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

# The Anatolian Kilim and the History of Art

**Walter B. Denny**

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

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

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

Fig.2

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

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

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

**A historiography of Anatolian kilims**

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

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

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

Fig.3

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

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

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

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

In 1969, Anthony N. Landreau curated and wrote with W. Russell Pickering the catalog for *From the Bosporus to Samarkand: Flatwoven Rugs,* an exhibition mounted at The Textile Museum.[5] He was le andas well as .Drawing on a wide range of flat-woven media from across the Islamic world (and a Swedish kilim that wandered into the exhibition by accident), the exhibition was a major factor in bringing flat-woven carpets in general, and Anatolian kilims in particular, into broader recognition in both museums and the marketplace. It ultimately led to the kilim medium acquiring both art-historical respectability and prices more consonant with the medium's artistic quality and visual impact.

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

Fig.4



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

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

**The challenges for scholarship today**

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

*What are Anatolian kilims*? What do they look like? Before 1970, there had been little attempt to discover the full range of Anatolian kilim production across this vast area, with its complex human, geographic, social, and economic ecology. Exhibitions and catalogues such as the present one serve a highly utilitarian function in this regard. They apprise us of the huge range of designs and motifs and colors and shapes and sizes and uses inherent in this body of artistic material. Since 1970 there have been many such exhibitions and publications; we have attempted to list many of these in the bibliography appended to this book. As more and more examples come to light, our concept of what constitutes the Anatolian kilim tradition is continually expanding.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Fig.5

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

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

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



Fig.6

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig.7

Fig.8

Fig.9

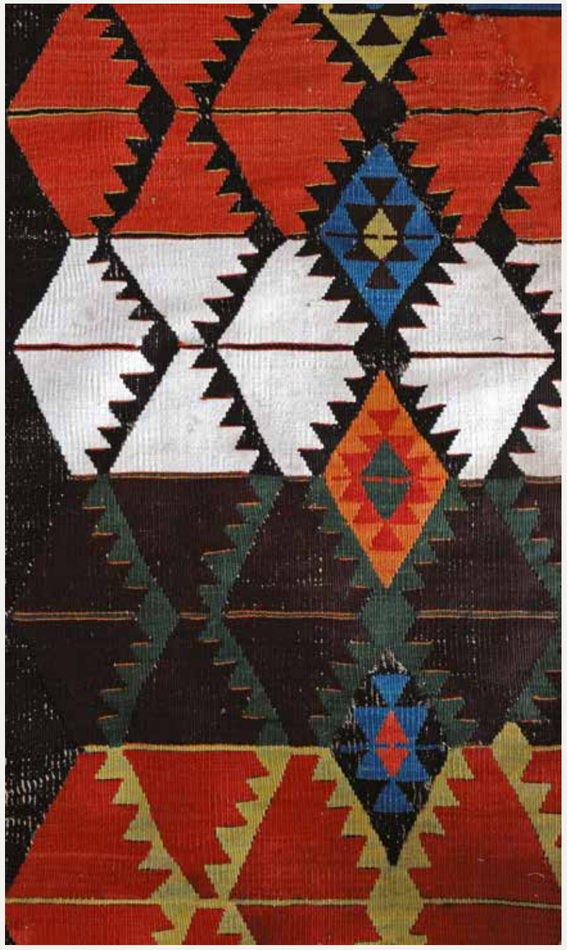

Fig.10

Fig.11

**Conclusion**

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

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



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

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

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

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

5 Landreau and Pickering 1969.

6 Black and Loveless 1977.

7 Petsopoulos 1979 and Petsopoulos 1991.

8 Balpınar and Hirsch 1982.

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

10 See, for example, Frauenknecht 1984.

11 Denny 1979, pp. 105-09.

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 Balpınar 1982, pp. 262-67.