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NOTES ON THE USE OF THE HOOK IN  
INDIAN EMBROIDERY

BY

JOHN IRWIN

AND

BABETTE HANISH

INDIA has long been famous for its chain-stitch embroideries, especially those worked in multi-coloured silks on a cotton or satin ground. They were produced professionally both for court use and for the commodity market, and also at amateur level as part of folk or tribal tradition. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries many fine Indian chain-stitch embroideries reached Europe in the form of bedspreads, hangings and piecegoods imported by the Dutch and English East India companies.

It is well known that chain-stitching can be done either with a needle or with a special kind of hooked implement whence it is known as hook-embroidery. With the former, it is inevitably a slower operation; but with the hook the skilled user can work very much faster, thus enjoying professional advantage. The question arises: to what extent and how early was the hook used in India for chain-stitching?

Much careful analysis of the actual embroideries will have to be done before this question can be answered with any finality. But as a first step, we think it would be useful to place on record what is known about the use of the embroidery hook in India.

The evidence we have to offer is based on enquiries conducted independently by us in western India in 1957 and 1967 respectively, and until recently unknown to one another. We now welcome this opportunity to pool our findings in the form of a joint article for the Needle and Bobbin Bulletin.

Although chain-stitching has been practised in many parts of northern India, the area chiefly famous for it is the west — especially the region covered

by present-day Gujarat and the Pakistani province of Sind. Until 1948, when the Sind-Gujarat border was suddenly transformed into an international frontier, there was considerable movement between the two provinces and correspondingly strong cultural links. This was especially true of embroidery, for which the whole area had been renowned at least since medieval times. One medieval witness is Marco Polo who visited Gujarat on his way back from China at the end of the thirteenth century, and described Gujarat embroidery as the best in the world.<sup>1</sup> He was referring in particular to embroidered leather mats which the local Mohammedans were said to have put on the floor to sleep on. These, he says, were *de corio rubeo sculptis in eo auibus & bestijs cum filio aureo & argenteo sutis multum subtiliter* (literally, “of red leather depicting birds and beasts in gold and silver thread, sewn very subtly”). He adds that they also made couches and cushions in the same manner. The association of the embroidery with leatherwork is interesting, since, as we shall see, the word for the embroidery hook used in this part of India is *āri* — a word synonymous in the Gujarati language with cobbler’s awl. It is relevant, moreover, that embroidered leatherwork remained a well-known local commodity until recent times. The exhibition of contemporary crafts organized at Delhi in 1902-3 (known as the Delhi exhibition) included a number of such embroideries from Sind. They are described in the catalogue as “leather sheets” and as having “central medallions, borders and corner pieces done in appliqué with black, red or green leather, elaborately embroidered over the surface in chain-stitch and with silver and gold wire judiciously intermixed”.<sup>2</sup> A few nineteenth-century specimens of this type of work are preserved in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The better known silk-on-cotton chain-stitch embroideries of Gujarat are first mentioned in European records in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese merchant, Barbosa, was probably referring to work of this kind, when in 1518, he described among the products of Cambay (then chief port of Gujarat) “very beautiful quilts and testers of beds finely worked”.<sup>3</sup> He adds the interesting information that they were worked by “Moorish washerwomen”, presumably as a supplementary means of earning their living. In 1585 the description was elaborated by the Dutchman, Linschoten, who referred to them as *ghestickt van syde, ende cock can Cattoen, van all coloeren ende stickel*,<sup>4</sup> which, allowing for the bad grammar of the sentence, seems to be saying that they were bedspreads worked in many-coloured silks on a cotton ground — a description corresponding to surviving specimens. Records of the English East India Company show that from the time of the opening of their trade in India, they were keen to acquire these already-renowned embroideries for export to England. Specific instructions were given to the merchants to

buy “quilts made about Cambay”,<sup>5</sup> and from 1614 onwards they feature in the Company’s London auction sales.

The export of chain-stitch embroideries to Europe declined in the eighteenth century, but a vigorous local tradition of professional embroidery persisted until the present century at Bhuj, the capital of the Kutch, under the patronage of the local court and nobility. These embroiderers were all members of the Mochi or leatherworking caste, and according to verbal tradition their forefathers had originally emigrated to Kutch from Sind, bringing their embroidery skill with them. It was to Bhuj that we both went in search of evidence.

Notes by John Irwin, compiled after a two-day visit to Bhuj, capital of Kutch, in February, 1957:

“. . . In the evening Mr. Shelat, curator of Bhuj Museum and a local art school teacher, took me to the embroidery shop of Messrs. Ramji Jethabhai and Sons in Schroff Bazar. The Jethabhai family belonged to the Mochi caste, which was traditionally a leatherworking caste, and they claimed to have been wholly engaged in professional embroidery for at least three generations (this is the usual limit of family memory among Indian artisans). They nowadays make and sell only machine embroidery, and I saw three employees engaged in this work. Formerly they had made and sold hand embroidery. Mr. Ramji Jethabhai told me that traditional Mochi embroidery (Plate I) had always been a male occupation. According to legend, the Mochis of Bhuj were immigrants from Sind, from whence they had brought their embroidery art.<sup>6</sup> I asked what kind of implement was used for the chain-stitching and whether he could show me a specimen. He disappeared into a neighboring house and half an hour later returned with a type of hook, which I was delighted to be able to study and photograph (Plate II). The name by which the hook is known locally is *āri*, which is also the Gujerati word for cobbler’s awl. Mr. Ramji Jethabhai demonstrated the working as follows (Plate III):

- (a) He sat with the cloth lying loosely on his raised knee (no frame being used). The pattern was right-side up.
- (b) He held the hook in his right hand, the wooden handle being embedded in the palm; his forefinger was extended so that the tip of the nail pressed at right-angles against the steel arm of the hook (see fig. 1). He showed me a metal nail-guard used by those whose nails were soft and easily damaged by constant work (the nail-guard is clearly visible in Plate II).



Plate I. Woman's petticoat; satin, worked with coloured silks in chain-stitch. Made by embroiderers of the Mochi caste at Bhuj, capital of Kutch, Gujarat, late 19th century.

*Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M.27-1912.*

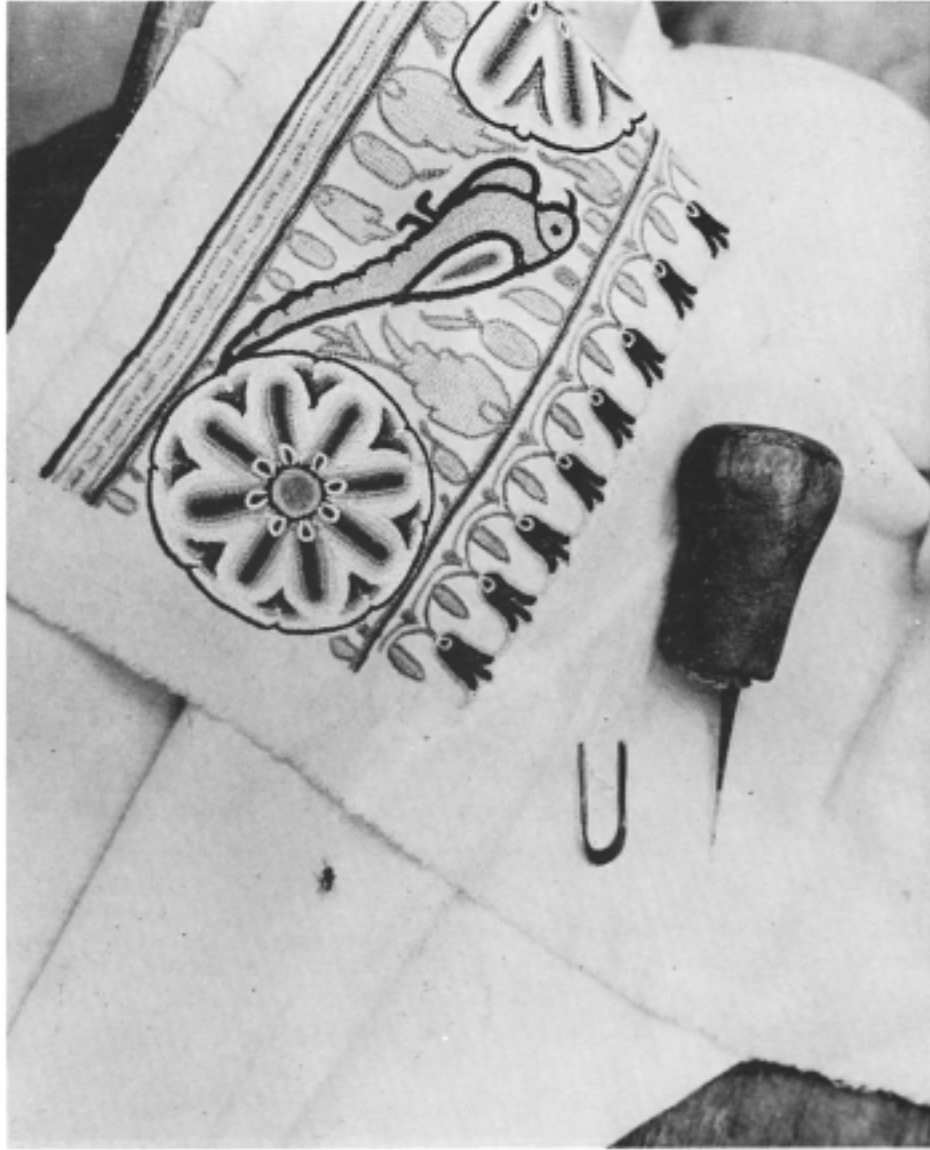


Plate II. Hook (*āri*) used by Mochi embroiderers. Photographed by J. Irwin at Bhuj in February, 1957.



Plate III. The hook (*ārī*) being used by a Mochi embroiderer. Photographed by J. Irwin at Bhuj in February, 1957.



- (c) The hook was inserted downwards into the cloth and a small loop of silk engaged.
- (d) The hook was then pulled through and re-inserted, and so on. In this way the chain-stitches were worked very rapidly and evenly.

Notes by Babette Hanish following research at Bhuj in December, 1967, subsequently continued in the States:

By the time I began research on Indian textiles in the mid-1960's, references to the *āri* had come to my notice in published works. It was therefore with foreknowledge and a desire to see the implement and the kinds of embroidery worked with it that I visited Bhuj in 1967. In particular, I wanted to learn in detail how the groups of fabrics represented at Plate I were made.

During my four day stay in Bhuj I visited a number of villages as well as the city itself. Within Bhuj I was taken by the District Industries Officer, Mr. Rathod, and his associates of the Co-operative Societies, Government of Gujarat, to Schroff Bazar and the shop of Ramji Jethabhai & Sons, professional Mochi embroiderers.<sup>7</sup> There I was shown the voluminous pattern book which the family has handed down from one member to another over the years. I was also privileged to see a sketch book prepared by Ramji Jethabhai containing primarily religious subjects from which embroidery designs could be derived. In addition several embroideries were brought out for me to view, among them one or two award-winning works and a group of traditional pieces.

When I asked to see the *āri* (the tool the Mochis use) I was taken to the *Kutchi Bharat Center* which is run by the Co-operative Societies of the Government of Gujarat, where a group of young women trainees were being taught the use of the *āri* by one of the two Jethabhai brothers (sons of Ramji). I joined the class as they sat on the floor, legs crossed, each member with a piece of fabric draped over the right knee. After observing at close hand the manner of working the *āri* I attempted with the assistance of Mr. Jethabhai to learn a bit of the technique. A great deal of time has to be devoted to mastering the skill, but even a short exposure was sufficient to provide at least a degree of insight into the craft.

The *āri* has an awl-like handle and a needle-sharp metal shaft with an almost invisible hooked tip (see fig. 2). The tool is held in the right hand at an angle of approximately forty-five degrees to the fabric (see Plate III). The hook, pointed away from the embroiderer, penetrates the cloth to pick up the

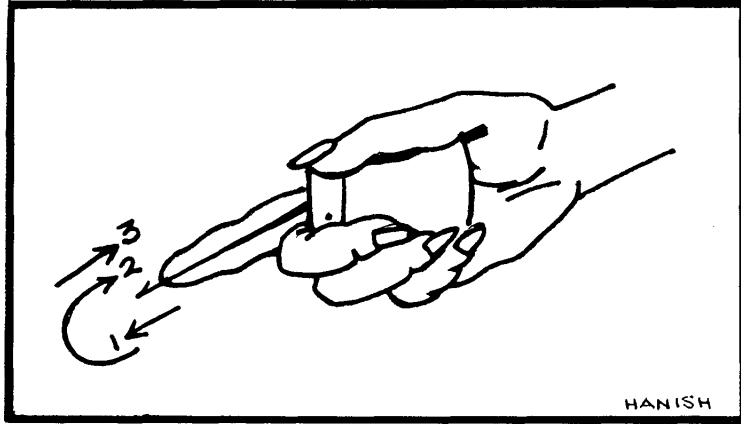


fig.1

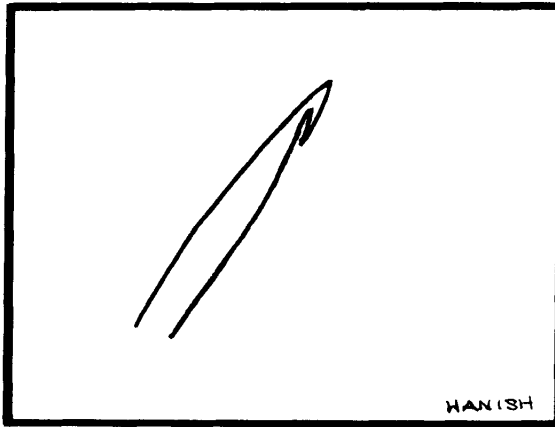


fig.2

thread fed by the left hand from beneath the fabric. The loop is then brought to the surface by withdrawing and quarter-turning the *āṛī* away from the embroiderer. No knot is made when the work is begun or ended. Each successive loop is created by the same means except that after the first loop is made the *āṛī* passes through its center to pick up the next one, thereby creating a chain not unlike that obtained in tambour embroidery<sup>8</sup> or crocheting. The *āṛī* is limited by the fact that it can produce only loops, but this limitation is, in another way, its virtue since it permits a person competent in the use of this awl-like implement to work much more quickly than would be possible with a needle. The pattern is worked on the upper surface of the cloth with the chain-stitch used both for filling in, and outlining, the motif — only a colour change distinguishes between the two. Each stitch requires only one puncture of the cloth by the *āṛī* to create a loop, as compared with a needle which requires a double action to make a loop and usually results in two piercings per stitch. The single puncture for each *āṛī* stitch means that the continuous thread runs from hole to hole with no skips between. Unlike the needle which can, and often does, pick up only the surface of the fabric leaving bare spots beneath, the *āṛī* must penetrate the cloth completely to pick up the thread from below, producing a stitch on the reverse side for each one occurring above.

The silk thread used by the Mochis (and this is especially true of the traditional work) is of the floss variety which requires much deftness of handling to keep it from splitting. This differs from tambour work where the tightly spun thread is less fragile. I make the comparison here between tambour and Mochi embroidery because there are similarities especially in the finished product. However, there is a point of considerable difference between them with regard to the use of a frame — tambour embroidery derives its name from the frame used to facilitate stitching, while the Mochi work is done without any frame.<sup>9</sup>

It is worth reiterating that Mochi embroidery (known locally as *kutchi bharat*) is professional, not folk. The evidence suggests that these people used the hook almost exclusively in preference to the needle. On the other hand, I could find no evidence that the hook was used by Kutch folk embroiderers, and it is perhaps significant that their chain-stitching is of more than one type and is usually combined with other kinds of stitches which are only workable with the needle.<sup>0</sup>

To distinguish hookwork from needlework is not always easy or obvious, but there are a few guides to recognition. For instance the single puncture of the cloth by hook to create the loop (already described) is one clue. Another is the fact that the hook seems to set up a tension such that the previous stitch

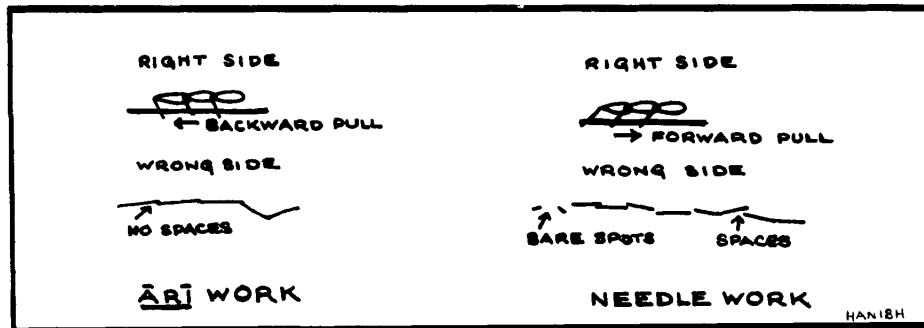


fig. 3

pulls the next loop towards it – whereas in needlework the next stitch acts in a holding or tacking capacity so that each stitch is not pulled back, but rather forward. (See fig. 3)

There is no evidence beyond legend regarding the antiquity of the embroidery hook in India, nor do we know over what geographical area its use spread.<sup>11</sup> We do know, however, both from surviving specimens of Mochi work and from documentary reference, that it was used by the Mochis of Kutch at least a hundred and fifty years ago.

The earliest presently known published reference appears in a book by Marianne Postens Young entitled *Cutch, or Random Sketches taken During a Residence in One of the Northern Provinces of Western India*, London, 1839. In a chapter entitled “Skills of the Cutchees” she writes:

“The embroiderers display much taste in their native designs; but the most remarkable characteristic of their talent is the surprising correctness they display in the art of imitation. They work with a long steel needle, crooked at the point, and, placing the silk below the material to be worked, hook it through, by means of this little implement. They never draw any pattern to guide their stitches, but imitate any embroidery placed before them, by the eye, without even measuring the distance of the pattern. The embroidery is flat, somewhat resembling old English tambour-work. For working on satins, coloured silks are used; and for velvets, gold thread, spangles and beads”.

The Mochi embroidery of Kutch has very much declined in quality over the last seventy years. The craft is now reduced to the point where only the two sons of Ramji Jethabhai remain capable of carrying on the technique

with any measure of professional skill. Undaunted by this situation, the Jethabhai brothers are now training a group of women in what has hitherto been an exclusively male occupation. However, the years of apprenticeship necessary to produce work of the former standard, and the high costs which such training and materials involve under modern conditions, do not encourage optimism. The fact is that the Mochi embroidery was part of a way of life that has all but vanished and is not likely to be revived in light of the social and economic pressures shaping the India of today.

*Postscript*

It is perhaps relevant in this context to publish the only other evidence at present known to us of the embroidery hook being used in India. At Plate IV we reproduce a painting of hook-embroiderers at work in Kashmir in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The painting appears in 'Oriental Volume No. 71 at the India Office Library, London, the handwritten title of which reads as follows: "Book containing illustrations of the various trades in Kashmir with their respective implements and the corresponding accounts of processes of manufacture". The handwriting is identical with that of William Moorcroft, the well-known East India Company veterinary surgeon and adventurer, whose detailed notes on the crafts of Kashmir, made between 1820 and 1823, are also preserved in the Library. The volume contains 86 paintings by a native artist with descriptions in a corrupt style of Persian. At the top is written: "Likeness of Khāliq-embroiderer and the tools of Khāliq-embroidery are described". The hook seems to have a projecting barb and is therefore somewhat different to the Mochi hook of Kutch. Nevertheless the name is the same. Beneath the drawing of the hook in the centre of the picture are the words: *āri kunj kih az an yarma kāri mīkunad*, best translated as "hooked awl with which he does yarma-work".<sup>12</sup>



#### FOOTNOTES:

1. Some caution is needed in quoting Marco Polo. The great traveller, although conversant with four Asian languages, was practically illiterate in his native tongue and his famous travel story might never have been committed to paper had he not found himself in a Genoese prison with time on his hands. There he told his story to a fellow prisoner who recorded it in Italianized French. The original is now lost, and there are many inconsistencies and interpolations in subsequent Italian and Latin translations. The text here quoted is the Toledo ms. of about 1400, written in Latin. This is published by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot under the title *Marco Polo: The Description of the World*, 2 vols., London, 1938, together with an English translation which is unsatisfactory, and which we have ignored in this context as inaccurate.
2. George Watt, *Indian art at Delhi, being the catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition, 1902-3*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 201 and Plate 43 B.
3. Duarte Barbosa, *Livro de D.B.*, translated by Hakluyt Society, London, 1918, vol. I, p. 142.
4. J. H. van Linschoten, *Itinerario*, Amsterdam, 1596.
5. India Office Archives, London. Factory Records Miscellaneous, vol. 25, p. 19.
6. The dynasty of Kutch was itself of Sind origin, having been conquered in the fourteenth century by the Sind tribe of Samma Rajputs.
7. J. M. Nanavati, M. P. Vora, M. A. Dhaky, *The Embroidery and Bead Work of Kutch and Saurashtra*, Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State, 1966, pp. 11-13, provides the most comprehensive information presently available on the Mochi and other schools of Gujarat embroidery.
8. Thérèse de Dillmont, *Encyclopedia of Needlework*, D.M.C. Library, Mulhouse, Alsace, [n.d.], pp. 152-156.
9. Kamala S. Dongerkery, *The Romance of Indian Embroidery*, Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1951, p. 32, and Jamila Brig Bhushan, *The Costumes and Textiles of India*, Taraporevala, Bombay, 1958, p. 52, speak of the use of a frame in Mochi embroidery; however, Messrs. Nanavati, Vora and Dhaky, p. 12, indicate that the lap, not a frame, is used. This latter point of view corresponds with our own findings (see Plate III).
10. Jasleen Dhamija in her article, "The Textiles and Embroideries of India", published in *Marg*, Bombay, 1965, p. 48, states that the *ārī* is used by the Mochis and the Ahirs of Kutch. See also Dongerkery, p. 32, and Bhushan, p. 52, who speak of the 'Cutch Embroiderers' using a hook. Nanavati and his colleagues indicate that the *ārī* is used only by the Mochis. The phrase 'Cutch embroiderers' is misleadingly vague. We have no positive evidence that the *ārī* is used by any contemporary group beside the Mochis.
11. Bhushan, *op.cit.*, p. 52, probably based on Dongerkery, *op.cit.*, p. 32, cites a legend that the *ārī* technique was introduced about 300 years ago from Sind and that it was originally used for embroidering leather. This, in light of the evidence mentioned at the beginning, seems entirely plausible.
12. We are grateful to Mr. Robert Skelton of the Victoria and Albert Museum for translation and his interpretation of the corrupt literal sense of the wording.

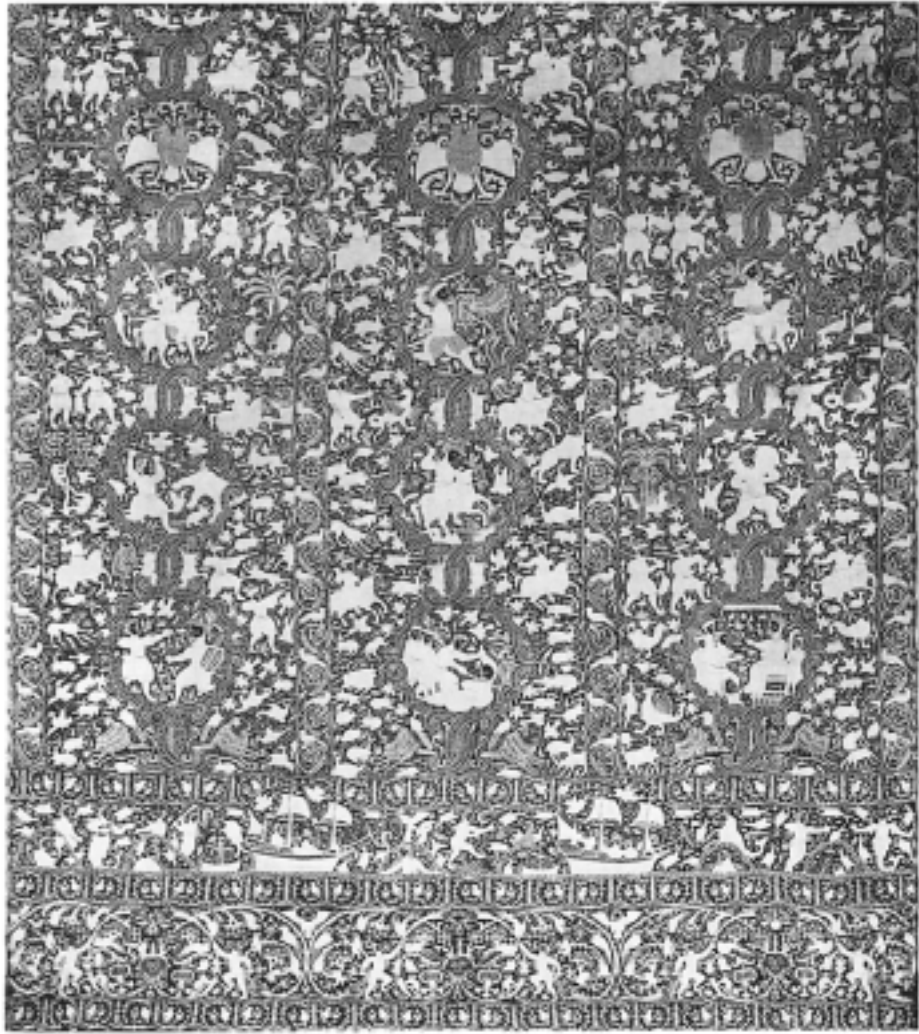


Fig. 1. — Indo-Portuguese embroidered wall hanging. Bengal, early seventeenth century. *Museo Nazionale (Bargello)*, *Inv. no. C 2255*.



## AN INDO-PORTUGUESE EMBROIDERY IN THE BARGELLO

By

ROSALIA BONITO FANELLI

IN the Museo Nazionale (Bargello), Florence, there is an interesting early seventeenth-century Indo-Portuguese embroidered wall hanging which hitherto has remained unpublished (Fig. 1). This embroidery (inventory no. 2255) belongs to the Louis Carrand Collection, donated to the Museum in 1888; its previous history is unknown.

Executed in yellowish-white Tussur silk in chain-stitch on a purplish-blue cotton ground, the piece measures H. 2.33 x W. 2.00 meters.<sup>1</sup> The yellowish-white Tussur silk, the embroidery technique, the motives, as well as the composition of the hanging show affinities with the group of embroideries attributed formerly to the Goa region and more recently to the Bengal region.<sup>2</sup> Other hangings with such a composition embroidered on a dark ground fabric as the purplish-blue ground of the Bargello hanging, although they may exist, have not as yet been documented.

The characteristic motives of the Bargello hanging, as well as of the group of Indo-Portuguese embroideries to which it belongs; consist in the following: hunt and marine scenes, representations from Hindu, Graeco-Roman, and Old Testament stories, heraldic symbols, and renaissance "grotesque" ornamentation. The sources of these motives are numerous and traceable in both European and Eastern decorative arts.

The dating of this hanging may be generally established by historical fact and by stylistic details as between 1600-1635. For, since the Portuguese conquest of India by Alphonso da Albuquerque in 1501, the influence of Portuguese taste was brought to bear upon the arts and handicrafts of India. Much colonial art in India was produced primarily for exportation to European markets. Around 1600 were founded the powerful mercantile societies of the East India Trading Companies vying for commercial control of the Indies; the Portuguese society was founded in 1600, the English in 1600, and the Dutch in 1602. However, after the Mughal conquest in 1632 of the old Portuguese commercial settlement of Satgaon in Bengal, founded in 1579, production and trade with Europe was somewhat cut off, and new trends in keeping with Indo-Persian Mughal taste set in.

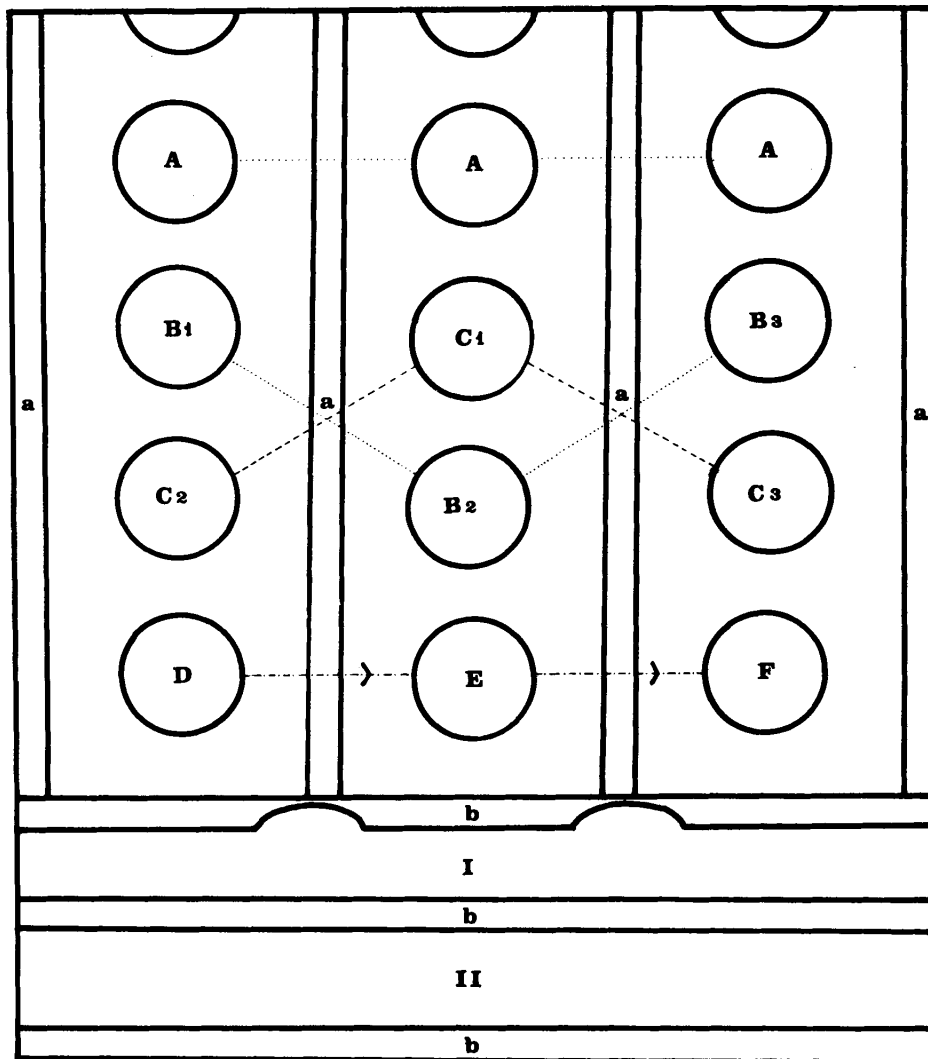


Fig. 2. — Diagram: The organization of the motives in the Bargello hanging.

A change in subject matter also helps in determining the date of manufacture. Whereas in the early sixteenth-century examples the motives are predominantly Indian, from Hindu symbolism, the seventeenth-century embroideries appear to increase in Portuguese or European motives.<sup>3</sup>

The costumes depicted in the hanging also give a clue to the dating of the work: similar armor and dress may be seen in colonial engravings. Baggy breeches gathered in at the knees with ribbon loops, small-brimmed and high-crowned hats, stiff neck ruffs, and short-cropped hair were popular male fashions between 1570 and 1630.

This study, rather than looking into the regional provenance or dating of this particular hanging, plans to proceed first by an analysis of the structure and motives of the composition and then by showing its stylistic relationship to some similar Indo-Portuguese embroideries and to Eastern and Western decorative arts of the times.

Meriting special note in the layout of the Bargello hanging is the fact that the proportions of all elements and sections of this piece are calculated according to a precise scale. This is not always true of other similar embroideries (at least those available for comparative study) where the placement of motives and sense of proportion are more casual. The major elements of the design are twelve medallions set in an intricately filled background; the minor elements, two border strips. The twelve medallions, formed of interlaced dotted bands, are situated in three vertical panels which are circumscribed by a narrow border with a bird and grapevine motif. In contrast to the vertical division of the actual surface is the horizontal alignment in four rows, each composed of three medallions, spaced from left to right across the surface according to the narrative sequence of the motives (Fig. 2):

Row 1 – A A A

The triple repetition of a symmetric, balanced form. An heraldic symbol.

Fig. A – crowned double-headed imperial eagle.

Row 2 – B1 C1 B3

Figures oriented towards the right. Three hunt scenes.

Figs. B1 – hunter on horseback carrying a large sword; C1 – hunter on foot fighting a lion; B3 – hunter on horseback with lance.

Row 3 – C2 B2 C3

Figures oriented towards the right. Three hunt scenes.

Figs. C2 – hunter on foot thrusting a spear at a boar; B2 – hunter

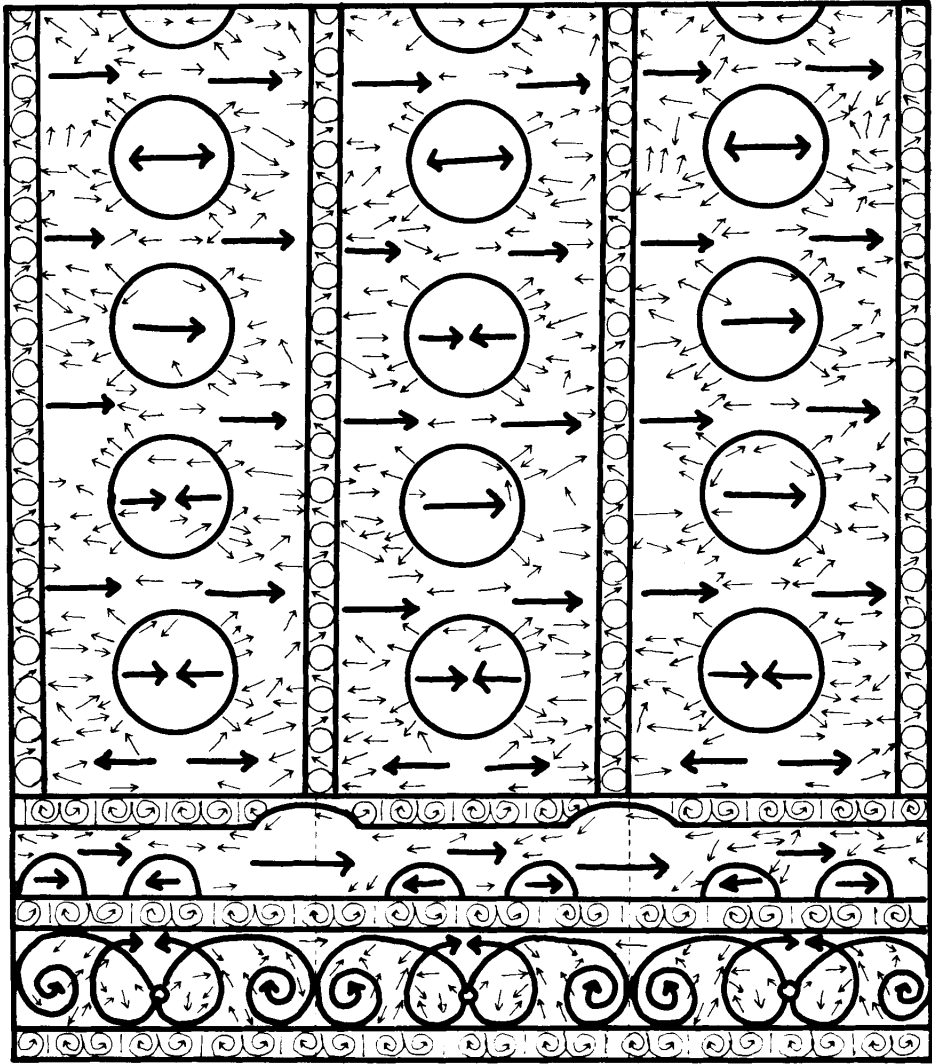


Fig. 3 – Diagram: The structural layout of the design in the Bargello hanging.

on horseback slaying a dragon; C3 – hunter on foot carrying a stag. (Notable in C3 is that the twisting figure of the hunter as he bears the stag upon his shoulders sets up a circular movement within the medallion frame).

Row 4 – D E F

Three scenes, read left to right, narrating the combat between David and Goliath.

Figs. D – David preparing to strike Goliath with the slingshot; E – David cutting off Goliath's head with a sword; F – David presenting the head to the king. In D E F there is also a relative temporal sequence understood visibly in the horizontal succession of scenes from left to right: the prologue, the deed, the epilogue.

The medallions, besides being grouped horizontally according to the superficial arrangement and narrative sequence (A-A-A / B1-C1-B3 / C2-B2-C3 / D-E-F), are also grouped according to similarities in the internal compositions (A-A-A / B1-B2-B3 / C1-C2-C3 / D-E-F) (Fig. 3). Internal continuity and balance are discernible in the composition created first by the horizontal repetition of the crowned double-headed eagles (A-A-A), then by the “v” of the three related motives of mounted hunters (B1-B2-B3) and the inverted “v” of the hunters on foot striking their prey (C1-C2-C3). In both “v”-groupings the directional forces lead towards the right. Finally, the three scenes of the story of David and Goliath (D-E-F) move in temporal and compositional succession horizontally also from left to right. Internally, the dramatic emphasis is placed on the two protagonists of the story by means of the spatial division of each medallion: D – David separated from Goliath by the slanted halberd; E – David cutting off the head of Goliath, where the rhythmic curve of the sword and the grasping hand of David enframe and concentrate attention upon Goliath's gigantic head; F – David before the king, seated on a raised dais, separated above by the canopy of the throne and below by the centrally-placed head of Goliath.

Equilibrium is also created by opposing movements within the individual motives; – as in A-A-A the directional force is ex-centric, pointed outwards towards the medallion frame (the heads of the eagle face outwards and the solid embroidered area of the wings emphasize the peripheral space), and in D-E-F the directional force is con-centric, pointed inwards towards the center of the medallion (the figures engaged in each of these events face inwards).

European-dressed hunters, showing the various modes of hunting, and a rich repertory of animals, birds, flowers, trees, vines and foliage fill the entire

background of the three vertical panels. Again, in counterdistinction to the vertical layout of the panels, the hunters are placed in horizontal rows with movement from left to right. Nevertheless, though the horizontal alignment of the hunters underlines the effect of movement to the right, a sense of dynamism and continual movement in all directions is set up by the smaller motives – animals, flowers, and vegetation – which complete the remainder of the background space. Counterbalancing the dynamism and movement in design in the background is the geometrical regularity of the overall structure. The alternation of human and animal figures creates a surface rhythm that gives an active vitality to the whole compositional design. Groups of figures, visually emphasized by areas of solid embroidery, are assigned to the interstices between the medallions in an horizontal ordering, whereas the pairs of Hindu woodland sprites, cavorting in the intertwined ribbons, set up a vertical connection between the medallions. To stabilize the movement to the right the field finishes with paired flanking lions under the last row of concentrically oriented medallions (D-E-F); the position of the lions echoes the ex-centric and symmetric scheme of the crowned double-headed imperial eagles above (A-A-A).

Two wide borders in the lower part of the hanging further enhance the structural composition of the main field. Both borders by their horizontal placement reiterate the left-to-right directional movement of the figures in the area above. Border I illustrates a marine scene: two Portuguese ships in a sea inhabited by Indians, Vaishnava, marine spirits compactly fill the space. The two ships of exactly the same form, directed rightwards, are placed exactly beneath the two central narrow, upward-spiraling, vertical borders of birds and grapevines (a). Because of their large size in relation to the surrounding objects, these boats also break the horizontal line of the bird and foliage band (b) by the introduction of two semicircles. Echoing these arcs, but on a smaller scale, are six marine grottoes from which sea nymphs are emerging. Three “nagini” (Hindu female marine sprites) and a “naga” (Hindu male marine sprite), facing right, alternate between these grottoes: one plays a stringed instrument, another casts a fish net, and another shoots a bow and arrow, while the naga raises a club to strike a fish. To the solid field of embroidery which composes their figures the negative space of the grottoes contrasts in a rhythmic surface pattern. Balancing the movement right of these female sea sprites is the movement left of the “makara” (Hindu half-fish, half-beast spirits). Myriads of small fish fill the rest of the space and further heighten the dynamic vitality of the scene by the interplay of variously directioned movements, while the two ships, in contrast, serve as fixed points. Border II completes the lower section of the hanging in a rhythmic repeat design which produces an active and yet stabilizing conclusion. The thrice-repeated scroll motif follows the tripartite division of border I and of the

main section of the hanging. This decorative border of vegetation and grotesque figures is based on an Italianate renaissance decorative scheme with a spiral repetition whose motives consolidate easily with those of Indian decoration. The scroll-like design, though filled with much movement, is balanced and symmetrical; its horizontal unfolding underlines the same aspect of the more agitated motives in the upper part of the hanging.

Because of the vivacious animation and movement in the representations, at first glance it is difficult to discern an order in the design. However, after analyzing the structure and the directional forces the underlying pattern is then seen.

The design elements in this embroidered hanging come from a variety of sources and yet are placed harmoniously. Especially interesting is the conversion of Indian motives into European ones and the interpretation of European forms in an Indian manner. A number of sources in near-contemporary European and Eastern art for the structure of this hanging exist. The overall structure resembles the serrated medallion pattern found in Italian and Spanish brocaded velvets, brocatelles, and damasks of the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The closest parallel, however, is Eastern; for, the general layout follows that of contemporary Persian medallion rugs. Even the major direction of figures rightwards in horizontal registers resembles the figural distribution typical of some Persian hunt rugs.<sup>5</sup> This horizontal disposition of motives can also be related to Indian temple decoration.<sup>6</sup>

The complete filling-in of space has a double derivation too. Traditionally, in Indian temple decoration the entire surface space was covered with figures and ornamental elements. Sometimes the Hindu legends were represented in framed spaces set into a field intricately filled with figures and foliage. This is to be seen, for example, in the Sūrya temple, Modherā, eleventh century, or in the more contemporary Mīnāksi temple, Madura, seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup> A European indication of the same desire to cover surfaces completely with decoration is found in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Portuguese Manueline architecture. The Christ Convent at Thomar, or the Royal Cloister of the monastery at Batalha, or the Jeronimos monastery at Belém, for example, are just as laden with ornamentation as the Indian temples.

Much of European influence on Indo-Portuguese crafts may be attributed to the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries who, arriving in 1542, set up convent-schools and not only gave religious instruction, but also posed an opportunity for the Indians to see European decorative arts at firsthand. The missionaries arrived in India with small Italian inlaid travelling chests whose designs were then interpreted in the marquetry done in the Mughal court workshops.<sup>8</sup>



Fig. 4. — Medallion A — Imperial eagle. Detail from the Bargello hanging.



In fact, the negative-positive aspect of the design in the Bargello hanging is closely akin to this effect created by the dark wood with light ivory inlay of the furniture, chests, and other inlaid objects done in the Indo-Portuguese colonies. This style of marquetry fusing Italianate decorative motives with Indian ones is seen especially in the inlaid Indo-Portuguese furniture made for European export.<sup>9</sup>

The missionaries also brought to the colonies books such as the Bible illustrated with vignettes and engravings and other works which would have contained Biblical stories, Graeco-Roman classical legends and ornate decorative borders. In addition, the altar cloths and ecclesiastical garments with embroidery and lace which they brought along from Portugal would have had Italianate decorative motives of scrolling plant decoration terminating in the heads of animals, monsters, sirens – motives in many respects duplicating the indigenous Indian decoration.<sup>10</sup> Patterning their works after European prototypes, the native craftsmen met the demand for additional ecclesiastical furnishings.

Not only are the interchange and intermingling of forms important in considering the compositional structure of the Bargello hanging, but also in studying the subject matter showing Indian interpretations of Portuguese or, rather, European themes. The crowned double-headed eagle (A), although in its earliest form an Eastern symbol, here stands for the Holy Roman Empire (Fig. 4). Portugal was united to Spain under Philip II in 1580 and remained so until 1640. The paired lions with smaller peacocks, also used as Eastern heraldic symbols, here are included for decorative purposes. Figures B1, C1, B3 portray bearded Portuguese warriors in armor whom the Indian embroiderers would have seen in reality in the colonies. Figures C2 and C3 represent two of the labors of the Graeco-Roman classical hero Hercules visualized in an Indian manner. This classical hero was long taken by the Christian church as symbolic of the Christian virtue of fortitude, so too for the Hindu mind the immediate association of Hercules with Hindu mythological heroes such as the incarnation of Vishnu in the hero Krishna can be easily understood.

The identification of Classical-Christian hero with Indian brings about the interesting transformations in the depictions in the coverlet. Figure C2 pictures Hercules fighting the Eurymanthean boar as a young native boy in typical early seventeenth-century European dress. The Eastern attitude in visual representation is discernible, for instance, in the way that the legs of Hercules and the back half of the boar are cut off by the medallion frame. Dissection of figures by the framework occurs likewise in other episodes in the hanging. Figure C3 shows Hercules carrying the gold-horned stag,

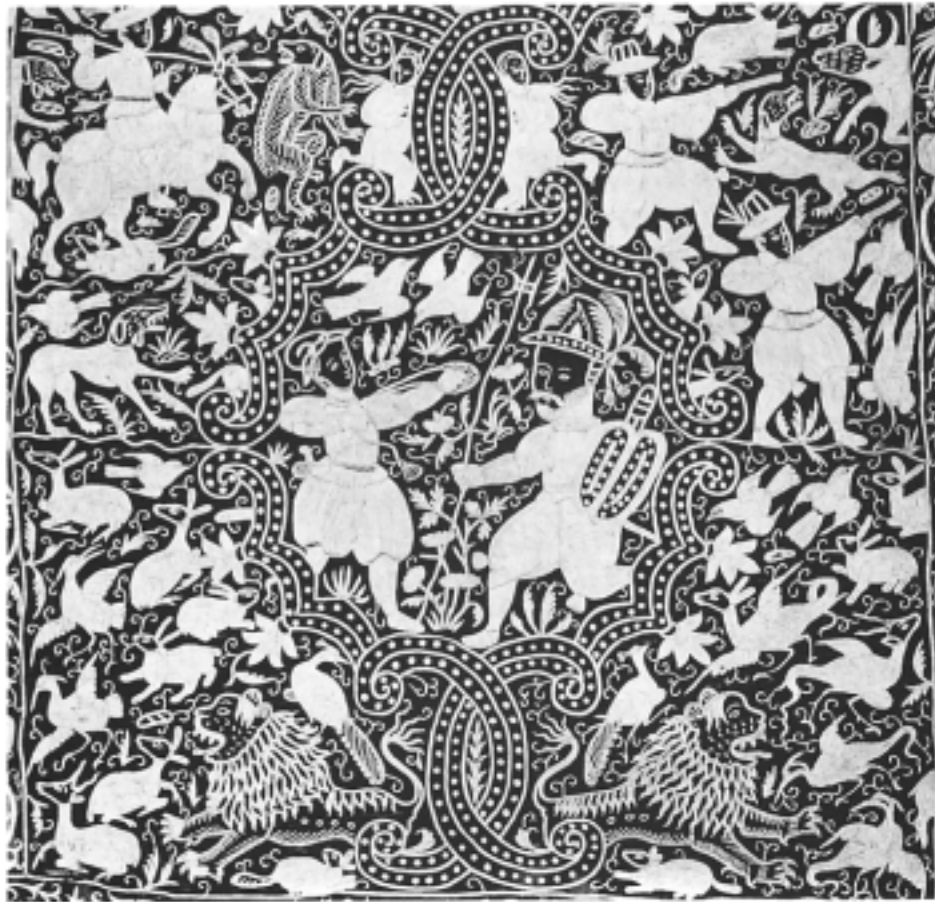


Fig. 5. — Medallion D — David encounters the giant Goliath. Detail from the Bargello hanging.

Kerynitis, upon his shoulders. The classical hero is here translated into or fused with a Persian prototype. In the Persian manner Hercules is moustached, barefooted, and wearing baggy trousers; the only trace of the classical tradition is his lion's pelt headgear. The representation of a Persian hunter who carries bagged game on his shoulders recurs commonly in Persian hunt rugs, Persian and Mughal miniatures, and even in Safavid brocades and velvets.<sup>11</sup> In Figure C1, this time armored as a conquistador, this warrior may be another transformation of Hercules in the act of slaying the Nemean lion. It is extremely possible that the structural continuity in medallions C1, C2, C3 – a hunter on foot on the left and a hunted animal on the right – and the linking of these medallions in an inverted “v” were for the purpose of pointing up the thematic continuity.

In row 3, between Figures C2 and C3 is placed Figure B2 where St. George envisaged as a young armored conquistador on horseback slays a demon-dragon. St. George overcoming the dragon was often used as a Christian symbol of good overcoming evil. In the Hindu legends where Vishnu in one of his heroic avatars slays the serpent-dragon is to be found the Indian counterpart of this. This suggests a fusion of Christian and Hindu personages in the mind of the Indian artist. Thus, from a reading of the motives horizontally in this row is found a point of continuity: the mutual thematic reference to good vanquishing evil.

Row four (D-E-F) shows successive moments in the Old Testament story of David and Goliath presented as an event from contemporary life. The two principal actors as well as the onlookers are in European dress: David dressed as a young boy with a soft folded hat; Goliath as a bearded cuirassed old soldier (Fig. 5). Sacred legend portrayed as contemporary experience is found both in Indian and European art of the times. Though the relative size of the figures – the gigantic Goliath, the large king, the smaller David, and the even smaller onlookers – is more typical of Eastern art, this dimensional difference can be found as well in sixteenth-century European embroidery dealing with similar Old Testament legends. Since the Old Testament themes were also popular in European embroidery and tapestry of the times, there was added reason for the use of the same subjects in colonial embroidery designs for Europe.<sup>12</sup> These stories, – of David and Goliath, Judith and Holofernes, the Judgement of Solomon and so forth, served as moral lessons demonstrating that good vanquishes evil. Furthermore, being melodramatic (favored in particular were stories including – sometimes erroneously – decapitations!), these stories easily lent themselves to being fused in the Indian imagination with their native legends. The Old Testament episodes recalled parallel adventures of Indian heroes recounted in the Purānas, including the Mahabhārāta and the Rāmāyana. In substance, the tales of the Rāmāyana

are emblematic of the virtues of the Hindu hero Rama conquering in the service of Vishnu just as the Old Testament stories of David, or Judith, or Solomon demonstrate the Christian hero conquering in the service of Jehovah or his terrestrial representative, the king. These subjects contributed popular motives for the group of Indo-Portuguese embroideries to which the Bargello hanging belongs.

The two-dimensional and at the same time plastic rendering of figures as in Indian relief sculpture also characterizes the mode of representation in this hanging. The body of each figure is executed as a solid area of chain-stitch embroidery while the faces are delineated in a consistently three-quarter view with a single row of chain-stitch outlining the stereotyped features.

The marine border scene (I) with Portuguese ships in a sea filled with Indian mythological water spirits is also found in the so-called Indo-Portuguese rugs which were produced in Central Persia (Isfahan or Kashan), and then afterwards in Shiraz.<sup>13</sup> These marine depictions have been referred both to the Biblical story of Noah's ark and to the Indian legend of Vishnu in his fish incarnation, Matsya, leading the ark of Manu out of the Great Flood.

The decorative border (II) of grotesque motives and the refined smaller borders (a) birds and grapevines and (b) birds and tendrils share the same ornamentation as found in the ivory inlay on small chests, boxes, and furniture of colonial workmanship. These borders have a dual origin in both the European and indigenous Indian vocabularies of decorative motives. Easily individualized as Hindu mythological motives are such figures as the "kinnaras", half-man, half-bird celestial musicians, or the "kirttimukha", the mask-like face of glory, protector of sacred places. Borders similar to border II are also found repeated in the Persian hunt rugs.

Some interesting points come to light through a comparison of the Bargello hanging to some other coverlets or hangings of the same group. Like the Bargello hanging, two panels in the Cooper Union Museum textile collection, inv. nos. 1947-50-1 and 1951-22-1, have a compositional layout of linked, serrated medallions in vertical panels framed by narrow decorative borders, though the subordinate marine (I) and grotesque (II) decorative borders are lacking.<sup>14</sup> A striking similarity exists in the layout of the motives in the medallions and background as well as in the placement of the various kinds of subject matter: Row 1 — repetition of a symmetrical, emblematic motif (the tree of life); Row 2 — hunt scenes; Row 3 — hunt scenes; Row 4 — European narratives (the Old Testament story of Judith and Holofernes in one, and a Portuguese colonial melodrama in the other). Also in these embroideries the background is filled with hunt scenes. But where the Bargello

hanging depicts solely European hunters in the background, the Cooper Union hangings include hunters in Indian, Mughal, and European dress alike. In the medallion scenes the Cooper Union examples seem to have motives that are more Indian in their association, e.g., elephant riders, Mughal hunters, Hindu mythological figures — one scene almost literally repeated in both pieces shows an avatar of Vishnu. The medallion scenes of the Bargello hanging, on the other hand, despite the externally Indian character of some motives, are more European in connotation. The narrow bands have the same pattern (birds and grapevines) save that the designs of the Cooper Union panels are less skillfully drawn. The yellow embroidery on the light ground of these panels is less emphasized than the highly contrasting yellowish-white embroidery on the dark ground of the Bargello hanging. Although the elements of the composition are the same, the quality of the drawing of the design seems less refined and almost awkward in comparison to the notable craftsmanship of the Bargello hanging.

Among a number of Indo-Portuguese coverlets repeating the same Old Testament themes and border decorations as in the Bargello hanging, though having a more usual layout for this group of embroideries, four might be mentioned: those from the A. L. Davison Collection, Pennsylvania, the J. B. Wilbur Collection, Vermont, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Museu de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.<sup>15</sup> In the motives are such subjects as the Old Testament stories of David and Goliath, David and Solomon, David and Abigail, Judith and Holofernes, and the Judgement of Solomon; St. George and the dragon; the labors of Hercules; and so forth. For example, like the Bargello hanging, the Wilbur embroidery presents the same three episodes of the story of David and Goliath. While these events take on primary importance in the Bargello hanging by being situated in the principal medallions, in the Wilbur coverlet they are given less importance by being placed in the small lateral lunettes.

It is interesting to note that in all the above-mentioned examples and in the Bargello hanging, the poses of the figures in relation to the subject represented may be considered variations of a fixed vocabulary. Such figures occur also in Western lace and embroidery and in contemporary pattern books. Perhaps these embroideries came from the same workshop or a group of regional workshops employing a repertoire of set patterns oriented towards European taste. These patterns of stereotyped forms were utilized repeatedly even for the portrayal of diverse subjects. Certain compositions of figures recur consistently, though the quality of draftsmanship may differ from one hanging to another. For example, the composition of medallion F of the Bargello hanging, David presenting the head of Goliath to the king (Fig. 6), appears in these other embroideries, where it is used to represent other Old Testament



Fig. 6. — Medallion F — David presenting the head of Goliath to the King.  
Detail from the Bargello hanging.

stories. The scene consists of a group of three persons before a king with an attendant. The king, dressed in a long robe and low crown and seated on a raised canopied throne (resembling the contemporary Indo-Portuguese chairs), appears more in the Indian tradition of royalty than in the European. Noticeable, too, is the stylized gesture of his hands with two fingers of the right hand extended in royal benediction and a mace held in the left — equally interpretable as a Christian or Hindu benediction. This treatment shows a close similarity to the figural groups in some Indian miniatures which represent kings or Hindu gods giving their blessings. This same composition appears in other contemporary Indo-Portuguese decorative arts as well, — for instance, an Indo-Portuguese ivory-decorated writing box (Fig. 7).<sup>16</sup>

This composition in the other Indo-Portuguese embroideries shows exactly the same representation of the king enthroned (be it Saul, David, or Solomon): The group before the king, whether consisting of men or women, contains three figures placed in the same positional relationship one to another. Abigail and female companions before King David (Davison) is

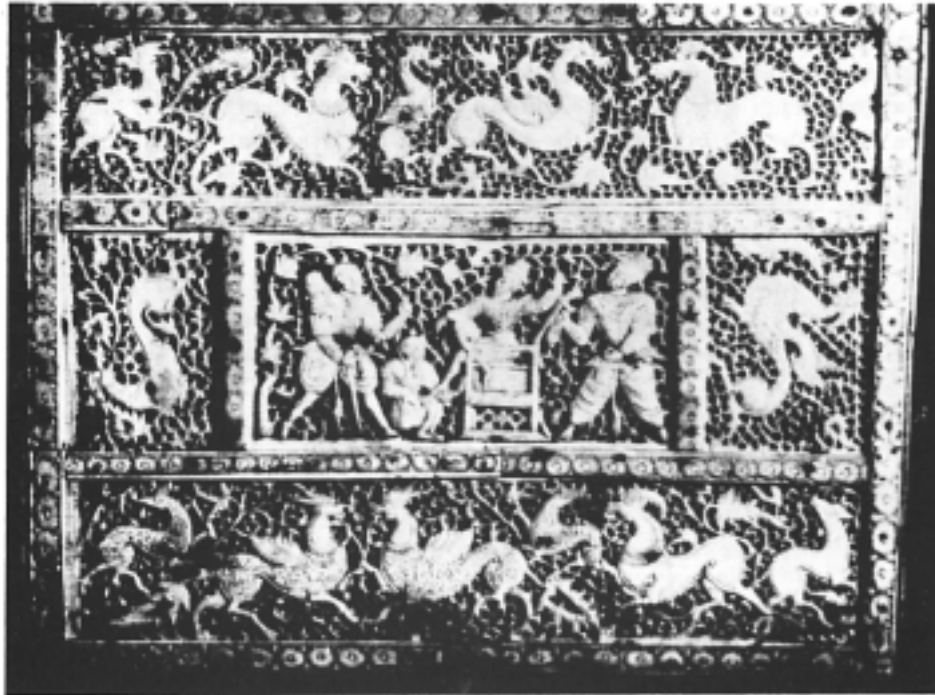


Fig. 7. — Indo-Portuguese ivory-decorated writing box. Ca. 1600. *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon*.

The same pattern of group arrangement as in Fig. 7 is seen here applied to carved ivory filigree.

interchangeable with that of Judith and female companions before Holofernes or Judith presenting the head of Holofernes to the king (Davison, Boston, Lisbon) or even of young David and male companions presenting the head of Goliath to the king (Bargello, Wilbur) or again the judgment of King Solomon (Davison, Boston, Lisbon). This repetition is seen even in details — e.g., the decapitated head of Goliath or Holofernes or Sheba the Benjamite rebel in precisely the same typology, finishing with a long lock of hair.

Not only in the major scenes but also in the secondary motives of the background, that is, hunter and quarry and floral motives, the repetition of fixed patterns is clearly evident. Included among these set figures are the mounted hunter holding a lance, the hunter bending in shooting position, the hunter carrying bagged game, as well as repetitive depictions of animals, birds, and vegetation; it is interesting to note the stylized motif of lotus flowers and geese near a pond — a Buddhist symbol of the celestial region

which becomes purely an ornamental motif. Whereas the Bargello hanging has these motives scattered throughout the background field of the vertical panels, the Davison, Wilbur, Boston, and Lisbon examples feature these hunting scenes strictly in the borders. The marine scene as well as the grotesque decorative border in these other embroideries repeat the same forms (Portuguese ships, Hindu mythological sea sprites, etc.) seen in the Bargello hanging.

Unique in the Bargello hanging is the decided thematic continuity in the medallion scenes, whereas, in the other Indo-Portuguese coverlets noted here, the same subject matter appears less ordered. The typical coverlet has a *mélange* of Old Testament, Graeco-Roman classical, and Indian figures. Rather, in the Bargello hanging is seen an iconographic program which revolves around the theme equally applicable to all its constituent elements, namely, the theme of good overcoming evil by means of the virtues of valor, courage, and prowess — Christian as well as pagan, ancient Greek and Roman as well as Hindu virtues. The chivalric moral virtues from Eastern and European legends are alike: good overcoming evil signified by man overcoming beast (St. George, or his Hindu equivalent in Vishnu, and the dragon, Hercules and the stag, boar, or lion)<sup>17</sup>; man overcoming human evil (David and Goliath); all good occurring under the aegis of the Portuguese rule symbolized by the crowned double-headed imperial eagle.

In addition, in some Indian temple decoration such as the reliefs on the Hoysalesvara temple, Halebid, 1141-82, the subject matter is stratified according to a fixed cosmic order.<sup>18</sup> Often, at the base the figures are portrayed with much animation but grow gradually less so until arriving at the uppermost stratum with the hieratic representation of the deities. Perhaps in the Bargello hanging, too, the structure of the design may be related to these ideas; thus pointing to an Indian interpretation of the European elements: the borders represent the vegetative and marine worlds; the background represents the world of animals; the medallions, the world of mankind where good overcomes evil under the good government of the imperial eagle, — hence the creation of a continuity both on grounds of structure as well as of subject matter.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps there exist more hangings with the same compositional structure and the same motives as of the Bargello hanging in other museums and collections, but no study has as yet been made to bring them together. Here is only a single contribution to these possibilities. The Bargello hanging exemplifies a less common type of Indo-Portuguese hanging composition, a relative thematic unity, a distinctive positive-negative effect of light-colored



embroidery on a dark ground similar to that of the inlaid objects from the other Indo-Portuguese decorative arts, and a high quality of design as well as of execution. In this harmonizing of European and Indian elements a work of exceptional craftsmanship and artistic value is created.



Fig. 8. — Section of border from similar Indo-Portuguese hanging embroidered in undyed cotton chain-stitch on pale yellow silk tabby backed with coarse undyed cotton tabby. Ca. 6" h. Property of Mrs. Howard Sachs.

## FOOTNOTES:

1. Technical summary:  
LOCATION: Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello), Carrand Collection n. 2255.  
OBJECT: Embroidered wall hanging.  
ATTRIBUTION: Indo-Portuguese, Bengal; first third of seventeenth century.  
PROVENANCE: Donated to the Museum in the Louis Carrand Collection in 1888; previous history unknown.  
DIMENSIONS: H. 2.33 x W. 2.00 meters. According to the dimensions of the motives and in comparison with other hangings having a similar layout, it is possible that a cut strip of about 40 cm. would complete the upper part of the hanging.  
EXECUTION: Yellowish-white Tussur silk thread embroidered in chain-stitch on a purplish-blue cotton ground (violet-red warp, dark blue weft) composed of three vertical strips, each about 67 cm. wide, sewn together. Coarse jute back facing. Remnants of fringe surround three sides of hanging: alternated red and white (*bombyx mori*) silk thread. Silk analysis confirmed by Dr. Raffaella Rossi, Scientific Faculty, University of Pisa.
2. In her article, "An Indo-Portuguese embroidery from Goa", *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, XXXIV (Aug., 1948), pp. 117-132, Marian Estabrook Moeller attributed these embroideries to the Goa region, since this city was the capitol of Portugal's eastern colonial trade and the center of commercial exchange between East and West, and dated them between 1575-1630. More recently John Irwin ("Indo-Portuguese embroideries of Bengal", *Indian Art and Letters, Journal of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society*, XXVI, n.2, 1952, pp. 65-73; and "Indian textile trade in the seventeenth century: III — Bengal", *Journal of Indian Textile History*, III, 1957, pp. 59-72) demonstrated that these embroideries come instead from the Bengal region. In concurrence with documentary and stylistic evidence Irwin, by a scientific analysis of the silk thread from ten Indo-Portuguese embroideries having more or less similar designs and embroidery technique (chain-stitch), found that the thread was wild Tussur silk which was produced in that period especially in the Bengal region and that the ground fabric was coarse cotton or jute. Bengal, furthermore, was an important center of Indian embroidery even before the advent of the Portuguese. He dates these works from 1550 to 1650.
3. Reynaldo Dos Santos, *Historia del Arte Portugués* (Barcelona, 1960), "Tejidos y colchas", p. 362. For examples of some of the various types of Indo-Portuguese embroidered coverlets, quilts, and hangings see Maria José de Mendonça, "Alguns tipos de colchas indo-portuguesas no coleção do Museu de Arte Antiga," *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, Lisboa, II, n. 2, 1951, pp. 1-21. See also exhibition catalogue: *5a Exposição Temporária — Colchas Bordados dos Séculos XVII e XVIII*, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisboa, 1945.
4. See illustrations in G. F. Wingfield Digby, "Sixteenth-Century Silk Damasks: a Spanish Group," *Burl. Mag.*, LXXIV (1939), May, pp. 222-228.
5. For example see Wilhelm Bode and Ernst Kühnel, *Vorderasiatische Knüpfteppiche aus alter Zeit* (Braunschweig, 1955) 4th ed., fig. 76: medallion rug with hunt scenes, Central Persia (Kashan), first half of sixteenth century, (Vienna, Osterreichisches Museum); fig. 94: compartment rug with personages, Kirman, or Kashan, late sixteenth century. (England, Duke of Buccleuch Collection); fig. 119: Indian rug, India, seventeenth century, (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts). Cf. Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, *A Survey of Persian art from prehistoric times to the present* (London, 1938-39), vol. XII, pl. 1072B: silk compound cloth, Kashan, seventeenth century, (Lyons, Musée des Tissus); pl. 1092: silk tapestry, Kashan?, middle sixteenth century, (England, Mrs. W. H. Moore Collection). Kashan was the second most important center, after Tabriz, of the Safavid silk industry.
6. For example, the Késava temple, Somnāthpur, 1268, shows the well-defined horizontal tiers of sculptured decoration. Reproduced in Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* (Middlesex, 1956, 2nd ed.), pl. 124.

7. The interior corridor ceiling of the Mināksi temple, Madura, seventeenth century, is divided into rectangular compartments containing single or pairs of Hindu figures in hieratic poses. Reproduced in *The Encyclopedia of World Art* (New York, Toronto, London, (1963), vol. VII, pls. 493-494. Interesting to note is that—like the Bargello hanging this ceiling decoration makes effective use of a dotted band motif to frame the various sections.
8. For further discussion of this subject and illustrated examples see K. De B. Codrington, "Mughal marquetry," *Burl. Mag.*, LVIII (1931), pp. 79-85.
9. See the examples in Wilhelm Slomann, "The Indian Period of European Furniture: I, II, III," *Burl. Mag.*, LXV (1934), pp. 113-126, 157-171, 201-214.
10. The similarity in decorative elements is clearly evident in a comparison of a detail of the carving of the Dhāmekh stupa, Sārnāth, Gupta period, (Rowland, *op. cit.*, pl. 78a) with the motives embroidered in silk on linen, Italy, mid-sixteenth century — Marie Schuette and Sigrid Müller-Christensen, *Il ricamo nella storia e nell'arte* (Ital. ed., Roma, 1963), fig. 327 : Firenze, Museo Nazionale, Carrand Collection n. 2250; fig. 328 : Firenze, Museo Nazionale, Carrand Collection, n. 2248.
11. See above note 5.
12. Examples of European embroideries with Old Testament themes are included in Yvonne Hackenbroch, *English and other Needlework in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (London, 1960), fig. 208 — scenes from the story of David and Goliath, Italy, first half of seventeenth century; Schuette-Müller, *op. cit.*, fig. 329 — scenes from the story of Judith and Holofernes, silk embroidered on linen, Italy, second half of sixteenth century, (Firenze, Museo Nazionale, Carrand Collection, n. 2253).
13. For a discussion of "Portuguese" rug motives see Friedrich Sarre, "A 'Portuguese' carpet from Knole," *Burl. Mag.*, LVIII (1931), pp. 214-19.
14. Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York: n. 1947-50-1, cotton hanging embroidered with yellow Tussur silk in chain-stitch, Bengal, early seventeenth century; n. 1951-22-1, cotton hanging embroidered with yellow Tussur silk in chain-stitch, Bengal, early seventeenth century (given to the Museum by Miss Alice B. Beer, Curator of Textiles, Cooper Hewitt Museum). These hangings were briefly mentioned in Jean Mailey, "Indian textiles in the Museum's Collection," *Cooper Union Museum Chronicle*, II (1953), n. 5, p. 134. N. 1951-22-1 appears to be the same hanging reproduced in Irwin, *op. cit.*, 1952, in fig. 7, stating "present whereabouts unknown".
15. Austin L. Davison Collection, Pennsylvania: hanging of brown cotton embroidered with yellowish-brown Tussur silk in chain-stitch; chain-stitch motives are appliquéd upon the ground. 10½ ft. x 8 ft. Bengal, early seventeenth century. Discussed in detail in Moeller, *op. cit.*, 1948, figs. 1, 2, 4, 6-8. See also Irwin, *op. cit.*, 1952, fig. 3.

James B. Wilbur Collection, Vermont: coverlet with yellow silk chain-stitch embroidery. 7 ft. x 6 ft. 11 in., (Bengal, early seventeenth century). *Sale Catalogue N. 4051: Furniture and Decorations*, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, Inc., New York, Oct. 14, 1933, lot n. 404 (from the collection of the late James B. Wilbur, Manchester, Vermont) with illustration.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: n. 46.421, coverlet embroidered with yellow Tussur silk in chain-stitch. Bengal, early seventeenth century. Reproduced in Irwin, *op. cit.*, 1952, fig. 2.

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon: quilt of two layers of cotton embroidered with yellow Tussur silk in chain-stitch. 3.30 x 2.80 m., Bengal, first third of seventeenth century. Discussed in Maria José Mendonça, "Bordados Indo-Portugueses: Novas aquisições do Museu de Lisboa," *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga*, III, n. 1, 1953, pp. 34-39, fig. 1.

16. See exhibition catalogue: *Influências do Oriente na Arte Portuguesa Continental/A Arte nas Províncias Portuguesas do Ultramar*, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisboa, 1957; Sala II, n. 53 — Writing box, 185 x 195 x 238 mm., Indo-Portuguese end of sixteenth — beginning of seventeenth century. In the center of each side, in a field of grotesque and foliage decoration, are narrative scenes. On the two shorter sides are represented events from Hindu mythology; on the two longer sides and the cover are depicted figures in Portuguese dress of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in a hunting scene, a tourney, and what is possibly a scene showing the liberation of a captive (illustrated). Carved ivory lattice-work on top of gold-leaf covered wood. The subject matter and the layout are the same as in the Indo-Portuguese embroideries.
17. The labors of Hercules were employed in European art in the late sixteenth century, especially in the decoration of public buildings where they signified the triumph of good government. The idea of civic valor was also attached to the figure of David in his vanquishing of Goliath. In Piazza Signoria, Florence, for example, statues representing both Hercules and David were placed in front of Palazzo Vecchio, the governmental building, during the sixteenth century.
18. The Hoysálesvara temple, Halebid, 1141-82, (Rowland, *op. cit.*, pl. 125b) is a notable example where the tiers of decoration are subject to a predetermined iconographic plan.
19. Considering that the two previously mentioned hangings having the same medallion layout present an upper row of medallions containing the tree of life, an hypothesis might be that in the Bargello hanging the incomplete row of medallions, of which paired animals are visible, could have contained the tree of life motif. This would also be in accord with the iconographic program by relating all the strata of earthly life to the eternal, the tree of life.

## SOME COROMANDEL CHINTZES

By EBELTJE JONXIS

**D**IRECTLY 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."<sup>1</sup> 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 chintzes<sup>2</sup> 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."<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

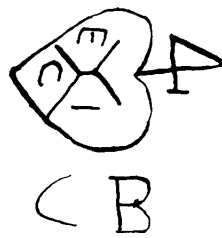
#### *Bengal and adjoining areas*

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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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."<sup>10</sup>



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.<sup>11</sup> A lively description of cotton painting along the Coromandel coast is given by Wouter Schouten in 1676.<sup>12</sup>

"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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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

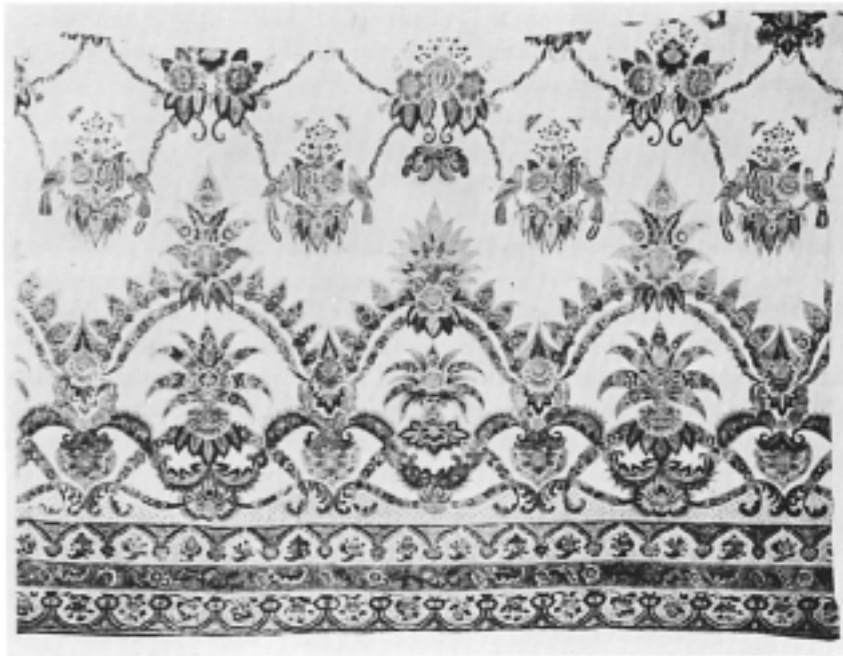


Fig. 3. Hanging, Coromandel coast, about 1730. Victoria and Albert Museum, London (I. S. 48A-1950).

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

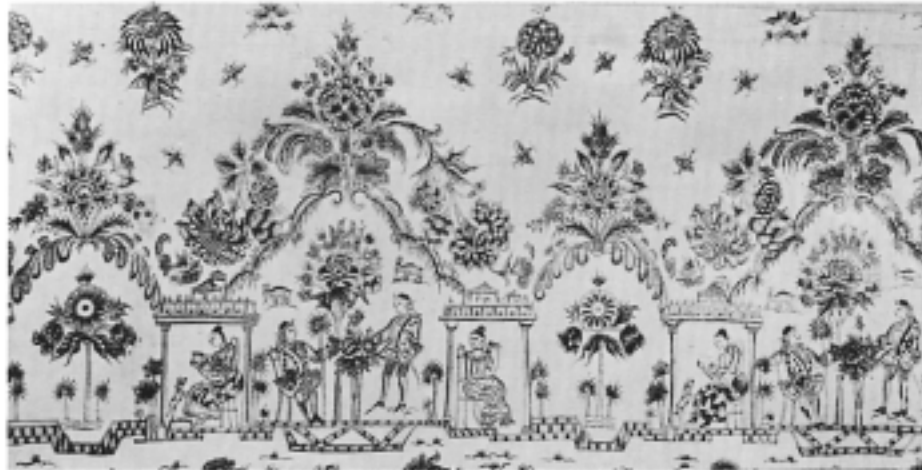


Fig. 5. Part of a bedcover, Central India or Coromandel coast, 1690-1740. Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York (1953 - 205-1). L. 1 m. 70 cm., W. 50 cm.

copying of Gujarat cloth.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.”<sup>17</sup> 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,<sup>18</sup> 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,<sup>19</sup> 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 silks<sup>20</sup> popular on the Coromandel coast in the seventeenth century.

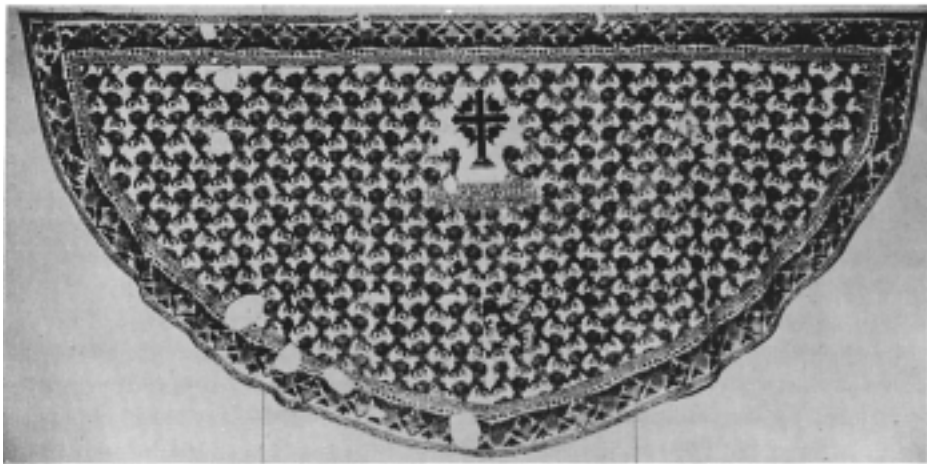


Fig. 8. Cope, Coromandel coast, 1787. L. 1 m. 45 cm., W. 2 m. 92 cm. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (934.4.37).

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 Thienen<sup>21</sup>, 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*<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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.<sup>25</sup> In the marquetry of a small table of the Mughal period (before approximately 1615) two isolated figures are seated under an architectural arch.<sup>26</sup> 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."<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup>

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 subject<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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 Voyagie*, 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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## BOOK NOTES

Brigitte Klesse, *SEIDENSTOFFE IN DER ITALIENISCHEN MALEREI DES 14. JAHRHUNDERTS*. 519 drawings, 12 color-plates, 211 black and white photographs (Verlag Stämpfli, Bern, 1967). Vol. I of the Abegg Foundation Publications.

Review by Eva Zimmerman from *Pantheon Internationals Zeitschrift für Kunst* March 27, 1969

Translated by Malcolm Delacorte

Not since 1911 when Otto von Falke expressed his pleasant thoughts about Trecento weaving in *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* has any assessment of this domain been attempted. This lends considerable weight to Brigitte Klesse's work which is magnificently illustrated thanks to the Abegg-Stiftung. The starting point of her investigations are the fabrics appearing in Trecento painting, textile creations of magical charm which truly seem to have an air of unreality about them.

The writer gives convincing proof that the fabrics depicted in paintings are related to the weaving of the time, however, the pictorial representations and the actual material only overlap each other in part. Painters were selective according to their own viewpoints. While patterned material was still related to the attributes of the wearer in the early Trecento (it had not yet been thought of in terms of fashion), during the later part of the century the ornament of the fabric became more and more important. At this time patterned material is purposely placed in the painting for the sake of the composition. The special characteristics of fabrics depicted in paintings (as opposed to actual fabrics) may be seen in pattern colors which are changed at will and by the fact that certain patterns of a workshop were used for a long period of time. Indeed the link between pattern and workshop is so strong that the writer can confirm stylistic connections in paintings by the use of the same pattern master.

With this problem of two large areas, painting and weaving, it would have been wiser to have studied either the artistic function of the fabrics within the pictures or to have studied the Trecento paintings as part of textile history. Both these aspects are touched upon in the present work, but the main emphasis is put upon fabrics in painting, of which the author has catalogued 519 pieces that appear together with an equal number of drawings of their patterns arranged in corpus form.

What do these imaginary fabrics offer in the way of scientific study? They are a part of the history of ornament reaching from the Late Antique circle pattern of the thirteenth century to the pomegranate design of the Renaissance. They are also the basis for a study which encompasses the discussion of Islamic and east Asian influences on textiles during the first half of the fourteenth century as well as the beginning of Gothic silk-weaving. This is a magnificent theme, which is mastered on the basis of expert knowledge and surprising feeling. Rarely has the reviewer read such thorough descriptions of patterns, in which mathematical exactness and artistic feeling have been so well combined. Thanks to the analysis of structure it is possible to find parallels between the woven originals and those that appear in paintings. Here the pattern-drawings of the author are a great help, because the photographs of painted fabrics are not always clear.

The historical study begins with the abstract geometric patterns of Islamic origin, which were preferred by Giotto. Quite correctly it is pointed out that Giotto, who used materials with these patterns for canopies and wall hangings, discovered that they could be employed as readily to create space illusion through perspective manipulation as the patterns of floor tiles. One should add that this ornamentation fits the classic style of the painter for whom

space and figures were of primary importance, much better than the pattern of diaper fabrics of Lucca with their large animal figures.

While Giotto and his school were being influenced by Islamic silks, the Sieneese preferred the small Chinese patterns, import material satisfying similar taste for the abstract. These small patterns often create a sense of confusion and may be compared with the clear, orderly fabric patterns depicted in Florentine painting. Venice is even more open to Eastern influences. Paolo Veneziano paints fabrics with lotus palmettes and double vines in the Chinese manner. Here, as with the Sieneese, the reproductions of the fabrics in paintings become important documents since there are few remains of the original imported silks.

In the second half of the fourteenth century one may observe increasing exactness in the reproduction of fabrics. Now one finds much stronger evidence of local silk production in paintings. This is especially true of painted animal patterns which depict the east Asian model in a rigid, orderly, typical European manner. The author concludes from this that the actual development from the eastern animal patterns took place in the first part of the century.

The study of fabrics in painting offers no solution to the old question of which weavings come from Lucca and which come from Venice, since the Venetian painters preferred imported silks and Lucca on the other hand did not produce a school of painting of its own. Should it be possible to prove the new theory that a painting which depicts an animal-pattern fabric can be attributed to the Lucca resident Angelo Puccinelli, then there would be a group of silk weavings which could be definitely attributed to Lucca. One would like especially to believe this hypothesis, a theory suggested by the author, since the animal patterns had forerunners in the diasper fabrics of Lucca. Lucca was famous for this material produced in its early days before the conquest of the city by Pisa in 1314.

A special group among the preserved silk weavings of the fourteenth century is made up of pieces that have areas filled with a grape-vine motif done in a more or less monochromatic and regular manner. Since this is found relatively frequently in Florentine painting and since Florence took advantage of the decline of the silk industry in Lucca after 1314, it seems reasonable to see these silks as a Florentine product.

The observations of the history of ornament end with the chapter on plant designs. For the silk-weavers of the middle ages these were a novelty and deserve special interest as the precursors of the pure plant designs of Renaissance fabrics. The author shows evidence of the development of the pomegranate motif through two early examples of dated sculpture by Donatello. Considering the derivation of this motif, the writer draws attention to a Byzantine manuscript of the tenth century as well as to the early Islamic facade at Mschatta. The first example is amazingly similar to the Quattrocento pattern.

Only the fabrics with figural motifs are scantily represented in this presentation. They appear as work of a transition period coming between the abstract patterns of the time of Giotto and the epoch of the pomegranate motif and not as what they are, the supreme achievement of Gothic silk-weaving. This is the result of the strict limitations of tracing the history of fabrics through painting. At this point, one wishes for a brief glimpse of those creations of the loom which the painters withheld from us. It is indeed mentioned that they not only never rendered patterns then in use which had human figures on them but they also excluded the best animal designs. These fabrics artfully efface the boundaries of conformity and bind heterogeneous elements together in a fantastic manner. Clearly the painters avoided depicting such a picture within a picture and favored regular patterns. All this points to the tasks of future textile research (research which in Miss Klesse's case has been exhaustively pursued), and that is to use well dated material in addition to the rich fund of original fabrics to rewrite the history of silk-weaving in the fourteenth century.

## NOTES ON THE AUTHORS

*Mrs. Rosalia Bonito Fanelli* works in the Textile Section of the Museo Nazionale (Bargello) in Florence.

*Babette Hanish* has had two different grants to study embroidery in India and is Assistant Professor of Art History at the University of Wisconsin.

*John Irwin* is Keeper of the Indian Department at the Victoria and Albert Museum and has lived and studied in India several times.

*Ebeltje Jonxis* lives in Amsterdam where she is a graduate student in art history.

## CLUB NOTES

A very interesting report on the Royal School of Needlework illustrated with beautiful slides was given to the Club by Lady Vaughan-Morgan, the chairman of the School's board, on Wednesday afternoon, January twenty-ninth, at the clubhouse of the Junior League of the City of New York. This program and the lavish tea that followed were made possible through the generosity of Mrs. William F. Lamb, Mrs. Alan Rhys Martin, Miss Mildred McCormick, and Mrs. Earle Kress Williams.

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The Club was honored to be addressed on Tuesday afternoon, February 11th, at the Lotos Club by Mr. John Irwin, Keeper of the Indian Pavilion at the Victoria and Albert Museum, who spoke to them on "Indo-European Embroideries at the Victoria and Albert Museum." At the delightful tea following, many members enjoyed conversations with this brilliant and youthful-looking scholar. The generous hostesses were Mrs. Edward A. Bacon, Jr., Miss Lydia Bush-Brown, Mrs. L. Earle Rowe, and Miss Frances Williams.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mrs. Rudolph Fluegge entertained members of the Needle and Bobbin Club at her home at 563 Park Avenue on Wednesday afternoon, March 26th. After a stimulating report on "Contemporary Developments in Embroidery in Europe," by Miss Marianne Huebner, the members had the great pleasure of viewing the Fluegge's numerous and varied art treasures, and of partaking of a sumptuous tea.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Club's Annual Meeting was held Wednesday afternoon, April twenty-third, at the charming clubhouse of the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of New York, through the kindness of Mrs. William Seward Allen, Mrs. Robert McC. Marsh, Mrs. Charles B. Martin, and Mrs. Malcolm E. Smith. Mr. J. H. Callister, Curator of Costume and Textiles in the Wadsworth Atheneum at Hartford, Connecticut, gave a most amusing and knowledgeable talk — "Why Did They Wear *That?*" Afterwards all enjoyed a delightful tea.

\* \* \* \* \*

A small group of members took off by chartered bus on a beautiful fall day, the fifteenth of October, for a visit to Philipsburg Manor, newly opened after restoration through the generosity of the Rockefellers. They stopped en route at the old Mark Twain house overlooking the Tappan Zee, now the Tappan Hill Restaurant, for luncheon, then, after admiring its garden of autumn flowers, went on to the Manor, where they were welcomed by the Curator, Mr. Joseph Butler. At the new gate-house they examined the chronology of the Philipse family and looked over an interesting display of the fragments of various 18th-century ceramic wares retrieved from the

Manor site. Then they walked across the dam for the millsite to the mill itself on an island in mid-stream. This little mill, now restored to its eighteenth-century aspect, grinds only corn with its hand-carved wooden machinery, and each member was happy to receive a gift of its water-ground corn meal. A short walk from here they reached the Manor itself, a simple eighteenth-century farmhouse of the kind rarely preserved. All were much interested to have Mr. Butler show them its two floors — the living room, dining room, and upstairs kitchen on the main floor; the bedroom above; and below, in a sort of basement, the main kitchen for heavy cooking, the workshop and laundry. Of special interest to the members, of course, were the spectacular bed furniture — heavy embroidered crewel designs of the eighteenth century reapplied on a red wool ground perhaps seventy-five years later, a damask tablecover woven with city scenes, and the linsey-woolsey loom set up in the barn behind the Manor. Here the weaver, in eighteenth-century costume, showed the members how flax, one of the fibres used in this fabric was retted, carded, and spun into thread. The delightful afternoon ended with a visit to the kitchen garden of herbs, and tea in the gate-house kitchen.

\* \* \* \* \*

On Thursday, November thirteenth, Mr. and Mrs. Leonard Turner collaborated on a most interesting presentation on American Indian weaving including beautiful color slides, examples of the weaving from their collection, and contemporary textiles adapted from these by their weaving students at the Montclair Museum. The meeting was held at the Lotos Club, and the generous hostesses offering refreshments were Mrs. Carl C. Dauterman, Mrs. John Williams Morgan, Mrs. Hebard Morris, and Mrs. Earle Kress Williams.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mr. and Mrs. Norris W. Harkness held their yearly Christmas cocktail party and tea for Needle and Bobbin Club members and their guests on Saturday, December twentieth. Members and friends crowded the Harkness's hospitable apartment to enjoy the festive decorations and abundant refreshments in the highest of Christmas spirits.

## IN MEMORIAM

The Needle and Bobbin Club cherishes the memory of members who have died during the past year.

*Mrs. Robert Wood Bliss*, a life-member of fondly remembered association with the Club;

*Mrs. Bradford Boardman*, a friend from childhood of many members;

*Mrs. Samuel Cabot*, a delightful New Englander, whose interesting discoveries on *toile* design sources were presented in articles in the Bulletin;

*Mrs. John O. Outwater*, generous hostess and friend;

*Mrs. Harriett Tidball*, handweaver and founder of the Shuttlecraft Guild; editor of its Bulletin and of the Shuttlecraft Guild Monographs;

*Mrs. Edgar M. Williams*, devoted long-time member.

The Club wishes to thank the generous members who responded to the plea for a donation to cover the unexpected expenses on last year's Bulletin.

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