

FUNCTION AND DECORATION OF SACKS IN THE HAKKÂRI TRADITIONAL WEAVING

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ABSTRACT

Sack is a type of weaving which dates back to a long history and it is made with materials such as cotton, hemp, synthetic or woollen yarn. They are named according to the type of material used, function, size and decoration. In this study, sacks found in various settlements of Hakkâri province and obtained by purchasing in the locality and currently offered for sale in a kilim-carpet trade shop in Van province are discussed. Considering the relationship of function and decoration in traditional sacks of this city; with motifs such as such as ‘cocklebur’, ‘star’, ‘eye amulet’, ‘ram-head’ on the woven sacks, it is seen that besides abundance and happiness, protecting people and objects against different dangers themed motifs come to the forefront. With this study, it is aimed to contribute to the promotion of the locality, scientific studies to be made in weaving field and transfer related art and culture to the future generations.

Keywords: Hakkâri, Weaving, Sacks, Decoration, Function.

INTRODUCTION

Sack is a type of weaving which has a long history and it is made with materials such as cotton, hemp, and synthetic or woollen yarn. Besides keeping food and clothing inside, it is used for carrying loads on the backs of animals such as horses, mules, donkeys and camels. Bags are named according to the type of the element kept inside or the decoration applied in weaving. Depending on the material used, we encounter names such as ‘hair sack’, and ‘wool sack’; depending on function, ‘flour sack’, ‘wheat sack’, and ‘walnut sack’; depending on size, ‘back sack’, *dimi* ‘small sack’, *beldari* ‘waist high’, *harar* ‘large sack’; depending on decoration, *ala çuval*, sacks with ‘vertical stripe’ and sacks with ‘horizontal stripe’, completely or almost ‘coloured and decorated’ sacks. Today the need for them has decreased significantly. Therefore, this situation increases the risk of disappearance of these products, which reflect the social life as well as the culture and art of a certain period of the Anatolian people.

In Hakkâri, where transportation or carriage was generally carried out on the back of horses and mules until the 1970s, today it has left its place to motor vehicles. Therefore, animal-power based transportation/carriage and the art of weaving in connection with it have come to a standstill. While there are pleasing aspects of

animal-power based transportation and carriage being replaced by motor vehicles, we also see the negative reflections of this for the locality. Foremost among these, we can observe its role in the reduction of production in the field of weaving. However, it is noteworthy that many of the traditional textiles associated with transportation are still preserved in homes. Thus, we can obtain a significant amount of information about the social life, culture and art of the period they belong to. We can list the weavings used in animal-power based transportation and carriage in Hakkâri in the past as sacks, saddlebags, bags, *têr/têrik* 'large saddlebags' and *parzun* 'women's backpacks'. Among these, weavings called 'sacks' are used to transport many different goods, especially flour and wheat.

Today, transportation based on animal power has come to a standstill and there is almost no need for weaving such sacks. So, there is a concern that the production of these weavings, which have had an important place in the social life and culture of the local people for a period, cannot be sustained. However, with a different determination, it has emerged that this art can be maintained in a different way, although not functionally. We have the knowledge that some sacks, purchased from the town of Şemdinli by a carpet-rug production and sales business in Van, were made into a ground cloth (rug) and offered for sale. This shows that if today's customer preferences and needs are taken into account, this art will become much more sustainable. The sacks belonging to Hakkâri are mostly used for the transportation of grains such as wheat, bulgur and flour, and the overalls in which milk and dairy products are placed. In this study, sacks found in various settlements of Hakkâri and obtained by purchasing in the locality and currently offered for sale in a kilim-carpet trade shop in Van province are discussed. In terms of form, sacks with and without handles come to the fore. As for decoration, there are sacks with vertical stripes and almost overall patterned. In addition, in this study, the sacks belonging to the Yoruks in different locality of Anatolia are examined and a comparison is made with the weaving sacks of Hakkâri.

It seems that, the patterned sacks woven in Şemdinli are similar to the ala sacks used by the Yoruks living in different parts of Anatolia in terms of decoration. However, while the Yoruks use this type of sacks for the transport/ protection of valuable items such as dowry, *têr/têrik* 'large saddlebag/camel saddlebag' is used for such items in Hakkâri.

Considering the motifs such as 'cocklebur', 'star', 'amulet/eye', 'ram-head' on the woven sacks of Hakkâri, besides abundance and happiness, protecting people and objects against different dangers, themed motifs come to the forefront. This study is aimed to contribute to the promotion of the locality, ignite scientific studies to be made in weaving field and transfer related art and culture to the future generations.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

In this study, besides the literature study, sack weavings found in different settlements of Hakkâri and the ones currently found in a carpet-rug shop in Van by purchasing from Hakkâri, were included. In addition to photographing the

obtained 50 sacks, we tried to obtain information about the period and functions of the sacks from their owners by question-answer method. In addition to this, the connection between the decorations embroidered on the sacks and the functions of these weavings is given. Finally, some of the sacks belonging to the Yoruks woven in various parts of Anatolia were examined and their similarities and differences with the sacks of Hakkâri are discussed.

HISTORY AND MATERIALS USED FOR OF HAKKÂRI SACKS

Just as felt, carpet and rugs emerged out of necessity, woven sacks are produced to keep various food and clothing items inside of them and to carry loads on the backs of animals such as horses, mules, donkeys, and camels. Woven sacks and the decoration on them give important clues about the life of the locals. For example; we know about what the local people produce and consume, what they believe in and so on. It is not known exactly when and where woven sacks were first produced. However, it can be predicted that they date back to 1700-1200 BC, when the horse was actively used in travel and transportation.

In addition to the original, wool yarn obtained from natural dyes in various colours are used in the weavings and knitting of Hakkâri. In the process of producing materials such steps are taken: sheep are trimmed with scissors to provide wool; after wool is washed, it is dried; after that it is carded/heckled. In order to get yarn, the wool is spun with a *teşi* 'spindle'. After all of these, according to the desired colour, the provided plant and barks/peels are chosen and then placed in a boiler containing water. This mixture is boiled for a certain time, depending on the plants and bark/peels. Later, the wool yarn is put into the boiler and mixed together. Finally, it is removed and hung to dry.

CLASSIFICATION OF WOVEN SACKS OF HAKKÂRI

Similar to the woven sacks belonging to the Yoruks, living in different parts of Anatolia, certain factors come to the fore in the classification and naming. Bekir Deniz has argued that: "The word *çuval* 'sack' originates from the Persian word *çuval*. It is used to keep and carry the food and clothing. The *çuval* reaches the waist height and when the inside is full with the belongings, it can be carried at the back of a person. Changing from region to region, it is called with different names, for example, *beldari* is the name given for those that have the similar height of human waist, the biggest are called as *haral* 'ham' whereas the smaller are given a variety of names such as *dimi*, *girenkız*, *setlem*, etc., according to their regions."¹

FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WOVEN SACKS OF HAKKÂRI

Description and features: Woven by Nedeli Zere. It consists of two pieces and was woven on the floor loom. Handles are attached to the two corners of the mouth of the sack, which was decorated with strips of different colours. It has the

¹ Bekir, Deniz (2007), p. 6.



FIG. 1: Twofold (two-piece) sack with vertical stripes (Büyükçiftlik town). App. 60 y. old; 91x72 cm.

the knitted handles, seamed up to the rims of the sacks, are tied with a strap/ band. Finally, a wide knitted girth *werisê pahnuke* is thrown on the sacks and these sacks are compressed on the horse/ mule chest. In case of going on downhill and hilly roads, a strap (band) is tied around the chest and back of the horse/ mule and tied to the sacks.



FIG. 2: Handled and patterned sack (Urartu Hali, Van). App. 70 y. old; 98x86 cm.

When the load is to be transported, first of all, the mouths of the two sacks are seamed up and stitched thoroughly with pack thread by using packing needle. However, the sacks, which contain non-shedding items, are joined by stitching only on the sides, and then they are loaded together on the horse/ mule's back. After these sacks are loaded onto the horse/ mule's back with the goods inside, a broad belt *werisê pahnuke* is thrown over the sacks and compressed on the horse/ mule chest.

capacity of keeping four tins of grain. These types of sacks are used to transport foods such as walnuts, bulgur, flour, wheat, herby cheese and herb as well as overalls containing milk, butter and cheese. While transporting with such sacks; first of all, the mouth parts of the sacks are stitched up separately by means of a packing needle and thread. After that, the sacks are loaded one by one on the horse/ mule back. Loading work is done by at least two people. Then,

So, this prevents the load from sliding forward and backward. Handled sacks are mostly seen in Şemdinli and Yüksekova districts.

Description and features:

It is a handled and patterned sack purchased from Şemdinli. There is a border filled with an evil eye/ eye amulet motif in the form of a diamond. There are four horizontal stripes in black above it. There is also a scorpion motif placed in the blank areas between the strips.

Handless Sacks

Handless sacks are generally used to transport flour and wheat on horse or mule back.



FIG. 3: A twofold (a two-piece) flour/wheat sack with vertical stripes. Approx. 55 y. old; 95x83 cm.

Description and features: The sacks, belonging to Halime Dođru, were woven on the floor loom. Each sack consists of two pieces and they were stitched with pack thread by using packing needle. The two sacks are stitched together from the upper edges. It has vertical stripes of red, blue, black and white. There is a broad belt on the sacks. This girth, which is called *teng*, is fastened around the girth area of a horse, donkey or mule over packsaddle and it prevents the packsaddle on the back of the animal from falling and turning.

HAKKÂRI WOVEN SACKS IN TERMS OF MATERIAL

Sacks Woven with Original Wool Yarn



FIG. 4: Flour/wheat sack woven with original white and black wool yarn (Yüksekova). Woven before 1970s; 95x83 cm.

Description and features: It is a vertical striped and two-piece (twofold) sack which is capable of holding four tins of wheat. It was woven on the floor loom. Hakkâri generally has a breed of sheep called *karakaş* 'sheep with white wool except its face'. In this respect, we see that white colour is dominant in weaving and knitting. There are also sheep that are completely or partially black, brown, grey and red in colour, although they are few in number. The yarn obtained from such colours is generally used to create patterns. Mules or strong

horses are generally preferred for transporting such loads (a weight ranging from about 96 to 120 kg).



FIG. 5: Flour/wheat sack with vertical stripes in different colour (Bağışlı village). App. 70 y. old weaving; 86x70 cm.

the vertical axis, as well as stripes in red. This sack has a capacity of holding three tins of wheat, flour or bulgur. These types of sacks are functionally generally used for storing and transporting grain products and leather bottles filled with butter or cheese.



FIG. 6: Patterned sack in which valuables are stored/transported (Urartu Halı). App. 60 y. old; 108x75 cm.

Bags Woven with both Original Wool Yarn and Obtained from Natural Dye

Description and features: This sack, belonging to Aydın Yıldırım, has two pieces (twofold) and it was woven on the floor loom. It was repaired because it was worn out. It was woven with natural black and white wool yarn spun by hand, as well as wool yarn obtained from natural dyes. The weaving consists of stripes of in blue and black colours on

Description and features: It was purchased from Şemdinli 40 years ago. Brown, blue, orange and burgundy woollen yarn obtained from natural dyes and hand-spun black and white woollen yarn in original colour were used. The back of the sack is plain, the front is half patterned and a hunting weapon was embroidered on it. There are incomplete scorpion motifs on the lower part of the weaving. We can see patches on the both bottom corners and top side edges due to being used for a long time and wearing out.

DECORATION ON THE SACKS BELONGING TO HAKKÂRİ

Sacks with Vertical Stripes

Sacks with vertical stripes are the most common ones in terms of decoration in Hakkâri. Generally, white and black



FIG. 7: Flour/wheat sack with vertical stripes (Çığlı village). Fifty years old; 100x88 cm.

stitched thoroughly with pack thread by using packing needle 'çuvaldız/şûjin'. When leather bottles of items such as milk, cheese or butter are transported, only the upper side edges are seamed up and stitched.



FIG. 8: Flour/wheat sack with vertical stripes (Bağışlı). App. 50 y. old; 86x70 cm.

an important place with its herby cheese. Sacks are also used to transport the herb used in cheese. Vertical striped sacks are the most common type of sacks in Hakkâri excluding Şemdinli town. Today, it is possible to say that transportation on horse and mule back and the production of sacks related to it has come to a standstill. Therefore, not only the production, but also the art and culture related to sacks is in risk of disappearance.

wool yarn is used in them. The prevalence of white sheep breeds has an important role in this.

Description and features:

This weaving, which belongs to the 'Ediş' family, has two pieces (twofold) and it was woven on the floor loom. It has vertical stripes in black and white colours. Each sack has the capacity to hold four tins of wheat/flour/barley/bulgur (approx. 96-120 kg of grain products). In case of transporting of grain products, the mouths of both sacks are combined (seamed up) and

Description and features:

While there is only one red stripe on both sides of this weaving, owned by Aydın Yıldırım, all other vertical stripes were applied in black and white. It was woven on the floor loom and it consists of two pieces (twofold). It is seen that white, black and red wool yarn, used in weaving, was also used in stitching the edges of the sack. These types of sacks are generally used for storing grain products and carrying loads on the backs of animals such as horses and mules. Hakkâri has

SACKS DECORATED WITH DIFFERENT MOTIFS IN HAKKÂRI



FIG. 9: Patterned sack (Dereyanı village). App. 60 y. old; 106x98 cm.

Description and features: This sack, belonging to Şahap Bilici and woven by Beybun Bilici, has two handles. At the bottom of the weaving, 'hook' motifs in brown and blue colours were applied sequentially. Then, three ram head motifs were filled in a rectangular border. There is a hook motif in a two-diagonal beam in the rectangular border on a blue and orange ground. Cocklebur motif can be seen on a gray ground. In weaving, while love is brought to the fore with the hook motif, abundance and protection are emphasized with the motifs of ram head and cocklebur.



FIG. 10: Patterned sack used as a ground cloth (Urartu Halı, Van). Purchased from Şemdinli 40 years ago. Woven app. 70 y. ago; 107x78 cm.

Description and features: The stitches on the sides were taken out in order to use as a ground cloth. It has the same decoration on both sides. In the middle part of the weaving, two scorpion motifs and four evil eye motifs were embroidered in a rectangular border with the motif of 'hand on the waist'. A hook motif and an evil eye amulet/motif were applied in the corners and in the middle spaces. There are two black horizontal stripes on the white ground up to the mouth of the bag. While the weaver includes the motif of hand on her waist, wishing abundance and happiness, with the amulet eye/evil eye motif, she aimed protection from all kinds of threats.



FIG. 11: Patterned sack used as a ground cloth (Urtu Hali, Van). App. 70 y. old, 90x87 cm (Unstitched length is 180 cm).

Description and features: It is a sack that was purchased from the Şemdinli district about 40 years ago, but later unstitched and has been used as a ground cloth. An eight-armed star motif and an evil eye amulet/evil eye motif were filled in the centre of two rectangular borders. The inside of the border was thoroughly decorated with the evil eye/eye amulet motif. Each of the corners of the eight-pointed star motif is considered a sign of a heavenly door, such as Gate as Salat, Gate Al Jihad, Gate as Sadaqah, Gate Ar Rayyan, Gate Al Kaazimeen Al-Ghaiz Aafina Anin Naas, Gate Al Hajj, Gate Al Imaan and Gate Al Zikr. At the same time, it is considered as a sign for the concepts of compassion, affection, patience, truthfulness, keeping secrets, loyalty, generosity, and thankfulness to Allah.



FIG. 12: Patterned sack in which valuables are kept/ carried (Urtu Hali, Van). Purchased from Şemdinli town 40 years ago. Woven app. 60 y. ago; 105x81 cm.

Description and features: This weaving belongs to the Herki tribe. The back side is plain and the front side is half patterned. At the bottom of the sack, there is a scorpion motif and an evil eye motif. The motif called Şimkubik (Beautiful Heel/Bridal Heel/ Bridal Shoe) is embroidered in the next two bands and in a strip. Thus, it is possible to say that the weaver was inspired by the rug pattern of Hakkâri called Şimkubik. The weaver indicates that there is a preparation for the dowry (marriage) with the *Simkubik* pattern on this weaving. On the other hand, with the scorpion and eye motifs, it is possible to count it as a sign of the wish to protect something/someone from all kinds of evil eye and external threats.



FIG. 13: Patterned sack for keeping/carrying valuables (Uratu Halı, Van). Purchased from Şemdinli town 40 y. ago, and woven app. 80 y. ago; 106x80 cm.

that she wishes the items carried in the sack to be fertile and at the same time to be protected from evil eye.



FIG. 14: Patterned sack for keeping/ carrying valuables (Uratu Halı, Van). Purchased from Şemdinli town 40 y. ago. App. 80 y. old; 107x88 cm.

Description and features:

The bag has handles. In the photo, the embellishment appears to have been designed only on halfway of the weaving. However, when the weaving is opened from the handle part to the edges, the two patterned parts merge on the outer surface and become a completely coloured face, and both parts without patterns remain on the inner side. There is a border on three sides of the decoration embroidered on the weaving, and the evil eye motif has been applied sequentially inside this border. The ram head motifs are embroidered on a white ground close to the square in the middle, and on the brown rectangular ground above and below it. With this decoration, the weaver shows

Description and features:

At the bottom of the weaving, diamond-shaped motifs, filled with elephant foot, were embroidered. Just above it, there are two symmetrical ram-head motifs inside a rectangular border with a hook motif. There are four 'octagonal star' motifs on each side of the two ram head motifs. On the rectangular border, we see the hook motif in different colours. When we examine the connection of the motifs patterned here, such as ram head, star and hook motifs with the function of the weaving asset, we can count them as a sign of the desire and wish of bringing fertile and a comfortable, peaceful and happy life to them/their family.



FIG. 15: Patterned sack for keeping/ carrying valuables (Urartu Hali, Van). Purchased from Şemdinli town 40 y. ago. App. 80 y. old; 110x87 cm.

Description and features: It is a plain sack on the back and patterned on the front. Woven on the floor loom. Patterned with ladybug *xalxalok* motif. While the hook motif was placed at the bottom of the weaving, straps in grey, brown, blue and burgundy colours were depicted above the decoration.



FIG. 16: A Herki tribe patterned sack for keeping valuables (Urartu Hali). Purchased from Şemdinli 40 y. ago. Woven app. 80 y. ago; 101x82 cm.

Description and features:

The back of the sack is plain and the front is half patterned. The inside of the two long parts of the rectangular border was decorated with 8-armed star motifs. A diamond/evil eye motif was placed in their centres and among them. Inside of the border, there is a Venus and cocklebur motif. A hook motif was applied under the rectangular border. There are black and red stripes that centre the plain part of the sack. The weaver included decorations that indicate happiness with star motifs, love with hook motifs, and protection against all kinds of dangers with cocklebur and evil eye motifs.

The mouth of the sack is in original white wool yarn, up to 20 cm in width. By including a ladybug motif in weaving by the weaver, she reveals her intention of having a son. In Hakkâri and Bitlis provinces, ladybug motif is considered as a sign of the desire to have a son.

Description and features:

The back of the bag is plain and the front is patterned. There are two horizontal pink and black bands on the patterned part. Ram head motif, evil eye (eye amulet) motif, square roses, tree of life motif, evil



FIG. 17: A Herki tribe patterned sack for keeping valuables (Urartu Halı, Van). Purchased from Şemdinli 40 y. ago. App. 80 y. old; 105x82 cm.



FIG. 18: Patterned sack for keeping/ carrying valuables (Urartu Halı, Van). Purchased from Şemdinli 40 y. ago. Woven app. 80 y. ago; 105x92 cm.

eye, eye, amulet motif, square roses and hook motifs were included in the ornamental bands on the sack from bottom to top. There are also five un-patterned bands in black and orange. The mouth of the sack is in original white wool yarn, up to 20 cm in width. When the motifs on the weaving are compared with the function of the weaving, it is seen that the weaver mostly aims at the decoration for the protection of the objects carried/kept inside the weaving.

Description and features:

This sack is remarkably similar to the sack in the previous example in terms of decoration. The hook motif, then the evil eye (eye, amulet) motif, square roses, ram head motif, again on the top, the evil eye motif, square roses and ram head motif are repeated in the band at the bottom. A hook motif was embroidered on the bands which border the rows. The mouth part of this sack is in white woollen thread about 20 cm in width. The decoration in weaving highlights a theme of protection of the object as well as love and happiness.

COMPARISON OF THE SACKS OF HAKKÂRI AND YORUK

One of the places, in which the nomads live widely, is the Mediterranean Region. It is possible to see great similarities in many aspects of the social life of the Yoruks, who have a nomadic and semi-nomadic life, and the locals of Hakkâri, who have a semi-nomadic life until recently. These can be sorted as black tents made of goat hair, leather overalls, saddlebags used for the storage and transportation of different items, sacks, and weavings such as felt, rugs and carpets.

Table 1: Comparison of the Sacks of Hakkâri and Yoruk in Terms of Form

N	FORM	YORUK	HAKKÂRI
1	With girth handle	+	-
2	With cover	+	-
3	Looped and buttoned	+	-
4	With two pieces	-	+
5	Consisting of a single piece	+	+
6	With girdled edges	+	-

Table 2: Comparison of the Sacks of Hakkâri and Yoruk in terms of Decoration

N	DECORATION	YORUK	HAKKÂRI
1	Fully decorated sacks	+	-
2	Half decorated	-	+
3	Two-thirds decorated	+	+
4	With vertical strips	-	+
5	With horizontal strips	+	+
6	With geometric decoration	+	+
7	With horizontal bands	+	+
8	With borders	+	+
9	Abstract themed decoration	+	+
10	Decoration inspired by nature	+	+

Table 3: Comparison of of the Sacks of Hakkâri and Yoruk in terms of Function

N	FUNCTION	YORUK	HAKKÂRI
1	Keeping/carrying grain	+	+
2	Keeping/carrying flour	+	+
3	Used as dowry chests	+	+
4	Keeping clothes and valuables	+	+

Table 4: Comparison of of the Sacks of Hakkâri and Yoruk in terms of Material

N	MATERIAL	YORUK	HAKKÂRI
1	Cotton	+	-
2	Camel wool	+	-
3	Goat hair	+	+
4	Lyne	+	-
5	Wool	+	+

Comparison in Terms of Form

Considering woven sacks in Hakkâri and the Yoruks formally, while there are two types, with and without handles, the edges of the sacks belonging to the Yoruks

are usually sewn with girth weaving and a handle is left for lifting/carrying. Some of the sacks belonging to the Yoruks have lids or have thick loops and buttonholes to close the mouth. Although such sacks are not seen in Hakkâri, they are similar to the handles (thick loops and buttonholes) on the mouth of some of the big saddlebags called *têrik*. Fatma Ö. Pişkin states that: “The weaving of Ala sacks is generally *cicim* and *zili*, the back is weft-faced kilim technique. After weaving a sack, girths are stitched to the mouth of the sack in order to lock its mouth. This is done with a girth threaded through the buttonholes sewn on both sides of the mouth of the sack. The locking process is completed by passing the units through each other sequentially.”²



FIG. 19: Large saddlebag with looped mouth and locking feature (*têrik*), (Demirtaş Village).



FIG. 20: Large saddlebag *têrik* with looped mouth and locking feature (Oluklu Village).

Comparison in Terms of Decoration

Woven sacks belonging to the Yoruks, depending on the function, they are either completely or only partially decorated. As for the sacks in Hakkâri, in terms of their function; they are divided into two groups: vertical striped or patterned. The fully decorated sacks (*ala sacks*) belonging to the Yoruks/Turkish Nomads have

² Fatma Ö. Pişkin (2012), p. 106.

the function of dowry chests. In Hakkâri province, besides thoroughly patterned sacks, large saddlebags called *têrik* are used as dowry chests. Vertical striped sacks in Hakkâri are generally used for the storage and transportation of grain products. While there are mostly geometric shapes and motifs inspired by nature on the sacks belonging to the Yoruks, the sacks in Hakkâri have motifs symbolizing abundance, love, protection against different dangers, as well as nature-based motifs and geometric shapes.

Comparison in Terms of Material

In the sacks in Hakkâri province, wool yarn with original black and white colours and wool yarn with various colours made from natural dyes are used. As for the materials used in Yoruk's sacks, yarn obtained from goat hair as well as yarn obtained from lyne in is used in Hakkâri. Hande Kılıçarslan and Sema Etikan have argued that: "Yoruk people weave sack weavings to store and transport foods such as wheat and flour. The large sized ones, called *haral* and woven in many parts of Anatolia, although there are local differences, wool, camel wool and mostly goat hair are used in the warp. In weavings in which goat hair is used, natural colour, which is usually black and brown, rarely white and gray can be seen."³

Comparison in Terms of Function Features

The sacks in Hakkâri are named according to the food or goods carried/kept in them. Among these, the sacks called 'flour sack' and 'wheat sack' are the most common ones. On the other hand, it is seen that Yoruk's sacks are named in terms of decoration and size as well as function. In this issue Öznur Aydın states that: "These weavings, which are formed by weaving in rich colours and motifs used for dowry purposes, are known as '*ala* sacks' among the people. The word *Ala* means that sack weavings are not monochromatic, but are decorated with rich motifs and colours. *Ala* sacks used in nomadic life; they are the sacks in which they put their clothes, jewellery and valuables. It has taken the place of today's ballot box. Today, it has taken the place of the dowry chest. These sacks are lined up side by side in bristle and felt tents to decorate the fields."⁴

Comparing in Terms of Technical Features

Weaving sacks in Hakkâri are woven with weaving techniques such as *cicim* or *sumak*. Except for the sacks of the Şemdinli district, they generally have two pieces. Although there is no 'loop' in the weaving sacks of this locality, some of the weavings in the form of big saddlebags, called *têrik*, have loops. The mouth of the weaving is locked with the girth threaded into the loops. Such weavings usually contain valuables and function as dowry chests. The handles of the sacks in Hakkâri are made with knitting technique, and the handles of the sacks belonging to the Yoruks are made with the *çarpana* technique. In addition to this, the handles of the sacks in Hakkâri are made with knitting technique, and the handles of the sacks

³ Hande Kılıçarslan et al. (2016), p. 1132.

⁴ Öznur Aydın (2011), p. 23.

belonging to the Yoruks are made with the *çarpana* technique. The handles have an important function in carrying and loading sacks. In this respect, they are similar to the sacks with handles in Hakkâri. In this way, the sacks can be loaded one by one on the back of the animal and then connected to each other on the horseback. On the other hand, loading handleless sacks differ from the ones with handle. Before loading, the mouths of the two sacks are sewn to each other with thread by means of a packing needle. The sacks are folded and loaded by means of a rope held under the sacks. This type of loading is quite difficult. As for the woven techniques, Meral Akan states that: "Sacks are woven with plain weaving techniques such as *cicim*, *zili* and *sumak*. They are designed with belts to facilitate lowering and lifting the sides. In the preparation of these belts, girth weaving or *çarpana* techniques are use."⁵

EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Transportation has a distant past in human history. In the past, animal power-based transportation left its place to vehicles based on steam, fuel oil and electric energy in later periods. Although these modes and means of transportation have changed from period to period, their basic functions have not changed. Transportation has been an element in the spread of culture and art belonging to different societies. Until recently, the types of weaving used in transportation based on animal power in many parts of Anatolia attract attention with their materials, decorations and fine work. In particular, weavings woven in regions based on nomadic and semi-nomadic life, bear the most important traces of social life, culture and art belonging to a period. On the other hand, weavings used in transportation and stocking functions have an important place as they are among the elements that reveal the consumption habits and lifestyle of a society. It is still possible to come across a large number of woven weavings in different parts of Anatolia, especially in the regions where the nomads live, and in Hakkâri, where semi-nomadic life was active until the recent past.

The sacks woven in Hakkâri have dimensions ranging from 85x70 cm to 115x100 cm. Bags with the function of storing or transporting grain have the capacity to take 3-4 tins of wheat. This corresponds to a weight varying between 72-90 kg and 96-120 kg. Transportation with sacks that hold 4 tins of wheat (96-120 kg) is usually done by mules or strong horses. If we are to classify the woven sacks in Hakkâri; in terms of form they are divided into two groups, such as sacks with and without handles; as for their decoration, they are categorized as sacks with vertical strips and bands and the sacks with half or two thirds patterned. Patterned sacks mostly belong to the Herki Tribe members living in Hakkâri, Şemdinli district and its villages and the ornaments engraved on them include the eight-armed star motif, cocklebur motif, hook motif, bridal slipper/*şimkqubik* motif, ram's head motif, ladybug/*xalxalok* motif and eye, amulet, evil eye motif. When the function of the sacks and the motifs embroidered on them are examined, it is seen that there is an important connection between them. The motifs symbolizing the abundance of the

⁵ Meral Akan (2016), p. 48.

items stored or transported in sacks and their protection from all kinds of evil eye/danger are brought to the fore.

Since the province of Hakkâri is adjacent to the province of Van and trade is generally carried out on the province of Van, food, clothing and textile items produced in Hakkâri are mostly marketed here. Woven sacks, saddlebags, *parzuns*, bags and large saddlebags *têr/têrik* used in transportation are among these. We think that all products, especially Hakkâri weavings, will become more popular if a labelling covering all the features of the products specific to Hakkâri is carried out and included in the cultural heritage. However, in order to have competitive power in the country and in the world, it is inevitable for weavers, who have an important potential, to undergo practical training to obtain products that can meet today's consumer needs while preserving traditionalism. Otherwise, these works, as well as the culture and art connected to them, will face the risk of disappearing day by day.

As a result; it is a fact that every traditional element used by people in their social lives is also a part of their culture and art. Hakkâri woven sacks have an important place in terms of our cultural heritage, as they give us important clues about the social life of the people of the period they belong to, as well as the close relationship between the function of woven sacks and the decorations on them. If this art is used in line with the consumer demands of the day, this art and culture will be maintained and it will have an important economic contribution for the locals.

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APPENDIX: TERMINOLOGY

	TURKISH	ENGLISH	KURDISH
1	Çuval	Sack	Çewal/cihal
2	Çuvaldız	Packing needle	Şûjin
3	Çeyiz	Dowry	Cihêz
4	Deve heybesi	Camel bag	Têr/têrik
5	Teşi	Spindle	Teşi
6	Yassı urgan	Knitted girth	Werisê pahnûke
7	Kaytan	Cord	Teng

	TURKİSH	ENGLİSH	KURDİSH
8	Uğur böceği	Ladybug	Xalxalok
9	Yün	Wool	Hirî
10	Yün iplik	Woollen yarn	Ris/nex/ta
11	Keçi kılı	Goat hair	Mûyê bizinê
12	Devetüyü	Camel hair	Pûrta deveyê
13	Göz/nazar	Eye/evil eye	Çav/Çavînî
14	Muska	Amulet	Nivîşt
15	Akrep	Scorpion	Dûpişk
16	Motif	Motif	Neqş
17	Koçboynuzu	Ram horn	Şaqê beranê
18	Koçbaşı	Ram head	Serê beranê
19	Çengel	Hook	Çengal/çanqil
20	Yıldız	Star	Stêr/stêrik
21	Pıtrak	Cocklebur	Mêseng/nuseng
22	Ceviz	Walnuts	Gûz
23	Bulgur	Bulgur	Sawar
24	Un	Flour	Ar
25	Buğday	Wheat	Genim
26	Ot/bitki	Herb	Giya/gîha
27	Tahıl	Grain	Dexl
28	Süt	Milk	Şîr
29	Tereyağı	Butter	Runê nivîşk
30	Peynir	Cheese	Penîr