This study investigates the setting, lifework, and influence of Josephine E. Powell, a photographer who traveled and lived with Middle Eastern nomads from the 1960s through the 1980s, while studying, photographing and collecting their textiles. In this period of time nomads of the Middle East were being strongly and often adversely affected by forced settlement, arbitrary national divisions of tribal lands, technological encroachment, and international conflicts. Their material culture was also changing and seemed destined to vanish along with their traditional way of life. Josephine E. Powell, by collecting nomadic textiles for museums in the Middle East and Europe and by photographing their creation and use prior to collection, has served as both conservator and cultural transmitter. By living and traveling among the nomads for many years, she has constructed a life of remarkable creativity and made a unique contribution to cross-cultural understanding in the Middle East.

By

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Typed by     Deane A. Watkins
For my mother, Irene Hiebert, who was my second grade teacher and from whose life I learned at an early age the importance of an education, especially for a woman.

For my sister, Ilene Steinkruger, who gave me ten hours a week when I needed them the most and many good thoughts with which to fill them.

For the friends, colleagues and library administration who assisted and supported me throughout my long apprenticeship in self-direction.

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For my son, Mike, who has met many challenges and who is becoming a fine young man.

And especially for Josephine Powell who permitted me to pursue my interest in her extraordinary accomplishments.

I am most grateful.
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INTRODUCTION

Turn on a radio at most any time of the day or night and news of some current international conflict will soon be broadcast. Tension rises and falls as each new crisis emerges and is resolved or defused.

Millennia ---or even as recently as a hundred years---ago conflict between tribes or nations might destroy large numbers of people, bring down mighty civilizations or decimate broad areas of land through fire or pillage but today the consequences of inter-group conflict carry a far greater potential. The total destruction of Planet Earth and life as mankind knows it lies within technological possibility. As the stakes of warfare have risen, so has the necessity of inter-cultural understanding and cooperation. Without it, mankind may well perish.

How then to increase international understanding and cooperation? How do we build channels of communication that elucidate the fact that in the global village the "Other" is ourselves, or as Pogo, cartoonist Walt Kelly's philosophic character once said, "We has met the enemy and it is us?"

Historically, intercultural communication---as well as conflict---has occurred along the boundary areas of civilization, along the boundaries of tribal groups and culture groups. Negotiation of territory for hunting or the gathering of grains; competition for living spaces favored with reliable sources of good water; control of minerals or other valuable natural resources; all have brought groups into contact with other groups. As these groups made contact with each other, the objects they created, as well as ideas and raw materials, crossed these cultural boundaries to enter the culture of the new group.
These created objects, along with other commodities such as foodstuffs or domesticated animals, amber or lumber, became goods, a kind of live information system serving as an avenue of communication both within cultures and across cultures (Douglas, 1979). As goods move within cultures and cross over into other cultures, they are frequently collected or amassed for various purposes. These purposes may bear little or no relationship to the goods themselves but may serve as powerful signs of cultural meaning (Rigby, 1944; Douglas, 1979).

As the objects of a collector's appreciation of beauty, function or novelty, collected goods frequently have formed the bases for museums. Museums evolved over time from the repositories for objects of individual taste for the beautiful and/or exotic, to interpreters of their cultural meaning, as well as their aesthetic value. Today the role of museums as cultural interpreters as well as that of their collections as artifact depositories is being questioned, and the position of the private collector of goods is increasingly ambiguous in relation to global societal inequities.

Yet if the movement of goods across cultural boundaries is inevitable and the urge to collect not just a manifestation of Western consumerism, how else but through museums can the objects of culture contribute to cross-cultural understanding? And how do individual collectors contribute to the communication process that can be accomplished through museums?

The field collector of artifacts who can document their provenance and use is in a position to provide unique insights into other cultures. Furthermore, if cultures are in a period of rapid transition and field documentation includes photographs, much valuable information may be retained that might otherwise be lost. This study looks at one such field collector, Josephine E. Powell, who combined place and time and an adventuresome spirit to shape not only an extraordinary life, but a unique contribution to cross-cultural understanding of the Middle East.

When we suggest that one only need turn on a radio to be tuned in to an international conflict, the latest crisis is often in the Middle East. As the cross-roads of humanity for thousands of years, the Middle East has frequently been the setting for culture contact and conflict. In this area, as is true for other areas of the world, culture contact, conflict and the need for communication exists not only between nations but between nations and the ethnic or racial minorities that often are contained within those nations.

The pastoral nomads of the Middle East are examples of such "fourth world" nations within modern nation-states, marginalized in those nations by forced settlement, disruption of their pastoral economy, and the arbitrary division of their historic territories by national boundaries. As nomadic groups have been confronted with political
instabilities as well as with ecological crises, technological change, growing participation in a market economy and the resulting structural changes these produced, their material culture, their goods, have reflected these changes.

In addition to the carpets which had been woven as items of trade since at least the 18th Century, the textile goods that the nomads wove for their own use, as well as their other material goods, became market commodities in the 1960s and '70s. As they appeared in the markets, these flat-weave rugs, tent bands, horse and camel trappings and carrying and storage bags, they were increasingly purchased by Westerners who transported them from their original cultural context to other cultural contexts.

A theoretical basis for the understanding of culture contact and communication as it occurs along the edges of the cultures involved can be traced through the literature in the concept of marginalization. Beginning with the theory that society creates marginal populations, groups of unattached and unintegrated people---when it displaces them from their traditional milieux---the concept has been extended to include individuals. Park (1967) defined "marginal man" as the accidental product of two cultures, resulting in a distinct personality type "condemned" to life in two societies. While accepting the accidental or fateful nature of social marginality, other theory suggested that the individual marginal man is the key-personality in the contacts of culture (Stonequist, 1937/1961). Barnett (1953) specifically mentions traders, missionaries and social welfare workers as agents of culture contact and change, yet in these groups an involuntary nature of their status would no longer seem to be true. Theirs would seem to be a self-chosen lifestyle, perhaps in order to more freely participate in culture contact.

In the Middle East in the 1960s and '70s, at the time that the material culture of the nomads was becoming commoditized, there were growing numbers of Westerners who were choosing to live outside of their own culture and participate more fully in other cultures. In their proximity to the marketplace and their interest in the culture of their host nations, Peace Corps workers as well as other travelers in the Middle East began collecting the nomadic textiles they found there.

As these "folk" materials achieved economic visibility as collectors' items in Western countries, not only was there an economic feedback loop generated, but with their preservation and distribution, a desire for more information on the textiles was generated. The economic loop resulted in an effort to revive traditional crafts among nomadic people in Turkey, and the desire for more information resulted in important research. Their value as collectibles preserved the nomadic textiles as vehicles for cross-cultural communication.
Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate how one person, Josephine E. Powell, contributed to this cross-cultural collection and communication. Although Powell's name appears in the contexts of collectors, retail rug dealers, museums and scholars, no study and little information is available on her and her role as a key-personality in the contact of cultures. Yet her presence and participation invites study in these contexts.

The questions which have guided this research are in two parts as follows:

1. How and why did Middle Eastern nomadic textiles become market commodities in the 1960s and '70s.

2. Who collected these textiles, how and why?

3. Did such collection preserve the nomadic textiles as remnants of a vanishing way of life?

4. Did this preservation decontextualize these nomadic artifacts or did it promote cross-cultural understanding?

5. What has been the relationship among the possible agents of cross-cultural understanding: museums, retail rug dealers and private collectors as individuals, as members of collecting clubs and as museum donors?

And in the context of the above questions:

6. How is Powell like and unlike other Middle Eastern travelers/collectors and textile scholars?

7. Has she filled a unique role in textile studies in the time and place?

8. If so, what is the nature of that role?
These questions will be addressed in two parts, corresponding to the two parts of
the questions. Questions one through five will be addressed by a substantive literature
review. This review, while lengthy, is critical to developing the historical setting in which
Powell's life and work for the study period will be placed. Questions six through eight
will be addressed by examining the products of Powell's life in the following way.

1. A brief examination of available evidence of the academic preparation for her
   life work and relevant employment will be made.
2. Her art historical photographs and evidence of any writing will be examined.
3. Her ethnographic/travel photographs will be examined.
4. The evidence of collections for museums and personal collectors will be
   examined.
5. Her published textile photographs will be examined.
6. Published articles, papers and letters will be reviewed.
7. The DOBAG project and the Goddess From Anatolia controversy, two current
textile research projects in Turkey, will be reviewed.
METHODOLOGY

The methodology for studying this topic reflects its interdisciplinary nature. It draws primarily upon history and communications but it also draws upon some of the more intuitive processes utilized by literary biographers and journalists as well as research methods employed by students of art, photography and textile history.

There are two reasons for this multi-faceted approach. The first is the nature of the subject. Josephine Powell is a living person with a future as well as an eventful past. She may well enjoy a certain degree of recognition or even enjoy being mistaken for Kathryn Hepburn when she registers at European hotels, but she also wants to peacefully enjoy the things she has yet to do with her life. She has done many things in her life but she "doesn't have time to explain everything" (J. Matthews, personal communication, November, 1990). It is to respect her desire for privacy that this study is limited to the evidence of her life as manifested in her work and a review of her historical time and place.

The second reason for an eclectic, interdisciplinary methodology is the nature of Powell's work. Except insofar as they compile unified bodies of work which are published under their names, professional photographers are rarely indexed in standard bibliographic tools. Field collectors of artifacts are similarly without recognition unless their collections are published under their own names. Evidence of Powell's work is available but the customary pointers to it are virtually non-existent. Gathering this evidence from public or published sources, with respect for her privacy, has required a combination of research methods.

Historiographical Framework

Gottschalk (1945) provides a highly detailed structure for the historical method, that is the examination of the records and survivals of the past. This consists of (a) collecting probable sources of information, (b) examining them for their genuineness and then (c) analyzing the genuine for its credible particulars. Heuristics, the art of collecting these sources of history, can extend from books or other published media to museums, archives, government records or any other place where information may be found.

The historian is interested in particulars and whether they are based on primary (eyewitness), or secondary (of anyone not an eyewitness), sources. Documents or sources are subjected to examination to determine their reliability and authenticity, and then
examined for four kinds of particulars: biographical (the who), geographical (the where), chronological (the when) and functional (the what and how). Gottschalk suggests that "putting a hypothesis in interrogative form is more 'scientific' than putting it in declarative form if for no other reason than it is less committal before all the evidence is in" (Gottschalk, 1949, p. 36). To determine the credibility of particulars he states that "what is meant by credible is not that it actually happened, but that it is as close to what actually happened as we can learn from a critical examination of the best available sources" (p. 35).

Generally, no particular is accepted without corroboration of two or more independent witnesses and testimony based on a single witness must be so designated. For this study Gottschalk's assessment of a chronological arrangement as the only relatively objective and constant norm for synthesis has also been found to be valid.

The suitability of an historical methodology for research in textiles was addressed by McBreen (1984) in a study which plotted the equivalences of historical methodology with their counterparts in science for a study on home economics and family law. Based in part on the methodology of Gottschalk, it utilizes the same categories of internal and external criticism to test the authenticity and reliability of particulars, and provides a model for a systematic procedure.

The introduction to *The Historian as Detective* (Winks, 1969) summarizes its value as a research guide. Its collection of essays illustrates the value of all kinds of printed statements, the false trails that must be followed to be sure that they are false, the importance of a well-informed background, and the need to interpret the concept of sources broadly. Perhaps most importantly, these essays serve as vital models for the thrill of the chase, the sheer fun and excitement of creatively matching wits with time and place and person to develop evidence in historical research.

Of less theoretical but more practical assistance in gathering sources of evidence are a guide to open-ended, semi-structured interviews that cumulates techniques from a number of the social sciences (Hammer & Wildavsky, 1989); a how-to-do-it for biographical writing that outlines another historian's "rules" that even their author could not use consistently (Garraty, 1956); and a handbook and directory for locating anyone, anywhere without leaving home (Gunderson & McGovern, 1989). Peters (1979) provides guidance in biographical research on women.

Communications Framework: Content Analysis

The methodology for the gathering of data coming primarily from the disciplines of history and, secondarily, from literary and journalistic biography, for the second major
component of methodology, that which concerns the analysis and interpretation of Powell's works, a form of communications research is employed.

Since museums both communicate directly and facilitate communication, the classic description of communication as "who says what to whom, how and with what effect" is of on-going concern to them. Berelson (1952) provides theoretical bases and suggests applications of content analysis that have moved beyond the narrow field of communications research, to those of history, law, economics, anthropology, and other disciplines within the social sciences and humanities.

Content analysis is defined as a formal system for drawing conclusions from observations of content, a process we all do informally on a daily basis when we express opinions on what we observe as readers or listeners. Content analysis is predicated on the assumption that inferences between intent and content, or between content and effect can validly be made or relationships established. It describes communications but does not in itself evaluate them. That is accomplished by comparison with some standard.

It is also characterized by being objective and quantitative, as well as being restricted to manifest content, although this latter point is presumed to exist on a continuum of agreement concerning immediacy or latency of content and is still subject to refinement. (Berelson, 1952; Stempel, 1981).

Although the greater number of studies in communications research that use content analysis focus on precise coding of categories or units of information, sampling, and the use of statistical measures of reliability (Stempel, 1981; Pool, 1959), Berelson (1952) makes a clear case for qualitative as well as quantitative content analysis, particularly in historical research. He suggests that qualitative content analysis might be more accurately called "content assessment" but defines seven ways in which the two kinds of content analysis, qualitative and quantitative, are different and similar.

1. Much qualitative analysis is quasi-quantitative using terms such as repeatedly, rarely, often and usually rather that stating percentages or numbers. Depending on the problem, this lack of statistical precision may be unimportant or even desirable.

2. Qualitative more often is based on presence/absence information rather than on relative frequencies. Where a single occurrence is the significant piece of informational content, such as in a psychological or historical study, this does not differ much from traditional and honored "close reading" plus judgement on what is read.
3. Qualitative analysis is done on small or incomplete samples, too small and/or inexact to justify formal and precise counting.

4. Qualitative analysis usually contains a higher ratio of noncontent to content statements, focusing on intentions or effects. Interpretations, that is, inferences about intent or effect, are more likely to be made as a part of the analytic process than following it as in quantitative analysis.

5. Qualitative analysis is more concerned with content as a reflection of something deeper than with the content as such.

6. Qualitative analysis uses less formalized categories than quantitative analysis and may be more context sensitive.

7. Qualitative analysis utilizes more complex themes than quantitative data. As in 6. above, release from the statistical requirements of quantitative analysis allows a more holistic or Gestalt placement of meaning that can take account of omission as well as commission.

Because of the high costs of precise quantification, Berelson suggests careful counting only in the following cases:

1. When a high degree of precision and accuracy is required in the results. (Buy only as much precision as is necessary.)

2. When a high degree of objectivity is required. If complexity cannot be reliably analyzed, then numbers carry a false aura of objectivity.

3. When materials analyzed are representative enough to justify the effort and are not fortuitous, irregular, uneven or otherwise unrepresentative.

4. When the materials to be analyzed are so numerous that they would be unmanageable without a summarizing procedure.

5. When a high degree of specification of categories is both possible and necessary or desirable. If categories definition is extremely difficult or impossible to do, it shouldn't be done because it would not be valid.

6. When the categories appear with relatively large frequencies.

7. When the content data are to be statistically related to numerical content data.

Many studies of photographs and photographers have been done using content analysis. One author suggests the specific term "photoanalysis" be used, to describe not only the study of photographs of a person undergoing psychotherapy, but the study of any
still photographs analyzed to decode meanings, and that its use be broadened in the social sciences (Green, 1983).

A number of studies have been done to examine the content of news photographs. The connotative dimension of such photographs in the *Washington Post* was explored in one study (Halliday-Levy, 1982) and *Time* and *Newsweek* were analyzed for their world images in another study (Tsang, 1984). Two studies that analyzed photographs of the Vietnam War were one of *Life* magazine from 1966 to 1970 (Williams, 1989) and one which contrasted the approaches to their topic of two photojournalists who photographed that war (K. S. Thompson, & Clarke, 1974). The latter study, with its examination of both intent and effect by means of content and with its focus on specific photojournalists, serves as a useful model of categories for such a study and an examination of the validity of inferences based, as these were, not only on content, but on textual biographical detail.

A useful study of women photographers was the comparison done of the documentary approaches of Margaret Bourke-White (and Erskine Caldwell) and Dorothea Lange (and Paul S. Taylor) (Hanson, 1980). This study used books, book reviews and biographies of the principals as well as content analysis of their books to document their creators' differing motivations and intentions in their photographic and literary documentation of social problems of their eras.

The above studies give the broad outlines and theoretical positions for this study: the historical method for collecting probable sources of material, and examining them for their genuineness and then, insofar as this study examines photographs as personal documents and as evidence, the use of qualitative content analysis of those photographs, as well as the circumstances of their publication, to make credible inferences about the life and work of Josephine Powell.

Although a substantial body of work can be traced to Powell, qualitative rather than quantitative analysis was chosen for the following reasons:

1. Quasi-quantitative data would be sufficiently accurate for the study.
2. Relative frequencies of occurrences could be meaningfully stated in generalities.
3. While by no means small, the body of information is incomplete. It is in the greater part (a) self-identified, (b) limited to published works and (c) omits direct examination of existing collections in museums and her own archives.
4. A higher ratio of non-content to content statements are made and inferences are made as a part of the analytical process.
5. The content is analyzed in relation to values as well as for its manifest content.
6. Not all of the works will receive the same degree of scrutiny.
7. The units of analysis and their relationships to each other will vary to provide
   more meaningful inferences.

In general, Powell's works are located in each identified source and examined for
factors such as content, relationship to source, date of publication, relationship to other
contributors to the source and inferred relationship to intent, within the chronology of her
life. Although inferences about effect will be less precise, some analysis of the source
documents is also done, placing those sources in a temporal and cultural frame that permits
rough but credible inferences to be made about them and, by extension, of the effect of
Powell's work.
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE CONCERNING JOSEPHINE POWELL

In its initial stages, it was precisely the dearth of information which precipitated this study. A 1984 interview with Powell in Oriental Rug Review (Barodovsky, 1984) drew attention to a seemingly unique individual in the field of Middle Eastern nomadic textiles, but one for whom no other biographical information appeared to exist. Although she appeared to be well-known within the field of oriental carpet studies, literature searches under her name in art history indexes, both print and on-line, yielded nothing. A search of an international bibliographic data base, OCLC, revealed one title, an unusual travelogue on Afghanistan, written in Dutch, in which Powell had participated and for which she had supplied the photographic illustrations. However, standard biographical dictionaries---of women, of photographers, of personalities, of travelers---again yielded nothing.

Piqued by her apparent role as a textile collector for museums, every issue of Oriental Rug Review (ORR) from its founding in 1981, forward to 1989 was scanned for the mention of her name. It was on the basis of these sparse but promising documents and without knowing if Powell was still alive, that the present study was proposed.

Although Hali and Textile Museum Journal, two other major journals supporting carpet research, were also scanned cover to cover, ORR provided the most information. A call to their offices produced the information that Powell was still alive, planning to be in the United States in the autumn of 1990, and her address and telephone number in Istanbul. While awaiting a reply to a letter to her, work was begun on compiling a list of prospective informants, people who, from close reading of ORR, could be assumed to know her and her work. Three of those people attended the Textiles in Trade Conference sponsored by the American Textile Society in Washington DC, in September, 1990. They were interviewed about Powell during the conference, primarily for anecdotal information. From these interviews it was confirmed that Powell would be giving a paper at the Sixth International Conference on Oriental Carpets (ICOC) in San Francisco in November of 1990, on one of her rare visits to the United States.

A second letter was sent to Powell, requesting a meeting at ICOC. Her reply, through a phone call from an American doctoral textiles student in Istanbul, was an agreement to a meeting in San Francisco, but a protest that she was not a collector and therefore not a suitable subject for my study (J. Matthews, personal communication, November, 1990).

The meeting in San Francisco took place at odd moments over the several days of the conference, and was subject to interruptions. Not "interviews," these were more
getting-acquainted sessions to frame an acceptable level of study, the result of which was the understanding that this study would be limited to her work alone.

Background material necessary for the placement of her life and work was the result of extensive but standard literature review, but seeking evidence of her work began as a more intuitive process. Initial requests for particulars from a contact she suggested yielded neither vitae nor response, so clues contained within the scanty available sources were developed. Beginning with one author whose name Powell suggested, a pattern of sources began to develop in classic library fashion: from author to subject to another author, shelf browsing, call number searching, keyword "fishing" in automated data bases and hunches about publishers were also yielding their results and finally particulars began to emerge. With verification that Powell indeed still maintains her office in Rome, another request for her vitae was made to that office. This request was successful and a broader and more detailed search for her work could be initiated, including correspondence with some museums as well as examination of her published photographs.
PART 1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

To fully understand the significance of Powell’s work it is important to understand a number of elements of the time and place in which her body of work developed, as well as some basic information about her background and preparation for that work. By drawing together information on oriental rugs and the retail rug trade, on art and ethnography museums that display these and related textiles, on collectors who acquire them and scholars who study them and last, but certainly not least, on the cultures which produce them, we prepare the various and related contexts which determine the significance of Powell’s work. This review will provide the information to address the questions (a) how Middle Eastern nomadic textiles became market commodities, (b) who collected them and how, (c) if such collection preserved them (d) if it promoted cross-cultural understanding or merely removed them from their original context, and (e) what are the relationships among the various collecting systems of museums, personal collectors, private scholars, and retail merchants. Information on Powell herself will follow this detailed background information.

Middle Eastern Nomads

*Historical Studies*

Since this study focuses primarily on Powell’s contributions to Middle Eastern textile studies in general and those of nomadic people in particular, a relatively brief overview of the nomadic history and culture of this area in this time period is an appropriate beginning. For the purpose of this study, nomad will refer to "peoples who live a considerable part of the year in portable dwellings---tents or huts---and whose main if not exclusive occupation is the raising of livestock" (Nomads and Nomadism, 1974, p. 2004).

From the time of Herodotus in Greece in the 5th century B.C.E. and Ssu-ma Ch’ien in China in the 1st century B.C.E., the ways of the nomadic peoples of Central Asia have been described primarily by the settled peoples with whom they have had frequent contact---and often conflict. Although runic writing existed as early as the first
millennium B.C.E., what written records of the nomads may exist have been deciphered incompletely or not at all (Basilov, 1989). Along with the accounts of the nomads written by early travelers, traders, explorers, and historians, archaeological discoveries continue to yield new information.

The Eurasian steppes have served as an 8,000- to 9,000-mile-long natural pathway over which people have carried their cultures for tens of thousands of years. From time to time great bands would sweep out of the steppes, often pushed by still stronger peoples behind them, to wreak havoc among the more settled peoples to the east and west of them (Francke & Brownstone, 1984; Basilov, 1989).

The result of these incursions and migrations and the changing dynasties that evolved with assimilation is a rich mosaic of genetic, linguistic and socio-cultural groups throughout the Middle East and Central Asia. Our reliance on archaeological artifacts and outside observations for much of our information about the more traditional nomads has in turn resulted in some curious mixes of factual and fictional information.

Bowles (1977) lucidly traces the movements of succeeding waves of Indo-Europeans who moved down from the Eurasian steppes to the plateau area stretching from Anatolia (present day Turkey) in the west to Afghanistan in the east. Although these movements are often referred to as invasions, that is largely because of the military advantage inherent in the mass movement of peoples on horseback. The horse, which was domesticated by 2500 B.C.E. in southern Russia or Turkestan, enabled the steppe dwellers not only to create the first mobile homes, yurts on wheeled platforms drawn by horses across the taiga, but later to ride as invading tribes into other areas, "marking a new phase in world history" (p. 98).

Over the 3000 years of known nomadic movement, the general pattern was thus: armed and mobile people along with the animals on which they were dependent for their food and shelter, would move into an area with some kind of settled population. If these were peasant farmers, tilling the river valleys, the horsemen would evolve a form of pastoral aristocracy, exploiting the meadows and steppes above the valleys for their herds of camels or horses and flocks of sheep and goats and trading and/or taking agricultural products from the farmers. Gradually, interconnected networks of kin-related communities would develop and many of these kinship patterns are still seen today. If the newly arrived nomads encountered large city-states, perhaps formed by the growth of earlier amalgamations of nomadic and sedentary peoples, then the culture contact could take a
more military aspect, leaving, so to speak, layers of ash between pottery levels in the archaeological records (Bowles, 1977).

In his introduction to *Nomads of Eurasia*, the lavishly illustrated book that accompanied a landmark exhibition "Nomads: Masters of the Eurasian Steppes" which was brought to United States in 1989, Russian anthropologist and editor Vladimir Basilov traces both the known history of these nomads and the evolution of Russian ethnographic study of them. As he points out, relations of nomads with sedentary populations have historically been difficult to characterize. In addition to the above model of conquest and assimilation with the nomads in the more powerful position, others existed. Powerful oasis-based kingdoms might also extend their power to encompass nomadic neighbors and nomadic groups, and individuals have historically shifted back and forth from nomadic to sedentary lifestyles on their own volition, depending on economic factors.

Basilov regards the last flowering of the nomadic way of life to have been in the Middle Ages when the Mongols under Genghis Khan controlled the steppes, and states that the annexation of the Crimea by Russia in 1783 put an end to nomadism in the south Russian steppes. Today he considers nomadism to be a cultural identity rather than an economic system based on extensive mobile animal husbandry (Basilov, 1989). The degree to which this is true has been investigated by a number of studies but such studies have reflected both the world political climate and the political situations within geographic regions and individual nations.

Beginning with Peter the Great's decree in 1718 that "everything that is very old and unusual" should be sent to him, Russian excavations of archaeological sites have yielded information as well as beautiful artifacts. Such excavation increased dramatically after the Russian Revolution (Basilov, 1989) but, although much information was collected, much less was translated into English, French or German, limiting its availability to Western scholars. Archaeological excavations also have been sources of historic information on nomadic peoples beyond the borders of Russia, as in Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan, but there, too, contemporary political events have often constrained evidence.

To document the lives of the Central Asian nomads of the past few centuries, even as they were described by Herodotus and Ssu-ma Ch'ien in the distant past and Marco Polo in the Middle Ages, they have been described by the travelers, traders, diplomats and scholars of today. As in the past, these observations from outside have been shaped by the cultures of the observers, as well as bounded by the political situation obtaining in any time and place under study.

At the time period encompassed in this study, beginning in the 1960s, Middle Eastern nomads seemed well on their way to extinction, as economic systems most
certainly, and as distinctive cultures most probably. Contrary to the voluntary sedentarization or settlement in the USSR described by Basiov, a Western publication, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mankind* (Hammer and the Sickle, 1974), views the culture contact between the Bolsheviks and nomads such as the Kazakhs and Kirghiz as much more involuntary, with ruthless suppression and mass relocations to inhospitable areas of the Soviet Union under Stalin. Much of the nomads' resistance to Russian rule has centered on religious differences and although the Moslem republics of Central Asia continue to test the strength of a Soviet union, it is unclear if or how independence would affect the lifestyle of the former nomads.

This pattern of forced sedentarization has not been unique to the USSR, however, or even to the present century. Historically nomads were often forcefully located or re-located to serve the ends of powerful nation-states, to serve as buffers between hostile states, to settle undeveloped areas or remove them from valuable lands. But in a global context today, heavy handedness invites protest and forced settlement is but one issue causing the disruption and possible extinction of traditional pastoral nomadism in Central Asia and the Middle East.

Continuing the historic interest of travelers and scholars, the National Geographic Society published in 1971 a tribute to *Nomads of the World* that combined insights into the lure of the nomadic lifestyle by both professional anthropologists and "sensitive, non-professional observers" and copious color photography. Linking the seasonal movements of the pastoral nomads with other biological and climatological cycles, this volume suggested that the appeal of the nomadic lifestyle to outsiders is an instinct to pull up stakes and move on that exists in all human beings. Other popular pictorial accounts were also written by modern-day adventurer-travelers for National Geographic (Schreider & Schreider, 1968; Abercrombie, 1968; Michaud & Michaud, 1972, 1973).

Other studies of the time period have been more scholarly if less colorful. Irons (1975) studied the Yomut Turkmen and Barfield (1981), the Central Asian Arabs of Afghanistan. Shahrani (1979) studied the Kirghiz and Wakhi of Afghanistan in 1972-74, documenting a nomadic adaptation to closed frontiers by a tribe whose fortunes were to change soon and dramatically. By the time the results of his first study had been published, the Kirghiz of the Wakhan Corridor had fled to Pakistan as refugees from the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and in 1982 had been flown from Pakistan to a new and perhaps permanent home in Turkey (Shahrani, 1979, 1984; Dupree, 1984).

A number of conferences have been held that have drawn together significant scholarly studies on nomadic groups. *The Nomadic Alternative* (Weissleder, 1978) was unique in its high number of contributions from Eastern European/Central Asian
ethnologists. *When Nomads Settle* (Salzman, 1980) made the points that settlement is (a) often the un-coerced response to physio-biotic and socio-cultural environments, (b) often a matter of a shifting emphasis of already existing patterns, (c) often neither irresistible nor irreversible and (d) when forced, can be detrimental not only to the nomadic people but also to larger societies. Two studies within this collection are of particular interest for the present study. "Pastoral Family and the Truck" (Chatty, 1980) for noting the effect of change on women in nomadic cultures and "Yörük Settlement in South East Turkey" (Bates, 1980), the area in which Josephine Powell is currently working.

*Contemporary Nomadic and Pastoral Peoples: Asia and the North* (Salzman, 1982) surveys examples of change and adaptation focusing on economic and political aspects but also discusses sedentarization/nomadization as a two-way process. *Conflict of Tribe and State in Iran and Afghanistan* (Tapper, 1983) looks at historic and contemporary tribal groups in relation to the political and military events occurring in these areas in 1978-79. *Nomads and the Outside World* (Khazanov, 1984) returns to a global study but in translation from a Russian ethnographer which makes available in English results of Russian language studies as well as providing a Russian viewpoint of Western anthropological work.

A focus issue of *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (Clay, 1984) brought together a number of contributions that reflected the ambivalence surrounding much of the discussion of the present and future of pastoral nomadism in economic development.

Conspicuous by its absence in the above studies is information on the general material culture of nomadic peoples. With the exception of Shahrani (1979), Chatty (1980), Barfield (1981) and Beck (1982), little mention is made of either the role of women or of the material goods of any of the groups studied, and it has fallen to the more popular literature to document these aspects. Not until relatively recently have the material artifacts of present-day and recent past nomads been given any detailed scholarly attention.

**Characteristics of Present-Day Middle Eastern Nomads**

Before moving into the material culture, it might be useful to outline some salient characteristics of the present-day nomads of Central Asia within which their material culture will be examined. We will use for this the anthropological review provided by *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Mankind* (Nomads and Nomadism, 1974).

The romantic view, held to a certain extent by nomads themselves, is that they live close to nature and maintain virtues of endurance in a hard environment, honor in confrontations with enemies, and independence from the constraints of government. In the
view of many national governments they are more often seen as unruly anachronisms and obstacles to the modernization sought by developing nations. Politicians and development agencies are only beginning to understand their economic value as producers and exploiters of unproductive land.

It is this operation in marginal lands where lack of water makes traditional cultivation impossible or unprofitable that characterizes the Central Asian nomads. Frequently, the nomads are only a minority of the population in their area. The settled villages and towns cluster around the permanent water sources. The animals raised will vary somewhat with the environment. The Arabian (one-hump) camel is herded in the desert and semi-desert areas of Southern Iran and Baluchistan; horses are favored in the Central Asian steppes but Bactrian (two-hump) camels, sheep and goats and often cattle are also herded; yaks are herded only in the highest, coldest valleys of the Hindu Kush; sheep are the dominant herding animals in southwest Asia and the lands bordering the Mediterranean. The animals produce food, fuel, transport, and the materials for housing. They also are used as counters of wealth and symbols of status and prestige; the nomad's attitude toward his animals is shaped by his extreme dependence on them.

Depending on the region, the climate, and the animals, migration patterns may vary but within groups they are of stable patterns. Often these patterns are determined by known times and places of rainfall, at other times by ownership of specific pasturages, wells, or general territories within which a tribe may range. Camps vary in size from single widely dispersed dwellings to over fifty families in the same area. In the past, nomadism was an extension of hunting, but today it is more likely to be related to agriculture. If there are no kinship linkages on which relationships with villagers are based, there will inevitably be trade with them, particularly for grain.

Compared to agriculture, pastoralism is more unstable and vulnerable to disease and weather that can destroy herds through starvation or exposure but the nomads' mobility has also resulted in greater health, in terms of diet and sanitation. The borders between settled and nomadic peoples fluctuate according to wider political condition. Wealthy nomads may invest their surplus in land and become settled and poor nomads or those who have lost their flocks may become settled agricultural laborers (Nomads and Nomadism, 1974).

Since the 10th Century, the majority of the Middle Eastern/Central Asian nomads have been Moslems and, while their degree of observance may vary, as does their adherence to the primary branches of Sunni and Shiite, their unity as Moslem tribes is of far more importance to them than any national identity.
Material Culture—Approaches to Textile Studies

To discuss the material culture of the Eurasian nomads in general and their textiles in particular is, again, to rely primarily on exterior evidence, description, analogy and interpretation. Complicating this is the variety of approaches one may take to the evidence. Each of these approaches has a body of literature supporting it. While acknowledging the difficulty in creating discrete categories of information from a web of interlocking interests, it is worthwhile to attempt to summarize at least a part of the relevant literature in some kind of order to further prepare a context for Powell’s work. These points of view may be categorized as the (a) art historical, (b) the commodity/economic, (c) the anthropological/folk culture and (d) the technological.

An Art Historical Approach

To create a framework in which to discuss the entire cultural-behavioral system of art collecting that comprises the "rare art" phenomenon or tradition, Alsop (1982) defines a series of what he calls the by-products of art. These are germane enough to the present study to reproduce with only a few omissions.

1) Art Collecting. This is the basic by-product of art simply because the rest of the system has never developed without art collecting.

2) Art History...Art history goes hand in hand with art collecting at all times.

3) The Art Market. Third place goes to the art market, because you cannot have a true art market without art collecting, and art collecting automatically begets an art market to supply the collectors.

   These three are the primary by-products of art, simply because all three are to be found wherever art collecting is found. The three primary by-products are effectively inseparable and therefore constitute the irreducible minimum of the system they belong to. The system may also comprise up to five further phenomena, which are secondary because they are not inseparable.

4) Art museums. Historically, this phenomenon is the most uncommon of the lot, but it takes fourth place today because we now so conspicuously live in the Museum Age.

5) Art faking. Wherever there is a booming art market serving competitive art collectors, faking is an automatic development.

6) Revaluation. Revaluation has now produced a kind of stock market of tastes, on which works of art of all sorts go up and down in estimation all over the world.
7) Antiques. This use by both the rich and middle classes of borrowed decorative plumage plucked from the past to ornament the present differs from ordinary art collecting because it always starts much later and also introduces the new theme of old-for old's-sake.
8) Super prices. The payment of super prices for works of art always announces the last and most luxuriant phase of development of the by-products of art. (Alsop, 1982, pp. 16-17)

Historically, the Western world has long identified colorful "Oriental" carpets as one of the arts of Islam, making an art historical viewpoint of the study of carpets and other textiles the most extensive (Beattie, 1976; Bierman & Bacharach, 1981; Kearney, 1982). Despite periods of decreased interest, oriental carpet studies as art scholarship have always revived, particularly in Europe (Schurmann, 1984). Although art appraisal is also linked with our third viewpoint of rug studies, it is primarily to teach art historical "truths", that is, values, that courses in art appraisal have been initiated (O'Bannon, 1985b). One of the most significant contributions to the art historical study of Middle Eastern carpets, however, was that of Moshkova (1970/1983). Carpets of the Peoples of Central Asia was the result of 25 years of research before its publication in 1970. Beginning in 1983, Oriental Rug Review published chapters of this work as they were translated into English, making extensive information on the design and construction characteristics of these rugs available for the first time in their entirety to Westerners who do not read Russian or German.

Given, then, that the art historical approach to carpet studies has a long and honorable history, how is this evident in particular studies? Although by no means an exhaustive list, the following are representative of the available literature.

The first comprehensive treatise on what were called the "classic" periods of knotted rugs was revised and enlarged several times (Von Bode & Kuhnel, 1970) before being translated into a new edition in English. The attempt to provide a scholarly approach rather than that of a profit-oriented dealer or the subjective enthusiasms of a connoisseur/collector resulted in another overview (Eiland, 1973). Another art historical treatise was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Design, the Cooper-Hewitt, in a series of books on antiques (Denny, 1979). Russian scholarship again resulted in a work of a stature to require translation into English (Tsareva, 1984). And in 1985 a new series was launched to draw together current scholarly research (Pinner & Denny, 1985).

This last publication acknowledged that other Middle Eastern textiles besides the knotted rugs had grown in stature and were increasingly the subject of research as well as becoming collectibles. However, once carpets and textiles other than the classic court
carpets of the urban areas which had always been produced as some kind of commodities, came under the scholar's scrutiny, it became necessary to provide different cultural frameworks for their study. This framework in part came from studies which had been done in other areas of the world (Anderson, 1989). It also developed from direct studies of Middle Eastern tribal groups and their indigenous textiles (Housego, 1978; Mackie & Thompson, 1980; Opie, 1981; J. Thompson, 1983). Often such study focused specifically on the flat-woven kilims alone (Frauenknecht, 1978, 1984, 1986; Kemp, 1981; Seward, 1985; Wertime, 1979, 1984a).

Before moving on to the literature of our next viewpoint of carpet studies, it is worthwhile to point out that in the art historical study the use of visual material is of primary importance and with the wide availability of color reproduction in publishing that emerged in the 1960s the ability to accurately portray essential information on textiles increased dramatically. This affected not only the scholarly dissemination of information, but popular images as well, as we shall see in the next section.

An Economic/Commodity Approach

To approach carpet studies in general and nomadic textile studies in particular in an economic or commodity framework, we can again begin with the concepts set forth as the by-products of art by Alsop (1982). As we recall, the first three interlocking concepts are Art History, Art Collecting, and Art Markets. It is with these latter two that this approach is most intimately involved for if "Oriental" carpets are nothing else they have long been bought and sold as art market collectibles.

The sociological reasons for this may be elucidated in studies that have examined the object of cultures as embodying the meanings, the relationships and communications of those cultures (Appadurai, 1986; Bronner, 1986; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Douglas & Isherwood, 1979). However, to consider cultural objects taken from one culture to serve functions in another culture, another body of literature has developed. This latter research covers the changing meanings of objects as folk art (Bronner, 1986), as tourist art (Graburn, 1976, Jules-Rosette, 1984), or simply as commodities and their function as cultural markers (Appadurai, 1986).

Since these topics will be further developed within the next approach, at this point more attention will be given to the clearly economic aspects of carpet studies. The spirit of the economic/commodity aspect, the pleasure and profit combination, is perhaps best exemplified by how-to guidebooks and colorfully illustrated books, magazines, and
catalogs that support and reinforce the joys of profitable art collecting (Allane, 1988; Barnard, 1989; Hull & Barnard, 1988; Jerrehian, 1990; John Peterson, 1977). The journals *Hali* (pronounced hal'lah) in Great Britain and *Oriental Rug Review* in the United States were established to serve this market of collectors. To peruse these journals from their first issues to the present day is to learn much of the economic approach of contemporary carpet studies, particularly in the Western world.

*An Anthropological/Folk Culture Approach*

Once again evidence of the difficulty of separating the intertwining elements of carpets studies, the literature in support of an anthropological, folk cultural approach begins with works first mentioned in relation to economic factors. Within the present framework, however, they represent a focus on the transformations of value, or decontextualization, which occurs when an object is removed or diverted from its original context and function to serve a different function in another cultural context (Appadurai, 1986). This contextual change has extended from temporal or social contexts within a national culture (Bronner, 1986), through national subcultures with unique characteristics (Baizerman, 1990; Boynton, 1986), to a substantial body of literature on tourist art weighted toward third or fourth world interchanges with more economically powerful cultures (Evans-Pritchard, 1989; Graburn, 1969, 1976; Jules-Rosette, 1984; MacCannell, 1976; Schoup, 1985; Smith, 1989). Although through these latter studies it would be easy to spin off into studies of the "other" unrelated to the transformation of cultural objects, we can refocus with some studies that specifically involve material culture and its change with culture contact (Anderson, 1989; Baizerman, 1990; Clay, 1982; Weiner, 1989).

Although in his much-cited work on the relationship between the Western world and the Orient, Said (1978) makes a case for literary myths underlying, and subverting that relationship, many of the current material culture studies, at least, would seem to oppose this viewpoint. Most supportive of Said's view is a key study by Spooner (1986) that considers the oriental carpet as more an artifact of European material culture than of the Orient. Yet a number of studies appear to treat other objects produced within the Middle Eastern cultures as representing not only artistic commodities subject to trade in a market economy with the West, but also as objects with cultural value of their own (Basilov, 1989; Landreau & Yohe, 1983; Mackie & Thompson, 1980; J. Thompson, 1983, 1988; Topham, 1982).

Other studies have focused specifically on nomadic material culture that have little or nothing to do with the market economy but reflect an interest in how different cultures

A Technological Approach

It is the construction of these basic elements of material culture that brings us to our final framework for viewing carpet studies, that of the technological. Beyond the encyclopedic work of Moshkova (1970/1983) mentioned above, which details construction as well as design characteristics, another classic in the field of textile scholarship which provides the basic vocabulary and classification for textiles construction is that of Emery (1966). In addition to Beattie's (1976) article on the state of carpet studies as a division of Islamic art history, an engineer has challenged scholars to apply the rigors of the scientific method to carpet studies (Fling, 1986), and a chemist has suggested that the key to understanding oriental rugs and textiles lies in the study of their physical structure and composition using analyses of fibers, dyes and construction techniques to objectively classify them (Mushak, 1985). Landreau (1982) traces what he calls the "Great Structural Analysis Debate" in carpet studies from the 1950s to the 1980s only to finally return to Emery's work as technically sufficient for such study.

To move beyond the general to the specific, one must confront early-on the literature on fibers and dyes, both of which have been abundantly researched. Only a few articles of particular interest to carpet scholars will therefore be mentioned. National Geographic Magazine (Hyde, 1988) made wool a feature of one issue, providing rich visual information on its use as a fiber, particularly by pastoral peoples. Other contributions to wool as premier carpet fiber have also been made (Bulback, 1988; Ryder, 1989). The use of insect dyes in carpets has also been explored (Mushak, 1988).

However, it is in the specific types of textiles that some of the most interesting technological study has been done. Flat-weaves of the nomads were exhaustively analyzed in a seminal article early in their popularity as collectibles (Wertime, 1979) and felt as a unique nomadic fabric structure has also generated a number of studies (Gervers, 1974; Ryder, 1986; Teselkin, 1988; Salmanov, 1989). Most of the art historical literature on carpets mentioned above also contains basic structural information as well as information on design motifs.

To draw together and summarize the state of knowledge of Middle Eastern nomadic material culture for the period of this study, given the various approaches, degrees of scholarship, and motivations of primarily outside observers is no small task. Stated most
simply, beginning around the 1960s and reflecting the socio-political and economic environments of the world outside their tribal lands, a new awareness of the material culture of Middle Eastern/Central Asian nomads emerged in the West. It was initiated at least in part by a new kind of collector, which shall be described in a following section, and was informed and supported by a unique blend of profit- and non-profit oriented organizations, also to be more fully discussed. It moved beyond the understanding of Middle Eastern textiles as the exotic oriental rugs of “magic carpet” fame toward a wider understanding and appreciation of the traditional shelters, clothing, furnishings, animal trappings and other accouterments of a way of life that seemed destined for extinction. And while a case could be made for this as simply a market-driven response to a need for additional status symbols for upwardly-mobile middle class Westerners (Spooner, 1986) a case might also be made for other motives. Either way, this is the milieu of Josephine Powell.
Since one of the purposes of this study is to examine Josephine Powell's role in cross-cultural communication by way of museums, it is relevant to briefly trace museum theory and practice up to and through the study period, 1960-1990. However, by the time the review arrives at specific textile museums and specific exhibits, it will be seen that other threads have joined our skein of museum history, those of collecting, of collectors, and of the rug trade.

The same word, museum is used to describe collections of art individually placed for unmediated contemplation, an open-air reconstruction of an historic village complete with candlemakers as participant interpreters, and every kind of object-based collection in between. In fact, many museums contain almost this breadth of collections and purposes, coming as they do from a concept of museums as places for the collection, preservation and presentation of the objects of the past.

The ancient Greeks and Romans had public collections of significant objects and even at this early time, those objects were frequently the booty of foreign conquests. In the East, Islam, China and Japan made similar accumulations. In the Middle Ages, religious relics were venerated and the Crusades brought art objects back to Europe from the Middle East.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, museums began to serve a different public function; by the eighteenth century, museums as showcases of the evidence of universal laws of nature had been established. Museums at this time began to define their primary functions as collection, conservation, research and exhibition, to which the Americans added a fifth function, education (Alexander, 1979).

Beginning in the 1960s museums, as did other public institutions in the United States, began to feel the pressures related to singular representation in an increasingly pluralistic society. By the 1980s a body of literature was emerging that not only questioned the ability of museums in the present to accurately interpret the past of their own culture but questioned the very concept of ownership of culture (Chappell, 1989; Messenger, 1989). International debates were held on such themes as the role of conservation; representation of women, working people, and other disenfranchised or minority groups; commercialization and the impact of the media; and sponsorship and political interference (Lumley, 1988).

In an historical framework, the archaeological or anthropological discoveries resulting from the course of any imperialistic expansion were assumed to be rightful
"booty" and frequently were transferred to the ownership of the more powerful country in such areas of culture contact. In the framework of the global village that emerged beginning in the 1960s, however, such assumptions were being challenged (Karp, 1990; Lumley, 1988; Messenger, 1989).

Furthermore, with the expansion of global travel and the emergence of tourism as a leisure activity, museums were not only finding more worldliness among their patrons, but were also discovering the importance of exploring the meanings of cultural objects decontextualized by their removal to another culture in forms such as tourist art. Exhibits such as that in 1988 at the Heard Museum (Welsh, 1988) addressed the "exotic illusions" inherent in much travel and the importance of viewing the cultural artifacts of travel---the souvenirs, momentos or collections---as not only having meaning in both cultures but also as being an on-going form of communication between cultures.

In regard to cultural objects not made specifically for tourist trade, and the representation and interpretation of these objects in museum settings, Durrans (1988) provides a review of some of the issues surrounding ethnographic display. As sociological data banks, museums collections serve not only the present but the future. However, they do not operate in political and economic vacuums. When claims for the restitution of artifacts removed from one culture come up against claims that the same objects have become a part of the culture of the possessing nation, arbitrating their "ownership" along traditional lines may be impossible.

Museums in developing countries serve an important function in enabling those cultures to discover and interpret themselves but if the objects which would be placed in such museums comprise the collectibles of the art market, they are too frequently priced out of a museum's ability to acquire them directly even if they have not been objects of illegal export.

However, the role of the ethnographic museum is not viewed as obsolete. Because they generally have more prestige than the mass media, they can legitimize ideas and attitudes such as the "still significant aspect of the traditional view of ethnographic artifacts: how they represent alternative solutions to technical problems experienced in most societies" (Durrans, 1988, p. 163).

Textile Museums

Before moving on to a review of the relationships of collectors and collecting with museums and a more detailed look at the former, let us briefly look at the state of textile museums of the 1960s through the present, especially in relation to carpets.
As was mentioned earlier, historically Middle Eastern carpets have been viewed primarily as a branch of Islamic arts, when viewed as objects of study at all. The shortcomings of this viewpoint were repeatedly pointed out among carpet collectors. In 1985, no comprehensive list of museums owning collections of carpets existed and within those museums that did have carpets, they were often treated as unwelcome clutter among the Islamic arts and therefore put permanently in storage. When displayed they were frequently inaccurately labeled (O'Callagan, 1984a; O'Callagan, 1984b; Trouble, 1985). While ORR suggested that this second-class status of rugs might be related to sexism and the carpets labeled "craft" rather that "art" because they were produced for the most part by women, (O'Callagan, 1984a), it seems as likely that it was the difficulty in establishing provenance, age, weave or type that kept such carpets in the storerooms.

In contrast to their position in most museums, oriental carpets were among the most important items in one United States museum. Founded in 1925 as a non-profit organization to make the collections of George Hewitt Myers available to the public, the Textile Museum in Washington D.C. contains the Egyptian and Peruvian textiles and oriental carpets collected by Myers. A focal point for textile studies in the United States, the Textile Museum serves scholars and the public with exhibits, publications, apprenticeship programs, conservation research, and facilities for receptions. Its location in the United States capitol and its good relations with the Embassies there enable it to "draw the attention of the American public to the great cultural achievements of the various countries whose rugs and textiles are represented in its collections" (Textile Museum Notes, 1967).

Of special value beyond fine exhibition pieces, are the fragments of textiles, the careful conservation of which has provided a world-renowned study collection (Ellis, 1985). Throughout its history the museum has maintained a strong commitment to the care of its collection and pioneered many conservation techniques (Green, 1989). Examination of publications accompanying exhibitions illustrates the Museum's technological and art historical framework for textile studies (Fiske, 1976; Trilling, 1982).

For many years the Textile Museum Journal was the only journal which routinely carried scholarly articles on oriental rugs but with the publication of Hali, beginning in 1978 and Oriental Rug Review beginning in 1981, there were three publications of interest to rug scholars. Beginning in the late '70s publication of the Journal became more irregular and fewer articles on oriental carpets were published in it (O'Bannon, 1985a). However, the Textile Museum has continued its premier position as a center for textile scholarship in the United States.
To mention two other textile museums, the Museum for Textiles in Toronto grew from the eclectic assortment of junk-store finds of two young men in the 1970s to a strong hands-on collection of textiles from all over the world (Allen & Waegemackers, 1986), and the establishment of a museum for carpets and kilims which separated them from the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum into the Ibrahim Pasha Museum and the Vakiflar Museum brought Western conservation methods to preserve and display the indigenous textiles of Turkey in Istanbul, near the central tourist district (Istanbul, 1985). We will return to the Ibrahim Pasha Museum again later.
Collecting

In 1983 the Maya Society of Minnesota proposed to discuss the pros and cons of artifact collecting at one of their monthly meetings. By 1986 the discussion had grown to a conference and in 1989, a milestone book had been published with papers from this conference at its core. In it, art historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, scholarly collectors, attorneys, and museum personnel addressed the ethics of collecting cultural property. Although of primary concern was the looting of archaeological sites, its discussions of cultural patrimony, the legal and illegal art market, and the need for international cooperation to benefit the greater body of humankind challenged many of the traditional concepts of collecting, and illustrated a growing international concern with individual or private collecting as an activity which diminishes and often destroys the common heritage of humankind (Graham, 1986; Messenger, 1989).

In the '70s the value of collectors to museums was largely unchallenged. It was accepted that through greater financial means and/or superior personal interest and scholarship, they could recognize, acquire and therefore preserve objects of artistic, historical or scientific importance, not only for their own enjoyment but for posterity, as their collections found their way into museums open to the public (Alexander, 1979). But by the 1980s, and related to the burgeoning art market, this view was being questioned. As the line between art collecting and art speculation became blurred, not only were museums priced out of the acquisitions market, but works of art crisscrossed national borders at a dizzying pace. As a microcosm of the world of art collecting, Middle Eastern textiles reflected many of the same developments.

In our economic framework for viewing the material culture of the nomads we began with the interlocking concepts of Art History, Art Collecting and Art Markets and touched on the sociological roles of "collectibles." But what, then, drives peoples to collect, to seek out the pleasure, if not the profit, of collecting? A popular bumper sticker of the 1980s read "He who dies with the most toys wins," but collecting has historically been broader than this humorous dig at scorekeeping. One work on the topic credits the urge to collect to four factors: (a) the desire for physical security; (b) as a means to distinction, a kind of trophy-gathering; (c) as a means to immortality; and (d) as a way of gaining knowledge and aesthetic enjoyment (Rigby & Rigby, 1944). Particularly germane to collecting in relationship to museums as recipients of collections is a study which examines collecting as a form of secular immortality. Building on early studies of wealth,
leisure and social class, Hirschman (1990) states that knowledgeable and, preferably, conspicuous, acquisitions and munificent dispersal of art and antiques to public institutions demonstrates entrepreneurial achievement, man's dominance over nature, and the triumph of technology.

Those whose lives and possessions are celebrated and immortalized in our culture are those believed to have worked industriously, channeled their personal resources in effective and productive ways, and constructed some form of notable material monument to symbolize those efforts. (Hirschman, 1990, p. 39)

Small wonder then that the pleasure and profit of collecting finds its way to the middle classes in an affluent society (Hauser, 1990; Griffin, 1986)!

Because in our final analysis of the work of Josephine Powell we will be looking at a dual context of artistic and cultural collection and documentation, it is useful here in the context of collecting to bring attention to the modern art-culture system Clifford (1988) has constructed to chart what he calls "a machine for making authenticity" in the context of collecting art and culture.
As Clifford points out, objects are classified and assigned relative values and continue to move from area to area within this framework according to the prevailing tastes or current definitions of beautiful or interesting. There are, however, some exclusions to this system, for example religious objects which can be great art, folk art or cultural artifacts but only if stripped of their sacred value. As an example of this kind of exclusion he mentions Zuni refusal to loan their war god to the Museum of Modern Art because in Zuni belief such gods are sacred and dangerous, not ethnographic artifacts and "certainly not art!"

In the collection of oriental rugs, of woven grain sacks and of horse trappings rendered obsolete by pickup trucks, the value of this model is in using it to chart the "meaning" of these and other Middle Eastern nomadic artifacts as they are acquired by non-nomads.
Earlier we referred to the profit and pleasure of collecting. Although he is discussing the collection of Native American textiles, one collector describes the thrill of such collecting thus:

Collecting can be exhilarating. Collecting can be addictive and fun. It is what you make of it. Sometimes the chase, the search, the drama of discovery outweighs the possession. You might compare it to hunting big game with both a camera and a rifle. You enjoy each species, photograph each and every one that is worthwhile, but actually bag the trophy specimen you want. . . . Traders and dealers and collectors have pursued the elusive weavings through flea markets, auctions, galleries and garage sales for years. . . . Old rugs turn up in unlikely spots and this is what makes it interesting. (Clark, 1987, p. 4)

Later in the same article he refers to early, informal collection by travelers, soldiers, adventurers, and settlers in the American West.

If price determined the use they were put to, most became door mats, saddle blankets, or pads for the dog. Some were admired and treasured and many are still in attics and trunks, just waiting for the next generation to say 'What will we ever do with these?'---and dispose of them. That is what makes the thrill of the chase so rewarding. (Clark, 1987, p. 5)

Other articles---well, let's let their titles speak for them: "Whoever Has the Most Rugs When He Dies Wins: The Dangers of Rug Collecting" (Kearney, 1987); "How Good is My Rug Collecting? A Collector Admits His Foibles and Ponders the Big Questions Other Collectors Secretly Ask" (Hopkins, 1989); "Collecting Rugs: The Great Middle Class Thing" (Moore, 1989). And if rug prices had gone beyond your pocketbook, there was even "Oriental Rug Ephemera" (Oriental Rug Ephemera, 1988).

However, to focus solely on the fun and profit aspect or to be too beguiled by the light-hearted tone and the tongue in cheek captions of old woodcuts that embellished the pages of the first few years of Oriental Rug Review would be to miss important connections among the people interested in Middle Eastern Textiles. As the two primary journals serving these collectors, the editorial policies of both Hali and Oriental Rug Review, as well as the introduction of Hali's joint publication Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies, demonstrate their focus on research and scholarship, academic and commercial controversies, changes in fashions and attitudes, and book and exhibition reviews as well as on auction previews, reviews and market reports (Hali, April-June, Oct-Dec, 1985; O'Callagan, 1987; O'Bannon, 1988). The article on collecting rugs as a "great middle
class thing" was in fact the report of a conference at the Textile Museum, the theme of which was

the passage of great collections from the private pursuit of collectors to institutional affiliation with museums, once a collector, sometimes with the help of the merchant as connoisseur and teacher, has assembled a group of artifacts that demonstrates the significance of a culture and makes a statement about its spirit and values. (Moore, 1989, p. 30)
Collectors

So who then are these collectors, these traders and travelers, tourists and scholars? We could begin with those who do it for a living or with those who do it to make life worth living. As we saw earlier, Art History, Art Collecting and the Art Market are an inseparable and irreducible minimum which it is difficult to separate long enough to find an entry for discussion. Very well, let's begin with those who do it to make life worth living.

Those Who Collect To Make Life Worth Living

In his often-quoted defense of private collectors, Griffin (1986,1989) begins his list of notables with Robert Woods (1875-1962) and Mildred Bliss (1879-1969). Inheriting wealth on both sides of their family from railroads and pharmaceuticals, the Blisses were cosmopolitan and educated. Robert Woods Bliss spent most of his adult life in international diplomacy, and while living abroad the Blisses began to collect Pre-Columbian art. Although accused of having "no interest in the anthropological or historical aspects of Pre-Columbian art" he acquired pieces that appealed to him as works of art, much as the Paris avant-garde had responded to African art in the 1920s. Although his Pre-Columbian collection was to find its place in Dumbarton Oaks, the family home in Washington D.C. which became a museum under the aegis of Harvard University in 1940, it is for Byzantine art that the Blisses and their collection are best known. Their enthusiasm fired by fine objects known only to an elite in the 1920s, the Blisses began collecting these objects as well as viewing them as worthy of further study. Dumbarton Oaks became one of the sponsors in the 1950s in the cleaning and restoration of Byzantine mosaics in Istanbul and other areas of Turkey (Sutton, 1984; Underwood, 1956a, 1956b; 1960). Although Griffin mentions the Blisses as benefactors of society by way of personal gratification in collecting, the purpose in mentioning Dumbarton Oaks here contains an additional association which will be important later.

The field of oriental carpets contains its own classical collectors. Some of them would certainly seem to have been influenced by Said's (1978) Orientalism as a Western construction if one sees photographs of them in the clothing of the Middle East. Not that adopting a clothing style of a host culture in inappropriate but that to choose to be photographed in it makes a revealing personal statement. And many of these collectors appeared to be interested in such statements: a turn-of-the-century Frenchman who lavishly surrounded himself with exotica to create a stage set for a dream life as a Bedouin, a
Pharaoh, a Turk or a Chinese mandarin, poses in which he was often photographed (Daumas, 1987); a contemporary Tibetan rug collector in flowing robes with a jeweled ornament on her forehead (Freidus, 1989); even a very young Donald Wilber, one of the most respected of Mid-East specialists, wearing Middle Eastern headgear (Eagleton, 1987). Many collectors wrote books or articles of varying degrees of scholarship, others became subjects of a series of interviews in Oriental Rug Review or of biographical studies (Collins, 1985; Mallary, 1989; Ellis, 1989).

Many of these collectors formed clubs to share their interests with like-minded people. The longest-lived and best known of these, the Hajji Baba Club, began around 1929 as the Oriental Rug Club of New York. In 1932, perhaps as evidence of Said's Orientalism or perhaps in recognition of the unique role of carpets in the Persian society of a fictional rogue created by James Morier in 1824, the club changed its name to the Hajji Baba Club. A carpet in the book Hajji Baba of Ispahan (Morier, 1894) "defines a man's space and declares his status" much as an automobile does in American society; and this group of rug aficionados included not only men but, beginning in 1961 women as well, who were well acquainted with place and status. Their shared love of carpets was to form a powerful base of support for scholarship, publication and exhibition, and the club they founded served as a model for other rug societies which were later formed in other areas (Jones, 1967; Foster, 1979; Jacobs, 1986).

However, if one looks at the 60s and carpet collecting from the retrospective viewpoint of the 70s, it is possible to see another kind of collector emerging. In part, perhaps in a large part, it was influenced by some key societal values being expressed in America and echoed throughout the Western world. As Morgan (1991) puts it, framed by a sitdown strike of Black students in a Woolworth store at one end and the killing of four students at Kent State University ten years later, the decade can be characterized as that of counter-culture. Argued by some to be the products of immaturity and permissive upbringing within an affluent society, and by others to be a generation encouraged to be personally honest with a "moral antipathy toward discrimination and violence," the youth of the Sixties "demanded that their country live up to the values they had been taught" (Morgan, 1991, p. 6-7). With the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960, young Americans were inspired to serve not only their country's best interests, but also their own desires to serve society's dispossessed, and give meaning to an affluent society. The Civil Rights movement in the American South, VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), and the Peace Corps were born. However, as the decade progressed, Kennedy was assassinated,
and a growing war in Vietnam eclipsed President Johnson's Great Society, and American youth became alienated and, in many cases, radically disassociated from their own society.

Joining other travelers and traders in the Middle East and Central Asia, members of the Peace Corps and counter culture trekkers arrived, making their way about, not as wealthy tourists in search of the exotic, although that element certainly must have existed, but as "earth travelers" seeking adventure and "authentic" experiences. Many of them became collectors, particularly of the new kinds of textiles coming into the local markets, tribal flatweaves and other traditional accouterments of nomadic life.

In 1964 there were 250 Peace Corps volunteers in Turkey, 90 in West Pakistan, 195 in India, 85 in Nepal, 55 in Afghanistan, and 115 in Iran (Shriver, 1964) One such volunteer in Iran in 1974, an Arizona native named Mark Treece, may serve as an example, albeit an extraordinary one, of this kind of collector. Treece translated his love of Native American textiles and the culture which produced them into an equal appreciation of the textiles and culture of the Qashqa'i nomads of southwestern Iran and of the nomads of Afghanistan as well. Becoming in time a rug dealer in Washington D.C., he was "generous with his time and knowledge," lecturing at area museums and rug societies and participating in relief work for Afghan refugees after the Soviet invasion of their country in 1979. At his death in 1984 he was lauded for his impact on tribal textile studies in the United States despite the "acute writer's block" which limited his scholarly writing (O'Callagan, 1984; Wertime, 1984b).

Representing another such Peace-Corps-volunteer-turned-rug-dealer who does not suffer from writer's block is George O'Bannon, until 1991 a frequent contributor to and eventually an editor of, Oriental Rug Review. In a detailed account published in several parts, O'Bannon traces his knowledge of oriental rugs from a limited beginning with an early employer to his experience as a Peace Corps director in Afghanistan in 1966 and ultimately to his establishment as one of a "new breed of rug collectors and dealers who are now a significant part of the rug world" (O'Bannon, 1984).

Brought in by the nationalistic policies of forced settlement, political upheavals, and changing technology mentioned in our earlier review of the state of Middle Eastern nomadism, situations exacerbated by a catastrophic drought between 1969 and 1971, "enormous quantities of the cultural products of all the ethnic groups of Afghanistan" arrived in the markets of Kabul, the capital, in the 1970s. Kabul became the major supplier of antiques in the Orient, and indigenous artifacts were supplemented with goods from Pakistan, India and those smuggled out of Soviet Turkmenia (Stanzer, 1985). And thus it seems that we have come around to the dealers.
Those Who Collect To Make a Living

At least two overviews of the commercial trading of Navajo textiles have been published that examine not only the various textiles, but which contain information on the trading posts that served as points of commercial and cultural exchange (James, 1988; Historic Trading Posts, 1986). No such overview exists for the traders of oriental rugs. Since earlier we recognized the inseparable nature of Art Collecting, Art History and the Art Market, and we have been regarding the Middle Eastern textiles primarily as art collectibles, let us briefly examine the role of the dealer in the distribution of art.

In an important analysis of the workings of the world of art, Becker (1982) discusses the role of the dealer as the intermediary between those who have something to sell and those with the motives and means to buy. Although his discussion primarily concerns contemporary "fine arts" such as painting and sculpture, to the extent that they are considered "art," much of what he reveals is equally valid for historic and contemporary hand-made carpets.

Dealers integrate artists into society's economy by transforming aesthetic value into economic value. Because truly creative work is generally uneven in nature and the dealer as a business person wants to smooth out this unevenness to provide more financial stability, works are often judged on more than artistic merit, however that is defined at the time. Artists without patrons, whether those patrons are governments, churches, corporations or individuals must either find some other means of distribution or rely on dealers.

Innovative dealers who choose not to wait for history to validate their choices and judgements of artistic merit will generally operate in the following fashion: They will have a permanent location, a gallery, in which to display art works; a group of artists' (or in the case of carpets, anonymous) works to be sold; a group of buyers who support the gallery through regular purchases; critics who build up an interest in and market for the gallery's works; and a large group of gallery goers who attend openings, come to see shows and generally generate interest by talking about them and recommending them to others.

Dealers typically specialize in a style or school of art and steady attendance teaches appreciation of that style. Gallery goers identified as potential purchasers get personalized lessons from the gallery staff and these lessons are built on a groundwork laid by critics (or scholars, in the case of carpets) and aestheticians; who often collaborate with gallery owners to promote those works they find attractive and critically acceptable.

Dealers try to train appreciators to be collectors, to add to the patron's appreciation pride and confidence in displaying their taste and the corresponding expenditures required
to be collectors. Because the economic value of a work is directly related to its authenticity, the construction of provenance or the step-by-step ownership of an item is part of the "value-creating activity of a community of dealers, critics, scholars and collectors" (Becker, 1982, pp. 114-115).

In a separate section on the distribution of folk art Becker comes nearer the mark of our other nomadic textiles in a way that harks back to Clifford's (1988) "machine for making authenticity." "Folk art, in this sense, is art done by people who do what they do because it is one of the things members of their community, or at least most members of a particular age and sex ordinarily do." While Becker uses American quilts as the context for this discussion, the issues are the same for the nomadic weavings. They are "products of a system of families in a community and not art works produced in an art world. . . . No organization devoted itself to discovering exemplary works, purchasing them, and preserving them for later study and display" (Becker, 1982, p. 247-257). As did folk arts in the United States, the indigenous arts of the Middle Eastern nomads came to be viewed more seriously in the 1960s and 70s. Let us look briefly at how this art distribution system has operated first in the field of oriental carpets, and then for the nomadic pieces that came on the market in the 60s and 70s.

Commercial Distribution Systems

First of all it is important to remember the archaeological basis for many of the cultural artifacts that moved from the Middle East to the West. The geographical and archaeological discoveries of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Central Asia brought many treasures to light, discoveries which unleashed a race between the Russians and the English to recover still more. Soon the Germans, French and Japanese joined the exploration of areas traversed by the ancient Silk Road. With each discovery, more artifacts were revealed until the First World War put an end to European archaeological expeditions in these areas (Drege & Buhrer, 1989).

The precedent of going directly to the Middle East for its ethnographic as well as its artistic artifacts was also firmly established, not only through ancient trade patterns, but through more recent anthropological examples. The folklorist Glassie (1983) describes a typical market day in Turkey, the arrival of the weaver with her rug rolled up under her arm, the appearance of the dealer or kilimji, the rug rolled out on the ground, its edge kicked over, the bargaining, the deal struck. Most dealers, especially Western dealers, had
to learn to work within changing political situations in Iran and Afghanistan (Afghanistan, 1984; Anonymous, 1984).

The transition from collector to dealer was of sufficient interest to ORR readers to initiate a series of articles on "How I Became a Rug Dealer." In the introduction to that series, Editor O'Bannon points out the different routes by which readers might arrive at the profession.

There are many dealers in the U. S. and Europe who have come to the business, primarily in the 1960s and '70s not because they were born to the trade but out of other impulses, perhaps a Peace Corps assignment in the Middle East, the importation of souvenirs for one's bridge club associates, or an evolution from collector to dealer. There are also those from second or third generation rug dealer families who were trained for other professions but who somehow ended up in the business after all. (O'Bannon, 1989, p. 4)

**The Economic and Artistic Feedback Loop**

Historically oriental carpets were frequently if not generally subject to modification to meet market requirements and contemporary rugs have followed that pattern. In 1987, *Oriental Rug Review* split into two publications, their *Decorative Rug Magazine* reestablishing and strengthening an initial recognition of their commercial audience. An article in its first issue discusses the changing oriental rug "industry" and a perceived change in customer motivation from investments to fashion (Logan, 1987). Interestingly, its author uses again the analogy of carpets and automobiles but suggests that this marks contemporary collectors as different from those of the time of the founding of the Hajji Baba Club.

As Becker (1982) points out, in his need to maximize profit, the dealer must consider other factors than artistic merit and for carpet dealers this translates into "product, price point, color, size or other relevant attributes," and participation in a production industry. Directly competing with department stores, furniture stores, direct mail, airport auctioneers. and discount buying clubs, independent rug retailers as businesses must innovate or go out of business (Logan, 1987).

As well as in training buyers, Becker (1982) also discusses the role of the dealer in communicating market condition to the artist-producers. In an earlier article in ORR, a Turkish importer of rugs talked about the market in Oriental rugs in terms of taxes, market shares, currency fluctuations, competition with countries such as India and Pakistan, scale
of production and social conditions and values but also illustrated this two-way communication process.

ORR: So, most Turkish production is still of a small-scale family operation?
Izmerli: Yes, they do not really understand the market. They have seen the prices drop and they do not understand why. They make a rug that is just like and just as good as a rug they made last year, but they get 40% less for it and they don't understand....
ORR: In talking with other importers about producing in India, we have heard about some ways that producers get around some of these taxes and labor union controls.
Izmerli: It makes it harder for Turkish goods to compete in the market, but is much better for the Turkish people. You must have social awareness. You cannot have the weavers working like slaves. (Izmerli, 1985, p. 35)

One way that Turkey found to compete in the contemporary oriental carpet market was to reintroduce vegetal dyes and traditional designs in a project called DOBAG, headed by a German chemist named Harald Böhmer. This project, glimpsed here in brief relationship to market conditions, will be discussed in more detail after we complete our overview of the dealer as art distributor.

Although earlier we mentioned a stable location such as a gallery in which business is transacted, some agencies of distribution were mentioned above that both complement and compete with the galleries. Complementing them would be the periodic auctions held by such art houses as Sotheby's, Skinner, and Christie's. These in many ways serve the role of critics in building interest and market for the carpets as their share of value-creating activities. Auctions also serve as sources of stock in trade for dealers as well as competitors in the auctions' sales to collectors themselves (June Auctions, 1989).

The other end of competition is explored in an article on "The Sunday Airport Auction."

When at the end of the hour the auctioneer joined us, he strongly resembled an affable gentleman I remembered as the master of ceremonies at a previous occasion advertised as 'An Exhibition of Persian Carpet Art'--the only exhibition I have known at which, after half an hour, the organizers began to auction off the exhibits. (Sunday Airport Auction, 1981, p. 309)

As pure investments, carpets and related Middle Eastern textiles were assessed in their heyday of our study period by David (1981). Discussing the generally accepted reasons for buying rugs as investments: (a) diminishing supply of old rugs, (b) prohibitive
costs of hand labor in new rugs, (c) traditional hedging against inflation, (d) on-going demand for top-quality, and (e) increasing demand by more sophisticated and affluent people, he pointed out the problems of carpets as investments.

[A]ny commodity which comes to be seen as investment will fluctuate in value as investor confidence fluctuates. . . . [I]f we removed the concept of investment, our search for beauty would not be distorted by the constant need to refer to the [vagaries] of the market for guidance. David, 1981, p. 13)

Citing a 1981 interest in Baluchi rugs and small animal and tent trappings that did not exist in 1960, David equates changes of fashion and market prices for such items as analogous to changes of fashion and market prices in "paintings, diamonds, real estate, stocks and comic books" with no automatic investment guarantees.

Another Oriental Rug Review article pointed out changing fashions and their relationship to prices and values. A rare Middle Eastern textile used as upholstering fabric on a chair owned by the Smithsonian was recognized by a Eugene, Oregon dealer in an American Heritage book on antiques. Tracing the provenance of the chair and the textile was an exciting detective story, but it was the commentary on the phenomenon of collecting which most struck ORR editor O'Callaghan.

The piece that was used to cover this chair would be avidly sought, should it appear on today's market, even as a fragment . . . yet, about 100 years ago, little enough was thought of the piece that it was chopped into upholstery fabric; clearly the resultant chair was the important thing and the thing of beauty. Ironically, most of those who have seen the photograph [today] think the chair to be quite homely. (O'Callagan, 1988, p. 48)

Dealer as Educator/Marketer

Rounding out our discussion of the carpet dealer is the consideration of the ways in which, in Becker's words, he or she trains appreciators to be collectors, for even if they are not chosen as investments, a market for the Middle Eastern textiles continues to exist, and appreciators and collectors there will be. Although in some respects American dealers thought that their best hope for economic recovery from the downturn in prices in the mid-eighties was in educating a mass market by way of designers and architects (Educating the American Market, 1985), the focus of this study is more related to the personal collector and the relationships of collectors, dealers and museums.
Once again discussed in terms of Native American textiles but with most of the same elements as in Middle Eastern textiles, a 1986 interview with a collector on collecting discusses how an appreciator becomes a collector, how he or she learns and develops tastes. As we trace this typical collector's evolution through a string of excerpts, it might be informative to note some of our earlier characteristic by-products of art as they are mentioned: Art Museums, Revaluation, Antiques and Super Prices. This collector, from the Eastern United States, was visiting family in the West; they first visited the Denver Art Museum where he saw some Navajo blankets.

Then we went to a couple of auctions and some small shows and I became interested. I had never seen these things in the East. Then I made my first purchases, a Navajo rug and a Navajo wedding bag. The rugs were not really old, about 1920s or '30s, certainly not as old as the things I am collecting today... A friend who collected other antiques told me about some people who had a few things and those people told me about other people... Every Sunday there was a market held on Front Street [in Philadelphia]... I went to Front Street and found a dealer who had a few little items. One of them was a late 1700s or early 1800s Delaware Indian pouch. I didn't know what I was buying but I bought that... It was amazing how much Indian material I was finding here in the East. There were good collections in museums, and I would find things at antique shows. I did some more buying and I became enamored... [In response to a question about increasing numbers of collectors] I have seen prices going up all the time, so somebody must be buying them. There seems to be less and less of good things available. Wait; I shouldn't say that because every time a type of blanket brings a good price it seems to draw more of that type out of the woodwork.

[Asked for his advice on how one could learn about weavings and what to buy] There are two basic ways to go about it. You could do it the way I have, which is the best way to learn and is the most fun. Go to museums, look at other people's collections, go to the dealers and to the shows. Buy books and buy a few pieces. Learn about the pieces you buy. Don't worry about making a few mistakes... The other way to do it, if you have the money, is to buy a complete collection... But you have to have a hell of a lot of money, and you won't have the fun, the appreciation. One of the things you have to decide with your collection is do you buy for investment or because you like something... I think that as collectors we have always to be asking questions and studying new things. (O'Bannon, 1986, p. 7)

In his transition from appreciator to collector, this collector visited many museums, both art and ethnographic, as well as shows sponsored by all sectors of the world of hand-loomed textiles, a typical pattern.
Dealer Exhibits

Before we turn to our final area of background setting, the DOBAG project in Turkey, let us briefly look at a few exhibits that demonstrate the frequent associations of dealers and museums, one of the ways in which dealers directly teach appreciation as well as transform aesthetic values into economic value.

In his 1983 review of an exhibit in Washington D.C., Wright (1983) notes, "The rather standard New York commercial gallery practice of offering shows which compliment museum exhibitions is a good one, giving the connoisseur more to see and the collector more to think about." The exhibit reviewed, one on Anatolian village kilims and rugs at the Zahirpour-[Mark] Treece Gallery, was mounted to complement an exhibit of Yörük weaving at the Textile Museum. The catalog of the Museum exhibit, Flowers of the Yayla: Yörük Weavings of the Toros Mountains (Landreau & Yohe, 1983), has since become a standard work on the subject, as well as figuring into our research on Powell. Wright observes that both openings involved a mixture of "suburbanites, collectors, Peace Corps alums, the trade---all in a range from suits (both sexes) to jeans (both sexes)---with relaxed rug conversation everywhere" (Wright, 1983, p. 34).

As part of a benefit bazaar for conservation at the Textile Museum, the Trocadero Oriental Rug and Textile Arts Gallery offered:

weaving[s] for everyone: kilims, that can be used as rugs, wall hangings and space dividers; saddle bags that can be hung, stuffed and used as the back and seat of a chair; brocaded grain sacks that make wonderful oversized floor pillows; tent bands that can decorate a long hall; horse and camel covers and headdresses and much, much more. (Seward, 1983, p. 33)

They also offered free conservation advice from the Textile Museum staff and lectures on decorating with textiles, the structure of textiles, easy ways to classify rugs, tribal uses of textiles, and weaving in Anatolia.

Pointing out the educational role that the gallery owner can fill, unlike those of other commercial outlets, O'Bannon (1985d) reviewed an Atlanta commercial exhibit that featured a fully outfitted Turkoman yurt. This dealer's exhibitions at area art galleries in both university and private settings were mentioned, as well as the fact that his stock extended to ethnic jewelry and costumes.

Frauenknecht, (1986) reviewed an exhibition on early kilims in America at a Cambridge, Massachusetts gallery. He includes a revealing comment on one "outstanding" piece in the exhibit which had "amazingly found its way to America. Hopefully it will stay..."
Another exhibit on Anatolian rugs and kilims at Woven Legends in Philadelphia was reviewed by Glassie (1986) and discussed in terms of tastes and cultures as well as colors and designs. O'Bannon (1985c) reviewed another exhibit at the Bayley Museum of the University of Virginia that displayed two furnished yurts collected by Barodofsky's Sunbow Trading Company.

This is only a sample of exhibits and other activities that link museums and rug dealers, but it serves to illustrate Becker's analysis of the role of the distributor in the art market, some of Alsop's by-products of art, and Clifford's machine for making authenticity in a distinctively intertwined context. It also has served to bring us back around to a short discussion of Turkish textiles and then to a brief overview of an interesting development in contemporary Middle Eastern textiles, the DOBAG Project. With the introduction of DOBAG, the Middle Eastern background setting for the arrival of Josephine Powell will be completed.

**Turkish Carpets**

Earlier it was noted that historically there was little direct knowledge of Central Asian nomads because they did not have written records. In his study of the carpet makers of Western Anatolia, Quataert (1986a; 1986b) notes that until recently, little scholarly research had been done on the artisan creators of this area despite the long history of the collection of their rugs. He attributed this to three factors: (a) that Ottoman literature has little tradition of writing about the working classes; (b) that the carpet makers were not patronized by the wealthy and the powerful in Ottoman culture who saw them as backward impediments to Westernization, and (c) because they were of a peasant class which seldom writes about itself even if it is literate. "To sum up, few wrote about them and they didn't write about themselves" (Quataert, 1986a, p. 25).

Quataert cites as the best sources of information the Ottoman archives in Istanbul, consular reports, books by travelers, and accounts written in the period of the early Turkish republic by people involved in the Anatolian rug industry in an effort to save an industry that after World War I seemed to be disappearing. He traces the history of carpet production from 1750 to 1914 but relates primarily information on the market-oriented knotted rugs, noting that in 1850 the demand for them was so great that the weavers "abandoned the making of [flat] woven kilims to concentrate on the knotted rugs which were more profitable." By this time also synthetic dyes were being developed by European
chemists and, because they were cheaper, easier to use, and could create the color schemes preferred by European and American buyers, they were quickly adopted by the weavers. The resulting changes in quality, coupled with changing market conditions brought about increasing foreign involvement in the industry.

Under government sponsorship, by the turn of the 20th Century the craft gradually became "deskilled" in factory settings where, working from patterns and using pre-ordered colors weavers, typically girls as young as seven and eight, worked long hours to produce custom orders. At about the same time, mechanized systems of yarn production broke the "bottleneck" of hand-spinning, but the entrepreneurs discovered that the increased demand for knotters was not appreciated by the villagers and tribes who had been spinning at home. Riots and factory-smashing ensued (Quataert, 1986b).

With expansion of carpet-making into other areas of Turkey and increased control by the European-dominated Oriental Carpet Manufacturers, "[t]he Ottoman rugmaking industry lost still more of its independent character, and its artisans fell under yet more stringent European control" (Quataert, 1986a, p. 31). As we have seen, this placed them squarely in the Western market of fad, fashion and economic fluctuations.

In the context of the study of nomadic textiles within a technological framework, several studies were mentioned as evidence of an awakening scholarly interest in the area in the 1960s and '70s. Beattie (1971) of the Textile Museum photographed a number of weft-float brocaded rugs in Turkish mosques in 1965. As historic repositories for rugs given as gifts, mosques have provided one of the most stable and least externally influenced sources of information on non-commercial textiles. Beattie noted that while she herself had made no special study of flat-weaves as a part of the Textile Museum's attempts to arouse interest in such rugs, she had photographed such pieces as opportunity allowed.

However, such photography in mosques was often allowed little time and without rapid recognition of designs from different regions, significant opportunities would be lost. In her 1971 article she notes, "To distinguish between such pieces it would be necessary to spend a long period in Turkey and make detailed studies in the actual weaving districts. Even then the difficulties might be great" (Beattie, 1971, p. 20).

In subsequent years, other research emerged: an essay on methodology (Denny, 1973); a study of Turkish weaving in the Lake Van region of Eastern Turkey (Landreau, 1973); and a work by Belkis Acar (Balpinar), who was the curator of the Sultan Ahmet (Blue) Mosque Rug Museum in Istanbul (Balpinar, 1975). In this latter book on kilims and flatwoven covers, "Mrs. Acar calls for art historians, artists and ethnographers to
document the old and the new cultures and their effect on the work of the weavers. It must be done soon because weaving is fast becoming a dead art" (Yohe, 1976).

The challenges and excitement of on-site research/collecting/travel were soon to be regularly recorded in *Oriental Rug Review*. Lichtenberg-Van Mierlo (1984) pottered around Eastern Turkey, buying rugs and arranging his travels around the Iran-Iraq conflict; Walter (1985) considered "to what extent we are dealing with artifacts of a living, continuing tradition, or conversely, to what extent we are dealing with artifacts of a way of life that is for all practical purposes extinct" in his textile-oriented travels among the Yörük of the Toros Mountains; Frauenknecht's research resulted in a number of works, among them *Anatolische Gebelskilims [Anatolian Prayer Kilims]* (1978) and *Early Turkish Tapestries* (1985). In the latter work an association was made between contemporary kilim designs and neolithic excavations at the Turkish site Çatal Hüyük by archaeologist James Mellaart. In 1990, Mellaart, Udo Hirsch (another textile researcher), and Belkis Acar Balpinar were to publish a highly controversial study on the possible origin of Anatolian kilim designs titled *The Goddess From Anatolia*, but more of this will be seen later.

One of the most entertaining of the series of accounts of the traveling dealers/collectors/scholars was that of Saul Yale Barodofsky in his "Notes from Anatolia" published in *Oriental Rug Review*. His reports not only brought market information to readers but his spirited writing brought the Turkish people alive for armchair travelers and "ruggers" in the West. Scholarly, no, but for its insights into the rug trade in Turkey in the '80s is a story worth repeating that Barodofsky told in one report.

On the road to Konya, approaching Beshihir at 200 km per hour, Çemal slammed on the brakes and spun around, honking madly. It seemed that we had just passed three other Turkish antique kilim dealers returning from Beshihir. We all stopped and visited. It was a delightful encounter, with each trying to psyche out the others. Where have you been? Who have you seen? What did you find? How much was it? Is it for sale? All the while trying to peek into the back seats of the other's car, attempting to gain more information than was given up.

While this ballet was unfolding I noticed that Çemal had casually rested his foot on the rear bumper of the other car. I realized he was weighing their trunk load as we chatted. They were saying they hadn't found much on this trip, that business was terrible, that you just couldn't find things anymore and so on. As we all chattered away, Çemal gave a heavy downward push with his foot. Silence fell over the group and everyone stared as the car slowly struggled to rise, its trunk overloaded and heavy. Fairly caught, they agreed to open the treasure chest for a show and tell. I photographed the whole proceedings for ORR and posterity. . . . [C]onsidering how secretive we are and how competitive the business is, it is . . . remarkable to be able to photograph such an encounter. (Barodovsky, 1986, p. 16)
Other ORR writers described the rug scene in Turkey: dealer Jevremovic (1988), folklorist Mast (1988), but among the most interesting were those that described an economic venture in progress in the region of Western Turkey called Ayvaçik. This venture was the DOBAG project.

The DOBAG Project

First discussed in Oriental Rug Review by its originator, Dr. Harald Böhmer (1983), then in an account by Gayle Garrett of Georgetown University (1988), and again in living color more recently (Jane Peterson, 1991), DOBAG stands for *Dogal Boya Arastırma ve Geliştirme Projesi*: Research and Development Project for Natural Dyes. Böhmer, a German chemist, became interested in Turkish weaving while teaching in the German school in Istanbul in the 1970s. Struck by differences in the colors of museum carpets and of those available on the market, Böhmer began analyzing old carpets and plants to discover the historic sources of the natural dyes that had preceded the artificial dyes of the mid-nineteenth century. With another rug lover and fellow teacher, Weiner Bruggemann, he published the book *Rugs of the Peasants and Nomads of Anatolia* (Bruggemann & Böhmer, 1983).

In 1978 he decided to try reviving Turkish weaving by "reestablishing the use of organic dyes, and at the same time, reviving high standards of quality for handmade rugs" (Jane Peterson, 1991, p. 4). Gradually gaining the support of the Turkish government by way of the German Ministry for Technical Cooperation and Istanbul's School of Fine Arts, now part of Marmara University, Böhmer and his wife began in 1981 driving out to villages in the Ayvaçik region to meet with more recently settled nomads there, nomads with long weaving and dyeing traditions. Carrying instructions they had written, the Bohmers began teaching the weavers how to re-create their historic natural dyes and began collecting information on their motifs and patterns. Within two years women in more than 35 villages were weaving for DOBAG (Böhmer, 1983).

In 1985 a symposium on "Carpet Weaving in the Aegean Coastal Region" of Turkey was held. Although the conference was clearly intended as a showcase for the newly revived, high quality export carpets, one attendee questioned not only the motivations of the sponsoring organizations (the province of Canakkale and Marmara University) but also questioned the authenticity of the DOBAG weaving and dyeing, asking if the project was not simply another venture in European domination of Turkish weaving (Mason, 1985).
A response was quickly forthcoming from the author of *Carpet Magic*.

The DOBAG project, if its aims are to be understood, must be viewed in a social and historical setting which is highly complex and full of subtle nuances. . . . It is an almost irresistible urge for people to wish to 'improve' on the designs of others and control them; to impose their taste and ideas on the weavers if they have the power to do so. It is exactly on this point that DOBAG gets flak from two directions at once. On the one hand people complain that the designs are too stiff, too this or too that, and that 'something should be done about it.' The DOBAG policy on this point shows, in my view, a vision and farsightedness all too rare in craft projects throughout the world. Their aim is to avoid controlling and 'improving' and above all avoid changing the status of the weavers from self-employed free agents into loom-operatives working under contract. . . . The cooperative does not control, dictate and approve exact designs. The cooperative acts as the market place into which the weavers sell their product. The weavers receive more money than they do on the open market which is the primary justification for its existence. It will not buy any carpet dyed with synthetic dyes, any carpet with a yellow dyed with onion skins, any carpet with a Caucasian or imported design, any rug made with machine spun yarns or any rug they judge to be badly made. The weaver is free to sell such things on the open market. (J. Thompson, 1986a, p. 18)

Even though taking care not to represent himself as an official spokesman for the project, Thompson clearly admires both the aims and the outcomes of the DOBAG project, as he again reveals in a *Hali* article the following year. In this article he also proves again the old adage that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery when he relates a travel tale of Böhmer's.

Only recently he was travelling in a remote area where they claimed to make natural-dyed flatweaves, which indeed they were. He [Böhmer] asked the weavers how they knew about indigo. 'We have instructions from a professor in the university,' they told him. 'No, he has never actually visited this village but we use his method.' With this they produced a just legible piece of paper, itself a photocopy of one of Dr. Böhmer's own explanatory leaflets complete with his name and that of his university. (J. Thompson, 1986b, p. 16)

In a later article on a more mature DOBAG Garrett notes,

The aspect of the DOBAG Project least appreciated in the United States is the contribution to rug studies offered by a close and prolonged involvement with this project. Subjects such as village patterns of work organization, observed invariance and development of weaving technique over time and valid judgements of esthetic criticism based on a formulation of the concept of creativity appropriate to shared work undertaken in a traditional setting are all ones that can be illuminated by studying this project. (Garrett, 1988, p. 18)
At the time of the project's first showing in the United States, at an exhibit of 100 DOBAG rugs sponsored by the World Bank in Washington, D.C., Garrett also organized a symposium on village life and weaving held at Georgetown University. In addition to Garrett herself, the speakers at this symposium were Dr. Böhmer, Donald Quataert, John Kolars [a geographer], . . . and Josephine Powell (Garrett, 1988).
PART 2. JOSEPHINE POWELL

Josephine Powell: Her Educational and Professional Background

Of her earliest years, we have few records. Josephine Evelyn Powell was born on May 15, 1919, in New York City. She was raised in Manhattan, and in 1937 she graduated from Fieldston School, a private, co-educational school on the northern edge of New York City, in the fashionable Riverdale area of the Bronx.

Originally established by Felix Adler after the founding of the Society of Ethical Culture, the three Ethical Culture schools were comprised of an elementary school on Central Park West, and the Fieldston Lower School and Fieldston Junior and Senior High School on seventeen wooded acres of land at Riverdale. Described as a school in which "direct moral instruction has a definite place in the curriculum," its college preparatory courses could include Art, Business and Homemaking. Perhaps a key purpose for our study was the school's commitment to the "development of a broad ethical conception of the place of the individual in society." Its student body were the "children of the rich, the middle classes and the poor" with one-third of the enrollment supported by scholarships (Sargent, 1938).

Between 1937 and 1941 Powell attended Cornell University in Ithaca, New York and graduated with a degree in Arts and Sciences. She was a pretty young woman with wide blue eyes and fashionably upswept hair, but she did not appear to be a joiner of clubs or social organizations. At this time her home town was listed as Varna, a small community outside of Ithaca.

Ithaca, New York in 1939 was a town of 20,000 people, the main industry of which was Cornell University and the small Ithaca College. The cosmopolitan community of 7,000 that were the faculty and students of these two schools included people from every section of the United States and many foreign countries. From its establishment in 1868 as part of the Land Grant college system, Cornell evolved into a university of nine colleges where one could find instruction in any field of study. At the three state-supported colleges, tuition was free to residents of New York State. The College of Arts and
Sciences, the Graduate School, and the professional colleges such as Law and Architecture measured their stature by that of older eastern universities.

The campus, called one of the most attractively situated in the country, rose up East Hill, above the town laid out at the south end of one of the Finger Lakes, Cayuga Lake. Shaded by spreading elms, the campus was crisscrossed by paths that led to its upper and lower campus buildings, built in the styles called English Collegiate Gothic, Victorian Gothic, Romanesque and French Renaissance. Sixty fraternities and 14 sororities housed about 1500 students, dormitories housed 1500 more and others were accommodated in private lodging houses near the campus. Varna lies about two miles to the east of the campus (Writer's Program, 1938).

In 1947, Powell completed her graduate work at the New York School of Social Work at Columbia University. Organized in 1898 as a summer school by a charity organization, by 1904 it was known as the New York School of Philanthropy. In 1918 it became the New York School of Social Work and in 1940, a graduate school of Columbia University (Columbia University School of Social Work, 1947). With its long history of service, this school was one of a number of emerging professional schools in the United States in the early 1900s. Professions such as nursing, library science, domestic science (home economics), teaching and social work were particularly attractive to educated women.

In the late 30s and early 40s social work was viewed as no longer primarily institutional or case work dealing with dependents, delinquents and "defectives," but a broader field with a stronger educational component. A field in which in 1939 women outnumbered men by about four to one, it was viewed as a profession "less confining and more active than that of the class-room teacher" but with equivalent compensations.

The cliental agencies for graduates in social work were led by private foundations, including religious groups, but increasingly it included establishments such as hospitals, playgrounds and community houses, as well as educational groups like 4-H clubs, Boy and Girl Scouts, and Boys' and Girls' Clubs (Huber, 1939, p. 417). At the time of her graduate studies, the New York School of Social Work was reflecting the societal changes precipitated by World War II and its aftermath. Offering a two-year graduate program that featured an integration of classroom study, fieldwork and a thesis project, it worked closely with many social agencies in the New York City area. As the war effort increased, the demand for social workers in agencies such as the USO and Red Cross increased also, but the number of program applicants decreased. Men went off to war and women had other employment opportunities. This resulted in more part-time students and students
financially sponsored by agencies in return for an employment commitment, as well as a high percentage of women students.

The students, as well as the faculty and affiliated agencies, represented a broad, international, multi-racial and multi-cultural orientation, supported when necessary by scholarships and fellowships. Although during the first two years of the war the number of students decreased, by the end of the war enrollment in social work mirrored that of other educational areas in the United States. In 1946 the school experienced the highest enrollment in its history to that date and at this time a Ph.D program proposal had been accepted by the University.

Although funding for future social work programs was uncertain, the prospect of a federal Department of Welfare in the United States and the adoption of the United Nations Charter and organization of the U.N. Economic and Social Council reflected a growing concern for post-war human welfare problems, particularly in the international scene. Linkages among faculty and alumni at home and in service abroad had been maintained by newsletter throughout the war and as service people in general returned to their homes they brought their war experiences back with them.

The director of the school, Walter Pettitt suggested that such personal experiences were the basis for an increased interest in social work as a means of addressing problems ranging from deviant psycho-social behavior to family assistance. In the 1944 annual report he outlined the philosophy with which he guided the school as Dean for eight years, until his retirement in 1947.

Social work is concerned with the welfare of people. The individual is always thought of in relation to other groups---the family, the neighborhood, the wider community. A group of people living together and so organized through public and private efforts as to make it possible for every individual to develop a full life is the goal of social work. In order to achieve their goal, even partially, social workers must understand the basic causes for hostility due to economic differences, social, religious and cultural tensions, and the disrupting effect of these factors on the lives of individuals. (Columbia University, 1944, p. 3)

Powell worked in refugee relief in New York City from 1946 to 1948 (J. E. Powell, personal communication, February, 1992) and in 1948, perhaps influenced by a Professor Clara A. Kaiser who had returned to the school in 1946 after a nine-month leave in Germany working with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and theYWCA, Powell went to Europe to work for the United Nations in refugee relief abroad. This work with refugees took her to Tanganyika (present-day
Tanzania) in Africa and to Germany and occupied her from 1948 to 1951. During this period of time the concept of refugee relief changed significantly.

Prior to 1920, refugee's migrations were on a tribal basis and while this meant entire groups might suffer persecution, there would also be shared values and support within the groups. With the massive displacements of people in the Second World War such tribal support no longer existed.

A series of organizations had attempted to address the problems of refugees fleeing political persecution prior to and during the war: the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGC) first assisted Spanish Republicans, then victims of Nazi persecution in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia and finally other Europeans; the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which was the first group to use the name of the newly created United Nations and whose temporary charge was the immediate relief and rehabilitation of the millions of newly-liberated survivors of the war; the International Relief Organization (IRO), which replaced UNRRA in 1947 and which was also created as a temporary UN agency mandated to address refugee problems worldwide. This last organization was replaced in 1951 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the permanent organization for refugee assistance (*Displaced Persons*, 1947; *Displaced Persons*, 1948).

Financed by member nations and with 60 supporting voluntary agencies, UNRRA, which was started in Washington in December, 1944, first provided food, clothing shelter and medical care for immediate survival, and then the tools, equipment and organization to enable refugees to begin rebuilding their lives. By its close it had repatriated seven million people, the majority of those displaced by the war. To those refugees after the "long, cold hard winter of 1946-47---the longest and coldest and hardest winter of a century" a New York Times correspondent wrote, "UNRRA became a holy word, and often meant the difference between life and death" (*Story of UNRRA*, 1948 p. 46). However,

By 1945 it had become evident that a large number of displaced persons were non-repatriable; they were reluctant or unwilling to return to their homelands either because they had lost all ties with their countries of origin or because of changed political conditions there. But at the same time many displaced persons did not want to make their permanent homes in countries where they had been brought against their will, in many cases as slave laborers. . . . UNRRA was not in a position to deal with [close to two million such persons] because its responsibility for refugees was only repatriation, not settlement outside the countries of origin. (*Holborn*, 1975, p. 26)
As UNRRA closed down and the IRO took its place, permanent resettlement became the focus of UN assistance to refugees. In the four and a half years of its existence, and keynoted by the cooperation of member and non-member nations, public and private agencies, religious organization and individuals, the IRO assisted 1,620,000 refugees, with a million resettled in other lands. Beginning January 1st, 1951, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees addressed the problem of the "hard-core" refugees, those who by age, poor health or handicap were denied entry by potential host nations. Refugee resettlement assistance had long linked humanitarian concerns with self-interest and many refugees languished in camps for years after the war, unable to move backward or forward. Many of these were children unaccompanied by any adults. Pointing out the shortage of welfare workers to assist such displaced persons, one United States government committee reported that in a Bavarian camp the committee visited there were 475 children, 75 below the age of 5. In 1946 UNRRA had 16 employees caring for 300 children but by the time of the committee's visit in 1947 the staff had been cut to 2 while the number of children had grown by 25 percent. (Displaced Persons, 1947, p. 47)

In order to address the needs of such groups, the UNHCR worked with both the refugees and potential host countries. Counseling of the refugees, "often [by] young women with training in social work" was deemed essential to self-determination. Such counseling "required tact and endless patience, perseverance and an expert knowledge of what was and was not possible in each individual case." (P. Collins, 1971, p. 59) Tact, patience and perseverance were also necessary to negotiate the intergovernmental obstacles created by the Cold War which began in the 50s. In 1951 the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights had provided a benchmark of freedom for all people to (a) practice religion, (b) seek gainful employment, (c) own property (d) start a business, (e) work in the liberal professions (such as law and medicine) and to (f) enjoy protection from involuntary repatriation, but the right to asylum was not included as a basic human right.

Despite the warm welcome of governments to a permanent refugee agency to provide for basic relief needs, long term provision for livelihood, and assistance with migration, pledged monies were slow to appear as the Cold War directly influenced the foreign policies of contributing nations. There were 30% shortfalls in the UNHCR budget in 1955 and 1956 and not until the 1956 crisis in Hungary and the subsequent influx of Hungarian refugees did the contributing nations recognize their responsibility and make up their shortfalls.

For the first time, refugees were being resettled solely on humanitarian grounds. As new refugee situations developed in subsequent years, the UNHCR and its "good offices" increasingly became accepted as the focal point for humanitarian, non-controversial
assistance for refugees" irrespective of their actual designation as refugees or lack of it (P. Collins, 1971, p. 81; Holborn, 1975)

Powell's Career Change to Photography

According to Hurwitz, the director of the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde in Rotterdam, for whom she was later to gather artifacts, the event which precipitated the career change from social work with refugees to photography for Josephine Powell was a visit to Italy.

A trip to Italy resulted in a change in her life. She became enthralled by this country, with its artistic inheritance spanning centuries, and photography changed from a hobby to a principal occupation. Miss Powell succeeded in obtaining jobs for magazines, and later also for books. She was able to establish her own photo bureau in 1954 in Rome. (Mandersloot, 1971, p. 5)

When Powell’s hobby became her means of livelihood in the 1950s she was following the path of other gently-reared young women, but she may not have known it. It was only with the raising of feminist consciousness in the 1970s and '80s that serious study was directed to women photographers.

In the introduction to her catalog for a show of ten women photographers, Margaretta Mitchell, herself a photographer, relates her difficulty in finding women role models when she entered the field in the late 1950s.

The best known accessible work of the day was by men. The mechanical wizardry of those photographers (who were also fascinating personalities) was unquestioned, yet I was strangely untouched by it. I could admire the work and learn from it, but since I could not follow the male role model, I often could not understand how their life and work blended. (Mitchell, 1979, p. 8)

As later studies of women photographers also revealed, the women were there but information about them was not (Fisher, 1987; Gover, 1988)

As photography evolved from a wet plate process requiring many pounds of equipment prior to the 1880s to an increasingly lighter weight process involving first dry plates then hand held cameras with rolled film, it had become both more portable and more accessible to women. Gover relates how the camera, along with the sewing machine and the typewriter, became the products of the industrial age that were not only acceptably used by women for financial self-support when no men were available to support them but also
became acceptable for the more conventional domestic roles of wife and mother. "The camera presented a new way for women to represent and record their lives. The photo album replaced the sampler, the quilt and the miniature portrait" (Gover, 1988, p. 5).

With the introduction of compact cameras in 1883 and the Kodak system of rolled film in 1889, women,

admonished by their mothers 'to behave like a lady under all circumstances' and to 'do nothing that will attract the least notice,' found the changes in the camera to be compatible with the behavioral expectations of their middle class world. (Gover, 1988, p. 7)

By 1920 photography had become a career option for women which in the '30s and '40s evolved from personal documentation of domestic lives to conscious documentation of the lives of others, as well as an artistic pursuit. A number of women worked for the United States government recording first the plight of Americans during the depression in the '30s and then the home front of World War II. Of them only Dorothea Lange and Marion Post Wolcott have been widely known. Of the eight women studied by Fisher,

[E]ach was university educated, in either fine art or photography, and each was relatively new to her profession when she came to work with either the FSA [Farm Security Administration] or OWI [Office of War Information]. Having begun their careers at the moment of documentary's emergence as an idiom, they formed in their subsequent work, the first generation of jobbing photographers; neither the individual visionaries of fine art nor the entrepreneurs of the private photo studios. (Fisher, 1987, p. 9)

The documentary photography which emerged in this time gave birth to a new word, photojournalism, and, with the development of color film, new opportunities for photographers. The heavily illustrated mass-circulation magazines of the 40s and '50s such as Look, Life and Holiday "provided the largest source of income for photographers and the best public forum for their work" (Johnson, 1984, p. 81). As the editors of Time-Life Books noted in a retrospective of documentary photography,

[T]here is much more to document than suffering and poverty; faraway places and exotic peoples, quirks of nature and of society, the whole gamut of emotions and relationships. ... Then is every photograph a documentary? Not really, for it must convey a message that sets it apart from a landscape, a portrait, a street scene. It may record an event, but the event must have some general significance, more than the specific significance of a news photo. It may record character or emotion---but again, of some general social significance; it is more than personally revelatory, as a portrait is. [T]he documentary photograph tells us
something important about our world—and in the best examples, makes us think about the world in a new way. (Documentary, 1972, p. 7)

This broad interpretation of photojournalism by the editors of Time-Life gave rise to an equally broad spectrum of books, thematically arranged in series. Among them were *Human Behavior; Great Ages of Man; This Fabulous Century: The Old West; and The Emergence of Man*. The suppliers of their photographs, while following "globe-trotting photojournalists who hunted news for the great tabloid empires" of the early part of the century, beginning in the 50s brought a more personal vision—and sometimes a darker one—to an era of accelerating events at home and abroad (Russell, 1989).

Discussing the evolution of this more personal vision and the ambivalence it created in working photographers, photographer and critic Johnson observed,

While these magazines took on the mission to inform and instruct the public about the historic events and vast social changes of the time, they also expounded the ideologies of American democracy. . . . [N]o matter how ambitious, or enlightened their aims, [they] were ultimately limited by editorial policy, and the goal of making a profit. Photographers working for them were expected to meet a curious and sometimes conflicting mixture of creative and commercial aims. (Johnson, 1984, p. 81)

Along with the names of the men who carried their cameras throughout the world to record wars, social upheavals, and monuments to national pride for the folks at home, Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971) was surely legendary as a woman among them. Subject of much biographical study—from her own pen as well as those of others—the unique social costs for successful women photographers may be revealed in a review article on women photographers.

All of this suggests that Bourke-White was the archetypal right person at the right moment and knew how to use opportunity to her advantage. But as her biographer [Vicki Goldberg] notes, Bourke-White's achievements are grounded in more than luck. She was unusually determined and gifted, more than a bit calculating and monomaniacal, and sacrificed family and warm friendships to achieve her goals. . . . [The reviewer, John Loughery, continues] She was not a nice person. There was something nasty, even eerie about her personality. That fact cannot be changed by any posthumous asides, nor does it really matter in the presence of her best photographs. (Loughery, 1990, p. 49)

Loughery, as does Gover, notes that a statistically significant number of professional women photographers remained single or were divorced (Loughery, 1990;
Gover, 1988). Although photography as a hobby might be socially acceptable, as a profession for women it required not only the adjustment of art to business necessary for all creative professions, but could also incur social costs as well. Not the least of these was an absence of a variety of role models among which a woman could discover her own patterns for blending life and work.

Among the photographers whose lives and interests would seem akin to that of Josephine Powell are Laura Gilpin and Consuelo Kanaga and they only became the subjects of retrospective exhibits and scholarly study in the 1970s. Laura Gilpin (1891-1979) photographed the landscapes and people of the American southwest with her most significant *opus*, *The Enduring Navaho*, published in 1968. Consuelo Kanaga (1894-1978) was a woman who began her career as a photojournalist but who evolved as humanitarian and artist and contributed work to Edward Steichen's monumental photographic exhibit in 1955 at the Museum of Modern Art, "The Family of Man" (Mitchell, 1979).

This exhibit of photographs from 68 countries was three years in creation. After its debut in New York it was circulated throughout the world; the publication of its catalog took its powerful message to many millions more people than could view the exhibit. In the middle of the Cold War it was "concerned with man in relation to his environment, to the beauty and richness of the earth he has inherited and what he has done with this inheritance, the good and the great things, the stupid and the destructive things" (Steichen, 1955, p. 5). From 2 million photographs, 10,000 were at last reduced to 503, an exhibit "created in a passionate spirit of devoted love and faith in man" which was to echo throughout the next decade, as the counterculture of the '60s emerged in American society.

By the time Josephine Powell left her social welfare work with refugees for a career in photography, we can assume that she had seen and perhaps experienced a good measure of "the stupid and the destructive things" wrought by the family of Man. The beauty and richness of Italian art must have been an overwhelming contrast and an irresistible attraction. The photo bureau which she had established on Via del Gesu in 1956 remains in the same location in 1991, a point of constancy in her peripatetic life.

Powell's Photographic Work

Of her first magazine jobs we have no records. It may be that, as with her first photography for books, she received no recognition by name. Although with the establishment of the photo cooperative Magnum in 1947, the ownership of the rights to photographic works passed from the commissioning body to photographers themselves, it
seems safe to say that this issue of ownership would have been implemented over a period of time and would have perhaps taken longer for an unaffiliated photographer who was new to the profession.

Although her vitae lists several books published in the '50s, in only one is she given credit by name. However, under the guidance and sponsorship of art historian David Talbot-Rice she was beginning the photographic journeys which were to result in her extensive publications in the '60s and '70s. From 1952 to 1955 she traveled in Europe, taking commercial photographs (J. E. Powell, personal communication, February, 1992) and in 1956 she first "manage[d] the 20 cent ferry ride from Istanbul to Asia" (Powell, 1984a, p. 31) on her way to points East. Commissioned, according to J. Hurwitz, to travel to Teheran for Talbot-Rice,

[b]y chance she took this trip at a time when the southern route through Turkey, which [under] Kemal Ataturk had been forbidden military territory, was opened for travel. Josephine Powell, not knowing that she was the first foreign visitor in this territory since the early 1920s was able to make the first modern photographs [of it] and obtained immediate fame in the area of archaeological and architectural photography. As a result, she obtained new commissions which, in 1956, brought her to Afghanistan. (Mandersloot, 1971, p. 5)

Powell could scarcely have chosen a more supportive and influential mentor in her early photographic career. At his death in 1972, Talbot-Rice was eulogized as the premier scholar of Byzantine art. With a background in both archeology and anthropology, he served for 37 years as Professor of Fine Art at Edinburgh University. He "fell in love with Constantinople," (now Istanbul) and, with his wife Tamara, excavated in "Iran and Anatolia, Cyprus and Iraq." Coming to "understand Moslem Istanbul no less than Byzantine Constantinople," he succeeded in stimulating not only scholarly study but popular appreciation of the art and culture of those areas of the Middle East. His wife's study of the civilizations of Central Asia expanded their research into Russia, the result of which were "spectacular" loans between Eastern and Western museums (Rice, Robertson & Henderson, 1975, forward)

Perhaps of most significance to a newly developing professional photographer and seeker of beauty, however, was the:

sympathy and identification which made him so good a friend and so trusted a teacher. Completely unselfish and devoid of personal ambition, he had a passionate desire to further the careers of his pupils, without any regard for his own. So generous was he with his gifts of knowledge and understanding that much of this lies hidden in the work of others. He
believed that knowledge was not the exclusive property or prerogative of the specialist and that the professional should add to his technical qualification the qualities correctly described as amateur. (Rice, Robertson & Henderson, 1975, forward)

The books which he wrote or edited and in which Powell's photographs appeared, were published, revised, and published again, translated, updated and again published. They were included in popular series of art history books and if Powell retained the rights to their publication, her photographs would comprise a small but steady source of income. Beyond this aspect however, such publication would establish her "credentials" in her new profession, bring her name to the attention of other authors, editors and publishers, and provide entry to museums and historical sites for the purpose of photography.

In her photography of the beautiful, the unusual and the exotic, she recorded the visual images of interest to a number of large publishing houses: Thames and Hudson, Praeger, McGraw-Hill, Hamlyn, Marshall Cavendish, Oxford University Press, Abrams, Reader's Digest, Newsweek, Penguin and American Heritage. As was true for her early sponsor, these publishers represented not only the scholarly but the popular press as well and the books which contained her photographs were usually reprinted, often translated into other languages, widely held by libraries and heavily used.

Beginning in 1960, Powell's name began to appear with increasing frequency, but, with two exceptions, never in prominent conjunction with an author or on the title page of any books. The exceptions were an article on archaeological finds in Afghanistan written in French (Auboyer, 1960) and the book on one of the Chahar Aimaq nomad tribes that was the result of her travels in Afghanistan in 1970. It was written in Dutch and has not been translated into English (Mandersloot, 1971). In the only article for which the photography is of more substance than the text, "Hindu Pilgrimage in the Himalayas" (Powell & Mandersloot, 1964), the only acknowledgement of author or photographer is buried in the general photographic credits for the entire issue of Realites.

Yet Josephine, or J, Powell, Rome, along with Giraudon of Paris, Hirmer of Munich, Alinari of Florence, and Anderson, also of Rome, clearly was providing many of the images that were making the archaeological discoveries of the Middle East accessible to the West. In some volumes, her contributions were acknowledged on the back of the title page in addition to the overall acknowledgements, representing recognition by editors, authors and publishers, if not by the public.

As her travels took her throughout the Middle East and Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia and Southern Russia, she photographed not only archaeological sites and architectural ruins but objects in museums. In size the objects ranged from pottery fragments and signet
rings to the Colosseum in Rome. Although we have little or no information in regard to which photographs were commissioned objects or views, and which were the result of Powell’s personal interest, the range of objects and views indicate a willingness to record the significant, however fragmentary or lacking in "beauty" it might be. Captions containing directional information and sizes indicate that notes were made to accompany the photographs.

From the locations portrayed in her photographs, we can establish that before 1970 she had visited and photographed buildings and objects in Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Southern Russia, East and West Pakistan, India, Cambodia, Nepal and Morocco. Her professional vitae also lists photographs available on the Balkans, Hong Kong, Kashmir, and Macao (J. E. Powell, personal communication, 1992). With the exception of the caption notes mentioned above, there is no evidence of any literary or other written interpretation of these early photographs by Powell herself. She appears to have been primarily a "jobbing photographer," but also an entrepreneur in that she did maintain her own photo bureau, if not actually a studio.

What did it mean to be a "jobbing photographer" in the 1960s and '70s, before Banana Republic made multi-pocketed photojournalists' vests available to the masses? For Powell, with her focus on archaeological sites and objects it may have meant different challenges than those of photojournalists.

In an essay on architectural photography, Adams (1963) discusses the basic requirements of a good photograph: "mechanical precision of image, logical viewpoint and angle of view, and correct rendering of texture, light and shade," (p. 236) to achieve a three-dimensional quality with an accurate rendering of the substance of which the building is made and the environment in which it stands. The use of light to assist in this process is pointed out by another photographer, "The sun can also be used as a private spotlight. In the early morning or late afternoon the sun obviously can pick out a building with particular emphasis. . . . Start from the overall and work around the building, closing in until the sequence of pictures ends up with details and interiors." (Kidder Smith, 1963, p. 246) Both authors address the equipment---cameras, lenses, filters, light meters, tripods, film and developing supplies available at that time and which were necessary for good reproduction of their subjects.

Gilpin (1963) provides insight into the special requirements of photographing historical buildings or ruins: some foreknowledge of the history of the site; the function of the building; the importance of the setting and the scale of the building within this setting; and attention to characteristic details and the techniques to display these details.
Other photographers outline the unique demands of travel photography, particularly that done abroad: The need for exactly the right equipment, but no more than that, for sufficient supplies of film and other supplies when far from commercial centers, for an advance plan to eliminate aimless shooting, for adequate time to do justice to the subject and allow for inclement weather, for courtesy when photographing people, for appropriate documents when transporting oneself and one's equipment across borders, for planning to prevent damage from climatic changes in heat, cold, humidity, and dust, for security for equipment all times from theft or damage, for good timing, such as early morning for photographing buildings without crowds and traffic, and to remember that one is a guest in another's country (P. Andrews, 1963; Bryan, 1964; International Center of Photography, 1984).

Bourke-White (1963) addresses assignments for publication with unique authority: to begin with advance preparation if possible, to move from the general to the particular and capture every scrap of information possible, to be ready for the unexpected, and to understand that often one must work with officials to accomplish one's objectives. Still other authors point out the unique characteristics of photography in museums, in particular, inadequate lighting and the difficulties of taking photographs through glass fronts (Coles, 1963; International Center of Photography, 1984).

Although most of the equipment and film of the time was adequate for the task, there was clearly more to being a jobbing photographer of archaeological sites and artifacts than wandering around with a camera and pointing it at old buildings.

In our earlier discussion of collectors we mentioned the role of the Blisses and the sponsorship of Dumbarton Oaks in the cleaning and restoration of Byzantine mosaics and frescoes in Istanbul in the 1950s. It was at the time that these significant works of art were being revealed after centuries of concealment under paint and plaster that Powell began her photography in Istanbul, and many of her most often published photographs are full color illustrations of these remarkable ceilings, walls and floors. From her photographs there, Powell went on to photograph religious icons of many countries, architecture and ruins with historic meanings for Christians, Moslems, Jews, Buddhists and Hindus. She photographed newly discovered artifacts of the Scytho-Siberian nomads and the delicate tracery of Kufic script. She photographed breathtakingly beautiful and barren landscapes and densely and intricately carved Indian temples. She photographed faded frescoes and mosaics luminous with gold. But not until 1964 is there evidence that she ever photographed people.
Again it is J. Hurwitz who notes this change, attributing it to Powell's introduction while in Kabul to Klaus Ferdinand from the University of Aarhus in Denmark and Jean Paul Gabus, director of the Muse d'ethnographie in Neuchatel, Switzerland. "Under the influence of these two people, she expanded her interests, which originally had been principally directed towards architecture, to the entire culture of a specific group of people and their social background" (Mandersloot, 1971, p. 5). In 1961, Powell began collaborating with a free-lance journalist, a woman from the Netherlands named Go Mandersloot, who was particularly interested in the social background of modern political developments. Although Hurwitz says that the two women traveled together to prepare reports, their collaboration resulted in more than reports.

Powell's Travels and Field Collection

For one thing, their first joint publication of which we have evidence is a brief photographic essay of a Hindu pilgrimage in 1964 which also contains the first photographs we have in which Powell prominently features people rather than buildings or objects. For another, we have our first indication that Powell participated in field collection for museums.

From their first trip to Persia, Pakistan and India, they brought several objects with them, which were bought by the Amsterdam Tropical Museum. This also led to a new commission. In Pakistan they then established a collection of objects, which under the title "Wah," a village in the Punjab, was shown successively in the Tropical Museum and in the Museum for Archeology and Anthropology. The collaboration between the photographer and the journalist brought the Tropical Museum also a voluminous collection concerning the trades of Morocco. (Mandersloot, 1971, pp. 5-6)

And finally, a third product of their collaboration was the book that is the journal of a trip to Afghanistan in the summer of 1970. Commissioned by the Museum voor Landen Volkenkunde in Rotterdam, the Museum of Archeology and Anthropology of which Hurwitz was the director, the two women, in a 1969 Peugot station wagon, spent a couple of weeks in the cities, noting the sights and reviewing briefly the history of the region, and then drove into the area inhabited by the Chahar Aimaq (the four Aimaq). They stayed in this area for about six weeks, observing and photographing one of the four tribes, the Firozkohi (Mandersloot, 1971).

To turn to descriptions of this area and its people that are available in English, the Firozkohi are Persian-speaking Sunni Moslems who live near the Hari river in Herat
Province. This river valley with its water and irrigated agricultural lands ensuring the availability of foodstuffs was not only an historic route for travelers, but for armies on the march as well, with "Macedonians, Mongols, Tatars, Seljuk Huns, Turks, Arabs, Moghuls, Uzbeks, Persians, Russians [and] British" all passing through. The Chahar Aimaq struggled with all of them to maintain their own autonomy within nations and their tribal affiliations across national boundaries. Although by the early 1970s forced settlement had eliminated the fully nomadic Aimaqs on the Iranian side of the border, a number of Aimaqs in Afghanistan still maintained a nomadic existence. (Singer, 1973; Chahar Aimaq, 1974) These tribes, as do the Baluch, Uzbeks, Kirghiz, and Kurds, typify the kinds of nomads in the midst of change that we discussed earlier in this study.

According to Hurwitz, Powell and Mandersloot collected more than 300 objects during their stay which, with the photographs and additional information "provide[d] an excellent impression of the daily life and material culture of this tribe" and a collection unique in Europe. Among the artifacts were objects related to agriculture, animals and hunting and many related to textiles with different kinds of fabric: wool, kilims, carpets, cotton, bands, and "above all, felt." The technology of weaving was illustrated by several looms with weaving partly completed but the most significant pieces were, the "large and beautiful cone-shaped tents with complete interior and associated cookware, complete with all necessary appurtenances, an instructive and valuable collection" (Mandersloot, 1971, p. 6).

As a brief point of comparison, let us follow along on a visit to Afghanistan by another traveler just two years later.

The nomads... are everywhere to be seen carrying their fortunes on their foreheads and bosoms in the shape of heavy jewelry of traditional design. ... Another somewhat unexpected charm was the survival of handicrafts and native taste not simply as something to sell to tourists. For how long, is doubtful; already the antique shops are selling off the wooden blocks carved in Islamic floral patterns which are no longer used to decorate qalamkar or printed cottons. But meanwhile there are... great numbers of the typical Afghan, Turkoman or Baluchi carpets and rugs. At present the prices for all these lovely things are such as to make one in retrospect a little ashamed that one had dared to bargain at all with citizens of this impoverished country, one of the poorest in all Asia, and only just now emerging from a specially cruel four years of alternate drought and floods, which have more than halved the flocks so vital to many Afghans. (Gandy, 1973, p. 28)

Praising the "many-sided capabilities and interests of the two women, [t]he great detail with which they organized their trips, their ability to live with the people of other
cultures, their warm interest in people from other cultures as fellow human beings [and] the professional cooperation between photographer and journalist," Hurwitz (Mandersloot, 1971, p. 7) declared their trip a success and invited readers of their travelogue to enjoy the exhibition it accompanied. The exhibition, which ran from October 1971 through 1972 was enhanced by an expansion of the information on weaving by Rita Bolland, a conservator at the Museum. This information, along with appendices on Afghan history, tribal groupings, and a substantial bibliography was also included in the book.

Powell in Turkey

From 1973 to 1976 Powell spent most of her time in Turkey (J. E. Powell, personal communication, February, 1992). At an age when many women would be planning to retire, sell their houses and head for sunnier climes in their fully equipped motor homes, Josephine Powell had abandoned her travels in Afghanistan and Iran and begun her next career. In 1978, the same year as the Camp David peace talks, US/USSR relations were at a new low and a Socialist military coup in Afghanistan replaced the republic which had replaced the prior monarchy five years earlier. In 1979 the Shah of Iran was overthrown and the Ayatollah Kohmeini put in power. By this time Powell had settled in Istanbul.

The following year, 1980, 52 American hostages were being held in Iran, Russian troops were in Afghanistan, Iran and Iraq went to war with each other, halting 60% of the world's oil supply, and in the United States, Mt. St. Helen's erupted. Powell had begun studying the textiles of Turkish nomads.

Although her earlier photographs of architectural and artifactual wonders would continue to be published in the 1980s and presumably beyond, and although she was still listed in a 1982 directory of professional photographers (Bradshaw & Hahn, 1982) as specializing in religious iconography and doing business from her photo bureau in Rome, Powell had begun an entirely new kind of photographic archives. The interest in nomad women and their weaving which she had first developed in Afghanistan was to become the focus of her life in Turkey. The photographer's eye which had looked backward through the centuries was now fixed and focused on the present.

Our first evidence of this new period of her life comes in a book called Carpet Magic. It was published in 1983 in conjunction with an exhibition of kilims at the Barbican Art Gallery in London that was mounted to coincide with the Fourth International Conference on Oriental Carpets (ICOC) held in June of that year. Of the seven color photographs by Powell that were included, four indicated that they were taken in Turkey in
the early '80s but none earlier than 1981. Of these, only two do not contain people; one of those captures the architectural quality of a nomad's Black Tent and the other is enlivened by an endearing baby camel. The other photographs all show women and/or children, either creating or using their textiles. It is also important to note that once again Powell has been prominently acknowledged by the author, Jon Thompson, for her photographic contributions although not on the title page, since they comprise but a small number of the photographs included.

This book, originally published by the London art gallery and therefore not widely available, was described by Walter Denny as the "best-written, best-researched, most intelligently organized, best-illustrated general book on carpets available" (J. Thompson, 1988, cover). Due to wide acclaim, it was revised and published again in 1988 as Oriental Carpets: From the Tents, Cottages and Workshops of Asia by Dutton in the United States as well as again in London.

Powell's other activities of this time are somewhat more difficult to trace. Much of our information on this phase of her life comes from the interview with her by Saul Yale Barodofsky (1984), an East Coast rug dealer and editor of Oriental Rug Review. In time she herself was to speak more eloquently of this period, at least insofar as her research. In the interview with Barodofsky, she refers to her work at this time as attempting to trace the historical movements of the Sachikara nomads, to study their textiles and to duplicate the old vegetal dyes. She also mentions her interest in "collecting village and nomadic implements of weaving and agriculture for American museums . . . [having] already done a good bit of this for European museums." It is in relation to this collection that Barodofsky draws attention to what he considers her most important acquisitions, a Black Tent and a white felt yurt, both complete with their furnishings and trappings in an exhibition of Anatolian civilization at the Ibrahim Pasha Museum in Istanbul, a place we mentioned earlier in the context of important textile museums. Powell herself acknowledged the significance of these acquisitions when she gently corrected some misinformation about them in the next issue of Oriental Rug Review.

The two tents in the Anatolian Civilizations Exhibition at Ibrahim Pasha Museum, Istanbul are:

1. The Black Tent which is made of goat hair and is the tent used by all Anatolian Yörüks. This one was woven by one of the tribes now migrating with the Sachikara from Hatay in the winter to south of Kaiseri in summers.

2. The white tent is made of felt and was used by Turkmen of Emirdas, not Sachikara Yörük. It was the last one we knew of that still had a complete felt covering. There are other yurts still in use but they are partially or completely covered in plastic.
What I was proudest of was being able to decorate each tent with the household equipment that really belonged in them. (Powell, 1984a, p. 31)

In a review of this exhibit for the journal Costume, Scarce (1984) noted,

Turkish nomads are also famous for the variety and quality of the textiles which they weave as furnishings for their tents so the exhibition has appropriately included a selection of vividly patterned flat tapestry-weave kilims, examples of the looms and tools used in making them, and an instructive display on the natural dyes used with samples of both plant and dyed wool. (Scarce, 1984, p. 131)

Barodofsky concluded his interview with Powell:

It seems to me that now is the last possible chance to make such collections. In another few years, as 'modern' improvements continue to erode the traditional life style, the older tools and processes will be fully discarded, thus lost to future generations. And, with the exception of the DOBAG project, no one seems interested in re-discovering the wheel of nomadic life. (Barodofsky, 1984, p. 6)

We do not know exactly when and how Powell met Dr. Harald Böhmer and his wife and became involved with the DOBAG project, but according to Jane Peterson (1991) it was a natural dye in a particular shade of violet which had eluded Böhmer that Powell rediscovered for DOBAG in 1983. This color completed the range of basic colors they had desired when they began to project in 1981 and is now a secret process guarded by the collective to give the DOBAG carpets a unique quality.

However, significant as her role as a consultant and advisor to DOBAG may be, it still does not represent all of Powell's interests. She continued through the 1980s to travel around Turkey, photographing textiles. In 1984 she reported that she had "accumulated 3,781 photographs of kilims (and details) to document her research---all taken 'en situ', i.e. in Mosques, homes and tents---none from shops" (Barodofsky, 1984, p. 6).

But what was perhaps even more remarkable, in 1983 the woman who until that time had communicated primarily through visual images began to give verbal and written reports on her travels and research as well. In June of 1983 she was one of the speakers at the Fourth ICOC in London, part of the Working Group on Anatolian Kilims. When in 1983 Landreau and Yohe published Flowers of the Yayla: Yörük Weaving in the Toros Mountains (of Turkey) as the catalog accompanying the exhibit on kilims at the Textile Museum, Powell was the person who was invited to review the book for Oriental Rug Review. Her review, in the form of a long letter to the paper, seemed to ask as many
questions as it made observations in her comparison of notes with those authors (Powell, 1984b).

In 1984 she gave another paper on Anatolian storage bags at the First International Conference on Turkish Carpets in Istanbul and her home became one of the unofficial meeting places and the "showing depot" for DOBAG carpets at that conference (Barodofsky, 1984). Photographs from her 1970 trip with Mandersloot illustrated an ORR cover story on the Aimaq of Afghanistan by Janata (1984). The following year Oriental Rug Review published Powell's paper from the Istanbul carpet conference on Ala Cuval storage bags (Powell, 1985). At the 1985 “Symposium on Carpet Weaving in the Aegean Coastal Region” of Turkey that was discussed earlier in relation to DOBAG’s disputed purposes, Powell gave a paper on the migration of the Sachikara Yoraks.

As reported in Oriental Rug Review, interestingly by the author who had in the same article questioned the motivation of the Böhmers,

This was an account of her actual experiencing of this migration with one of the two families left who still conduct such marches. It was a fine conclusion to the morning's schedule, a model of concision and sharp observation, with almost every sentence illustrated by double slide projections which brought the breath of life to every word she uttered. She received an ovation, not only for her paper but also in acknowledgement of her unique status and authority. (Mason, 1985, p. 3).

At the Fifth ICOC which was held the following year in Vienna and Budapest, Powell gave another paper, this time on the reed screens that are used to surround yurts. This paper, described as "unexpectedly charming, well-illustrated and thought-provoking' . . . was so well-received that an encore had to be arranged" (Schaffer, 1987, p. 21) Petsopoulos (1987) reviewed this paper in the same issue of Hali. Noting that Powell's "diligent and solid fieldwork in Anatolia over many years is only belatedly beginning to filter down to a larger audience," he reviewed her thesis that the source of the designs of present-day Anatolian kilims might be Central Asian reed screens and mentioned the exposure of the only flaw in her reasoning somewhat lightly (Petsopoulos, 1987, p. 27). This "exposure" in the post-paper discussion was described with more relish by other Hali reviewers: "Plenty of unanswered questions raised which stimulated the best question session of the whole program" [Thompson] ... "a long debate ensued with Udo Hirsch and Belkis [Acar] Balpinar, who disagreed with Ms. Powell's findings from her years of fieldwork" (Curate's Egg, 1987, p. 26).

An even more forceful response to Powell's thesis was made by Dr. Peter Andrews (1987) of Cologne University's Institute of Ethnology who published a counter argument
in *Hali*. Powell's revised paper, Andrew's counter argument and a reply to Andrews from Powell were finally all published together three years later in *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies, Volume 3, Number 2*. By this time Powell had given several more papers. In 1987 she presented her first paper on nomadic textiles in the United States, at the symposium titled "The Fabric of Daily Life: An Interdisciplinary Look at the Weaving Villages of Northwestern Anatolia", organized by Gayle Garrett at Georgetown University. This symposium was the same one that brought the DOBAG carpets to the United States for their first show. In Leningrad in 1988 she questioned similarities between Central Asian designs and Yöruk storage bags at the International Conference on Central Asia Carpets.

By 1990, the controversy surrounding the origin of Anatolian kilim designs was undiminished. Although she had brashly invited Hirsch and Balpinar to "fight it out catalogue to catalogue" in 1986, by 1990 Powell's catalog was still unpublished, perhaps because she had spent time in 1989 recuperating from a broken hip. But Hirsch and Balpinar, along with archaeologist James Mellaart, had produced the three volume work *Goddess From Anatolia*. Published in 1989 and launched at a 1980 mini-symposium on Anatolian kilims held near Basel, this catalog attempts to trace the origin of designs back, not to Central Asian origins, but to 8,000 year old neolithic goddess images excavated at Çatul Hüyük in Turkey. Powell was invited to give a paper at this occasion and was assured that her dissenting views would be welcome. But when the papers were published after the conference, hers was not included. Four later reviews of the *Goddess* were critical of both content and methodology (Eiland, 1990; Daugherty, 1990; Mallett, 1990; Voight, 1991).

The controversy still hung in the air at the Sixth ICOC held in San Francisco in November of 1990. At this conference, Balpinar spoke on Anatolian kilims; Hirsch on an early Mesopotamian textile fragment; and Mellaart did not attend the conference. Powell gave a paper on designs, recapping the *Goddess* controversy and then expanding her own inquiry to explore design connections between Anatolian kilims and the *tao-teh* design of Shang Chinese bronzes. Her paper, which began "We must take responsibility for what we say and have written," ended with, "If you want to know by faith, no evidence is needed. If you choose to know from evidence, more is needed" (Powell, 1990, Nov.).
ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In her lifetime, Josephine Powell has travelled many miles and seen and done many things. The details of her adventures may never be fully known, but in this preliminary investigation of the settings of her work of the past thirty years there may be some clues to the richness of her life as well as some indication of its value to others.

When she, in her forties, was trekking in Afghanistan and other countries of the Middle East, she must have crossed paths with younger trekkers: Peace Corps volunteers; counter-culture folk turning on and dropping out; subsidized students seeking Truth and cosmic experiences. They might even have recognized some shared values.

Although Powell's high school, university and graduate schools all accepted students of little or modest means, it does not appear that Powell was among such students. Her graduation from a private preparatory school and a university at the end of a severe economic depression would appear to indicate that her education was a product of financial means. She was also not listed as a scholarship recipient during her graduate work, although she may have participated in some kind of work-study program at that time. It seems likely, therefore, that she was the child of a middle or upper class family who ultimately chose to distance herself from that background and reject the lifestyle in which she had been raised.

Although we also do not know what motivated her to seek training in a field of service to others, it may be that her desire to be of service to the less fortunate was similar to the motivations of many Peace Corps volunteers of the '60s and '70s. However, as her social welfare career unfolded and international refugee relief organizations evolved, she might have found this work less satisfying. Just as many Peace Corps workers went on into other careers to which their experiences contributed, Powell also made a career change which took advantage of her travel experiences. But where the Peace Corps volunteers for the most part returned to the United States, Powell remained abroad. And where they for the most part reintegrated themselves in their culture, Powell chose to remain on the margins, an American expatriate abroad.

In choosing this marginal lifestyle, however, she did not become a recluse or a hermit, although it appears that she easily spent time alone. She traveled, at least part of the time, with another woman and their use of their own vehicle gave them more freedom and mobility than they might otherwise have had. By traveling with a writer interested in people and social change, Powell's interests also appear to have expanded.
When at a later time she chose to travel alone, age and wide experience had created a unique situation and opportunity. In the words of Barodofsky:

She . . . is only a 'crazy' foreign woman. So [the Turks] lavish her with hospitality, protection, the honorary status of a guest, and answer her questions about their ancestors. They even show her their prized textiles (many times handed down for generations) and allow her to photograph them. This is especially valuable when amongst peoples with a living tradition of weaving. (Barodofsky, 1984, p. 6)

As a researcher of textiles, there is no evidence that Powell had any specific academic grounding in textiles. Although as a part of Home Economics, textile studies would have been both available and appropriate in her college preparatory and university curricula, we have no information that she studied the topic. However, evidence that we have from her undergraduate and graduate degrees, from her photography of historic sites and art historical materials, and from her travels, indicates that she possessed a broad background in both academic and practical knowledge in history, geography and art that would be useful in textile research. Her years of photography would also indicate that she had become a well-trained observer and recorder.

The need for accurate observation and recording of extant nomadic textiles and their means of production had been noted by Beattie (1971) and by this time it might be safe to assume that textile production as a female occupation would also be viewed as particularly important for study. Beattie had pointed out the importance of field study to document production and use, and this role Powell, in her choice of lifestyles, was ideally suited to assume. Her role as participant-observer at a time of rapid change for the nomads was enhanced by her residence within the countries of her study, by her unique status among the nomads, and most particularly by her photography.

Her connections to fields of textile study in the United States have been few, limited primarily to the Textile Museum, the symposium at Georgetown University, and her appearance at the Sixth International Conference on Oriental Carpets in San Francisco. This has possibly limited the publication of her research in wider scholarly areas but her affiliation with Marmara University through the DOBAG project may serve as an academic link with other textile scholars.

In addition to providing a scholarly link, DOBAG itself has no doubt provided opportunities for additional textile studies, as Garrett (1988) pointed out. Not only dyes, yarns, motifs, and construction techniques but the social and economic aspects of textile production can be studied in DOBAG. However, most significant for textile research is
Powell's photographic work with its recording of the observed that will become the direct and indirect evidence of change.

As a collector, the evidence appears to show that Powell collected only "in situ," that is, where the objects were actually being used, and that their integrity as cultural objects was of primary importance: yurts were furnished with the objects which belonged in them and weaving progression was demonstrated by incomplete works on their looms. Furthermore, photographic documentation of objects in stages of production and in use, supplemented by field notes, enhanced the information inherent in the objects themselves.

From the information that we have, there is no evidence of any contract collection other than for museums and those objects collected appear to be not of the market-driven, art commodity kind but the truly ethnographically representative. A pair of rocks which hold part of a ground loom may have some sort of geomorphic authenticity if collected in situ but scarcely would be of concern as matters of cultural patrimony.

Although references to her own collection of nomadic textiles has been made (Barodofsky, 1984; Walter, 1985) there is no evidence that Powell has sought to create any particularly valuable collection for herself. There is also no evidence to support any decontextualizing of objects in Powell’s collection. Unlike an exhibition of tulus, shaggy pile nomadic textiles, where names drawn from Western abstract art or titles such as "Jimi Hendrix in Concert" were used as labels for the individual pieces (O'Bannon, 1987), Powell goes to great effort to ensure that the correct names and contexts are used (Powell, 1984a; 1984b; 1985).

Although Oriental Rug Review serves a valuable role in information exchange of what is needful to know, much as the tea house serves as nomadic newspaper, it is not always a reliable source of context. The differing goals of profit-oriented businesses with competitive information guarded with secrecy and the more collegial necessity to share information and build on previous work that is characteristic of scholarly research must be borne in mind.

It is Powell as photographer who perhaps most uniquely contributes to cross-cultural understanding. We do not know if she looked to role models such as Bourke-White or Lange or even if she felt the need of role models. She was not the only woman taking photographs in the time and place; the name Eileen Tweedy appears so frequently one wonders if they also traveled together. Yet Powell created a body of work that contains the stamp of her own interests, a collection of photographs that not only contains the results of her archaeological and travel photography, but a substantial number of ethnographic photographs.
Although David Talbot-Rice was an early and influential mentor, Powell soon had other demands for her work. As a professional photographer it would have been important to have her name linked with her photographs, to advertise her work and increase demand. As she practiced her craft in different settings, she undoubtedly learned from experience, but with a personal history of academic education it would have been in keeping with that to have sought more structured training as well. We know that at least as early as 1961 she was producing color photographs.

In her work with artifacts, the published evidence suggests that she photographed them primarily in museums in the country in which they had been found or, if structural or architectural, in situ. When she began photographing people and their objects and activities, she continued this orientation toward natural placement and usage. Yet a significant number of her published photographs of the nomadic life contain no people or else people photographed from the back or while engrossed in a task, almost as if she wished to remain invisible as she recorded her images.

In the arrangement of flat-woven bags to illustrate design details, her textile photographs echo earlier studies of intricately carved Indian bas relief or lines of Islamic script incised in stone. It is just this precision of image, if it is supplemented by accurate and detailed field notes, that will yield the most information to researchers now and in the future. But not all of her textile photographs are static pattern studies. She also catches in bright color the movement of women spinning yarn or fluff-drying newly washed wool or of toddlers snugly held within some woven carrier. These images, too, will signify in future study, even as they appeal today.

In sum, then, it seems that Josephine Powell has been both like and unlike other collectors of nomadic textiles. Although the culture of the Middle Eastern nomad is undergoing dramatic change and certain elements may indeed be "lost," nomads are no more frozen in time than any other culture. As they settle down to run tourist facilities in one of the most popular Mediterranean regions, grow winter vegetables and fruit, or work in new factories, they are demonstrating their historic ability to adapt, adopt and survive. When they no longer need flat-woven grain bags that ride easily on a camel or a donkey's back, those existing bags that have been collected, preserved, photographed or otherwise documented will serve as the vocabulary with which the past has been recorded.

Powell, like other travellers/collectors/scholars such as Mark Treece, has given back as well as taken. Powell has collected artifacts, knowledge and experiences which she has shared with others. She has returned documentation on a changing culture, and assistance, through the DOBAG project, in revitalizing economic strength and cultural
pride. In collecting for museums in Turkey she has preserved objects that give substance to the past of minority peoples within a national culture and in collecting for other museums she has passed on with integrity knowledge of the nomads' changing lives.

While her writing has been articulate and often remarkably well-received, it seems at times almost too tentative, as if questions were acceptable but statements were not. Powell's broad interests, in art, religion, ethnography, archeology, and history, may simply be better served by photographic image with its singular representations rather than by the linear requirements of written scholarship. This may mean that without strong academic ties in the United States, her work may remain obscure and unavailable for research for some time.

Josephine Powell could be said to have always managed to be in the right place at the right time; in Istanbul when the Byzantine mosaics were being uncovered; passing through Turkey when it was first opened up to modern travel; in Afghanistan when the textiles of the nomads were being sold off; in the Middle East during major changes in the nomad's culture; in Turkey when there was an opportunity to participate in their economic and cultural recovery. But throughout it all she seized those opportunities to "follow her own bliss" and in the process create a monumental photographic archive that can contribute to cultural knowledge and understanding in a fashion that transcends national and cultural boundaries.
CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PUBLICATIONS
Containing Josephine E. Powell's Work:
Attributed and Unattributed: All Known Editions
(*) Unattributed in Publication

Data compiled from vitae supplied by Powell and augmented by original library research.

1953


1957

-- Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press.


1959

-- 1971 Revised edition. (*)

1960

1961


-- New York: Praeger. Series: *Books that Matter*
-- London: Thames and Hudson.

1962

-- 1964 New York: Dell.

-- London: Thames and Hudson.
-- London: Thames and Hudson.
-- New York : Praeger.

1963

-- Published simultaneously as *Vanished Civilizations: Forgotten Peoples of the Ancient World*. London : Thames and Hudson.

-- London : Prentice-Hall

-- New York : Praeger.

1964


-- London : Faber and Faber.
-- New York : Oxford University Press. (*)


-- New York : Praeger.

1965


-- London : Thames and Hudson.

-- London : Thames and Hudson.


-- London : Thames and Hudson.

  -- 2nd ed. London : Thames and Hudson.

1966


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APPENDIX
ETHNOGRAPHIC PHOTO-ESSAYS AND EXHIBITIONS
Information Contributed by Josephine Powell

1965
“A Village in India.” Photo-essay and ethnographic collection from the village of Wah, West Pakistan. Exhibition at the Instituut fur den Tropen, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

1969-1970
“Moroccan Crafts.” Photo-essay and ethnographic collection from the royal cities of Fez, Marrakech, Rabat, and Meknez, Morocco. Exhibition at the Instituut fur den Tropen, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

1971

1973-1976
“Villages in Turkey.” Photo-essay and ethnographic collection of village life in rural Turkey. Permanent exhibition at the Instituut fur den Tropen, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

1982-1983
18th Exhibition of the Council of Europe. Collected material and photographs on Turkish Yörük and Turkmen nomadic life, and constructed ethnographic exhibition. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul, Turkey.

1983-1984
Permanent Ethnographic Exhibition. With additional collections and photographs, reorganized. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, Istanbul, Turkey.

June, 1985
“An Anatolian Camel Caravan.” DOBAG Symposium on the revival of traditional Turkish village rugs. Avacik, Turkey.

1990-1991
Photography exhibition. Osaka, Japan.