to a completely different appearance. Their common feature is the "compound" *gül*.

The small number of multiple *gül* carpets can partly be explained by the fact that the new design concept was to foreign and could not "catch on", and the *kepse gül,* in the 18th, and particullry in the 19th century, became an independent design as seen in figs. 19 – 21. This corresponds to a "return to tradition", using a design composition with primary *gül* only.

But what's really new about the *kepse gül*?

Due to radiocarbon dating we know more today than we did 30 years ago not only about the *kepse gül*, which became so popular in the 19th century, but also about the unusual group of multiple *gül* carpets. Radiocarbon dating helped to order and explain both the multiple *gül* carpets and the later carpets with only the *kepse gül* in the context of history. A clear progression of development became apparent through the new scientific dating results.

In the following, the individual components of the multiple *gül* carpet design will be surveyed and set into a new context, which, in the end, will bring us considerably closer to a solution of the puzzle around this unusual group of weavings. The *kepse gül* is one of these components, but the "Eagle" *gül* and the "compound" *gül* are too; these design components belong to the multiple *gül* carpets like the egg to the hen. Some of them have made it into Turkmen tradition, while others have vanished and are not present any more in the 19th century. First of al,l an overview of the hitherto known multiple *gül* carpets which will be discussed later.

Mulitple *gül* Carpets with *kepse gül*, c-*gül*, (and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*):

(1) The first piece in the Sienknecht Collection (Fig. 11)
(2) The piece in the Woger Collection (Fig. 12)
(3) The piece formerly in the Wher Collection (Fig. 2)
(4) A second piece in the Sienknecht Collection (Abb. 14)
(5) The piece in the Hecksher Collection (Fig. 15)
(6) The piece in the Baer Collection (Fig. 16)[7]
(7) The Keshishian piece (Fig. 17)[8]
(8) The Rippon Boswell piece (Abb. 18)[9]
(9) A hitherto unpublished piece, offered in trade[10]
(10) An unpublished piece in a German private collection[11]
(11) The piece sold in Paris February 2012[12]

This group consists of carpets with two, three, or four different designs. The *kepse gül* and the c-*gül* dominate the composition; they are both present in all examples. In three pieces a third design can be found,

6 Since the 1980's, Rautenstengel and Azadi have worked on this group and published a monograph on this subject in 1990 (Rautenstengel/Azadi 1990).

7 Reproduced in colour in Hali 57, 1991: 92.
8 Reproduced in colour in Hali 6/1, 1983: 13.
9 Reproduced in colour in Rippon Boswell, 73, 2009: Lot 137.
10 Of Galerie Sailer.
11 However, this fragment only shows the "transitional" *kepse gül* (as fig. 47) in the first row, followed then exclusively by c-*gül*.
12 Aponem, Textiles XXXVIII, Drouot-Richelieu, Paris, 22 February 2012: Lot 462.

called the "curled-edge-palmette gul" by Jon Thompson.[13] However, based on its supposed origin, I prefer to change its name into "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*. The curls decorating its edges more resemble the elements of a cloud than those of a palmette, indeed they are part of any Safavid cloud band. But among the Turkmen, the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* could not establish itself in Turkmen tradition.

Beside the group discussed here, it only appears in three other Turkmen carpets: on the somewhat "exotic" multiple *gül* carpet of the Ballard collection (fig. 1, cat. no. 167 in this vol.) and on two later multiple *gül* carpets belonging to the "Eagle" *gül* groups discussed by Rautenstengel. However, the two "Eagle" *gül* pieces show a version of the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* so heavily stylised as to be hardly recognisable (fig. 77).[14]

The group discussed above divides further into two sub-groups showing variants of the *kepse gül*. A first sub-group shows the early *kepse gül* (figs. 43 – 45), while the second a transitional form between the early *kepse gül* and what I call the "classic" *kepse gül* (figs. 46 and 47). I will come back to this in more detail in connection with the origin and development of the *kepse gül*.

2. Safavid palmette designs

The significant role of so-called lotus and leaf palmettes[15] in Safavid carpets since the 16th century is a phenomenon well known to carpet scholars. To find lotus and leaf palmettes playing a considerable role in Turkmen weavings since the late 16th century may be rather unknown, although Jon Thompson first pointed to this phenomenon 30 years ago.[16] In these last 30 years not much has been said about Safavid palmettes in Turkmen carpets. However, the radiocarbon datings performed on the occasion of this study have resurrected this subject. By these radiocarbon dating results we are now confronted with completely new information, allowing us not only a new perspective on different design developments, but also new conclusions. One of these new conclusions concerns the group of so called multiple *gül* carpets with the *kepse gül*, c-*gül*, and the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* discussed here. Their origin coincides historically with the origin of the "Eagle" *gül* and the "compound" *gül*. All these designs are Turkmen versions of Safavid palmettes, of which, as will be shown below, only the *kepse gül* really prevailed.

2.1 The Birth of the "Turkmen Palmette"

The birth of the *kepse gül*, the "Turkmen palmette" par excellence, does not seem to have occurred before the late 16th century. A Turkmen palmette design dating from this period – the earliest known form of the *kepse gül*[17] – in the following referred to as the "early *kepse gül*", is only known on three carpets so far (figs. 11 – 13). Two of them have been radiocarbon dated to the 16th/17th centuries (figs. 11, 12), while the third might well not be much newer (figs. 2, 13). Thompson more than 30 years ago already recognized the *kepse gül* as a more recent Turkmen design. His attempt to derive the design from a Caucasian or Persian leaf palmette was basically correct, yet requires some minor amendments in light of the present state of knowledge. Therefore the early *kepse gül* (figs. 43 and 44) might not be a descendent of the leaf palmette of the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 38), as suggested by Thompson, but rather represents an independent development more closely related to the geometric Turkmen design tradition. As demonstrated by both the "Eagle" *gül* (figs. 26 – 30 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups") and the "compound" *gül* (figs. 60 – 67, in the chapter "The

13 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 147.
14 For an illustration, see fig. 41 in the chapter "The Eagle-*gül* Groups".
15 The so-called lotus palmette in Persian carpets is strictly speaking not a real palmette, but rather a lotus flower integratede into a leaf shape. Pope/Ackermann (1938) described flower-shapes like figs. 36 and 37 on carpets as "leaf palmette", while others like fig. 80 and 81 as "lotus palmette". All these names are somewhat confusing, as they are strictly speaking incorrect: a "real" palmette is something else (cf. figs. 30 and 31). Anyway, to simplify matters I will adhere to these names here and follow Pope/Ackerman in distinguishing between leaf- and lotus palmettes.

16 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 145 et seq.
17 Called "transitional gul" by Thompson (see Mackie/Thompson 1980: 147).

Fig. 1: Cat. no. 168. The Ballard multiple *gül* carpet, 140 x 239 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 17th/18th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. no. 22.100.44, Gift of James F. Ballard. Repr. from Mackie/Thompson 1980: plate 62.

Fig. 1a, top: Leaf palmette from fig. 1.

Fig. 1b, centre: C-*gül* ("sickle leaf") from fig. 1.

Fig. 1c, bottom: "Curled-edge-cloudband" *gül* from fig. 1.

Eagle *gül* Groups") – both are also derived from Safavid leaf palmettes (as is the *kepse gül*) – several "channels" must have existed by which Safavid design found its way into Turkmen tradition.

2.2 The Ballard multiple *gül* carpet

The Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 1) is an outlier amongst these multiple *gül* carpets with their new design concept, maybe even a "cuckoo's egg"[18] embedded in Turkmen tradition. With its bold field design and its simplified lotus tendril in the border,[19] it differs not only in form from Turkmen tradition, but also in terms of colour by its colourfulness. Thus it brings to mind Caucasian, Kurdish,[20] or even Baluch[21] rugs. Despite being of venerable age, according to radiocarbon dating the piece is clearly not as old as the two multiple *gül* carpets with the early *kepse gül* (figs. 11 and 12),[22] of which moreover a third example exists (fig. 2 and 13), which also could be older than the Ballard carpet. Furthermore, these three carpets with the early *kepse gül* are much closer to Turkmen tradition than the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet. In spite of their design being unusual for the Turkmen tradition, they do not show any affinity to Caucasian, Kurdish, or Baluch weaving. These inconsistencies tend rather to be at odds with Thompson's assumption that the vine-leaf palmette of the Ballard carpet is the parent of the early *kepse gül*, than to confirm it.

18 The cuckoo is a brood parasite; it lays its eggs in the nests of other bird species, particularly songbirds.

19 Compare figs. 35–40 in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups", and the discussion of the lotus spandrel as a border type.

20 A small Kordi rug shows the "compound" *gül* as well (see Stanzer 1988: 73).

21 The unusual elongated design in the centre of the carpet – very close in its appearance to the *nakshe kalamdani* of the Baluch – could go back to Baluch tradition (see Azadi 1986: No. 4; Boucher 1989: Plate 59; Diehr 1996: 87).

22 For radiocarbon dating see Vol. 1, cat. no. 167, or appendix IV, table 15.

Regarding the development of the design, the early *kepse gül* apparently made its own way from the very beginning and represents, in contrast to the vine-leaf palmette of the Ballard carpet, a transformation, typical of the Turkmen tradition, from a floral courtly to a geometric traditional design. As shown by figs. 36 and 37, the early *kepse gül* can clearly have been derived directly from a Safavid leaf palmette, without passing an intermediate stage like the vine-leaf palmette of the Ballard carpet. Thompson assumed that the early *kepse gül* – which he called "transitional gul" – was a further development of the vine-leaf-palmette of the Ballard carpet. As a result, he set the process of adoption of what he saw as Caucasian or Persian models later, that is to say not until the 18th century. Thus he could not exclude Caucasian influence, and even suggested the possibility.[23] In the 18th century, there were in fact Caucasian carpets with leaf palmettes very similar to those in the Ballard carpet; Thompson even showed such palmettes as possible models. [24] But where did the Turkmen actually adopt their "palmettes" from?

2.3 The Shah Abbas carpets with large palmettes

Based on the results obtained by radiocarbon dating we know now that the adaptation process among the Turkmen did not start in the 18th century, as suggested by Thompson, but simultaneously with the newly developed Safavid fashion showing large palmettes (figs. 3a and 33), serrated sickle leafs (figs. 3b and 59), and cloud bands (figs. 3c and 72) as dominant elements in the field design of carpets. Such carpets from Safavid

23 As a comparison, Thompson only uses Caucasian examples showing vine leaf palmettes. See Mackie/Thompson 1980: 149, figs. 43–45.

24 Mackie/Thompson 1980: Figs. 43 and 44.

Fig. 2: The multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection, 162 x 295 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 17th century. Repr. from Hali 5/3, 1983, S. 255 (see also Hali 47, 1989: 31).

Fig. 2a, top: Early *kepse gül* (palmette) from fig. 2.

Fig. 2b, centre: C-*gül* ("sickle leaf") from fig. 2.

Fig. 2c, bottom: "Curled-edge-cloudband" *gül* from fig. 2.

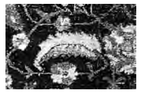


Fig. 3: Safavid carpet with palmettes, sickle leaves, and cloud bands, 147 x 277 cm, Isfahan, time of Shah Abbas I, beginning of 17th century, The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.
Such carpets were produced in large quantities and exported as far as Portugal and the Netherlands in Europe. They might have served as one of the models (amongst others) for the contemporarily produced Turkmen multiple *gül* carpets with *kepse gül* (palmette), *c-gül* (sickle leaf), and "curled-edge-cloud band" *gül* (cloud band). Repr. from Beattie 1972: plate VIII.

Fig. 3a: Large Palmette from fig. 3.

Fig. 3b: Sickle leaf from fig. 3.

Fig. 3c: Cloud-band from fig. 3.

Persia were in high demand on the international market. They also found their way to Europe in quite large numbers, where they can still be found today in a number of collections (fig. 3). Such carpet designs were largely unknown before the 16th century. Before that, geometric ornaments dominated the field, while palmettes were confined to use as border designs only, a characteristic application of this ornament, going back to antiquity. The step of the palmette from the border into the field amounts to a design revolution, which seems to have occurred shortly before the reign of Shah Abbas I.

Thus the time of this "new Persian fashion" may likewise have been the hour of birth of the Turkmen *kepse gül* and furthermore, both *kepse gül* and multiple *gül* carpets may belong together like the chicken and the egg. Reviewing the history of 16th/17th centuries Safavid Persia, the tremendous role played by Shah Abbas I, also known as the Great, is very much apparent. He was not only a skilled politician, but also a great patron of the arts for more than four decades. All this is consistent with the notion that the process described above – the development of a new carpet design with large palmettes in combination with large serrated sickle leafs and cloud bands (figs. 3 and 4) – must have fallen into the reign of this distinguished ruler. Joseph V. McMullan was also aware of the fact that Persia at the time of Shah Abbas I was caught by a "design fever" when he wrote: "....An allover pattern of large palmettes proved so popular that it was copied extensively and persisted in the Caucasus well into the 19th century. It is popularly known as the Shah 'Abbas design....".[25] One of the most beautiful examples of this group of Safavid carpets, though without cloud bands, is the example in fig. 4. The new design concept is displayed on this throne(?) carpet in its greatest glory, leaving most of the pieces produced for export looking like only a pale shadow of it.

25 McMullan 1965: 81.

The whole composition of these Safavid carpets, including specifically the three most important design elements – the palmette (fig. 3a), the serrated sickle leaf (fig. 3b), and the cloud band (fig. 3c) – was adopted into Turkmen multiple *gül* carpet design, at the same time being adapted to the style tradition of Turkmen design. The multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection (fig. 2) can be considered the most successful achievement of this process. As with the Safavid models, the "curled-edge-cloud band" *gül* (fig. 74, the cloud band on the Safavid models) appear in the vertical center axis, whereas the *kepse gül* (fig. 43, the palmettes on the Safavid models) are arranged left and right of the vertical center axis. The c-*gül*, on the other hand, appears both on the vertical axis, like the "curled-edge cloudband" g*ül*, as well as left and right of it, like the *kepse gül*.

2.4 The Shah Abbas design among the neighbours of the Safavids

The above-mentioned impact of this new way of dealing with palmette designs, serrated sickle leafs, and cloud bands in Safavid Persia on the design tradition of nearly all their neighbours is common knowledge. McMullan, among others, mentions it. But the impact on the Turkmen of Central Asia has so far not been considered. Safavid palmettes, serrated-sickle-leafs, and cloud bands also worked their way into the Turkmen domain of Central Asia, though not with unqualified success. Some of these designs are seen only on a few Turkmen pieces. They seem to have vanished very quickly, and later are rarely seen. Turkmen multiple *gül* carpets with more than two main designs (figs. 11 and 13) appear to be products of 17th century workshops, which first took up such developments.

Fig. 4: Safavid carpet with large palmettes and sickle leaves, 188 x 263 cm, Kerman, first half 17th century, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, no. 26-278; Bequest of William A. Clark, 1926, Washington D.C. Repr. from King/Sylvester 1983, no. 80.

Figs. 5–10: Carpets with large palmettes, rosettes, and sickle leaves from Khorasan, Mughal India, Armenia, Kurdistan, and Central Asia. The extremely successful production of Safavid court workshops under Shah Abbas I in Iran had a tremendous impact on neighbouring regions including the Caucasus, Kurdistan, Armenia, Central Asia, and Mughal India resulting in carpets showing a design composition of large palmettes, rosettes, sickle leaves, and cloud bands. May Beattie called their Safavid model, tellingly, the "in and out palmette design". This early 17th century Safavid fashion appears to be the source of the Turkmen multiple *gül* carpet design.

Fig. 5: Carpet with palmettes and sickle leaves, 234 x 716 cm, Khorasan, 17th century, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna. Repr. from Völker 2001, no. 88.

Fig. 6: Carpet with palmettes and sickle leaves, 133 x 347 cm, Mughal India, 17th century, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna. Repr. from Völker 2001, no. 120.

Fig. 7: Carpet with palmettes and sickle leaves, 244 x 640 cm, the Caucasus, 17th/18th centuries. Repr. from Ellis 1975, plate 22.

Fig. 8: Carpet with palmettes, 123 x 229 cm, Anatolian copy of a Caucasian (Armenian?) carpet, 18th century, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin, Inv. no. I.39/63. Repr. from Spuhler 1987, no. 31.

Fig. 9: Carpet with palmettes and sickle leaves, 174 x 250 cm, Kurdistan, Northwest Persia, 18th century, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, Inv. no. Or 297/ 1896/1907 HM 16787. Repr. from Völker 2001, no. 92.

Fig. 10: Cat. no. 167. The Ballard multiple *gül* carpet, 140 x 239 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 17th or 18th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 22.100.44, Gift of James F. Ballard. Repr. from Mackie/Thompson 1980, plate 62.

2.5 Krusinski's Shah Abbas workshop in Astarabad

Of particular interest in this context is a written source dating from the first half of the 18th century, intriguingly referring to Safavid textile and carpet production at the time of Shah Abbas I, not only in Persia, but also in the adjacent regions to the northwest and northeast.[26]

26 Mankowski 1938; see also Eiland 2001.

In his article "Some Documents from Polish Sources Relating to Carpet Making in the Time of Shah Abbas I", Tadeusz Mankowski wrote: "One of the most informing accounts of textile and carpet weaving in the time of Shah Abbas we owe to a Polish Jesuit and Missionary, Father Krusinski, who lived in Persia from 1704 to 1729 (1116–1142 H.), but whose reports cover the early seventeenth century. He was an acute observer and a good judge of history, and his informa-

Fig. 11: Cat. no. 106. Multiple *gül* carpet of the Sienknecht Collection, 176 x 320 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 16th/17th century.

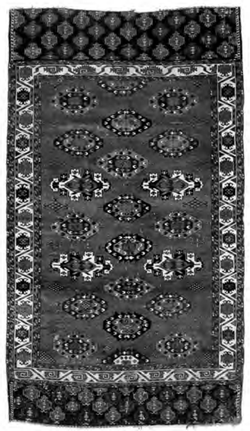


Fig. 12: Cat. no. 107. Multiple *gül* carpet of the Woger Collection, 164 x 290 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 16th/17th century.

Fig. 13: Multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection, 162 x 295 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 17th century. Repr. from Hali 5/3, 1983: 255.

Abb. 14: Cat. no. 153. Multiple *gül* carpet of the Sienknecht Collection, 183 x 306 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 17th century. The carpet shows the same *alem* design as the *chuval gül* carpets cat. nos. 84 and 101 – 103.

tion supplements Chardin's and Tavernier's well known accounts, for these, though written earlier and in more detail, do not give as much information concerning the organization of Persian weaving as does Krusinski."

Krusinski writes: "Concerning the raiment and wardrobe of the royal Persian court; the foresight of Shah Abbas the Great caused numerous and manifold factories to be established in the provinces of Shirvan, Qarabagh, Gilan, Kashan, Mashad, Astarabad, as well as in the capital Isphahan itself, in which, under a strict supervision of overseers, silk textiles and sashes [turbans], as well for common use as royal ones (cydaris), ordinarily called madyl, are woven in a magnificent and wonderful way, while rugs and all kind of woven fabrics are constantly made for the royal court. According to the Shah's orders, each place was to weave in its own manner. Evidently the Shah intended to preserve the specific characteristics of the artistic weaving of each locality. The central manufactories were organized under the management of royal officers to assure the king's household as well as the state a profitable share in these domestic establishments".[27]

Whether or not our early Yomut multiple *gül* carpets (figs. 11 and 12, cat. nos. 106 and 107) stem directly from such a Shah Abbas workshop or rather from the periphery of such a production centre cannot definitively be established. In any case, the Astarabad workshop mentioned by Krusinski is of great interest. With partly silken wefts, asymmetrical open left Persian knots, Persian palmette designs in field and borders, and their extremely luxurious execution, the multiple *gül* carpets of the "Eagle" *gül* groups I and III (cat. nos. 113, 157 and 158) are indeed real candidates to be products of such a workshop. The field, with a traditional Turkmen design combined with a "modern" Safavid design in Turkmen style, perfectly fits the requirement of the Shah as mentioned by Krusinski. Furthermore, the border, with a Turkmen version of a Safavid lotus meander, an innovation of the early 17th century, also corresponds to these requirements (cf. figs. 35 – 40, in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups"). This outstanding group of workshop carpets will be dealt with in more detail in its own chapter.[28] The "compound" *gül* is another palmette design, which appears not only in the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (figs. 1, 10), but also in the multiple gül carpet of the Hecksher Collection (cat. no. 116).[29] But let us return to the Yomut pieces under discussion here.

27 For reasons of convenience, the footnotes accompanying the quotation have been omitted.

28 See chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups".
29 See chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups".

Fig. 15: Cat. no. 108. Multiple gül carpet of the Hecksher Collection, 166 x 312 cm, Turkmenistan, Museum of Fine Arts San Francisco, Southwest Turkmenistan, 17th/18th century.

Fig. 16: Multiple gül carpet of the Baer Collection, 157 x 297 cm, Turkmenistan, 17th/18th century. Repr. from Hali 47, 1989, S. 32 (colour illustration in Hali 57, 1991: 92).

Fig. 17: The Keshishian Multiple gül carpet, 167 x 274 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 19th century. Repr. from Hali 6/1, 1983: 13.

Fig. 18: The Rippon Boswell multiple gül carpet, 165 x 222 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 19th century. Repr. from Rippon Boswell 2009, 73, lot 137.

The successors of the mutiple *gül* carpets : *khali* with allover *kepse gül* field design

Fig. 11 – 18: Beside the multiple *gül* carpets with "Eagle" *gül* and *dyrnak gül*, Yomut multiple *gül* carpets with *kepse gül*, c-*gül*, and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* represent the second largest group among the Turkmen multiple *gül* carpets. The reasons for the small number of examples of this three gül group discussed here are not clear. Supposedly the early examples are fashionable products of a workshop, trying to satisfy a local market, as was the case in neighbouring areas like the Caucasus and India.

Fig. 19, cat. no. 109: Yomut carpet with 2 : 1: 2: 1 white *kepse gül* composition, 145 x 236 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 18th century.

Fig. 20, cat. no. 94: Qaradashlī carpet with 2 : 2 : 2 white *kepse gül* composition, 157 x 202 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 18th century.

Fig. 21: Yomut carpet with diagonally arranged *kepse gül* composition, 178 x 295 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 19th century. Repr. from Mackie/Thompson 1980, no. 65.

The Successors of the Mutiple *Gül* Carpets : *Khali* with Single Standing *c-Gül* Field Design

Fig. 22: Yomut carpet with 2 : 1 : 2 *c-gül* composition, 174 x 269 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 18th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. no. 1974.149.44. Repr. from McMullan 1965: No. 122.

Fig. 23: Yomut carpet with diagonally arranged *c-gül* composition, 173 x 252 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 18th/19th century, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, DeYoung Museum, inv. no. 1997.195.40. Repr. from Pinner/Eiland 1999: Plate 31.

Fig. 24: Yomut carpet with diagonally arranged *c-gül* composition, 168 x 248 cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 19th century. Repr. from Sumner/Feltham 1999: 39.

Fig. 19 – 24: Yomut *kepse gül* and c-*gül* carpets illustrate the change that occurred in the successors of the multiple *gül* carpets, from multiple *gül* design back to a single *gül* design. The result is the *c-gül* and of course the large number of *kepse gül* carpets with a uniform field design.

2.6 The heritage of the multiple *gül* design: The *kepse gül* carpets

The successors of the multiple *gül* carpets again return to the "old Turkmen design tradition" in exhibiting a field design reduced to the "new" *kepse gül* alone as shown in figs. 19 – 21. In the earlier pieces of this newly developed group, it is significant how the colour white has been used in the overall field composition (cf. fig. 19, cat no. 109). In these early *kepse gül* carpets white appears either in a pattern of 2 : 1 : 2 (fig. 19) or 2 : 2 : 2 (fig. 20), as in their forerunners of the multiple *gül* design type (figs. 11 – 13 and 15 – 18). Later in the 19th century the design is mostly seen in a regularly arranged diagonal configuration (fig. 21). The same phenomenon is seen among the much rarer carpets with exclusively c-*gül* composition (cf. figs. 22 – 24), the second group of successors of the multiple *gül* design type.

The border design of the multiple *gül* carpets of the 17th and 18th centuries (with a combination of *kepse gül* and c-*gül*) consistently shows a meander with curled leaves (cf. figs. 11 – 16), while in later pieces it can also be a tendril with lotus palmettes, the standard border type of "Eagle" *gül* group I and III carpets (fig. 177), or a variant of it (fig. 18), as seen in the minor borders of the multiple *gül* carpet fig. 11 (cat. no. 106), or the all pile tent band cat. no. 99. All these border designs represent 16th/17th century developments adopted from Safavid Persia. Much the same is true of the later pieces composed of exclusively the *kepse gül* or the c-*gül*: the borders are no longer uniform. They either show a curled leaf border (figs. 18 and 22), a tendril with lotus palmettes, or a combination of both (fig. 21).

The sources of Safavid designs shall now be examined in somewhat more detail, to see where they originated and how they developed. In the Ancient Near East, the palmette was the floral ornament par excellence. Its development can be traced back through the history of ornaments like a leitmotif, bringing us back to the middle Assyrian Empire where it has its origin. Together with the leaf tendril, the palmette belongs to the primal designs of all Ancient Near Eastern cultures. The palmette has survived as a popular design up to modern times (see figs. 25 – 34).

Fig. 25: Palmettes, Middle Assyrian, mural from the palace of Tukulti Ninurta, 1243–1207 B.C. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2008: 207, fig. 68.

Fig. 26: Palmette and pomegranate on a fragment of a knob-tile, Assur, 9th century B.C. Repr. from Muthman 1982: 30.

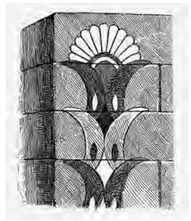


Fig. 27: Palmette from Susa, Achaemenid Persia, 6th/5th centuries B.C. Repr. from Riegl 1923: 111, fig. 44.

Fig. 28: Palmettes as handle ornament on an Attic vase, 6th/5th centuries B.C. Repr. from Riegl 1923: 204, fig. 106.

Fig. 29 : Palmettes on a Scythian gorytos, embossed goldfoil, 4th century B.C. Melitopol Kurgan. Reproduced from Riegl 1923: 249, Fig. 129.

Fig. 30: Tendril with palmettes and lotus flowers on a frieze of the *Ara pacis Augustae*, Rome, 9 B.C. Author's photo, October 2011.

Fig. 31: Sassanian palmette-triple-leaf, stucco frieze, 5th century, Kis, Building I. Repr. from Köger 1982: plate 84/4.

Fig. 32: Palmette on a Sassanian Capital, 7th century., Taq-i Bostan. Repr. from Flandin/Coste 1841.

Fig. 33: Palmette from a Sogdian (?) silk, 8th/9th centuries. Private collection, New York.

Fig. 34: Palmette from a Safavid floral carpet, East Persia, end of 16th/early 17th centuries. Repr. from Pope 1938: plate 1185, fig. 770.

3. Origin and development of the palmette design

The survival and the continuity of this basic plant ornament throughout nearly three millennia clearly demonstrates how popular this decorative element remained, not only in the Ancient Near East, but in the following epochs and all neighbouring areas and peoples. The Assyrians (figs. 25 and 26) passed it to the Persians (fig. 27), from whom it went to the Greeks (fig. 28), to the Scythians in the steppe belt (fig. 29), to the Parthians, the Romans (fig. 30), the Sasanians (figs. 31 and 32), the Sogdians (fig. 33), and finally into the Islamic cultures of the Near East, where in the 16th/17th Centuries in the time of Shah Abbas I, the ornament is part of the already mentioned "design revolution" (fig. 34). The development from the Safavid leaf palmette to the Turkmen *kepse gül* is finally illustrated in figs. 35–43. At the same time, the leaf tendril of the Ancient World was transformed into the "arabesque" of the Islamic World.

This brief journey through the history of the palmette from ancient Egypt to the Turkmen of Central Asia demonstrates how old certain ornaments can be, though they are still part of today's environment. But let's come back now to our Yomut palmette design, the *kepse gül* from Southwest Turkmenistan,

3.1 The *kepse gül*

Among Turkmen palmette designs are not only the *kepse gül*, the "Eagle" *gül,* and the "compound" *gül* from the domain of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut, but also different versions among the Ersarï. Whence the Ersarï adopted them is not as clear as in the case of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut, though they also must have adopted them from the Iranian World. There are versions among the Ersarï reminiscent of Archaemenid palmettes as shown in fig. 27,[30] but there are others probably borrowed from 16th/17th century Safavid models.[31] Assyrian roots can at least be considered for various Turkmen designs.[32] Furthermore, other ancient Ersarï designs like the *mina khani* and the *senmurv* are known,[33] so an Achaemenid origin of this type of Ersarï palmette can at least be considered.

However, of primary interest here is the origin and development of the palmette of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut, the *kepse gül*, which quite clearly can be traced back to a Safavid leaf palmette.

3.2 The early *kepse gül* (figs. 44 and 45)

Figs. 34–37 show palmettes of 16th/17th century carpets, which all can be considered models not only for the early *kepse gül* (fig.38), but also for the leaf palmette of the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 39). Safavid palmettes are almost always composed of an outer leaf shape around a stylised lotus flower, together forming the complex design misleadingly described as "palmette". The geometricised "palmette" of the Turkmen, the *kepse gül*, largely follows this composition showing an outer leaf with a serrated edge and a central stylised lotus flower. In the course of time, this lotus flower has been stylised to such an extent as to become hardly recognisable (figs. 43a–e). The montage of figs. 40–42 shows how it could have evolved to the completely axially symmetrical variation of the Turkmen palmette, the *kepse gül*. To better demonstrate the process of mirroring of the Turkmen design, two Safavid palmettes have been mirrored in Turkmen style. This makes the close connection of the early *kepse gül* to the two Safavid palmettes easier to see. Not only the early *kepse gül* (fig. 38), but also the leaf palmette of the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 39) in both their inner and outer shape clearly demonstrate their derivation from 16th/17th century Safavid palmettes. Even in the "classic" *kepse gül* of the 18th/19th century (figs. 49–52) these "roots" are still recognizable by comparing them to the intermediate early form (for the inner form see figs. 43a–e).

As of now, the early *kepse gül* (figs. 44 and 45) is known only in three carpets (figs. 11–13, cat. nos. 106 and 107): on two examples it appears in combination with the c-*gül* and the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* (fig. 11 [cat. no. 106], and fig. 13), on a single one only with the c-*gül* (fig. 12, cat. no. 107). Thus the early *kepse gül* never appears by itself, but always in combination with the c-*gül* and the "curled-edge

30 For an Ersarï version, see Reuben II 2001: No. 14.
31 See Thompson 1983: 71.
32 E.g. the *sainak* and *gush* motif of the Turkmen *ensi* (figs. 42–90, in the chapter "The Tuerkmen *ensi*"), or the stylized trees in Teke *ensi* (figs. 6–12 in the chapter "The Teke") and in the *alem* of Salor *chuval* (figs. 154–158 in the chapter "The Salor"), or the pomegranate trees and pomegranate rosettes in tent bands (figs. 30–38 in the chapter "The Teke"), etc. For further explanations, see also the chapter "Streams of Paradise".
33 Figs. 67–83 in the chapter "The Ersarï".

Fig. 35: Palmette from a tree design carpet, Northeast Persia, 17th century. Repr. from Kirchheim et al. 1993: No. 64.

Fig. 36: Vine-leaf palmette from a Safavid carpet, Kerman (?), late 16th century. Repr. from Pope 1938: Fig. 766 a, plate 1205.

Fig. 37: Vine-leaf palmette from a Safavid carpet, Northwest Persia, 16th/17th century. Repr. from Pope 1938: Fig. 779 a, plate 1112, 1126.

Fig. 38: Early *kepse gül* from the 16th/17th Century, halved and rotated by 90°. Repr. from Mackie/Thompson 1980: 147.

Fig. 39: Vine-leaf-palmette from the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet (fig. 1), 17th/18th Century.

cloudband" *gül*.[34] Moreover, the colour range of the early *kepse gül* is always limited to dark blue and white.[35] Furthermore, in every case, adjacent c-*gül* (in weft direction) have the same colour scheme. Thus the colour arrangement of these three early pieces corresponds to a horizontal row composition. Only the multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection (figs. 2, 13) shows an additional fourth design.[36] The early *kepse gül* in the three carpets just discussed differs in two features from the somewhat later "transitional" *kepse gül* (fig. 47): first the asymmetrically applied colouring, and second, the drawing of the cartouche in the centre. The early *kepse gül* shows six (2 × 3) interleaved, serrated ribs (fig. 38), in a colour sequence not mirrored along the vertical axis (fig. 41). The repeated colour change from dark blue to white gives an asymmetrical appearance to the design. On the other hand the central cartouche (with "shoulders" in fig. 44 [arrow], and without in fig. 45) shows a relatively complex drawing characteristic for the early *kepse gül*, having as its model the lotus flowers in the centre of the Safavid leaf palmettes (see figs. 42 a–e). A somewhat rudimentary version of this intricate drawing of the cartouche appears for the last time in a considerably later multiple *gül* carpet already showing the "classic" *kepse gül* combined with the c-*gül* (fig. 49). In the later versions of the "classic" *kepse gül,* the drawing of the central cartouche slowly turns into a geometric design, only showing its relation to the lotus flower by comparison with the version in the early *kepse gül* (figs. 43 a–e).

The multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection also has two additional unusual design features not present in the other carpets with the early *kepse gül*. The first is the unusual design of the piled *alem*: the lower *alem* with its triple blue stripes corresponds to the flat woven *alem* in most *khali*, while the upper shows a design adopted from the repertoire of the "Eagle" *gül* groups. This could be a clue to the provenance of this piece, namely Southwest Turkmenistan. The second is a difference in the colouring of the early *kepse gül*, which already demonstrates a transition to the next stage of development, to what I will refer to as the "transitional" *kepse gül* (fig. 47), namely a colour sequence mirrored along the vertical axis of the design (fig. 48). Here the transformation of the *kepse gül* to a completely mirrored design is seen for the first time: both shape and colour sequence are mirrored along both horizontal and vertical axis. This is a characteristic feature of Turkmen design tradition, and may have been a major key to the success of the *kepse gül*.[37] But this first step to the "transitional" *kepse gül* (fig. 47) still differs from the later "transitional" *kepse gül* in not having a colour sequence of white and blue from inside to outside, but the opposite. This is no longer the case with all the later "transitional" *kepse gül*, in which the white parts of the design are always placed directly left and right of the vertical axis.

34 In the Ballard carpet (fig. 1) the vine-leaf palmette appears together with the c-*gül* and the "curled-edge-cloud band" *gül*.

35 The Ballard carpet differs in the colouring of its palmettes; although dark blue is proportionally very present, they are multi coloured. This is just another indicator for a non-Turkmen attribution, or at least for not being directly related the group discussed here.

36 This concerns the so called "connection"-*gül*. It appears in the Hecksher multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 116 and the so-called Pfadschbacher carpet (see figs. 82–85 in the chapter "The Eagle-*gül* Groups").

Fig. 40: In this montage, the palmette fig. 35 from the 17th century Safavid tree design carpet has been halved, turned by 90°, and mirrored around the vertical axis. This approach demonstrates the procedure applied by the Turkmen weavers in drafting their new designs. In this palmette, the buds along the serrated edge have been reduced to dots, and the serrated petals are slightly sloped. Repr. from Pope 1938: fig. 779 a, plate 1112, 1126.

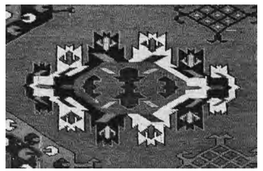


Fig. 41: In the geometricised Turkmen "palmette", the *kepse gül*, the central lotus flower is hardly recognisable anymore, and the serrated petals with the stylised buds are placed only vertically, no longer horizontal with a 45° slope as on the Safavid palmette fig. 37. This is a typical development showing characteristic features of Turkmen design tradition.

Fig 42: This second montage helps to understand the drawing of the central cartouche of the *kepse gül*. The lotus flower with its diagonally arranged petals in the centre of this leaf palmette could have served as a model for the diagonally arranged small trapezoids placed in the left and right half of the centre of the *kepse gül*. In this palmette, the little buds, extending into the serrated leaf apexes of the adjacent vine leaf, are still connected with the lotus flower (which is not the case in fig. 40).

a b c d e

Fig. 43 a – e: The drawing of the the "classic" *kepse gül's* central cartouche is still clearly recognisable as a derivative of the drawing of the cartouche of the early *kepse gül*, and can therefore be considered a Turkmen transformation from a floral into a geometric design.

3.3 The "transitional" *kepse gül* (figs. 46 – 48)

Like its direct predecessor, the early *kepse gül*, the "transitional" *kepse gül* is still constructed of only six (2 × 3) interleaved, serrated ribs. In

37 The multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection contains four early *kepse gül*. Two of them are nearly identical to those of the other early dated multiple *gül* carpet previously in the Woger Collection (fig. 12, cat. no. 107, but there without the shoulders of the cartouche in the centre). The other two in the upper part of the carpet (in weaving direction) show a variant which mirrors the colour range along the vertical axis, thereby already indicating some similarities to the later "transitional" *kepse gül* (cf. figs. 45–47)

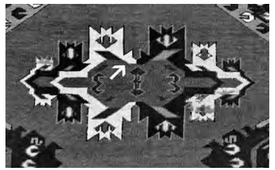


Fig 44: Early *kepse gül* with a special cartouche shape (with indentations at the vertical axis, see arrow) , following the form of the lotus flower of the Safavid models. 16th/17th century, multiple gül carpet cat. no. 106. Sienknecht Collection.

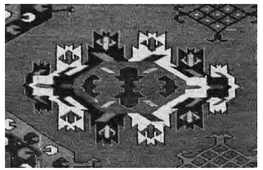


Fig. 45: Early *kepse gül* (without indentations at the vertical axis). 16th/17th century, multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 107. Woger Collection. Museum für Völkerkunde München, inv. no. 86-308 031.

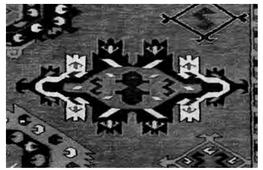


Fig . 49 above right: First stage of the "classic" *kepse gül* (19th century) with an additional "rib" on the vertical axis. Repr. from Mackie/ Thompson 1980: 148, no. 63.

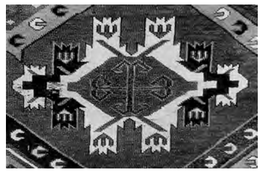


Fig. 46 above left: Early *kepse gül* with a colour range already mirrored around the vertical axis of the design, 17th century, multiple *gül* carpet of the former Wher Collection. Repr. from Hali 5/3, 1983, S. 255.

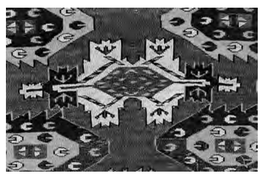


Fig. 47 centre left: Transitional form from the early *kepse gül* to the "classic" *kepse gül*. Multiple *gül* carpet of the Hecksher Collection, cat. no. 108. The transitional form of the kepse gül is a side branch in the development of the design shown above, running in a sequence from the early to the "classic" form of the kepse gül. This form of the design – the "transitional" *kepse gül* – with its geometric drawing of the central cartouche (octagon), in later times has been used only for the multiple *gül* carpets (cf. figs. 14–17). In the carpets with *kepse gül* design alone it has never been used.

Fig. 48 bottom left: This detail from the multiple *gül* carpet in fig. 17 shows a later development of the "transitional" *kepse gül* in fig. 47.

the later version an additional middle rib has been added (fig. 49). But in comparison to the early *kepse gül*, the "transitional" *kepse gül* shows a further modification, adapting to Turkmen design tradition. It is now also mirrored along the vertical axis in terms of colour (see figs. 46 – 48). This gives an appearance to the "transitional" *kepse gül* that comes considerably closer to the Turkmen tradition of symmetry. In this form, the serrated ribs, immediately left and right of the vertical axis, are always white, while a dark blue and then a white rib follow on both sides (see figs. 47 and 48). The shape and drawing of the cartouche in the centre has also been adapted and simplified consistent with Turkmen design tradition, becoming an octagon containing a cross shape with four double hooks instead of a stylised lotus flower (fig. 47).[38] With these two new alterations, the "transitional" *kepse gül* differs considerably from the early *kepse gül*. However, this variant is only known on six *khali*, four of them published.[39] Five of these six pieces are multiple *gül* carpets. The sixth, a fragment, was originally a c-*gül khali* with the "transitional" *kepse gül* in a single row at the beginning only. The earliest of the four published pieces with the "transitional" *kepse gül*, the Hecksher carpet (fig. 15, cat. no. 108), could still date from the 17th century, while the Rippon Boswell piece (fig. 18) probably has to be

38 Cross shapes with attached double hooks, the so called *kochak* design, can be found in many Turkmen carpets, particularly in the centre of the *tauk nuska* design. But there, the cross shapes are always placed diagonally, and not vertically, like the *kochak*-crosses in this group of multiple *gül* carpets.

39 See above, no. 4–9 in the list: multiple *gül* carpets with *kepse gül*, c-*gül*, and "curled-edge-cloud band" *gül*.

Fig 50: "Classic" *kepse gül*, 18th/19th century, *kepse gül* carpet fig. 18, cat. no. 109. Nancy Jeffries and Kurt Munkacsi Collection

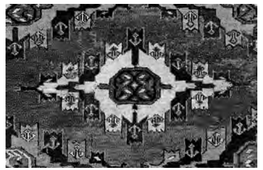


Fig. 51: "Classic" *kepse gül*, 18th/19th century, kepse gül carpet fig. 19, cat. no. 109. Private collection.

Fig. 52: "Classic" *kepse gül*, 19th century, kepse *gül* carpet cat. no. 95. Wiedersperg Collection.

Figs. 44 – 52 demonstrate the development of the Turkmen *kepse gül* from the 17th to the late 19th centuries. Before that, this design did not exist among the Turkmen. Derived from Safavid models, in the late 16th or early 17th centuries the Turkmen multiple *gül* carpet with *kepse gül*, c-*gül*, and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* was created. In the 18th and 19th centuries, a different type with only the *kepse gül* developed.

dated to the early 19th century. Thus we can observe a continuation of this design tradition simultaneously with the "classic" *kepse gül*. All the pieces with the "transitional" *kepse gül* are still what we call multiple *gül* carpets, although with only two *gül* forms: the *kepse gül* and the c-*gül*. Yet in the group of multiple *gül* carpets with the "transitional" *kepse gül*, the *kepse gül* already shows a more pronounced presence than in the earlier pieces with the early *kepse gül*, where the *kepse gül* only appears four times in the field. As in the early pieces, the arrangement of guls of differing colour is still horizontal. This changes with the "classic" kepse gul; though there are pieces with a horizontal color arrangement (fig. 19 and 20), a diagonal composition becomes most common. This changes with the "classic" *kepse gül*, where in addition to a horizontal colour layout, (fig. 19 and 20) a diagonal composition is most common (fig. 21).

3.4 The "classic" *kepse gül* (figs. 49–52)

Starting in the 18th, but especially in the 19th century, the *kepse gül* became completely autonomous. It appears on many *khali* of the Qaradashlï and the Yomut as a solitary field design. At the same time, the "classic" *kepse gül* has been modified for a last time to become a completely axial-symmetrical design. Instead of the six design components (serrated ribs) of the early *kepse gül* and the "transitional" *kepse gül*, we now find up to nine. One of the ribs is now in the centre of the design, highlighting the vertical axis and giving the design a more accentuated rhomboid form. The drawing of the central cartouche has also been modified, becoming a geometrical quartered rosette; the later this rosette is, the more complex it becomes. The most fundamental change of this last design generation of the *kepse gül* is its new use as a singular field design, without even a smaller secondary motif. Concurrently, the colour arrangement of the *kepse gül* in the field is no longer horizontal, but mostly diagonal. The later the pieces are, the flatter the *kepse gül* becomes and the higher the number of diagonal rows in the field. Earlier pieces from the 18th century normally show seven rows, pieces from the 19th century can have up to nine, while in the late 19th or early 20th centuries this number can increase up to fourteen. This diagonal design concept seems to be an 18th/19th century introduction, unknown in the 16th/17th. There is no piece known showing a diagonal design arrangement that has an early radiocarbon

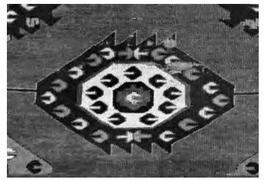


Fig. 54: C-*gül* from multiple *gül* carpet cat. no. 106, Yomut (?), 16th/17th centuries. In Turkmen multiple *gül* carpets, the serrated c-*gül* replaces the serrated sickle leaf of the Safavid models (Fig. 59 and 60).

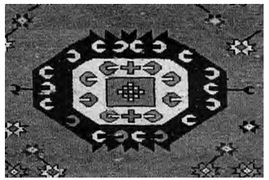


Fig. 55: C-*gül*, The Wiedersperg c-*gül* carpet, Yomut (?), 18th century. Here, the serration has been mirrored along the vertical axis, which corresponds to a typical process in the development of Turkmen carpet design. Repr. from Pinner/Eiland 1999, Tafel 31.

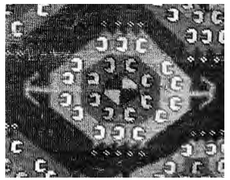


Fig. 56: C-gül, c-*gül* carpet, Yomut (?), 19th century. Private collection. Here, the serration has been adjusted once again and supplemented with little crosses. Repr. from Rippon Boswell 38, 1993, lot 122.

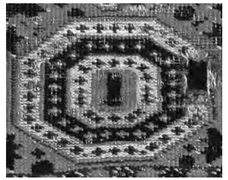


Fig 53, upper left corner: Medallion of concentric circles on a blue ground, Sogdian silk, 8th/9th centuries. Repr. from Ierusalimskaja/Borkop 1996: no. 101.

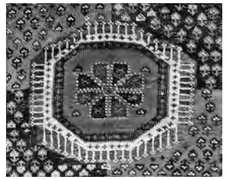


Fig. 57 left: Octagonal medallion of concentric octagons from an Ersarï carpet. This is one of the very few Turkmen weavings showing this specific version of the design without the otherwise attached little crosses (fig. 58) or the serration (fig. 59). Repr. from Eiland 2003: 241, Fig. 4.

Fig. 58 centre left: Detail from cat. no. 29. Octagonal medallion of concentric octagons from an Ersarï carpet. In place of the serration normally seen in Yomut pieces, the Ersarï version of the design often shows these match-like attachments.

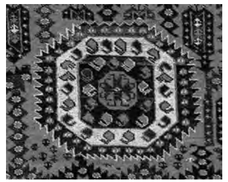


Fig. 59 bottom left: Octagonal medallion of concentric octagons from a Ersarï carpet. This is one of the few Ersarï weavings with this design showing a serration instead of the match-like attachments. Repr. from Hali. A second Ersarï piece with this deign is published in Hali 135, 2004: 67 (ad).

date. The ancient Central Asian design principle of a dominating design in the foreground in combination with a minor design offset in between is also abandoned in these later pieces. The same phenomenon is seen with the serrated c-*gül* and the *dyrnak gül*.

4. The serrated c-*gül* (figs. 54 – 56)

The earliest known form of the serrated c-*gül* (fig. 54) first appears in the so-called multiple *gül* carpets of the 16th/17th Centuries, which were modelled on Safavid carpets with large palmettes, serrated sickle leaves and cloud bands. As part of the design composition of the multiple *gül* carpets, the c-*gül* takes the place of the serrated sickle leaves of the Shah Abbas carpets (figs. 3 and 4). Such an origin for the c-*gül* was suggested by Jon Thompson, though he pointed to possible 18th century Caucasian models.[40] In contrast to the *kepse gül*, the c-*gül* was not a new design creation, but merely an adaptation of an older design. The c-*gül* without serration was already known before the 17th century. It can be traced back to textile designs as shown in fig. 53. Among

40 Mackie/Thompson 1980: 149 – 150.

Fig. 60: Serrated sickle leaf on a Mughal carpet, India, 17th century. Repr. from Walker 1997: Fig. 80, 81.

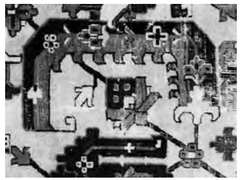


Fig. 61: Serrated sickle leaf on a Safavid carpet, Khorasan, Persia, 17th century. Reproduced from Kirchheim et al. 1993: no. 63.

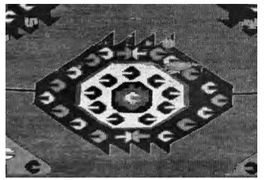


Fig. 62: Serrated c-*gül*, multiple *gül* carpet fig. 11, cat. no. 106, Yomut (?), 17th century. In Turkmen carpets, the serrated c-*gül* replaces the serrated sickle leaf of its 17th century Safavid models.

Figs. 54 – 56 show the development of the c-*gül* from 17th to the 19th centuries. Before the 17th century the design lacked the serration, simply consisting of concentric octagons (cf. figs. 53 and 57). The serration might be an echo of the Safavid serrated sickle leaf (figs. 60 and 61). In the course of time, the serration changed, first being mirrored along the vertical axis, finally becoming a kind of "crown" supplemented with little crosses.

the Ersarï, this ancient version of the design was preserved up to the 19th century (fig. 57), although there was also the serrated form, and another version with attached little cross-shapes (figs. 58 and 59). The Ersarï version shown in fig. 57 is unknown on Yomut carpets.

Hans Christian Sienknecht, in his article in Hali, recognised the c-shapes as moon sickles and for the first time discussed the diverse design types of Yomut *khali* with the serrated c-*gül*, dividing them into four groups.[41]

(1) c-*gül* on multiple *gül khali* with three or more different main designs (figs. 11 and 13).
(2) c-*gül* on multiple *gül khali* with two different main designs (figs. 12, 15 – 18).
(3) pure c-*gül khali* with horizontal/vertical colour arrangement and superimposed quincunx ornament (figs. 22 and 23).
(4) pure c-*gül khali* with diagonal colour arrangement (fig. 24).

Like Thompson, Sienknecht was too conservative in his age proposals, dating the earliest examples to the late 18th century. Radiocarbon dating has now provided new insights, dating the earliest pieces with c-*gül*, early *kepse gül,* and "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* to the 16th/17th centuries. The development of the c-*gül* with serrated edges since the 17th century parallels that of the *kepse gül*. They both first appeared in the early dated multiple *gül* carpets of the 16th/17th centuries and evolved similarly through the 18th and 19th centuries (see figs. 19 – 24). Like the *kepse gül*, in the course of the 18th century the c-*gül* was used with increasing frequency as a single *gül* field design with a similar colour arrangement to the single *gül khali* with *kepse gül*: a horizonta/vertical colour arrangement of multi-coloured c-*gül* without white, with a superimposed quincunx arrangement of blue and white coloured c-*gül* (fig. 22 and 23). Over time, the drawing of the c-*gül* does not vary as much as the different types of *kepse gül*. The only difference between the composition of the c-*gül* seen in *khali* with the early *kepse gül* and the one seen in carpets with the later "transitional" *kepse gül* is that the earlier version is formed by three concentric octagons (fig. 54), while the later version shows only two, having a small rectangle in the centre (fig. 55). However, the centre of an even later

41 Sienknecht 1989.

Fig. 63: Detail of a Sogdian silk, 7th century (^{14}C-dated), Katoen Natie Collection, Antwerp, inv. no. 1022-02a. Repr. from Verhecken–Lammens et al. 2006: 293.

Fig. 64: Detail of a Sogdian silk. 7th–9th century. Abegg-Stiftung, inv. no. 4864 a. © Abegg-Stiftung, 3132-Riggisberg (Photo: Christoph von Viràg).

Fig. 65: Fragment of a Sasanian silk. 6th/7th century. London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. no. 8579-1863. Repr. from Schorta 2006: 15, fig. 4.

Fig. 66: Fragment of a Sasanian silk. 6th/7th century. Lyon, Musée des Tissus, inv. no. 26 812/11. Repr. from Martiniani-Reber 1986: 27.

Fig. 67: Silver plate from Qazvin, Sassanid, 7th century. Dm 21 cm. The representation in the plate shows an enthroned ruler. Clearly visible in the mural crown of the building and above the ruler himself is a crescent. Repr. from Seipel 2003: 286.

Fig. 68: Zoroastrian mourning scene on an ossuary, Tok-Kala, Khoresm, 7th/8th centuries. Repr. from Frumkin 1970: 101, Fig. 24..

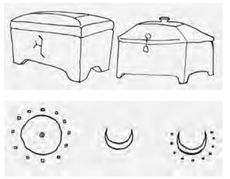


Fig. 69 & 70: Ossuaries, Tok-Kala, Khoresm, 7th/8th centuries. Repr. from Frumkin 1970: 99/100, Fig. 22 & 23.

Fig. 71: Ossuary, Samarkand, 7th/8th centuries. Repr. from Kalter/ Pavaloi 1995: 2, Fig. 1.

form of the c-*gül* again has an octagon in the centre (fig. 56). The serration at the edges of the design does not vary much either. There is no clear line in its historical development; different forms seem to have co-existed, even quite early. The mirroring of the serration along the vertical axis (fig. 55) is seen relatively early, as is the mirroring of the colour range around the vertical axis of the "transitional" *kepse gül*. Finally, in the 19th century, the serration can become cone-shaped with attached little crosses (fig. 56), though the serration at the lower edge of the c-*gül* fig. 56 follows the earlier, asymmetrical form of the serration as seen in figs. 54 and 55.

This kind of development leads to the conclusion that the c-*gül* must have existed before the 16th century, and was adapted to the new fashion of the 16th/17th centuries. The pre-Islamic/Zoroastrian origin of the c-forms also argues for great age of the c-*gül* design.

4.1 Medallions with concentric octagons on Sogdian silks: The models of the c-*gül* ?

In its basic construction, concentric octagons decorated with small c-forms, the c-*gül* without serration can be traced back to models earlier than the Safavid sickle leaves. With all likelihood, these designs relate to Sogdian or post-Sasanian silks like the one in fig. 53. Instead of little c-shapes as in the Turkmen version, small quartered cross-shapes and small rosettes made of four heart-shapes (a typical Sasanian design) decorate the medallion on the silk textile. As in the centre of the medallion of the silk, a small stepped rhombus appears in the centre of the c-*gül*. Similar concentric octagons filled with little cross-shapes are also known among the Turkmen. We find them in Ersarï weavings (fig. 57). But, obviously following the model of the Yomut, the Ersarï mainly decorated their octagonal medallions by either attaching little cross-shapes (fig. 58) or, much less frequently, adding a serration (fig. 59).

4.2 The little c-shapes, giving the name to the design

The design got the name "c-*gül*" from its small, c-shaped ornaments. Although such little c-shapes are common not only in Turkmen, but also in Anatolian and Caucasian weavings, not much has been written about their origin. Hans Christian Sienknecht wrote about the "moon *gül*", and Eberhart Herrmann about a symbol of the "moon bird".[42] The c-*gül* being an astral symbol is supported by comparable representations from Zoroastrianism. Both in Sogdian and in Sasanian representations we find the crescent, often in combination with a sun disc. The crowns of Sasanian rulers often show these two astral symbols, and they appear frequently on textiles, separately or together (figs. 63 – 66). In ancient Iranian funerary tradition, these two symbols also played an important role. An example of this can be seen in Sogdian ossuaries in different forms (figs. 68–71). We can assume these little crescents were used in conjunction with concentric medallions long before the 17th century, and they remained in use up to the late 19th century.

42 Herrmann 4, 1992: 192.

4.3 From multiple *gül khali* to *khali* with only c-*gül*

The earliest c-*gül* designs can be found in the multiple *gül khali* of the 16th/17th centuries. They are seen on multiple *gül* carpets into the 19th century, albeit only combined with the *kepse gül* (figs. 15 – 18). The "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*, which will be discussed next, was abandoned early, but re-appears in the Ballard carpet, and had a kind of a "revival" in a small group of workshop pieces which seem to be related to the late examples of the "Eagle" *gül* groups (fig. 78).[43] But like the *kepse gül*, the c-*gül* became independent no later than the 18th century, and since then appears as a singular field ornament in large size carpets. Probably one of the earliest pieces of this type is the McMullan c-*gül khali* (fig. 22). In these earlier c-*gül khali*, the colour scheme introduced by the multiple *gül khali* with the "transitional" *kepse gül*, a 2 : 1 : 2 design arrangement (figs. 15–18), has been maintained. The blue and white *kepse gül* of the multiple *gül khali* have been replaced by blue and white c-*gül*. Possibly a diagonal arrangement of the blue and white c-*gül* came in use shortly after that, as it did with the *kepse gül khali*. Only the horizontal colour arrangement can be found in earlier pieces, while the diagonal layout is a later occurrence.

43 Pfadschbacher carpet and Bausback comparison piece.

From the Chinese cloudband....

Fig. 72a and b: Turkmen *khalik*(?), 94 x 46 cm, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2000.186.12. Gift of Marie and George Hecksher. This is the only published example of a Turkmen weaving showing a cloudband (shown upside down here). Repr. from Dodds/Eiland 1996; no. 250b.

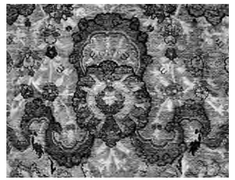


Fig. 73: Cloudband from a Safavid carpet, Isfahan, early 17th century, Museum für angewandte Kunst, Wien. Repr. from Gans/Ruedin 1978: 107.

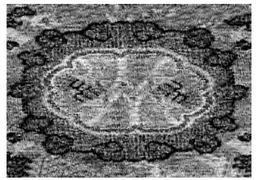


Fig. 74 (montage): Mirrored downwards and elongated the "head" of the Safavid cloud band with its curled edges comes very close to the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* of the Turkmen (figs. 75–78).

5. The "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* (figs. 75–78)

According to the newest insights, the design formerly called "curled-edge-palmette gul" by Jon Thompson, is redefined here as the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*. The curles, in particular, speak much more in favour of a cloudband than a palmette.

Interestingly, there is another Turkmen carpet design at least as rare and unusual as the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* discussed here, which is also derived from a Chinese cloud design. An example is the highly unusual design found in the *alem* of 17th century Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, which finds its model in a Chinese cloud design designated by Daniel Walker as "cloud wisp".[44]

Our unusual and rare design – the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* – fits perfectly with the proposed origin of the multiple *gül* carpet's design concept; the combination of large palmettes, serrated sickle leaves, and cloudbands in Safavid carpets, the echo of which we see in the hitherto unexplained multiple *gül* Turkmen carpet design. The large palmettes changed into the *kepse gül*, the serrated sickle leaves into the *c-gül*, and the cloud bands into the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*.

To translate the Persian cloudband design into the Turkmen design language, the weavers took the "head" of the cloudband, mirrored it downwards and stretched its width.[45] This progression is illustrated in figs. 73 and 74, and it is amazing how closely the result of the montage in fig. 74 resembles the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* seen in the early Turkmen multiple *gül* carpet, cat no. 106 (fig. 75). It is intriguing how similar the contour of the Turkmen design is to the "head" of the Safavid cloud band. This kind of mirroring and coalescence of design elements is a recurring process in Turkmen design tradition, assimilating and integrating new designs, particularly 17th century Persian palmette designs.[46]

44 Walker 1997: 88.

45 The detachment of the head from the rest of the cloud band can also be observed in Safavid carpet design. There, a large palmette has been superimposed on the cloud band design, while the head of the cloud band partly grows out from the top of the palmette, and the cloud band ends protrude left and right from behind it at the bottom (cf. fig. 3).

46 See also the construction of the "compound-palmette-tree" of the Salor tent band cat. no. 4.

....to the Turkmen "curled-edge cloudband" *gül*

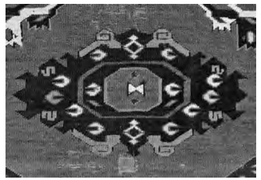


Fig. 75 (detail of fig. 11): "Turkmenised" cloudband from the multiple *gül* carpet in the Sienknecht Collection (cat. no. 106).

Fig. 76 (detail of fig. 2): "Turkmenised" cloudband from the multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection.

Fig. 77 (detail of fig. 1): "Turkmenised" cloudband from the Ballard multiple gül carpet (cat. no. 168). Reproduced from Mackie/Thompson 1980: 147.

Fig. 78: Detail showing the "Turkmenised" cloudband from the so called Pfadschbacher multiple *gül* carpet. Private collection.

The somewhat later multiple *gül* carpet of the Ballard Collection, with its "Persian palmettes", shows the Turkmen "cloudband" *gül* most closely resembling its Safavid models (fig. 77). While the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* of the multiple *gül* carpets of the Wher and the Sienknecht Collection show only four "curls" at the outer edge (figs. 75 and 76), the Ballard carpet's "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* shows eight. Hence the "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* of the Ballard carpet shows the closest similarity to the montage of a mirrored Safavid cloudband with its twelve curls (fig. 74). In addition to all these formal parallels, Turkmen "cloud bands" – following their Safavid models – are, at least in the early pieces, always placed on the vertical center axis of the design composition (see figs. 11 and 13). On the other hand, the design must have been so unfamiliar to the Turkmen weavers that they did not use it consistently even in the early pieces. In the multiple *gül* carpet of the Woger Collection, they chose not to use it (fig. 12, cat. no. 107). The perfectly balanced multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher Collection shows the design three times on its vertical center axis. On the Ballard carpet, the design appears four times, though not in its traditional position: on the vertical center axis (cf. fig. 1).

The "curled-edge cloudband" *gül* appears for a last time in the "Pfadschbacher" carpet, although in a completely stylized version, in combination with a likewise stylized *c-gül*.[47] The Pfadschbacher carpet is a somewhat stiffly drawn multiple *gül* carpet related by technique to the "Eagle" *gül* groups.

The only known Turkmen piled weaving showing a clear an literal cloudband design is a *khalik* with an unidentified tribal attribution (fig. 73).[48]

47 The Pfadschbacher carpet shown on fig. 41 in the chapter "The Eagle-*gül* Groups".

48 Pinner has tentatively ascribed the *khalik* to the Yomut, though admitting his uncertainty by pointing to the problems regarding an attribution of this unique piece (see Dodds Eiland 1996: description of cat. no. 250b).

From the Safavid lotus palmette....

Fig. 80: Lotus palmette from a Safavid carpet, Isfahan (?). Reproduced from Gans-Ruedin 1978: 84.

Fig. 81: Lotus palmette from a Safavid carpet, Kerman (?). Repr. from Kirchheim et al. 1993, no. 72.

6. Appendix: The para-*kepse gül* (figs. 82 – 84)

The so called para-*kepse gül* (figs. 82 – 84) can be considered a close relative to the *kepse gül*. As the *kepse gül* may be interpreted as an adaption of a Safavid leaf palmette (figs. 35 – 37), the "para" *kepse gül* might be an adaptation of a lotus palmette (figs. 80 and 81). Pope and Ackermann first defined a differentiation between these two palmette types.[49] This terminology has been adopted here, as the two Turkmen *kepse gül* types seem to reflect the distinction perfectly. The para-*kepse gül* is known only on a single multiple *gül* carpet, the piece with several different Turkmen palmette designs, first published by Schurman

49 Pope/Ackermann 1938.

Fig. 79: The Schürmann multiple *gül* carpet combining the para-*kepse gül*, "compound" *gül* and "Eagle" *gül*, 165 x 228 (250) cm, Southwest Turkmenistan, 18th/19th Century. This multiple *gül* carpet with its varying "palmette" designs is related to other multiple *gül* carpets, but is still the only known example showing the para-*kepse gül* (fig. 81). Presumably it represents a somewhat later version of a design without any other known remaining originals from the 17th century, the time of the adaption of these palmette designs from Safavid Persia. However, the closest parallel might be the multiple *gül* carpet formerly in the Wher collection, which also shows several different designs from the same repertoire; it is older, and from a different production. Repr. from Herrmann II, 1980, no. 93.

....to the Turkmen para-*kepse gül*

Fig. 82: Para-*kepse gül* from the Schürmann multiple gül carpet, 18th/19th century (fig. 78). This particular form of the para-*kepse gül* is known only on this multiple *gül* carpet.

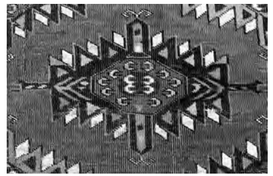


Fig. 83: Para-*kepse gül* from a Turkmen carpet, 18th/19th century. This is the most common version of the Turkmen para-*kepse gül*. It basically shows a little c-*gül* with a large serration. Private collection.

Fig. 84: Para-*kepse gül* from a Turkmen carpet, 19th century. This version of the para-*kepse gül* shows stepped rhombuses instead of c-shapes in the central octagon. Only two out of nine published carpets show this version of the para-*kepse gül*. Repr. from Denny 1979, plate 20..

Figs. 79 – 84: As the Safavid leaf-palmette (figs. 34 – 36) presumably was the model for the early *kepse gül* and its successors (figs. 43 – 51), the lotus palmette probably was the model for the para-*kepse gül*. In Turkmen carpets, this design is only documented in a few pieces.

(fig. 79). The palmette designs seen in this carpet include the para-*kepse gül*, the "Eagle" *gül*, and the "compound" *gül*. Technical features refer this unusual *khali* to the vicinity of the "Eagle" *gül* workshop carpets, most probably from Astarabad or thereabouts.[50] Like the *kepse gül*, over time the para-*kepse gül* became an independent stand-alone field design. But in contrast to the former it remained rare. It can only be found on about a dozen known *khali*. Interestingly, the design was still used for carpets up to the late 19th century (fig. 84). A slightly different version of the para-*kepse gül* fig. 82 seen in the multiple *gül khali* in fig. 79, appears in a earlier *khali* fragment, which nevertheless may still be dated to the 18th century (fig.83).[51] This is arguably the best-drawn version seen in a *khali* with the para-*kepse gül* as a singular field design. In the course of the 19th century, the design not only becomes simpler, but also flatter, and as a result loses its former power (fig. 84). Interestingly, the earlier version of the para-*kepse gül* shows a small octagonal c-*gül* in the centre (fig. 83). This further supports the hypothesis of a relation to the early *kepse gül*, which always appeared with the c-*gül*. The weavers with all likelihood were aware of the kinship of these designs (*kepse gül* and c-*gül*), at least in the 18th century.

6.1 Published *khali* with para-*kepse gül*:

(No. 1 being the only multiple *gül* piece, no. 2 – 9 exclusively with para-*kepse gül*).

(1) Schürmann 1969: No. 23 (fig. 79).
(2) Bausback 1979: 143.
(3) Denny 1979: 90, plate 20 (detail fig. 84).
(4) Mackie/Thompson 1980: 154, no. 66.
(5) Herrmann X, 1988: No. 96.
(6) Jourdan 1989: 164, no. 115.
(7) Andrews et al. 1993: No. 58.
(8) Sotheby's New Yok, 16 December 1993: Lot 46 (fig. 83).
(9) Pinner/Eiland 1999: 58, plate 32.

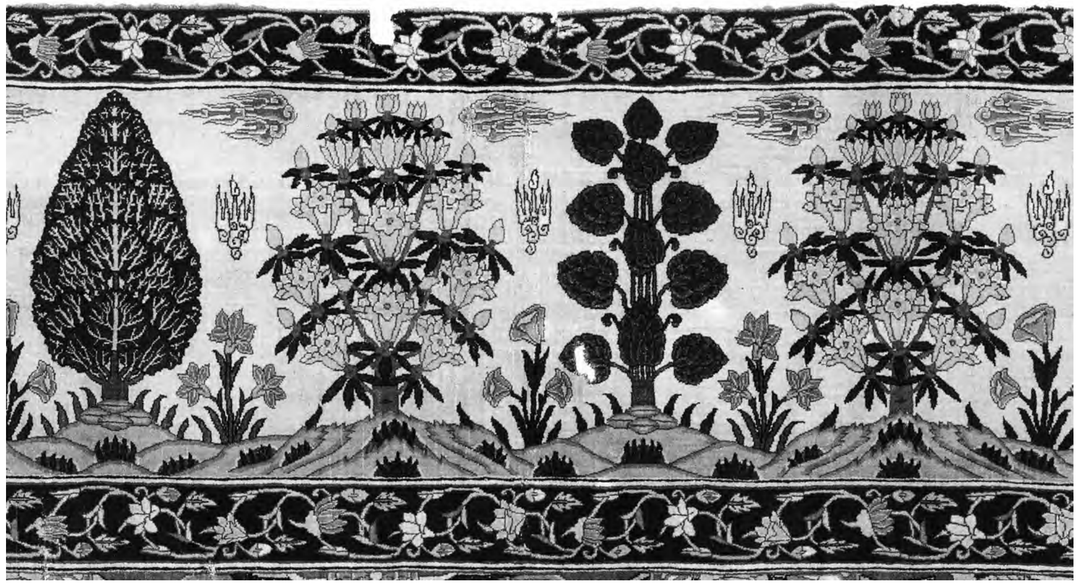
50 See also the discussion on the "Eagle" *gül* carpets in the chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups".
51 For a colour reproduction of the fragment see Sotheby's NY, 16 December 1993: Lot 46.

7. Summary

Turkmen multiple *gül khali* form a small group highly regarded by collectors. The characteristic feature of this group is the use of more than one primary *gül* for the field composition (therefore multiple *gül*), which is not in accordance with Turkmen design tradition. Experts have been at odds about origin and development of this unusual design. A confederations of different tribes,[52] or a production outside of Turkmen territory[53] have been considered as possibilities.

I propose Turkmen multiple *gül* carpet design to be a 16th or early 17th century innovation, adapted from or at least related to Safavid palmette design and the so-called Isfahan carpets produced in workshops of Shah Abbas I (fig. 3 and 4). May Beattie called this design concept the "In and Out Palmette Design". This new fashion with large palmettes – the "In and Out Palmette Design"– developed in Safavid Iran in the second half of the 16th, and particularly in the early 17th Centuries. The style not only had a great impact on neighbouring areas including Kurdistan, Armenia, the Caucasus, and India (see fig. 5 – 9), but also on Central Asia and the Turkmen tradition. This was the source not only of the *kepse gül*, but also of the "Eagle" *gül* and the "compound" *gül*. Following their Safavid models, these palmette designs in Turkmen carpets have been accompanied by other designs. In Safavid carpets, the large palmettes are accompanied by large rosettes, large sickle leaves, and cloud bands. In Turkmen multiple *gül* carpet design we find several interpretations of this new Safavid fashion. The basic designs of these multiple *gül* versions are always "palmette" designs: the *kepse gül*, the "Eagle" *gül,* and the "compound" *gül*. As in the Safavid models, these palmette designs are always accompanied by additional designs: the *kepse gül* by the c-*gül* (fig. 54) and the "curled-edge-cloudband" *gül* (fig. 75), the "Eagle" *gül* by the *dyrnak gül* (see chapter "The Eagle *gül* Groups", fig. 18), and the "compound"*gül* by what I call the "connecting" *gül* and an iris (see chapter "The Eagle-*gül* Groups", fig. 58). Among the Turkmen, nearly all of these "new" multiple *gül* design compositions have regressed in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, becoming "single *gül*" field compositions. Among the Turkmen "palmette" designs able to retain their identity into the late 19th century in the form of a "one *gül*" composition are the "Eagle" *gül*, the "compound" *gül*, and particularly the *kepse gül*, the latter even becoming one of the most popular 19th century Turkmen carpet designs. At the other extreme, the "curled-edge cloudband" g*ül* can only be found on a few early carpets. Apparently, being too foreign to Turkmen weavers, it could not establish itself outside of workshops. The earliest Turkmen multiple *gül* carpets have been radiocarbon dated to the 16th/17th centuries (figs. 11 and 12, cat. no. 106 and 107), therefore being clearly contemporary with their models, the large palmette carpets of Safavid Iran.

52 Azadi in Hali 130, 2003: 80 – 83.
53 Poullada 2008.



Border from a Mughal carpet showing a landscape, flowering trees and Chinese clouds. Northern India. Kashmir or Lahore, ca. 1650, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Repr. from Walker 1997: fig. 109.

Flowering Gardens in the *alem* of Turkmen *khali*

The Mughal flowerstyle in Turkmen *khali* and *aq yüp*
17th to 19th centuries

1. Introduction

Representations of gardens, and their roots in Ancient Near Eastern art, have already been addressed in the chapter on the *ak su* design.[1] This subject will be revisited here, though in a historically later context. It is the royal gardens of the Persian court, used for hunting and amusement, which call our attention at this point. While hunting, the King was always accompanied by a large company of musicians and courtiers, and it is easy to imagine the extensive drinking and dining following such a royal hunt. Sasanian silver ware eloquently attests to the royal hunt (fig. 33) and to almost "Dionysian" feasting afterwards.[2] The two reliefs in the great iwan at Taq-I Bostan[3] vividly illustrate the activities of a royal hunt.

1 See the chapter "Streams of Paradise".
2 For examples see Harper 1978.
3 The two reliefs are published in large format photographs in Cat. Paris 2006: 42–44 (also in many other publications on Sasanian art).

In the Islamic period, this ancient Iranian tradition was not forgotten. Under Safavid rule (1501–1722) a last summit of Iranian art and culture was reached, leaving its traces not only in Anatolia, the Caucasus, and India, but also in neighbouring Central Asia. Safavid style was so influential on the art of Mughal India that it is sometimes nearly impossible to distinguish between works of art from the two regions. This is certainly true of textiles, particularly silk weavings and carpets.[4] In the course of the 16th century, the popularity of flower designs most likely adopted from Europe increased enormously in Safavid Persia and in the just mentioned neighbouring areas. The "Persian carpet" became what we know it as during this period; before the Safavids this was not at all the case.[5]

In the early 17th century, Mughal India developed its own style of flower representations to such an extent that is it defined in 20th century literature as the Mughal "flower style".[6] But India's affinity for Persian models is clearly indicated by 16th century Safavid examples

4 See Cohen 2004: 91.
5 See Thompson/Tabibnia 2006.
6 Skelton 1972; Walker 1997: 86. Skelton did not use the term "Mughal flower style", but has referred to its meaning in his essay. Walker used this term first in his book on Mughal carpets (Walker 1997).

Fig. 1: European linen damask with mille-fleur design. Flanders, Europe, ca. 1515. Repr. from von Wilckens 1991: 157, fig.178.

Fig. 2: Architectural decor with flowers. Mughal miniature painting, 17th century. Repr. from Walker 1997: 10.

Fig. 3: Margin of a calligraphy. India, 17th century. Repr. from Welch et al. 1987: 126, no. 23.

Fig. 4: Carpet, India, 17th century. Repr. from Walker 1997: 96.

Fig. 5: Carpet, India, 17th century. Repr. from Walker 1997: 107.

Fig. 6: Carpet, India, 17th century. Repr. from Walker 1997: 91.

Fig. 7: Carpet, India, 17th century. Repr. from Walker 1997: 92.

Fig. 8: Silk embroidery on coton, India, 17th/18th century. Repr. from Guy et al. 1990: 90, no. 66.

Fig. 9: Printed cotton hanging, India, 17th century. Repr. from Herrmann 4, 1992: No. 21.

Fig. 10: Silk samite, India, 17th century. Repr. from Riboud et al. 1998: 43.

Fig. 11: Silk velvet with gold threads, India, 17th century. Repr. from Riboud et al. 1995: Plate 13.

Fig. 12: Qaradashlī *khali* cat. no. 84, Turkmenistan, 17th century.

Fig. 13: Yomut *khali* cat. no. 101, Turkmenistan, 17th century.

reflected in Mughal pieces. A good example thereof is a Safavid book cover, dated 1571.[7] In turn, the "flower style" so popular in 17th century Mughal India unmistakably has left traces in the carpets of Southwest Turkmenistan.[8]

In 1987, John Wertime was the first to posit a possible Mughal influence on the Turkmen flower design (figs. 12, 13) in the carpets of Southwest Turkmenistan discussed here.[9] The primary example for Wertime's case was the *khali* from the Textile Museum in Washington D.C. (see Vol. 1, cat. no. 102). While Wertime then only knew of a single comparison piece, the one published by Goguel in 1927,[10] today we can refer to three additional comparison pieces and to radiocarbon dating results for four of these five examples. Because of these dating results, we are aware of the contemporaneousness of the earliest pieces of this group with the flower designs in 17th century Mughal carpets. Besides carpets (*khali*), the Turkmen flower design also appears in tent bands (*aq yüp*), with all likelihood also in the 17th century (fig. 81, cat. no. 99).

7 Thompson/Canby 2003: 178, fig. 6.18.
8 However, traces of this influence can also be observed among the Ersarï from the Middle Amu-Darya region, though not to the same extent as the 17th century Qaradashlī and Yomut examples from Southwest Turkmenistan. Ersarï carpets with Mughal influence are published in d'Heurle/Munkacsi/Saunders 2003: No. 25; Rippon Boswell 68, 2006: Lot 16; Herrmann IV, 1982: No. 95.
9 John Wertime (JW) in: Bier 1987: 309, cat. no. 98.
10 Goguel 1927: Plate C–E; see figs. 64–66 in the chapter "The Yomut".

2. The Mughal flower style

Under the Safavids, and especially during the reign of Shah Abbas I (1587 – 1629), Persia reached a great artistic and cultural pinnacle, coinciding with the new flower style which left its traces in neighbouring areas including Central Asia. A different contemporary Persian influence in Turkmen carpet design is addressed in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*". In any case, the adoption of the "naturalistic" flower designs from a Persian milieu was definitely not an isolated case. However, these flower designs probably did not arrive directly from Safavid Persia to the Turkmen of Central Asia, but via a detour through Mughal India. The Mughals – formerly from Central Asia themselves, they considered themselves descendents of the Mongols – adopted the new fashion from Safavid Persia and developed it in their own way. Around 1620, Mansur, a painter active under Jahangir (1605 – 1627), created a series of more than a hundred paintings of flowers. These naturalistically painted representations of flowers were the starting point for what became the Mughal "flower style".[11] According to Daniel Walker, European herbaria were used as models by Mansur.[12] This was the cornerstone of a new style in Mughal art, which reached its summit during the reign of Shah Jahan (1628–1658). The characteristic feature of this so-called Mughal flower style is flowering plants shown in profile (side view) against a plain background. Walker designates three predominant design principles characterising this "new" flower style[13]:

Naturalistic flowering plants

(1) in rows embedded in a landscape, sometimes accompanied by clouds in Chinese manner (figs. 4, 25),[14]
(2) embedded in a lattice (fig. 5),[15]
(3) standing in a single niche (fig. 6–10), or in niches in a row.[16]

11 Walker 1997: 86.
12 Walker 1997: 86.
13 Walker 1997: 86–117.
14 Walker 1997: Fig. 93 (field), 98 (field), 109 (border).
15 Walker 1997: Fig. 104, 105.
16 Walker 1997: Fig. 88, 89, 92.

These three characteristic design compositions all fall into the general scope of garden carpet designs. Type (1) shows a garden in side view, type (2) a garden in a bird's eye view crossed by little streams forming a lattice (related to the *ak su* design[17]) and type (3) a special form of type (1).

Every possible object has been embellished with these naturalistic flowering plants: architecture (fig. 2),[18] objects of stone,[19] metal,[20] crystal,[21] glass,[22] wood,[23] bookbinding, calligraphy (fig. 3),[24] miniature paintings,[25] printed cotton (fig. 10),[26] silk embroideries (fig. 8),[27] silk fabrics (fig. 9),[28] velvets (fig. 11)[29] and carpets (fig. 4 – 7)[30] etc.

17 See the chapter "Streams of Paradise".
18 Walker 1997: Fig. 3.
19 Walker 1997: Figs. 83, 84.
20 Guy et al. 1990: No. 67, 84; Zebrowski 1997: no. 37, and others.
21 Guy et al. 1990: No. 68.
22 Welch 1985: No. 185.
23 Galloway 2004: No. 12.
24 Welch et al. 1987: No. 23, and others.; Guy et al. 1990: No. 55.
25 Welch 1985: Nos. 145, 147b, 154, 161; Welch et al. 1987: Nos. 32, 33 and others.; Goswamy/Fischer 1987: No. 40; Guy et al. 1990: No. 69.
26 Welch 1985: No. 179.
27 Guy et al. 1990: No. 66.
28 Welch 1985: No. 156.
29 Guy et al. 1990: No. 77.
30 Welch 1985: No. 138.

In the Ancient Near East in the time of the Assyrians, the garden was an important component of royal architecture and its symbolism. Under the Assyrian king Sennacherib large palace-gardens were built, which contained not only plants from all over the Empire – comparable to a modern botanical garden – but exotic animals as well. The famous "Hanging Gardens of Babylon" – and not least the notion of Paradise in the Bible – are eloquent evidence of this. This tradition was absorbed and continued by the Achaemenids in Persia, and has even retained its latent symbolic power up to the present time.

3. The Mughal "flower style" among the Turkmen

Various flower motifs known among the Turkmen and the Uzbeks can be traced back to this Mughal "flower style" influence. A number of flower motifs seen in Uzbek suzani, for example, can certainly be considered direct descendants of this style.[31] Our main interest here, though, is Turkmen carpets and their design, where we also find clear traces of this Mughal (and Safavid) influence. Particularly *khali*, but also *aq yüp* from Southwest Turkmenistan show naturalistic representations of gardens with flowering plants, strongly resembling the Mughal examples (e.g. cat. no. 99 and 101). Relevant to this connection is the active involvement of the Turkmen in Babur's campaign to India to found the Mughal Empire in the early 16th century and the distinguished role the Turkmen played in that state.[32] This is just one of many possible ways these flower designs found their way into Turkmen tradition. There were also organized trade channels at that time, by which such designs could have found their way into Turkmen territory and ultimately into their weavings.

The radiocarbon dating results, clearly dating three of the five *khali* with flower design in their *alem* to the 16th or 17th centuries,[33] are of great benefit in confirming this connection.

31 Gewerbemuseum Basel 1974: Fig. 30; Kalter/Pavaloi 1995: Fig. 535; no. 30; Grube 2003: No. 12, 13; Vok 2006: Nos. 50, 60.

32 Dshikijew 1991 (1994): 79.

33 Cat. Nos. 84, 101, and 102 in Vol. 1. For further information on the dating of this small group of *khali*, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate".

3.1 Turkmen Flower Design in the 17th–19th Centuries

Turkmen *khali* of Southwest Turkmenistan only show the Mughal flower style in their *alem* at beginning and end:[34] usually both *alem* are decorated with it, in a single case only one (figs. 42–47). The flower design in each *alem* is always seen from the centre of the carpet: The flowers are oriented outwards. This kind of flower design, adopted by the Turkmen in the first half of the 17th century, exists within a broader context of representations of landscapes and gardens. This type of garden representation is related to the *ak su* design, although this might not be obvious at first. The two garden design variants – the abstract *ak su* and the naturalistic flowering plants – differ not only in being abstract or naturalistic, but also in being a garden seen either from a bird's eye view (*ak su*)[35] or in profile from ground level (flower design), the latter giving the illusion of being in a garden itself, while sitting in the middle of the carpet.

The *khali* showing *alem* with naturalistic flowering plants can basically be divided into two groups:[36] group I including the early examples dating from the 17th century (figs. 14–17, cat. nos. 84 and 153, 101, 102, and 103 with *chuval gül* [and multiple *gül*] field design), and group II, with the later examples dating from the 18th and primarily the 19th centuries (cat. no. 95 with *kepse gül* field design).

While group I still shows flowering plants in a quite naturalistic form, in group II the design is already strongly stylized, better adapted to the geometric Turkmen design tradition. Furthermore group I can be divided into two slightly different design types, presumably originating from two different geographical areas: Type A (fig. 14, cat. no. 84) with three vertical rows of *chuval gül* in the field and only one *alem* decorated with the flower design at the beginning of the carpet (the second *alem* shows a traditional geometric design), and Type B (figs. 15–17, cat. nos. 101, 102, and 103) with four rows of *chuval gül* in the field and both *alem* decorated in the "new" flower style. The two types also differ slightly in their colouring. Type A is somewhat lighter and has a resultingly more colourful appearance than Type B. This can be best seen in the minor borders with a meander design ("running dog"). Type B may be considered somewhat more "classical" in its over all appearance, while Type A shows a somewhat more rural version. Group II with the geometric version of the flower design only consists of a few examples, described here as Type C.

34 The tent bands will be discussed later.

35 For a detailed discussion of the *ak su* design, see the chapter "Streams of Paradise".

36 Another group I design type came to light recently (cat. no. 153). It differs from cat. nos. 84, and 101, 102, and 103 in not showing the *chuval gül* as a field design, but the multiple *gül* design instead (on the multiple *gül* design, see the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*"). For a discussion of cat. no. 153, see the chapter "The Qaradashli". For an image of the *alem* with flower design of this piece, see fig. 43 in this chapter.

3.2 Group I, Type A: *khali* with Flowering Plant Design in only one *alem*

Up to now only a single Type A *khali* is known (fig. 14, cat. no. 84). However, there certainly must have been other examples. According to the radiocarbon dating, this is also the oldest of the early pieces of group I. This Type A *khali* differs in several features from the Type B *khali*:

- Somewhat smaler in size.
- Only three (instead of four) rows of *chuval gül* in the field.
- A variant *chuval gül* with c-shaped filler motifs.
- A somewhat more prominent secondary motif.
- A somewhat lighter colouring.
- The main border consisting of a continuous leaf meander (including the narrow side borders).
- Only one *alem* with flowering plant design, at the beginning.
- The drawing of the flowering plant design is somewhat stiffer, although altogether more complex in its execution.
- No offset knotting for the flower design in the *alem*, in contrast with liberal use of offset knotting all over the piece.

Omitting offset knotting for the flower motifs in the A Type *khali* caused a somewhat less elegant, flatter version of the design than seen in Type B, though at the same time, the design of Type A is in some aspects more detailed than Type B. For example, the carnations placed left and right of the flower stem in Type A (see fig. 14) become just rosettes in Type B (figs. 15–17). In addition, the carnations placed between the flowering plants in Type A are considerably more complex in design than those integrated in the stalk (cf. fig. 42). Finally, in Type A, the rosettes embedded in the landscape are more complex (asymmetrical, in fact) than in Type B. The weaver most likely abstained from using the offset knotting technique because the "new" flower design was unfamiliar to her. She therefore might not have been confident to use the technical possibilities available to her to play with and to improvise, despite the fact that she was clearly comfortable with the technique; the whole rest of the *khali* is literally "strewn" with offset knotting.[37] In general, the A Type *khali* looks like a somewhat rustic version of Type B. Structural peculiarities connect the A Type *khali* closely to a group of weavings attributed by Azadi to the Qaradashli.[38]

Assuming the somewhat more "classic" designed B Type (cat. nos. 101 – 103) must be a product of Astarabad or at least its environs, the A Type can with all likelihood be considered a more "rural version from the hinterland". This assumption would also be consistent with a Qaradashli attribution. The Qaradashli had lived in the Akhal oasis since the 13th century, from where, in the early 19th century, they were forced by the Teke to escape to Khiva.[39] Later Type A pieces with this kind of garden representation in the *alem* are not known.[40] The two comparison pieces with *chuval gül* and c-shaped filler motifs in the field (cat. nos. 85 and 86) both show *alem* with abstract geometric designs in traditional Turkmen style, whereas the late piece of this group (cat. no. 86) already shows Yomut influence. In Khiva, the Qaradashli came under control of the expanding Yomut tribe, and adopted Yomut designs for their carpets: for example, the borders of cat. no. 86.[41]

37 Offset knotting not only allows different angles of diagonal lines, but a better drawing of curvilinear forms like the large flower in the upper part of the flower design as well. See also the discussion on the all-pile tent band cat. no. 99 with its complex knotting technique to achieve the round blossom forms in the chapter "The Yomut". For further discussion of offset knotting, see Mallet 1998: 35.

38 For a discussion see the chapter "The Yazir-Qaradashli".

39 See the maps in the chapter "The Yazir-Qaradashli", and in Bregel 2003: map 36B.

40 With the exception of cat. no. 153, which presumably still dates from the 17th century, but somewhat later than cat. no. 84.

41 On the dating of this group, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate" in Vol. 1. For a discussion, see the chapter "The Yomut", cat. nos. 101, 102, and 103.

Fig. 14: Stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type A. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 84, 1st half of the 17th century.

Fig. 15: Stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type B. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 101, *alem* at bottom. 17th century.

Fig. 16: Stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type B. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 101, alem at the top of the khali, 17th century.

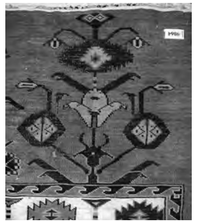


Fig. 17: Stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type B. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 103 (back), 17th/18th centuries.

Fig. 18: Heavily stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type C. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 95, 19th century.

3.3 Group I, Type B: *khali* with Flowering Plant Design in both *alem* (Figs. 15–17)

Four *khali* of the B Type are known (figs. 15–17, and 44–46). Cat. no. 101 and 102 (figs. 15, 16, 44, and 45) might be somewhat earlier than cat. no. 103 (fig. 45) and the piece published by Goguel in 1927 (fig. 46). Although only one of the two earlier pieces yielded a clear 17th century radiocarbon date, it is very likely that, based on the strong similarities, the second piece, the *khali* from the Textile Museum in Washington D.C. (cat. no. 102) dates from the same period.[42] The flowering plants in the *alem* of the B Type vary slightly from those of the A Type: on the one hand, their design is less "flattened" and "stiff", but on the other hand, they already show a slight stylization in the execution of some design details, e.g. the carnations, and the landscape with its embedded rosettes. The clouds (figs. 76 and 77) have disappeared, as the weavers probably did not understand this curious design. The design was too alien to them, perhaps even to the Turkmen design tradition generally.

3.4 Group II, Type C: Later Successors with a Geometric Version of the Flower Design in the *alem* and *kepse gül* Field Design (Figs. 18–21)

Type C with its geometric version of the flower design is also only known in a few examples (figs. 18–21). Cat. no. 95 (fig. 18), the piece from the Wiedersperg Collection now housed in the de Young Museum in San Francisco, is one of them. The example published in 1988 by Herrmann (fig. 19) might have the same age, or could even be somewhat older, while the piece in the Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg (fig. 20) and the piece published by Herrmann in 1987 (fig. 21) are clearly more recent. Typical of the pieces of this group is not only the geometric drawing of the flower design in both *alem*, but a field design with *kepse gül* instead of the *chuval gül* of their predecessors.

42 For a discussion on the dating of this group, see the chapter "From Visual Guesstimate to Scientific Estimate", section "3.2.2.1: The Yomut *khali* with flower *alem*".

Fig. 19: Heavily stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type C. Detail from a *khali* with *kepse gül* field design, 19th century. Repr. from Herrmann X, 1988: no. 95.

Fig. 20: Heavily stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type C. Detail from a *khali* with *chuval gül* field design, End of 19th century. Repr. from Tzareva 1984: 109, no. 69.

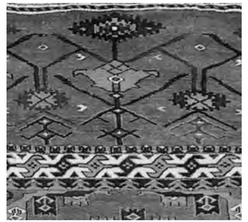


Fig. 21: Heavily stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type C. Detail from a *khali* with *kepse gül* field design, 19th century. Repr. from Herrmann X, 1988: No. 82.

Fig. 22: Heavily stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type D. Detail from a *khali* with *kepse gül* field design, 19th century. Private collection.

Fig. 23: Heavily stylized Turkmen flower design in the "Mughal flower style", Type D. Detail from a *khali* with *c-gül* field design, 19th century. Repr. from Besim 2, 1999: No. 61.

The use of the *kepse gül* as a field design is a later development. The *kepse gül* did not exist before the 17th century, while in the 19th century it became one of the most popular designs of the Yomut.[43]

3.5 The End-Stage of the Flower Design (Figs. 22 and 23)

The end-stage of this design tradition can be found in the *alem* of a small number of *khali* showing a simplified version of the flower design, re-adopted from the repertoire of tent band designs, returning to the *alem* of the *khali*, whence it came (see below, section 3.6 of this chapter). Carpets showing this late 19th century end-stage of the flower design in their *alem* show various field designs. While the *kepse gül* clearly dominates, other field designs used are the *dyrnak gül* and the *c-gül*. With this group showing this late development, we are dealing with successors showing an amalgamation of style elements, not only of the early *chuval gül* carpets with flower design in their *alem*, but also of the early multiple *gül* carpets of the 17th century.[44] These 17th century multiple *gül* carpets with combined *kepse gül*, *c-gül*, and *dyrnak gül* field designs later devolved to having only one field design. This corresponds to developments typical for the 19th century.[45]

3.6 Tent Bands with the Flowering Plant Design (Figs. 81–92)

The Mughal flower style also affected Turkmen tent band design. This design may have been used from its beginning in both the *alem* of the carpets and in tent bands of the same region. However, the narrow format of tent bands requires modification of the design. The landscape drawing, with rows of flowering plants standing side by side in the *alem* of the *khali*, had to be abandoned in favour of single representations of flowers. For this reason, tent bands will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

43 For a discussion, see the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

44 See the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".

45 For examples of this strongly simplified flower design from the realm of tent band design, see Vol. 1, comparison pieces to cat. no. 101.

Fig. 24: Landscape with a creek, wild animals, trees, and mountains on a silver vessel, ca. 10 cm high, Maikop kurgan, late 4th to early 3rd Millennium B.C., The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Repr. from Aruz et al. 2003: 293, fig. 82.

Fig. 25: Landscape with hills, trees, flowers and clouds. Detail from fig. 26.

Fig. 26: Detail from a Mughal pashmina carpet fragment showing a landscape in side view in the border, and a stylized landscape in a birds eye view (ground view) in the form of a lattice (water, *ak su*) with rosettes and palmettes in the field. North India, 2nd half of the 17th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Repr. from Walker 1997: fig. 109.

Fig. 27 – 30: Representations of landscape in four 17th century carpets: Fig 27 from a courtly workshop in Kashmir or Lahore; fig 28 from an urban workshop in Kashmir or Lahore; fig. 29 from a Turkmen *khali* of the Qaradashli (?); fig. 30 from a Turkmen *khali* of the Yomut (?).

4. The historical background of garden designs

The Turkmen flower design discussed here is assembled from several elements, following primarily Mughal, but also Safavid, models. However, the whole *alem* composition forms a unit to be interpreted as a garden or a landscape with large composite flowers.[46]

The relationship of the Turkmen design to other garden designs will be explored in the following.

The Turkmen flower design in the *alem* of Yomut and Qaradashlï *khali* represents a garden or a landscape in side view, in contrast to the *ak su* design, which shows a garden crossed by little creeks in a bird's eye view. In contrast to the birds eye view type, which is more frequently seen in various grid forms on carpets (fig. 26 field design) and textiles, the side view type is uncommon (figs. 25, 26, 41 border design). But the side view version is, like the *ak su*, a very early form of landscape representation going back in time at least as far as the Bronze Age in the Ancient Near East (fig. 24).[47] Royal hunting[48] or banquet[49] gardens and their pictorial representations are not exclusive to the cultures of ancient Mesopotamia; the tradition was continued by the Achaemenids, the Sasanians, and finally the Safavids. Presumably, early Iranian roots were responsible for this continuity up to the 17th century A.D. and beyond. The large exceptional silk velvet in fig. 40 is an

46 A related type of garden design, already in a highly abstract form, is shown on Uzbek silk ikats and an even more stylized version on piled weavings of the Ersarï (cat. no. 25) See figs. 29–47 in the chapter "The Ersarï".

47 See figs. 21 and 22 in the chapter "Streams of Paradise", in reference to a small silver vessel with an incised landscape.

48 Schäfer/Andrae 1925: 562.

49 Schäfer/Andrae 1925: 572/73.

Fig. 31: Detail from an Akkadian cylinder seal (2350–2150 B.C.) with a "scaled mountain". This is one of the earliest examples of its kind. Repr. from Keel 1972: 49, fig.59.

Fig. 32: Bas-relief from the palace of Sargon II, Khorsabad, end of the 8th century B.C. In the lower area the "bowling pin-like" scales represent landscape. Repr. from Keel 1972: fig.317.

Fig. 33: Small silver vase, Sasanian, 7th century. The theme on this vase (or little bottle) is the royal hunt in a mountainous landscape (the latter indicated by three-lobed "scales"). Repr. from Harper 1978: 65, no. 22.

Fig. 34: Fragment of a silk samite, Sasanian, 6th/7th century. Shown are winged horses grazing in a landscape (indicated by "lobed" scales in a row) with flowers. Repr. from Galloway 2000: no. 1.

Fig. 35: Garden carpet, so called "tree carpet", Khorasan, 17th century, Orient Stars Collection. Here as well stepped "scales" indicate the landscape. Repr. from Kirchheim et al. 1993: no. 64.

Fig. 36: Detail from cat. no. 84. 1st half 17th century. Representation of landscape by a wavy line (1, 2) between the flowering plants. This wavy line might be interpreted as a further step of stylisation of the scaled structure indicating landscape.

outstanding example of a representation of such a Safavid garden, with reference not only to the royal hunt, but also to feasting and the related rituals in connection with the enjoyment of wine and the Persian New Year celebration *nouruz*. The two courtly ladies on the right side indicate the hunt. One of them is holding a falcon on her left hand, while a pair of dove wings, a typical requisite of the falcon hunt, is attached to her belt. The other lady holds a hound on a leash with her right hand and a spear in her left. Friedrich Spuhler goes even one step further, seeing not "only" a Safavid court lady on the hunt in the female figure holding the spear, but seeing her as a reference to Diana, the Roman goddess of the hunt.[50] This is an interesting reference, particularly in connection with a suggested Roman interpretation of the leftmost female figure holding a long-necked, typical Persian wine flask. Court ladies with the same type of wine flasks can already be found in Sasanian representations, described there as "bacchantes", we will come back to this momentarily. Jon Thompson reports on a comparable 17th century Safavid silk velvet (fig. 39) with a similar scene, formerly in the possession of the maharajahs of Jaipur: "the long-necked wine flasks have been altered at some time by removing some of the pile and replacing it with embroidery, presumably to alter the signification of the female figures." He continues: "Originally each figure held a cup in one hand, and in the other a long-necked wine flask…. Both the cup and the flask have been transformed into vases with flowers."[51] The religious leaders of Jaipur apparently did not enjoy the dancing "bacchantes" with their wine flasks and cups. They presumably also did not care much about the old Iranian New Year and the Spring festival *nouruz*. *Nouruz*, clearly being based on Dionysian features, has been celebrated in March at the Persian court with plentiful wine drinking, and enthusiastic enjoyment of music and dance, at least since the Archaemenids. Thus many a Sasanian silver wine flask used on the occasion of such festivities was not only decorated with vines with naturalistic grape leaves and grapes, but also depicting scenes of dancing ladies, often only scantly clad (fig. 37)[52]. This kind of ornamentation and its subject are deeply rooted in Late Antiq-

50 Spuhler 1978: 189.

51 Thompson 2003: 40, no. 8.

52 The drawing published by Herzfeld stems from a vase in the collection of the Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersberg (Inv. S-6). The vase is published in cat. Brussel 1993: 237, no. 86, or in Marschak 1986: No. 189.

Fig. 37: Dancer with a falcon on a Sasanian wine flask of silver. Repr. from Herzfeld 1927: 20.

Fig. 38: Early Islamic wall painting, palace of the caliph, Samarra, 1st half 9th century. Two "Sasanian" dancers, pouring wine for one another during a revel in a garden. Repr. from Herzfeld 1927: Plate II.

Fig. 39 left: Safavid silk velvet with gold threads, 198 x 57 cm, Isfahan (?), 1st half 17th century. Museum of Islamic Art, Qatar (Inv. no. TE.01.97). Originally each of these ladies was holding a long necked wine bottle and a cup, now over-embroidered to become a vase with flowers. On the vertical axis are five large flowering shrubs, the one in the middle (with carnations) at a little pond. Repr. from Thompson 2004: no. 8.

Fig. 40 above: Safavid silk velvet with gold threads, 217 x 74.5 cm, Isfahan (?), 1st half 17th century. Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, (Inv. no. 1977-119-1). Landscape with four courtly ladies (from left to right: one with a wine bottle and fruit, one with a bowl and a water jar, one with a hunting falcon, and one with a spear and a hound). Between the ladies are large flowering shrubs and a number of Chinese cloud wisps. A little pond between each pair of ladies. Repr. from Hali 132, 2004:

uity, and the female dancers on Sasanian silver are described as "bacchantes" in the specialist literature.[53] One example of the source of such representations is found on Roman sarcophagi. Dionysian scenes with maenads dancing and making music can be found there, showing intriguing similarities to the Sasanian (fig. 37) as well as to the Safavid dancing court ladies (fig. 39).[54] Worth mentioning in this context is certainly also the unique Dionysos hanging of the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland. Presumably made for a banquet-tent in a formal garden of a Late Antique noble, this exceptional textile, 9 meters wide and 2.2 meters high, shows Dionysus and his entourage celebrating a feast with wine, dancing, and music.[55]

In early Islamic art these scantily dressed, dancing, and music-playing "court ladies" or "courtesans" are still seen. We encounter them in the Umayyad castles of the 8th century in both sculpture[56] and wall painting.[57] They are still present in 9th century Samanid Samarra. A wall painting in the great hall of the caliph's palace not only shows two dancing courtesans in Sasanian style, each pouring wine from a long-necked flask into a cup held by the other (fig. 38), but just below that a hunting scene with comparable female figures.[58] In Per-

53 Matha L. Carter in Harper et al. 1978: 61.
54 For a Dionysian scene on a Roman sarcophagus, see Schlesier/Schwarzmeier et al. 2008: 201, cat. no. 53.
55 For an colour image, see Schrenk 2004: 26–27, no. 1.
56 Hamilton 1959: Plates XXXV, LV, LVI; Franz 1984a: Plates XXXII and XXXIII.
57 Blasquez Martinez 2003; Vibert-Guigue et al. 2007: Plates 18, 46, 47, 49, 50
58 Herzfeld 1927: Plate VI. A courtly lady (goddess) in company of a dog is slaying (sacrificing?) a bull.

Fig. 41: Landscape (1) with large flowering trees (2) and clouds in Chinese style (3) in side view in the border of a Mughal garden carpet, Kashmir or Lahore, India, ca. 1650. The field design of this carpet shows a garden from a bird's eye view, a lattice with palmettes and rosettes (fig. 26), which might have the same roots as the *ak su* design (see the chapter "Streams of Paradise"). Repr. from Walker 1997: 111, fig. 110.

Fig. 42: Landscape (1) with large flowering plants (2) and clouds (3). This design concept might well have been adopted from Mughal models like fig. 41. Detail from the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, 1st half 17th century. This is the hitherto earliest known example of such flower *alem* among the Turkmen, still showing elements like the landscape and some of the flowers in a somewhat more detailed drawing than seen in the slightly later Yomut pieces with comparable *alem* design (figs. 44–46).

sian art, this tradition continued into the 17th century, even if not depicted as revealingly as in the early Islamic age. The court ladies (maenads, bacchantes, courtesans) on the Safavid velvets are wearing European clothing corresponding to the fashion of those days (figs. 39 and 40). Left over from the ancient Iranian and early Islamic representations are the ladies' dancing posture, the long-necked wine flasks, and the indications of the hunt (falcon and hound) and the banquet.

The examples above demonstrate the cultural depth behind the garden representation in the *alem* of these early Yomut and Qaradashlï *khali*. With this flowering plant design composition, we are dealing not just with a decorative fantasy design, but with representations of gardens based on ancient Oriental conceptions and customs. The direct roots of this Turkmen design seem more grounded in the art of Mughal India; the Mughal examples, in terms of stylization, appear to be closer to Turkmen design tradition than the Safavid examples, the latter still clearly related to Late Antique and Sasanian traditions.

5. The components of the garden or landscape designs

5.1 Garden or Landscape Representations as Border or *alem* Designs

The close relationship between the landscape or garden design in the *alem* of the Turkmen *khali* discussed here and corresponding landscape designs particularly in Mughal textiles is demonstrated clearly by the border design of a masterpiece of Mughal carpet weaving in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (figs. 25, 26, 41 48). This extremely precious large format pashmina (goat's wool) carpet is not only an excellent example with strong stylistic influence, it also confirms the close relationship of the two types of garden representation: the naturalistic side view in the border (fig. 25) and the view from above in the field (fig. 26). The two types are seen in combination from very early times. Examples can be found in Elamit, Assyrian, and Urartian representations showing gardens or landscapes crossed by watercourses (in birds eye view) mostly in combination with a tree of life design (in

Fig. 43: *Alem* of the Qaradashlī *khali* cat. no. 153, mid 17th century. This *alem* shows a combination of design elements of the Qaradashlī (fig. 42) and the Yomut (fig. 44). The laterally protruding carnations and the clouds at the upper edge (fig. 42/3) correspond to the Qaradashlī design. Yomut influence is seen in the roundish top blossoms of the flowering plant. The remaining elements are much the same in both the Qaradashlī and the Yomut versions.

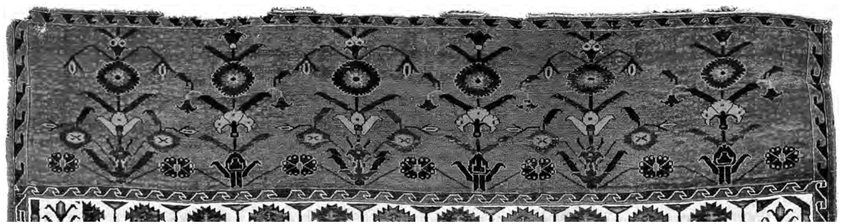


Fig. 44: *Alem* of the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 101 from the Concaro Collection, mid 17th century. In comparison with the design of the *alem* of cat. no. 84 (fig. 42), a first step of adaptation to the Turkmen design tradition can be observed: the line of the landscape is no longer waved in comparison with the earlier models, but merely diagonal. Also the flowers imbedded in the landscape have become 8-petalled rosettes, the asymmetrical drawing of the comparable flowers in cat. no. 84 has been given up in favour of a more stylised version. In addition, the carnation motifs between the flowering plants and the cloud motifs are absent.

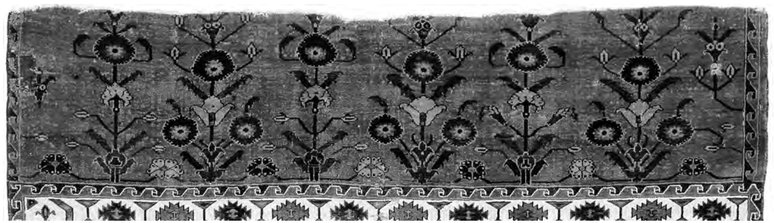


Fig. 45: *Alem* of the Yomut *khali* of the collection of the Textile Museum Washington D.C. (cat. no. 102), mid 17th century. Compared to the piece from the Concaro Collection, this *khali* shows yet a different form of the line indicating the landscape, and the buds attached to the flower stalk are bent upwards, not downwards. The leaves attached to the top large blossom of every other flowering plant are unique (other than in the tent band version of the design. See fig. 89). Otherwise this piece is very similar to cat. no. 101 and is of about the same age.

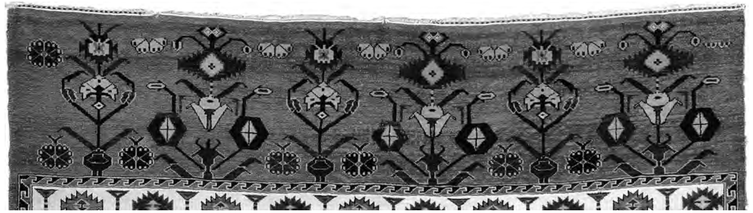


Fig. 46: Alem of theYomut *khali* from the Tabibnia Collection (cat. no. 103), late 17th or early 18th century. This piece shows advanced stylization over the whole flower design. The lines for the landscape and the cloud motifs are missing.

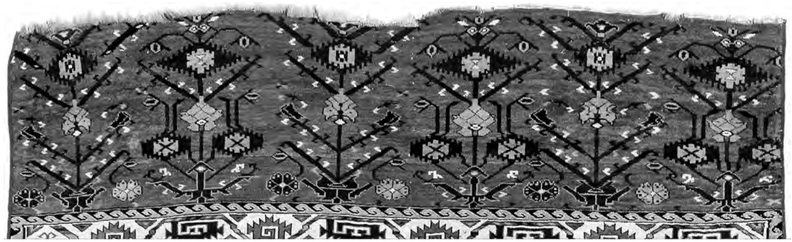


Fig. 47: Alem of the Qaradashlī *khali* from the Wiedersperg Collection (cat. no. 95), 19th century. An advanced stage of adaptation to the Turkmen design tradition compared to the design of the *alem* of cat. nos. 101–103 (figs. 44–46) is seen here. The landscape and the cloud motifs are missing. A "new" feature is the many attached black and white horizontal v-shapes.

Fig. 48: The *alem* of this Yomut *khali* from the 2nd half of the 19th century shows the end stage of the "Mughal flower style" among the Turkmen. The composition is reduced to a few elements of the early flowering plant design with an integrated lotus. The carnations, the landscape, and the cloud motifs have been lost. Repr. from Herrmann IX, 1987: no. 82.

side view).[59] The landscape or garden design in the main border of the Mughal carpet discussed here is assembled of several components: landscape indicated by hills at the bottom (fig. 41/1), flowering trees with flowers in between (fig. 41/2), and Chinese cloud motifs, symbolizing heaven (fig. 41/3). All these components also appear in the *alem* of early Turkmen *khali* of the 17th century in a very similar, although more stylized, way (fig. 42).

5.2 The Representation of Landscape

Since early times, gardens, or landscape in general, have repeatedly been indicated by a scale-like structure, either decorating a cone or as an overall background in larger design compositions. The historical and geographical origin of this kind of landscape representation is unknown. Nevertheless, its specific use for more than 4000 years is an unchallenged historical fact. The scaled cone (rock, mountain?) on fig. 31 is one the earliest example of this kind. It is part of a hunting scene in a landscape or possibly a hunting garden.[60] The omphalos-like scaled structure serves as an "icon" or an "ideogram" for "landscape" or "garden" or an outdoor scene generally. Nearly identical scaled forms can be found 3000 years later, e.g. in the already mentioned early Islamic wall painting in the caliph's palace in Samarra (fig. 38). There too, the scaled form indicates the banquet being held in a garden. The scaled form serves as an ideogram for landscape, indicating an outdoor scene.

But let us turn back to the scaled cone in fig. 31. This earliest example comes from an Akkadian cylinder seal dating from the late 3rd millennium B.C. From the 1st millenium B.C. is the Assyrian bas-relief (fig. 32) with an overall background pattern for larger design compositions in the form of a scaled structure. Here, the scales for a first time show a specific form, vaguely shaped like "bowling pins". Such scaled structures can be seen on many Assyrian reliefs, always representing landscape. A small Sasanian silver-gilt vase from the 7th century with a hunting scene in a landscape or garden (fig. 33) is the next example. Here, the landscape is represented in the form of – although somewhat enlarged in width – our scales, described as "lobed forms" by Oliver Harper. Likewise in the Sasanian silk (fig. 34), the winged horses grazing in a landscape (garden) were originally placed between rows of scales, though only one row remains. At the upper edge of the silk fragment the hooves of the upper row of horses are still clearly recognisable, and at least when looking at the original silk, the tips of the scales forming the row below the horses are still barely decipherable (on the small image fig. 34 they are indeed visible as well, but tend to blend into the edge damage of the fragment). Two more fragments with identical design (probably from the same original piece) are in the Catoen Natie Collection in Antwerp and in the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg. They confirm the composition of winged horses in rows on top of each other, always with the scales in-between.[61] On Sogdian silks, similar scales (resembling triple hills) are also present; there also representing landscape. An example is shown in fig. 40 in the chapter "The Ersarï" in connection with landscape representations on Uzebk ikats and Turkmen piled carpets. Finally, in the centre of the early Islamic painting from Samarra (fig. 38) is a small scaled cone or rock.

With our next example, we move forward to an era contemporaneous with the Turkmen, namely the 17th century. Fig 35 shows a detail of a large format garden-carpet from Khorasan with stepped lobate forms (scales) representing landscape, out of which grow large flowering trees. Along the middle axis of the carpet, these lobed "bumps" (scales) are mirrored to form lobed medallions. More lobed "bumps" are scattered in the field. The slightly stepped (lobed) waveform at the lower edge of the Turkmen garden-design in the *alem* of the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 (fig. 42/1, cf. also fig. 36) is a somewhat flattened version of the same landscape representation. The design detail in fig. 42 shows this clearly, and also explains that form's purpose in the whole composition. This interpretation is also convincingly demonstrated by comparison to the Mughal border design in fig. 41, and to the landscape representation in the two Mughal carpets with a large single niche containing a single flowering plant (figs. 6 and 7, with details of the landscape on figs. 27 and 28). One of these carpets is an extremely finely woven court workshop piece with pashmina pile on a silk foundation. At 30,300 knots per dm^2 this is one of the most finely knotted carpets of its time (17th to 19th century Ersarï *khali* have a knot density of roughly 1000 knots per dm^2, those of the Yomut generally between 2000 and 2500). The other Mughal example is made of wool, also from a workshop, even if not for the court. It has a knot density of about 3000 knots per dm^2. According to Daniel Walker, it could be a less expensive version of the pashmina type.[62] Both Mughal examples can be dated to the 17th century. The two Turkmen variants of the landscape design are shown in figs. 29 and 30. Comparing these two design variants to their Mughal models in figs. 27 and 28, the transformation from a Mughal courtly to a Mughal commercial version becomes very clear, followed by the further transformation to a "traditional" Turkmen design (although the latter may also have been produced in a urban workshop, but in Central Asia). The Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 (fig. 42) is in some details closer to the Mughal models than the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 101 (fig. 44). The difference between these two Turkmen design variants can probably best be explained by increasing adaptation of the design of cat. no. 101 (fig. 44), more closely conforming to what we call Turkmen tradition. As long as there are no pieces comparable to cat. no. 84, we have to content ourselves with such an explanation.[63] Comparing the *alem* of the four *khali* cat. no. 84, 101, 102, and 103 in figs. 42–45 demonstrates the impossibility of such ornaments remaining unchanged within the Turkmen tradition over an extended period of time. Although these pieces were woven within a relatively "short" period of time, significant changes because of adaptation to Turkmen tradition have occurred.

5.3 The Flower Design of the *khali*

The "eye-catcher" in the *alem* design of this group of *khali* is certainly the flowering plant design. The early pieces (cat. nos. 84, 153, 101, 102, 103, and the Goguel piece) all show two different kinds: a somewhat more complex plant with a lotus flower integrated into the flower stalk (figs. 49, 52 and 54), alternating with a somewhat less complex composition showing an integrated carnation (figs. 65 – 69).[64] But the two flowering plants also differ in other aspects of their compositions, even if only slightly. We do find the design concept of flowering plants arranged in rows in the borders of Mughal carpets; in Safavid carpets, no comparable borders are known.

5.3.1 The Flower Design with an Integrated Lotus (Fig. 49)

At first glance, the composition of the Turkmen flower design with an integrated lotus seems hardly comprehensible. However, the basic composition of three large, rosette-like blossoms somehow connected to each other is clearly recognizable. Other elements such as buds, a kind of lotus flower integrated into the stalk, and a design resembling a pair of eyes at the top are added.

For a better understanding of the construction of this compound Turkmen flowering plant, two Mughal carpets may serve as examples: the carpet in the Metropolitan Museum, shown in fig. 4 (detail fig. 50), and the extremely finely woven pashmina carpet with a single niche design in fig. 6 (detail on fig. 53). Both show poppies, in slightly different forms. While the carpet of the Metropolitan Museum with its smaller poppies shows the correlation between blossoms and buds within the flower (fig. 50), the single niche carpet with its large poppy (fig. 53) shows the v-shaped position of the lower leaves and the complete composition of the flowering shrub itself. That the flowers on these two Mughal carpets actually represent poppies is shown by the serration of the leaves and the shape of the buds, as well as by the spe-

59 Cf. figs. 17 and 20 in the chapter "Rivers of Paradise".

60 The complete imprint of the cylinder seal with a little creek, plants, wild animals, and a hunter is shown in fig. 24 in the chapter "Rivers of Paradise".

61 The piece from the Catoen Natie Collection is published in De Moor 2008: 238; also in Hali 151, 2007: 88. The fragment from the Abegg-Stiftung is unpublished.

62 Walker 1997: 90–92.

63 The appearance of cat. no. 153, however, raises questions. Tribal specific features could be another reason. Based on similarities to cat. no. 84, cat. no. 153 can probably also be attributed to the Qaradashlï.

64 Among the more recent examples, this is rather the exception than the rule. Cat. no. 95 is one of these later exceptions, including both types of flowering plants.

Fig. 49: Turkmen flower design from the upper *alem* of cat. no. 101. The truncated landscape at the bottom suggests the use of a model by the weaver.

Fig. 50: Poppy from the Mughal carpet in fig. 4. The blossoms on the left and right hang downwards, while the stalks of the buds ascend behind the hanging blossoms.

Fig. 51/52: The components of the Turkmen flower design: (1) three-dimensional leaves (better visible on fig. 52 and 57); (2) stalks growing out from the three-dimensional leaves to the buds; (3) buds; (4) node at the main stalk with projections of side stalks; (5) continuation of the stalks to the hanging blossoms; (6) blossoms hanging at the side-stalk; (7) integrated lotus flower; (8) large, upper blossom; (9) "eye-bud" as upper finial of the flowering plant.

Fig. 53: Large poppy from the carpet with a single niche fig. 6. Repr. from Walker 1997: 91.

Fig. 54: Turkmen flower design with integrated lotus, from the Goguel carpet. The upper part is truncated (cf. also fig. 64 in the chapter "The Yomut"). Repr. from Goguel 1927.

cific form of the blossom with its red petals and black enclosures (fig. 50).[65]

The composition of the poppy in the Mughal carpet of the Metropolitan Museum consists of six large serrated green leaves at the bottom and five stalks, holding three poppies and two buds. The centre stalk with its blossom on top stands straight; those on either side start out straight, then bend downward to end in another blossom. The remaining two stalks start upwards from between the six large serrated green leaves, go behind the two outer blossoms, then bend down again above the blossoms to end in a bud. Two additional small serrated leaves appear on these stalks of the buds, and a third one, somewhat bigger, is placed in the middle of the upright stalk underneath the top blossom (fig. 50).

The Turkmen flower design follows this system to a large extent (figs. 49, 52, and 54). At the bottom are two large compound leaves, surprisingly with two coloures, green below and blue above, showing a curious structure of three elements nested into one another; the lowest being green, the two on top blue (fig. 57). This bichromaticism of the two lowest leaves is a consistently recurring phenomenon through all Turkmen flowering plants in the carpets and tent bands of this design group. Even the late examples of the 19th century still show it clearly.

How can this bichromaticism and the three elements nested into one another to form the leaf-shape be explained? This once again suggests that Mughal rather than Safavid design has been the model for the Turkmen weavers. In many Mughal flower representations, leaves are contorted to show both upper and lower side of the leaf (cf. figs. 55 and 56), creating three-dimensional impression. This feature is much more common in Mughal than in Safavid art; it could even be considered typically Mughal. It is precisely this kind of three-dimen-

65 For a colour image of the poppies of this carpet, see Dimand/Mailey 1973: 150.

Fig. 55: Three-dimensional representation of leaves from the margin of a Mughal miniature painting. Repr. from Dye 2001: 254, no. 89b.

Fig. 56: Three-dimensional representation of leaves of a tulip on the Mughal carpet fig. 6 with a single niche and a large poppy.

Fig. 57: Three-dimensional representation of leaves on the Yomut *khali* cat. no. 101. Detail from fig 52.

sional representation of the leaves which is being imitated by the Turkmen weavers, as is seen clearly by comparing the Turkmen leaf shape to the leaf shape of a tulip in the pashmina carpet with a standing single flowering plant design (cf. figs. 56 and 57), The tulip's leaves show the just-described naturalistic or three-dimensional leaf shape. Some of the leaves have two sections, some three. The top side of the leaf is lighter, the underside darker; hence results the two color Turkmen scheme. Looking at the Turkmen tripartite leaf shape with its nested structure and always bichromatic colouring, a plausible explanation is that it is a "three-dimensional" representation of leaves, borrowed from the Mughal design repertoire.

Above these two special leaves, stalks ascend left and right at about a 45° angle (fig. 51/2), not ending in one of the large blossoms, as one might first suppose, but as in the Mughal example in fig. 50, climbing up behind the blossom and ending up in a bud (fig. 51, point 3). The next component in the main stalk is a branching point vaguely resembling a fleur-de-lis in shape, from which again two more stalks emerge, though they seem to end abruptly (fig. 51/ 4). The continuations of these stalks, although at first very hard to see, are the forms seeming to emerge from (in reality ending in) the large blossoms bending inwards in direction of the main stalk (fig. 51/5). Though they appear to be narrow leaves, they are with all likelihood the continuation of the stalks abruptly ending just below. (A glance at the Mughal poppy in fig. 50 helps to understand.) The next component up the stalk is the red lotus flower (fig. 51/7), with another pair of leaves (simpler than the leaves at the bottom) emerging from it. Finally we reach the large, upper poppy (fig. 51/8) with two more buds emerging from it and bending downwards, and the "eye-bud" at the top (fig. 51/9).

The design source for the "eye-buds" was not clear at first. The answer seems to lie in Safavid carpet design. In Safavid carpet design of the 16th/17th centuries, such "eye-buds" often form a finial at the end of larger palmette compositions (fig. 60) or scrolls (fig. 61). The large garden carpets of Khorasan (also called "tree carpets") show such palmette compositions with "eye-buds" at the end (fig. 60). There are beautiful examples in both the Orient Stars and the McMullan Collection.[66] Another large group of 16th/17th century Safavid carpets showing these "eye-buds" quite regularly is the vase carpets of Kirman. [67] The "eye-buds" of these 17th century Safavid carpets are very similar to the Turkmen examples discussed here. Such "eye-buds" can also be found in Caucasian[68] and Mughal[69] carpets, a fact not really surprising in the light of their affinity to Safavid models.

However, the earliest precursors of our Safavid "eye-buds" predate them by more than a thousand years, going back to the times of the Sasanians. A small carpet fragment found in Egypt, worked in the open single-warp knot technique on a linen foundation, shows a bird

66 Kirchheim et al. 1993: No. 64, and McMullan 1965: no 26.
67 A good example is the vase carpet in the Islamic Museum in Berlin, published in Spuhler 1987: 227, fig. 86, and Beselin 2011: 165, no. 37, details on p. 166 and on the cover.
68 Kirchheim et al. 1993: no. 64, 65.
69 Walker 1997: fig. 53 (in the centres of large palmettes), fig. 81.

"Eye-buds" as finials of palmette compositions: from the Sasanians to the Safavids to the Turkmen

Fig. 58: Carpet fragment with "eye-buds", 8th/9th century (?). Found in Egypt. Private collection Washington. Repr. from Ettinghausen 1959: 97, fig. 3.

Fig. 59: Silk tapestry, Islamic Spain, 10th century. The secondary ornaments show eight-pointed stars with attached "eye-buds". Repr. from Dodds 1992: 224, no. 20.

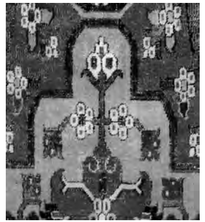


Fig. 60: Garden carpet, so-called "tree carpet", Khorasan, 17th century. Orient Stars Collection. "Eye-buds" as finials of large palmette composition. Repr. from Kirchheim et al. 1993: no. 64.

Fig. 61: "Eye-buds" in a Safavid carpet with palmettes and sickle-leaves, 17th century. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. Authors photograph.

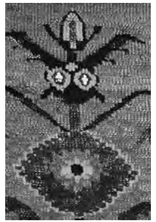


Fig. 62: "Eye-buds" at upper end of the composite flowering plants with an integrated lotus. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 101.

Fig. 63: "Eye-buds" in the all-pile tent band with composite flowering plants cat. no. 99.

within a roundel decorated with "eye-buds" (fig. 58). Although not from Persia, and dating to the early Islamic period, it might nevertheless have its roots in Sasanian design tradition. The same applies to the little fragment of a silk and gold tapestry from Islamic Spain (fig. 59). This fragment also shows a design probably going back to the Sasanians. Here too, we find a medallion with a bird, different in that the "eye-buds" decorate the secondary motif instead of the medallion. However, among the Turkmen the "eye-bud" motif is most likely borrowed from Safavid Persia.

The rosettes made of 6 heart-shapes integrated at the lower edge of the Turkmen design composition are not part of the flowering plant, but belong to the landscape, where they replace the smaller flowers of the Mughal models (cf. figs. 27 – 30). In the later versions from the 18th and 19th centuries, the design has changed considerably, being adapted more and more to Turkmen tradition and its more geometric language of forms. This adaptation process is clearly shown in figs. 19 – 23.

5.3.2 The Flowering Plant with an Integrated Carnation

In addition to the more complex flowering plant with an integrated lotus, there is a simpler version with a carnation. Although the latter is very similar in composition, it has some features not used in the version with the lotus. This starts with the lowest part of the plant directly above ground. It is nearly impossible to say what these elements represent. This roundish structure is flanked by two or four serrated leaves, sometimes attended by a pair of buds (figs. 66 and 67). Next follows a paired form (fig. 66), somewhat resembling "lobster claws". However, these unusual forms are not present in the piece with the earliest ver-

The Turkmen flower style of the 17th – 19th centuries: carnations

Fig. 64: Carnations at the edge of a little pond on a Safavid silk velvet with metal threads (detail). Repr. from Thompson 2004: No. 8

Fig. 65: Composite flowering plant with an integrated carnation. Detail from cat. no. 84, Qaradashlï (?) *khali*, 1st half of the 17th century.

Fig. 66: Composite flowering plant with an integrated carnation. Detail from cat. no. 101, (back) Yomut *khali*, mid 17th century.

Fig. 67: Composite flowering plant with an integrated carnation. Detail from cat. no. 102, (back) Yomut *khali*, mid 17th century.

Fig. 68: Composite flowering plant with an integrated carnation. Detail from cat. no. 103, (back) Yomut *khali*. Late 17th or 18th century.

Fig. 69: Composite flowering plant with an integrated carnation (upper part truncated). Drawing after the Goguel carpet (cf. also. fig. 64 in the chapter "The Yomut"). Late 17th or 18th century

sion of this little design group, the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 (fig. 65). The next element above is the carnation, from which emerge two smaller leaves with a hint of serration. On top, a large poppy with a kind of fleur-de-lis and two more leaves forms the top. In the flowering plant with the carnation, the poppy shows an extra feature not present in the version with the lotus: leaves are attached on the left and right, either bending downward (fig. 66), or upward (fig. 67). On the other hand, the top poppy of the flowering plant with the carnation on the early dated Qaradashlï *khali* does not have these extra leaves (fig. 65). The top is always formed by a kind of fleur-de-lis (figs. 76, 77).

Although the carnation is occasionally seen as a decorative element in Mughal Indian art,[70] it is far more common among the Safavids. A small group of Safavid velvets[71] contains carnations quite similar to those in the Turkmen flower design. The detail in fig. 64 shows a carnation in a large Safavid silk velvet (198 × 57 cm) from the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar (fig. 39). Its garden scene with carnations, tulips, and flowering bushes with rosettes (cf. fig. 39) is not so different from the garden design in the *alem* of our Turkmen carpets with flowering plant design. As with the "eye-buds", the carnation as a part of the composition most likely points to Safavid antecedents.

70 Z.B. Zebrowski 1997: 324, no. 360; Goswamy/Fischer 1987: no. 31 and 73; Welch et al. 1987: 110, no. 16.

71 Other identically designed velvets of the same master weaver or work shop are in the Keir Collection in London (Spuhler 1978: 182, no. 107) and in the Royal Ontario Museums in Toronto, Canada (Inv. 962.60.1, reproduced in: Robinson 1982: 56).

Fig. 70: Bottom of a metal bowl, Tang Dynasty, China, 9th century. Museum Rietberg, Zurich. Repr. from Uldry 1994: 162, no. 149.

Fig. 71: Mughal printed cotton textile. Detail from fig.10, turned by 180°.

Fig. 72: Mughal embroidery. Detail from fig. 8, turned by 90°.

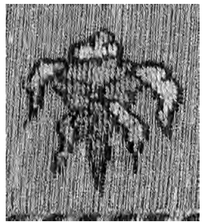


Fig. 73: Mughal velvet. Detail from fig. 11, turned by 180°.

Fig. 74: Border of a Mughal carpet. Repr. from Walker 1997: 83, Fig. 79.

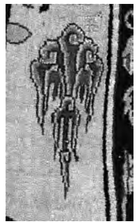


Fig. 75: Border of a Mughal carpet. Detail from fig.48, turned by 90°.

5.4 The Chinese Cloud Motifs

It may sound surprising to find Chinese cloud motives in Turkmen carpets. A resemblance, but even more so the context of this unusual design (figs. 70 – 75) within the *alem* composition of cat. no. 84 (fig. 77), argues strongly for it being an adaptation of a Chinese cloud design. Furthermore, this is not a unique occurrence. In the so-called multiple *gül* carpets we also encounter cloud motifs; there also an adaptation of a Chinese cloud pattern, a "cloudband" instead of the "little cloud wisps" discussed here.[72] But like the little cloud wisps discussed here, the cloudband design of the multiple gül carpets is an extremely rare and unusual pattern which disappeared after a short time. In any case, the unusual motif in the *khali* cat. no. 84 is an example of what Daniel Walker called "little cloud wisps".[73]

After the Mongol conquest in the 13th century, chinese cloud motifs are a common feature in Islamic art.[74] But such little cloud wisps are also omnipresent in the art of Mughal India. They often stand beside or above large flowering plants. The carpet border detail shown in fig. 76 is just one of countless examples. It was with all likelihood these little Chinese cloud wisps which served as models for the unusual motifs placed to the left and right of the large flowering plant in the *alem* of the *khali* cat. no. 84 (figs. 77 and 78). Comparing the Turkmen motif fig. 78 to the Chinese cloud motifs figs. 70 – 75, a certain affinity cannot be dismissed. The Turkmen motif is extremely rare, one of the very rarest Turkmen carpet motifs of all. In fact, in this particular form it is known in only three carpets: the Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84 and 153 (fig. 78 and 78) and the design-wise related Yomut *khali* published by Goguel. However, in the Goguel piece the cloud design is no longer in the right place, that is to say in the *alem* left and right of the large flowering plants, but rather in the first row of secondary motifs at the very beginning of the field design.[75] In a fourth *khali*, the so-called Ballard multiple *gül* carpet of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York – our cat. no. 167 – a modified version of this small motif appears

72 See figs. 71 – 77 in the chapter "From Safavid palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*".
73 Walker 1997: 88.
74 An example dating from the 13th century is shown by Komaroff/Carboni 2002: 173, fig. 201. Many additional examples from the 14th century can be found in the same publication.
75 See fig. 64 in the chapter "The Yomut"

Fig. 76: A landscape with trees, flowers and clouds. Border of a Mughal carpet, Kashmir or Lahore, India, ca. 1650. Repr. from Walker 1997: 111, fig. 110.

Fig. 77: Detail from cat. no. 84: Turkmen cloud motifs following Mughal (Chinese) models. 1st half 17th century.

Fig. 78: Detail from fig. 54. Heavily stylized Turkmen cloud motif from *khali* cat. no. 84.

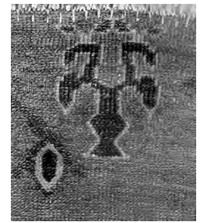


Fig. 79: Detail from fig. 42a. Heavily stylized Turkmen cloud motif from *khali* cat. no. 168.

Fig. 80: Detail from cat. 167, fig. 1 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*" (turned by 180°). Turkmen cloud motif (?) in the field of the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet.

(fig. 80),[76] with all likelihood also derived from the cloud motif (figs. 78 and 79) discussed here.

The other Turkmen cloud motif, found in the multiple *gül* carpets and here called "curled-edge cloudband" *gül,* is also very rare, but it lasted longer and is found in more than just four pieces.

The Chinese motif of a little cloud wisp on a silver plated and gilded bronze bowl of the Tang Dynasty from the Collection of the Museum Rietberg in Zurich,[77] showing an authentic Chinese cloud wisp of the 9th century, illustrates how close the Chinese drawing is to the later Islamic versions. It also demonstrates the longevity of this motif in the Islamic World in a nearly unaltered form.

76 For a complete image of the Ballard multiple *gül* carpet, see fig.5 in the chapter "From Safavid Palmettes to the Turkmen *kepse gül*" in this vol. For a colour image, see Mackie/Thompson 1980: 146, no. 62. The two small motifs appear there as a pair, but are shown upside down in the image, slightly above the middle of the field composition.
77 Published in Uldry 1994: 162, no. 149.

6. The tent band version of the Mughal flower design

Whether the Turkmen flower design was adopted from Mughal India simultaneously on both carpets and tent bands, in the early 17th century, is not clear.

The all-pile tent band cat. no. 99 (details figs. 82 and 89) could be a special order for a distinguished tribal leader (Khan), ordering a highly luxurious example of a tent band for his reception tent. The then "modern" flower design in the *khali* cat. nos. 101 and 102 (fig. 81) could have served as a model for the flower design in the tent band cat. no. 99.

That nomadic sovereigns since the 6th century had extremely luxurious reception tents, equipped with all imaginable kinds of luxury goods like precious silks and golden peacock thrones, is described by Peter Andrews.[78] Specifically, the adoption of urban and particularly

78 Andrews 1999: 135 – 138. Andrews describes the attendance of a Byzantine embassy commanded by a certain Zemarchos in the year 568 at the court of Dizaboulos, Khan of the Western Turks, in the mountainous area north of Kucha (Tarim basin).(see also Menander: 111 – 126)

Poppies with attached little lotus flowers in Turkmen tent bands: 17th–19th centuries

Fig. 81: Stylized flowering plant design in Turkmen style. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 101, *alem* at the end of the carpet. Mid 17th century.

Fig. 82: Stylized flowering plant design in Turkmen style. Detail from aq yüp cat. no. 99. 2nd half of the 17th century

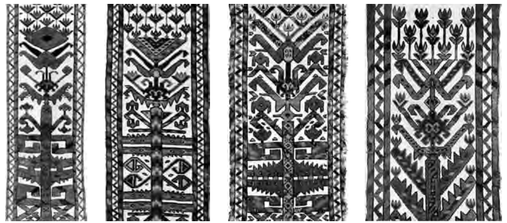


Fig. 83–86: In the course of the 17th to 19th centuries the representation of the poppy on tent bands changed considerably to a more stylized geometric design, more and more adapted to traditional tent band designs. Curvilinear forms yielded to geometric forms, while the design has become more and more adjusted to the width of the tent band.
Fig. 83: repr. from Hali 58, 1991:154, 18th century; fig.84: cat. no. 100, 18th century; fig. 85: repr. from Spuhler/König/Volkmann 1978, no. 81, 19th century; fig. 86: private collection, 2nd half of the 19th century.

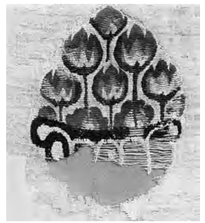


Fig. 87: Lotus flowers in a basket. Coptic tapestry fragment, 7th/8th century, found in Achmim, Musée d'art et d'histoire, Genève (Inv. D 886). Repr. from Martiniani-Reber et al. 1991: 27, cat. no. 152.

courtly culture by nomads is shown clearly. Presumably, even Turkmen tribal leaders did not abdicate extravagance, albeit of a somewhat more moderate kind. William Simpson's drawing of the reception tent of a Sarïq Khan, equipped with a luxurious *ensi* and a kind of "baldachin" placed over it, shows a late 19th century vestige of this ancient Oriental tradition of representing sovereignty.[79]

The tent band version of the flowering plant design is basically seen in two variants. One always shows a top with attached small lotus flowers (figs. 83–86), in some instances even replacing the large poppy (figs. 85 and 86). That these upper attached little flowers can be considered lotuses is shown by a comparison with lotus flowers in a Late Antique tapestry fragment found in Egypt (fig. 86). The second type always retains the upper poppy, although it changes, even in quite early pieces, into a rhombus with attached little leaves on either side (figs. 90–93). This is already the case with the earliest version of this second type (fig. 89). These little leaves are also known in the *khali* version, even in early examples (fig. 88). The later tent band versions of both types become more and more densely packed and overloaded, even to the point of not being recognisable as flowering plant designs following the Mughal models without the intermediate stages (figs. 83–86, and 90–93). The design in the *alem* of *khali* is never seen in such a densely packed form.

It is interesting that, in the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, the flowering plant design discussed here experienced a broader distribution on tent bands than on the *alem* of large format *khali*,[80] although it is not entirely clear why. One explanation could be its similarity to the traditional tree of life design so often seen in tent bands, but never in carpets. As the shape of the flower design used for the *alem* of the *khali* does not really suit the narrow format of an *aq yüp*, it has suffered a considerable modification over time on tent bands.

79 See fig. 1 in the chapter "The Turkmen *ensi*".

80 See comparison pieces to cat. no. 99. 20 *khali* and 23 *aq yüp* with this design are published, even though most of them of a late date.

Poppies with attached little leaves on Turkmen tent bands. 17th–19th centuries

Fig. 88: Stylized flowering plant design in Turkmen style. Detail from *khali* cat. no. 102 (back). Mid 17th century.

Fig. 89: Stylized flowering plant design in Turkmen style. Detail from *aq yüp* cat. no. 99. 17th century.

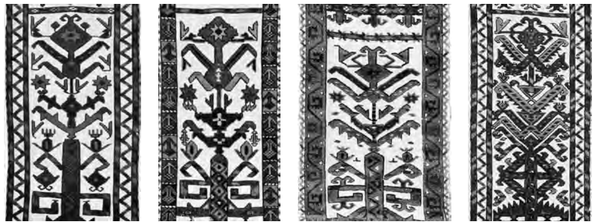


Fig. 90–93: The version of the poppy with attached leaves has changed even more than the one without leaves (figs. 82–85). The earliest version, in the *aq yüp* cat. no. 99 (fig. 88), is slightly stylized compared to the version without the leaves (fig. 81). Both versions (fig. 81 and fig. 88) from the early *aq yüp* cat. no. 99 have developed further up to the late 19th century.
Fig. 90: private collection, 18th century; fig. 91: private collection, 18th/19th century; fig. 92: repr. from Dienes/Reinisch 2001: no. 225, 19th century; fig. 93: private collection, 2nd half of the 19th century.

It is also curious that the typical tent band version of the flowering plant design (cf. figs. 93–95) reappeared in the *alem* of *khali* in the 2nd half of the 19th century (figs. 97 and 98). This is clearly traceable based on designs such as the use of eight pointed stars. One of the two early versions of the tent band design (fig. 89) shows these stars already, while they are never seen in the carpet version, at least not until the 19th century, when the tent band version also appears in carpets. The reason for this kind of crossover of design might just have been an interchange of designs as often seen in the late 19th century, when virtually everything was used for everything, e.g. the mutation of a typical border design like the main border of the Salor *khali* into a field design among the Teke.[81]

81 See Thompson 2008: 146, plate 36, a small format Teke carpet.

7. Summary

The early 17th century flower and related garden designs of Safavid Persia had a considerable impact not only on the neighbouring areas of Ottoman Anatolia, Armenia, the Caucasus, and particularly Mughal India, but, not surprisingly, also on the Turkmen of Central Asia. A clear example of this is a group of 17th century Yomut *khali* and one tent band showing a naturalistic flower design quite atypical for the Turkmen. The Turkmen did not just copy the design, but created something new, more in accordance with their tradition. A new design composed of Mughal, but also Safavid, elements emerged. The inherently "foreign" nature of these designs prevented their becoming part of the mainstream Turkmen design pool, even though to a moderate degree, they remained in use up to the late 19th century. That designs inaugurated in the 17th century can be extremely successful is documented by the example of the *kepse gül*, which mong the Yomut,

The Late 19th century return of the flowering plant design from tent bands to the *alem* of the carpets

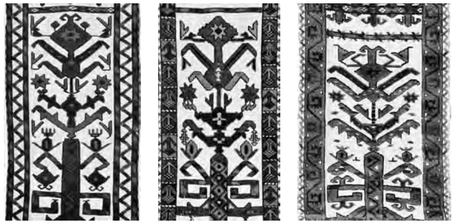


Fig. 94 – 96: In the 2nd half of the 19th century, this tent band version of the flowering plant design has been transferred back to the *alem* of the carpets (figs. 96 and 97), from where it once came.
Fig. 94: private collection, 18th century; fig. 95: private collection, 18th/19th century; Fig. 96: repr. from Dienes/Reinisch 2001: no. 225, 19th century.

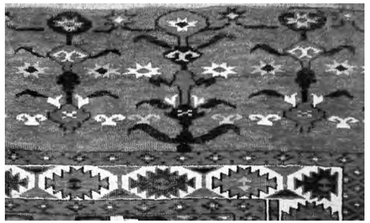


Fig. 97: Detail from the *alem* of a *khali* with *kepse gül* field design. 2nd half of the 19th century. Private collection. This form of the flowering plant design with its attached eight-pointed stars is a transfer from tent band designs back to the *alem* of carpets in the late 19th century.

Fig. 98: Heavily stylized flowering plant design in the Turkmen tent band style. Detail from a *khali* with *c-gül* field design. 2nd half of the 19th century. Repr. from Besim 2, 1999: no. 61.

became one of the most popular Turkmen designs of the 19th century. In any case, the Turkmen flowering plant, despite its limited success, is an extremely beautiful and complex design. It demonstrates impressively not only the complexity of the adoption and following adaptation process of foreign designs among the Turkmen, but also how quickly "new imports" can cause change. On the contrary, the *chuval gül* – the field design of the *khali* with garden design *alem* – has changed much less in the course of the centuries, staying relatively stable over at least the past 300 to 400 years. This is typical of ancient designs, and points to the great age of the *chuval gül*. Such older designs are often very similar, sometimes even identical, among many Turkmen groups. The *ak su* and the *ensi* design are two examples. The flower design in the *alem* of Yomut *khali* is a 17th century design; this specific form definitely did not exist before the late 16th century, although there were certainly other pre-17th century Turkmen flower designs. The significant extent of change this design has undergone over the past 300 years also clearly argues against great age compared to the *ak su* or the *ensi* design.

This study and publication have been made possible by

Lotteriefonds Basel-Landschaft
Lotteriefonds Basel-Stadt
Freunde des Orientteppichs, Basel

Additional support provided by

Silvia and Jörg Affentranger, Muttenz
Dr. Albert Gabbaï, Geneva
Elly and Jean-Pierre Gersbach, Basel
Marie and George Hecksher, San Francisco
Marion and Hans König, Minusio
Antje and Prof. Dr. Dieter Ladewig, Bettingen
Fritz Langauer, Vienna
Caroline McCoy Jones, Reno
Nancy Jeffries and Kurt Munkacsi, New York
Kristal Hale-Murray and Thomas Murray, Mill Valley
Amie and Michael Rothberg, Mill Valley
Hans Christian Sienknecht, Hamburg
Dr. Arch. Ignazio Vok, Padua
Marshall and Marilyn R. Wolf

Jacket illustration:
Qaradashlï *khali* cat. no. 84, first half 17th century

Frontispiece:
Khalil Shirin, a young Teke woman in full regalia with silver jewellery and a *chirpy* over her head. See also frontispiece in vol. 2.
Photo: Pavel Lassar, beginning of the 1880's.
Courtesy Museum of Ethnography, St. Petersburg.

Published by Jürg Rageth and "Freunde des Orientteppichs, Basel".
German edition 200 copies
English edition 300 copies

E-Mail: fdo@rageth.com

Design, typesetting, and lithographs: Jürg Rageth

Colour photography:
Otello Damonte, ©David Reuben, London: cat. nos 20, 27, 31, 48, 49, 73, 87
Alexander Laurenzo, ©Museum Five Continents, Munich: cat. no. 107
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Cartography: Klaus Kühner, huettenwerke.de

Printers: Abächerli Media AG, Sarnen
Printed on Magno Satin, matte coated, white, 150 gm^2
Binding: Buchbinderei Burkhardt AG, Mönchaltdorf
Printed in Switzerland