Tying the Knot: The material culture of the Turkish hand-knotted carpet in England

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Abstract

Key words: Turkey; carpet; inclusion; Muslim; Islam; trade; object biography; material culture

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The Turkish hand-knotted carpet in the West has been described as an object of desire, its representation in art closely scrutinised by carpet scholars, and many books written about it for collectors and novices alike. It has rarely been examined, however, as a biographical object, or as an object that has been present in England for hundreds of years and, as such, has developed its own unique material culture. This research brings together its origins in Turkey and the background of the Ottoman Empire; the causes of its arrival in England and the lives of key players in its status as an object of desire. Research also brings the story into the 21st century through field-work at sites currently containing Turkish carpets, in order to develop an understanding and insight into how the carpet is used and perceived as a cultural object. The conclusions are drawn that the carpet is ideally placed to develop links between collections that need to expand their visitor types in terms of ethnic minorities, and those ethnic minority members who do not presently and have not traditionally frequented museums in the UK.

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Introduction

Introduction

Spooner described the hand-knotted carpet as representing the epitome of Western concern with alien things, especially utilitarian alien things (1986: 195). In art the oriental carpet is inextricably linked with early Renaissance works, and yet this presents a strange dichotomy, a Muslim interloper in a Catholic world placed beneath the feet of the Madonna and saints. There has been significant research into the appearance of Turkish carpets in Italian and Flemish paintings, for example Mills (1975); but little specifically on what the Turkish carpet's relationship was with England, and certainly in British art its relationship was different. Roman Catholicism was losing its long grip on the country, and the carpet's appearance is on the tables of intellectuals and philosophers and then under the feet of a defiant king.

Allane writes in his book on tribal rugs that at some point in their evolution all social groups had to make the decision "to adapt their way of life to suit the environment, or to adapt their environment to suit their way of life" (1996: 11). Generally, he suggests, social groups followed the line of least resistance and those living in densely forested or fertile regions adopted a sedentary, village life-style; whereas those living in semi-desert, tundra or grassland regions adopted a tribal, nomadic or semi-nomadic existence. The carpet was the invention of the nomad, easy to transport and store, and whatever their ornamentation, knot-count, value or significance now, a carpet's fundamental and earliest reason for *being* was to provide a soft surface to place on the ground to act as insulation from the cold or heat, or a thick wall hanging to form protection from the wind and dust. It is believed that early carpet-weaving nomadic communities stretched from North Africa, Turkey, Iran and the Middle East to the former Soviet Caucasus, Central Asian Republics, Afghanistan, Western Pakistan and Turkestan (Allane, 1996: 12). Typically, carpet-making flourished in either cold dry climates of the uplands and mountains, or in hot, dry semi-desert regions. Knotted, or specifically wool carpets did not evolve in the wetter, cooler climates of Northern Europe where

animal furs and reeds provided a more practical insulation; nor in the hot and humid conditions of the Amazonia and equatorial Africa (Allane, 1996: 16).

Allane states that it is almost impossible to pin-point exactly when or where the earliest carpets were made, or how they evolved. For the very reason that they were used until they wore out, carpets are ephemeral and only a few reasonably complete examples have survived from before the 16th century[1]. Mills is clear that pile or knotted carpets were known about in classical Greece and Rome and that Coptic rugs from the 5th century were produced using a looped-pile technique. In the 12th century the rugs of Chinchilla in Murcia were famous, a technology introduced by the Moors, and it is recorded that early Andalusian carpets came to England via Eleanor of Castile in 1255 (1983: 11). It is probable that in Central Asia, pile or knotted carpets were first made by nomadic Turkic or Mongol tribesmen living in East Turkestan or Mongolia. However, Erdmann (1960) is more specific, and through a process of geographical elimination narrows it down to a corridor between thirty and forty-five degrees North Latitude, and to Western Turkestan (1960: 16)[2], a region where there has been a long carpet-making tradition. This country was inhabited by Turkic tribes or Turkomen[3], and during the 6th and 7th centuries the Turkomen presided not only over an empire that stretched from Mongolia, through Siberia and Central Asia to the Black Sea, but also over the ancient caravan trail known as the Silk Road which traversed much of their territory (Hocquet, 2007: 39-40). Evidence that knotted carpets were certainly being used in the region of Southern Siberia emerged in 1947 with the excavation of a 5th to 4th century B.C. Scythian tomb in the Altai Mountains[4], in which was

[1] Early carpets dating from the mid-13th century have been identified in the Ala ad-din Mosque in Konya

[2] Western-Turkestan consists of today's Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

[3] Not to be confused with Turks who tended to be more specifically descendants of the Seljuks and Ottomans (Allane, 1996: 53)

[4] The Altai Mountains now form the borders between Russia, Siberia and Western Mongolia

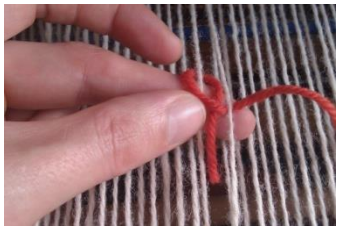
an almost intact and deep-frozen knotted carpet[5]. Other finds in nearby burial mounds have revealed Chinese mirrors and silk and woollen textiles from Iraq; evidence that the ancient Altai nomads profited from a rich trade and culture (The Hermitage Museum website: n.d).

Fig i) Detail of the Pazyryk carpet, circa 5th to 4th century BC; The Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg

The basis of weaving is the same the world over and, at its simplest level, involves wrapping a continuous length of tensioned yarn, the warp, backwards and forwards between two beams or loom. This process creates a double layer of warp threads, the top and bottom, and if the yarn is wrapped in a figure-of-eight, a central crossing point between the two beams can be created, allowing the top and bottom warps to alternate. On simple carpet-weaving looms the warp threads are manipulated by hand or with a pole. If the warps are alternately lifted and depressed and between each movement another continuous length of horizontal yarn or weft, is passed through the space between the two layers of warp, first from left to right and then at the next lift, from right to left, the weft becomes meshed into the warp and a piece of simple cloth is created. When the cloth is completed it is cut from the loom and the

[5] The Pazyrk Carpet is on display in the Early Nomads of the Altai Room at the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

warp threads left hanging at each end can be knotted to secure the wefts and create a fringe.



a) an asymmetrical knot

b) asymmetrical knots

c) weft row in place

d) knots woven in

e) beating comb

f) cropping the pile

g) a symmetrical knot

h) symmetrical knots

Fig ii a) to i): The author knotting, using a horizontal loom

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i) raised and lowered warps

By introducing knotting, the flat-woven cloth develops a *pile* [image f]. The pile on a knotted carpet is created during the weaving process, not after it, by tying a row of short pieces of coloured yarn around two adjacent warps so that each end protrudes to form a raised surface on the front of the carpet. A length of weft is then passed through the shed[6] [image c], and the row of knots and weft beaten with a weighted comb to compact them [image e]. At this point the warps are lifted or depressed [image i] and the process is repeated so that the knots become an integral part of the weaving process and impossible to extract [image d]. By using different colours and combinations of yarn, the design is created. Two main types of knot are used, the symmetrical [image g][7] and the asymmetrical [image a][8]. Some carpet experts, such as Allane (1996: 23) consider the asymmetrical knot to be more conducive to creating finer designs because it is less bulky. Spun wool is the traditional material for many carpets being durable, readily available and economic, in addition to possessing the necessary tensile strength and softness. It also contains lanolin making the finished carpets relatively resistant to dirt and moisture.

In Turkey, knotted carpets ranged from small rugs made by nomads on horizontal floor looms and village carpets made on simple up-right looms; through to larger carpets produced in urban and the Ottoman court workshops. The significance and meaning that the nomad would have placed on his or her carpet would be very different to the meaning of the carpet to the village weaver. Separated by commerce and demand were the carpets produced by the

[6] The gap created between the upper and lower warp threads

[7] This knot used to be called the Turkish or Ghiordes knot

[8] This knot used to be called the Persian or Senneh knot

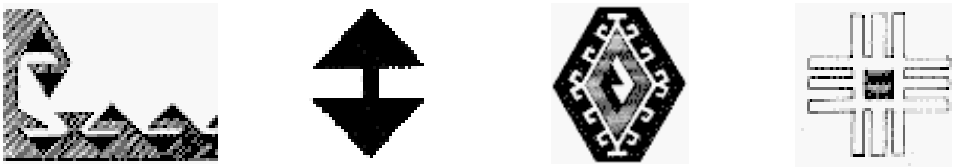
urban workshops, and again the royal carpets from the Ottoman courts. Islam, the dominant religion throughout Central Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and the Caucasus is, however, the theme which binds all carpets, certainly from the beginning of the Seljuk dynasty.

Saoud (2004: 2) describes Muslims as regarding carpets with esteem and admiration, with value being added by their inclusion in the Qur'an and he cites from Surah 88: 8-20 where the carpet is listed in the *furniture of Paradise* "Therein will be a bubbling spring, Therein will be Thrones [of dignity], raised on high, Goblets placed [ready], And cushions set in rows, And rich carpets [all] spread out". Within the mosque, the concept of Allah's infinite power is evoked by designs with repeating themes, pattern and geometry. In larger mosques the main carpet in the prayer hall is generally marked with regular, geometric patterns to guide the formation of prayer lines (Maqsood, 2008: 66). In village communities it was customary to present a carpet to the local mosque as a memorial to a deceased family member, or to the Mosque's school or *vakıf*[9]. Anderson, who was instrumental in the formation of the DOBAG[10] weaving cooperatives in Turkey during the 1980s describes the interior of a village mosque as "carpet history literally [lying] before you [...] carpets of all ages cover the entire floor, layered by generations of village weavers" (1998: 30). In nomadic communities, in the absence of a mosque, small prayer rugs decorated with abstract designs or depicting a mosque with a directional niche or *Mihrab* provided a clean place on the ground for prayer. The predisposition to non-pictorial designs in Turkish village carpets is often attributed to Muslim taboos of depicting human and animal forms. But many designs originate from long before Islam arrived in Turkey, and it is more probable that Islam simply reinforced the artistic bias for geometric shapes (Anderson, 1998: 33). Of

[9] A charitable foundation

[10] DOBAG, a Turkish acronym for Natural Dye Research and Development Project

equal relevance is the fact that flat-weaving cannot easily produce curvilinear designs and as knotted carpets are thought to derive from them, it is likely that many of the flat-weave's geometric patterns and simplified images were simply transferred. In essence, Turkish carpets are mongrels, an eclectic mix of religion and folk-lore interwoven from many different ethnic groups, with designs traversing the trading routes. For example, the motif for the *Dragon* and *Ying* and *Yang* are widely recognised throughout the Eastern world *(a)* and *(c)* below. Allane also writes that some weaving groups used goats hair as it was believed to act as a barrier against snakes (1996: 19); and yet in most Islamic countries the colour green is rarely used as it was the sacred colour of Mohammed's coat (Allane, 1996: 29).



a) Dragon b) Fertility c) Ying and Yang d) Evil Eye

Fig iii) a) to d): Early pagan symbols found in Turkish carpets

In North Africa and Asia women were, and where carpet-weaving continues, still are an essential part of the carpet's production and use. Traditionally young girls were taught from childhood, learning to weave a tribal repertoire from memory and their weaving skills were an important part of their eligibility. The carpet also formed a significant part of a dowry and traditionally a village bride-to-be made two prayer carpets; one to give to her father-in-law and the other to place over the saddle of the horse that would take her to the groom's house. In their paper, Ger and Csaba (2000: 5) describe the

evolution of this tradition with the bride now spreading this second carpet in the front of the car that will transport her.

Allane describes the women weaver's role as both artisan and artist, not only providing functional artefacts but also preserving the tribe's history, culture and religious beliefs (1996: 14). This is because in such societies craftsmen reproduce the objects and images that reflect the *common* heritage of the tribe rather than, as in the west, striving for personal expressions, Anderson describing this as "the grammar of a visual language shared by all village carpets" (1998: 31). For nomadic communities carpets represented emotional security by "domesticating" the ground on which they were spread and providing a surface for the family meal, which Spooner suggested symbolised the unity and integrity of the family (1986: 210). As they were eminently storable, carpets also represented physical security; a "nest-egg" or insurance against unexpected hardship.

Carpets produced in the Ottoman court workshops did not necessarily hold these same meanings[11] and it is important to make clear this distinction. Along with the Safavids in Persia, the Mamelukes in Egypt; the Moghuls in India and the Kublai Khan in China, the Ottomans established great court work-shops[12] that were to produce extraordinarily lavish and sophisticated carpets and textiles for use within the courts and as diplomatic gifts for visiting dignitaries and heads of state. Often woven with silk and gold threads or embellished with pearls and precious gems, they bore little resemblance or relationship to the village or nomadic carpets.

[11] Although they were producing Prayer-style carpets (see Fig iv a)

[12] In Turkey, Sultan Abdulmecid established the Hereke Imperial Factory near Istanbul as late as 1843 to produce carpets and other textiles exclusively for the Ottoman court.

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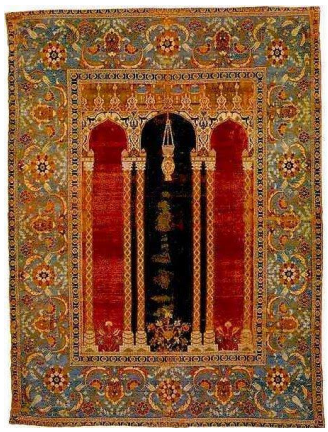

a) An Ottoman Court Carpet woven c. 1580; Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig iv)

b) A regional carpet from the major carpet-producing region of Smyrna (Izmır); 16th century; Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art

c) A small 18th century carpet from the region of Canakkale; Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art

In the second half of the 15th century carpet designs radically changed in Persia. Rejecting earlier geometrical forms, they turned to the masters of book illumination and miniaturists who were commissioned to draw up new designs based on the curvilinear forms of vine blossoms and arabesque leaves (Erdmann, 1960: 31). By the late 15th century this *Carpet Design Revolution* had arrived in Ushak, in Turkey. Expansionist Ottoman policy also led to the capture of the Persian carpet-making city of Tabriz in 1514 and Cairo in 1517, and both dates are important in the history of the Turkish carpet. Many of Tabriz's weavers were subsequently deported to Istanbul, and with the subjugation of Cairo the Ottomans became masters of the most important carpet manufactories of the Middle East (Erdmann, 1960: 47), and by the 16th century Ottoman carpets were heavily influenced by Persian designs such as star medallions and prayer niches.

The urban carpet-weaving workshops in Turkey were most susceptible to commercial influences and external market forces, and many of their carpets were to end their journeys in the households of Europe. As early as the 1580s

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European and English merchants were establishing factories and sending agents out to Turkey[13]. G.P. and J. Baker Ltd, manufacturers and dealers in Oriental carpets had outlets in Istanbul and London during the 19th century [14], and in 1886 they published a carpet catalogue describing the weaving process in Turkey, excerpts of which have been transcribed by Wynn in his history of the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers Company:

> Weaving mostly takes place in open "lean-tos" attached to the house [...] a miserable shelter indeed which only serves to throw off the rain, but offers no protection against the intense cold of these regions in winter [...] At the foot of the loom the weavers sit cross-legged facing the warps, sometimes as many as ten in a row, each working two feet of carpet [...] The weaving is done by women and girls who are under the control of an aged chaperone. Each woman is veiled and, in some cases, babies will be seen asleep on a small mattress behind them. Children commence to learn at about five or six years of age, when they are put to binding the edges of the carpets. Men, as a rule, have little to do with the actual manufacture, but they will negotiate the price of making, collect the dyed yarns, supervise the carpet while it is being woven, receive weekly advances on work in hand, keep the women up to working hours, and finally deliver the carpet and receive any balance of money owing (2008: 22).

Described by the art historian Boase (1953: 191) as "the world's great mart", Istanbul lay at the end of a vast chain of trade. Through centuries of expansion the Ottoman Empire had gained control over the great highway of the trading world - the Silk Road, culminating at the Eastern end in China and India. Although a Turkish empire of sorts was already established in the 6th century A.D, it was the Seljuks[15] who came to the fore and during the 11th century they expanded their empire, which embraced much of Iran and Iraq, by pushing

[13] For example, the Levant or Turkey Company founded in England in 1581

[14] Founded in 1884 by brothers George Percival and James Baker, G P & J Baker is still in existence today and owns one of the largest private textile archives in the world.

[15] Nomads from Turkmenistan who had converted to Sunni Muslims

westward into Anatolia. Throughout the 12th century the Seljuks continued to consolidate their hold on Asia Minor and by the first half of the 13th century they had reached their height, a time of great cultural and commercial activity (Mills, 1975: 6). In their principle city of Konya they established an early and important carpet industry which in 1271 Marco Polo, the Venetian merchant, described as "some of the finest and most beautiful in the world" (Erdman, 1960: 17). The Seljuk Sultanate ruled in Anatolia until the 13th century when they became Mongol vassals, and during their demise Anatolia was divided into a patchwork of independent states, the *beyliks*. One of these *beyliks* was ruled by Sultan Osman, who in late 13th century at a time when other *beyliks* were engaged in inter-tribal skirmishes, expanded his territories into north-western Anatolia. During the century following his death, Ottoman[16] rule pushed into the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkans, and by 1453 Sultan Mehmet II had advanced West conquering Constantinople, so bringing to an end the Roman Byzantine Empire.

By its height in the mid-16th century, the Ottoman Empire covered most of North Africa and stretched into Europe as far as the gates of Vienna and East to Yemen and the Persian Gulf. Yet, by the end of the 17th century the empire was in decline and European nations engaged in a power struggle to safeguard their military, strategic and commercial interests in the Ottoman domains. The *Eastern Question* was frequently discussed during the late 18th century; the problem of what to do about the weakening Ottoman Empire, and in 1853 Tsar Nicholas I of Russia infamously said to the British envoy in St. Petersburg: "We have on our hands a sick man, a very sick man. It will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if, one of these days, he should slip away from us before all necessary arrangements were made" (Atlı , 2009). In hindsight his words were not prophetic but a timely warning. As the Ottoman Empire

[16] The Ottomans was the name given to the descendants of Sultan Osman

melted down Russia invaded Moldavia and Walachia and the Crimea War erupted in 1853. Yet later the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 broke out which were to culminate in World War I, a disastrous war for Turkey, and following her defeat what remained of her empire was carved up by the Allies. Greece, having first been promised Smyrna and its regions, were then told they did not have it, so they invaded and captured the city in 1919, and in 1921 sacked and destroyed the carpet weaving town of Gőrdes. The Greek invasion unleashed the forces of Turkish Nationalism, and Atatũrk led the War of Independence from 1920 to 1923 and the ultimate overthrow of the Ottoman regime. During 1922 the city of Smyrna was sacked and it burned for four days, destroying the hundreds of historic carpet warehouses and merchants houses along the quays. Atatũrk began his programme of modernisation to turn Turkey into a contemporary European state.

Understanding and knowledge of the existence of Turkish carpets in England before the mid-15th century is limited. Few carpets survive,[17] few records survive and early images of interiors or people in interiors are rare. Port Records from the mid-15th century provide evidence of carpets arriving via Venice, but it is not until the 16th century when inventory and will-taking became more regulated that the Turkish carpet becomes a confirmed part of households. Interpretation of these records can be hampered not just by the lack of standardised spelling, but by the record-keepers' interpretation of what the carpet was. The word *carpet* has had a number of spellings; in Medieval Latin, often the preferred language of formal documents, *carpita* or *carpeta* were both used, although this could also refer to a type of thick cloth or a garment made from that cloth. By Middle English *carpete* was being used indiscriminately with *carpette*, although this could also refer to a thick cloth commonly of wool, used to cover tables and beds (Oxford English Dictionary:

[17] For example, the carpet collection of the Victoria & Albert Museum has only four carpets from this period dating from 1450 to 1500.

1998). Not until the 16th century had the word and meaning become standardised as *carpyte*. There is no doubt, however, when in the early 16th century the Turkish carpet makes its first appearance in English portraiture. Carpet identification in art is a popular, if not over exploited area of research, with a number of websites and blogs on the internet devoted to it[18], in addition to a few published works (Mills, 1975 and King and Sylvester, 1983). However, in the process of identifying the finest example of a *Ushak Star* carpet, other important questions about the work are being overlooked. It is not necessarily the *type* of Turkish carpet that is important, but what the three-way relationship is telling the viewer in each of these images – the ménage a trois of the subject of the portrait; their carpet and the artist.

Mills (1975) ends his survey of carpets in paintings at the National Gallery in London with Ter Borch's *A Woman playing a Theorbo to two Men*[19] dated between 1617 and 1681. He argues that later carpets were not only of increasingly inferior quality, but their images in paintings became much less frequent and more poorly depicted. There is no disputing that this is the case on both points, in fact they are one inseparable point. However, Turkish carpets didn't simply disappear, and whatever decision Western experts made about their *quality*, they continued and continue today to have a story and a place within society. Certainly the portraits of *high* English art moved away from full-length, minutely detailed images, towards classical compositions with representations of grand landscapes in the background. But look carefully and Turkish carpets are still there appearing, for example, in numerous *Conversation Pieces* in the 1700s, or in the naïve works produced as a result of the growing portrait market; darkened paintings now hanging in many country houses. The fact that they are appearing in the homes of the less wealthy or in

[18] For example: Tea and Carpets; Turkotek; the Carpet Index on Circa 1440 blog and Wikipedia has an entry for Oriental Carpets in Renaissance Painting

[19] National Gallery of London; Catalogue No: NG 864

the portraits of the less wealthy, or that in the late 1700s we have the first depictions of fitted carpets is of equal importance in the biography and social life of the Turkish carpet.

Spooner suggests that the increasingly complex nature of our society generates a need for *authenticity* and that the oriental carpet serves this need (1986: 200). Their history can only be understood by understanding our own history, and through their evolution and production we can read about the history of a relationship between East and West. He describes carpets as being a "primary document"; as "literature" (1986: 231). The subject because of its complex nature is enormous and as such, research needs to be contained. Chapter two will trace the Turkish carpet's early arrival and its significance in medieval England, along with the role of the Venetians and trade, and chapter three will concentrate on a specific period between 1527 and 1547 when the carpet appeared on the table tops of intellectuals and philosophers and under the feet of a defiant monarch.

Chapter One:

Research Frame-work and Literature Review

Chapter One: Research framework and literature review

The Turkish hand-knotted carpet, over other types of oriental carpet, was identified as an area for research for the following reasons:

a) the Turkish carpet has a long and established provenance of being a part of the material culture of England, even more so than the Persian carpet;
b) hand-knotting is a laborious and expensive process and knotted carpets have always taken precedence over kilims or flat-weaves in terms of collectability and desirability;
c) Turkey is on the cusp of the Eastern and Western world and has a long trading relationship with Venice and Europe.

Research aims to explore the relationship between the Turkish carpet, and the English culture into which it arrived, and to examine how the heritage and culture of the carpet could be interpreted, updated and potentially cultivated to explore issues of culture and identity, particularly in relation to Muslim communities. Can Turkish carpets, for example, now housed in collections be useful today as a means for such heritage institutions to develop programmes of cultural awareness, increase interaction with collections and attract a wider range of visitors? Research was designed around two main questions:

1. Where does the Turkish knotted carpet sit in the culture of contemporary British Society?
    a) Historically, what has been its status and practical use in Britain?
    b) What were the factors that influenced the arrival of the carpet in Britain?
    c) Where are the carpets now, and how are they used and interpreted?

2. Who could use this research and benefit from it – identifying potential groups?
    a) Heritage centres with carpets
    b) Local communities to increase cultural awareness and tolerance.

Research has been interdisciplinary, divided between the Institute of Arab & Islamic Studies and the Material Culture programme in the Department of Archaeology. Spooner wrote in 1983 that the study of oriental carpets was difficult to define in intellectual terms, and because of its complex nature it was decided to use multi-sited ethnography; the physical sites being National Trust properties, collectors and dealers of carpets and the intellectual sites being web-site, online catalogues and blogs. Marcus (1995) in his review of the use of multi-sited ethnography described it as the adaptation of long-standing modes of ethnographic practices to more complex objects of study, with ethnography moving from its conventional single-site location to multiple sites of observation. He felt the approach could be useful for interdisciplinary research, and in the case of this research it has allowed the carpet to be employed as a "task-scape"[20] to follow its journey using a number of disciplines such as museology, material culture, ethnography, art history, sociology and Islamic studies.

[20] 2 A term attributed to Ingold, first used in his 1993 paper: "The Temporality of the Landscape", *World Archaeology*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 24-174.

Chapter One: Research framework and literature review

Research has been divided into two areas, the first concentrating on background and historical research with the main sources of documentary and artistic evidence used (in date order):-

1250 to 1950:	National Gallery of London online catalogue	1484 to 1533:	Bedfordshire Wills
1387 to 1454:	Early English Wills	1400 to 2010:	The National Portrait Gallery online catalogue
1400 to 1998:	Turkish Handwoven Carpet Project online catalogue	1509 to 1510:	The Port Book of Southampton
1435 to 1436:	The Local Port Book of Southampton	1520 to 1526:	Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice
1439 to 1440:	The Local Port Books of Southampton	1527 to 1528:	The Brokage Books of Southampton
1447 to 1448:	The Southampton Brokage Book	1537 to 1786:	The inventories of Worcestershire landed gentry
1448 to 1449:	The Southampton Port and Brokage Books	1547:	The Inventory of Henry VIII
1450 to 1994:	Victoria & Albert Museum Carpet Collection	1559 to 1604:	The accounts of the “Arras Men”
1469 to 1471:	The Port Book or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton	1567 to 1568:	London Port Book
1477 to 1481:	The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton	1570 to 1875:	Kenwood House Online catalogue
1477 to 1478:	The Brokage Books of Southampton	1639 to 1699:	Devon Wills

1480 to 1481:	Exchequer Customs Accounts for the Port of London

Particular emphasis has been placed on early records because this is an area of consistent academic vagueness, with a number of works on oriental carpets referring to the crusaders as the earliest importers into England. For example, Erdmann states that the first oriental rugs must have reached Europe during the 13th century (1960: 11); Jacobs that carpets were brought here by crusaders (1968: 5) and Saoud writes that the European fascination with Muslim textile products went back to the Middle Ages when contacts with the Muslim world was made during the Crusades (2004: 8). However, none of these authors provide cited evidence for this theory.

Academics are the first to admit that a dearth of detailed documentation hampers understanding of the early phase in the carpets' arrival in the west. "There are scant and ambiguous references to the commercial trade in carpets in these pre-1500 inventories, leading to a highly problematic reading of the historical data so that they fit the existing theories" (Quinn and Ruddock, 1938: p.vi). The survival of port records and brokage books are spasmodic and can

only be taken as a snap shot of a particular year, and not as a trend. A number were written in Latin or Anglo Norman, and without a sound knowledge of these languages only those that have been translated, transcribed and published are accessible. From 1439 to 1483 Port Records are brief and the nationality of vessels is scarcely mentioned. Identification of cargos is, therefore, often a matter of conjecture and relies in the absence of evidence from other sources, on tenuous identification of the origins of other items in the consignment or by their value. Generally, the reliability of information contained in all inventories and accounts is reliant on the knowledge of the record keeper.

With brokage and port books, whose clerks were dealing with imports and exports on a daily basis, it may be assumed that the entries, if brief, were reasonably accurate. Likewise, the Arras Men working in the royal palaces were professional restorers and would have known the materials of their trade. However, the inventories of the Worcester landed gentry, for example, were not compiled by professionals but by the deceased's neighbours or creditors[21]. The editor of these records comments that a degree of common-sense is required to judge whether the appraisers of the gentry's possessions had the experience or the expertise to make anything other than intelligent guesses as to the value of luxury furnishings, as they appear in most cases to have been drawn from the local farming community and were unlikely to have had such goods in their own possession (Wanklyn, 1998: p.xiv-xv).

Although surveying the collections of English portraiture in the major British galleries has provided clear visual evidence of the presence of Turkish carpets; it is important to recognise the element of *artistic licence*; were the carpets introduced on the recommendations of the artist because he felt they added a richness to the composition; were they owned by the artist or by the sitter? Who could afford to commission an artist at a time when art was still scarce? What were the motives of the artist and the motives of the sitter? To

paraphrase Mitchell (1996) who argues the need to move away from pure art history and towards questions of process and affect, "What does the picture want?" Portraits, as well as carpets, have their own material culture, producing a double layer of veiled meaning.

[21] As a result of a 1529 statute which required executors to provide specific details of goods and chattels of recently deceased.

Chapter One: Research framework and literature review

Three key works have formed the frame-work for this research, each examining the oriental or Turkish carpet from a different perspective. It is perhaps telling that none of the authors are *declared* carpet collectors or experts.

Spooner (1986) suggests that despite the large amount of commercially available literature on the oriental carpet, it is still a field requiring research, and that this research could be approached from a number of academic disciplines "each of whom would approach [the questions] from a different point of view that might illuminate a new aspect of how the appreciation of oriental carpets among us today has developed" (1986: 201). His own research, referring mainly to the Persian carpet, examines the place of authenticity in the value of the carpet, and where the edges become blurred into folk-lore and collector's esoteric language. His work was published in *The Social Life of Things* (Appaduri, 1986) a book that is described as bridging "the disciplines of social history, cultural anthropology and economics".

Carrier (2008) approaches the carpet from the perspective of an art historian; his is a work of philosophical musing in which he sits in his study and contemplates the oriental carpet beneath his feet, referring to the writings of Oleg Grabar. He argues that there should be a difference between the language of ornament and the language of fine art; fine art makes conceptual demands, whereas he feels carpets should not. Fundamentally, he is coming from the same view-point as Spooner. They both recognise the need to remove the cloaks of mysticism shrouding the essence of the carpet, and often put in place by generations of dealers to increase its desirability.

On the other hand Ger and Csaba (2000) approach the Turkish carpet from the perspective of marketing and the modern phenomenon of branding, which they

describe as the outcome of mass production and consumerism. They examine the carpet industry's attempts to "brand" authenticity.

In order to verify the originality of research, a review of PhD theses was completed in 2010[22]. Commercially published literature on oriental or Turkish carpets tends to be a mixture of "trade lore" and "mysticism" with many hundreds of reference books having been written. On only a few occasions have carpets been the focus of more scholarly research, for example, Spooner's research as a subject of economic anthropology (1986). Spooner identifies over a thousand published books on the subject, which he described as being primarily concerned with identification and classification in the West: "insofar as it is systematic, this literature is based on the comparison of forms and motifs from different cultural traditions, with little or no reference to their social context" (1986: 210).

What has become evident is that no research was identified that brings the story of the Turkish carpet into the 21st century, or to explore its "working" potential as a utilitarian object to link into key issues such as community, heritage and relations between the Muslim world and the UK. Works on the Turkish carpet frequently refer to the fact that it is inextricably linked with international relations, trade, colonialism and empires, connoisseurship and wealth. What is rarely investigated is its role in ethnography, transmission, interpretation and cultural pride and its specific place in England.

[22] Attached as Appendix ii)

Chapter Two:
Early carpets
1100 to 1509

Chapter Two: Early carpets 1100 to 1509

The aim of this chapter is to chart the arrival of the Turkish carpet in a rapidly changing Medieval England, and to examine how they were being used and valued. Sources include early wills from 1387 to 1439 and Port and Brokage Books from 1434 to 1568 and art.

England was emerging from the status of a conquered land which had also been racked by natural disasters such as the Great Famine of 1315 to 1317 and the Black Death of 1348 to 1350; by international conflict in the form of The Hundred Years War with France[23] and internal civil war. The ancient social system of Feudalism was collapsing and feudal lords were attempting to hold onto and expand their territories against a new class of tenant-farmers who were emerging with the freedom to market their own goods, purchase their own land or move to towns. The country was self-sufficient in cereals, dairy and meat products and its international economy based on the production and export of wool to the textile cities of Flanders. Defeats in France during the Hundred Years War had resulted in the losses of these vital wool markets and England began to establish its own textile industry, providing a further basis for rapid capital accumulation.

Centuries of unrest had meant that English society, particularly the nobility and royalty, were still relatively nomadic. This was illustrated by the fact that during the 11th century, government had no permanent seat, convening wherever the king happened to be with his royal seal. It was not until 1245 that the first mention is made of a royal throne at Westminster, which symbolised the King's continuous presence at the ceremonial heart of the palace. As late as the 16th century royalty and noblemen were on the move and personal comforts and valued items remained those that could be easily transported or easily transferred into money; for example tapestries, cushions, clothing,

[23] The Hundred Years War (1337 to 1453) erupted over protection of the wool trade with Flanders

plate[24] or carpets[25]. As such, furnishings in the palaces were few, and Boase suggests that the accessories in Henry II's palaces[26] were probably scant: "ornament consisted in carving, ironwork on the doors; tapestries, embroideries and wall-paintings" (1953: 196). However, the interiors would not have been bleak. During the reign of Edward III[27] the ceiling in St Stephen's Chapel at the Palace of Westminster was described as painted blue with gilded stars and "the whole of the building was ablaze with colour [...] hardly an inch of stonework was not painted or heavily gilded" (House of Commons, 2010).

Quinn and Ruddock argue that it was contact with Italian cities in the 11th and 12th centuries that encouraged Europe to leave behind agricultural feudalism and turn instead towards trade (1938: i) and Venice, in particular, played a major role in opening the Mediterranean economy to Western Europe. In terms of trade, Venice was strategically placed at the convergence of two great trading arteries; the overland route through the Brenner Pass to Austria and Germany, and the Adriatic Sea leading to the Mediterranean (Howard, 2007: 64). As the remains of Roman Byzantium gradually gave way to Islamic caliphates from the 8th century onward, the Venetians came into increasing contact with Muslims along with their ideas, culture and way of life, and the city became Christian Europe's most important interface with the Muslim civilisations of the Near East (Carboni, Kennedy and Marwell, 2007). By the time that the Seljuks reached their zenith in Anatolia during the first half of the 13th century, trade routes across Anatolia were being constantly traversed by merchants and caravans, and both Genoa and Venice had negotiated protecting concessions with them[28] (Mills, 1975, 6). With the defeat of the Moroccan

[24] Precious beaten metals such as silver dishes

[25] Early wills from this period illustrate that affluent members of society were most likely to leave hangings, bedding, gowns, silver cups and spoons and cushions (Furnivall, 1964)

[26] Henry II, reigned 1154-1189

[27] Edward III, reigned 1327 to 1377

[28] For example Venetians were granted exclusive rights in 1220 to trade from Alanya

fleet by the Genoese in 1291, trade from the Mediterranean was opened up westward to the Atlantic, England and Bruges through the Straits of Gibraltar (Quinn and Ruddock, 1938: i). Eastward, Venetian navigation took place within a triangle, the *Stato da Mar*, bordered by Byzantium, the Levantine ports and calling-places along the Syro-Palestine coast and by the great Egyptian port of Alexandria. Their borders were in constant dispute with their Ottoman neighbours, but they feared and largely avoided direct confrontation with the Ottomans, maintaining a mutually beneficial commercial, cultural and artistic relationship.

The Italian merchants and more specifically Venetian merchants were, therefore, the first catalyst for the arrival of Turkish carpets in England from the 13th to the early 16th century. The second catalyst was the port town of Southampton. Italian merchants and bankers had long established privileged colonies in London and Bruges; they had business acumen, organisation and wealth and monopolised much of English commerce. In 1379 an act of parliament was passed allowing Italian merchants to export wool and other staples direct from Southampton without having to pass through Calais[29] and Southampton become the North-West European centre for trade with the Mediterranean (Quinn and Ruddock, 1938: xvii). The Italians favoured it as a port because of its long, sheltered harbour and it was also one of the principle towns of the wool trade, with access to the wool-producing districts of Southern England[30] (Ruddock, 1946: 2). Although the new rising merchant classes of London became increasingly resentful of the Italian's foothold, culminated in riots in 1455 and 1456 (Quinn and Ruddock, 1938: ii) in Southampton they continued to be welcomed and the Port Books of the town

[29] Wool was described as a "staple", a taxable export; Calais was the sole staple port of England and had complete monopoly over the English wool trade and the collection of taxes

[30] The River Itchen was navigable and provided an important trading route between Southampton and Winchester

clearly illustrate this close trading relationship. The *Liber Alienigenus*[31] recorded that Genoese and Venetian vessels were frequently docking at the port, with nineteen Genoese carracks arriving in 1428 and ten Venetian carracks and four galleys in 1435 (Harwood, 2008). The galleys and carracks had a well-defined route. Having discharged their eastern wares at Southampton, they reloaded with English produce, mainly wool and tin, before sailing for Bruges. A few months later, homeward-bound, they dropped anchor once more in Southampton with a variety of goods from the Low Countries (Ruddock, 1951: 77). Three or four times each year the arrival of the galley fleets at Southampton drew merchants from the Italian colonies in the capital who came to collect their cargo in person and accompany it back to the capital (Ruddock, 1951: 98). This was because, James suggests, despite the importance of Southampton as a destination for Italian trade, few luxury goods were off-loaded there and most were bound for the Port of London and the London market (1990: xi). This is supported by the numerous entries in the Port Books annotated with "Maundz cest marchaundises a londres" (Ruddock, 1951: 87).

The Port Books of Southampton span over 100 years and provide evidence of the variety of goods being consumed in England: barrels of porpoises, beans, coal, seasonal fish and eels[32], malt, hops, wine, beer, wool, canvas, tin and slate were being transported around the coast or coming across the channel. They also illustrate the beginnings of an upper-class society who had more leisure time and a desire for learning. Just before Christmas 1480 cases of books were unloaded from the boat of *Jelot of Humflew*, and a consignment of tennis balls arrived on the boat of *John Jacobsson* (Harwood, 2008: 148).

[31] The Port Records were divided into two books, the *Liber Communis* covering local shipping and shipping from the Low Countries, and the *Liber Alienigenus* covering Mediterranean trade.

[32] Imports in fish and eels reached their peak just before Lent, along with almonds which were used as a protein supplement.

Chapter Two: Early carpets 1100 to 1509

England was renowned for its fine wool, growing cloth industry and also its needlework and skilful seamstresses; a craft that during the 13th century she raised to the level of a major art. It was also, according to Desiderius Erasmus[33], renowned for its damp living conditions and sub-standard flooring:

> The doors [sic][34] are, in general, laid with white clay, and are covered with rushes, occasionally renewed, but so imperfectly that the bottom layer is left undisturbed, sometimes for twenty years, harbouring expectoration, vomiting, the leakage of dogs and men, ale droppings, scraps of fish, and other abominations not fit to be mentioned. Whenever the weather changes a vapour is exhaled, which I consider very detrimental to health. I may add that England is not only everywhere surrounded by sea, but is, in many places, swampy and marshy, intersected by salt rivers ... (Mynors and Dalzell, 1992: 471)

The rushes that Erasmus referred to were probably rush mats, and despite his reservations they were plentiful, sustainable, local and easily renewable. They were also eminently suited for their purpose of creating a barrier against damp as rushes, like reeds, grow in wet conditions and are naturally high in silicon[35].

Upper floor, compartmentalised living accommodation was still relatively scarce, with communal living in the great halls, even for the affluent, still a way of life. Woollen mats or carpets would simply have rotted. Evidence in art of the furnishings in early interiors is spars, but two images, both from illuminated manuscripts, clearly show the floors and certainly in neither are there any evidence of Turkish carpets (see Figs. v and vi) below.

[33] Lived 1466 to 1536

[34] Almost certainly meant to read as "floors"

[35] Information on content of reeds from: http://www.hiss-reet.com/knowledge/water-reed-properties.html

Fig v) The coronation of King Edward IV at Westminster Abbey (1461); from a detail in "Chroniques d'Angleterre" by Jean de Wavrin

Fig vi) Edward IV being presented with a copy of Caxton's book (1477); from "The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers"

As such, establishing how the first Turkish carpets arrived in England is not easy. Trade with Italy leaves no doubt that larger and more valuable carpets must have come in by sea, but smaller carpets may well have been transported over-land by caravan (Mills, 1975: 16). These huge, amorphous conglomerations of moving people and pack animals could be as large as 20,000 and were to all intents and purposes travelling cities. The three main caravan routes were the Russian Isthmus, the Maghred Isthmus and the Hanseatic Isthmus. The Hanseatic Isthmus route passed through England, having originated from Istanbul and then on to Bucharest, Cracow, Breslau, Leipzig or Prague, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Antwerp and to London. From London, the traders then moved on to Kings Lynn, Hull, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Oslo and then either to Dansig and Riga or to Stockholm, Reval, Novrogod, Smolensk, Kiev, Odessa and back to Bucharest and Istanbul (The Ottoman Traders Guild, 2009). City records for the town of Kronstadt[36], in the area then known as Transylvania, record regular trade between the city and the

[36] Now Brasov in Romania.

orient, with over 500 carpets imported between January and November 1503 (Mills, 1975: 17).

The earliest evidence of the arrival of carpets in England from the Mediterranean for the purposes of this research, have been found in the Southampton Brokage Book[37] for 1447 to 1448. In March 1448 a cart left Southampton Docks driven by John Langlonde bound for London with a consignment for Iuge Catan[38] consisting of cotton, cloth and one "caprett" [sic] (Harwood, 2008: 124-125).

Carpets appear again in the Port Books for Southampton (Ruddock and Quinn, 1938: 195). On 12th February 1481 a fleet of three Venetian State Galleys docked at Galley Quay[39]. The Patron of the first galley was Petrus Surans carrying an exotic cargo of crystal goblets, oil, Spanish raisins, dates, soap, water-rat skins, almonds, wax, silk, wine, brasil-wood, salt-petre and alum, in addition to three carpets. Surans then departed for Flanders, returning to Southampton on 26th September 1481 with a typically Flemish cargo of linen, painted cloth[40], lace, knives, lanterns, canvas and another two carpets (ibid: 195). The second State Galley's Patron is Alowisus George who unloaded an equally exotic cargo (ibid: 192). As with his colleague, he also departed from Southampton some three months later for Flanders, returning on 26th

[37] The Brokage Books recorded the customs charged for loads leaving the port by road

[38] Iuge Catan [sic] was an Italian merchant; his family, the Cattaneos were Genoese resident in London. Iuge was one of four brothers working as merchants, the others being Edwardo, Frank and Gregorii (Lewis, 1993: xii).

[39] Venetian galleys were state-owned, but leased by the Senate to a Patron or Commander through an auction process to the highest bidder. The Commander, usually a Venetian nobleman was then responsible for recruiting and paying the necessary officers and crew, as well as following any instructions the Senate may have for the voyage. Although galleys were used for passengers, high value cargo and naval duties, they were also required to act as public carriers, accepting goods from other merchants if there was spare capacity, permitting smaller traders with limited capital to participate in international trade.

[40] This was becoming popular for floors and walls as a cheaper alternative to murals and carpets.

September with a Flemish cargo plus items such as pepper and mace and eighty carpets (ibid: 197). The third Venetian State Galley, whose patron was Bernardus Bondym, unloaded a cargo of succade, camlet, crystal bowls and cups, wax, silk, wine and eighty carpets (ibid: 195), before sailing on for London. His arrival is logged on 14th June 1481 in the London Petty Customs Accounts (Cobb, 1980). It was the only State Galley to arrive in the port during the year of the records, and with a total value of £6,000 the vast and luxurious cargo must have taken days to record[41]. The galley was laden with barrels of soap, pepper, oil and lemons; bales of silk, sacks of sea sponges, crates of glassware, frankincense and raisins of Corinth, along with four apes and a griffin's egg[42]. In addition, there was a huge consignment of 305 carpets. The impact of the cargo and the sheer colours and smells as they were unloaded at the dock-side must have been overwhelming to Medieval London.

The story of what happened to the 305 carpets; where their epic journey across two continents ended, or who became their eventual owners closes at the port side, but it is likely that they were destined for the home of an English nobleman or the palace of a high ecclesiastic or sovereign. Ruddock writes that throughout the Middle Ages there was a growing demand amongst the wealthy for Eastern perfumes, jewels and luxury materials such as silks and carpets, which the Italian merchants alone could satisfy (1951: 72). Such imports were part of a growing industrial nation; articles needed by a society developing cash exchange and building up a class with fluid capital.

[41] A breakdown of the cargo of the Venetian state galley is attached as Appendix iii)

[42] Actually an ostrich egg; in Medieval England the griffin was traditionally considered the king of the beasts and the eagle was the king of the birds; as such the griffin was thought to be an especially powerful and majestic creature capable of guarding treasure and priceless possessions. Griffins' eggs were highly prized at court.

Origin	Port unloaded	Date	Quantity	Total Value			Unit value			Equivalent unit value in 2005	
				£	s	d	£	s	d	£	p
Italy, via Flanders	Southampton	1477	4 carpets		13	4		3	-	72	0
Italy, via Flanders	Southampton	1481	1 carpet		13	4		13	4	320	0
Venice	Southampton	1481	3 carpets	1	-	-		6	8	160	0
Venice, via Flanders	Southampton	1481	2 carpets	1	-	-		10	-	240	0
Venice, via Flanders	Southampton	1481	80 carpets		10	-			1	2	0
Venice	Southampton	1481	80 carpets	40	-	-		10	-	240	0
Venice, via Southampton	London	1481	60 carpets	40	-	-		13	-	312	0
Venice, via Southampton	London	1481	16 carpets	10	13	4		13	-	312	0
Venice, via Southampton	London	1481	12 carpets	8	-	-		13	-	312	0
Flanders	London	1567	6 doz Ghentish carpets	9	-	-		2	6	25	0
Italy	Southampton	1470	25 yards of cloth of gold of crimson	50	-	-	2	-	-	972	0

Table i) Break-down of values of carpets entering England between 1477 and 1567 with suggested comparative values as at 2005

The true worth of these early carpets is hard to judge. *Table i)* above has been created using information from the port books and conversion charts provided on the National Archives website[43]. This is not intended as a statistical exercise or accurate analysis, but simply to provide a sense of worth[44]. On the 1481 Venetian galley returning to Southampton from Flanders eighty carpets were unloaded with a total value of 10/-. It appears that these are cheap; basic, utilitarian carpets; perhaps today's equivalent of £2 each. Again, nearly 100 years later in 1567, a more detailed described of *6 doz Ghentish carpets* arrived in London direct from Flanders valued at 2/6; by then the shilling had

[43] The National Archives Currency Convertor converts values into equivalent 2005 rates. Values were taken for 1500 when 1d = £2.03; 1/- = £24.31 and £1 = £486; and for 1550 when 1d = 0.84p; 1/- = £10.03 and £1 = £200.57.

[44] The 1481 Venetian State Galley cargo consisted of many small consignments each accompanied by their merchant. As valuations were by consignment it is hard to identify the values of individual items. However, there are two consignments that consist of just carpets, one belonging to Paul Fustaryno consisting of sixty carpets valued at £40, making each carpet 13/- and another belonging to Laurence Lorydan consisting of sixteen carpets valued at £10.13.4 making each carpet 13/-. In addition there is a consignments that consisted of only two types of goods, twelve carpets and two barrels of oil valued at £9.6.8. Because a single barrel of oil on the galley was consistently valued at 13/4, it is possible to calculate the value of the carpets.

devalued, showing an affordable product. There are then mid-range carpets coming in on Italian vessels via Flanders in 1477 which are 3/- each. These were carpets that most people probably couldn't afford to lay on their floors[45] and they were, perhaps, small Ottoman carpets that had arrived at Flanders via the overland caravans. The most expensive carpets, however, are those coming in direct from Venice or Italy during 1481, which in 2005 would be roughly equivalent to between £160 and £320 each.

The anomaly arises when these values are compared to the cloth of gold from Northern Italy (shown at the bottom of the table) which is a staggering £2 a yard, revealing that the picture is not quite as expected. It is the cloth of gold that could be described as "priceless" not the carpets.

It may be that we have to look earlier to find these truly priceless carpets, and that even by the 15th century the Italians were shipping in sufficient quantities to make them less of an *object of desire*. It is possible that earlier carpets were culturally "priceless" perhaps even considered relics or as items of salvation[46]. They do not so much appear to be items of trade, but of devotion. Some undoubtedly found their way back to England as a result of the crusades; and Boase identified from an 1853 work[47] that in 1135 Matilda[48] had given valuable gifts from Istanbul to her favoured monasteries (1953: 97). He also refers to Henry of Blois[49] who, at about the same time, gave gifts to the cathedrals of Winchester and Glastonbury. Boase cites from an earlier account of 1727 recording the gifts to Glastonbury which includes a "carpet of Saracen

[45] The average wage for a building craftsman in 1500 was 1/- a day (National Archives)

[46] It was common practice in wills to gift valued items to monasteries and churches (Furnivall, 1964)

[47] Migne, P.L. (1853) cxlix

[48] Queen Matilda was married to Stephen of England, Count of Blois. She had seen much of the world, having previously been married to the German Emperor, Henry V, and had accompanied him on his Italian journeys.

[49] Grandson of William the Conqueror, Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of Winchester

work"[50] (ibid: 170), both accounts providing evidence that Muslim textiles, luxury items and carpets were finding their way into the coffers of the great churches and monasteries during the 12th century. What is lacking is evidence of their presence within a domestic setting, in the palaces and manor houses of nobility and royalty. The wills recorded in Furnivall's work (1964) which cover the period 1387 to 1439 do not contain any reference to carpets.

As discussed above, early English art throws little light on the cultural significance of Turkish carpets. In contrast, in Italy they had become a ubiquitous part of religious paintings since the early 15th century depicted beneath the feet of saints and the Madonna.

Fig vii) The Annunciation by Gentile de Fabriano (1425)

Fig viii) A von Bode Dragon and Phoenix carpet similar to the one in the Fabriano painting (late 14th century)

Art historians such as Arnold (2009) and Mills have pondered on the anomalous phenomenon as to why these typically Islamic creations often made specifically as prayer rugs, should appear in Christian churches or be

[50] In Medieval England *Saracen* had come to mean anyone following the Muslim faith Boase; Hearne, T. (1727) Account by Adam de Domerham in "Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus"

incorporated into paintings of Christian subjects. In addition, the fact that the Ottomans were making extensive conquests across Europe in no way seemed to diminish the western desire to possess these Muslim products. The answer may lie in Howard's argument. She writes "it is an intriguing feature of cultural exchange that the rate of transmission tends to accelerate during periods of conflict. At times of tension, diplomatic initiatives intensify and information gathering increases. Meanwhile gift exchange heightens the significance of material goods acquired from overseas" (2007: 67). It is also not surprising that these and other portable works of Islamic art, which were often superior in quality to what was available in Europe, made an indelible impression upon artistic taste.

This chapter ends in the year 1509, the date the Port's custom of keeping two books, the *Liber Communis* and the *Liber Alienigenus* terminated, largely due to the depletion of the number of Italian galleys and carracks docking at Southampton. Although carpets continued to be recorded arriving at the port throughout the 16th century they were, without exception, from the Low Countries; recorded as *carpets de gaunt* – carpets from Ghent, *flaunders carpets* or *carpett curt* – literally short carpets (James, 1990: 138-141).

Chapter Three:

The Painter, the King, the Cardinals and their carpets: 1527 to 1547

Chapter Three: The Painter, the King, the Cardinals and their carpets: 1527 to 1547

In terms of art, England was undoubtedly backward. From the period when the great Renaissance masters were working in Italy, the Netherlands and Germany there were no English artists whose names have survived. Not until 1527 and the first visit to England of the German artist Hans Holbein the Younger did English portraiture turn a corner, and corresponding with this is an early glimpse of a Turkish carpet. Both events occurred in the same work, Holbein's portrait of *William Warham*, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Fig ix) William Warham by Hans Holbein the Younger (1527), oil on panel.

Fig x) Erasmus by Hans Holbein the Younger (1523), oil on wood

It was during the year in which Warham's portrait was painted that Henry took the initial decision to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, and throughout the following lengthy proceedings Warham's position was described as that of "an old and weary man" (Von Strassberg, 2006). In Holbein's work, the Archbishop's *tools of his trade* are displayed; his prayer book is to his left, open at the *Litany of the Saints*, his crosier is to his right and his mitre sits behind his left shoulder. However, it has been placed on a

Turkish carpet which, as in many of Holbein's portraits, has been exquisitely executed, facilitating microscopic scrutiny by scholars who have classified it as a *large pattern Holbein Type IV*[51]. Warham was a Humanist[52] and part of the intellectual circle that included Thomas More[53], Desiderius Erasmus[54] and Holbein. To complicate matters, he had also not only married and crowned the King and his Queen, but Catherine was a patron of the Humanists and a friend of both Erasmus and More. The portrait depicts a man whose fortunes were waning and who was gradually being overshadowed by the growing influences and ambitions of Thomas Wolsey. It also shows a man who was torn between conflicting loyalties in trying to meet the wishes of both of his powerful masters, Henry and the Catholic Church[55], and the possibility of betraying a patron and fellow humanist, Catherine. Amongst the Humanists' beliefs were the assertion of personal independence and individual expression, the expansion of trade, the development of a shared language, the growth of prosperity and luxury and the widening of social contacts to generate interest in worldly pleasures (Kreis, 2000). Art historians and scholars consistently attest to the fact that Holbein's portraits are heavily loaded with symbolism. For example, Warham's hands lie in front of him on an empty cushion which

[51] The carpets are classified as such because other than in Holbein's paintings few have survived intact. There are four classifications of Holbein carpets: Type I and II small-pattern Holbeins.(type II now more often called Lotto carpets); Type III and IV large-pattern Holbeins.

[52] Humanism is the term generally applied to the social philosophy and intellectual currents of the period from 1400 to 1650. The return to favour of the pagan classics stimulated the philosophy of secularism, the appreciation of worldly pleasures, and above all intensified the assertion of personal independence and individual expression. Zeal for the classics was a result as well as a cause of the growing secular view of life. The most fundamental point of agreement is that the humanist mentality stood at a point midway between medieval supernaturalism and the modern scientific and critical attitude. Medievalists see humanism as the terminal product of the Middle Ages. Modern historians are perhaps more apt to view humanism as the germinal period of modernism. (The History Guide: Lectures on Modern European Intellectual History http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/humanism.html)

[53] Thomas More – 1478 to 1535

[54] Erasmus was a Dutch humanist, Catholic priest and theologian

[55] During Henry's reign Warham held the influential posts of Keeper of the Great Seal and Lord Chancellor of England. England had been a catholic country since 1194 when Richard I had made it a nominal vassal of the Holy Roman Empire

Bätschmann and Griener (2008: 164) suggest is representative of his wavering faith. It is also not inconceivable that the Turkish carpet spread behind him was representational of the Humanists' wider beliefs and concerns.

When Holbein returned to England in 1532 the political and religious environment was dramatically changing. In defiance of Pope Clement VII, Henry VIII had begun proceedings to repudiate Catherine of Aragon who had failed to give birth to a male heir, so allowing him to marry Anne Boleyn who was pregnant, not with his hoped-for son, but with the future Elizabeth I. At this juncture Holbein appears to distance himself from the English Humanist circle and found favour instead within the rising and powerful Boleyn family and with Thomas Cromwell. Before shifting his allegiances, however, in 1533 Holbein painted his most enigmatic and academically scrutinised work, *The Ambassadors*.

Fig xi a & b) The Ambassadors by Hans Holbein the Younger (1533), oil on oak

The painting concerned international relations at the highest and most acute levels, with the subjects identified as *Jean de Dinteville*, a French aristocrat and French ambassador to London and *George de Selve*, a scholar and the Bishop of Lavau. They were in London to safeguard relations between the King of

France and England, in the light of Henry's plans to establish a separate Church of England. According to the National Gallery's online catalogue[56] the objects heaped on the shelf could be interpreted as references to "contemporary religious divisions"; the broken lute string, for example, signifying religious discord, the Lutheran hymn book a plea for Christian harmony, whilst the skull, they suggest, represented the inevitability of death. Both men would have been fully aware that the stakes were high and the risks great, and the skull may also be a warning against the dangers of displeasing Henry which usually resulted, in the words of Warham, *ira principis mors est*[57] (von Strassburg, 2006). The Turkish carpet draped over the top of the high side-board on which the men rest their arms has received the attentions of carpet scholars who have classified it as a *Type III Large Pattern Holbein*. Few appear to have questioned what it is actually *doing* in the picture. *The Ambassadors* was commissioned by *de Dinteville* to hang in his family's chateau; as such it was a personal work for private contemplation (Dixon, 1997). As in Warham's portrait, there is a strong humanist element. Kleiner (2011, 634) describes both *de Dinteville* and *de Selve* as "ardent humanists", a point not lost on Hilton in his article *Heart and Skull of Humanism*, in which he reviews the exhibition at the National Gallery held to celebrate the newly restored painting. He describes the exhibition as "taking us almost to the heart of Reformation Humanism" (Hilton, 1997).

Holbein did well to choose Thomas Cromwell as his next patron. Cromwell became the king's Secretary in 1534, overseeing the Act of Supremacy through Parliament which made Henry head of the Church of England, and presided over the Dissolution of the Monasteries. He controlled all aspects of government, including artistic propaganda. He also patronised the English humanists whom he used to promote the English Reformation and he

[56] The National Gallery, On-line catalogue entry for the Ambassadors

[57] The King's anger is death

commissioned Holbein to produce reformist and royalist images[58]. With Cromwell's advice, Henry embarked on a grandiose programme of artistic patronage in an attempt to glorify his new status as Supreme Head of the Church and by 1536 Holbein was employed as the King's Painter.

Fig xii) King Henry VIII and Jane Seymour by Remigius van Leemput after the original by Hans Holbein the Younger (1537)

A year later Holbein completed the last of his works examined in this research, a great mural, later destroyed by fire[59], which measured three metres by four metres and was positioned on the wall of his Privy Chamber in the Palace of Whitehall. The Privy Chamber was the room where Henry received foreign dignitaries and, as such, the work was blatant propaganda. Henry stands in a heroic pose with his feet planted wide apart. To the other side of the portrait is his new queen, Jane Seymour[60] and behind are Henry's deceased parents,

[58] For example, the wood-cut print on the title page to Myles Coverdale's English translation of the bible.

[59] A copy was completed in 1698 by Remigius van Leemput before it was destroyed

[60] Anne Boleyn had only survived the marriage for three year and was executed in 1536

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Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. The king stands astride a Turkish carpet, the first image of a carpet on a floor in a secular environment. Whereas at this point the carpet in Europe had become devoid of religious context, suddenly here is the one exception that proves the rule (Arnold, 2009); in this image, Henry treads on the carpet which in so many earlier images had represented the Catholic church. In the centre of the composition is a monumental plinth, the words of which left viewers in no doubt of Henry's sentiment and intentions (Liverpool Museums & Art Galleries):

> The son [so that's Henry VIII], born indeed for greater tasks, from the altar removed the unworthy and put worthy men in their place. To unerring virtue the presumption of Pope's has yielded, and so long as Henry VIII carries the sceptre in his hand religion is renewed, and during his reign the doctrines of God have begun to be held in his honour.

Henry VIII died in 1547 and an inventory of all his belongings was commenced in September of that year. Starkey describes the significance of the inventory thus:

> Henry was the most acquisitive of English kings and the inventory is the fullest record of his possessions [...] but the inventory, like the man whose possessions it lists, is more than simply big and fat [...] it shows that Henry lived in a new way. His ancestors had moved restlessly from house to house, taking their possessions with them (1998: ix)

Henry accumulated a hoard of oriental richness; not just for private delectation but as a matter of public policy and propaganda. The inventory records that in

total he owned 803 carpets, of which 425 were described as *Turkish* and forty-three as *Venetian*, scattered between fourteen palaces and manors[61].

Out of all his residences, Henry considered *Hampton Court Palace* to be the jewel in his crown (Historic Royal Palaces). Cardinal Wolsey had been its previous owner and had implemented extensive renovations to transform the court into a magnificent palace, but following the Cardinal's death the king had acquired both it and its sumptuous contents. The palace remained in the royal family until the outbreak of the civil war when parliamentary troops seized it in 1645, selling off many of its contents. Although the palace was returned to the monarchy during the Reformation, by the early 18th century St James' Palace had become their official residence, and the palace was little used. By the 1760s it had been divided up into a labyrinth of *grace-and-favour* apartments, granted rent-free to those who had been of service to the crown. In 1547, however, Hampton Court contained 207 carpets, by far Henry's largest collection. Of these, 160 were listed as being *Turkish*, three as *English* and six as *Venetian*. Fifty-five of the Turkish carpets are described as "smale carpets of Turquey" (Starkey, 1998: 279 - 12151) and only two are described in any detail, for example: "carpettes of Turquey makinge bought of Petre Vandewall; of silk – the grounde gold reized with diurse colours" (ibid: 280 - 12157). The condition of only one carpet is listed; an English carpet "having a hoole in it" (ibid: 280 - 12156).

Another of Henry's palaces, *Oatlands* was situated between Weybridge and Walton-on-Thames in Surrey[62]. Henry had acquired the moated manor house in 1538 and rebuilt it as a residence for *Anne of Cleves*[63] using stone from nearby Chertsey Abbey which had fallen into ruins after the dissolution of the

[61] For a full analysis of the carpets in the inventory see Appendix iv)

[62] Wikipedia: Oatlands Palace

[63] Anne of Cleves was Henry's fourth wife

monasteries. It was subsequently used by various monarchs, but after the civil war was sold and demolished and little evidence now remains of it. Forty-five carpets were listed at Oatlands; with thirteen identified as *Turkish*; the remaining simply described as carpets being, for example, small or large. The quantity of carpets described as being in poor condition at the property is higher, with three large carpets and seven of the Turkish carpets being described as *old*. The presence of Anne of Cleves lingered, with a carpet described as "wrought with the Kinges Armes in the myddes and Roses and Quene Annes cognisaunce" (ibid: 298 - 12720).

In 1538 Henry bought the Manor of Cuddington in Epsom and began his most ambitious of building projects wiping away the entire village of Cuddington in the process. His vision was a great palace to rival any in Europe (Reed, 2009). Building the palace took about nine years and, although relatively small, its interior and exterior decorations were reputed to be without equal in Europe and it became known as *Nonesuch Palace*[64]. Henry died before the palace was completed and in 1556 it was gifted by Mary I to the 12th Earl of Arundel. In 1559 the Earl entertained Elizabeth I at the palace and in 1590 she purchased it. Following the Civil War, it was confiscated by Parliamentary Commissioners, but, as with Hampton Court, returned to royal ownership during the Reformation. During the plague epidemic of 1665 it was used as offices for the Exchequer[65] and by 1670 the palace was described as being in a badly dilapidated state. In 1673 Charles II gave the estate to his mistress, the Duchess of Cleveland, who quickly sold it and its contents to pay off her gambling debts. The estate was divided into farmland and the palace demolished.

[64] Never was such a palace built before

[65] Samuel Pepys worked there

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The inventory showed that Nonesuch contained fifty-three carpets of which eleven were described as *Turkish*. Three of the Turkish carpets were recorded in detail, for example: "a turque carpet wrought with litell bottes of sundry coloures with a narrow borde of white dyced aboute the same white and blewe" (ibid: 303 - 12886)[66]. Contrary to the lavish interiors described, a high twenty-six of the fifty-three carpets at Nonesuch were recorded as being in poor condition, including three from the collection of Turkish carpets, and it is apparent the palace had rat and moth infestations: "the same hath a hole perished with rattes" (ibid: 309 - 13037) and other carpets are described as "olde – of frame worke sore worne and the most of them motheaten" (ibid: 309 - 13038). The personal effects of another of Henry's queens survived at Nonesuch: "a cupboarde carpet of tapestry with a Quene's hed and this scrypture by it Quene Katheryne of Englonde" (ibid: 303 - 12883).

The *Manor of the More* was another of Cardinal Wolsey's properties and, as with Hampton Court, was acquired by Henry in 1531 following the Cardinal's death, although he never lived there (English Heritage National Monuments). However, his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, was housed there during the winter of 1531 to 1532 by which time Thomas Cromwell reported that it was showing signs of neglect. By 1556 the house was under the administration of the Duchy of Lancaster and surveyors reported that it was "very much decayed" (ibid.) and with the foundations resting on marshy ground, it was subsiding. The building was not deemed worthy of repair and recent excavations reveal that squatters lived in the house until its demolition in 1661. There were thirty-one carpets at the Manor; six described as *Venetian.* Possessions of the dead Wolsey were found at the house during the inventory taking: "carpettes beinge parcel of the saied late cardynalles stuffe videlicet[67]"

[66] However, six of the carpets described as Turkish are doubtful: "a carpet of Turquey making of dornix painted with diurse colours" (ibid: 309 - 13030). Dornix was a patterned linen / wool cloth mix produced mainly in Norfolk.

[67] Videlicit – "namely", "with reference to"; now abbreviated to "viz".

(Starkey, 1998: 328 - 13371). The six Venetian carpets were recorded as "olde havinge manye hooles in them" (ibid: 328 - 13370).

One of the last of Henry's properties in the inventory was called *Duresham Place*, and this proved the hardest to trace and one of the most intriguing. The property was situated in The Strand in London, and had also been called Durham House, Durham Inn and Durham Place (Gater and Wheeler, 1937: 84-98). It was a prestigious residence built by the Bishop of Durham, with gardens of over two acres extending to the River Thames and, in Venetian style, the Great Hall was accessed direct from the river by a flight of steps. Although owned by the church, during the 15th and early 16th century the house was increasingly used by royal visitors. The six-year-old Henry Fitzroy[68], the only illegitimate son that Henry acknowledged, stayed there with his entourage during the preparations for the ceremony to create him Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Richmond and Somerset in 1525, and the inventory attests to the fact that Henry's only surviving legitimate heir, the future Edward VI, resided at the house as a prince. The house passed through several owners, but gradually its extensive gardens were built over and during the civil war it was used to garrison parliamentary soldiers. Becoming increasingly dilapidated it was demolished and by the middle of the 18th century what became known as *Durham Yard* was a slum.

All of the carpets listed at Durham House fell under the category of "the princis Gwardrobe; beyng the kinges Majesties when he was Prince" (Starkey, 1998: 352-353). The house contained forty-six of Prince Edward's carpets; thirty-four listed as *Turkish* and one as *Venetian*. Most of the Turkish carpets have brief descriptions: "cuppboarde carpettes of turquey making of sundrie workes the grounde yellowe and redde" (ibid: 353; 14101). Ten of the forty-six

[68] Fitzroy, literally "the son of the king" was the name given to the illegitimate children of English royalty; he was the child of Henry's teenage mistress, Elizabeth Blount. His godfather was Cardinal Wolsey and it is possible that Henry was grooming him as a future heir; however, he died in 1536 at the age of 17.

carpets are listed as being in very poor condition. The Venetian carpet is described as: "verey bare with a greate hole in thone syde and small holes diurse." (ibid: 352; 14082); a coarse Turkish carpet is described as "sore rotten", and a further carpet was "steyned with ynke" (ibid: 352; 14092).

Although the carpets were housed at the fourteen properties, they were listed under the heading of the *Guarderobe*; a term for the 'Wardrobe'or the department of the King's Household in charge of supplying and maintaining furnishings. Kathryn Jones at the Royal Collections suggests that the more costly carpets would not have been on general display throughout the palace rooms, but contained within the private chambers (Jones: 23 Sep 2011). The *Removing Guarderobe* on the other hand, contained the items that travelled with the king, and here it is of note that all sixty-five of the carpets were Turkish. This may have been for several reasons: perhaps it was felt they travelled well; there may have been some cultural residue of their nomadic past still attached to them or they were simply the king's most valued carpets and the ones he wanted to be seen to have in his possession. What is evident is that during Henry VIII's reign kings and noblemen still had transient life-styles, and when Henry travelled he took with him his Removing Guarderobe complete with 107 tapestries and sixty-five Turkish carpets (Bell, 2004: 45)[69].

Throughout the inventory, the uses of the Turkish carpets are very often clearly defined whether *foot carpets*, *bankers carpets*[70], *table carpets*, *cupboard carpets* or *window carpets*; demonstrating that even in mid-16th century royal households carpets were still not placed on the floor as a matter of course. The sizes of the Turkish carpets are described as *great*, *demy* and *small* and there is evidently a diversity of styles and qualities, ranging from small carpets used to

[69] Bell relates that during an attempted meeting that Henry had with James V of Scotland at York in 1542, four cartloads of tapestries and plate were transported to York.

[70] A banker was a type of chest

cover cupboards or window sills, which were perhaps village workshop rugs, through to the Great carpets of Turkey. In addition, a number of carpets were described as being of silk, for example: "carpet of turquey making; being white at eche ende with rowes of golde and silke of diurse colors" (Starkey, 1998: 309; 13036) suggesting high quality Ottoman Court carpets. The question as to why or how the clerks recording the inventory differentiated between *Venetian* and *Turkish* carpets is not easily answered – and no answer can be found for the purposes of this research. What is known is that Venice did not have its own carpet industry, so any carpets referred to as Venetian would simply have originated in Venice. It may have been that Ottoman Empire carpets imported via Venice from Cairo[71] were considered to be Venetian, or that some early Persian carpets were amongst the collection; *Persia* or *Persian* is not a term that crops up at all in this inventory. Another important distinction is that between *Turquey-work* [72] and carpets of *turquey making*, and whether the clerks were distinguishing between the two. Admittedly, clarity is lacking due to lack of consistency in both the English language and the terminology used, and there are areas of doubt, but the fact that both terms were used in the inventory suggests that the clerks *were* aware of the distinction. Although there are several carpets described as being of turquey-work, generally it was a technique reserved for smaller pieces such as seat covers and cushions[73].

The conditions of the carpets is a good reflection of the condition of the properties; with a higher proportion of those kept at less frequented buildings, such as Oatlands, being described as old or having moth and rat damage, or being stained with ink.

[71] Cairene or Mameluk carpets

[72] Turkey-work was a type of knotted embroidery

[73] Turquey-work chairs and cushions frequently appear in the Inventories of the Worcester Landed Gentry (Wanklyn, 1998)

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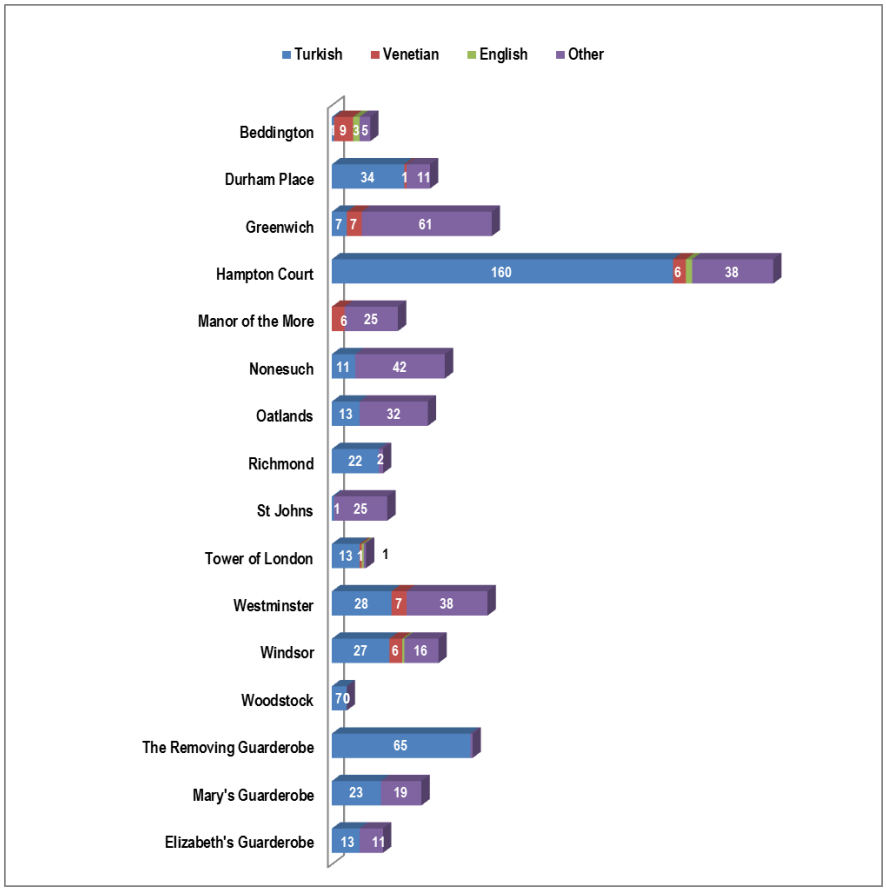

Table ii: Analysis of the main types of carpets listed at the properties in the inventory of Henry VIII

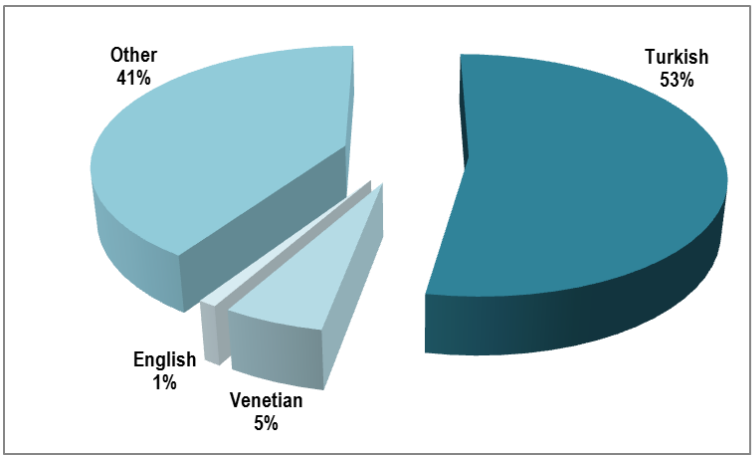

Table iii: Analysis of the main types of carpets in the collection of Henry VIII

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Jacobs believed the second of the Cardinals discussed in this research was solely responsible for triggering the English desire to own Turkish carpets, and as such the main catalyst for triggering English carpet manufacturing (1968: 5). Cardinal Thomas Wolsey was viewed by some to be the most powerful man in England; the Venetians describing his position against that of the king's as "est alter Rex"[74]. When Henry VIII was crowned in 1509 at the age of seventeen, Thomas Wolsey[75] was ideally placed to step in as the young king's advisor, and his rise to power was unprecedented; by 1514 he was Archbishop of York, a year later a cardinal and soon after the king appointed him Lord Chancellor. Between 1515 and 1529 Wolsey's authority was undisputed, with Henry delegating increasing amounts of state business to him. Ultimately, Wolsey's arrogance, power and extravagance was his downfall. Left devoid of supporters, particularly among the circle of Anne Boleyn, when his demise came, it was swift. Henry had turned to Wolsey for help in arranging a papal annulment of his marriage to Catherine. When Wolsey was unable to accomplish this, trust between the two men broke-down. Henry stripped him of his assets and titles, and within a year had issued a warrant for his arrest on the charge of treason. Wolsey was never imprisoned, dying on 29th November 1530, on his journey to the Tower.

At the height of his power, the Cardinal used his great wealth to expand his residency at Hampton Court into an opulent palace; a venue suitable for entertaining and hosting state diplomatic visits and for the ostentatious display of conspicuous consumption. The Venetian Ambassador for England, *Sebastian Giustinian*, recorded one of Wolsey's events in his diary on 5th October 1518[76]. Wolsey's appetite for fine carpets, almost certainly to furnish

[74] The king is second

[75] Cardinal Wolsey: 1475 to 1530

[76] From thence the Cardinal of York was followed by the entire company to his own dwelling, where they sat down to a most sumptuous supper, the like of which was never given either by Cleopatra or Caligula. The banqueting hall was so decorated with huge vases of gold and silver, that he [the Ambassador] fancied himself in the tower of Chosroes, where that monarch

his new palace, was whetted by a royal tour of inspection during the visit of a fleet of Venetian State galleys in June 1518. It is recorded in the Venetian State papers that by 19th May 1518 two of the galleys had sailed up the Thames and arrived at Hampton Court, and by the 6th June *Giustinian* had sought permission from the Venetian Signory to travel to Hampton to meet the king (Brown, 1867: letter no. 174; 1038). On board the galley, the king, the cardinal and the royal entourage were greeted by the Venetian Ambassador who reported events back to Venice: "the King and the whole court went on board the flag-galley, which had been royally prepared, with a spacious platform decorated with every sort of tapestry and silk [...] Later, the officials of the galleys performed feats on slack ropes suspended from the mast, to the great wonder of spectators unaccustomed to witness such feats" (ibid.). Trade with Venice was in decline and this was the first visit to England by the state galleys for nine years. It was important to the Venetians, therefore, that this visit was a success, so when Cardinal Wolsey subsequently criticised the arrangements for the royal tour and the cargos on board, his comments were not well received (ibid: 1042). The Cardinal quickly cut to the chase, agreeing to try to obtain an audience for Giustinian with the Council to put forward Venice's on-going concerns respecting wine duties, but in return he should be allowed to purchase some choice carpets and other articles. It appears, through the diaries of the new Venetian Ambassador to England, *Antonio Surian*, that the Venetians were reluctant to submit to Wolsey's demands, which were quick to escalate: "The Cardinal spoke in terms of great honour of the Signory, and after dinner lavished many praises on the State; adding, that he wished to receive the 60 Damascene carpets promised by Sebastian Giustinian. It would be well to make a present to this "individual," who might be styled King of England. The King

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caused divine honours to be paid him. After supper, a mummery, consisting of twelve male and twelve female maskers, made their appearance in the richest and most sumptuous array, being all dressed alike. After performing certain dances, they removed their visors. The two leaders were the King and the Queen Dowager of France, and all the others were lords and ladies, who seated themselves apart from the tables, and were served with countless dishes of confections and other delicacies. Large bowls filled with ducats and dice were then placed upon the table for such as liked to gamble. Shortly after, the supper tables being removed, dancing commenced, and lasted until after midnight (Brown, 1867: Letter no. 192: 461-472)

of France had sent him a golden chalice with a jewelled paten of gold" (ibid: 157). With good reason the Venetians were wary of this powerful man.

Wolsey had set his sights high, asking initially for *Damascene* carpets but a week later Surian conveyed that he was again pressing for this gift but now for carpets from Cairo (ibid: 190). It is also clear from a report of 7th February 1520 that this gift was stretching the Venetian Senate's resources, and the 700 ducats required to purchase these fine carpets was raised by selling gifts made to the Venetian state (ibid: 189)[77]. Through alternate threats and bribes, Wolsey cajoled the Venetians into presenting him with his carpets. His persistent demands were recorded on 10th March 1520 when Antonio Surian noted that: "Cardinal Wolsey adroitly urged the Signory to have him supplied with 60 Cairo carpets [...] it would be expedient at the present time to keep the right reverend Cardinal of York well disposed towards us by reason of the supreme authority and favour enjoyed by him with the King of England" (ibid: 321). On 23rd October 1520 the sixty carpets arrived at Hampton Court from Antwerp. It was reported that the Cardinal accepted the carpets graciously and "inspected them one by one. They were very beautiful, and pleased him much, and he said the present was worthy of a much greater personage than himself; thanking the Signory vastly, making many offers of service, and saying he would not be an ungrateful Cardinal, but stand the Signory's man in anything and everything" (ibid: 368)

Ten years later Wolsey was dead. The sixty carpets that he so desired, and finally received, were never described in detail but it is probable that most of them would have been at Hampton Court Palace when Henry took possession

[77] Including gifts from Henry VIII

of it and, as such, may have appeared in the inventories of Henry's own carpets[78].

[78] A number of unsuccessful attempts were made to contact the Royal Collections at Hampton Court for advice on whether any of these carpets may have survived to the present day and, if so, how they were being interpreted

Chapter Four:
Field-work

Chapter Four: Field-work

Field-work aimed to establish the current awareness of sections of the community to the Turkish carpet, by gathering information from heritage sites, collectors and members of the community who owned carpets at home. The type of information required was broken down as follows:-

Visitors to heritage sites:-

i. the level of awareness of visitors about the Turkish carpet and its background
ii. how visitors interacted with the room in which the carpet was displayed; whether they noticed the carpet and what attracted them in the room
iii. to establish the visitors' sense of personal values relating to items of importance or heirlooms in their own lives and the value they place on the Turkish carpet
iv. whether visitors showed an interest in learning more about the history of Turkish carpets.

The heritage sites:-

i. how the Turkish carpets are displayed and interpreted within a large heritage organisation
ii. what value the heritage site places on the Turkish carpet
iii. what the heritage organisations' collections policy is regarding the Turkish carpet or carpets in general
iv. whether the heritage sites catered to ethnic minorities or had ethnic minorities visiting them
v. the specific historical context of the carpets within the houses.

Members of the community with carpets at home:-

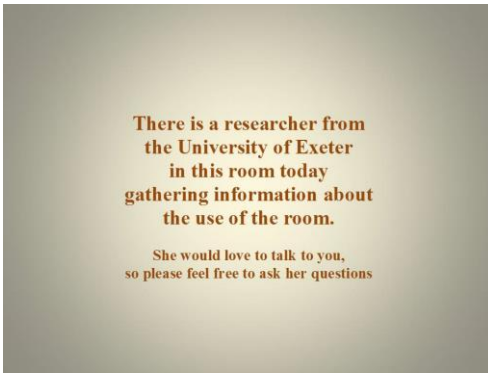
i. the value and significance they placed on the carpet in terms of their use, display and memories
ii. their ethnic background.

Chapter Four: Field-work

5.1 Field-Work Methodology

The project field-work plan was submitted to and passed by the University of Exeter's Ethics Committee. The following processes were put in place to provide the interviewees with sufficient information, choices and data protection:

- A notice was displayed near the entrance into the room, not only to inform visitors that research was being carried out but to give them the opportunity to spontaneously interact with the researcher
- A consent form was given to each respondent, which also explained how the information would be used and stored.
- At the close of each interview the respondent was handed a project information sheet outlining the project
- Survey forms were numbered and personal data such as contact point and name were restricted to the consent form
- The consent form and final survey page with respondent's data have been stored separately
- Picture cards were used to help trigger responses for some more complex questions; for example, how do you think the carpet was made?
- A seat and table were provided for comfort during the interview.



Chapter Four: Field-work

Field-work was undertaken during a two month period from 30th July to 25th September 2011, using the following methods:-

a) on-site observational research of visitors at historic houses
b) structured one-to-one interviews with visitors to historic houses using a questionnaire[79]
c) semi-structured interviews with curators, house managers, conservators of collections containing Turkish carpets, dealers; either completed by email or in person

Furnished historic houses were chosen because they provide an environment where the carpets are within a domestic interior and there is interaction between the carpets and visitors. The National Trust have been key in this research. As one of Europe's leading conservation bodies and a charity they have to strike a delicate balance between conservation and protection of their properties, education of their visitors and raising revenue through entrance fees. In the current climate they appear to be increasing visitor numbers through extending opening hours and activities at the properties; the inevitable cost of this being increased wear and tear on both the buildings structures and contents, and the potential of decreased visitor enjoyment and learning. Observations, particularly at Cotehele and Lanhydrock would support this, showing that during busy periods visitors tended to mill aimlessly without interaction:

[79] A sample of the questionnaire is attached as Appendix v)

> When the room is this crowded, you just have to cling to the wall at the edge and hope for the best – there's no way you can talk with the visitors"[80]

Saltram House was the exception to this, having a timed-ticketing system in operation to restrict numbers of visitors in the house at any one time.

In terms of their access policies, most National Trust properties are closed during the winter months to aid conservation and reduce running costs, opening from mid-March to the end of October. Admission fees to the house and gardens range from £10.00 to £11.50 for adults; £4.50 to £5.70 for children and £25.00 to £28.50 for family group, with reduced entrance fees for those arriving by public transport or bike. The Trust are attempting to shake off their image of a "middle-class, middle-aged playground", a term used used by the *Guardian* (Henley, 2010), with policies such as *Going Local* launched in 2010. They also implemented a project called *Sacred Quran* at Wightwick Manor and Gardens in the West Midlands, which aimed to involve members of the local Muslim community in the heritage of the manor. In addition, once a year on *Heritage Day* there is free admission to all their properties.

Generally, with regard to interpretation of their collections, the National Trust are continuing to make their properties more accessible and user-friendly, removing physical barriers and unwelcoming signs and opening up not just more rooms, but more of each room[81]. For example, visitors can now wander freely rather than being restricted to a cordoned off path-way, and *Do Not Sit* signs have been replaced with pine cones and teasels. They also have plans to make their collections catalogue available on-line through their website, which will aid research and access to particular collections. The Trust relies heavily

[80] Interview No COT/001; volunteer; interview carried out at Cotehele on 30th July 2011

[81] Interview with Jeremy Pearson, National Trust Curator for the South West; conducted on 24th May 2011 by Angela Sutton-Vane

on their large army of volunteers to act as room guides, protect the house contents and answer visitors' questions. All properties have a house guide book, retailing at around £5.00 and each room in a property usually has a laminated information sheet. In addition, all the properties visited during field-work had specific interpretational projects, exhibitions and activities for children.

The National Trust's carpet collection is not particularly well documented and they are not actively collecting, rarely buying period antique oriental carpets due to their prohibitive cost. If carpets are required they are sourced as cheaply as possible, and the Trust rely on low cost replica carpets for areas of heavy wear. Very occasionally, where a carpet is needed that is an integral part of the design they have commissioned hand-made carpets, for example at Coleton Fishacre, an Arts and Crafts house. Pearson believes this carpet was commissioned from *Mala Carpets*[82] in India and cost approximately £600. Inevitably, the flooring and carpets are suffering most from increased access and the National Trust uses the term *sacrificial carpets* to describe those that are inevitably going to need replacing[83]. It is also important to understand that it is quite rare for the National Trust to inherit both the property and its contents. In many cases the family removed their valued possessions before the property came into the hands of the Trust, and the contents were re-populated with items from other properties. When a carpet is original to a property it is described as *tied* item; when not original as *untied*.

Through a process of elimination, using the criteria that properties must have identified Turkish carpets; that the carpets must be displayed in a room with visitor access; that the house manager of the property agreed to allow access

[82] A fair-trade company making hand-woven carpets; website at: http://www.malacarpets.co.uk/

[83] Interview with Jeremy Pearson

for observation and interview; that the properties needed to be within the vicinity of a large city centre such as Exeter or Plymouth where there were known centres of ethnic communities, four properties were selected: Saltram House (within five miles of Plymouth), Lanhydrock (within thirty miles of Plymouth), Cotehele (within ten miles of Plymouth) and Knightshayes Court (within twenty miles of Exeter).

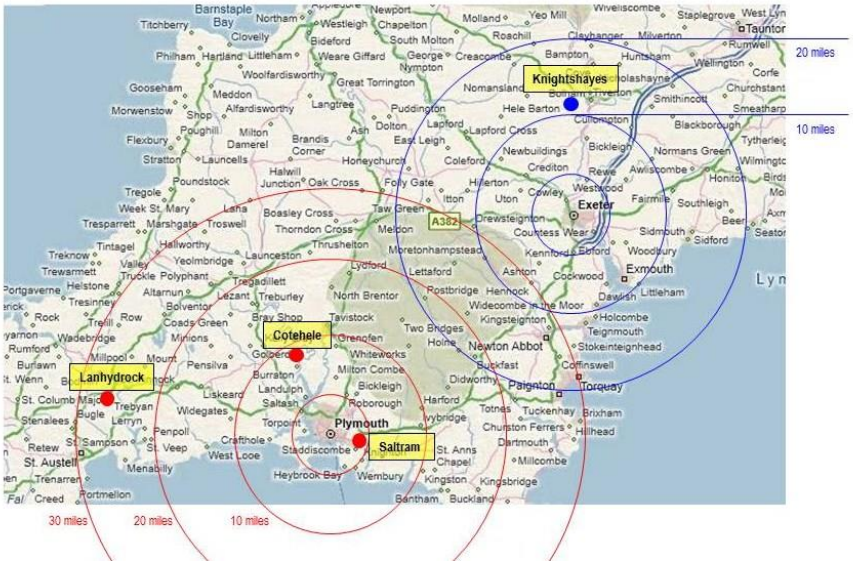


Fig xiii)

The location of the selected National Trust properties in relation to

Field-work at the properties was undertaken during the busiest time of the year for heritage centres with holiday populations swelling local communities. The following table compares the National Trust's annual visitor numbers for each of the four properties for 2009/2010 (National Trust, 2010: 90), with daily visitor numbers counted by National Trust staff on the days research was undertaken:

Property	2010 NT Annual Report figures	Daily visitor numbers for research day one		Daily visitor numbers for research day two	
Lanhydrock	212,990	Sat 6th Aug 2011	1,190	-	-
Cotehele House	132,455	Sat 30th Jul 2011	358	Sun 31st Jul 2011	433
Knightshayes Court	112,368	Sat 13th Aug 2011	427	Sun 14th Aug 2011	408
Saltram House	63,517	Sat 24th Sep 2011	181	Sun 25th Sep 2011	196

Table iv) Visitor numbers at the four field-work sites

Information about the location and status of the four carpets was obtained from an inventory supplied by Jeremy Pearson and based on a survey of oriental carpets carried out at National Trust properties during the 1980s and early 1990s by Dr John Mills[84]. Mills' survey is still used today as a reference by the Trust, but as it is now over twenty years old it is no longer accurate and most houses seem to rely on their own inventories. Three out of the four carpets studied were considered *sacrificial* in that visitors were allowed to walk freely over them, the exception being at Lanhydrock where the carpet was behind a barrier. As a general observation, although each of the four properties had more than one identified Turkish carpet, the room selected was at the discretion of the House Manager and to avoid congestion the rooms they recommended were near the end of the visitors' tour of the house. Because of this the carpets were not chosen for their merit but for their location, and this undoubtedly had an effect on the visitors' levels of interest in what they were seeing in the room.

5.2 Background of the four properties and carpets identified

Cotehele House

[84] Mills was curator at the National Gallery, London, and author of several works on carpets in paintings

Chapter Four: Field-work

Fig xiv) Cotehele House viewed from the Hall Courtyard

Cotehele is located within ten miles of Plymouth city centre near Saltash. It was built between 1485 and 1560 by Sir Richard Edgcumbe to a traditional fortified medieval plan with the main windows looking inwards to internal courtyards. By 1553 the Edgcumbes had built another house, *Mount Edgcumbe* which became their main home and towards the end of the 1600s the family had all but abandoned the house. Unusually, and largely due to the 1st Earl of Mount Edgcumbe[85] who appreciated its historic interest, it did not suffer the fate of many deserted manor houses which were knocked down or reduced in size. Instead Cotehele remained fixed in time and by the early 1800s the family were organising regular boat trips up the Tamar from Plymouth to visit the house. It was next lived in by the widow of the 3rd Earl, the East Range of the house being re-modelled for her in 1862, and then during the Second World War when Mount Edgcumbe was bombed the 5th Earl returned to the safety of Cotehele. The 6th Earl, Kenelm Edgcumbe, was the last of the Edgcumbe family to own Cotehele, and as he had no surviving male heirs he handed the house and all its contents to the National Trust in 1947 as part-payment of the 5th Earl's death duties.

[85] 1720 to 1795

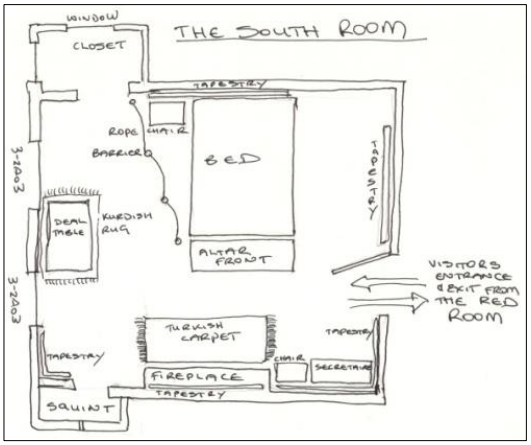
Chapter Four: Field-work

Although the National Trust inherited the house complete with furnishings, it has to all intents and purposes been a sight of tourism since the early 1800s and it does not reflect the normal evolution of an occupied house. Emery, who has published a survey of medieval houses and manors in England, describes the feeling that little had changed since the Middle Ages at Cotehele as being artificially heightened by the "gradual but deliberate policy during the mid-Georgian period of introducing furniture of the late 16th and 17th centuries [...] to enhance the antiquarian character of the house for the family to show visitors" (2006: 528). There is still no electricity in the main part of the house, and with its small windows and tapestry-hung walls the interiors are dark; the National Trust asks visitors to "accept the home in its natural state" (National Trust, 2008: 5).

Only two carpets are mentioned in the house guide book; the carpets in the Old Dining Room and the Punch Room. A 1944 inventory completed after the death of the 5th Earl shows that there were approximately forty carpets and rugs at Cotehele, of which six were described as Turkey carpets. By another inventory carried out in 1956 the collection had considerably depleted with only seven carpets surviving in situ, of which six were described as *Persian* and one as a *Turkey carpet* located in the Dining Room (Hunt, 2010). By the time Mills carried out his survey in 1989 only two of the seven indigenous carpets could be located at Cotehele; a rug previously in the Chapel and described as Persian but re-identified by Mills as Caucasian, and a rug previously in the Red Room and described as Persian, but re-identified by Mills as Turkish and now located in the South Room. Today, Cotehele is once again populated with around forty carpets, including the two indigenous to the house and another eight believed to have been left by former tenants. All of the other carpets are either suspected or confirmed National Trust acquisitions introduced into the house. The National Trust's catalogue, largely based on the survey carried out by Mills, identifies five knotted Turkish rugs at Cotehele as follows:

Description (John Mills)	Location	Cat No	Provenance
Turkish carpet: Ghiordes prayer rug (single niche design), cut and rejoined, fairly worn all over, 208 by 136 cms	South Room	COT/T/21A; COT.TR.153	Indigenous to Cotehele House
Turkish carpet: described as a Ghiordes prayer rug, (double niche design), very coarsely woven and rather worn all over, 223 by 132 cms,	Priest's Squint Room	COT/T/21B; COT.TR.152	Introduced by the National Trust
Turkish carpet was described by Mills as "so worn the design can hardly be seen ... in fact past all use". He thought it may have been a Ghiordes rug.	Priest's Squint Room	COT.TR.172	Possibly left by former tenants resident at Cotehele but may be indigenous
Turkish carpet: "greatly reduced in size by cutting and rejoining. The field is now unnaturally narrow; appears to be in fairly good pile and condition"	In store in South East attic	COT.TR.161	As above
Turkish carpet	Priest's Squint Room	TRE.TR.27	Recently transferred by the National Trust from Trerice

Table v) Summary of Turkish carpets at Cotehele in 2011



Figs xv a & b) Floor plan of Cotehele House; sketch of the South Room showing the location of the Turkish carpet

Field-work was carried out in the South Room, where one of the two Turkish carpets indigenous to Cotehele is located. Generally people can move freely in

the room, the only restriction being a rope barrier along one side of the bed to protect both it and an upholstered chair. Visually, the tapestries and the draped four-poster bed dominate the room, and a *squint*[86]draws large numbers of children.

The Turkish carpet is a small single niche-style prayer rug[87] and is believed to be the carpet that appears in the 1956 inventory of the *Red Room* described as a "Persian rug conventionally patterned on a red ground. Cut at both ends" (Hunt, 2011), as at some point prior to 1956 it has undoubtedly been shortened by removing two strips just above and below the central *mihrab* panel. Mills merited it as a "C"[88], suggesting it was a 19th century Ghiordes rug of typical design and colours, and even in 1989 described it as "fairly worn all over". It is now extremely worn and frayed and has completely lost its pile. It is placed in front of the fire-place on a felted wool protective underlay and visitors can walk freely over it.

[86] A small cubby hole with a tiny aperture providing a view of the hall below

[87] Single-niche because the *Mihrab* (representing the prayer niche in a mosque) is only at one end, as opposed to a double-niche prayer rug which has a Mihrab at both ends

[88] The inventory grades each carpet from "A" to "E"; A being a carpet of the highest quality or importance.

Figs xvi a, b& c) The Turkish carpet in the South Room; details showing the condition

There is one other rug in the room, a small Kurdish rug beneath a deal table. Both are mentioned in the room information sheets although the house manager did comment that they were a later addition.

Lanhydrock

Fig xvii) Lanhydrock viewed from the North

Lanhydrock is situated in the River Fowey valley, just over two miles from Bodmin and within thirty miles of Plymouth. The manor house was originally bought by Richard Robartes in the early 1620s and it remained in the Robartes family until it was acquired by the National Trust in 1953. Although John Robartes, later the 1st Earl of Radnor, enlarged the house between 1634 and 1651 turning it into a substantial Jacobean mansion, the Earls of Radnor generally preferred to live away from Cornwall and Lanhydrock became increasingly neglected. By 1754 it was in such a poor condition that the family

considered demolishing it, and a visitor wrote in 1736 that it was: "extremely out of repair and utterly destitute of furniture" (National Trust, 2007: 48). The house potentially received its final blow when it was devastated by a fire in 1881, but the 2nd Lord Robartes rebuilt it and returned there to live with his ten children and eighty staff. Wherever possible he preserved its former Jacobean character, but the new interiors were highly influenced by the Aesthetic Movement, designed to "strict Victorian moral code with segregated public and private areas, master and servant, young and old, male and female" (National Trust, 2007: 53). The oldest son and heir to Lanhydrock was killed in World War I, another son committed suicide having served in the war and another returned home never recovering his health. Of the surviving children only two married, producing only one female heir, who moved to Africa. When the National Trust accepted the estate, they did so only for the land and not for the high Victorian, and by then unfashionable ancestral home which they described as "incidental".

The house is now presented to visitors as it would have been at its zenith on the cusp of the 19th and 20th century. As if the family have literally just gone out for a while, the rooms are a theatre set with tables laid for meals, side-boards groaning with food, wine glasses half empty, reading glasses lying on opened newspapers and a jumble of eclectic memorabilia. The visit is designed as an "experience" and rooms are interpreted not so much by the provision of literature but through visual pointers, creating a series of "still lives" in the process of unfolding. This feeling is enhanced by the fact that most rooms are cordoned off and visitors look into them (as if into a dolls house) through an open door or from one end. Although some visitors believe the last family literally just "upsticks and left", an image to some extent nurtured by the National Trust, this is not the case and each room may actually contain only one or two original items.

Fig xviii.) Servants beating oriental carpets at Lanhydrock

The only carpet listed in the house guide book is the modern corridor carpet made by Woodward Grosvenor of Kidderminster to an 1884 design (National Trust, 2007: 16). Mills carried out his survey of the oriental carpets at Lanhydrock in 1989 and listed five Turkish carpets:

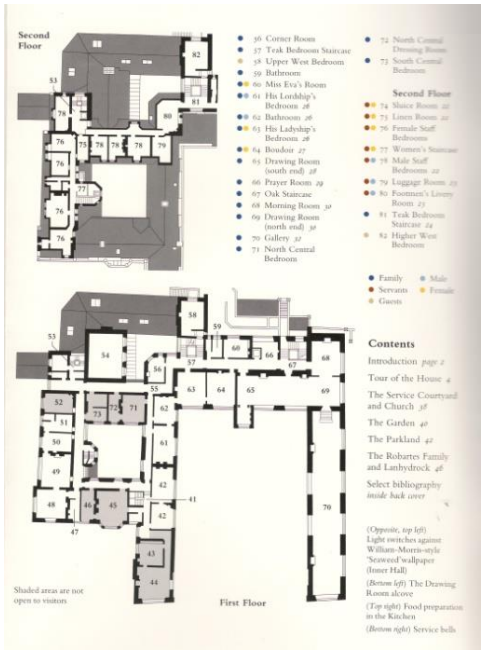
Description (John Mills)	Current Location	Cat No	Provenance
Turkish carpet: 19th to 20th century; 391 x 289 cms	Morning Room	LAN/T/35; LAN/T/30	None
Turkish carpet: Rug in design of a Ghiordes but on cotton base; a late commercial copy; 19th to 20th century;	Steward's Room	LAN/T/9A	None
Turkish carpet: Surround to Billiard table; 19th century; 1881?	Billiards Room	LAN/T/12	None
Turkish carpet: Typical Turkey carpet from Western Anatolia[89]; warps are dyed green; 19th century; 1881?	Smoking Room	LAN/T/16; LAN/TR/7	None
Turkish carpet: Typical Turkey carpet from Western Anatolia; 19th to 20th century.	Upper West Room	LAN/T/25	None

Table vi) Summary of Turkish carpets at Lanhydrock in 2011

[89] Someone has written in pencil here "probably Donegal"

Chapter Four: Field-work

With guidance from the House Manager, the Morning Room was chosen as a site for field-work. Towards the end of a long tour of nearly fifty rooms, it is very much an anteroom to the Drawing Room and the Gallery beyond that, and glimpses of these rooms tend to draw visitors straight through, particularly if the piano is being played. As a result the majority of visitors briefly scanned the Morning Room, if appearing to notice it at all.



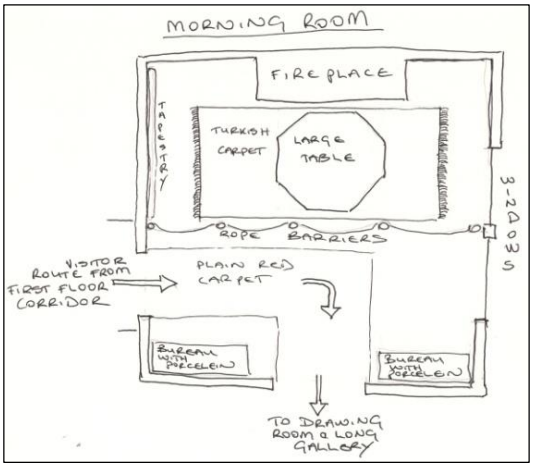


Fig xix a) & b)

Floor plan of Lanhydrock; sketch showing the location of the Turkish carpet in the Morning Room

Morning Rooms were common in larger Victorian houses, usually facing East to catch the morning sun and used after breakfast to read. The theme of the room is eclectic with Chinese vases and 17th century tapestries, and it is dominated by the original fireplace and ornate plaster ceiling. In terms of interpretation there is a file on the window-ledge about the tapestries, but nothing else. There was no dedicated room attendant for the room; a steward was in the Drawing Room, with a view through to the Morning Room.

Chapter Four: Field-work

Fig xx a) & b)

The Turkish carpet in the Morning Room at Lanhydrock; a detail of the edge of the Turkish carpet

The carpet in the Morning Room was described by Mills as "a Turkey carpet, somewhat untypical as being on cotton foundation". He noted the condition as "pile slightly worn but otherwise good" and merited it a "C". It is large, measuring 391 by 289 centimetres, with repeating geometric designs on a blue ground and a wide border with a red ground and short fringes at each end. It is laid over a blue underlay on a polished decorative block-wood floor, and a large ornate occasional table has been placed in the middle of it. The main part of the room has been cordoned off by a rope barrier creating a through-route from the corridor to the drawing room and the carpet, as with most of the other furniture, is behind the barrier and cannot be walked on.

Knightshayes Court

Fig xxi)

Knightshayes Court viewed from the main drive

Knightshayes Court is close to Tiverton and just over ten miles from Exeter. It was built by Sir John Heathcoat on the fortunes of his grandfather, and the chimneys of the family mill in Tiverton can still be seen from the windows of the house[90]. The Heathcoat's choice of architect was unusual; William Burges was an eccentric designer of churches and a passionate medievalist. Building started in 1869 and the structure was in place by 1874, but Burges' over-ambitious plans for the interiors of the house were not acceptable to the family[91] and they turned instead to John Crace[92] to modify and complete the interiors. Even with these modifications, it appeared the family were not happy with the final decorations and over the next few years much work was covered up or dismantled. Burges' massive staircase however, was built and survived complete with a minstrel's gallery overlooking the Hall. During the first and second world wars the house suffered further modifications when it was used as a hospital. Knightshayes Court remained in the Heathcoat Amory family

[90] John Heathcoat was a pioneer in the lace making and textile industries in Nottingham and Loughborough, and designed and patented a revolutionary lace-making machine, during the boom years of Victorian industrial development in the 1860s and 1870s. His factory in Loughborough was burnt down by Luddites, so he moved his business to the safety of Tiverton in Devon where the wool industry was in decline, and built a new factory. He built schools and houses for his workers, and was much admired by the local community. By the 1860s his factory had become the largest lace-making concern in the world.

[91] The original albums of Burges' designs are still held at Knightshayes Court.

[92] Crace decorated the interiors of the Houses of Parliament along with Augustus Pugin.

until 1972 when it was gifted to the National Trust. It is now considered a rare example of Gothic revival architecture and the work of William Burges.

The aim of the National Trust is to "restore the nineteenth-century features of the house in so far as the evidence of old photographs, architectural drawings and salvaged materials survive and money allows" (National Trust, 1981: 48). They are also in the process of reconsidering interpretation of the property which is currently displayed as a Victorian residence. To furnish the house the Trust have borrowed key pieces of furniture from other collections[93].

Burges' original vision for the house interiors would undoubtedly have included many oriental carpets due to his admiration of the Islamic style, which he felt was "allied in some respects to that of the 13th century in Europe" (National Trust, 1981: 14). For example, for the floors in the Morning Room he prescribed "*carpets of Turkish, Persian, Indian and other Eastern production*" (National Trust, 1981: 25). Now, according to their inventory, the house contains a total of thirty carpets, including a machine-made carpet commissioned by the National Trust for the Morning Room, Persian and Axminsters. Five are listed as being in store rooms, two in cellars, one removed and one unknown. Apart from the carpet in the Billiards Room, few are original to the house. The Morning Room carpet and the carpet in the Drawing Room are the only two to be mentioned in the Knightshayes Guidebook (National Trusts; 1981: 26). In 1991 John Mills surveyed six Turkish knotted carpets at Knightshayes:-

Description (John Mills)	Current Location	Cat No	Provenance

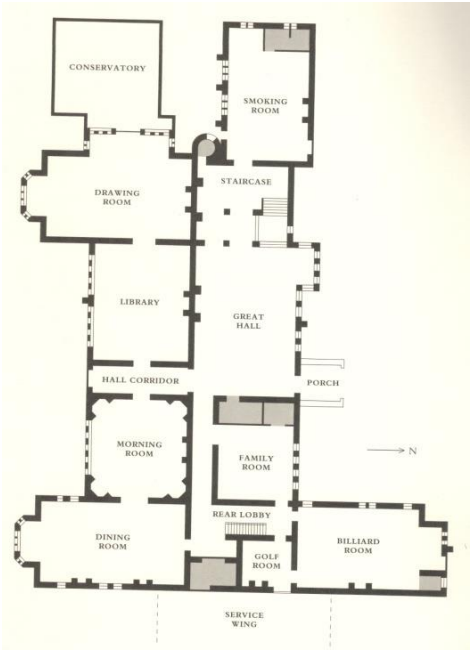
[93] For example the Golden Bed and two painted cabinets in the Burges Room are from the Victoria & Albert Museum

Turkish; 814 x 498 cms; 2nd half of 19th century	Drawing Room	541504	Bought by the National Trust circa 1988 from Wembury House
Turkish; size in cms: 710 x 452; Early 20th century; a "Turkey carpet" with lurid, evidently synthetic dyes, especially the reds and greens.	Hall	541473	
Turkish; size in cms: 299 x 319; Early 20th century; pile; another "Turkey carpet" very like the preceding example.	This was in the hall, but may now be in the Minstrels' gallery	?	
Turkish; size in cms: 618 x 310; 20th century; pile; a so-called "Sparta" carpet, supposedly made in Isparta, Turkey.	Smoking Room	541459	
Turkish; size in cms: 388 x 381; 19th / 20th century; pile; another "Turkey carpet" on blue-green warps as often the case. These carpets were made in the vicinity of Ushak in Western Anatolia.	Mills listed this as being in the Gun Room, but it is now in the Gentleman's Room	541453 or KNI/T/159	
Turkish; 20th century; pile; lengths of Turkey stair-carpeting cut up to go round the billiards table.	Billiards Room	541352 or KNI/T/50	Since re-classified as being a Wilton Stair carpet, originally fitted on the back stairs of the house

Table vii) Summary of Turkish carpets at Knightshayes in 2011

Field-work was undertaken in the Drawing Room which is a large room and the final room in the tour of the house. There are no barriers in the room and visitors are encouraged to sit in the arm chairs to read material placed on the occasional tables. The elaborate ceiling, massive Burges fireplace and Batley cabinet dominate the room. There are some Islamic influences, such as the blue and white Iznik vase and the two small occasional tables.

Chapter Four: Field-work



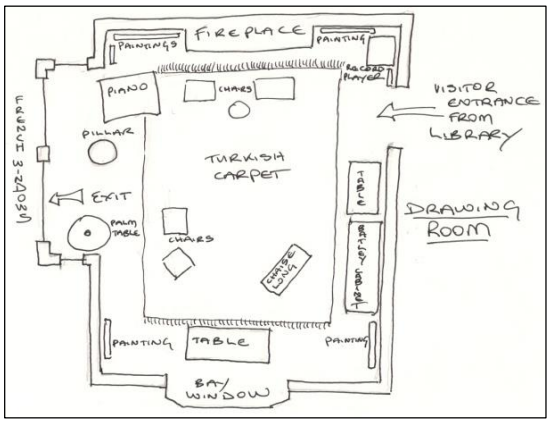


Fig xxii a & b)

The ground floor plan of Knightshayes Court; a sketch of the Drawing Room showing the position of the carpet.

The carpet in the Drawing Room is late 19th century and was especially admired by Mills who described it as: "a vast 'Turkey carpet' of the most unusual design of good quality and good colours. This is probably the best example of its kind I have so far seen in NT houses" (1989: Knightshayes Court survey) and as such he merited it as a "B" carpet, the highest out of the four surveyed for this research. It seems a shame, therefore, that it appears to be a *sacrificial* carpet with visitors free to walk over it. In places it has been worn down to the warp and there are some problems with the edges rucking and creasing. Although not original to Knightshayes it does have some provenance, having been purchased from Wembury House when the estate was sold in 1988[94].

[94] Wembury was a Georgian mansion built by Major Edmund Lockyer, a Plymouth-born man who became an officer in the 57th Regiment and later, when he left England in 1825, an explorer of Australia. The house is now in private ownership, though the National Trust own adjacent lands; sales catalogue held at Devon Record Office 3372M-0/96 1988, sale catalogue The Wembury Estate

Fig xxiii a, b& c) The Turkish carpet in the Drawing Room at Knightshayes Court; an Islamic influenced side table; a detail of the carpet

Saltram House

Chapter Four: Field-work

Fig xxiv)

Saltram House; view of the South and East fronts

Overlooking the River Laira, Saltram House is within five miles of Plymouth City Centre at Plympton. The current house was largely created between the 1740s and 1820s by three generations of the Parker family. John Parker inherited the house in 1743 and remodelled the original Tudor building by covering it in Palladian-style facades, installing rococo ceilings in the main rooms along with Chinoiserie wallpaper and mirrors. His son, John Parker, who married well to the daughter of Lord Grantham and was subsequently created 1st Baron Boringdon, used his acquired status and wealth in 1768 to commission Robert Adam, the leading architect and designer of the day, to create a suite of neo-classical rooms along the east front. To match Adams' ceilings in the dining room and Saloon the English carpet-maker, Thomas Whitty of Axminster, was commissioned to supply bespoke hand-knotted carpets and these rooms are now some of the finest surviving Adam interiors in Britain. By 1861 the Parker family were running out of money and Saltram was let out, but Albert Edmund Parker, 3rd Earl of Morley, also married well and with renewed funding he set about restoring the fortunes of the house and the family returned there to live in 1884. His son inherited Saltram in 1905, but never married and lived there with his brother. Saltram Park was used by the American army as a base during the Second World War and suffered some bomb damage, but after the war life for the two elderly gentlemen returned to normal. The 4th Earl's death in 1951 resulted in substantial death duties and

the house, its contents and 291 acres were accepted in lieu of death duties by H.M. Treasury and transferred to the National Trust in 1957.

Most of the original furniture has survived at Saltram, along with a few of the important early English carpets and Chinese wallpapers. Three of the early English carpets are mentioned in the house guide book; the carpet in the Velvet Drawing Room and the Axminster carpets in the Saloon and Dining Room (National Trust, 2011: 11,14,20). Visitors cannot enter the Saloon and Dining Room and view the rooms from behind rope barriers. The carpets have been rolled back from the doorways to create a viewing area and to prevent wear and tear. Guides and the conservation team have to remove their shoes to access the room.

Fig xxv a & b)

Care of the early Axminster carpets in the Dining Room and Saloon at Saltram House

Mills surveyed two Turkish carpets at Saltram in 1991, both of which are still at the house and can be freely walked on.

Description (John Mills)	Current Location	Cat No	Provenance
A large "Turkey Carpet" of conventional design; 19th to 20th century; very good condition as far as I could see	Garden Room	SAL/T/95	Endowment
A rather fine "Turkey carpet" on a blue ground with a red border. Red wool warps and wefts; mid-19th century; pile a bit low in some areas but not threadbare. Edges damaged in places but the side walked on is now protected with drugget.	Morning Room	SAL/T/3	Endowment

Table viii) Summary of Turkish carpets at Saltram in 2011

Field-work was carried out in the Garden Room at the House Manager's request, which is towards the end of the house tour. It is a modestly sized room and quite gloomy with dark red walls. Thought to have originally been the estate office, it was later changed to a billiard room and then a study. The room now has no evident theme and it is mainly used to house the collection of large landscape pictures depicting local scenes and a display of implements and utensils found at the house. A notice asks visitors to guess the uses of the implements which created much interest and amusement whilst field-work was in progress and was particularly popular with adults: "*It's always nice to have a bit of fun – it's not just children who should have it!*" (female visitor on day 1).

Chapter Four: Field-work

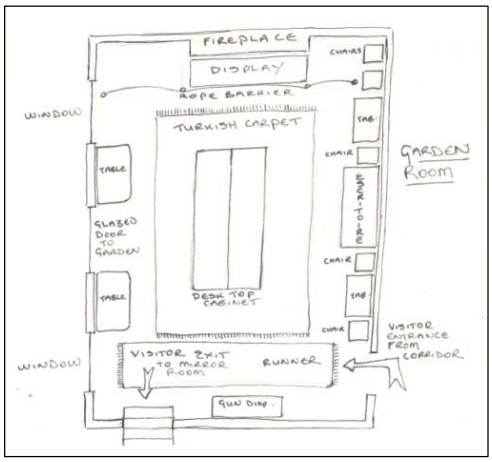


Fig xxvi a & b)

Floor plan of the ground floor at Saltram House; sketch showing the location of the Turkish carpet in the Garden Room

The carpet in the Garden Room is large and blue and green design on a vibrant red ground, suggesting that it was chemically dyed, and this is possible as Mills simply describes it as "19th/20th century". The condition is generally very good, though the pile is worn down and it has lost most of its fringing, and the green kilim weave at both ends is fraying. There is a large double sided desk-top display case in the middle of the carpet which visitors walk around.

Fig xxvii)

The Turkish carpet in the Garden Room at Saltram House; detail of the edge of the carpet.

5.3 Research Findings[95]

A total of seven days of observations were completed at the four properties. Each site was visited at the weekend for consistency of data and each research period typically lasting for about four and a half hours[96].

Day One: Non-participatory observations of visitors at historic houses

Visitor types	What the visitor appeared to take an interest in	What the visitor asked about
Assess age range (within 20 years)	Note items that visitors appear to engage with visualy (this is subjective as it can be difficult to interpret what a person is seeing)	Note when visitors asked the room guide about specific items
Assess group type: single, couple or family group		
Assess ethnicity (where apparent)		

Table ix) Observational criteria for field-work at National Trust properties

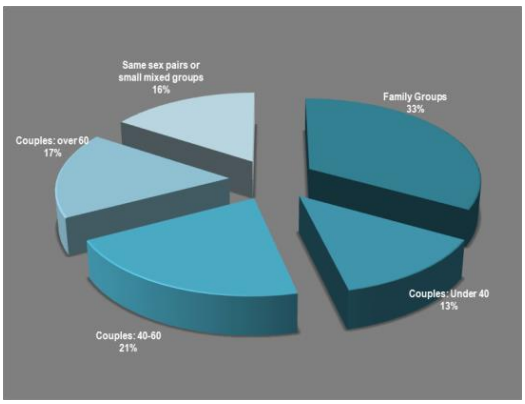
During the four days of observations an estimated total of 2,156 visitors passed through the four sites[97].

[95] For a sample of the analysis spread-sheet for Cotehele see Appendix vi)

[96] Properties typically opened to the public at 11.00 am, with the first visitors reaching the last rooms by about 12.00. Last visitors were normally let in at 4.30 and finished their tour by around 5.00 pm.

[97] Based on the National Trust's entry figures at the door; numbers of visitors passing through the room where field-work was taking place may have been less as some visitors may made a detour or left the building early.

	Family Groups	Couples: Under 40	Couples: 40-60	Couples: over 60	Same sex pairs or small mixed groups
Cotehele	39	15	21	9	18
Lanhydrock	54	20	21	26	27
Knightshayes	51	13	24	26	10
Saltram	9	13	31	17	18
	153	61	97	78	73



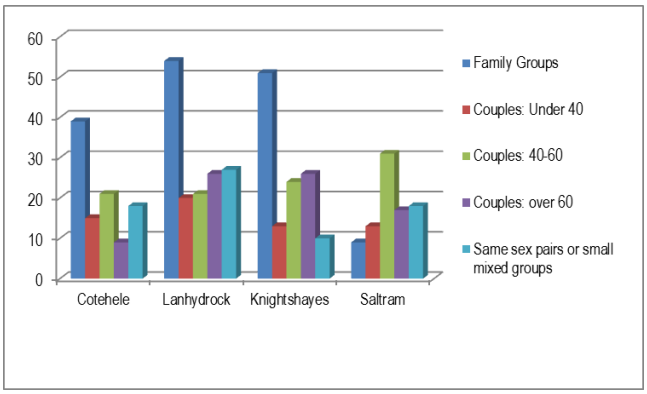


Table x) An analysis of visitor types across the four field-work sites

	Awareness	Total visitors	% of visitors who showed awareness
Cotehele	12	358	3.4%
Lanhydrock	2	1,190	0.2%
Knightshayes	1	427	0.2%
Saltram	2	181	1.1%
	17	2,156	**0.8%**

Table xi) Summary of visual awareness of the Turkish carpet at the four sites

Cotehele			Lanhydrock			Knightshayes			Saltram		
Objects that visitors showed a specific interest in:	Visual engag. only	Visual engag. & asked	Objects that visitors showed a specific interest in:	Visual engage. only	Visual engag. & asked	Objects that visitors showed a specific interest in:	Visual engag. only	Visual engag. & asked	Objects that visitors showed a specific interest in:	Visual engag. only	Visual engag. & asked
The Squint	84	3	Walked straight through the room	68	0	Ceiling	89	2	Display of utensils	85	24
Closet with window to chapel	72	3	Tapestries	38	0	Paintings	78	1	Central display with scrolls	66	0
Altar frontal	40	5	Table with maps and	28	1	Cabinet	69	3	Cabinet containing guns	42	0
Tapestries	20	1	Fireplace	25	0	Fireplace	39	0	Paintings	37	3
Bed and hangings	15	4	The view from the	25	0	Table with palm	39	2	Inlaid marble table tops	21	0
Shutters, window sill and woodworm	10	1	Cabinets with porcelein	14	0	Photographs	38	0	Views from window	20	0
High chair	10	0	Ceiling	10	1	Piano	32	1	Porcelein	16	2
Mirror and deal table	10	0	Vases in the windows	4	0	Walked straight through	17	0	Books under central	10	0
Puzzle jug	9	3	Desk	2	0	Vases	15	5	Italian gilt side-tables	8	0
Floorboards	4	1	Chairs	1	0	Record player & records	9	0	Ecritoire	7	1
Print by Condy	4	1	Locks and doors	1	0	Flowers	3	0	Walked straight through	6	0
Locks and doors	4	0				Curtains	1	0	Fireplace carved with Romulus and Remus	3	1
Fireplace	2	0				Chair	1	0	Hunting horns	1	0
Ceiling	2	0				Light fittings	1	0	Rent table	0	1
Secretaire	1	0				Ceramic plate on table	1	1			
Bogus items	0	4				Doors & locks	1	1			

Table xii) An analysis of other items in the room at the four sites that visitors showed visual awareness of (listed by most popular)

Generally, family groups are high at three of the four sites because field-work was undertaken during the school holiday period[98]. The key objects observed in each room were in line with what was expected. At Lanhydrock most visitors walked straight through the room; at Cotehele the Squint, much loved by the children was most looked at and at Knightshayes the original Burges ceiling. The display of unusual implements at Saltram increased interest, amusement, interaction not just between visitors but between visitors and stewards – particularly as it was so late in the tour. From visual observations alone, no members from ethnic minority communities were noted.

The overall awareness of the carpets at 0.8% is low (see Table ix). The carpet at Cotehele has the highest number of visitors appearing to be aware of it (12 out of 358) but it is a very worn and small carpet and the floors at Cotehele are uneven, the boards creak and they are on many levels. Generally people at this property were more liable to look down. In none of the properties did anyone

[98] Saltram was the last to be done and school holidays had finished

ask about the carpets during the field-work. Children seemed more aware of the carpets. At Knightshayes one girl, perhaps aged twelve to fifteen, commented to her companion that the carpet was lovely - the patterns looked African, and a toddler sat on it and contemplated it for a few minutes. At Lanhydrock when the room was quiet two small boys spent a few minutes looking at the carpet in detail.

Day Two: Structured one-to-one interviews with visitors

A total of twenty full interviews were completed across three properties. Lanhydrock was not included in this process because of high visitor numbers and concerns regarding congestion, but brief interviews were completed with three respondents.

Cotehele	9 respondents	Full questionnaire
Knightshayes Court	6 respondents	Full questionnaire
Saltram House	5 respondents	Full questionnaire
Lanhydrock	3 respondents	Reduced questionnaire
	23 respondents	

Initial interview targets had been higher (around ten at each property), but the large number of visitors at the properties restricted the numbers willing to stop and interact. Selection of respondents relied on those who were willing to stop and families with small children or visitors in groups were not keen to participate. Those who were interviewed tended to be couples or solitary visitors. The full interview lasted between fifteen minutes to half an hour depending on the receptivity of the respondent and took place in the room with the Turkish carpet. A station with a small table and two chairs was set up which allowed visitors to relax and time to reflect. Interviews consisted of a questionnaire with a mixture of multiple choice or single positive / negative answers, and for some questions respondents were presented with pictorial

cards. The last page of the questionnaire gathered information about the respondent such as age, gender, hobbies and location of permanent address.

What the questionnaires said about visitor types to the National Trust properties:

	White	Asian	West Indian	African	Chinese	Other	
Cotehele	9	0	0	0	0	0	
Lanhydrock	3	0	0	0	0	0	
Knightshayes	6	0	0	0	0	0	
Saltram	5	0	0	0	0	0	
	23	0	0	0	0	0	**23**

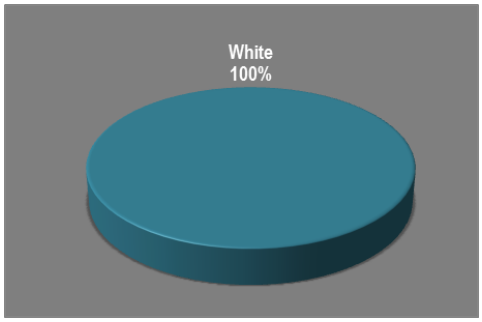


Table xiii) Question 5a: Ethnicity

	Under 18	18 to 25	26 to 39	40 to 49	51 to 60	Over 60	Don't wish to say	Missed question	
Cotehele	0	0	1	1	1	5	0	1	
Lanhydrock	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	
Knightshayes	0	0	1	0	1	4	0	0	
Saltram	0	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	
	0	0	2	4	4	12	0	1	**23**

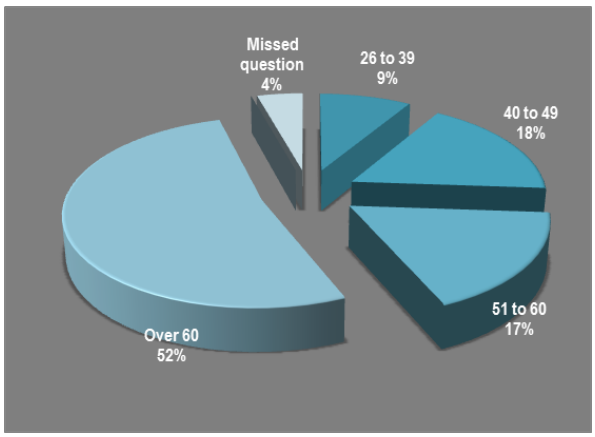


Table xiv) Question 5b: Age

	Catholic	Protestant	Christian	Non-believer	Don't wish to say	Hindu	Buddhist	Other	
Cotehele	1	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	
Lanhydrock									
Knightshayes	0	0	3	2	1	0	0	0	
Saltram	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	
	1	4	6	8	1	0	0	0	**20**

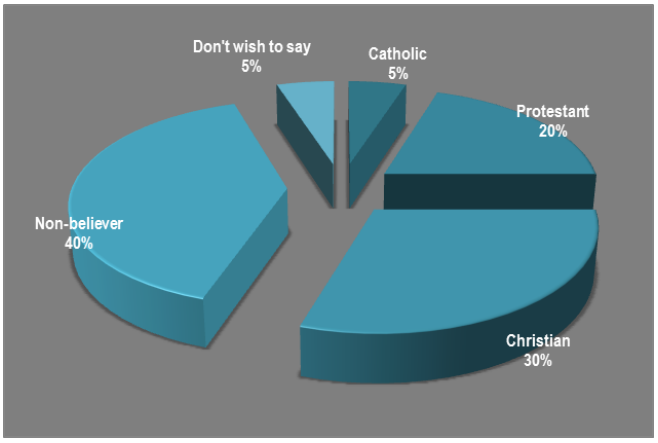


Table xv) Question 5d: Religious beliefs

	Plymouth	Elsewhere in Devon	Elsewhere in Cornwall	Elsewhere in South West	Elsewhere in UK	Exeter	Missed question	
Cotehele	2	1	1	1	3	0	1	
Lanhydrock	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	
Knightshayes	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	
Saltram	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	
	2	4	1	4	11	0	1	**23**

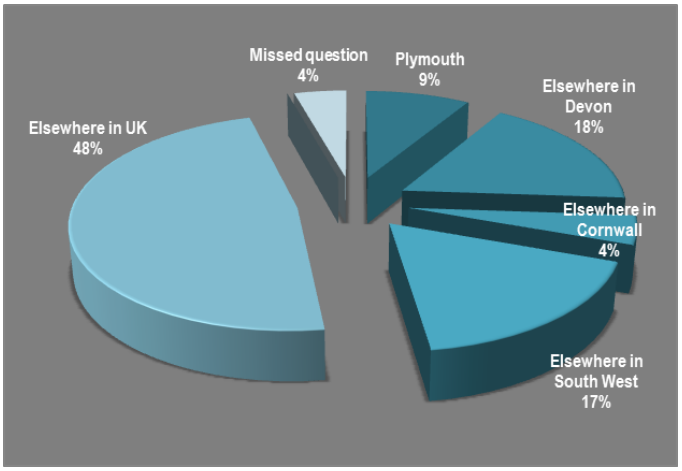


Table xvi) Question 5f: Where is your permanent home?

	Male	Female	
Cotehele	4	5	
Lanhydrock	2	1	
Knightshayes	1	5	
Saltram	2	3	
	9	14	**23**

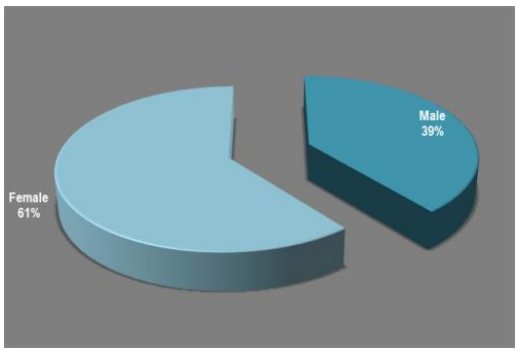


Table xvii) Question 5g: Gender

100 per cent of the respondents were white, with those describing themselves as being over 60 forming the largest group (52%). Most visitors who answered the survey came from elsewhere in the UK (48%), a reflection of the fact that it was the holiday season. None of the respondents came from Exeter and only 9% from Plymouth. Most visitors described themselves as "non-believers" (40%). 61% of respondents were female and 39% male.

What the questionnaires said about the respondents' values towards heritage:

	First time	2 to 5 times	More than 5 times	
Cotehele	3	3	3	
Lanhydrock				
Knightshayes	5	1	0	
Saltram	3	1	1	
	11	5	4	**20**

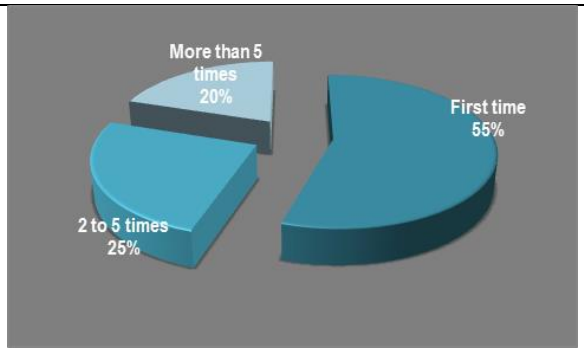


Table xviii) Question 1.1: How often have you visited the property?

	Yes	No	
Cotehele	9	0	
Lanhydrock			
Knightshayes	4	2	
Saltram	5	0	
	18	2	**20**

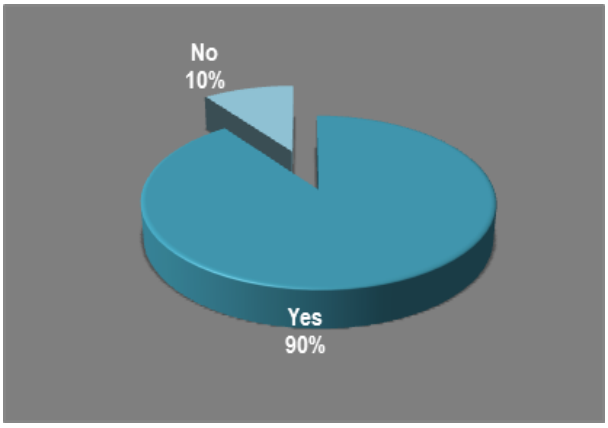


Table xix) Question 2.4: Did you find there was enough information available?

	Once a year or less	2 to 5 times a year	More than 5 times a year	
Cotehele	0	3	6	
Lanhydrock				
Knightshayes	1	4	1	
Saltram	0	3	2	
	1	10	9	**20**

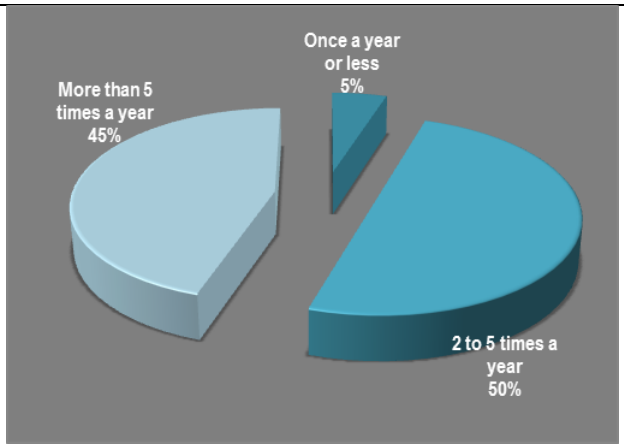


Table xx) Question 5e: How often do you visit a heritage site?

For 55% of respondents this was their first visit to the property – again reflecting the holiday season, but the respondents were generally regular visitors to heritage sites with 50% visiting a site between two and five times a year and 45% more than five times in a year, showing that these are people already "filtered" by a love of heritage. *Question 2.4: Did you find there was enough information available?* reflects that the National Trust are getting it right with 90% of those asked feeling there was sufficient information available for their visit. Knightshayes was the exception, with two respondents out of the six feeling there wasn't enough information; one saying "it's not as good here as at other properties" (KNI/010). However, one really enjoyed the film (KNI/001). Another suggested a plan of the house would be helpful (KNI/004). At Saltram two of the respondents commented that the stewards were excellent and very helpful – "really super" (SAL/001 and SAL/002) and another that the whole experience was "really well done" (SAL/004).

What the questionnaires said about the respondents' knowledge of Turkish carpets:

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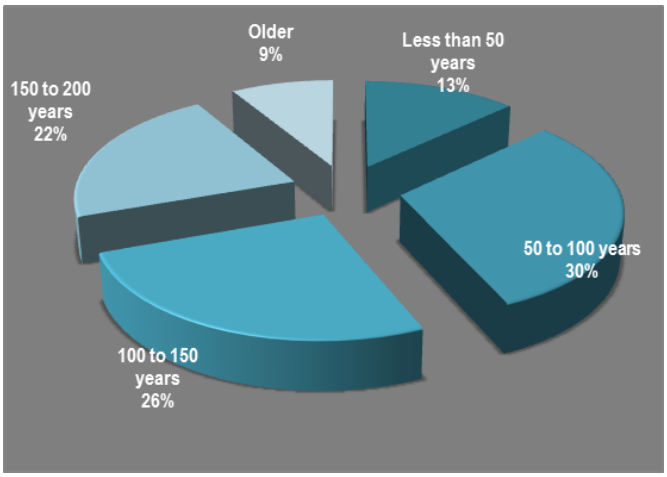
	Less than 50 years	50 to 100 years	100 to 150 years	150 to 200 years	Older	
Cotehele	2	2	1	2	2	
Lanhydrock	0	0	1	2	0	
Knightshayes	1	3	2	0	0	
Saltram	0	2	2	1	0	
	3	7	6	5	2	**23**



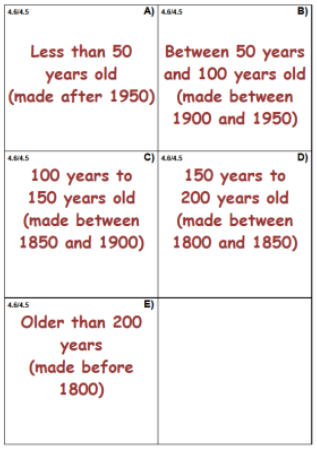


Table xxi) Question 4.5: How old do you think the carpet is? (single response; picture cards)

	Mechanised loom / factory / Western man (A)	Mechanised loom / factory / Eastern men (B)	Vertical loom / factory / hand-knotting / Western women (C)	Mechanised loom / factory / Western women (D)	Small horizontal loom / flat-weaving /domestic / Eastern man (E)	Vertical loom / factory / hand-knotting / Eastern children (F)	Vertical loom / factory / hand-knotting / Eastern women (G)	Floor loom / flat-weaving / domestic / Eastern woman (H)	Machine-woven	Hand-woven	
Cotehele	0	1	0	0	4	0	3	1			
Lanhydrock									1	2	
Knightshayes	3	0	1	0	0	0	2	0			
Saltram	4	0	0	0	1	0	0	0			
	7	1	1	0	5	0	5	1	1	2	23

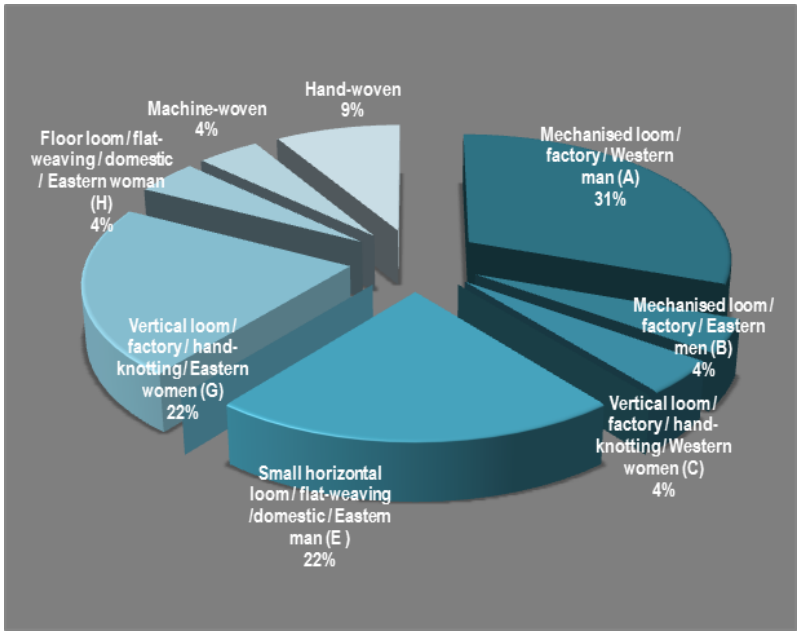


Table xxii) Question 4.6: How do you think the carpet was made? (single response; picture cards)

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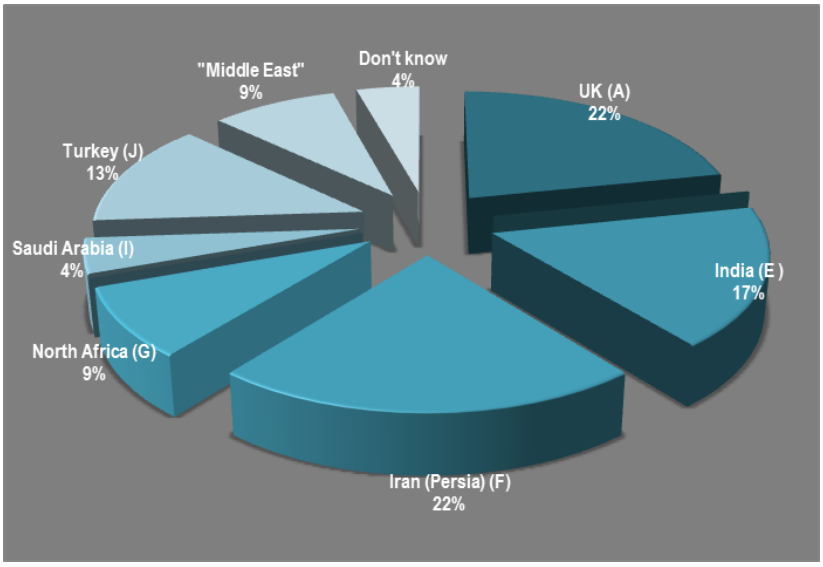
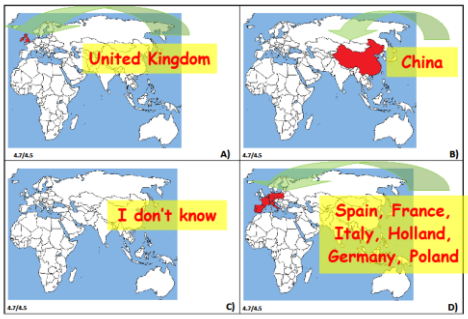
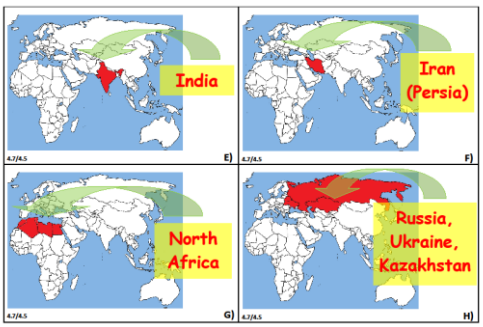
	UK (A)	China (B)	Spain / France / Italy / Holland (D)	India (E)	Iran (Persia) (F)	North Africa (G)	Russia / Ukraine / Kazakhstan (H)	Saudi Arabia (I)	Turkey (J)	"Middle East"	Don't know	
Cotehele	1	0	0	2	3	0	0	1	2		0	
Lanhydrock					1					2	0	
Knightshayes	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	1		0	
Saltram	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0		1	
	5	0	0	4	5	2	0	1	3	2	1	23







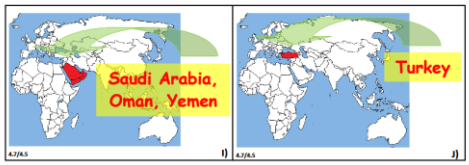


Table xxiii) Question 4.7: Where do you think the carpet was made? (single response; picture cards)

	Yes	No	
Cotehele	7	2	
Lanhydrock			
Knightshayes	2	4	
Saltram	2	3	
	11	9	**20**

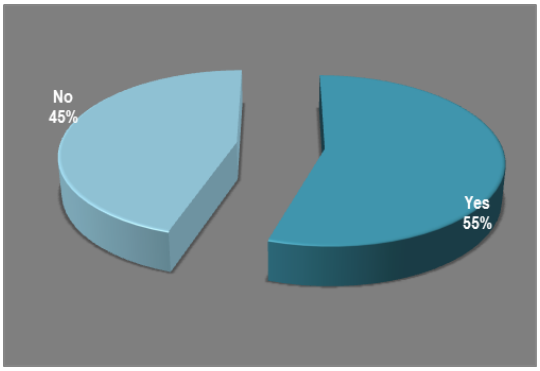


Table xxiv) Question 4.8: Before today did you think about the background of carpets at all?

	Wilton	Axminster	Brintons of Kidderminster	Kidderminster	Heales
Cotehele	5	7	1	1	0
Lanhydrock					
Knightshayes	5	6	0	0	1
Saltram	4	4	0	0	0
	14	17	1	1	1

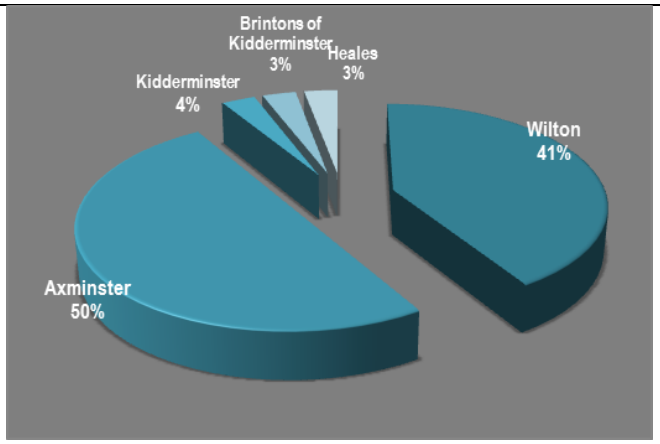


Table xxv) Question 4.9: Can you think of any names of famous carpet makers today?(free question)

All four carpets dated from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century. The visitors' answers reflected a fair assessment of this with most feeling they were between 50 to 200 years old. 13% felt they were less than fifty years old, and two respondents (both at Cotehele) felt the carpet there was over 200 years old; again a fair assessment given it was the oldest, in poor condition and the age of the property. *Question 4.6: How do you think the carpet was made*, created much contemplation and debate. One man got down on his hands and knees to look closer, several asked if they could lift the carpet up to look at the back; the image of the children weaving triggered moralising and no-one chose this image, with several saying they hoped this wasn't how it was made. 31% of respondents felt the carpet was made by a western man working at a mechanised loom (image A)

Fig xxviii)

How do you think the carpet was made? Image A

Image E, an Eastern man working at a small horizontal loom outside a dwelling, and Image G, Eastern women knotting at a large vertical loom (probably the most accurate) were each chosen by 22% of respondents.

Fig xxix)

How do you think the carpet was made? Image E

Fig xxx)

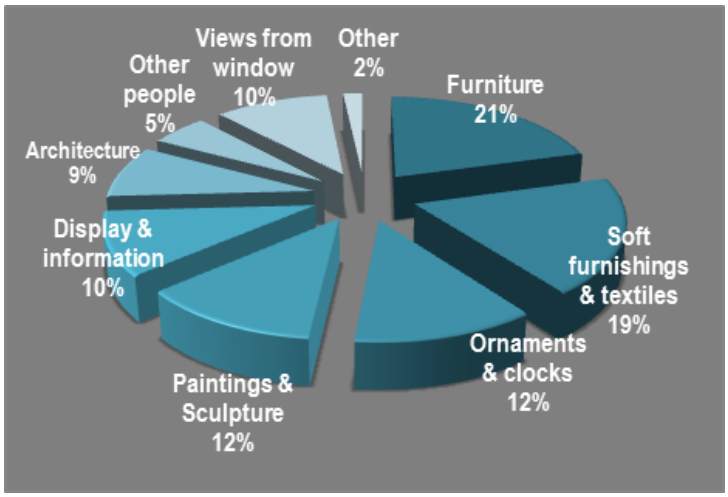
How do you think the carpet was made? Image G

Reflecting the weaving method, the origin of the carpet was likewise split evenly (22% each) between Iran and the UK. Only 3 out of 23 thought the carpet was made in Turkey. 55% of respondents said they were interested in carpets and had considered their origins and, or history prior to the interview. Two had visited carpet workshops whilst on holiday in either Turkey or Morocco (COT/005 and COT/007); one had bought a silk carpet whilst on holiday in Egypt (KNI/001); another said she found the smell of them very evocative as her father used to be a carpet seller (KNI/006). Most of the respondents could quickly remember the household names of *Wilton* and *Axminster*.

Chapter Four: Field-work

What the questionnaires said about the value respondents placed on the carpet:

	Furniture	Soft furnishings & textiles	Ornaments & clocks	Paintings & Sculpture	Display & information	Architecture	Other people	Views from window	Other
Cotehele	5	9	3	2	2	2	3	1	1
Lanhydrock									
Knightshayes	5	1	3	2	1	3	0	3	0
Saltram	2	1	1	3	3	0	0	2	0
	12	11	7	7	6	5	3	6	1



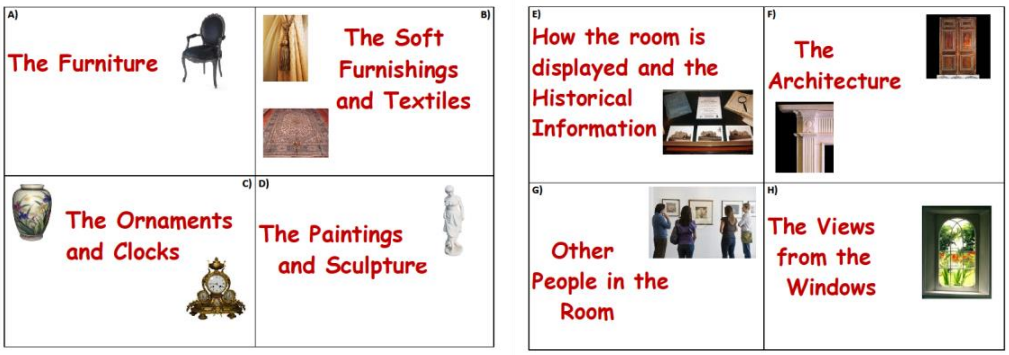


Table xxvi) Question 2.2: What things in the room did you notice most or find the most interesting? (multiple answers; picture cards)

	Cabinet / Table	Tapestry / Altar cloth / Bedcover	Fireplace / Ceiling	Vases	Nothing	Chairs	Guns	
Cotehele	5	3	1	0	0	0	0	
Lanhydrock								
Knightshayes	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	
Saltram	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	
	9	3	2	3	1	1	1	**20**

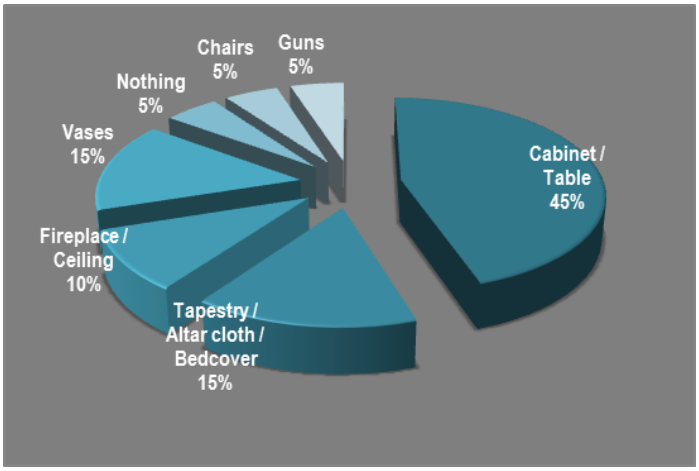


Table xxvii) Question 2.3: If you could have one item from this room in your own home what would it be? (free question)

	Yes	No	
Cotehele	3	6	
Lanhydrock	0	3	
Knightshayes	2	4	
Saltram	2	3	
	7	16	**23**

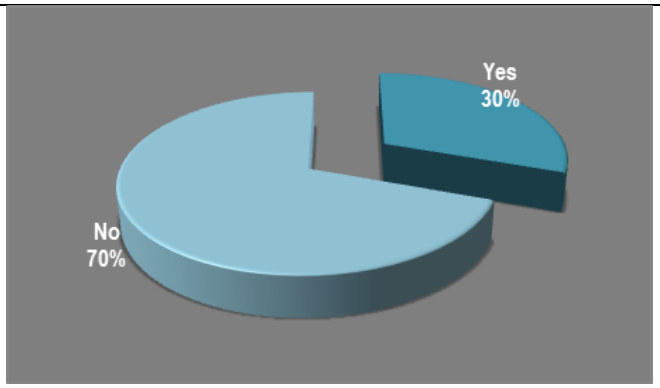


Table xxviii) Question 4.1: Whilst you were in the room did you look at the floor and what was on it?

	Negative Descriptions	Postive Descriptions	Neutral Descriptions
Cotehele	1	11	5
Lanhydrock	0	2	1
Knightshayes	3	4	3
Saltram	4	8	2
	8	25	11

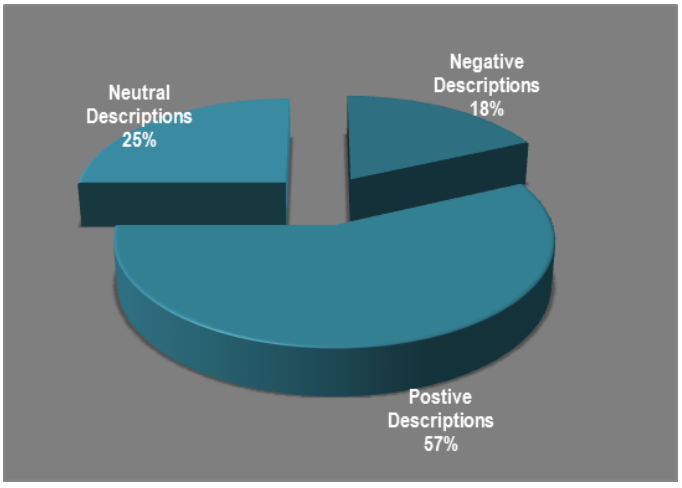


Table xxix.) Question 4.2: What cards would you chose that you feel best describe the carpet? (multiple answers; word cards)

	Very much	Probably	Probably not	Not at all	
Cotehele	1	1	3	4	
Lanhydrock	2	0	1	0	
Knightshayes	0	0	1	5	
Saltram	2	0	1	2	
	5	1	6	11	**23**

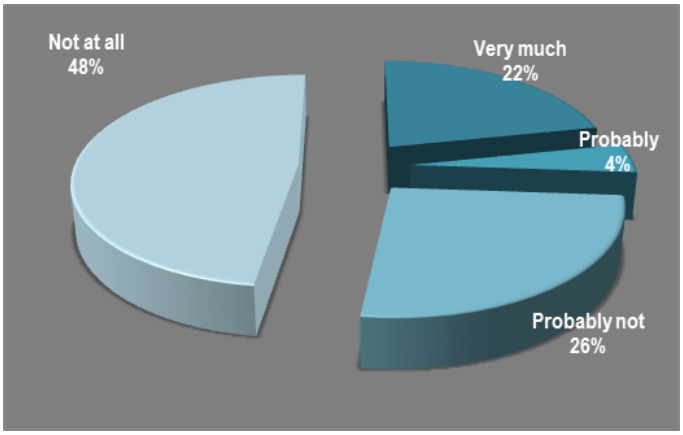
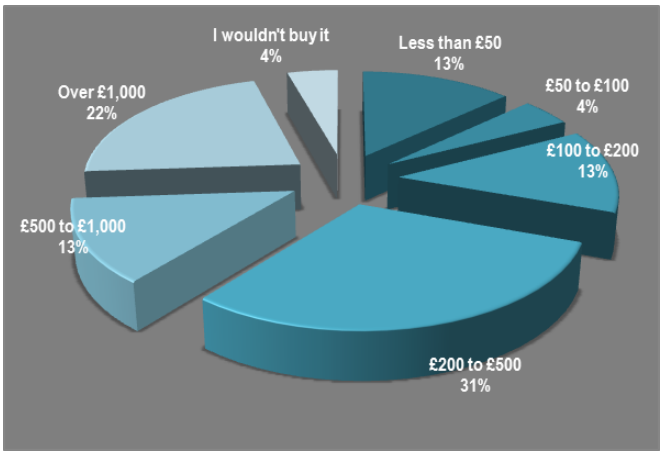


Table xxx) Question 4.3: Would you like to have a carpet like this in your own home?

	Less than £50	£50 to £100	£100 to £200	£200 to £500	£500 to £1,000	Over £1,000	I wouldn't buy it	
Cotehele	2	1	1	3	2	0	0	
Lanhydrock	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	
Knightshayes	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	
Saltram	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	
	3	1	3	7	3	5	1	**23**



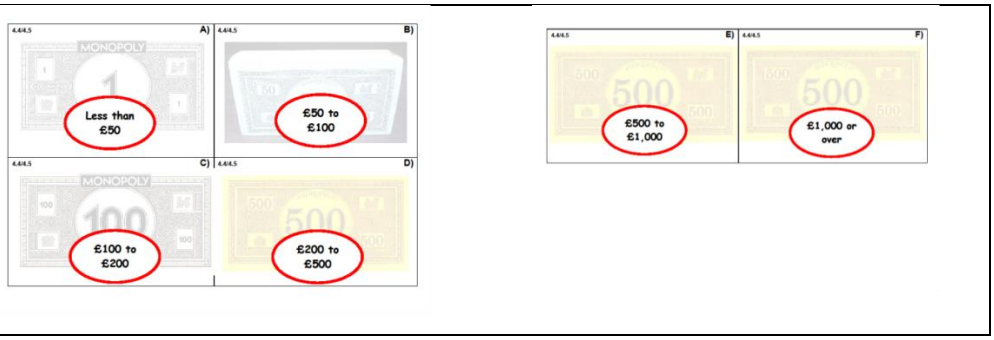


Table xxxi) Question 4.4: How much would you pay to buy a carpet like this? (single answer; picture cards)

	Very much	Probably	Don't know	Probably not	Not at all	
Cotehele	1	6	0	2	0	
Lanhydrock	2	1	0	0	0	
Knightshayes	0	3	1	1	1	
Saltram	2	3	0	0	0	
	5	13	1	3	1	**23**

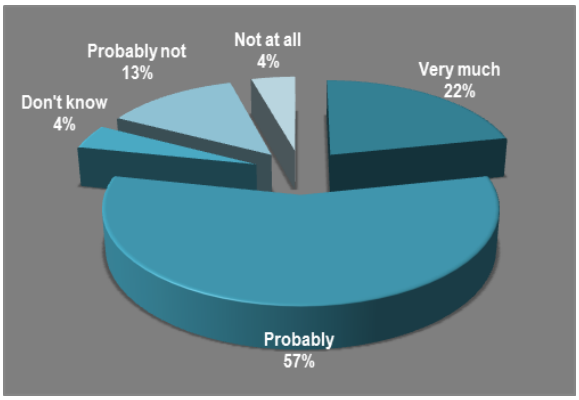


Table xxxii) Question 4.10: Would you like to learn more about their history?

These questions were designed to test the respondent's emotions and thoughts about the carpet. Question 2.2 *What did you notice in the room* encouraged them to look around and take more note without guiding them specifically to the floor. As to be expected for a furnished historic house the furniture was noticed most (21%); with soft furnishings coming second (19%). Question 2.3 *If you could have one item from this room in your own home what would it be* was to trigger the respondents' sense of personal preference and to begin to think about the items in the room as potential objects of desire. No one chose a carpet, although 15% chose a textile item. Of interest is their response to

question 4.1. When asked if they noticed the floor and what was on it 30% of respondents replied that they had, very different to the 0.8% on observation alone. One respondent who replied in the negative at Lanhydrock said "I go to so many properties and they all have carpets like this. I don't notice them anymore" (LAN/001). For question 4.2. describing the carpet, word cards were given to help to streamline responses. Cards were divided into negative descriptions, for example: scruffy; don't like colours; looks out of place; positive descriptions, for example: interesting; like the colours and neutral descriptions such as old or modern. 57% chose positive descriptors and 18% negative descriptors. Some respondents added their own comments "it needs some tender loving care" was said about the little carpet at Cotehele (COT/004); the carpet at Knightshayes was described as "of its period, a bit tasteless" (KNI/002); another thought it "looks like it's seem some action!" (KNI/003) and another that it brought back memories (KNI/005). 74% of respondents definitely or probably wouldn't want a similar carpet in their own home, again testing their feelings about the carpet's design, value and how it may fit into their life-style. "Our house has a contemporary feel. This carpet would be completely out of place" (KNI/003); "they're old-fashioned at the moment. If they came back into fashion we may have one" (LAN/001); "we used to have one; then it was in the attic; then I think it went to my daughters. We bought it new at Trago Mills[99]" (KNI/005); "we bought an Indian silk carpet and we have it hanging on the wall at home (KNI/002). *How much would you personally pay for the carpet* was a difficult concept to explain and was again asking people to put some personal worth on the carpet. Two people commented that the fact visitors could walk over the carpet meant it couldn't be worth anything, and one person flatly refused to give it a value as they just wouldn't buy it (SAL/004). Finally, when respondents were asked if they would like to learn more about the history of carpets 57% said *probably* and 22% *very much*: "I'd really like to learn how they were knotted" (COT/002)

[99] A discount warehouse in Cornwall.

What the questionnaire says about the respondents' personal values:

	Interest in architecture	Interest in history	Interest in gardens	Interest in Interior Design	Interest in Art	Just for a day out	Other
Cotehele	2	7	5	2	5	6	2
Lanhydrock							
Knightshayes	4	1	1	1	1	2	0
Saltram	2	3	2	2	1	2	0
	8	11	8	5	7	10	2

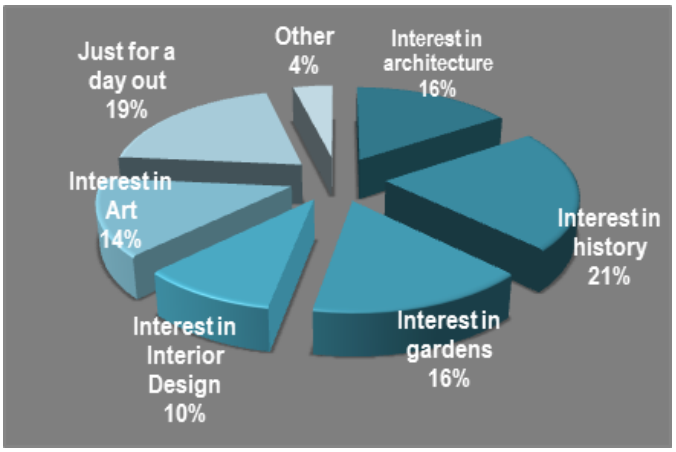


Table xxxiii) Question 1.2: Why did you come or come back to the property? (multiple choice suggestions)

	Yes	No	
Cotehele	9	0	
Lanhydrock			
Knightshayes	5	1	
Saltram	5	0	
	19	1	**20**

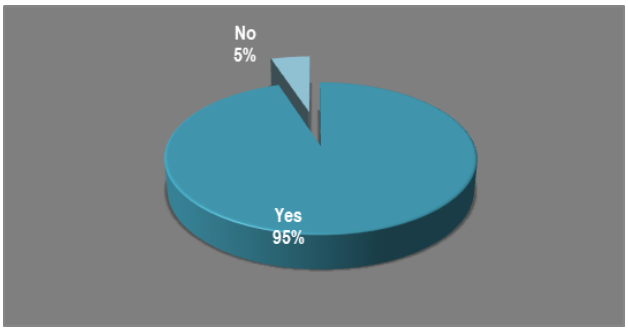


Table xxxiv) Question 1.3: Do you feel your visit to the house has taught you something new?

	Representation of career	Heirloom	Something they had made	Object of desire	A pet	Representation of belief	Representation of knowledge	Pass-times / recreation	
Cotehele	3	2	0	1	0	0	1	2	
Lanhydrock									
Knightshayes	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	2	
Saltram	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	
	5	2	2	1	1	1	2	6	**20**

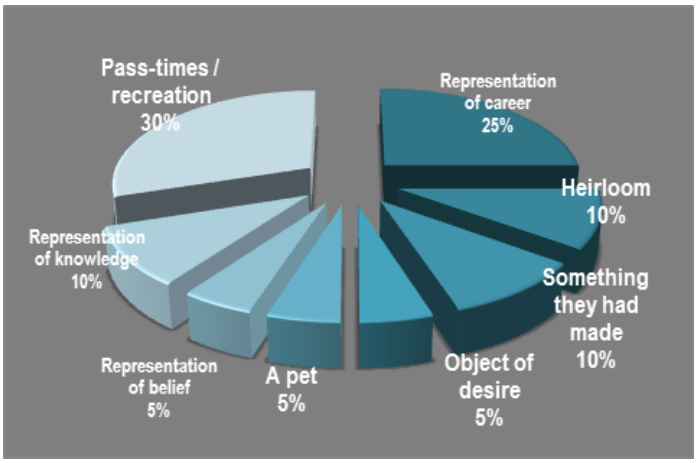


Table xxxv) Question 3.0: What would you include in a portrait of yourself, that represented who you were, what you loved or what you had achieved? (free question)

Chapter Four: Field-work

	Creative / Media / Arts	Science	Transportation Services	Administration / Finance	Armed Forces / MOD	Education / Public Sector	Other	Missed question	Legal / Property	Sales / Marketing	IT
Cotehele	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
Lanhydrock											
Knightshayes	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	2	0
Saltram	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
	4	1	1	3	1	3	4	1	1	3	1

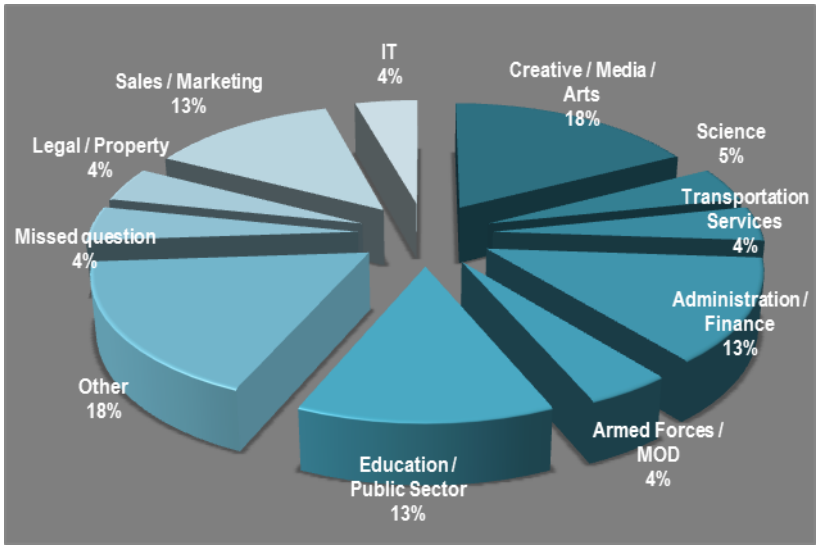


Table xxxvi) Question 5(c): Profession, or previous profession

	Gardening	Arts & Culture	Walking / Outdoors	Food & Wine	Cinema	Collecting	Pets	Socialising	Crafts	Sport	Computers	Travel	Reading	Music	DIY	TV	Writing
Cotehele	6	6	7	4	3	2	2	4	5	3	2	7	8	3	2	3	1
Lanhydrock																	
Knightshayes	5	2	3	4	1	1	3	3	3	0	0	4	4	3	1	2	0
Saltram	4	4	2	4	0	1	1	4	2	1	1	3	5	3	2	3	0
	15	12	12	12	4	4	6	11	10	4	3	14	17	9	5	8	1

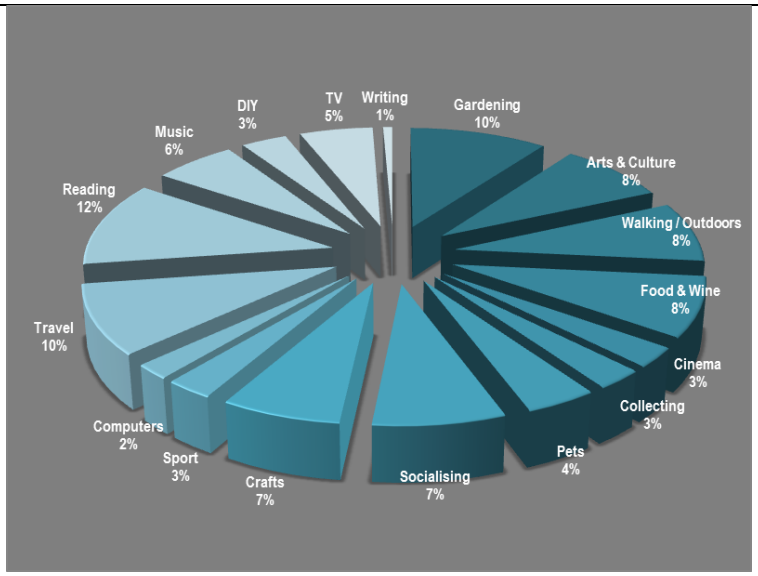


Table xxxvii) Question 5(h): Hobbies and interests

Most visitors said they were visiting the house because of an interest in history (21%). 19% said it was just for a day out, again reflecting that it was the holiday season and most of these answers came from National Trust members. One visitor at Cotehele returned regularly because her family had connections with the house and she felt very attached to it (COT/004). The question *Did you feel you learned something new* had a high 95% positive response, so again the National Trust appear to be meeting their educational remit.

Cotehele	Knightshayes	Saltram
The weight of a sword; about construction and commissioning of tapestries; about armour; the detail of tapestry borders; how important the proportions of a house are; the floorboards; how an organ is played; about Delft ware; about an escapee from the house	About William Burges; about Pugin; the film at beginning was excellent; about the Heathcotes and the lace factory; the skills and workmanship involved in restoring the house.	About the Adam ceilings; about the family from the family album; George III and his visit by barge; interior decoration styles; Adam and his work with Axminster

Table xxxviii) Summary of some of the things that visitors felt they had learned at the houses

Question 3.0 – *If you could have a portrait painted of yourself, what would you have included in it to represent who you were or what you had achieved* was designed to make respondents consider objects of desire and representation and what possessions they most valued. It was also a direct response to early English portraits where Turkish carpets were displayed along with the sitter. Their answers were categorised into groups, such as items representing pass-times; items representing career; items representing religious beliefs. Most chose an item that represented their pass-times or hobbies; reflecting the fact that over half of the respondents were above retirement age. For example "in my kitchen with the cat, the garden through the open door and my bottles of jams and chutneys" (COT/004); items that represented their past careers, in other words their identities, were also important for example a picture of the Ark Royal (COT/001) for a man who had served on board the ship. Heirlooms, for example "a mantle clock that belonged to my grandfather (COT/008) and items that represented faith or belief, for example a bible (KNI/006). No-one chose an item that necessarily represented materiality or status. Not surprisingly, no-one chose a Turkish carpet.

Conclusion

Conclusion

1. The fall, rise and fall of the Turkish hand-knotted carpet in England

Ger and Csaba wrote that Turkish carpets were forgotten by the 18th century and rediscovered in the 19th century (2000: 3). In fact the overall picture is more complex than this. The Turkish carpet as an object of rarity had probably reached its apex by the mid-1400s; it levelled off during the 1500s and started to decline in the 1600s, with a serious drop towards the end of that century. Throughout the 1700s to mid-1800s it remained in the doldrums, but by the mid to late 1800s it had risen again. It finally and catastrophically fell from favour in the early 1900s.

Before the mid-1400s the Turkish carpet was still undoubtedly an item of extraordinary rarity and, as such, treated almost as a relic. This was largely because for medieval Europe the lands to the East embodied a range of not only material but spiritual associations as the perceived location of paradise (Howard, 2007: 95). By the mid-1400s the Turkish carpet was becoming a more familiar commodity with Venetian galleys feeding the tastes of the English royalty and nobility. As such, its desirability was probably kept living through the first half of the 1500s when supplies dropped as a result of the Italian galleys ceasing to visit Southampton, and as the Mediterranean began to lose its central role as the crossroads of the three continents of the ancient world[100] (Hocquet, 2007: 44 to 45). Demand was sparked again by the

[100] There were a number of reasons for this: internal wars in Italy; increasing naval war-fare and ships with guns, which left the galleys with their low line of rowers vulnerable; the war between England and France in 1512 during which trade between England and Venice virtually ceased; the admiral of the Ottoman fleet, Barborossa, was also causing the Italian fleets constant difficulties from his strong-hold in Tunis; in 1479 the Ottomans had closed the Venetians access to the Black Sea, and when they took over Egypt in 1517, they terminated the Venetians trade in spices. In addition, by the end of the 15th century the navigable world had considerably expanded; a maritime route had been discovered around the Cape of Good Hope re-directing the spice trade towards Portugal's Atlantic coast, and the new continent of America was discovered making Spain a truly powerful country.

establishment of the English *Levant* or *Turkey Company* in 1581, introducing a new generation of English consumers to a tantalizing range of Turkish produce, including fine Ottoman carpets (Rowland, 1968: 47).

Throughout the 1500s there were also significant changes in living styles and accommodation, with communal rooms giving way to compartmentalisation as houses went through a transition from medieval military headquarters to domestic establishments. With this transformation in living, households began to serve as administrative and political centres and it became necessary to regulate, what McIntosh describes as "the crush of place-seekers, suitors and clients" (2008), with the family occupying rooms reserved for them alone. These new rooms, such as privy chambers, furthered the display of luxury items that made visible the householder's social and political standing to their guests, and they contained elaborate tapestries, ornate beds, sumptuous cushions and carpets (ibid.). Royalty and the nobility no longer proclaimed their political and social importance on the battle-field, but began to make political statements through architecture and furniture, and regularly commissioned portraits of themselves which included their most prized residences or furniture as indicators of their wealth and status.

Conclusion

Fig xxxi) Richard Sackville, Third Earl of Dorset by William Larkin (1613)

By the 17th century, the Turkish carpet had not disappeared in England, it had simply moved in status and, as such, dropped off the artistic radar for the time being. Van Dyck's royal portraits (1599–1641) clearly provide early evidence of the start of the Turkish carpet's demise from amongst the possession of one its most powerful of owners, the English royal family and court with the family of Charles I now placed on Persian carpets.

Fig xxxii) The five eldest children of Charles I by Anthony van Dyck (1637), oil on canvas

Conclusion

The English Civil War of 1642 to 1651 had a huge impact on material wealth, not least because of the dispersal of the estates and possessions of the Royalists. However, once again, the carpets hadn't disappeared but had been re-dispersed downwards, undoubtedly opened up the possibility for ownership of the Turkish carpet to a new class of consumers.

The Geffrye Museum in London is a useful indicator of the presence of the Turkish carpet amongst the new rising merchant classes. The museum describes itself as "representing the urban middle classes: a museum of typical rather than exceptional objects" (Geffrye Museum website). The rise of merchant-class house-holds who often ran their businesses from home using the ground floor, resulted in the arrival of tall, terraced houses. Living for the first time moved upwards and away from damp, and by the 1700s parlours had become the main living space for these classes. Bare wooden boards were normal, cleaned with dry sand, although a few Oriental carpets were beginning to make an appearance, they were still expensive items.

Fig xxxiii) A tea party by Josef van Aken (1719 to 1721)

Although Saoud describes the ownership of oriental carpets as being a part of the Baroque way of life, and that the Baroque movement was influenced by

Conclusion

Islamic art and arabesque forms (2004: 5); England, as with art, had gone its own way. The English Baroque movement flowered later than on the continent[101] and differed in that it was modeled on clarity of design and subtle taste for classicism. In the age of European "Grand Goût"[102] promoted by the French after 1680, the taste for the Middle East declined in France and places within the French cultural orbit, and in the 18th century there emerged a new found freedom of design.

The establishment of England's own hand-knotted carpet industry was undoubtedly the main cause of the demise of the Turkish carpet during the 18th century. England had been making tentative sorties into the carpet-making industry since the early 16th century, with the arrival of Flemish weavers who settled in South-east England and introduced *Norwich carpets*[103]; Kidderminster had also been making *fote cloths*, a coarse flat-woven carpet, and there were frequent descriptions of *green carpets* appearing in early inventories[104]. The carpet-making industry was triggered by a desire, initially in France, to master the techniques of knotting and so reduce the haemorrhage of silver to the Levant for the purchase of costly carpets. The first major workshop for hand-knotted carpets in Europe was the *Savonnerie Manufactory*, established in France using information brought back by Pierre DuPont who had been a trader in the Levant. Under the patronage of Louis XIII it produced magnificent carpets in silk and wool for the French courts based on Turkish and Persian designs and using the Turkish knot, but quickly moving to a unique

[101] English Baroque spanned from 1666 to the 1720s

[102] Goute meant taste

[103] a knotted pile carpets adapted from Anatolian or Persian techniques, but using Elizabethan-Jacobean scrolling designs.

[104] The significance of green is probably two-fold; firstly it did not challenge the royal red; but secondly woad was the most common dyeing agent in Medieval England and depending on its concentration, providing green or blue hues. Green was derived from the weakest solutions, probably solutions that had already been used for blue cloths. Dull green was also a cheap and common dye obtained from lichen during Elizabethan times (House of Commons, 2010).

Conclusion

French style with floral bouquets and garlands (Wikipedia: Savonnerie Manufactory). By the mid-18th century a carpet industry had been established in England and it is clear from this flurry of activity that it was as a result of early industrial espionage and poaching of skills from France. The five main factories were Wilton (circa 1741to1958) which had been established by the Earl of Pembroke with renegade weavers from France; Fulham Carpets (1750 to 1755) which was established by Peter Parisot, a French refugee and Savnonnierie weaver; Moorfields (1752 to 1806) owned by Thomas Moore who employed yet further renegade weavers from the French Savonnerie and Exeter (1756 to 1761) owned by Claude Passavant, also a renegade weavers from the French Savonnerie. Axminster was the exception (1755 to 1835). It was established by Thomas Whitty, an English weaver who was self-taught, through a process of spying on Peter Parisot and examining Turkish carpets.

Jacobs felt that the brief flowering of this English industry was a result of increased mechanisation and the desire for a return to hand-made goods (1968: 13). However, there was in addition, a new generation of consumers with an increased desire for personalisation and "branding"; Henry VIII's inventories, for example, reflected the very early appearance of this phenomenon with coats of arms and mottos in his collection of English carpets. These new English carpets met the requirements of a new class of consumer and parlours became fuller with coordinated wall-coverings and soft-furnishings, triggered by the work of Robert Adam.

During the 1700s a new attitude of *Turkophilia* began to emerge in the cultivated circle of the Enlightened Era (Hocquet, 2007: 50), which blossomed into significant artistic exchanges in the field of the decorative arts, items becoming known as *Turqueries*. A burgeoning number of traveller's accounts and ambassadorial reports emerged, enriched with details of court and everyday life, fuelling an appetite for all things *Turquesque*. Although in art sitters appeared wearing turbans and lounging on day beds, the Turkish carpet

does not appear to share this revival and disappears from art; a point confirmed by Mills (1975), and it appears the cultural influences of Turkey held more emphasis in the fields of literature, costume, fine art and crafts such as metal-work and ceramics.

Fig xxxiv) Charlotte Grenville and her children by Sir Joshua Reynolds (circa 1778)

During the 18th century, Georgian portraitists such as Allan Ramsay (1713 to 1784) introduced the Italian *grand style* into English portraiture, and intricate portraits with careful depictions of personal possessions gave way to backgrounds with sweeping landscapes and classical architecture. Although the Turkish carpet has apparently disappeared from view, they were still present in the many *Conversation Pieces*[105] being produced for the new customers of the portrait, the middle-class sitters (Dormant, 2009).

The Turkish carpet made a last surge into the lime-light during the 19th century. On the floor of the 1890s drawing room at the Geffrye Museum there is now a Turkish carpet placed on wooden floorboards. The oriental carpet has now become "typical" rather than "exceptional (Geffrey Museum). In 1818 the

[105] A conversation piece was an informal group portrait in which the sitters were shown full length, allowing the painter to place the sitter in a domestic setting surrounded by their property and possessions to indicate their social status or financial success. A direct out-growth of Dutch 17th century domestic portraiture, the genre became fashionable in England in the 1720s and 1730s

Conclusion

English hand-knotted carpet industry collapsed; partly as a result of the Napoleonic wars and partly as a result of the beginnings of machine-made carpets. By the 1890s these events had played directly into the hands of the Turkish carpet with the advent of the Arts and Crafts movement, which developed as a direct reaction against the emergence of mass consumption of industrially produced commodities. In addition, a series of international expositions held in London, Paris and Vienna between 1851 and 1876 stimulated the increased demand for these objects (Ger and Csaba, 2000: 3), and it was a time when all things Oriental once again became fashionable. Artistic inspiration in the Turkish carpet was to renew itself – or perhaps continue at its previously unsuspected level – with the charms of the rugs and carpets of the nomads or village weavers being discovered (Mills, 1975: 39). This was undoubtedly triggered by the emergence of mass tourism, with the Orient Express making its first trips to Venice and Constantinople, and by 1862 companies such as George Baker had opened retail premises in the city to meet the new breed of travellers (Wynn, 2008: 21). The Turkish carpet reappears in art; now in early photographs, and what becomes evident is that its new owners are now intellectuals, artists, writers and philosophers.

Fig xxxv) Sir William Thornycroft by Ralph Winwood (1889), platinum print.

Conclusion

By the end of the 19th century, as a result of the revival of the demand for hand-knotted carpets, the carpet exporting city of Smyrna had grown into one of the largest, richest and most cosmopolitan cities in the Mediterranean with a large Greek, Jewish and Armenian population, and it was home to rich Anglo-Levantine families such as the Girauds who owned the *Oriental Carpet Manufacturing Company* and employed some 150,000 people (idid: 17). The Oriental Carpet Manufacturers used brutal expansionist techniques during the early 1900s to drum out competition in Turkey, to create a monopoly of trade and to keep prices down (ibid: 9). Most of their carpets came from Ushak and its regions (ibid: 26). Following the War of Independence and the burning of Smyrna the OCM moved its main operations to London, Iran and India; undoubtedly leaving a gaping wound in the Turkish carpet making economy.

As late as 1947, in an attempt to salvage the carpet-making industry in England (which was then almost entirely heavily mechanised) a working party report was published. It described the new breed of consumer as "ready and anxious for something new and better [...] the steady spadework done by the BBC, the growing activities of the Arts Council, the discussion group movement inside and outside the Services[106], the enormous increase in the demand for books, the many well-informed reports about the increased mental alertness and the higher critical standards of younger people of both sexes coming out of the services – all these things point towards the emergence of a new generation of consumers with ideas very different from those of eighty years ago" (1947: 3). During the 1960s and 1970s Eastern influences were once again the inspiration for society (Liberty of London website), but now the Turkish village kilim was favoured which, still largely untouched by commercialism, consumers felt offered more authenticity.

2. The carpet in Turkey today

[106] Armed Forces

Conclusion

The loss of its overseas trade had a catastrophic effect on the Turkish hand-knotted carpet industry, with the headlines in *Today's Zaman*[107] "Turkey's ailing hand-woven carpet industry is unravelling" (Kalkavan, 2010) reflecting the crisis. The reasons are complex, but can be broken down into three main areas:

a) Westernisation, modernisation and changes in lifestyle

> Very few tribal societies are able to resist completely the pressures to modify their way of life and conform to the dominant national culture of the countries in which they live. The lure of work and accommodation in urban areas encourages migration from villages to cities, in some cases encouraged by government policies (Allane, 1996: 12). With industrialisation in Turkey, factory-produced carpets began to replace hand-woven ones in Turkish homes, consumers feeing that they were more practical and durable. As wealth increased so did consumption and consumers wanted carpets that reflected a more modern, minimalist taste. Design was becoming more important and if people required a bespoke, unique carpet there were much cheaper options such as tufted carpets. Young girls in the villages were no longer interested in weaving, and their mothers did not want to interfere with their homework and would rather not have daughters follow the weavers' way of life (Ger and Csaba, 2000: 6)

b) Lack of regulation and recognition in the industry

> The hand-woven carpet industry has never been regarded as a sector in Turkey with no apparent professional or governing body to set standards and quality control. Weaving is carried out as piece-work by women from their homes. *Today's Zaman* cites Kivrak of *Palmet Carpets* who believed

[107] Today's Zaman is an English-language newspaper published in Turkey

that the sector should have shifted away from homes to workshops long ago to ensure the stability and quality of production: "mostly people see this job as a means to earn money in their free-time. But if you want to export these goods, you have to take the hand-woven carpet industry seriously as a sector" (Kalkavan, 2010). The result has been a break-down in quality and ultimately the trust of their customers. For example, during 1985 and 1995, when Turkey reached its peak of exporting hand-woven carpets there was an incentive in place to export quantity and weight rather than quality, so carpet manufacturers exported carpets wet, and when they arrived at their destination they were mouldy. Lepere, the chief buyer for Liberty of London suggests that Turkey also discovered, as a result of their booming tourist industry, that they could sell carpets direct to tourists rather than to dealers. Tourists have less expertise and are more willing to buy second rate goods, resulting in quality suffering. Lepere said he had not traded with Turkey for over twenty years and suggested that many other carpet dealers would say the same, and described Turkey as having "undone their own business" (Lepere: Interview 8th August 2011). Eiland's experience concurs with this. He describes that many of his customers returning from Turkey have been lied to by Turkish merchants in some respect. Most had been given an exaggerated notion of a rug's age; very often they have been told that a rug was woven with natural dyes. His simple advice on his website is – buy rugs in Turkey and elsewhere abroad just as you would gamble; that is have fun but don't bet more than you can afford to lose (Eiland). With postings on the tourist internet site *Lonely Planet* such as "Warning – Fake Chinese-made Turkish carpets – Don't buy Turkish carpets. Tell all your friends. You have been warned" it is clear the Turkish carpet's reputation has suffered considerable damage[108].

c) Improved working conditions and associated rising wages

[108] Lonely Planet at http://www.lonelyplanet.com/thorntree/thread.jspa?threadID=1935306

Conclusion

> Today, due to rising labour costs in Turkey and Iran large-scale commercial production of carpets for the world market has shifted east to India, Pakistan, China and Vietnam (Wynn, 2008: 10). Intrinsically connected to modernisation and Westernisation was the setting of a minimum wage in Turkey in 1974. At the bottom line, weaving is monotonous and hard work and women will no longer work the long hours for tiny wages. Even Anderson, when discussing the DOBAG project, describes the need for the weavers to socialise at the loom to help "pass time and alleviate boredom" (1998: 27). Ergin Sezgin, Production and Marketing Co-ordinator at *Nomad Carpets* explained to *Today's Zaman* that his company now outsources it hand-made carpets to countries offering cheaper labour: "Turkey is no longer a carpet-making country" he said; "here in Turkey labour is expensive and we cannot make people work under such conditions" (Kalkavan, 2010). He felt hand-woven production was only possible in countries where people had few other employment options. Another Turkish carpet manufacturer interviewed said "if one day there is not even one hand-woven carpet maker left in Turkey, then we might say, in one respect, that Turkey has become a developed country" (Kalkavan, 2010).

Hand-knotting carpets is a labour-intensive process and, as such, can only survive as a viable industry where labour is virtually free. This can clearly be seen in France, where Savonnerie workers were orphan children provided by the Hôpital de Bon Port. In England the brief flowering of the hand-knotted carpets industry during the 18th century was supported by heavy patronage and child-labour. We know, through Thomas Whitty's accounts that Parisot's Fulham factory was supported by influential patronage, yet even so his carpets were described as extortionately expensive. Likewise, the Earl of Pembroke heavily invested in the Wilton factory. Whitty himself was supported by the Earl of Shaftsbury and, at his own happy admission described making his first carpet: "On mid-summer day 1755 (a memorable day for my family) I began the first carpet I ever made, taking my children and their Aunt Betty Harvey to overlook and assist, for my first workers" (Hine, 1889). He continued to

employ women at very low rates and hired pauper children from Axminster and the neighbouring parishes (National Park Service, 2007). Brenda Rose in her work on early Axminster carpets wrote that in 1791 the Reverend Edward Daniel Clarke saw "forty women employed at the knotting" (Rose, Early Axminster Carpets). To reduce the price yet further and undercut his competitors, Whitty compromised on quality by using coarse linen in the weft of his carpets, where traditionally wool had been used. The English 1947 Working Party report on hand-knotted carpets concluded that "production is slow so they cannot compete with mass-produced, machine-made carpets in price; they are, therefore, normally made singly to suit individual tastes and in a luxurious quality" (1947: 60).

Turkey's Carpet Renaissance

Against the background of rising concerns over quality, in the early 1980s the Turkish government and academic institutions came together to discuss the crisis and tackle the issue of loss of cultural faith in the Turkish carpet. As a direct result two projects were borne, sparking the beginnings of what carpet collectors describe as Turkey's *Carpet Renaissance* (Eiland).

The *DOBAG* project was founded in 1981 by a German chemist called Dr Harold Boehmer in collaboration with Marmara University in Istanbul and a grant from the Turkish Government. Its aim was to revive the art of natural dyeing techniques in parts of Western Anatolia, to provide prosperity to villages and to empower women. Ancient dyeing techniques were re-discovered through laboratory testing of antique carpets held in collections. Women's cooperatives were then established at selected villages to produce carpets using vegetable dyes and pure local wool.

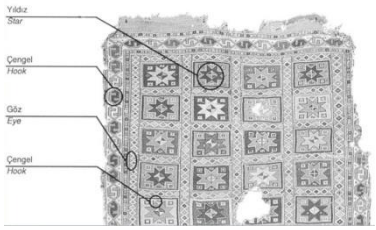
Conclusion

Fig xxxvi) Women from a DOBAG village in Western Turkey

Hand-in-hand with the DOBAG project, and launched in 1986 by the Turkish Ministry of Culture was the *Turkish Hand-woven Carpets Project*. The aims of this project were two-fold. The academic element was to catalogue and digitally capture nearly 5,000 antique hand-knotted carpets held in museums and collections with the images then translated via computer aided design into weaving patterns or cartoons. An archive of designs was created, published in five high-quality printed catalogues (Turkish Republic, Ministry of State, Ministry of Culture and Tourism) and also online (The Turkish Hand-woven carpet project). The second, and perhaps more controversial stage of the project was to set up new co-operatives, or work with existing DOBAG cooperatives to re-introduce women weavers to the traditional designs, and produce carpets that were not only made with authentic dyes and materials, but with authentic designs. These government-led initiatives have, however, encouraged independent entrepreneurs to establish hand-knotting carpet workshops such as *Woven Legends* in Karaman, Erzerum and Malatya and *Tulga Tollu* who produces Bauhaus-like minimalist designs. With all these new innovative workshops, the emphasis is on quality, using natural dyes, local labour and materials. The inevitable results are very expensive carpets (Eiland).

Conclusion

Fig xxxvii) Page 9 from the Turkish Hand-Woven Carpets Project online catalogue



Although perhaps ideologically sound, culturally co-operatives have their disadvantages. Spring and Hudson write about similar projects in North Africa: "attempts to 'fix the language' of a tradition which formerly had no commercial basis inevitably led to the loss of much of the significance surrounding the weavers of cloth, together with numerous associated customs and rituals" (1995: 139). Ger and Csaba are doubtful of the success of the Government-led initiatives: "With a few exceptions, most cooperatives, without clear conceptions of quality and design, and with a goal to improve local economic standards, set prices too high for the quality of their carpets, which end up decaying in basements" (2000: 6). Regional designs are uprooted and produced in other regions. For example, with models of catalogues published by the Ministry of Culture weavers in Kayseri may be reproducing a 17th century design from another region (ibid: 7).

Branding, usually associated with mass production, is becoming a friend to the Turkish hand-knotted carpet. Ger and Csaba describe this phenomenon as "a contemporary quest for "authentic" and "exotic" objects amidst the spread of

global brands and marketing" (ibid: 1). In a modern world of mass-produced ubiquitous brands, cultural products are becoming desired as the original and the unique. If modernity is felt as lost authenticity, traditional and pure products are sought to supply what is missing in modern life. Famous heritage names such as the silk carpets of *Hereke* are still produced and admired. Few can afford the price of these fine rugs - $300-$500 per square foot for a middle-range carpet, and for a top end carpet with as many as 3,000 to 4,000 knots per square inch as much as $50,000 per square foot (Eiland). Lepere also says Hereke carpets are the exception to the rule and described them as "fabulous and as good as any Persian carpet" (Lepere: Interview 8th August 2011). Like the button in the ear of a Steiff teddy bear, each DOBAG carpet is registered at the University of Marmara and is sold with a little leather tag attached, along with a certificate of authenticity providing the name of the weaver, information knot count, the design, materials and the region (Turkish Republic, Ministry of State, Ministry of Culture and Tourism: pvi). These new breeds of carpet are becoming brands which are moving carpets up to the status of authentic objects rather than mere exotic souvenirs or fakes. "Emergent authenticity is becoming branded" (Ger and Csaba, 2000: 10).

Mystique or Myth: Protection or protectionism

"It is a sad fact that almost all of the glossy carpet books available today, whilst gorgeously illustrated with Renaissance paintings in full glorious colour, have written texts that are an embarrassing mash-up of wishful thinking, painfully obscure and out-of-date-jargon (can't we please, please finally rid ourselves of guls and small-pattern Holbeins)" (Arnold, 2009). Even Erdmann, Arnold suggests, complained about the unhelpful use of painter's names to identify groups of carpets that "have little or nothing to do with anything". Modern trade began at end of 18th century and carpets began to move in bulk along a chain of economic connections. "Wholesalers began to classify the merchandise for their own purposes – which combined criteria of commercial

provenance and saleability. The development and application of these criteria generated a lore, which despite later accretions from art history […] still informs the literature on carpets" (Spooner, 1986: 214). Despite being a commodity available to the middle classes, carpets had not lost their elitist appeal and continued to receive specialist attention from collectors. They represent "quintessential cultural heritage" (Ger and Csaba, 2000: 2), and the field can still have the feel of a "closed shop". *Tulga Tollu* (TT), for example, avoid advertising or publishing catalogues of their limited edition carpets "distancing them from notions of mass production". The contemporary designs and colours cater to German tastes, and the carpets are sold mainly in Germany at premium prices; the absence of catalogues and pictures and the concealment of the weavers continues the "mystique, of the hidden, the secret" (Ger and Csaba, 2000: 9). In addition, Ger and Csaba suggest there is a new mystique as *connoisseur-entrepreneurs* teach to dye and as cultural authorities teach to "see" and consumers learn to "see", as in art museums" (ibid: 10). Anderson described the resistance amongst the "old school" in relation to the DOBAB project. She felt it was met with "stiff resistance from dealers who had a vested interest in its failure" (1998: 14). This may well be because DOBAG carpets are made exclusively for export to a few select outlets in San Francisco, Oslo, Copenhagen, Bonn, Perth, London and Oxford, and so cut out the need for a "middle-man". Dealers are certainly very reserved about the attributes of the carpets, Eiland writing: "I have personal reservations about them. They seem a bit stiff to me, not literally but figuratively. There seems little in them to capture the imagination [...] perhaps it is their lack of irregularity that I react badly to [...] they have little abrash. They do not seem idiosyncratic to me or fanciful". He goes on to admit that this may be that he is prejudiced by their sales policy, which he describes as "unique in the business". Lepere also described DOBAG carpets as "very unthrilling and prohibitively expensive". Carpet-trading remains a male-dominated field and it could be suggested that there is some underlying discomfort in women being allowed to take control of the carpets, of their work and sell direct.

There also remained, certainly until the mid-20th century, a tendency for the Western trader to disassociate himself from the Muslim weaver in terms of language and attitude. Erdman writing in the 1960s states: "we must make clear to ourselves that inspite of the close association with European household decorative concepts into which it has found its way, the knotted carpet remains a typical Oriental product [...] The preliminary condition is the fact that the Oriental people had a very different concept of space, and to this very day, after centuries of settled existence, this concept actually reflects reminiscences that they have somehow retained something of life in the tents. Crouching, squatting and lying upon cushions or mattresses, as distinguished from sitting on chairs and sleeping in beds, results in a closer relation to the floor" (1960: 11).

3. The Turkish carpet as a biographical object

There is a strange blurring of the edges between carpets, carpets in art and art, which can only help to perpetuate the mystique of the carpet. Carrier, in his paper on the oriental carpet (2008) quotes from Roland Barthes' account of literary interpretation: "Does not ornament give to the observer the right and the freedom to choose meaning?" and he suggests that if we accept the carpet as an object of ornament it would skew interpretation away from the carpet as a fine art object, and back towards an object of craft, tradition and material culture, or a biographical object.

In her book, *Archaeological artefacts as material culture*, Hurcombe defines an artefact as "anything made or modified by people, so artefacts are not just *things* but are intricately linked with people's needs, capabilities and aspirations" (2007: 3); "if words are about verbal communication, material culture is about non-verbal communication" (ibid: 7). She argues that the objects that arrive in museums are traditionally viewed as being at the end of

their use as cultural objects "Visitors to museums place some kind of value on the objects, otherwise they would not be going to see them. The visitors have different reasons for their visit and will see the objects from their own world-view" (2007: 41). Hoskins, the author of *Biographical Objects* suggests that objects provide an anchor of story-telling in which "a reflection on the self is deflected through the medium of an object" (1998: 180).

Fig xxxviii) The Somerset House Conference, artist unknown (1604), oil on canvas

Even academics are the first to admit that the place of the carpet should not necessarily be on the walls of museums or in their store rooms. King and Sylvester in their discussion of the painting *The Somerset House Conference,* describe the carpet as being in an "altogether healthy situation". Imported from an alien culture it was being used, cherished and given a centre place at a great occasion; in other words it was being allowed to play a part in life. Here, they concur with Hurcombe in that the arrival of a carpet in a museum should be viewed as a positive new stage in its biography, a stage of education and pleasure. In practice, however, these carpets will never again be seen as they ought to be (1983: 9), and the interpretation of carpets as biographical objects is almost non-existent. For example, below is a transcription of a label for a *Holbein-style* carpet at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul:

Conclusion

> According to some, Holbein carpets have been woven in Konya, while others believe that their origin is the region around Uşak and Bergama. In small-pattern Holbein carpets, there is an octagon contoured in knotted bands within the squares. Inside, there is a smaller octagon with an octagonal star filling. On the corners where the squares intersect, there is an equilateral rectangle consisting of pairs of rumis. Thus, a surface design is formed, consisting of a row of octagons, and a row of equilateral rectangles on a slanted axis with infinite repetition. The surfaces are generally dark blue; and the interiors of squares are in red and its tones. The borders are usually embellished with a knotted braid based on the kufi script designs of Konya carpets, and rosette-cartouche motifs. Large-pattern Holbein carpets are of a later date than the other group.

It is not so much interpretation, but classification and cataloguing. It is also esoteric; the information provided is excluding and only of interest to those who already possess an understanding of, or an interest in carpets.

In the South-west, the National Trust undoubtedly holds the largest collection of Turkish carpets. However, in terms of access it does have the capacity to provoke extreme responses from sectors of the community: "I used to be breathless with pleasure at the thought that these massive country piles no longer belonged fully to the bucktoothed scum who inherited them, living in poverty in one wing while the Daily Mail readers stamped dog-muck and Shippams paste into their carpets" (Lee, 2011). The same writer admits that he has mellowed with years and is now lured to the properties not by the "hatred of the posh, but the sadness of these places and their stories, their quiet and dignified tragedy" (ibid.). Generally the National Trust is working to improve interpretation and, perhaps following the recommendations of the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council they have created new posts of Collections Engagement Officers who will tell the stories behind the objects. They plan to launch an entirely web-based series of projects called *One Hundred items from* [...], one of which will be *One hundred items from around the world* (Pearson: 24th May 2011). In terms of carpets, Pearson agreed that little is done to interpret them and generally he felt visitors rarely noticed the carpets or

tapestries; though he admitted this may be because there was no invitation for them to do so (interview with Pearson on 24th May 2011).

Using Turkish carpets as tools for teaching diversity, culture and understanding

Sir Andrew Motion, Chairman of the then *Museums, Libraries and Archives Council* (MLA) said in 2009: "the stories behind the artefacts kept in our museums are fascinating, emotive and often controversial. It is right that our curators and scholars increasingly engage people in how these stories are told". This was said during the unveiling of the MLA's new publication: *Leading Museums: A Strategic Action Plan for English Museums* (MLA, 2009). One of the aims of the plan was to "liberate collections and enable people to participate in interpretation and story-telling; and especially to broaden their appeal to non-traditional audiences from more diverse segments of the community. Stories become more vivid when people see their own history through the materials and when narratives are strengthened through dialogue with people from diverse backgrounds, age groups and social perspectives" (ibid: 6).

Stokrocki researched the use of a Turkish carpet to work with three groups of children in Japan, Navejo in the USA and Turkey, countries chosen because of their long weaving traditions. She introduced the carpet into their lessons using a "treasure hunt" technique to invite them to look for various things. When asked what the carpet was for, children from all three cultures described it as a form of protection – from the cold (Navejo); from the floor (Turkish) and to put by the fireplace (Japan). Children also thought the carpet's border was to protect the animals (it was a kilim from East Turkey with a figurative design of animals) (2001: 326). Of significance was that the children from

Turkey were not familiar with the weaving technique (ibid: 326), and Stokrocki felt that this was because they were urban children and not aware of their weaving heritage, whereas the children from Navajo knew about weaving because they had a native culture heritage teacher. Stokrocki concluded "through art criticism children explore their own and other ethno-aesthetic ideas [...] these brief encounters weave past ethno-aesthetic ideas with present cross-cultural ones in a small way." And she discussed the use of everyday art forms to teach cultural tolerance and to consider the divergent opinions of others. "Even though beautiful things, such as carpets, may surround us, they will lose their value if we don't bother to explore them carefully or share their meaning with others" (ibid: 327).

In England, heritage has a tendency to be a white, middle-class pursuit; confirmed by the field-work undertaken at the National Trust as part of this research. It would be interesting to establish what the barriers were, but if they are physical, in that ethnic minorities just don't come in through the doors of museums, then there could be an argument for taking the collections out into the community. There are a number of projects that high-light and celebrate the lives of ethnic minorities who live within a predominantly white, Christian society. There are fewer projects that work from the other end of the spectrum, opening up the lives of the predominant white, Christian society to the lives of the ethnic communities. Compared to the rest of the UK, ethnic minority populations in the South-West are small; the 2001 Census statistics for the Exeter show that out of a total population of 111,066, 2,602 described themselves as an ethnic minority (2%), and for Plymouth it is 3,968 out of a total population of 240,735 (again 2%).

Carpets represent many things; the role of women; the interplay of East and West; the representation of Renaissance humanist ideals including the celebration of cross-cultural fertilisation, acceptance and the pleasures of knowledge and learning. King and Sylvester write that to fully appreciate a

carpet, the viewer "needs to be – or at least to feel – surrounded by its form and colour" (1983: 9). Carpets in collections are undoubtedly under-used and under-interpreted. Their stories are being overlooked. Ultimately carpets are the products of nomads; light, easily transported and tactile; they "civilise the ground on which they are spread".

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Appendices

Glossary of carpet-making terms

Appendix i)

Abrash	A change in colour in the field and border due to differences in wool or dye batches. The colour change extends across the rug, weft-wise. It is more likely to happen at the start of a rug, as beginning yarn batches are used up, rather than at the end
Careine carpet	A carpet made in the workshops of Cairo, which were under the ownership of the Ottoman Empire
Cartoon	A grid on paper with spaces coloured to guide rug weavers in selecting pile yarns to execute a rug design
Comb	A heavy comb used to beat the woven edge of the carpet after each row of knots and weft has been completed. The effect is to compact the knots and form a tight, strong structure.
Damascene carpet	A carpet believed to have been made in Damascus, but generally it is difficult to distinguish between Damascene, Careine and Mameluk carpets
Field	The main area of the design of the carpet, within the borders
Flat-weave	A fabric woven without knotted pile
Fringe	The tassels at the ends of the carpet, created when the warp is cut from the loom.
Ghiordes knot	A type of knot used in carpet weaving; also referred to as the Symmetrical or Turkish knot
Ground	The underlying main colour of a carpet
Hali	Turkish for carpet
Kilim	A tapestry-woven rug. Also the flat-weave end of a rug
Knot count / ratio	The count is done per line, or per square inch; vertical knot count divided by horizontal knot count gives the ratio.
Loom	There are two main types of loom, the horizontal and the vertical. For carpet making the vertical loom is preferred as it allows closer contact with the weaving face, and facilitates the beating and compressing of the rows of knots.
Mihrab	The prayer niche in a mosque represented by the arch in a prayer rug
Motif	A prominent and distinctive component of a design
Patina	The sheen of a carpet; influenced by the finishing of the carpet and the type of wool used.
Pile	The nap of the carpet. The tufts remain after the knotted yarn is clipped

Glossary of carpet-making terms

Appendix i)

Prayer rug	A rug with a representation of a Mihrab or prayer niche. In more sophisticated carpets, columns may be shown supporting the arch and a lamp may be shown hanging from the apex of the arch
Senneh knot	A type of knot used in carpet-weaving; also referred to as the Persian or Asymmetrical knot
Shears	Sharp clippers or scissors used to trim down the knot ends to a uniform and short length
Shed	The gap between the top and bottom warp threads through which the weft is passed
Staple	The length of the fibres of the spun wool used. Generally sheep that produce a longer fibre are preferred and prevalent in the carpet-knotting regions; for example, the Fat-Tailed and Fat-Rumped sheep. The long fibres are first spun using a "worsted-style" technique, in other words the spinning process ensures that the strands of wool are kept relatively longitudinal. This creates a higher sheen and also allows more of the ends of the fibre to be present at the tip of each strand of pile, creating a harder-wearing surface.
Warp	The vertical threads that run from end to end on a loom and act as the support for the carpet
Weft	The horizontal threads that are passed backwards and forwards through the warp

Review of academic research relating to carpets

Appendix ii)

PhD theses relating to carpets identified in 2010 identified using ERIC, Index to Theses of Great Britain and Ireland, EThOS, DART Europe e-theses, Theses Canada, CAB Abstracts on-line and WorldCat Dissertations

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Review of academic research relating to carpets

Appendix ii)

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Steinbrueck, Karin (2006) *Antique Turkish carpets become "Transylvanian": cultural identity and carpet taxonomy in early twentieth-century Hungary and Romania,* University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

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Tımur Öğüt, Şebnem (2008) *Turkish restaurants in London: An ethnographic study on representation of cultural identity through design,* İstanbul Technical University, Faculty of Architecture

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

A breakdown of the cargo of the Venetian State Galley (all columns have been created from information recorded in the London Port Book for 1481. Further descriptions of the consignments have been added as footnotes. The consignments have been sorted by value (as given by the Customs Officials at the Port). Where explanations for the terms and cargos have been found, these have been included as footnotes.

Notes: C = a hundredweight, which was generally 100lbs; but in Britain it was 112lbs, as the stone became the preferred unit (14lbs), but a stone was not an integer of a hundredweight. An ell was 45 inches.

The standard unit of currency in medieval times was the pound (£), shilling (/-) and penny (d). 12d was equivalent to 1/- and there were 20/- to a £1.

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
	Maryn Monsenego	1 remnant cloth of gold cont. 10 yds., 3 bales ginger, 1 brl. nutmegs, 67 bales pepper, 7 brls. cloves, 5 cases cinnamon, 2 brls. mace, 1 bale sanders, 1 bale carpets [S cont. 31]	£2,425
	Alewiso Conteryn	2 cases cinnamon, 19 [S 9] bales pepper, 6 brls. cloves, 2 bales brazil[109], 3 bales silk, 1 chest with 21 pcs. long camlet[110], 1 case with 26 doz. Cyprus kerchiefs	£920
	Anthony Bavaryn	5 bales silk weight 300 lbs., 1 bale indigo [S cont. 80 lbs.] 2 bales brazil weight M. 50 lbs., 34 butts raisins of Corinth, 1 brl. mace, 8 [S 7½] bales pepper, ½ bale cloves, 1 case cinnamon, 5 M. 8 C. 56 bowstaves	£812
	Said patron[111]	4 bales pepper [S weight 120 lbs.], 3 brls. cloves, 2 cases cinnamon [S weight 32⅓ lbs.], 34 cases soap [S weight 45 lbs.].	£267
	Jeronimo Teople [S Typolo]	1 box borax weight 8 lbs., 1 case powdered sugar, 28 cases Messina sugar, 1 brl. mace, 6 brls. green ginger, 4 bales silk weight 300 lbs.	£218

[109] Brazil – possibly referring to a red dye extracted from an East Indian tree with reddish-brown wood, called in Portuguese or Spanish *Brasil*,

[110] Camlet (also known as camelot or camblet) - a woven fabric probably made from camel or goat's hair mixed with silk and was highly valued

[111] Said patron - S Bernard Bondemer, patron of the galley

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
	Nicholas Dedo	1 brl. frankincense, 4 bales brazil, 1 chest with 20 [S 10] pcs. camlet, 1 pc. black satin, 1 pc. green satin [S 1 pc. satin cont. 22 yds., 1 pc. old satin cont. 18 yds.], 2 pcs. narrow says, 4 pomanders.	£70
	Cosma Spenell	9 bales Moorish wax weight 34 C. lbs.	£68
George de Camsa	Furio	2 branches coral with 1 silver coral [S silver shell], 3 pairs small coral beads, 1 lb. latten thimbles, 1 great sack with sponges, 1 brl. oil, 5 carpets, 1 brl. succade[112] weight 40 lbs., 2 chests pepper weight 1,000 lbs., 1 chest pepper weight 400 lbs., 1 fardel[113] silk weight 16 lbs.	£67
	George Trevesan	1 [S case] cassia fistula[114] weight 147 [S 127] lbs., 1 case euphorbium[115] weight 2 C. lbs., 3 bales silk weight 150 lbs.	£54
	Nicholas de Angelo, skryvenelle[116]	3 chests with glasses, 11½ brls. enamel weight 2 C. 30 lbs., 1 small fardel silk.	£50

[112] Succade – candied peel of citrus fruits

[113] Fardel – meaning a "bundle"; a middle English term from Anglo-French, ultimately from the Arabic "*farda*"; first used in 14th century

[114] Cassia Fistula - known as the golden shower tree is a flowering plant native to southern Asia; its fruit pulp was used as a mild laxative, against fevers and stomach problems and the root was a very strong purgative

[115] Euphorbium - an acrid dull-yellow or brown resin, consisting of the concreted milky juice of several species of Euphorbia, a cactus-like perennial plant indigenous to Morocco, valued in medicine for its drastic, purgative and emetic properties.

[116] Skryvenelle – Assistant Purser

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
Nicholas Somma	Martin	1 great brl. capers, 1 brl. oil, 1 brl. green ginger weight 40 lbs., 8 pcs. camlet, 1 fardel silk weight 20 lbs., 23 carpets, 1 ape, 100 sponges, 1 chest pepper weight 300 lbs., [S glasses and citronade], 1 brl. treacle weight [S 50 lbs.], 1 brl. orpiment[117] weight 40 lbs., 1 brl. coloquintida[118] weight 40 lbs.	£48 [S £51]
Michael de Sancta Maria	Jane	1 box with 50 pomanders, 31 carpets, 2 brls. prunes, 1 great sack with sponges, 2 brls. [S 1 small brl.] prunes weight 1 qr., 1 chest pepper weight 500 lbs., 10 sugarloaves weight 80 lbs., 1 doz. nuts, 60 standishes[119], 3 coffers, 30 pcs. 2 brls. soap, 100 boxes citronade, 1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs.	£45 7s.6d.
Stephen de Lago	Michael	5 long pcs. camlet, 5 carpets, 2 brls. oil, 1 small sack with 100 sponges, 1 brl. succade weight ½ C. lbs., 1 ape, 130 bocals, 2 chests pepper weight 600 lbs., 1 chest soap weight 4½ [S 6] C. lbs.	£44 13s.4d.
	Stephen Cateryn	1 cloth sack with 40 carpets, 17 pcs. camlet.	£43 13s.4d.
	Nicholas Lomelyn	29 bales almonds weight 3 M. 8 C. lbs.	£43 10s. (£29 del.)

[117] Orpiment - a mineral ground and used as a yellow pigment or dye

[118] Coloquintida (or colocynth) – the fruit of a vine whose dried, bitter pulp was a strong laxative

[119] Standishes - a stand for holding pens, ink, and other writing equipment

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
	Paul Fustaryno	60 carpets.	£40
Nicholas Maserachio	Ralph	10 carpets, 1 chest pepper weight 250 lbs., [S drinking glasses], 7 pcs. camlet, 100 nuts, 4 boxes turbith[120] weight 20 lbs 3 boxes sarcocolla[121] weight 30 lbs 1 chest soap weight 4 C. lbs., 2 small barrels 1 bag orpiment weight 1½ C. lbs 1 doz. files, ½ lb. coral, 60 copper rings with stones, 100 bocals[122], 3 brls. oil.	£36
Luke de Catero	Ralph	3 chests 1 case soap weight 16 C. lbs., 12 carpets, 1 brl. green ginger weight 25 lbs., 5 pcs. camlet, 1 brl. succade weight C. lbs., 4 brls. raisins of Corinth, 1 brl. oil, 180 bocals, 20 nests of cypress coffers, 100 sponges, 100 'trumpe' glasses	£34 10s.
	John Ambros de Nygron	2 bales silk weight 100 lbs.	£33 6s.8d.
	Benedict Bonvise	2 brls. oil, 2 brls. 3 qrs. 1 butt [S ¼ butt] raisins of Corinth, 4 cases soap, 1 fardel silk weight 25 lbs., 1 brl. with 19 kips gold skins[123].	£31 6s.8d.
	Angelo de Nicholo - skryven[124]	1 butt 21 bales dates	£30 13s.4d.
	Damyan de Nigron	1 bale pepper	£30
	John Andrew Sene	17 [S 7] cases soap.	£28 6s.8d.

[120] Turbith (or turpeth) - a plant from the East Indies, the roots of which had purgative properties

[121] Sarcocolla - a gum resin obtained from certain shrubs of Africa (Penaea) thought to heal wounds and ulcers

[122] Bocals - reed or mouth-piece for wood-wind instruments

[123] Gold skins – unable to find a definition

[124] Skryven - Purser

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
	John Bombarder	1 chest with 11 pcs. camlet, 2 pcs. fine says[125], 10,000 needles, 1 pc. 'kateram'[126] weight 3 lbs., 3 carpets, 17 [S 14] kips gold skins.	£26 13s.4d. [S £23 13s.4d.]
Pero de Bodna	Novello	50 bocals, 1 chest prunes weight 5 C. lbs., 1 chest pepper weight 450 lbs., 2 [S 1] hhd. Prunes.	£26
Novello de Antyvery	Ralph	1 brl. oil, 42 [S C.] bocals, 1 bag pepper weight 250 lbs., 5 pcs. sendal[127], 6 carpets, 1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs., 1 brl. succade weight C. lbs.	£25
	Nicholas de Catero de la Porta	1 small bale pepper	£25
Ralph de Sancto Georgio	George	2 sacks with 200 sponges, 120 bocals, 340 'trumpe' glasses, 1 brl. succade weight 25 lbs., 1 bag pepper weight 325 lbs., 2 chests soap weight 9 C. lbs.	£23
Novello de Sancta Maria	Jane	7 carpets, 1 brl. succade weight 25 lbs., 1 fardel silk weight 6 lbs., 1 chest pepper weight 400 lbs.	£23
	Sancto Malapero, gentleman	6 carpets, 1 chest with 19 pcs. camlet	£23
	Nicholas Maserachio, portulat [128]	1 fardel silk weight 60 lbs	£20
Damyan de Catero	Novello	90 bowstaves, 1 chest 1 bag pepper weight 450 lbs.	£20
Nicholas de Squetery	Andrew	2 chests with [S diverse] glasses, 150 lbs. pepper	£20
Stephen Caruse	Jane	80 copper rings with stones, 12 carpets, 100 'trumpe' glasses, 1 lb. coral, 1 great grs. thimbles, 4 boxes turbith weight 17 lbs., 4,000 brigandine nails, 6 doz. files, 100 nuts, 1 qr. Enamel.	£18 16s.8d.

[125] Fine says – unable to find a definition

[126] Kateram – unable to find a definition

[127] Sendal – unable to find a definition

[128] Portulat or Portolato - An oarsman who set the stroke for the others; also a stern oarsman

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
	John Camsa, sotto[129]	2 bales dates, 1 great chest with 4 C. lbs. dates, 3½ C. lbs. soap, 1 bag silk weight 25 lbs.	£18.13s.4d.
	Francis de Meseo, gentleman	4 pcs. camlet, 1 fardel silk ('seda') weight 30 lbs., 7 carpets	£18.13s.4d
George de Sancto	Nadale	2 pcs. camlet, 4 carpets, 100 powder-boxes [S of painted wood], 1 bag pepper weight 240 lbs., 1 chest soap weight 6 C. lbs.	£18
Peter Pastrovichio	Nadale	300 [S 450] bocals, 1 chest pepper weight 400 lbs.	£17 15s.
Paul Lago	Nadale	1 pc. camlet, 1 chest pepper weight 300 lbs., 1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs., 100 bocals	£16 16s.8d.
	George de Lago, previour[130]	1 brl. oil, 170 bocals, 1 chest 1 great brl. soap weight 15 C. 1 qr. 12 lbs. [S and 1 great brl. soap weight 2½ C.], 1 brl. raisins of Corinth, 1 chest with glasses, 1 small chest with knives	£16
Beasip de Lago	Drago	2 carpets, 1 brl. oil, 3 pcs. Camlet 2 brls. succade weight C. lbs 150 'trumpe' glasses, 2 chests soap weight 12 C. lbs.,	£15 15s.
Maryn' de Sancto Georg	Novello	1 balet pepper weight 300 lbs., 150 bocals, 27 nuts, 2 small pc. brazil weight 16 lbs., 100 'trumpe' glasses.	£15
	Nicholas Caruse, crossbowman[131]	1 chest soap weight 6 C. lbs., 1 brl. oil, 1 bag pepper weight 250 lbs., 180 [S 80] bocals.	£15
	Allegreto de Jara	1 fardel with 7 [S 11] long pcs. 1 remnant camlet	£14
Novello de Sancta Maria	Dimitrio	1 brl. soap, 2 fardels silk weight 40 lbs.	£14

[129] Sotto (possibly for 'sotto comito') - the second mate

[130] Previour (Venetian 'proviere') - an oarsman who rowed and steered at the bow

[131] Crossbowmen were on board to protect the galley

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
	Ralph de Sancto Nicholo, crossbowman of the galley of George	1 brl. prunes, 1 small brl. succade weight 25 lbs., 1 chest with 1 bag silk weight 7 lbs., 1 box coral weight 6 ozs., 2 lbs. ribbons, 3 carpets, 7 standishes, 3 C. lbs. soap, 2 carpets	£10 13s.4d.
	Laurence Lorydan	1 fardel with 16 [S 6] carpets.	£10 13s.4d.
George de Catero	Dimitrio Penose	1 chest soap weight 3 C. lbs., 2 bags frankincense weight C. lbs., 3 pcs. long [S camlet], 2 pcs. [S short coarse] camlet.	£10
George de Sancta Maria	Ralph	3 carpets, 3 small cypress coffers, 28 standishes, 15 mazers[132] 473 bocals, 1 chest soap weight 6 C. lbs., 150 sponges, 1 brl. oil	£10
Damyan Pastrowichio	Ralph, crossbowman	2 brls. oil, 12 carpets	£9 6s.8d.
	Stephen Fesaunt	1 bale silk weight 25 lbs.	£8 6s.8d.
Lazaro de Seta	Paul	1 brl. oil, 1 brl. treacle weight 2 C. lbs., 1 bag. pepper weight [S 1½ C.], 60 bocals, 1 carpet.	£8 10s.
	Pero de Sancte Leo Grobissa	1 brl. raisins of Corinth, 1 brl. oil, 1 brl. treacle weight 60 lbs., 1 bag with 300 sponges, 1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs., 18 standishes,	£8 5s.
Nicholas Sosyna	Damyan	60 'trumpe' glasses, 1 bag with 13 nuts, 1 bag pepper weight 200 lbs.	£8
Pero [S Peter] de Squtery	Sancte	1 carpet, 1 brl. succade [S weight] 75 lbs., 1 brl. treacle weight [S 50] lbs., 1 brl. oil, 1 chest soap weight 6C. lbs	£7 8s.4d.
	George de Jara [S for] crossbowman	1 chest soap weight 6 C. lbs., 2 bags soap weight 2 C. lbs., 1 brl. succade weight C. lbs.	£7
Ralph de Monte Pusillo	Jane	2 carpets, 20 standishes, ½C. apples, 1 brl. oil, 1 small chest with shears and beads, 1 chest soap weight 4½ C	£6 11s.8d.

[132] Mazers - a drinking vessel often made of maple-wood

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
Nicholas de Sancta Maria	Andrew	1 fardel silk weight 12 lbs., 1 small brl. succade weight ½ C. lbs., 1 chest soap weight 3 C. lbs.	£6 10s.
	'Comito' [S of the galley][133]	1 chest with 150 lbs. stavesacre 1 small bag coloquintida 4 brls. succade weight 2 C. lbs	£6
Michael Deantivery	Pero	1 brl. oil, 1 brl. treacle weight 50 lbs., 200 sponges, 1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs.	£5 10s.
Nicholas de Sosina	Damyan	1 fardel with 12 lbs. [S silk], 10 lbs. cloves, 1 carpet.	£5 6s.8d.
	Francis Nave [S Novo]	4 small cases soap weight 8 C. lbs.	£5 6s.8d.
	George Caruse, crossbowman	1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs., 1 chest pepper weight 100 lbs.	£5 6s.8d.
George de Scutery	Sancte	1 bag with 100 sponges, 1 brl. treacle weight C. [S ½ C.] lbs., 1 chest soap weight 6 C. lbs	£5 5s.
Luke de Squetery	Paul	1 brl. oil, 1 brl. succade weight 25 lbs., 1 fardel silk weight 12 lbs.	£5
	Novello Compano	4 old gilt girdles, 1 chest soap weight 4½ C. lbs., 1 butt lemons.	£5
Nadale Sosina	George	1 brl. oil, 1 carpet, 1 sack with 300 sponges, 1 chest soap weight 4 C. lbs.	£5
Dymytrio de Sancto George	Novello	1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs., 1 brl. treacle weight ½ C. lbs., 120 'trumpe' glasses, 5 standishes	£5
Nicholas de Crayna	George	2 brls. oil, 1 brl. confections weight 75 lbs., 1 chest soap weight 2 C. lbs.	£4 [S £3 18s.4d.]
Luke de Bodna	Ralph	1 brl. oil, 1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs	£4
Pero [S de] Sosina	Novello Supissa	2 brls. raisins of Corinth	£4
Alesio de Catero	Damyan [S crossbowman]	1 bag pepper weight 100 lbs	£4
	John Sebemco, crossbowman	20 bocals, 200 boxes citronade, 1 sack with 600 sponges, 1 brl. treacle weight ½ C. lbs.	£3.16s.8d. [S £3.6s.8d.]
	John de Squetery, 'rosso' crossbowman[134]	1 chest soap weight 5 C. lbs., 1 bag pepper weight 12 lbs	£3 15s.

[133] Comito [S of the galley] - the mate who was in command of the personnel on board between the stern and the mainmast

[134] 'Rosso' crossbowman - 'Rosso' was a term used to describe a soldier of the free corps, each of whom wore a red cape or surcoat

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
	Michael de Sancta Maria, 'palomber'[135]	1 brl. treacle weight C. lbs., 1 brl. oil, 1 great brl. soap.	£3 13s.4d.
Nicholas Daldamo	Andrew	1 fardel silk weight 6 lbs., 28 lbs. pepper, 1 brl. oil.	£3 13s.4d.
Nadale de Sancto Georgio	Nadale	5 carpets.	£3 6s.8d.
	Andrew George Peron, 'iuratte'[136]	200 'trumpe' glasses, 500 sponges	£3 6s.8d.
Stephen de Sancto Nicholo	Damyan	1 bag with 1 mark of shears, 1 brl. with glass beads and shears, 1 bag soap weight 3 qrs., 5 glass pots, 1 grypes hegg[137]	£3
	Allegreto de Catero, crossbowman	1 chest soap weight 4 [S 3] C. lbs., 1 small chest soap weight C. lbs., 1 carpet	53s.4d.
	Nicholas de George, crossbowman	1 brl. succade weight C. lbs. [S ½ C.], 2 boxes turbith weight 4 lbs., 2 boxes aloes weight 4 lbs	50s
Nicholas de Antivery	Pero	1 brl. raisins of Corinth, 100 bocals.	50s
Beasio Dulcimo [S de Dulcenio]	Nicholas	1 chest soap weight 3½ C. lbs	46s.8d.
ADominico de Bodna	Stephen	60 pcs. soap weight C. lbs., 1 brl. soap, 1 bag setwall weight 12 lbs., 100 bocals	40s.
Damyan Pastrovichio	Luke	1 brl. soap, 1 bag with 50 pcs. soap, 2 carpets	40s
John de Bodna	Ralph	2 apes	40s
Ralph de Sancto Nicholo	Nicholas	1 small chest prunes weight 2 C. lbs. 1 qr.	36s.8d.
George Dantyvery	Nicholas	1 brl. orpiment weight 2 C. lbs	33s.4d.
Stayo de [S Monte] Nigro	Damyan	1 brl. treacle weight C. lbs.	33s.4d.
Ralph Campano	Pero	310 bocals	30s.
	Mononyn' de Candia, 'homine de consilio'[138]	1 chest with glasses	26s.8d.
Trevaso de Luderyn	'producuno' [S dicuno]	2 brls. soap	26s.8d.
Ralph de Bodna	Michael	1 brl. oil, 1 brl. treacle weight 25 lbs.	21s.8d.
	John de Barde	1 fardel with books.	20s

[135] Palomber - a sailor charged with mooring the galley and keeping watch on the mooring rope

[136] Juratte (the 'Padrone Giurato') - in command of the personnel on board the galley between the bow and the mainmast

[137] Grypes hegg – Griffin's egg – in reality an ostrich egg

[138] Homine de consilio - each galley had a counsellor, an experienced man who, subject to the authority of the captain or patron, gave orders regarding matters of navigation and kept the charts and portolanos

Cargo of the 1481 Venetian State Galley

Appendix iii)

Agent	For	Consignment	Value
Novello de Lago	Drago	1 bag soap weight ½ [S 1½] C. lbs.	20s.
Ralph de Sosina	Nicholas	1 brl. oil, 1 brl. treacle weight 20 lbs.	20s.
John de Luderyn	Dimitrio	1 brl. treacle weight ½ [S 1] C. lbs.	18s.4d.
Ralph de Sancto George	Mark	1 brl. treacle weight ½C. lbs.,	16s.8d.
Alesio Summa	George	1 brl. soap	13s.4d.
	Francis de Catero, 'palomber'	1 brl. oil	13s.4d.
Jon de Antivery	Pero	1 brl. Oil.	13s.4d.
Jeronimo de Poela	George	1 brl. oil.	13s.4d.
John Masarachio	Nicholas	2 hens 'gallin'[139]	13s.4d.
	John de Monte Famul, 'comito'	2 small brls. treacle weight 40 lbs.	13s.4d.
	John de Bodna, gunner 'bombardere'	1 [S great] brl. oil	13s.4d.
Ralph Pastrowichio	Pero	1 brl. oil.	13s.4d.
Ralph Caruse	Jane [S James]	1 brl. oil.	13s.4d.
Ralph Patrovichio	George	1 brl. soap.	13s.4d.
Nicholas Caruse	Jane	1 brl. oil.	13s.4d.
Nadale de Lago	Nicholas	1 brl. oil.	13s.4d.
Nadale de Antyvery	Nicholas	1 brl. oil.	13s.4d.
John de Asdryna	Stephen	1 small bag glass beads cont. 500	10s.
	Leonard Purveour	1 firkin raisins of Corinth	10s.
Primo de Squtery	Andrew	1 brl. succade weight 25 lbs	8s.4d.
Andrew Caruse 'qd'	Jane	1 bag with 1 bushel sponges	6s.8d.
Nicholas de Sosina	Damyan	1 carpet.	6s.8d.
Nicholas de Castello Novo	George	1 bag soap weight 1 qr	3s.4d.

[139] Gallin hens – French hens

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	A carpette of turquey making	Silke frenged with grene silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Tower	9058	183	1				
10	Great carpettes of turquey	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Tower	9060	183	10				
1	A carpette of Inglisshe making	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Tower	9098	185		1			
1	Stuff brought from Westminster - a verey fayer carpett	Crymsen satten allover enbrawdered with venyce gold	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Tower	9189	190					
1	Stuff brought from Westminster - A venyce carpett given unto the kinges majestie by Anthony Cassadonye marchaunte Straunger.	Silke								1		
2	Turquey carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Tower	9221 & 9222	192	2				
16								13	1	1	0	0
1	Greate carpett	Of blewe works	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9337	198					
1	Greate carpett	Of dyuers coolours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9338	198					
1	Greate carpett	Of blewe works	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9339	199					
1	Greate carpett	Three lardge knottes of blewe workes the ground redde	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9340	199					
1	Greate carpett	Of yellowe workes with twoo white borders	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9341	199					
1	Greate carpett	Foure Roundelles of grene workes and twoo white borders	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9342	199					
1	Greate carpett	A brode bordre and a narrowe of white works	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9343	199					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Greate carpett	A bordre the worke yellowe redd and blewe	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9344	199					
2	Smale carpettes	Redd with targettes bordered with white	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9345	199					
2	Smale carpettes	The grounde redd with white borders	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9346	199					
1	Smale carpettes	Redd with twoo greate roundelles	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9347	199					
2	Smale carpettes	Litle redd carpettes	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9348	199					
4	Smale carpettes	Yellowe carpettes	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9349	199					
9	Smale carpettes	Yellowe workes	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9350	199					
3	Smale carpettes	Of blewe workes	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9351	199					
7	Smale carpettes of venyce making	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9352	199			7		
3	Smale carpettes	Of grene workes	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9353	199					
2	Smale carpettes	With three roundelles	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9354	199					
2	Smale carpettes	One redde; thother blewe	Olde	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9355	199				1	
1	Smale carpette	With three roundelles	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9356	199					
3	Smale course carpettes	Of three roundes the pece	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9357	199					
10	Smale carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9358	199					
4	Smale Demy carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9359	199					
5	Greate carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9360	199	6				
6	Smale Cupbourde carpettes of turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9361	199	6				
1	Smale carpette of turquey making	Of silke wrought like vellat and frenged at thendes with grene silk	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Grenewiche	9362	199	1				
75								13	0	7	1	0
3	Table carpettes	Of silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9741	209					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
4	Cupborde carpettes	Of silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9742	209					
1	Fote carpett	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9743	209					
3	Table carpettes	Of sundrye makinge	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9744	209					
10	Di (possibly half or Demy) carpettes	Of sundrye makinge	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9745	209					
8	Cupborde carpettes of Turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9746	210	8				
6	Cubborde carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9747	210					
1	Longe carpett	Of silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9748	210					
2	Carpettes of turquey	Faier	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9749	210	2				
3	Cubborde carpettes of Turquey	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9750	210	3				
1	Carpett of Turquey makinge	Wrought with fine cruell the grounde being redde and a border the grounde being blacke fringed at thendes with silke twisted	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9751	210	1				
3	Carpettes of Turquey making	Wrought with golde and fine cruell fringed at thendes with yellowe silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9752	210	3				
11	Small carpettes of Turquey	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9753	210	11				
7	Course carpettes of veanice	Making with peescoddes fringed at thendes with white cruell	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9754	210			7		
3	Foote carpettes	None	Olde - frameworke being sumwhat worne	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9755	210				3	
4	Carpettes for cupbordes	None	Olde - frameworke of sundrye sortes	The Guarderobe	Westminster	9756	210				4	

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Carpett of Turquey worke	Of silke of dyuers coollors	Unrecorded	Thoulde Juelhous	Westminster	11577	258					
1	Cuppboarde carpett	None	Olde - frameworke sore worne and mothe eten	Refuse stuffe	Westminster	11802	263				1	
1	Fote carpett	None	Olde - frameworke sore worne and mothe eten	Refuse stuffe	Westminster	11803	263				1	
73								28	0	7	9	0
1	Carpett	Riche - of crymson and purple vellat alover embraudered with damaske peerle and venice gold garnished in soundrye places with pearle with borders of crymson satten likewise embraudered with damaske peerle and venice golde and garnished with peerle and fringed rounde aboute with a fringe of venice golde	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12137	278					
4	Carpettes	Two of them of crymson vellat either of them aswell embraudred in the myddes with three squares asalso abowte the borders with antiques; the third being purple vellat of lyke embrauderye; the fourth being of greane vellat of lyke embraudrye; everyone of theym edged with lyke coloured satten and lyned with fustiane	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12138	278					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Carpett	Of grene vellat with border of Rooses & honysocles of embrauderye with a fringe of venice golde lined with grene sarcanet	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12139	278					
1	Carpett	Of blewe vellat havinge two buttons & tasselles of blewe silke and lined with blake buckeram	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12140	278					
1	Carpett	Of nedlework - with rooses & trees of silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12141	278					
1	Carpett	Of bawdekine - of blewe and yellowe	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12142	278					
2	Carpettes	Of silke - whereof one hath the kinges Armes in the myddes; thother having two marmaides	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12143	278					
1	Carpett	Of silke - the grownd grene full of Rooses with brode borders of blewe & tawney silk at eche ende and the sydes with a narrowe border of the same silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12144	278					
1	Carpett	Of redde clothe with a border of blewe clothe all over embraudered with antique stitchede on with venice golde and with the kinges worde in the myddes "Dieu et mondroit"	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12145	278					
1	Carpett	With tapistre with vallaunces aswell in the sydes asalso in thendes	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12146	278					
1	Carpett	Of verdowres with three roundes of Imagerie in it	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12147	278					
17	Greate Table and foot carpettes of turquey makinge	Of soundrye fasshions	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12148	278					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
14	Di (possibly half or Demy or "14 and a half") foote and cubborde carpettes of Turquey makinge	Of soundrye workes and facions	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12149	278	14				
52	Smale cupbourde and windowe carpettes of Turquey makinge	Of soundrye workes and facions	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12150	279	52				
13	Smale carpettes of Turquey	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12151	279	13				
42	Smale carpettes of Turquey	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12152	279	42				
4	Banker carpettes of Turquey	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12153	280	4				
6	Carpettes of venice	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12154	280			6		
5	Carpettes	Paned lozenge wise with blewe and yellowe having scutchions withe flower deluces in them	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12155	280					
3	Carpettes of englyshe makinge	One hath the grounde redde with the kinges Armes in the myddes & a border of Rooses abowte it; the second the grounde grene with a traile of white and a Roose in the myddes; the third chevered with white blacke and redde	The third having a hoole in it	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12156	280		3		1	
2	Carpettes of Turquey makinge bought of Petre vandewall	Of silk - the grounde gold reized with diurse colours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12157	280	2				
32	Cupbourde and windowe carpettes of Turquey makinge bought of Petre vandall; also two being foote carpettes & other two demy carpettes and all the residue smale carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12158	280	32				

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Foote carpett of turquey making; by Bowyer of London	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12159	280	1				
1	Faire carpett	Of nedleworke - the grounde wrought with carnation silke & with rooses trailes and flowers of redde and white silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Hampton Courte	12160	280					
207								160	3	6	1	0
1	Table carpet	Of tapestry wrought with the kinges Armes and with roses & flower deluces	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12713	298					
2	Foote carpettes	One is all red and the bordre white; thother sett with flowerdeluces in panes dyuers coloures	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12714	298					
1	Cupbourde carpett of Turque	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12715	298	1				
1	Smale carpett of Turque	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12716	298	1				
6	Smale carpettes	Playne	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12717	298					
1	Cupborde carpett of Turque	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12718	298	1				
1	Carpett	Of tapestry wrought with blewe knottes roses and flower deluces	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12719	298					
1	Carpett	Wrought with the kinges Armes in the myddes and Roses and Quene Annes Cognisaunce	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12720	298					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
7	Carpettes of Turque makinge	None	Olde	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12721	298	7			1	
3	Large carpettes of Turque makinge	None	Olde	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12722	299	3			1	
1	Long carpet	Of cruell	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12723	299					
10	Carpettes	Of verdoures of the broode blome and of sundry other sortes lyned throughe out with canvas	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12724	299					
10	Shorte cupbourd carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Otelondes, Kent	12725	299					
45								13	0	0	2	0
1	Cupborde carpet	Of tapestry with a Quenes hed and this scrypture by it Quene Katheryne of Englonde	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	12883	303					
1	Carpett	Of grene cloth welted with goulde passamayne and silke with six tasselles of like gould and silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	12884	303					
1	Large carpett of Turque makinge	Wrought with great braunches of red purple blewe & yellowe	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	12885	303	1				
1	Turque carpet	Wrought with litell bottes of sundry coloures with a narrow border of white dyced aboute the same white and blewe	Olde	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	12886	303	1			1	
1	Carpett	Fyne - of nedell worke of silke and goulde	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	12887	303					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Carpett	Of tapestry - havinge the kinges Armes in the myddes with the garter and the kinges worde in other places	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	12888	303					
1	Carpett	Of fyne tapestree ymagerie lined thoroughout with canvas	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13026	309					
13	Carpettes	Of verdours of brode blomes & soundrie other sortes	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13027	309					
1	Carpet of Turquey making	Of dornix painted with diurse colours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13028	309	1				
1	Turquey carpet	Of silke	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13029	309	1				
1	Carpet of Turquey making	Of dornix painted with diurse colours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13030	309	1				
1	Carpet of Turquey making	Of dornixe painted with diurse colours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13031	309	1				
1	Carpet of Turquey making	Of dornix painted with diurse colours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13032	309	1				
2	Carpettes of Turquey making	Of dornix painted chequered with diurse colours	Being cutte and were made of one	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13033	309	2			2	
1	Carpet	Of grene satten enbraudered vppon with soundry the kinges beastes antique heddes, grapes and birdes fringed rownde abowte with a narrowe fringe of redde silke and lyned with redde buckeram	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13034	309					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Carpet of Turquey making	Rowed with diuerse colours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13035	309	1				
1	Carpet of Turquey making	Being white at eche ende with rowes of golde & silke of diurse colors	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13036	309	1				
1	Carpet	Of grene cloth embraudered vpon & rounde abowte with grene satten fourmed downe with venice golde fringed rownde abowte with venice gold and grene silke having viii buttons peyre facion with tassells of lyke golde & silke lined with grene buckeram	The iiii corners being cutte awaye the same hath a hole perished with rattes	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13037	309				1	
22	Cupborde carpettes	Of soundry sortes	Olde - of frame worke sore worne and the most of them motheaten	The Guarderobe	Manor of Nonesuch, Surrey	13038	309				22	
53								11	0	0	26	0
4	Carpettes of Turquey makinge	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13152	318	4				
8	Small carpettes of Turquey makinge	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13153	318	8				
4	Carpettes of venice makinge	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13154	318			4		
2	Large carpettes of Turque makinge	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13155	318	2				
1	Carpette of Englishe makinge	Lyned	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13156	318		1			
1	Carpette of Turquey makinge	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13157	318	1				

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
2	Carpettes of venice makinge	Verye course - the grounde redde with diurse colours in them	Newe	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13158	318			2		2
12	Couborde carpettes of Turquey makinge	The grounde of euery of them beinge white; one powderid blacke; the second likewise blacke powderd; the third powderde with blacke; the fourth powderde with blacke; the fifth powderde with blacke; the sixth and seventh powderde blacke with trayphelles; the eighth with blacke traiphelles; the ninth with blacke traphelles; the tenth wrought yellowe; the eleventh powderde with reade; the twelth wrought with blacke like a flower.	Newe	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13159	318	12				12
16	Cubborde clothes	Of sondrye sortes	Olde - of frame worke sore worne and sondry of them mothe eaten all redye videlicet	The Guarderobe	Castell of Winsore	13960	318				16	
50								27	1	6	16	14
2	Small carpettes of Turquey makinge	None	Olde	The Guarderobe	Manor of Woodestoke, Oxon	13273	323	2			2	
1	Greate carpett of Turquey makinge	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Woodestoke, Oxon	13274	323	1				

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
4	Small carpettes of Turquey makinge	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of Woodestoke, Oxon	13275	323	4				
7								7	0	0	2	0
1	Table carpet	Of crewell mooste of blewe and yellowe collors	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13366	328					
1	Foote carpett	Of crewell mooste of blewe and redde collors	Full of hooles	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13367	328					
1	Foote carpett	Of crewell havinge most of grene collors	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13368	328					
1	Foote carpett	Of roughe stuffe wroughte in lozenges	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13369	328					
6	Venice carpettes	None	Being olde havinge manye hooles in them	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13370	328			6	6	
3	Carpettes parcell of the saied late cardinalles stuffe videlicet	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13371	328					
4	Carpettes beinge parcell of the saied late cardynalles stuffe	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13372	328					
1	Small carpett	With a runnynge border of white and grene	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13373	328					
1	Carpett	With a runnynge border mooste of blewe yellowe and grene collours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13374	328					
1	Carpett	With a runnynge border mooste of redd blacke and yellowe colloures	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13375	328					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Carpett	With a wreth of colloures	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13376	328					
1	Carpett	With a runnynge border moste of white read and grene collours	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13377	328					
1	Carpett	With a runnynge border most of blacke and blewe collors	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13378	328					
4	Carpettes	With runnynge borders moste of white and red collors	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13379	328					
4	Banker carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	Manor of The More, Hertford	13380	328					
31								0	0	6	6	0
5	Carpettes of Turquey	Makinge being longe	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Manor of Richmond, Surrey	13526	335	5				
15	Small cupborde carpetes of Turqueye	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Manor of Richmond, Surrey	13527	335	15				
1	Carpet	With rooses and Busshoppe Courtney his armes in the middles	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Manor of Richmond, Surrey	13528	335					
1	Carpet	Of small verdors with scutchions in it lyned	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Manor of Richmond, Surrey	13529	335					
2	Great carpetes of Turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Manor of Richmond, Surrey	13530	335	2				
24								22	0	0	0	0
1	Cubborde carpet	None	Olde	The Guarderobe; in the Hall	The House of Sayncte	13792	344				1	

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
					Johns, London							
1	Turque carpet for the table	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe; In the dynynge parler	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13797	344	1				
3	Carpettes	None	Olde	The Guarderobe; In the dynynge parler	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13803	345				3	
1	Large table carpett	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe; in the dynynge chamber	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13814	345					
2	Cubborde carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe; in the dynynge chamber	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13815	345					
2	Window carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe; in the dynynge chamber	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13816	345					
1	Window carpett	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe; in Mr Knevettes chamber called the Grene Chamber	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13820	345					
2	Window carpettes	None	Olde	The Guarderobe; in the chamber next to Coplande	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13827	345				2	

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
3	Small carpettes	None	Olde	The Guarderobe; in the chamber next to Coplande	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13831	345				3	
1	Window carpet	None	Olde	The Guarderobe; my lordes Ivenge chamber	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13842	345				1	
2	Carpettes vpon the flower [floor?]	None	Olde	The Guarderobe; my lordes Ivenge chamber	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13843	345				2	
2	Litell wyndowe carpettes	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe; in the Chappell chamber	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13859	345					
4	Small carpettes	None	Olde	The Guarderobe; in Mr Weston his lodginge	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13876	346				4	
1	Table carpet	None	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe; in Mr Weston his lodginge	The House of Sayncte Johns, London	13877	346					
26								1	0	0	16	0
1	Foote carpet of Englishe making	With squares roses and knottes in them	Olde	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13953	347		1		1	
1	Square carpet of Englishe making	With red and white roses the ground blewe	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13954	347		1			

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
6	Fyne venyce carpettes	Verey faire	The sixth perished with hooles	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13955	347			6	1	
4	Course carpettes	Of verdores with a small scutchion in them	Old	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13956	348				4	
1	Carpet of Englishe making	With squares and roses	Old; perished with hooles	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13957	348		1		1	
2	Course carpettes of venyce making	With grene garlondes in them	Old	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13958	348			2	2	
1	Course carpet of venyce making	Having three squares	Olde; perished with hooles	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13959	348			1	1	
1	Pece of country carpet worke	Unlyned of two sortes	Unrecorded	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13960	348					
1	Great square carpet of Turquey making	With a grete image of St. Michaell	Old; full of hooles	The Guarderobe	The Mannor of Bedington, Surrey	13961	348	1			1	
18								1	3	9	11	0
1	Fote Carpett	Fayer; with a greate roundell in the myddes the grounde redde and the rest besides the roundell blewe	Unrecorded	The princis Gwardrobe; beyng the kinges Majesties when he was Prince	Duresham Place, London	14081	352					
1	Fote Carpett of venice making	With twenty four squares	Verey bare with a greate hole in thone syde and small holes dyuers	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14082	352			1	1	

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Carpett of turquey making	Full of small workes	Sore worne and full of holes	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14083	352	1			1	
1	Greate carpett of turquey making	With foure squares like roses	Having lytle holes and torne	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14084	352	1			1	
1	Greate carpett of turquey making	With foure squares like roses	Unrecorded	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14085	352	1				
1	Greate carpett of turquey making	With foure squares like roses	With a hole in the myddes	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14086	352	1			1	
1	Turquey carpett	A good carpett; with five squares in it	Having three litle holes in it	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14087	352	1			1	
1	Verey course carpett of turquey making	None	Sore rotten	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14088	352	1			1	
1	Carpett of turquey making	With four roundelles	A good carpet	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14089	352	1				1
1	Carpett of turquey making	None	A good carpet	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14090	352	1				1
1	Carpett	With small workes redde and yellowe the myddle bordre with white knottes and the grounde grene	Unrecorded	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14091	352					
1	Carpett	Meaner with smale workes redde and yellowe	Steyned with yncke	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14092	352				1	
2	Demye carpetts of turquey making	None	Unrecorded	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14093	352	1				

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Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
2	Demye carpetts of turquey making	With peasecoddes	Unrecorded	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14094	352	2				
2	Demye carpetts	With roses course	Full of holes	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14095	352				2	
1	Demy carpett	A fayer carpett	Good	[as above]	In thandes of John Reade at Westminster	14096	352					1
1	Demy Carpett	None	A good carpet	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14097	352					1
1	Demy carpett	With twoo hole roundelles and twoo halfe	Good	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14098	352					1
1	Demye Carpett	With twelve blewe squares	Seruiceable	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14099	352					
1	Demy carpett	With borders at thendes with dragons	Full of holes and sore worne	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14100	352				1	
7	Cuppbourde carpettes of turquey making	Of sundrie workes the grounde yellowe and redde	Unrecorded	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14101	353	7				
16	Small carpettes of turquey making	None	Unrecorded	[as above]	Duresham Place, London	14102	353	16				
46								34	0	1	10	5
1	Carpett	Of purple vellat lyned with blewe buckeram	Unrecorded	The Removing Guarderobe	The Guarderobe attendaunt at the Courte vppon the kinges most Roiall parsonne	14140	354					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
12	Greate and demy Carpettes of turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Removing Guarderobe	[as above]	14141	354	12				
51	Smalle Carpettes of turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Removing Guarderobe	[as above]	14142	354	51				
2	smalle Carpettes of turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Removing Guarderobe	[as above]	14143	354	2				
66								65	0	0	0	0
1	Turquey Carpett	With borders at thendes with lions	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	Stuff delyuered to the Lady Mary her Grace doughter to our late soueraigne Lorde King Henry Theight	15220	378	1				
1	Carpett of Turquey making	With sundry squares	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15221	378	1				
1	Demy carpett of Turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15222	378	1				
1	Demy carpett of Turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15223	378	1				
1	Demy carpett of Turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15224	378	1				
1	Demy carpett	Redd and white and also grene chequered	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15225	378					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
6	Cubborde carpettes of Turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15226	378	6				
12	Cubborde carpettes of Turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15227	378	12				
1	Carpett or windowe pece	Of tapestrie marked with Letter B lyned with Canvas	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15228	378					
1	Carpett or windowe pece	Of tapestrie marked with Letter K lyned with Canvas; made in panes like Cusshions	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15229	378					
13	Carpettes or windowe peces	Of Verdoures unlyned	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15230	378					
3	Carpettes or windowe peces	Of verdoures withe braunches rooses and beastes lyned with white canvas	Unrecorded	The Lady Mares Guarderobe	[as above]	15231	378					
42								23	0	0	0	0
2	Foote carpettes	None	Of frameworke being olde and worne	The Lady Elizabeth Guarderobe	Stuff delyuered to the Lady Elizabeth her Grace doughter to our late soueraigne Lorde King Henry Theight	15280	381				2	
9	Cubbourdes carpettes	None	Of frameworke of sundry sortes being olde and worne	The Lady Elizabeth Guarderobe	[as above]	15281	381				9	

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
9	Small Carpettes of Turquey making	None	Unrecorded	The Lady Elizabeth Guarderobe	[as above]	15282	381	9				
4	Di Carpettes of Turquy making parcell of the Princes Stuffe	None	Unrecorded	The Lady Elizabeth Guarderobe	[as above]	15283	382	4				
24								13	0	0	11	0
1	Carpett	Of crymsen satten allouer layed with thredes of venice golde in the myddes therof an enbrawderye vppon grene vellat with golde and perles and a brode bordre aboute the same carpet of grene vellat richelye enbrawdered with golde and perle and roses of like enbrawderie within a rondle of crymsen satten likewise enbrawdred and on eche syde of the same bordre there is a narrowe bordre of crymsen satten richelie enbrawdered with damaske golde the same carpet being allso frengid rounde aboute with venyce golde and lyned with grene damaske	Unrecorded	All suche parcelles of Stuff as were founde remayning in sundrye the kinges houses studies and warderobes	At Westminster	15429	386					

Analysis of carpets in Henry VIII's 1547 inventory

Appendix iv)

Quantity	Type	Description	Condition	Location	Location	Book Cat No	Book Page	Turkish	English	Venetian	Old or poor condition	New
1	Carpett	[identical to above]	Unrecorded	Stuffe ... Delivered by Richarde Coke Edmunde Danyell and John Danyell gentlemen Executours of the last wille and Testamente of James Rufforthe deceased	Oon of the chiefe gentlemen of his majesties prevye chambre and keper ofhis graces palace of westminster	16077	402					
1	Carpett of Turquey making	Of silke of dyuers collors	Unrecorded	Stuffe boughte by King Henry Theight of the Duches of Suffolke		17582	433	1				
3								1	0	0	0	0
806								**432**	**8**	**43**	**111**	**19**

Sample questionnaire for field-work surveys

Appendix v)

Questionnaire Ref:	***/***

NATIONAL TRUST PROPERTIES: VISITOR SURVEY

1 About this house:

1.1 How often have you visited this house?

This is the first time ◯	Between 2 to 5 times ◯	More than 5 times ◯

1.2 Why did you come to / or come back to the house?

Interest in architecture ◯	Interest in history ◯	Interest in gardens ◯	Interest in interior design ◯
Interest in Art ◯	Just for a day out ◯	Other ◯	

1.3 Do you feel your visit to this house has taught you something new?

Yes ◯	No ◯	If yes, what?	

2 About this room:

2.1 Is this the first time that you've been in this particular room?

Yes ◯	No ◯

2.2 Could you pick out the cards that you feel describe the things in the room you noticed most; or found most interesting? You can choose more than one card.

Sample questionnaire for field-work surveys

Appendix v)

Questionnaire Ref:	***/***

A) Furniture ◯	B) Soft furnishings & textiles ◯	C) Ornaments & clocks ◯	D) Paintings & sculpture ◯
E) The display & information ◯	F) The architecture ◯	G) Other people in the Room ◯	H) The views from the windows ◯

Other ◯

2.3 Looking around you now, if you could have one item from this room in your own home, what would it be?

2.4 Did you find there was enough information to answer any questions – by staff, labels, information sheets?

Yes ◯ No ◯

If not – was there anything in particular you would have like to have known about?

3 If you were given the opportunity to have a portrait done of yourself by a famous photographer or a famous painter, what ITEMS would you chose to have included in the picture to reflect who you are, or what you have achieved, or what possessions you treasure or who you most admire? (you can chose a couple of things – but NO other people, and no images of friends or family).

Sample questionnaire for field-work surveys

Appendix v)

	Questionnaire Ref: /

4 The carpet:

4.1 Whilst you were in the room, did you look at the floor and what was on it?

Yes ◯ No ◯

4.2 Could you pick out the cards that you feel describe the carpet? You can pick out more than one card.

A-Scruffy ◯	B-Beautiful ◯	C-Interesting ◯	D-Uninteresting ◯	E-Like patterns ◯	F-Ugly ◯
G-Like colours ◯	H-Don't like colours ◯	I-Old ◯	J-Modern ◯	K-Belongs in room ◯	L-Out of place ◯

Other ◯

4.3 Would you like to have a carpet like this in your house, or do you already have one?

Very much ◯	Probably ◯	Probably not ◯	Not at all ◯	I do have one ◯

4.4 Could you pick out the card that shows how much you feel you would pay for a carpet like this? Choose just one card.

A) Less than £50 ◯	B) £50 to £100 ◯	C) £100 to £200 ◯

		Questionnaire Ref: /
D) £200 to £500 ◯	E) £500 to £1,000 ◯	F) £1,000 or over ◯
Don't' know or other ◯		

4.5 Could you pick out the card that shows roughly how old you think the carpet is? Choose just one card.

A) Less than 50 years old ◯	B) Between 50 & 100 years ◯	C) 100 to 150 years old ◯
D) 150 to 200 years old ◯	E) Older than 200 years ◯	Don't know ◯

4.6 Could you pick out the card that shows best shows how you think the carpet would have been made? Pick just one card.

A) Machine + western man ◯	B) Machine + Eastern men ◯	C) Vertical + Western women ◯	D) Machine + Western women ◯
E) Horizontal + Eastern man ◯	F) Vertical + Eastern children ◯	G) Vertical + Eastern women ◯	H) Floor + Eastern woman ◯

4.7 This is the final set of cards. Could you pick out the card that shows where you think the carpet was made? Choose just one of the cards.

A) UK ◯	B) China ◯	D) Spain, France ◯	E) India ◯	F) Iran ◯
G) North Africa ◯	H) Russia ◯	I) Saudi Arabia ◯	J) Turkey ◯	Don't know ◯

Sample questionnaire for field-work surveys

Appendix v)

Questionnaire Ref:	***/***

4.8 Before today, did you think about carpets at all – where they came from, how they were made or who made them?

Yes ◯ | No ◯

4.9 Can you think of any names of famous carpet makers still making carpets today?

Yes ◯ | No ◯ | If Yes, who:

4.10 Would you be interested to learn about their history?

Very much ◯ | Probably ◯ | Neither Yes or No ◯ | Probably not ◯ | Not at all ◯

THANK YOU
Now complete:
About you and sign consent forms

Any other comments:

5 About you – could you tick the circles that you feel best describe yourself?

a) Ethnicity	**b) Age**	**c) Field of Profession / previous profession**
White ◯	Under 18 ◯	Creative / Arts / Media ◯
◯	◯	◯

Sample questionnaire for field-work surveys

Appendix v)

Questionnaire Ref: /

Asian	18 to 25	Science
West India ◯	26 to 39 ◯	IT ◯
African ◯	40 to 49 ◯	Sport / Recreation ◯
Chinese ◯	51 to 60 ◯	Engineering / Construction ◯
Other ◯	Over 60 ◯	Legal / Property ◯
	Don't wish to say ◯	Transportation Services ◯
d) Religious Beliefs:	**e) How often in a year would you visit a heritage centre?**	Sales / Marketing ◯
Christian ◯		Administration ◯
Catholic ◯	Once a year or less ◯	Public service / Education ◯
Protestant ◯	2 to 5 times a year ◯	Armed Forces ◯
Hindu ◯	More than 5 times a year ◯	Other / Don't wish to say ◯
Buddhist ◯	**f) Where is your permanent home?**	
Non-believer ◯	Exeter ◯	Cornwall ◯ Outside UK ◯
Other ◯	Plymouth ◯	Elsewhere in the SW ◯
Don't wish to say ◯	Devon ◯	Elsewhere in the UK ◯

g) What is your sex? Male ◯ Female ◯

h) Interests and Hobbies:

Gardening ◯	Arts & Culture ◯	Walking & Outdoors ◯	Food & Wine ◯
Cinema ◯	Collecting ◯	Pets ◯	Socialising ◯
Crafts ◯	Sport ◯	Computers ◯	Travel ◯
Reading ◯	Music ◯	DIY ◯	Watching TV ◯

Summary of Field-work findings for Cotehele

Appendix vj)

Observations in the South Room, Cotehele

			% of total visitors observed
1.0	Number of visitors who seemed aware of the carpet and walked around it	3	1
2.0	Number of visitors who seemed aware of the carpet and walked over it	9	3.5
3.0	Number of visitors who didn't seem aware of the carpet and walked around it	47	18
4.0	Number of visitors who didn't seem aware of the carpet and walked over it	203	77.5
	Total visitors observed:	262	100

5.0	Objects that visitors showed a specific interest in:	Visual engagement only	Visual engagement and asked the Room Attendant	% of Visual Engagement only who then asked
	a) Tapestries	20	1	5
	b) Altar frontal	40	5	12.5
	c) Bed and hangings	15	4	26.5
	d) Floorboards	4	1	25
	e) Print by Condy	4	1	25
	f) Fireplace	2	0	0
	g) The Squint	84	3	3.5
	h) Closet with window to chapel	72	3	4
	i) Puzzle jug	9	3	33
	j) Locks and doors	4	0	0
	k) Ceiling	2	0	0
	l) Secretaire	1	0	0
	m) Shutters, window sill and woodworm	10	1	10
	n) High chair	10	0	0
	o) Mirror and deal table	10	0	0
	p) Carpets	4	0	0
	q) Bogus items	0	4	
		291	26	

Summary of Field-work findings for Cotehele

Appendix vj)

6.0	Types of visitors (from observation only)	
	a) Family groups	39
	b) Couples - approx under 40	15
	c) Couples - approx 40 to 60	21
	d) Couples - approx over 60	9
	e) Same sex pairs or small groups - approx under 40	7
	f) Same sex pairs or small groups - approx 40 to 60	9
	g) Same sex pairs or small groups - approx over 60	2

Surveys carried out in the South Room, Cotehele over course of 2 days (total of 9 respondents)

1.1	**How often have you visited Cotehele**	**First time**	**2 to 5 times**	**More than 5 times**				
		3	3	3				
		001; 005; 007	003;004; 008	002; 006; 009				
1.2	**Why did you come or come back to the house**	**Interest in architecture**	**Interest in history**	**Interest in gardens**	**Interest in Interior Design**	**Interest in Art**	**Just for a day out**	**Other**
		2	7	5	2	5	6	2
		007; 008;	002; 003; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009	001; 002; 003; 007; 008	005; 008	002; 005; 007; 008; 009	001; 002; 005; 006; 007; 009	004; 009
1.3	**Do you feel your visit to the house has taught you something new**	**Yes**	**No**	**If yes, what**				
		9	0	Heritage; weight of a sword; about construction & commissioning of tapestries; about armour; the detail of tapestry borders, how important proportions of a house are & the floorboards; how an organ is played; about Delft ware; about an escapee from the house; could not think				

Summary of Field-work findings for Cotehele

Appendix vj)

		001; 002; 003; 004; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009		001; 002; 003; 004; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009						
2.1	Is this the first time that you've been in the South Room	Yes	No							
		6 003; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009	3 001; 002; 004;							
2.2	What things in the room did you notice most or found the most interesting (multiple choice)	Furniture	Soft furnishings & textiles	Ornaments & clocks	Paintings & Sculpture	Display & information	Architecture	Other people	Views from window	Other
		5 002; 005; 006; 007; 008;	9 001; 002; 003; 004; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009;	3 002; 006; 008;	2 005; 008;	2 002; 005;	2 005; 008;	3 004; 005; 007;	1 002;	1 004;
2.3	If you could have one item from this room in your own home what would it be (free question)	Secretaire	Altar cloth	A tapestry	The fireplace (with a roaring fire)	The deal table	The bed	Bed cover		
		2 001; 008;	1 002;	1 003;	1 004;	1 005;	2 006; 009;	1 007;		
2.4	Did you find there was enough information available	Yes	No	If not, what would you have liked to have known about						
		9 001; 002; 003; 004; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009								
3.0	What would you include in a portrait of yourself, that represented who you were, what you loved or what you had achieved (free question)	A picture of the Ark Royal	A grandfather clock that husband had restored	My garden in the background	My kitchen with the cat, the garden through the open door and my bottles of jams and chutneys	A reproduction of the painting, Mary, Countess of Howe, from Kenwood House	Books	Something that represents the National Health Service	A mantle clock that belonged to my grandfather	
		1 001;	1 002;	1 003;	1 004;	1 005;	2 006; 009;	1 007;	1 008;	

Summary of Field-work findings for Cotehele

Appendix vj)

4.1	Whilst you were in the room did you look at the floor and what was on it	Yes	No										
		3 002; 005; 009	6 001; 003; 004; 006; 007; 008;										
4.2	What words would you use to describe the carpet (multiple choice)	Scruffy	Beautiful	Interesting	Uninteresting	Like patterns	Ugly	Like colours	Don't like colours	Old	Modern	Belongs in the room	Out of place
		1 009;	1 008;	1 002;		3 002; 007; 008;		3 002; 007; 008;		4 001; 003; 006; 009		2 002; 006;	4 001; 004; 008; 009
4.3	Would you like a carpet like this in your house, or do you have an oriental carpet	Very much	Probably	I don't know	Probably not	Not at all							
		1 007;	1 002;		3 006; 008; 009	4 001; 003; 004; 005;							
4.4	How much would you pay to buy a carpet like this	Less than £50	£50 to £100	£100 to £200	£200 to £500	£500 to £1,000	Over £1,000						
		2 001; 004;	1 008;	1 007;	3 002; 003; 005;	2 006; 009							
4.5	How old do you think the carpet is	Less than 50 years	50 to 100 years	100 to 150 years	150 to 200 years	Older							
		2 001; 003;	2 004; 008;	1 007;	2 002; 006;	2 005; 009							
4.6	How do you think the carpet was made	Mechanised loom / factory / Western man (A)	Mechanised loom / factory / Eastern men (B)	Vertical loom / factory / hand-knotting / Western women (C)	Mechanised loom / factory / Western women (D)	Small horizontal loom / flat-weaving /domestic / Eastern man (E)	Vertical loom / factory / hand-knotting / Eastern children (F)	Vertical loom / factory / hand-knotting / Eastern women (G)	Floor loom / flat-weaving / domestic / Eastern woman (H)				
			1 001;			4 002; 003; 007; 008		3 004; 005; 006;	1 009;				
4.7	Where do you think the carpet was made	UK (A)	China (B)	Spain / France / Italy / Holland (D)	India (E)	Iran (Persia) (F)	North Africa (G)	Russia / Ukraine / Kazakhstan (H)	Saudi Arabia (I)	Turkey (J)			

Summary of Field-work findings for Cotehele

Appendix vj)

		1			2	3			1	2		
		001;			003; 005;	004; 007; 008;			002;	006; 009		
4.8	Before today did you think about the background of carpets at all	Yes	No									
		7	2									
		001; 003; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009;	002; 004;									
4.9	Can you think of any names of famous carpet makers today	Yes	No									
		8	1									
		001; 002; 004; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009	003;									
4.10	Would you like to learn more about their history	Very much	Probably	Don't know	Probably not	Not at all						
		1	6		2							
		005;	001; 002; 003; 006; 008; 009;		004; 007;							
5a)	Ethnicity	White	Asian	West Indian	African	Chinese	Other					
		9										
		001; 002; 003; 004; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009;										
5b)	Age	Under 18	18 to 25	26 to 39	40 to 49	51 to 60	Over 60	Don't wish to say	Missed question			
				1	1	1	5		1			
				004;	008;	007;	001; 002; 005; 006; 009;		003;			
5c)	Field of profession / previous profession	Creative / Arts / Media	Science	IT	Sports / Recreation	Engineering / Construction	Legal / Property	Transportation Services	Sales / Marketing	Administration	Armed Forces / MOD	Education	Civil Service / Government
		1	1					1		2	1	1	1
		009;	009;					008;		002; 007;	001;	005;	006;
5d)	Religious beliefs	Catholic	Protestant	Christian	Hindu	Buddhist	Non-believer	Other	Don't wish to say				
		1	4	1			3						

Summary of Field-work findings for Cotehele

Appendix vj)

		005;	002; 006; 007; 009;	008;				001; 003; 004;												
5e)	How often in a year would you visit a heritage centre	Once or less	2 to 5 times	More than 5 times																
			3 001; 003; 004;	6 002; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009																
5f)	Where is your permanent home	Exeter	Plymouth	Devon	Cornwall	Elsewhere in SW	Elsewhere in UK	Outside UK	Missed question											
			2 001; 004;	1 002;	1 006;	1 009;	3 005; 007; 008;		1 003;											
5g)	Sex	Male	Female																	
		4 001; 003; 005; 008;	5 002; 004; 006; 007; 009;																	
5h)	Hobbies / Interests	Gardening	Arts & Culture	Walking & outdoors	Food & Wine	Cinema	Collecting	Pets	Socialising	Crafts	Sport	Computers	Travel							
		6 001; 003; 004; 006; 008; 009;	6 002; 003; 005; 007; 008; 009;	7 001; 002; 003; 004; 005; 007; 008;	4 001; 003; 005; 006;	3 005; 007; 008;	2 002; 006;	2 004; 005;	4 001; 004; 005; 007;	5 002; 004; 005; 008; 009;	3 001; 005; 008;	2 005; 008;	7 001; 003; 005; 006; 007; 008; 009;	00						