

SOME COROMANDEL CHINTZES

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DIRECTLY linked with the spice trade in the Far East in the seventeenth century is the textile trade various European countries set up along the coasts of India. The East India Companies discovered that "coastcloth" was a very important article in acquiring spices from the Malayan Archipelago. As early as 1612 Hendrik Brouwer, who afterwards became governor-general of the Dutch in Batavia, wrote: "The Coromandel coast is the left arm of the Moluccas; without cloth coming from there, trade is dead in the Moluccas."¹ Apart from this three-cornered barter, the trade in plain or dyed cottons – all of rather coarse material – from India to the European market for re-export to Africa or the West Indies became more and more important during the seventeenth century. The special names "Guinees" and "Negroskleeden" that were given to certain types of cotton cloth speak for themselves.

In this paper, however, I shall deal with some chintzes² made for the European market. Beginning in the 1680's, the textile trade directly to Europe expanded enormously. At the beginning of the seventeenth century spices were the most important export commodity from Asia to Europe. By the end of the century, however, cotton cloth had become increasingly important.

The Companies

In 1600 the English United East India Company was created. In 1602 the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie of the Dutch came into existence. The French were not very successful in their first attempt to establish a company in 1611. In 1644 Colbert recreated the Compagnie des Indes Orientales. Besides these three "state" companies, other European companies and cities tried to establish factories along the coasts of India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were Scottish, Swedish and Ostende factories (not to mention interlopers), but none ever achieved the expansion of the Dutch, English, or to some extent, the French. Even before the Dutch East India Company was formed, one of its later partners, the Company of Zeeland, sailed from Middelburgh in Holland to Atjeh in 1601 and from there reached Surat in 1602.

The English and Dutch companies did not come into a vacuum when setting up the textile trade along the coasts of India. The Portuguese had already been building fortifications, especially along the Malabar coast, for fifty years. The character of the Portuguese trade differed in many respects from that of the later companies since the Portuguese received their support mainly from military power and religious zeal. The East India companies were in the first place trading companies. It was not their primary concern to build fortifications and to establish their power along the coast. They always tried not to take a side in international troubles as long as it was possible. Moreover, the Portuguese settlements were backed by the crown and the church. The various East India companies were mostly stockholding companies. The Dutch and English companies fought bitterly for the cities in which Portugal claimed a monopoly of commerce. In quite a few cases, however, the local administrators helped the new companies in their attempts to break the Portuguese monopoly.

In many places, especially on the Coromandel coast, the local kingdoms already had a long tradition of commerce with other Asiatic countries overseas. The increase of the inter-Asiatic textile trade effected by the European East India companies stimulated the Indian traders. The Sultan of Golconda alarmed the Dutch by sending a ship loaded with chintzes and other commodities to Macao in the 1680's. His actions made the Dutch decide to issue a limited number of sea passes to Golconda, an old Portuguese custom, in order to keep an eye on the situation. This in turn caused troubles with local authorities.

The English and Dutch companies had some common difficulties in setting up their factories: their ignorance of the countries they encountered, the language barriers between them and the local people, the international troubles caused by continuous wars, the regular occurrence of famines which caused depopulation of whole regions, the fight against the Portuguese, and so forth. These common problems contrast with their different initial concerns in establishing their companies.

The Dutch moved eastward for spices. When the Spanish king acquired the Portuguese crown in 1580, the Dutch lost their direct access to the principal spice-market in Europe — Lisbon, since they were at war with Spain. As for the English, the over-production of woolen cloth in their home-country made them move eastward trying to find a market for it. They learned very soon however, that they could not sell their wool in the tropical countries and became spice and cotton traders as well. The powerful woolen industry was an impediment to the importation of cloth into England. The Dutch position was relatively easier since they had no such problem.

Textile Areas in India

The main textile areas the English and Dutch traded with were as follows:

Northwest India

In this region a flourishing home-industry of cotton painting and embroidery already existed. Its centers were Sind, Gujarat and the area around Surat. Akbar conquered this part of India in 1572 and the following years; the Mughal emperor ruled the territory when the English and Dutch set up their trade. After the unsuccessful attempt of the Zeeland company to establish a factory in Surat in 1602, the English drove out the Portuguese in 1612. In 1616 Pieter van de Broecke founded a Dutch factory in Surat, which made Sir Thomas Roe warn Prince Khurram, the administrator of Gujarat, that the Dutch were very unruly and disorderly, especially by "drincke."³ In the 1630's Gujarat suffered from a disastrous famine. Although it seems to have recovered by the 1670's another area had outgrown it in importance, namely:

The Coromandel Coast

Here too an old tradition of cotton painting existed, especially famous for its reds. From chay-root,⁴ a plant found in the delta of the Tambreuve river near Masulipatam and on the coast near Pulicat, extracts were produced which proved to be very important as a mordant for the painting of the reds.

The settlements of the Dutch Company along this coast can be divided into three main areas:

1. Masulipatam and surroundings. (The Dutch attempted to expand from Masulipatam farther north along the Orissa coast.)
2. Pulicat and surroundings.
3. The southern part of the coast of the Carnatic kingdoms where the Dutch moved in an attempt to acquire Negapatam and Ceylon, the main strongholds of the Portuguese on the east coast.

Sailing from Atjeh the Dutch reached the seaport of Moslem-ruled Golconda, Masulipatam, and founded their first factory, followed by the foundation in 1606 of the nearby factory of Petaboli (Nizampatam). In Hindu-ruled Pulicat a Dutch factory was established in 1610; after this was sacked by the Portuguese, a fort called Geldria was completed in 1613. The administration of

the four factories, Petaboli, Masulipatam, Tegenapatam (a factory was founded there in 1608) and Pulicat, was united into one directorate with Pulicat as headquarters. Later in the century the Dutch expanded their power southwards and took Negapatam (Fort Naarden) in 1658. This place became the headquarters of the Dutch company along the coast in 1690.⁵

After 1611 the English built their factories at the same places as the Dutch, namely at Masulipatam and Petaboli. Two Dutchmen, Peter Floris and Lucas Antheunisz, were in charge of the English interests till 1617. This does not mean that there were no difficulties between the Dutch and English companies. After having shared the trade and the expenses for Fort Geldria in Pulicat with the Dutch since the defence treaty between the two countries (1619) till 1623, the English installed a factory on their own in the nearby Armagon. The situation became rather tense after the "Amboynian slaughter" of 1623. This factory was moved to Madras in 1640 and became the mighty stronghold, St. George. Generally speaking the English, however, did not become dangerous trade rivals of the Dutch until the 1660's.

Officers of the Danish East India Company obtained a settlement at Tranquebar about twenty-five miles north of Negapatam in 1620 and built their fort, Dansborg. This settlement suffered continuously; it lacked capital support from home. The main French settlement on the Coromandel coast from the third quarter of the seventeenth century was Pondicherry. In other places, like Masulipatam, the French shared the trade with the other companies. They did not become serious rivals of the English and the Dutch until the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

The political situation the English and Dutch met along the Coromandel coast in the first decades of the seventeenth century was complex. Although the southern kingdoms stayed independent of the Mughal throne till the end of Shah Jahan's reign, there was a continuous threat of invasion. During the seventeenth century the old kingdom of Vijayanagar suffered from disintegration; the Nayaks (provincial governors) often became little kings themselves. Both the king of Vijayanagar and the Nayaks were amenable to trade with the European companies. In Golconda, however, where the Sultan encouraged trade, his provincial governors were often hostile to the Europeans, as they were afraid of losing their own monopolies. In 1687 the Mughals conquered Golconda and ended the Qutb Shahi dynasty. These two conflicting attitudes toward commerce persisted under the Mughal administration.

In the southern part of the coast the pattern of trade was less clear at the end of the century. It suffered continuously from civil wars. The Marathas became a threat to that part of the country and finally to the whole peninsula.

Since the Portuguese did not have a stronghold on the east coast like Goa on the west coast, the Dutch were not obliged to fight them so thoroughly on the Coromandel coast. By the time the English had become serious rivals of the Dutch, Portugal had already ceased to be a commercial power of the Coromandel. As mentioned above, a lively home-industry of cotton painting already existed when the Dutch and the English arrived. Foreign trade had been quite common for a long time.⁶ A place like Masulipatam had a diverse population: the original Hindu population, – mostly craftsmen (the Komati caste played the role of middlemen between the craftsmen and the foreigners), the Moslem administrators, the Arab, Persian and Jewish dealers, and the Chinese merchants.⁷

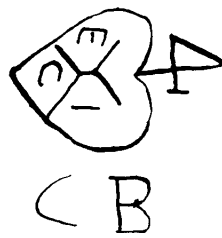
Bengal and adjoining areas

After 1632 it was mostly under the control of the Mughal emperors. During the second half of the century the Dutch installed some prosperous factories there, but the English soon overran them. Since Bengal is more famous for its silks, both plain-woven and embroidered, than for its chintzes, we will not concern ourselves here with this textile region of India.

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This paper will deal with a group of chintzes with a certain kind of elaborate pattern which I suggest may have been made on the Coromandel coast, the main area for dyed cottons mentioned above.

The East India companies there concentrated mainly on plain or striped cottons or other patterned goods, or chintzes, with birds and foliage (the so-called *tapi*) until European demand began to exert its influence in the 1670's. A chintz with a complicated pattern, however, was sent to Batavia as early as 1614. Werner von Berchem, the director of the Dutch company on the Coromandel coast, sent four pieces of cloth to Governor-general Both to show the skill of the painters employed at the Pulicat factory. The chintz showed Both's coat of arms, the Pulicat factory, and the recently built Fort Geldria.⁸ The attention paid to chintzes with elaborate paintings, however, was incidental in the early years of the companies. Now and then chintzes of fine quality were shipped to Europe. During the years 1665-1680, however, the English and Dutch companies changed their commercial policy. They turned from the raw materials and coarse textiles to textiles of finer quality.⁹ The Dutch seem to have taken the lead in this respect as the English East India Company sent samples from Holland to have them painted in India. In 1683 they ordered a large number of chintzes on the Coromandel coast, – "They being the ware of gentlewomen in Holland."¹⁰



Drawing. Author's reconstruction of mark on fig. 1.

Fig. 1. Part of a bedhanging, Coromandel coast, about 1730. L. 1 m. 27 cm.,
W. 81 cm.

Fig. 2. Detail of fig. 1.

In several places along the Coromandel coast the Dutch East India Company had weavers and painters working directly for them. Thus already in 1609 thirty painters were working for the company in Tierepopelier. At the same time seventy painters were working at Petaboli. At Pulicat the Dutch constructed a building where two or three hundred painters worked for them. The craftsmen were contracted in August or September. In February or March of the following year the chintzes were ready for shipment, a good time with regard to the monsoon.

If the English and Dutch companies did not have weavers and painters working directly for them, they had to procure the chintzes from local workers through middlemen. In Golconda the Persian and other Moslem merchants acted as the companies' middlemen and procured the required cargo from the Komatis and the actual manufacturers; in the south they dealt with the Chetti and Komati traders. The Dutch generally employed a few very powerful agents from the Komati caste. The English preferred many agents from the Komati caste to create a lively competition. In the 1660's Laurens Pit organized the chief suppliers of one particular variety of cloth into a "company" (*gezelschap*) with twelve partners. The partners of such "companies" under the auspices of the Dutch pooled their resources; all contributed equally to common funds on a profit-sharing basis. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century the English organized their agents too in a "joint-stock" company on a profit-sharing basis.¹¹ A lively description of cotton painting along the Coromandel coast is given by Wouter Schouten in 1676.¹²

"Loads of these as well as other Coromandel fabrics and textiles (*lijwaten*) are shipped to other countries and sent elsewhere at no small wonder to those who do not know that at certain places four or five thousand weavers are living. I occasionally have been in their small dark dwellings, looking more like cabins and cots for the pigs than like houses of these artists: their loom was very small and made from bamboo and reed in a light and artful way; I saw them mostly in small low-pitched rooms that were dug out like cellars, three or four feet beneath the ground, while the dark-skinned Coromandel weavers, who received day (light) and breath through small holes, proved in this twilight what artists they were."

The Chintzes

The group of chintzes I should like to discuss consists of two hangings (fig. 1 and 3), a skirt or petticoat (fig. 4) and two bedcovers (fig. 5 and 6). They seem to represent a particular type of design in vogue in Europe at a

certain time. Each consists of a large field with a flower or garland pattern sprinkled over it and a broad border of arches with human figures in them.¹³ Each is painted on a white ground, the most popular ground for chintzes exported to Europe. The thickness of the cotton yarns varies little. The chintz of figure 1 measures 110 centimeters from the bottom to the seam, which is about 17 centimeters below the top of the hanging; the width of fabric is therefore 110 centimeters.¹⁴

The skirt in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 4) which has an identical pattern also is 110 centimeters deep. These chintzes seem all to have been woven on looms of a common width.

The chintzes of figures 1, 3 and 4 are most closely linked to each other in design and in color; the reds are very purplish. The reds and the blues of these three chintzes are in very good condition; the yellows and the greens are rather faded. Generally speaking, the yellows and consequently the greens, since the latter color is painted with yellow over blue, tend to fade more

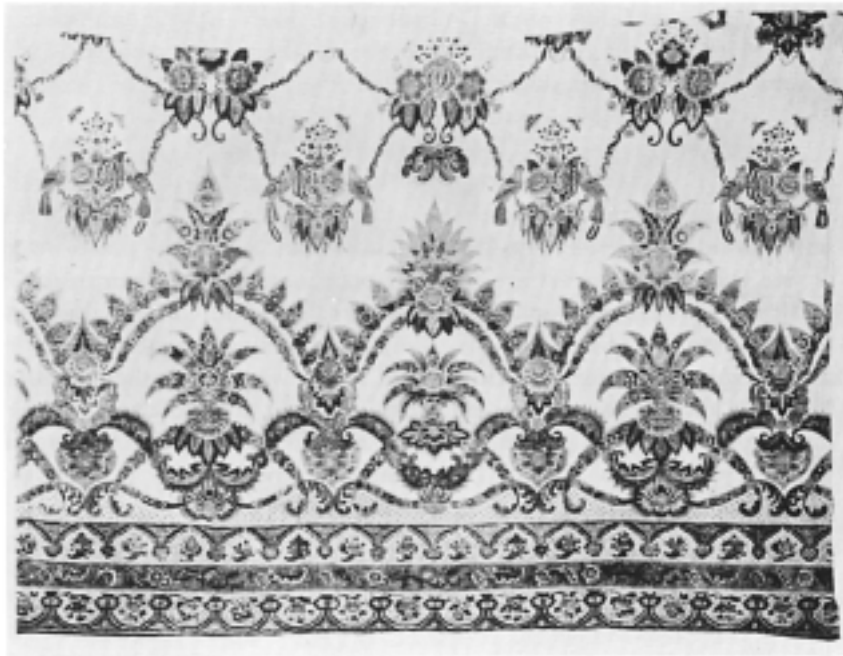


Fig. 3. Hanging, Coromandel coast, about 1730. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (I. S. 48A-1950).

easily than the reds and the blues. Reds and blues are dyed respectively by mordant and resist-dyeing. Yellows and greens are painted by hand as a final procedure. The chintz of figure 6 has "brisk" colors; all four, in good condition. Although the colors of the chintz of figure 5 are rather faded, the outline drawings of the design are well preserved. All five chintzes appear to be hand-painted. I have not encountered any sign of block-printing, a technique often applied in combination with painting by hand. The lack of block-printing is the more astonishing because of the continuous repetition of the pattern units.

Apart from the marks on the hanging in figure 1, I found no traces of any stamps, weave-marks or inscriptions. At the left seam of this hanging there is a stamp of the English East India Company and the letters C B (fig. 2 and drawing). I am not able to interpret the letters C B. They do not appear to be an abbreviation of an Indian export center along the coast,



Fig. 4. Skirt, Coromandel coast, about 1730. L. 1 m. 6 cm., W. 1 m. 42 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (13 - 1950).

since none of the names of the coastal stations approaches C B. Could it be that this piece of cloth was sold in London by contract and the name of the buyer was stamped on it? Or was this chintz marked as an item for re-export from England to another country? The English wool and linen industries forced the government to issue protective laws for these industries, and a law was passed in 1700 to forbid the import of chintzes not meant for re-export. In 1722 it was even forbidden to wear any chintzes at all in England. Or are the letters the abbreviation of the company agent's name at a certain place along the coast?

The Coromandel coast seems the probable origin for at least four out of five chintzes. The chintz of figure 5 may have another place of origin. I will discuss this while speaking specifically about this chintz. The flame-like arches of the chintzes of figures 1, 3, and 4 indicate southeast Asiatic, perhaps Siamese influence. Such influences probably appeared along the Coromandel coast rather than in the second area of importance, the northwest part of India.

The chintzes cannot have been painted before 1690, because of the costumes the Europeans are wearing. This date makes western India a less probable source since it lost its prominence in fine cotton painting during the seventeenth century, whereas the Coromandel coast was then growing in importance. Coast factories were even encouraged to experiment with the

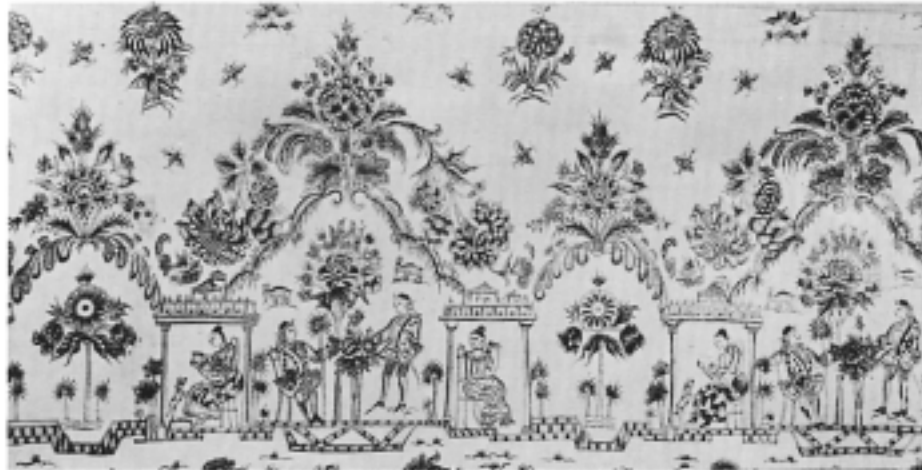


Fig. 5. Part of a bedcover, Central India or Coromandel coast, 1690-1740. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (1953 - 205-1). L. 1 m. 70 cm., W. 50 cm.

copying of Gujarat cloth.¹⁵ The high quality of the reds on the chintzes of figures 1, 3, 4, and 6 also argues in favour of the Coromandel coast. The salty soil of the Tambreva delta and of the coast near Pulicat produced the chay-root plant so important for the dyeing of the reds.

Figure 1 shows a part of a bed-hanging, probably from a cupboard-bed, consisting of three pieces: one middle piece and two side-curtains. This figure represents one of these curtains. This chintz was clearly cut to this form in Europe as the pattern is abruptly trimmed at the side. The branch-like hillock pattern with scattered flowers on the upper part of the chintz appears hybrid. At first glance, the diamond pattern that the hillocks form and the airy way the components of the pattern are scattered over the cloth recall European textile patterns from the second decade of the eighteenth century. Indeed, there was a pronounced demand for specific patterns in Europe. Although this pattern does not appear to have been copied from a pattern sent from Europe the painter seems to have taken some request into consideration. The components – the temple-like building with the bannerets on top, the



Fig. 6. Detail of bedcover, Coromandel coast, 1730-1740. L. 2 m. 62 cm., W. 2 m. 16 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum (I. S. 42-1950).

palm trees, and the vegetable and animal elements rising from the hillocks – at first appear to be Indian. The latter elements may be compared with the seventeenth-century embroidery from Gujarat (fig. 7). On this embroidery, deer, rabbits and leaves rise in a similar way from the hillocks. This latter design, of course, is no more purely “Indian” than that of the hanging in figure 1. The shepherd in the right corner of the central field seems to be derived from European sources.¹⁶ The herdsman with the moustache has a rather Near Eastern appearance. The branch with plum blossoms at the left



Fig. 7. Coverlet, embroidered, Gujarat, second half 17th century. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (1953 - 123-2). L. 2 m. 85 cm., W. 2 m. 60 cm.

of the two herdsmen seems of Chinese origin. The border of the hanging in figure 1 — its arches framing scenes of similar hybrid charm — must have been equally pleasing to a European owner with the taste of the time for everything that looked oriental, even that produced by European imagination. Louis XIV, for instance, had Jean Berain organize countless masquerades in oriental style. At a party in 1679 the queen appeared in a Persian dress “tant le dessin des étoffes de ce país là.”¹⁷ Indeed exoticism became such a familiar feature that Montesquieu could easily move the scenery to Ispahan to describe Parisian situations. Other European countries were developing a taste for orientalism at the same time though perhaps with somewhat less grandeur.

Thus, although the shape of the arches of figure 1, is clearly oriental, the border elements are European. Although the most obvious explanation for the origin of the flowers is to be found in oriental art,¹⁸ one should keep in mind that since the seventeenth century a wide interest in horticulture has also existed in Europe. Moreover, the art of marquetry flourished in various European countries, including Holland. Vases with flowers as on those cabinets could have served as examples for the flower representations on chintzes. (The art of marquetry itself, however, is rather of eastern than of western origin.) Other sources of influence could have been European embroideries,¹⁹ and Mrs. Brett observes that the stylized flowers and indented leaves on Indian chintzes often have some features in common with Italian damasks, velvets, and silks²⁰ popular on the Coromandel coast in the seventeenth century.

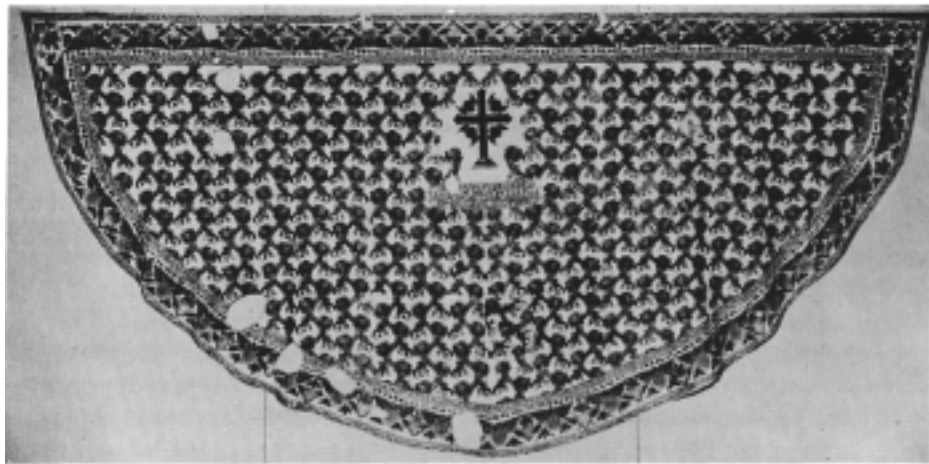


Fig. 8. Cope, Coromandel coast, 1787. L. 1 m. 45 cm., W. 2 m. 92 cm. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (934.4.37).

The figures in the arches are clearly Europeans. The servant or hunter (?) standing behind a temple-like building seems to wear a western jacket, jabot and buckles, whereas the seated tea-drinking couple is wearing outfits datable around 1690 or somewhat later, probably before the 1720's. According to the late Professor van Thienen²¹, the lady has a *fontange*. In my opinion, the ornament on top of her head looks like a flower. The skirt she is wearing is rather narrow (fig. 2). The gentleman is wearing a wig falling down to his shoulders and a tight long-skirted jacket with narrow sleeves. The European type of chair on which the couple is seated is rather distorted. It is known that this type was made in India for the European residents and in some cases for direct export to Europe. These chairs date from about 1700. These small scenes in the arches do not seem to me to have been painted after European engravings. A more probable explanation is that they are painted after drawings made by an Indian draftsman working in a manner adapted from Mughal, or in any case, from Indo-Moslem origins. The tradition of portraiture and "genre painting" was activated by the Moslem invaders from the north, especially by the Mughal emperors. The latter, however, were receptive to European as well as Persian and Indian stylistic inventions. Hindu painting confined itself more to traditional epic or lyrical subjects. I will discuss this matter in more detail in relation to figure 6.

All three arches of figures 1, 3, and 4 are partly composed of animals. The arch of figure 1 is constructed from a palm tree with a snake encircling it and a tiger on its trunk. The arches of the chintz of figure 3 are formed of various garlands, and mermaids function as caryatids. The chintz of figure 4 has an elephant's head upside down at the top of the wide arches and *makaras* at the top of the columns. The *makara* is a very old Indian symbol often carved on the arches of Hindu temples. Mrs. Viennot distinguishes many types of *makaras*²² in her recent study of the subject. The *makara* painted on the skirt could belong to either a northern or southern type, as found originally at Bharhut or at Amarâvati.

The manner of depicting isolated human figures in lobed arches is found both in Indian and Persian art. In a Shah-nama manuscript dated 1429, for instance, in a miniature of the mourning for Rustam and his brother three arches appear. In the left and right arches coffins are depicted, in the middle arch an isolated human figure.²³ On a Persian miniature of about 1575 a young Persian and a bearded man are approaching each other, represented as isolated figures under a lobed arch.²⁴ In a Safavid silk wall-hanging, probably of the period of Shah Abbas (1586-1628), there is a single human figure depicted in an architectural arch.²⁵ In the marquetry of a small table of the Mughal period (before approximately 1615) two isolated figures are seated under an architectural arch.²⁶ Numerous Mughal and Deccan miniatures

show human figures seated under arches more integrated into the whole composition. The techniques of textile-painting and marquetry tend to isolate the figures more than does the technique of miniature painting.

As we saw above, the chintz of figure 4 is very closely linked to the chintz of figure 1. The painting is of the same quality. It has the same clumsiness in depicting human figures. Familiar features, however, such as flowers, *makaras* and elephants are painted with more refinement. One should keep in mind that, although the Hindu craftsman was a very skillful imitator, he apparently seldom displayed a sense of originality. Accordingly, he showed his qualities best while working in a traditional manner. Daniel Havart, the author of *Op- en ondergang van de Coromandel*, a work on the Dutch trade along the Coromandel coast (1689), writes: "Chintzes are here painted according to musters which are given to the painters which they imitate completely and extremely well, for their character is so stupid that they cannot imagine anything by themselves, but can only imitate something so that it has a complete likeness."²⁷ Under the wide arch of the skirt is a plant with different flowers sprouting from one stem. It stands in a basin whose perspective is completely distorted. Mrs. Brett assumes that the taste for different sorts of flowers depicted on one tree or branch is of western origin. She shows this in English sixteenth and seventeenth-century embroideries and Italian seventeenth-century lace.²⁸

On the sides of the skirt two scenes are depicted. On the left side there is a tiger-hunt. A European on horseback is trying to spear the tiger. A helper, also dressed in a European outfit, is standing behind the tiger. The design of this small scene must have originated in India; it seems highly unlikely that a pattern depicting such a typically Indian subject²⁹ was sent to Europe to be copied. At the right of the plant a couple is sitting on chairs, apparently in discussion; two dogs accompany them. The costumes the four persons are wearing are very close in style to the costumes of the couple of figure 1, the woman with a flower on her head, a narrow skirt; the man with a falling wig and a tight long-skirted jacket.

Earlier in this paper I tried to indicate adaptations of European motifs in the chintzes here discussed. In connection with the lower part of the border of the skirt of figure 4, however, one may see European influence in the whole design instead of in scattered motifs. The airiness of the garlands and the diaper motif recall the lightness that appeared in decorative art in the second decade of the eighteenth century in Europe. One can find countless examples of the diaper motif in European wood-carving, porcelain, and pottery of that time. The same diaper motif can be seen in the lower part of the chintz of figure 3. The cornucopias in the border are very similar to

those painted on a cope made for an Armenian church (fig. 8). This cope is dated by inscription 1787, some fifty years later than the three chintzes discussed so far. Allowing time for European motifs to be adopted in India, I should like to propose a date of about 1730 for the three chintzes. The quick changes in fashion and design in Europe during the eighteenth century make a date after 1740 for these chintzes improbable.

The arches depicted on the bedcover of figure 5 are quite different in character from that of the arches discussed above. They consist of segments constructed of leaves. A small columned pavilion supports the arch. Under the arches and in the small pavilions Europeans are portrayed. Here again is a discrepancy between refinement in the painting of vegetative elements and clumsiness in the representation of persons. The lady sitting in a small house on the left side of the photograph is holding a cup, a dog is standing in front of her. She is wearing a European dress datable around 1690, as far as I can judge from the simple representation of it. The other lady is wearing a somewhat more fancy dress, holding a fan in one hand, in the other a flower. The gentlemen are wearing close-fitting long-skirted jackets and hats like the hats pictured on the painted skirt (fig. 4). They seem to be in conversation, but, since a few trees have been abruptly planted between them, they are relegated to a purely decorative function. The painting of the roofs of the small houses and the lower edges framing the ladies and gentlemen are reminiscent of architectural forms in Moslem and Hindu miniatures. The treatment of the houses is an illustration of the *Rasikapriya* of Kesava Dasfa may be compared with the small houses on this chintz.³⁰ The origin and date of this miniature are somewhat obscure. It seems to have some connection with a number of *Ragmala* pictures. The tall cupolas on the roofs (also to be seen on the chintz of figure 5), however, seem to have some Bundela stylistic influence. But it would lead too far to draw any conclusions from these facts in relation to this chintz. Another example of this type of house with isolated figures appears in a miniature of the Rajasthani school, painted in Malwa about 1650.³¹ Its only difference from the chintz of figure 5 is that on the latter a "European nayika" is depicted in the house.

I should like to date the chintz of figure 6 between 1690 and 1740. I am not able to suggest a more exact date since, apart from the clothes worn in it, western influences of a definite period are not demonstrable. Asiatic elements are less prone to rapid stylistic innovations and are therefore less helpful in close dating. The method of painting differs somewhat from that of the three chintzes discussed earlier. Here the painting consists of heavy outline-drawing filled in with paler colors, whereas the pattern on the three chintzes above is done in outline-drawing in which lively colors often play a role themselves. The place of origin of this chintz is difficult to ascertain. Although the Coro-

mandel coast is not out of the question, this chintz is quite different from all Coromandel chintzes I know so far. The representation of the small pavilions suggests a provenance farther north toward Rajasthan.

The chintz in figure 6 is a magnificent bedcover assembled from three pieces of cloth (see drawing). The central field is filled by an overall pattern of crinkling lines, enclosing a regular pattern of bouquets in vases and birds. The regular spacing of stiffly arranged motifs over a certain surface seems to be of Persian origin, and symmetrically arranged motifs are a familiar feature in this connection in Persian art. Two birds are painted on each side of a bouquet on this chintz (compare also figure 3). Without mentioning his source, Baker reports in his *Calico Painting and Printing* that in 1716 "sundry sorts" were requested "glazed throughout," and that chintzes with "little flowers (but no flowers at a distance)" were ordered especially by the English. The small flowers as painted on the central field may well have been to the taste of the European buyer.

The border consists of "genre paintings" under *mihrab-like* arches which have lost their architectural meaning and have become purely decorative, and of bouquets comparable to the bouquets of the central field, this time arranged according to the western taste of the French Regency. The diaper is reminiscent of the chintzes of figures 3 and 4. The swing of the lower branches of the bouquets seem to me also of Regency origin, — that is, early eighteenth century. Four different scenes are depicted under the arches. They all are rather informal, showing the daily life of Europeans in the "East" with Indian servants. The features of the Europeans have become very oriental. As we observed in figure 1, the painting of European ladies and gentlemen seems largely after an Indian example. It is well known that Europeans are depicted on Mughal and Deccan miniatures. Most of them are painted after European engravings, drawings, or paintings Jesuits or travelers took with them to India. This could be the case with this chintz, but there are also paintings and drawings known that were painted from life in India. In connection with this, a painting of a prince in a garden may be mentioned. It is in the collection of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.³² It represents a Deccan prince and a European gentleman, the latter dressed in a costume of about 1660. The Deccan prince is sitting on a chair apparently made in India, to judge from the *mihrab-like* arch on its back, but the legs and the back of the chair are very high for an Indian fashion. The painting dates to approximately 1670-1680. The furniture depicted on the chintz of figure 6 appears to be of Indian construction. It is partly constructed from plaited rattan. Moreover, the backs of the chairs on which two of the ladies are sitting have the small sticks common in Far Eastern, especially in Javanese and Ceylonese furniture of that time, where the same sticks occur in chairs

and benches made of ebony. One of the scenes represents a gentleman playing a flute; the sheet of paper from which he is playing is hanging oddly in the air. A lady is either doing some needlework or is playing a xylophone-like instrument. On the right behind the flute-player stands a male servant apparently a native, to judge from his bare feet and headcovering. His clothes are a mixture of western and eastern fashions. On the left behind the seated lady is a female servant. She, too, reflects the eclectic use of eastern and western elements. Although her dress is western (early eighteenth century), her coiffure is exotic. In the middle stands a doll-like figure of very small dimensions, possibly the daughter of the seated couple. From the top of the *mihrab*-like arch hangs a Regency candelabra. Another scene represents a European couple drinking tea at an oval table. Three servants and two dogs are around them. On the table and floating in the air are a tea caddy, tea-cups, sweets, a teapot and other non-recognisable implements. Butterflies and floral motifs are painted directly under the arch. A third scene shows a couple dressed with extreme elegance and walking under a sunshade held by a servant. Behind the couple are two female servants; one of them plays a stringed instrument. A dog gaily leads the way. In the fourth scene a couple is sitting at an oval table, enjoying themselves. On the table are three baskets of flowers. Around the couple are two servants and two dogs. Directly under the arch are painted a bird and a few floral motifs. One of the most striking characteristics of this chintz is its great elegance. In the files of the Victoria and Albert Museum it was, therefore, suggested that the Europeans depicted on the chintz are intended to be French.

It is difficult to date the costumes very precisely. Although the late Professor van Thienen drew my attention to the head-dress of the two ladies, suggesting that it might be a *fontange*, in my opinion the head-dress looks more Chinese than European. The broad hips and the width of the skirt of the lady under the sunshade suggest a fashion of the late 1720's. I should like to propose therefore as a date for this chintz 1730 to 1740, taking into account a span of time necessary for European motifs to be adopted in India.

In this paper I have tried to give an impression of some backgrounds of the textile trade between India and Europe and of certain textiles from this trade, after the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when the import of chintzes with elaborate patterns grew up in answer to a European interest in exoticism. As we have seen, the patterns of these chintzes blend influences and motifs from Europe, the Orient as requested by the European commissioners (often chinoiseries invented in Europe), local Hindu and Moslem decoration, and Mughal ornamentation — itself a mixture of components from Persia, Central India, the Far East and the West. Their charm is immense.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Quoted from Terpstra, *De Nederlanders in Voor-Indië*, p. 40.
2. The word "chintz", strictly speaking a plural form of *chint*, is derived from the non-Aryan word *chitta* meaning "spotted cloth." Mr. John Irwin was so kind as to give me this information by letter. The term is applied to Indian cottons dyed with mordants and by the process of resist-dyeing. For the method of painting see for instance "Lettres de Père Coeurdoux" in Baker, *Calico Painting and Printing in the East Indies in the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*.
3. Quoted from Terpstra, p. 92.
4. *Oldenlandia umbellata*, allied to madder.
5. At the same time Ceylon was taken from the Portuguese.
6. Arabs had traded for a long time on the Coromandel coast. Cotton was a very important export commodity to be exchanged for spices in the Malayan archipelago (see Irwin and Schwartz, *Studies in Indo-European Textile History*, p. 28). Armenian traders followed overland routes in order to obtain spices and cottons for the west.
7. A lively trade in Chinese porcelain existed in Masulipatam.
8. See Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel*, p. 145.
9. See Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade*, p. 142.
10. Quoted from Glamann, p. 142, after Slomann, *Bizarre Designs in Silks*.
11. See Raychaudhuri, pp. 145-146, and Irwin and Schwartz, p. 33.
12. Quoted from Wouter Schouten, *Oost-Indisch Voyage*, Tweede Boeck, p. 293 ff.
13. The chintz of figure 4 is an exception in this respect as it has floral motifs painted under the arches.
14. Collection Mrs. Eecen-van Setten, Leeuwarden, The Netherlands.
15. See Irwin and Schwartz, p. 12.
16. This and almost identical pieces are discussed by John Irwin in his articles in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. 17, 1949, and in the *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 57, April, 1955.
17. *Mercure Galant*, February, 1679, p. 327.
18. The influence of the flower representation from Chinese porcelain played some role. Under the Mughal emperors horticulture was activated and quite a number of flower miniatures were painted at that time. In his *Bizarre Designs in Silks*, Vilhelm Slomann discussed the role the flower played in Eastern religions. In my opinion, he stresses the religious significance of the flower in connection with the chintzes too much since the purpose of their design was purely decorative.
19. See the chapter: "The Flowering Tree" in John Irwin's *The Significance of Chintz* to appear in 1970.
20. See K. B. Brett, "The Flowering Tree in Indian Chintz," *Journal of Indian Textile History*, 1957, no. 3, p. 45 ff.
21. By oral information.

22. I am indebted to Professor Lohuizen-de Leeuw, who drew my attention to the *makara*. My information is mainly based on Odette Viennot's article: "Typologie du makara et essai de chronologie," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 1955, no. 3.
23. Illustrated in Laurence Binyon's article: "The Painting at the Persian Exposition at the Burlington House," *Burlington Magazine*, 1931, p. 9 ff, plate III A.
24. This miniature is attributed to Muhammadi and reproduced in B. W. Robinson, *Persian Miniatures*, London, 1952, plate 24.
25. Illustrated in A. J. B. Wace's article, "Some Safavid Silks at Burlington House," *Burlington Magazine*, 1931, p. 67 ff.
26. Illustrated in K. de B. Codrington's article, "Moghul Marquetry," *Burlington Magazine*, 1931, p. 79 ff., plate III A.
27. Quoted from Irwin, "Origins of the 'Oriental Style' in English Decorative Art," *Burlington Magazine*, 1955.
28. See K. B. Brett, note 20.
29. See for instance "Raja Kesri Singh attacked by a lioness while hunting," by Ustad Muhammed Rafik, about 1700. *Treasures of Indian Miniatures in the Bikaner Palace Collection*. Edited by Basil Gray, London, 1955, plate 9.
30. *Ibid.*, plate 7.
31. Illustrated in Satish Chandra Kala, *Indian Miniatures in the Allahabad Museum*, Allahabad, 1961, plate 6.
32. Illustrated in *Painting of the Deccan, XVII-XVIII centuries*, edited by Douglas Barrett, London 1958, plate 13.

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