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DORIS’S CHOICE: INDIAN CARPETs AND TEXTILES AT SHANGRI LA

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ABSTRACT
Doris Duke's strong interest in and understanding of Mughal art is reflected in the quality and variety of Indian objects at Shangri La. Based on the author’s research conducted in March 2013 on Indian carpets and textiles held by the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, this paper focuses on a red-ground pair of shaped carpets (81.49, 81.50), a medallion carpet (81.30), and three Indian textiles of the seventeenth to nineteenth century (83.13a–b; 85.32; 85.6a–b) and describes how and in what circumstances they were produced in India, circulated globally, and used in different contexts in different societies. The medallion carpet (81.30) has been attributed to eighteenth-century north India, but the design, technique, and material seem to suggest a Deccani (south Indian) origin. Similarly, a Deccani origin for embroidered textile (85.6a–b), currently attributed to eighteenth century north India, is discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

The Honolulu residence of Doris Duke (1912–93), full of high-quality Islamic art objects, is a result of her honeymoon tour of 1935 and subsequent travels that spurred a lifelong interest in Islamic art.\(^1\) Among the many countries she visited was India, for which she is said to have had a particular fondness. In 1935 her husband, James Cromwell (1896–1990), wrote to his mother from India that Duke “had fallen in love with the Taj Mahal and all the beautiful marble tile, with their lovely floral designs with some precious stones.”\(^2\) Her taste for Mughal art led her to commission a marble bedroom and bathroom for Shangri La in the style of Mughal India.

The bathroom reflects Duke’s understanding of and passion for Mughal art. The screen of marble pierce work in the room imitates a similar marble pierced screen, known as \textit{jali}, at the Taj Mahal. And the floor and walls of the bathroom, like the surface decoration of the Taj Mahal, are embellished with \textit{pietra dura}, an inlay technique that employs cut and polished colored stones. Reflecting Duke’s strong interest in Mughal art, the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art collection contains high-quality Indian carpets and textiles along with a variety of Islamic art objects from Iran, North Africa, and Spain. Based on my March 2013 research on Indian carpets and textiles held by the DDFIA, this paper focuses on two Indian carpets and three Indian textiles of the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, describing how and under what circumstances they were produced in India, circulated globally, and used in varied contexts in different societies.\(^3\)

Researching Indian carpets and textiles at Shangri La in March 2013 as part of the Scholars-in-Residence program was a great experience. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Ms. Deborah Pope, Ms. Carol Khewhok, Ms. Ann Svenson, Mr. Kent Severson, Ms. Dawn Sueoka, Ms. Bethany Bannister-Andrews, and the other staff members who kindly supported my stay and research at Shangri La. Also, I am grateful to Dr. Keelan Overton, who kindly gave me the chance to apply for this wonderful program.


\(^3\) This paper is based on a talk delivered at Shangri La on March 23, 2013. Part of the work is based on Yumiko Kamada, “Flowers on Floats: The Production, Circulation, and Reception of Early Modern Indian Carpets” (Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2011), and subsequent publications mentioned in this paper.

A PAIR OF SHAPED MUGHAL CARPETS

The DDFIA owns a pair of large, shaped carpets (467.4 x 287.0 cm and 442.0 x 269.2 cm) that are examples of one of the most famous types of north Indian carpet of the seventeenth century (figs. 1–2).

Fig. 1: Carpet. Northern India, mid-seventeenth century, wool, cotton. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 81.49. (Photo: David Franzen, 2009.)

Fig. 2: Carpet. Northern India, mid-seventeenth century, wool, cotton. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 81.50. (Photo: David Franzen, 2009.)

The red field of each carpet is filled with patterns of flowering plants arranged in rows (fig. 3); a relatively fine weave of about 156 knots per square inch enables their detailed depiction (fig. 4). This pair of carpets is assumed to have been used in the Amber Palace,
which was built in 1592 by Raja Man Singh in north India. In 1727 his descendant Sawai Jai Singh founded a new city, Jaipur, about eleven kilometers south of the Amber Palace, and in 1733, Jaipur Palace was completed. From 1875 on, the carpets in the Rajput court of the Amber Palace were transferred to Jaipur Palace. In 1929, in order to preserve these carpets, Mr. A. J. D. Campbell, an employee of the Victoria and Albert Museum, was invited to create records of the carpets in Jaipur Palace. As is apparent from the more than two hundred photographs taken by Mr. Campbell that year, this collection once contained a wide variety of carpets, sixteen shaped carpets among them. While we do not know the exact timeframes, some of the shaped carpets in Jaipur Palace left India before or after Campbell’s investigation and passed into European and American private and museum collections. For instance, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (66.228), has a shaped carpet of the same type as those held by the DDFIA, while the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. (R.63.00.3), and the Cincinnati Art Museum (1952. 201) own different types of shaped carpets.

Fig. 3: Detail of DDFIA 81.50. (Photo: Yumiko Kamada.)

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7 For these shaped carpets in Jaipur Palace, see Campbell’s photographs, nos. 25, 77, 93, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 139, 140, 159, 171, and 176.
8 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gift of John Goelet (66.228). For the image, see Walker, Flowers Underfoot, 104, fig. 102.
10 The shaped carpet in the Cincinnati Art Museum was donated to the museum by Mrs. Audrey Emery in 1952. See Walker, Flowers Underfoot, 104, 170, cat. no. 25.
In addition to these red-ground shaped carpets with flowering plants, a rectangular format of the same type was also very popular. Campbell’s photographic collection includes images of twenty-three rectangular carpets with the same design, and several collections in the West, such as the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon (T. 61), also own them. Carpets of this type also remain in India; some are preserved in the City Palace Museum in Jaipur. The Albert Hall Museum in Jaipur also holds a shaped carpet similar to the one in the Textile Museum (R.63.00.3), as well as a round-shaped carpet and a fragment of a rectangular carpet with the same type of flowering plants.

Owing to previous research by Keelan Overton, the provenance of the pair of shaped carpets once in Jaipur and currently owned by the DDFIA has been verified as follows. One of them (81.49) must have left India before Campbell’s research, as it was published in 1922 as belonging to Lionel Harris, who owned the Spanish Art Gallery in London. According to Overton, sometime between 1931 and 1940 the pair was owned by Hagop Kevorkian (1872–1962), a famous dealer in New York. In 1941, seeking to sell this pair of carpets, Kevorkian wrote a letter to Doris Duke’s secretary emphasizing their quality and prestigious provenance. However, Duke did not purchase the carpets from him.

More than two decades later, in 1966–67, the Kevorkian Foundation organized a traveling exhibition of forty-one carpets from Kevorkian’s collection, which included the pair of

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11 For rectangular carpets with similar flowering plants, see Campbell’s photographs, nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 34, 37, 38, 40, 49, 51, 57, 83, 156, 158, 161, 162, 164, 165, 166, 169, 187, and 209. For the carpet in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum (T. 61), see João Castel-Branco Pereira et al., *Calouste Gulbenkian Museum* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2009), 66–67.
12 Two examples of the shaped carpets in Jaipur have been published in color. See E. Gans-Ruedin, *Indian Carpets* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 100–103.
shaped carpets now at Shangri La as well as a famous, large seventeenth- or eighteenth-century carpet from south India (the Deccan)\textsuperscript{16} now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar (CA.17.1997.OL).\textsuperscript{17} This exhibition, which traveled to prominent cities in the U.S., played a pivotal role in drawing the public’s attention to carpets from Islamic lands. However, as Overton’s research reveals, before this pair became part of the DDFIA collection they were auctioned at Sotheby’s London in 1969–70, purchased by J. Paul Getty, and preserved in the stores of the Getty Museum until 1990, when the pair was auctioned again at Sotheby’s. It was through this auction that Doris Duke purchased them. The acquisition of these shaped carpets late in Duke’s life (at the age of seventy-eight) demonstrates that her passion for Islamic art was a lifelong one, which continued until her death three years later. Unfortunately, the carpets were put in storage and were not brought to Shangri La during her lifetime.\textsuperscript{18} However, this pair of shaped carpets, now at Shangri La, is very important: it is the only known pair of this type, and both carpets are in very good condition.

\textit{The Production of Shaped Carpets}

The DDFIA pair of shaped carpets is part of the group of shaped Mughal carpets that are generally attributed to the mid-seventeenth-century reign of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58) and are believed to have come from north India, probably Lahore or Kashmir.\textsuperscript{19} The arrangement of the several varieties of flowers depicted on them can be found in the marble decoration of the Taj Mahal, which was built by Shah Jahan and completed in 1653. This pattern was very popular at that time, and the border of a contemporary album commissioned by Shah Jahan employs a similar flower pattern.\textsuperscript{20} These motifs of flowering plants were taken from engravings in European herbals. As Elaine Wright remarks, as early as 1616, following European herbals such as John Gerard’s \textit{Generall Historie of Plantes} (1597), the Mughal artist Mansur produced various botanical illustrations.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, the design of the floral pattern on the shaped carpets in Shangri La conforms to the pictorial tradition of the mid-seventeenth century.

\textsuperscript{16} The term “Deccan” is used here to indicate the large area of south India.
\textsuperscript{18} Information from The Museum System (TMS) records for 81.49 and 81.50.
\textsuperscript{19} For circular carpets and shaped carpets of this type, see Walker, \textit{Flowers Underfoot}, 102–5.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 96–97, figs. 44–46.
The function of these shaped carpets has been discussed by scholars; in 1984, Yaduendra Sahai, then a keeper of the Jaipur City Palace Museum, suggested that these shaped carpets were designed for the verandahs of tents. According to Sahai, large tents were frequently put up for guests on the royal grounds in Jaipur. These tents featured verandahs as well as covered passageways between them.22 On the other hand, Jon Thompson assumes that shaped carpets were specifically arranged to fit pavilion-tents inside the palace.23 Daniel Walker suggests that they were used to decorate the floor around a throne on a raised dais.24 If this were the case, a pair of shaped carpets could have been spread around a hexagonal throne or a pedestal. This supposition reminds us of the Mughal painting Princes of the House of Timur (fig. 5),25 in which princes sit on a raised hexagonal pedestal. From such thrones, princes and nobles could enjoy a variety of flowers woven on shaped carpets that would have been oriented for optimal viewing by the sitter.

Fig. 5: The Princes of the House of Timur. India, ca. 1550–55. British Museum 1913,0208,0.1. © Trustees of the British Museum.

24 Walker, Flowers Underfoot, 105, fig. 103.
25 For this painting, see Sheila Canby, ed., Humayun’s Garden Party: Princes of the House of Timur and Early Mughal Painting (Bombay: Marg, 1994).
In any case, such shaped carpets would have been appropriate floor coverings for royalty: the intense red color background adorned with a variety of flowers could vividly beautify a palace made of white marble or sandstone, materials that were often used for palaces in India. Moreover, as the illustration of a Padshahnama produced in the mid-seventeenth century shows, carpets, along with a variety of other textiles, were essential furnishings at the Mughal court. Given the fact that the wall decoration of the Amber Palace incorporates Mughal-style carved marble slabs and that the Jaipur Palace has Mughal-style pavilions, the maharajas were probably eager to purchase a large number of red-ground shaped carpets with the motif of flowering plants, a style that was in vogue at the Mughal courts.

Brief History of Carpet Production in India

The production of pile carpets in north India is recorded as early as the late tenth century. In 985/986, reporting on the commercial products of Sind (the eastern part of the Indian subcontinent and modern Pakistan), the Arab geographer Muqaddasi (ca. 945/946–1000) stated that, “In all the provinces, carpets (busut) and the like, of the kind made in Kuhistan and Khurasan are manufactured…”

According to Steven Cohen, Muqaddasi’s statement is confirmed by other contemporary Arab and Persian authors. While Muslim merchants came to India and engaged in trade between India and Central and Western Asia, and might have transported carpet to India, it is also highly probable that the Muslim invasion of north India, which started during the eleventh century, led to the frequent production of pile carpets, as carpet was a necessary court furnishing and was often used for prayers. From around the beginning of the eleventh century, Mahmud of Ghazna (r. 998–1030) is said to have conducted raids into India on seventeen occasions. Then, in the late twelfth century, the Ghurids invaded and occupied north India. Subsequently, Qutb al-Din Aïbak (r. 1206–10) founded the Delhi sultanates that ruled north India from 1206 until the beginning of the

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26 For the illustrations from Padshahnama, see Milo Cleveland Beach and Ebba Koch, King of the World: The Padshahnama (London: Azimuth, 1997), esp. 29, 47.
27 Michell and Martinelli, The Royal Palaces of India, 163, 165.
Mughal Empire (1526).  

One of the Delhi sultanates was the Lodi dynasty, which ruled Delhi from 1451 to 1526 and directly preceded the Mughal dynasty. In 1517, on the occasion of the coronation of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lodi at Delhi, people prepared “the tents, embroidered with gold and adorned with jewels, and spread carpets of various colours, worked with gold thread.” While the type of carpet is unstated in these records, some of them were probably pile carpets. The use of carpet at that time is also indicated by contemporary manuscript paintings.

The production of pile carpets was refined under the Mughal dynasty, which ruled north India from 1526 to 1857. It is commonly agreed that the high point of artistic creativity in Mughal India occurred during the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, a period which spans from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century. Around 1590, Abu al-Fazl, who served Akbar (r. 1556–1605), wrote a history of Akbar’s reign, A’in-i Akbari, in which he describes carpet production at that time:

His Majesty has caused carpets to be made of wonderful varieties and charming textures; he has appointed experienced workmen, who have produced many masterpieces. The gilim of Iran and Turan are no more thought of, although merchants still import carpets from Goshkan, Khuzistan, Kirman, and Sabzwar. All kinds of carpet-weavers have settled here, and drive a flourishing trade. These are found in every town, especially in Agra, Fathpur and Lahor.

Thus, it is recorded that around the mid-sixteenth century, during the reign of Akbar, a variety of carpets were woven in India, especially in the imperial capitals of Agra, Fathehpur Sikri, and Lahore; additionally, it is indicated that these carpets were of a

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32 For a detailed history of carpet production in India, see Cohen, “The Development of Indian Floorcoverings.”
33 The Malwa Sultanate was an independent kingdom in northwest India from 1392 to 1562, and many illustrated manuscripts were made at the Malwa court. Among them is an illustrated manuscript of the Ni’mat-nama (Book of Delights) of Ghiyath Shahi (r. 1469–1500), datable to 1495–1505. In the illustration of “Ghiyath Shah Feasting,” he is sitting on a carpet with a pseudo-Kufic border. For the illustration, see Norah Titley, The Ni’mat-nama Manuscript of the Sultans of Mandu: The Sultan’s Book of Delights (New York: Routledge, 2005), pl. 48; and Kamada, “Flowers on Floats,” pl. 7.
34 The A’in-i Akbari, trans. H. Blochmann (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society, 2010), vol. 1, 57; and Walker, Flowers Underfoot, 7.
sufficient quality to be comparable to Persian and Central Asian carpets. So-called pictorial carpets attributed to Lahore, such as one in Vienna and another in Boston, represent a major accomplishment in Indian carpet weaving during the reign of Akbar. Their extremely dense weave (about 460 knots per square inch) enabled the weaver to create naturalistically depicted trees, flowers, and various kinds of animals with subtle color tones. In the early to mid-seventeenth century, another type of finely woven carpet was produced in north India out of pashmina wool from the undercoat of Himalayan mountain goats. Carpets with pashmina pile on a silk foundation were the most luxurious carpets produced in India: a niche-and-flower design carpet in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection, attributed to the reign of Shah Jahan, is regarded as one of the most finely woven carpets in the history of the craft.

**Technical Analysis of the Shaped Carpets**

Such are the circumstances in which the group of shaped carpets was produced. However, technical analysis of the pair of DDFIA carpets indicates that they were not as finely woven as pashmina carpets. The pile (3Z, 4Z) is wool instead of pashmina, and it has 156–168 knots per square inch, while the warp consists of Z7-8S cotton. Regarding the material for the weft, in pashmina carpets all of the shoots are usually silk, whereas, as Daniel Walker points out, the weft of shaped carpets typically consists of un-dyed cotton for the first and third shoot and red silk for the second shoot (fig. 6). This is the typical structure of this group of shaped carpets. However, as DDFIA consulting textile conservator Ann E. Svenson remarks, in some areas the weft of the DDFIA shaped carpets is all cotton (Z2, fig. 7). In other words, carpet weavers often substituted un-dyed cotton for silk for the second shoot, which means that in the case of the DDFIA carpets, the weavers paid less attention to material and consistency; thus, they

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35 For carpet production during the reign of Akbar, see Kamada, “Flowers on Floats,” 37–42.
36 For the pictorial carpet in the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna (Or 292), and the example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (93.1480), see Walker, *Flowers Underfoot*, 41, fig. 31, and 39, fig. 29, respectively.
38 For this carpet, see May H. Beattie, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection of Oriental Rugs* (Switzerland: Villa Favorita, 1972), 67–72; and Walker, *Flowers Underfoot*, 94, fig. 92. According to Beattie’s analysis, it has 1,085 knots per square inch.
40 This means seven or eight Z-twisted cotton threads plied in S direction.
41 Walker, *Flowers Underfoot*, 104.
42 I would like to thank Ms. Ann E. Svenson, DDFIA consulting textile conservator, who kindly pointed this out to me and assisted my research throughout my stay at Shangri La.
are not of the same high quality as those made for the Mughal court.⁴³

Fig. 6: Detail of DDFIA 81.50. Weft = 3 shoots; first: cotton; second: silk; third: cotton. (Photo: Yumiko Kamada.)

Fig. 7: Detail of DDFIA 81.50. Weft = 3 shoots; first: cotton; second: cotton; third: cotton. (Photo: Yumiko Kamada.)

According to Daniel Walker, among sixteen shaped carpets with floral designs that were once in Jaipur Palace and were photographed by Campbell, eight had inventory labels with the purchase date: two in 1654, three in 1658, and one each in 1660, 1661, and 1689. Lahore is the only place named on these labels.⁴⁴ A circular carpet of the same group, formerly in Jaipur Palace and currently in the Albert Hall Museum in Jaipur (681/2227), is recorded as having been acquired by Maharaja Jai Singh I of Amber in 1655.⁴⁵ Therefore, these shaped carpets likely were woven in the seventeenth century somewhere in north India, such as Lahore, and were purchased by Mirza Rajah Jai Singh of Amber in the mid- to late seventeenth century to fit the palace at Amber.⁴⁶

⁴³ According to Daniel Walker, a shaped carpet with a flower pattern in the Cincinnati Art Museum (1952.201) also uses both red silk and beige cotton for the second shoot of the weft. For the technical analysis of this carpet, see Walker, Flowers Underfoot, 104, fig. 101, cat. no. 25.
⁴⁴ The inventory numbers of these carpets are: 25, 121–125, 171, and 176. See Walker, Flowers Underfoot, 104.
⁴⁵ For this circular carpet, see Singh, ed., Treasures of the Albert Hall Museum, Jaipur, 104–5; and Walker, Flowers Underfoot, 103, fig. 100.
From the beginning of the seventeenth century, high-quality carpets produced in north India attracted the attention of Europeans, as well. Following the establishment of the English and Dutch East India companies at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Indian carpets were exported as trade goods. The most famous such carpet is the so-called Girdlers’ carpet, which was made specifically for the Girdlers’ Company in London. In the early seventeenth century the director of the company, Robert Bell (1564–1637), commissioned the carpet through the English East India Company, and the carpet is documented as having been woven in Lahore in 1630–32. Because the company used this carpet as a table covering, it has ink stains in places but otherwise appears to be virtually brand-new. Additionally, in the seventeenth century several carpets woven in north India were brought to Japan by the Dutch East India Company, as diplomatic gifts for the shogun; some of them are still preserved in good condition in the Tokugawa Art Museum, Nagoya, Japan.

A MEDALLION CARPET

As we have seen, the pair of DDFIA shaped carpets is a good example of the seventeenth-century carpets woven in north India for the residences of the local ruling class. The DDFIA Collection holds another type of Indian carpet (81.30) that has a large medallion at the center, accompanied by two medallions and four quadrants at each corner (fig. 8). The field is filled with palmettes and flowers linked by leaves and somewhat angular stems. While this large medallion carpet (400.5 x 190.5 cm) is currently attributed to eighteenth-century north India, its design, technique, and material seem to suggest a Deccani (south India) origin.

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48 The Girdlers’ carpet is still in London, in the collection of the Girdlers’ Company.
First, the carpet has 100–110 knots per square inch and is much coarser than the examples of seventeenth-century north Indian carpets discussed above. In his book *Flowers Underfoot*, Daniel Walker describes several later carpets woven in the eighteenth century; among them are so-called millefleur carpets woven in north India in the second half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. As exemplified by an eighteenth-century millefleur carpet in Vienna, which has 380 knots per square inch, the finely woven structure of this type enabled repeated motifs of tiny flowers and blossoms with pashmina piles on silk foundation. However, unlike these eighteenth-century north Indian carpets, the DDFIA medallion carpet uses cotton for warp (Z8-10S) and wool for both pile (2Z, 3Z, 4Z) and weft (Z2S, fig. 9). At a glance from a distance, this medallion carpet looks finely woven, but a closer look reveals that the weavers sometimes omitted minor motifs (fig. 10).

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Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna (T-1539). For the technical information on this carpet, see Walker, *Flowers Underfoot*, 172, cat. no. 35.
While there seems to be no definitive reason to attribute this medallion carpet to eighteenth-century north India, it has affinity to a group of eighteenth-century Deccani carpets. Compared to north Indian carpets, study on Deccani carpets is sparse. In 2011, Steven Cohen, the foremost scholar of Deccani carpet, published the article “Deccani Carpets: Creating a Corpus,” in which he introduces several types of Deccani carpets that use wool pile on cotton foundation or silk pile on silk or cotton foundation. While Cohen did not mention any Deccani carpet that uses wool for weft, there is a carpet attributable to the Deccan in a private collection in Kyoto in which both wool and cotton are used intermittently for weft. In general, Deccani carpets with wool pile have relatively low knot counts of around 90–130 knots per square inch.

As for the design characteristics of Deccani carpets, Cohen draws attention to the angular scrolling stems that were avoided by weavers in north India, who tried to make “stem meanders as curvaceous as possible.” When we look carefully at the medallion carpet in the DDFIA collection, it is evident that the stems are intentionally arranged to be angular (fig. 11). In that sense, this medallion carpet demonstrates the “intentional angularity of Deccani design,” which Cohen considers one of the characteristics of Deccani carpets. In terms of weave structure and design characteristics, therefore, I

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53 For this carpet in a private collection in Kyoto, see Kamada, “Flowers on Floats,” 147–49, pls. 255–258.
would like to suggest a Deccani provenance for this carpet. To support this view, some background to carpet production in south India is provided below.

Fig. 11: Detail of DDFIA 81.30. (Photo: Yumiko Kamada.)

Carpet Production in South India

From the mid-fourteenth century, the Hindu Vijayanagar (1336–1649) and the Muslim Bahmanids (1347–1527) ruled the Deccan. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Bahmanid domain split into five kingdoms: Golconda, Bijapur, Berar, Bidar, and Ahmadnagar. The Deccani sultans maintained diplomatic ties with the Mughals, and gift-giving between them was frequent.\(^{57}\) At the same time, rulers in the Deccan maintained close relations with Safavid Persia, as well, and envoys from Golconda, Ahmadnagar, and Bijapur were sent to the Safavid court.\(^{58}\) In the last quarter of the sixteenth century especially, the Deccan experienced an influx of Persian immigrants who served as an elite in Bijapur and Golconda.\(^{59}\)

The Deccan sultanates are famous for the production of fine textiles. For instance, the Kingdom of Bijapur had flourishing cotton and silk weaving industries, and in 1612, John Jourdain, who served the English East India Company, wrote in his journal that Bijapur produced all kinds of fine textiles.\(^{60}\) The illustration of a sixteenth-century

\(^{57}\) Kamada, “Flowers on Floats,” 53.

\(^{58}\) Ibid.


romance from Bijapur, which depicts a carpet in a courtly setting, tells us how carpet was used at that time. Use of carpet in Bijapur is also mentioned in other sources. Abbé Carré, who traveled from France to India in the 1670s, recorded that on his journey from Goa to Bijapur he was entertained by the local governor and asked to sit on “large Persian carpets, with which all the room was covered.” Given the fact that Asar Mahar in Bijapur holds several Persian carpets as well as a Deccani carpet of the seventeenth century, pile carpets must have been woven locally by this time. The phrase “large Persian carpets” probably refers to “Persian-style carpet” woven in the Deccan.

Carpet was also produced and used in the Kingdom of Golconda. While Golconda is famous for painted textiles known as rumal, carpets were also used. According to seventeenth-century traveler Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, on the day of a festival the tombs of the kings of Golconda were covered with rich carpets. He suggests that, “When you wish to see something really beautiful, you should go to see these tombs on the day of a festival, for then, from morning to evening, they are covered with rich carpets.” Another French traveler, Jean de Thevenot, who went to India in 1666–67, mentioned that on the occasion of the festival of Husayn in Golconda, people erected tents and adorned them with carpets. These carpets were probably woven locally, in weaving centers on the Coromandel Coast, an area known to have produced pile carpets.

Indeed, the Dutch and the English seem to have realized the potential of Deccani carpet as a commodity from the mid-seventeenth century. Because they had established factories on the Coromandel Coast during the seventeenth century to engage in textile trade, they also could easily have widened the scope of their trading activities to include commissioning and exporting carpets woven in production centers in the Deccan. In fact, Masulipatnam, Ellore, and Warangal, near the Coromandel Coast in the Deccan, were

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64 For an example of rumal, see John Guy and Deborah Swallow, eds., *Arts of India: 1550–1900* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1990), 117, pl. 96.


famous for both textile and carpet production; they are in close proximity, and Ellore was a center of carpet production for many centuries.

In 1679, Streynsham Master, the chief representative of the English East India Company in the Bay of Bengal from 1676 to 1681, recorded in his diary that descendants of Persians were weaving high-quality Persian-style carpets with cotton thread and wool pile in Ellore. Furthermore, Master implies that Persians with knowledge of carpet weaving had come to Ellore in the mid-sixteenth century and had engaged in Persian-style carpet weaving since then. This record is substantiated by the design of a Deccani carpet used as a float cover for the Hoka-boko of the Kyoto Gion Festival, which is based on a typical seventeenth-century Persian carpet design of scrolling serrated leaves—such as the one formerly in the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

Interestingly, in 1681, the English East India Company requested that one hundred Persian-style carpets made in Ellore be sent to London as samples. Unfortunately, we cannot confirm whether these were actually sent to London. John Irwin states that “it is unlikely that they were well received” because in 1686 the London-based directors of the company wrote to their factories in Persia stating that “rich carpets are now grown much out of use in Europe.” However, given the fact that the European traders established factory towns on the Coromandel Coast in areas where they could be linked to weaving centers, and that they were active in the Indian textile trade, Persian-style carpets woven in the Deccan were probably a good substitute for the “rich”—that is to say, more expensive—carpets woven in Persia. Indeed, in 1683, the English East India Company ordered 1,500 carpets on the Coromandel Coast in the Deccan. Moreover, when the English East India Company employees were allowed to engage in private trade in Asia from the mid-seventeenth century, and the employees of the Dutch East India

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69 For this comparison, see Kamada, “Flowers on Floats,” 144–5, pls. 232 and 236. For the Persian carpet that used to be in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, see Donald King and David Sylvester, The Eastern Carpet in the Western World (London: Arts Council of the Great Britain, 1983), 100–101, pl. 80. See also Kamada, “Early Modern Indian Carpets as Media for Cross-Cultural Interaction.”
72 Ibid., 37, quoting India Office Archives, Letter Book VIII, f. 180.
Company enjoyed more freedom to trade from the mid-eighteenth century, high-quality Persian-style carpets from Ellore likely would have been very attractive commodities for them to export.75

Late-seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings often depict carpets that were most likely woven in the Deccan; among them are star-medallion carpets that were often used as table covers.76 In a 1959 article, Brigitte Scheunemann drew a diagram of the layout of the star-medallion carpet based on its depictions in late-seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings. 77 At that time, no carpets of this type were known to exist, so she called them an “unknown type of carpet” (eine unbekannte Teppichgattung). Only in 1986, after the discovery of Indian carpets in Kyoto, did it become clear that carpets of this “unknown type” matched the star-medallion carpets owned by Kanko-boko and Kita-kannon-yama of the Kyoto Gion Festival.78 The Tokugawa Art Museum also holds a carpet of the same type.79 As discussed by Nobuko Kajitani, Kojiro Yoshida, Daniel Walker, and the present author, Deccani carpets of the eighteenth century were brought to Japan by the Dutch East India Company, primarily as diplomatic gifts for the shogunate; over time, these carpets became more accessible to rich merchants—some became float covers for several festivals, such as the Kyoto Gion Festival.80

Considering the fact that both the English and Dutch East India companies as well as private traders were actively dealing in textiles made on the Coromandel Coast into the eighteenth century, 81 and that Deccani carpets were used as float covers for the Kyoto Gion Festival from the eighteenth century, Deccani carpets seem to have been exported throughout the eighteenth century and later. Given such circumstances in trade and the characteristics of their weave structure and design, it seems probable that the DDFIA carpet was woven in the Deccan in the eighteenth century rather than in north India, as has been suggested.

76 For examples of such paintings, see Onno Ydema, Carpets and Their Datings in Netherlandish Paintings 1540–1700 (Zutphen: Antique Collector’s Club, 1991), 98,104, 109, figs. 100, 107, 109. See also Kamada, “Woven Flowers,” 56, fig. 4.
78 The results of this research were published by Yoshida Kojiro and Nobuko Kajitani as Gion Matsuri Yamahoko Kensohin Chosa Hokokusho: Torai Senshokuhin no Bu (Kyoto, 1992), which accompanies an English summary of the research written by Daniel Walker. For the image of the star medallion carpet of the Kanko-boko, see Yoshida Kojiro and Nobuko Kajitani, Gion Matsuri Yamahoko Kensohin Chosa Hokokusho: Torai Senshokuhin no Bu, rev. ed. (Kyoto, 2012), 43. For the star-medallion carpet piece of Kita-kannon-yama, see Walker, Flowers Underfoot, 143, fig. 139.
79 Kamada, “Woven Flowers,” 57, fig. 5.
80 Ibid.
Doris Duke’s collection of Indian textiles includes not only carpets but also painted textiles and embroideries. Among them is a hand-painted cotton tent panel made in south India in the seventeenth century (83.13a–b) with a large flowering plant at the center and a small Chinese cloud motif around it (figs. 12–13). The large flower is arranged in a niche-like arch and framed by a border filled with small, stemmed flowers. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a very similar tent panel, which was once in the Amber Palace (31.82.1) in Jaipur, as indicated by a seal on its reverse (fig. 14). They look very similar, and, as Marika Sardar remarks, most likely these panels were originally sewn together to form larger tent panels known as qanats. A large painted textile with the design of multiple niches filled with plants in the National Museum, New Delhi (74.68), which was also formerly in the textile stores of the Amber Palace, is a good example of a qanat produced in seventeenth-century south India.

Fig. 12: Tent panel (qanat). India, Deccan, seventeenth century, cotton: plain weave, mordant-painted and -dyed, resist-dyed. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai’i, 83.13a–b. (Photo: David Franzen, 2006.)


83 Jain, Rapture, 92–95, no. 28.
The description of preparations for the royal encampment in the chronicle of Akbar, A‘in-i Akbari, indicates that a large number of textiles, including qanats and carpets, were required to set up a royal encampment:

Some encampments, as just now described, are sent off, and one of them is put up by the Farrashes on a piece of ground which the Mir Manzils [quarter
masters] have selected as an eligible spot, whilst the other camp furniture is sent in advance, to await the approach of his Majesty. Each encampment requires for its carriage 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 carts, and 100 bearers. It is escorted by 500 troopers, Mansabdars, Ahadis. Besides, there are employed a thousand Farrashes, natives of Iran, Turan, and Hindustan, 500 pioneers, 100 water-carriers, 50 carpenters, tent-makers, and torch-bearers, 30 workers in leather, and 150 sweepers.  

In the Mughal court, because textiles and carpets, as well as their arrangements, were indispensable aspects of the court setting and created ambience for a variety of occasions, irrespective of whether the court was held in a building or outside, a special department known as farrash-khana was responsible for their storage. Conforming to the above description, an illustration from the Akbarnama shows tent panels sewn together to create a long screen surrounding a royal encampment (figs. 15–16). The fact that the tent panels currently in Shangri La and the Metropolitan Museum of Art were once in the Amber Palace indicates that the practice of using specific textiles for encampments was not confined to the Mughal court but also was a practice for other courts in India.

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Fig. 15: Designed by Basawan, painted by Shankar, The Young Emperor Akbar Arrests the Insolent Shah Abu’l-Maali, c. 1590/95, opaque watercolor and gold on paper, image: 32 x 19.3 cm (12 5/8 x 7 9/16 in.), Lucy Maud Buckingham Collection, 1919.898, The Art Institute of Chicago.

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Fig. 16: Detail of 1919.898, The Art Institute of Chicago.

Tree of Life Panel (85.32)

While the abovementioned seventeenth-century painted tent panels for courts were made in south India, in a region known as the Deccan, in the eighteenth century other types of painted textiles, known as chintz, were produced in the Deccan for the European market. A rectangular painted cotton panel with a growing, flowering tree at the center, which is in the Tapi Collection (00.110), is a good example of a textile that would have been used as a bed cover or a wall hanging in Europe (fig. 17).86 This type of hand-painted cotton textile, known as palampore, was produced in the eighteenth century on the Coromandel Coast in south India especially for the Western market.87

87 For other examples of this type, see Rosemary Crill, *Chintz: Indian Textiles for the West* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2008), 38–43, nos. 6–9.
In terms of design, a unique embroidered panel appliqued with a flowering-tree design (85.32) in the DDFIA collection (fig. 18), which was probably produced in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century in India, is related to this type of painted textile. Both this textile and that in the Tapi collection depict a flowering tree growing from a hill at the center, with vases filled with flowers set at the bottom. The motifs of flowers found in the DDFIA embroidery (85.32) and in the palampore in the Tapi collection (00.110) are also related. Elements of the motifs, such as vases with flowers, follow European engravings to suit the tastes of Western users. On the other hand, the motif of the flowering tree itself is probably derived from the Indo-Persian tradition, as in a mid-fifteenth-century illustration for a Shahnama in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (20.120.241) with an attribution to India.

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88 TMS records for 85.32.
89 For an example of a European print of a vase of flowers, see Thomasina Beck, *The Embroiderer’s Flowers* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles Publishers, 1992), 95.
90 See Ekhtiar et al., *Masterpieces from the Department of Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 343, no. 239.
Fig. 18: Embroidered textile. India, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, satin with silk and metallic threads. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 85.32. (Photo: David Franzen, 2007.)

As discussed elsewhere, in the eighteenth century this type of flowering-tree design was applied not only to painted textiles but also to embroideries intended for the European market; embroidery with a flowering-tree design in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (60.62), the Royal Ontario Museum (958.17), and the Amerongen Castle, Netherlands, are good examples. This type of embroidery was brought to Japan in the eighteenth century by the Dutch East India Company, and such textiles were made into covers for the floats of the Kyoto Gion Festival. Each motif of these flowering-tree embroideries is executed with variously colored silk threads in meticulously rendered satin stitch, making these embroideries very attractive and popular as luxury goods circulated in Europe and Asia. The DDFIA panel of the tree of life, which was recorded as being purchased in India, seems to follow the tradition of these flowering-tree design embroideries and can be regarded as the remnant of a tradition that survived into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

92 See Kamada, “Attribution and Circulation,” 135, fig. 3, and 137, fig. 6, respectively.
93 Ibid., esp. 132–33, 142–45, fig. 1.
94 Inventory card, Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art Archives. I would like to thank Ms. Dawn Sueoka, who kindly provided this information.
Medallion Design Embroidery (85.6a–b)

In addition to the above-mentioned embroidered panel, the DDFIA has several Indian embroideries; among them is a medallion-design embroidery (figs. 19–23) with a large medallion at the center, quadrants at each corner, and a field of plant motifs arranged in a lattice pattern. This embroidery is executed with silk and metal-wrapped threads in satin stitch on white cotton. According to Ann Svenson, Doris Duke seems to have used this embroidery as a table cover, as indicated by areas of damage caused by wine spills.\(^{95}\) This embroidery is currently attributed to eighteenth-century north India,\(^{96}\) but I suggest that it has a Deccani origin.

Fig. 19: Textile. India, eighteenth century, cotton embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped threads. Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, 85.6a–b. (Photo: David Franzen, 2008.)

Fig. 20: Detail of DDFIA 85.6a–b. (Photo: Yumiko Kamada.)

\(^{95}\) I would like to thank Ms. Ann Svenson, who kindly shared this fact with me.

\(^{96}\) DDFIA TMS record for 85.6a–b.
As discussed elsewhere, a group of medallion-design embroideries was produced in the Deccan in the eighteenth century. The most important example in this group is an embroidered floor spread at the Victoria and Albert Museum (783-1864) that is said to have belonged to the Tipu Sultan of Mysore, the ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore in the Deccan from 1782 until his death in 1799. The Victoria and Albert Museum (IM 2-1912) and the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon (2232) have other medallion-design embroideries that employ the same material and technique. This type of medallion-design embroidery seems to have been popular not only in India but also in Europe, and related pieces can be found in collections in the U.S., as well.

At first glance, the embroidered floor spread in Shangri La (85.6a–b) and these medallion-design embroideries from the Deccan appear dissimilar, but closer inspection reveals that the flower motif arranged in the lattice pattern is a simplified version of the flower motif found in the Tipu Sultan’s embroidery (783-1864) as well as closely related to medallion-design embroideries attributed to the eighteenth century, such as those in the Victoria and Albert Museum (figs. 24–25) and the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga (figs. 26–27). Along with the DDFIA embroidery, all of these medallion-design embroideries use satin stitch with silk and metal-wrapped threads on cotton ground. While the design is different, as discussed in the previous section, the group of flowering-tree embroideries produced in eighteenth-century Deccan also employs the same technique and material.

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99 See Crill, Indian Embroidery, 34, no. 15; and Kamada, “Attribution and Circulation,” 142, fig. 10, respectively.
100 Ibid., 136–39.
Figs. 22–23: Details of DDFIA 85.6a–b. (Photos: Yumiko Kamada.)

Fig. 24: Detail of textile. India, mid-eighteenth century, cotton embroidered with silk and metal-wrapped thread. Victoria and Albert Museum, IM.2-1912. (Photo: Yumiko Kamada.)

Fig. 25: Detail of textile. Victoria and Albert Museum, IM.2-1912. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 26: Detail of textile. India, eighteenth century. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 2232. (Photo: Yumiko Kamada.)

Fig. 27: Detail of textile. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga 2232. (Photo: Yumiko Kamada.) © Direção-Geral do Património Cultural / Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica (DGPC/ADF).

Through the ages, India has been famous for the production of high-quality painted and embroidered textiles. Previous studies focus on those that were made in north India for the Mughal court and those made in Gujarat and Bengal for the Western market in the seventeenth century. For instance, an early seventeenth-century riding coat in the Victoria and Albert Museum (IS 18-1947) exemplifies the superior quality of Indian
embroidery. Its design of animal hunting scenes with varieties of flowers and plants is minutely rendered in fine chain stitch, which is associated with the craftsmen of Gujarat in west India. As indicated by an early-seventeenth-century Mughal painting that depicts an embroidered textile spread out on a carpet for a garden gathering, Indian embroidery was not confined to clothing but was also applied to floor spreads. When a number of Europeans came to India as missionaries or as traders from the seventeenth century onward, the embroideries produced in Gujarat and Bengal were also made for the European market.

In contrast to these seventeenth-century embroideries produced in north India and in Gujarat and Bengal for the Mughal court and Western market, which use meticulously rendered chain stitch, the embroideries with the flowering-tree design and medallion design that are attributable to eighteenth-century Deccan employ satin stitch. Therefore, due to the similarities of its motif, design, and technique to those of a group of medallion-design embroideries produced in eighteenth-century Deccan, I suggest a Deccani origin for the DDFIA medallion-design embroidery (85.6a–b).

DORIS DUKE AND INDIAN TEXTILES

As is well known, Doris Duke had a special interest in and taste for Indian art, which found expression in the Mughal suit in Shangri La. Her deep understanding of Indian art is reflected in the quality and variety of Indian textiles and carpets at Shangri La. The pair of shaped carpets woven in north India in the seventeenth century is the only existing pair known in the world, and they are still in good condition. These shaped carpets are very important not only because of the quality of carpet production in north India, but also because of their provenance, having been used in the Amber Palace in the seventeenth century and subsequently stored at Jaipur Palace. The medallion carpet in Shangri La, which is assumed to have been woven in eighteenth-century north India, is attributed here to eighteenth-century Deccan. Recently, aspects of Deccani art have been the focus of scholarly research, and this medallion carpet will be a good sample to consider in further assessing the characteristics of eighteenth-century Deccani carpets.

101 For this piece, see Guy and Swallow, Arts of India, 84–85, fig. 61.
102 Wright, Murqqa, 320.
Doris Duke adorned her residence not only with Indian carpets but also with Indian hand-painted textiles and embroideries. The walls of Shangri La were decorated with a seventeenth-century Indian textile originally used as a tent panel and an embroidered panel based on the design of eighteenth-century embroidery made in the Deccan for the European market. The eighteenth-century medallion-design embroidery made in the Deccan has stains on it that attest to its use as a table cover in Shangri La. Just as Indian rulers and maharajas spread such embroideries on carpets for revelers to enjoy food and drink, so, too, did Doris Duke in her twentieth-century Islamic-style residence in Honolulu. Duke’s choice of the carpets and textiles discussed in this paper deserves special note not only because they exemplify the artistic tradition in India but also because they give us insight into the long tradition of the production of high-quality textiles in India as well their global distribution.