Many oriental rugs and textiles exhibit what appear to be irregularities and variations. At times, these effects can be quite emphatic, raising the possibility that they are deliberate and signal something more than improvisation by the weaver. It is in fact possible to reinterpret a substantial portion of such variations as part of a long cultural tradition. Shiv proposes that they be called “markings,” to suggest their intentionality and meaning.

In the first part of his investigation, Shiv will concentrate primarily, although not exclusively, on the lower part of rugs, and will suggest a characterization that will help in developing a general framework for understanding the concept of “markings.” He assumes no sophisticated rug knowledge on the part of his audience, and asks only that we keep open minds.

Shiv’s professional training is in mathematics, with a specialty in algebraic number theory. He has been a lecturer at several New York-area colleges, including the Fashion Institute of Technology and Sarah Lawrence; his primary affiliation, for over twenty years, has been with the colleges of the City University of New York. In addition to his academic pursuits, he worked for several years in the antique-carpet trade. He collects a wide range of weavings, although early Baluch material is closest to his heart.

Members are encouraged to bring examples of rugs with design irregularities for a show-and-tell after Shiv’s presentation.
On September 13, well-known scholar, author, and dealer John Wertime kicked off the 2019–20 NERS season—and filled the Durant-Kenrick House lecture room to capacity—with a talk titled “Miniature Masterpieces of Northwest Iran” (1). John showed many images of these “miniature masterpieces,” and NERS members brought an abundance of examples, so that in total there were more than eighty weavings presented.

Rather than describing each piece, this write-up is organized by some of the themes that John wove into his presentation and his comments on the show-and-tell items. [Author’s note: After deciding on this tack, I had a bad bicycle crash, breaking my collarbone and multiple ribs—and forcing me to type one-handed. So a superlong article was in any case out of the question! ]

One of John’s topics concerned the different weaving tribes present in the diverse area of Northwest Iran. Those who first come to mind are the Shahsavan (“lovers of the king”), Turkic speakers who over the centuries migrated to northwest Persia from Central Asia, some of them continuing into Turkey and later returning to Iran. But the Shahsavan were by no means the only weaving peoples in the region. There were Afshars, whose weavings seem indistinguishable from those of their Shahsavan neighbors. The Qaradagh tribes in northernmost Iran also wove; their products were also very like those of the Shahsavan, with many common designs. John also presented weavings from Kurdish tribes of Western Iran, and showed examples made by the Bakhtiari and Luri.

Many enthusiasts are initially exposed to miniature tribal weavings in the common formats of mafraš (bedding-bag) panels and khorjin (saddlebag) faces. But John’s images and the show-and-tell offerings also included small-format examples of several other types. Both single and double bags were well represented, as were salt bags, chantehs (small bags for personal items), and less-common scissor bags. Animal-related items included horse covers and trappings. There were other covers, as well: John illustrated a ru korsi (table cover), and what was possibly a yastık (pillow cover). Stretching the category of “miniature,” NERS members also brought floor coverings ranging in size from mats to long rugs.

Throughout John’s talk, he focused on the designs of the pieces he showed and explored their sources. The motifs of several examples, he suggested, could be traced back to the cloud-collar design (2), which is generally thought to have originated in China and traveled west; versions of it also appear in Mughal, Turkmen, and Anatolian weavings. John’s Northwest Persian examples also shared with weavings...
from other regions such forms as “Memling” guls (3), “latchhook” and cruciform medallions, lattices, animals and birds, varicolored stripes, and Lesghi stars. Many of his examples showed positive/negative design interplay, which John indicated was also found in other arts of Northwest Persia, including metalwork. In some cases, John’s miniature weavings had smaller-scale renditions of design schemes found in larger rugs, such as central-medallion and “two-one-two” layouts (4). Some designs were specifically associated with weavings from outside Iran: a knotted-pile double *khorjin*, for instance, had an *aksu* field typically found in Turkmen pieces, and what John characterized as the “oddball” vase-and-flower-design of a piled mat suggested Mughal inspiration.

In addition to their variety of format and design, these small weavings exhibit several different structures, sometimes within a single piece. Perhaps the most common is sumak, a weft-wrapping technique used for *mafrash*es and other articles. Sumak has numerous variations, including a “reverse” form and one in which warps are on two levels instead of one, producing a stiffer fabric. John noted that the miniature weavings of Northwest Persia display consummate skill in using sumak; he maintained that the technique itself didn’t come from the Turkic east but rather originated in the Transcaucacus.

*Mafrash*es often have striped kilim bottoms (5). *Mafrash* panels may also be constructed of slit tapestry or combine kilim weave with sumak. Exhibiting even more structural variety, Luri-Bakhtiari bedding bags frequently have sumak, kilim, and pile sections within a single example.
There are also many pieces from the region that are wholly or partially rendered in pile (6). John was asked specifically about Shahsavan pile weaving, to which he responded that, despite a lot of debate, there isn’t much certifiable evidence regarding Shahsavan production of pile rugs.

While most small items are made in one piece, some articles from the region consist of narrow strips that are woven and then joined; horse covers are often constructed this way.

Clearly these “miniature masterpieces” from Northwest Persia offer a dazzling variety of formats, designs, and weaving techniques. Our hearty thanks to John for presenting and commenting on so many examples, and for drawing out the private treasures (7–11) of so many NERS members.

Jim Adelson
On Friday, October 4, at the Durant-Kenrick House, Cheri Hunter, President of the Textile Museum Associates of Southern California, presented “Festival, Fairs, and Rituals: Textiles, Costumes, and Carpets of the Eastern Grasslands of Tibet.” Cheri was sponsored by ACOR, which is now supporting domestic speakers. Her talk to NERS was unprecedented in its visual scope, amounting to a splendidly photographed documentary of the nomadic Tibetan people in the historical regions of Amdo and Kham—largely outside of the Tibet Autonomous Region proper—and of their kin who have opted to populate a series of impressive, still-thriving Buddhist monasteries. Her four-week trip, in July and August 2006, included fifteen travelers in six four-wheel drive vehicles. The group traversed stunning, rugged “alpine” landscapes of deep mountain valleys and high-plateau grasslands.

What Cheri saw and revealed to us was an astonishingly vital and complex culture that had not then been subjected to the ruthless suppression inflicted on kindred peoples in other parts of Tibet after Chinese annexation in 1951. (She didn’t know what has happened under President Xi in recent years.) To a remarkable degree, those she encountered—specifically, peoples with varying names over a large geographical expanse, but all essentially Tibetan ethnics—had, despite the decades of communist rule, preserved their nomadic lifestyle more-or-less intact, along with religious practices combining Buddhism with the primordial shamanism and animism of the pre-Buddhist Bon religion.

Rather than a chronological travelogue, Cheri’s presentation was divided into topical sections: Grasslands, Prayer Flags, Yaks, Monasteries, Tents, Houses, Shamans, Costumes, Dance, Horses, Crafts, Textile Shopping, and Tibetan People.

As represented by her photos, prayer flags—devotional expressions of both piety and hope—were everywhere, sometimes in great concentrations in what otherwise seemed to be the middle of nowhere, though likely ancient sacred sites. They were displayed prominently on special occasions, such as a gathering that also included a splendid type of Tibetan canvas summer tent featuring appliquéd panels, the tent itself surmounted by a second canopy, permitting a hole for smoke to escape from the lower tent. There were other dramatic displays of cloth in conjunction with nature, such as two huge Buddhist textiles laid out on a distant mountainside.

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1. Mountain-valley landscape
2. High-plateau grasslands
3. Prayer flags and an appliquéd summer pavillion
4. Huge Buddhist textiles displayed on a mountainside
More permanent sites of traditional piety were also well represented. Litang Monastery in Litang Town (5) was the site of one of the horse competitions and costume parades. Its façade featured dramatic, appliquéd yak-cloth awnings, a relatively common sight on such important buildings, and large, spectacular gilded ornaments on the upper story and roof. Other Buddhist structures included stupas such as those dramatically sited on a hillside overlooking nomads’ tents (6), and “sky burial” platforms (one of them located in the flat area in front of the two figures), where bodies were brought for vultures to pick flesh from bones, “recycling” human matter back into nature—an ancient, pre-Buddhist practice.

Cheri also showed many interior views of monasteries (7) and acts of devotion taking place within them. Rugs featured in her talk appeared mainly in these contexts, either as dramatic pillar rugs or as extended rows of squares (wangden), woven not individually but in long strips for rows of seated monks engaged in their prayers. In another image, Gelug (“Yellow Hat”) Buddhist monks (their hats in the form of ancient Attic helmets), received benediction from their abbot (8).

In the seemingly endless dialectic between religious impulses, shamanism remained an ever-present feature of these Tibetan peoples’ lives. One of Cheri’s photographs, taken in a village near Tongren, showed a shaman having gone into a trance (9). What sort of intercession he was accomplishing in this state was unclear, but he was surrounded by attendants and an audience in the process.
Cheri also addressed domestic architecture, although in a world of nomads the emphasis was on tents. In one view (10) a traditional yak-hair tent was accompanied by canvas summer tents, including an example featuring abstract appliqués on its secondary canopy and representations of animals on the side panels. Large, white katas (ceremonial scarves) streamed at left and center, providing protection.

Of course, the occasional town or village featured more permanent domestic architecture. A rich man’s stone-masonry house, for example, had a portrait of Mao on its front door—showing the owner in sync with the Party—and was festooned with stings of prayer flags on the upper stories (11).

Cheri and her companions were traveling at a time of the year dedicated to traditional festivals, combining rodeo-like demonstrations of Tibetan cowboy talents with less vigorous contests, such as competitions for the best traditional dress. In addition, there were astonishing pious displays of fleshly mortification, principally involving skewers driven through men’s cheeks and the skin of their backs (12).

Horse races and other contests at large festivals would bring contestants from far and wide. In one of Cheri’s photos, a procession of cowboys proceeded to the starting line, their steeds caparisoned in old saddle covers and striking tie-dyed saddle blankets, patterned with painted cross shapes (representing good luck) within plain, resist-protected circles on dyed grounds (13). In another image, the race was on at the Yushu Highland Nomad Festival, each rider carrying a brightly colored banner (14). A third
photo captured a contestant in the Litang Horse Festival (15) leaning precariously downward to grab a *kata*, normally draped around the recipient’s neck as a blessing by a high Buddhist abbot or even the Dalai Lama himself. In this daring competition, the winner was the rider snatching up the most *katas*.

Another component of these festivals was dance, sometimes performed by young men and boys waving colorfully exaggerated sleeves (16). Other amazing competitions included women and men in traditional dress, whether antique heirloom garments and decorations, fine clothing of traditional form but modern materials, or charming hybridities of the old and the new. Cheri did a splendid job commenting on the specifics of these costumes. In one photo, parading female contestants were bedecked with repoussé gilt decorations, beneath which most wore traditional tripartite banded aprons. Their heavy necklaces consisted of large coral and *dzi* beads (though elsewhere plentiful use of turquoise and amber was evident). The women’s varied headgear included paired gilt-metal hair decorations, leather “cowboy” hats and fedoras, and elaborate bejeweled headdresses (17).

In another image, girls at Lake Kokonor (18) wore their hair in 108 braids, reflecting both the 108 mantras recited when employing a complete set of Tibetan prayer beads.
and the 108 volumes of the Kangyur, a traditional Tibetan Buddhist canon. Rich panels appeared to hang from their waists, augmented by very large silver repoussé bowls and further embellished by strings of coral and turquoise beads. Clearly, only a minority of these Tibetans could manage such conspicuous displays of family wealth, even more remarkable in what was and remains a communist society. The extravagant displays included garments with rather shocking amounts of rare snow-leopard pelts, tiger skin, and, most abundantly, pieced otter skin. Cheri captured one Tibetan dandy, accompanied by his richly bedecked wife, wearing his chuba (man’s dress coat), his exposed yellow-silk right sleeve a male affectation often employed even during racing contests. The chuba itself boasted broad bands of snow-leopard pelt across its top and bottom, with the feline’s face, doubtless enhanced by embroidery, occupying center stage (19).

Varying concessions to modernity were exhibited in these contexts. At a shamanic ceremony near Tongren, one woman with an astonishing fuzzy orange headdress was accompanied by her daughter, who was dressed traditionally but for her tennis shoes, and her son, modern from tip to toe (20). Two boys had it both ways, wearing traditional clothes trimmed with high-status otter fur around their waists, and Western garb elsewhere (21).

Much festival dress, although largely traditional in style, was made of modern, industrially produced pseudo-silk especially created for this market. In another of Cheri’s photos, young male dancers in the Yushu Highland Nomad Festival were shown wearing Chinese cloud collars and robes fashioned from such “brocades” (22). I found this amazing and varied display of traditional and transitional clothing fascinating and heartening.
Changing pace, Cheri also addressed the principal source of hair for weaving (not to mention of milk, cheese, meat, and transport)—namely yaks, encountered everywhere in her photographs. (Some yaks, Cheri said, have by now been hybridized with cattle.) The formidable specimen shown in one of her photos (23) bore both an under-saddle cloth and saddlebags woven from yak hair. In addition, Cheri showed views of a woman she had encountered by a roadside, weaving a long, warp-faced yak-hair strip on a narrow loom (24).

Cheri fittingly culminated her talk with portraits of some of the Tibetans she encountered on her high-altitude peregrinations, including a young woman dressed for a festive occasion (25) and a Tibetan cowboy wearing large, silver-mounted coral beads in his striking headdress (26).

In response to a question following her presentation, Cheri indicated that, since so few foreigners get to these
far-flung locales, very little if any of the displays she witnessed could be considered touristic. Rather, they are a means by which celebrating Tibetans affirm themselves, their heritage, and their traditional beliefs, undoubtedly strengthening social bonds as they do so.

After Cheri’s presentation (27), a brief show-and-tell included a banded cotton robe worn by a Tibetan monk-dancer at festivals (28), a Tibetan woman’s lovely woven and embroidered apron (29), and a pile saddle rug (30).

To those inspired to seek more information on the subject, Cheri recommends Gina Corrigan’s *Tibetan Dress in Amdo and Khams*, published in 2017 by HALI Books.

My own thanks to Cheri for her assistance with images and identifications, and collective NERS thanks for the superbly photographed odyssey on which she led us.

Jeff Spurr

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27. Cheri at the beginning of her “tour” of Eastern Tibet

28. Striped cotton robe of a Tibetan monk-dancer

29. Tibetan woman’s woven and embroidered apron

30. Tibetan pile saddle rug (detail)

Field Trip Review: Coming in March

Because of the early distribution deadline for this issue, the review of NERS members’ October 19 visit to the Shein Collection will appear in the March 2020 View.
Xinjiang (“New Frontier”) is the official name of China’s westernmost province. For ruggies the province is of particular interest because the rugs produced there are distinct in style and structure from those originating in what we may call China proper (although there is a little overlap with rugs from the neighboring province of Gansu). In point of fact, the production of these rugs has historically been restricted to the oasis towns of the Tarim Basin—roughly the stretch of land surrounding the Taklamakan Desert and bounded from without by the lofty mountains whose melting snows water the oases. Dzungaria, that part of Xinjiang north of the provincial capital Urumchi, is the ancestral home of Kazak and Mongol tribes whose textile traditions do not include woven rugs. Rugdom’s “East Turkestan” is therefore coincident with the Tarim Basin, not with Xinjiang as a whole.

Until very recently the overwhelming majority of the East Turkestan population was Uyghur—Turkic-speaking Muslims—with a small Kirghiz cluster in the extreme west. The dominant rug-producing towns have long been Khotan, Yarkand, and Kashgar, the westernmost town of this westernmost province. The weavers were almost exclusively Uyghur men.

Rugs traditionally attributed to Kashgar are typically huge, silk, and ruinously expensive. Nevertheless, this remarkable rug (fig. 1), manifestly neither huge nor silk, qualifies in both structure and design as a traditional Kashgar product. Its undyed cotton foundation is the universally accepted structural marker of a Kashgar rug, and its floral field the corresponding design marker.

A structure wonk might quibble over the presence of three weft shoots between knot rows, rather than the two allegedly characteristic of Kashgar rugs, but a counter to this objection is provided by an unquestionably Kashgar rug that is a cousin—albeit a huge one—to our example. Its two surviving fragments (fig. 2), formerly in the collection of Hans Bidder, the patriarch of East Turkestan rug studies, now reside in the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin. Aside from the floral field, its wool pile and undyed cotton foundation with three weft shoots between knot rows should quell any lingering doubts about the Kashgar attribution of its much smaller cousin. But there is more, as we shall see in addressing a question hanging over any rug in the Kashgar family: Whence cometh its design?
Since I have already inflicted some discussion of this question on readers of this newsletter (see “From the Back of Beyond,” https://ne-rugsociety.org/newsletter/fringe-v25n1-09-2017.pdf, pp. 12–14), it suffices here to summarize: Safavid Persia or Mughal India? The answer is not quite simple, since the arts of early Mughal India were themselves strongly influenced by those of the Safavid Empire. Hans Bidder, in *Carpets from Eastern Turkestan* (Tübingen, 1964), describes the fragmentary Kashgar as representing “Herat-flower style.” In contrast, Friedrich Spuhler, in *Oriental Carpets in the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin* (Washington, D.C., 1987), dismisses the Herat style as a late development and instead finds a Mughal ancestor in a spectacular vine-scroll carpet (fig. 3) also in the Berlin Museum. He notes in particular the presence of a distinctively Indian use of two adjacent shades of one color (present in all three rugs pictured here). The main borders of the Kashgar fragments provide even more robust support for a Mughal ancestry. The paired heart shapes are strangers to Persian rugs, but Daniel Walker (“Classical Indian Rugs,” *HALI* 4, no. 3 [1982]: 252–57) points out that they are a common Mughal motif (fig. 4).

Finally we come to the problem of dating. Bidder places his Kashgar fragments in the first half of the eighteenth century, while Spuhler prefers a date around 1800. I think the latter is a reasonably conservative date for our example.

So we confront a moderate-sized wool-on-cotton Kashgar of fairly early date and Mughal ancestry, whose attractive floral field has no sibling I have seen. An enigma to the end!

Lloyd Kannenberg

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3. Large Mughal carpet (765 x 293 cm) with scrolling vines and animals, Lahore, ca. 1600, Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin, i. 6/74

4. Details of two 17th-century Mughal carpets, both in the Jaipur Palace collection, showing paired heart-shaped motifs in their fields

Technical Details

Dimensions: 6’11” x 3’10” (208 x 118 cm)

Foundation: undyed cotton warp, Z3S (hand spun)

Pile: wool

Selvages: wool wrapping over 4 outer warps, interlacing over 4 inner warps

Ends: missing

Colors: yellow, 2 reds, 2 blues, aubergine, black
Looking Ahead: Grogan & Company Rug and Carpet Sale on December 5

**Michael Grogan reports:** Our forthcoming auction of fine oriental rugs and carpets will be held at 11:00 a.m. on Thursday, December 5. The sale will include seventy-five to a hundred lots—both collector rugs and decorative carpets—gathered mostly from private collections and local estates. Valuations range from $1000 to over $25,000. Auction previews are from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on December 2, 3, and 4.

Four lots in Michael Grogan’s December 5 sale, clockwise from top left: Borjalou Kazak, ca. 1900, 7’5” x 5’7”, est. $3,000–5,000; Heriz, ca. 1910, 5’8” x 4’9”, est. $2,000–3,000; Caucasian prayer rug, ca. 1900, 4’10” x 3’7”, est. $1,000–1,500; rare Turkmen “eagle-gul” torba, 19th century, 1’8” x 3’8”, est. $6,000–10,000
Other Rug, Textile, and Related Events

**Auctions**
- Oct. 23, London, Sotheby’s, Arts of the Islamic World
- Oct. 24, London, Christie’s, Arts of the Islamic and Indian Worlds including Oriental Rugs and Carpets (see below)
- Nov. 2, Vienna, Austria Auctions, Collector Rugs, No Reserve
- Nov. 5, Vienna, Dorotheum, Carpets, Textiles, Tapestries
- Nov. 7, Philadelphia, Material Culture, Oriental Rugs from American Estates
- Nov. 16, Vienna, Austria Auction Company, Masterpieces from Austrian Private Collections
- Nov. 30, Wiesbaden, Rippon Boswell, Major Autumn Auction
- Dec. 5, Boston, Grogan & Company, Fine Oriental Rugs and Carpets (see p. 14)
- Dec. 12, Philadelphia, Material Culture, Oriental Rugs from American Estates

**Exhibitions**
- Until Dec. 19, Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, Art of Islamic Lands: Selections from the al-Sabah Collection, Kuwait
- Until June 7, 2020, Minneapolis, Institute of Art, Turkish Rugs on Tudor Walls: 16th-Century Trade between England and the Islamic World
- Until July 5, 2020, San Francisco, de Young Museum, The Turkmen Storage Bag

**Fairs**
- Oct. 31–Nov. 1, Turin, Promotrice delle Belle Arti, Sartirana Textile Show
- Feb. 21–23, 2020, San Francisco, Fort Mason Center, San Francisco Tribal & Textile Art Show

**2020 NERS Meetings**
- March 20: Collector’s Meeting, featuring Jeff Spurr, Durant-Kenrick House, Newton
- April 17: Joel Greifinger, “Kurdish Weaving from Three Regions,” Durant-Kenrick House, Newton
- May 17: Annual picnic, moth mart, and show-and-tell, Gore Place, Waltham

**Photo Credits**
- p. 1: Shiv Sikri
- pp. 2–4: Jim Sampson (figs. 1, 7), John Wertime (figs. 2–6), Julia Bailey (figs. 8–11)
- pp. 5–11: ©Cheri Hunter (figs. 1–26), Julia Bailey (figs. 27–30)
- pp. 12–13: Lloyd Kannenberg (fig. 1); Friedrich Spuhler, Oriental Carpets in the Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin (fig. 2); Daniel Walker, Flowers Underfoot (fig. 3); Daniel Walker, HALI 4, no. 3 (fig. 4)
- p. 14: Michael Grogan
- p. 15: Christie’s

Room for One More: Editor’s Pick at Christie’s

Christie’s London, Oct. 24, lot 226, catalogued as Shirvan Harshang carpet, late 17th–early 18th c., est. £12,000–16,000
The New England Rug Society is an informal, non-profit organization of people interested in enriching their knowledge and appreciation of antique oriental rugs and textiles. Our meetings are held seven or more times a year. Membership levels and annual dues are: Single $45, Couple $65, Supporting $90, Patron $120, Student $25. Membership information and renewal forms are available on our website, www.ne-rugsociety.org; by writing to the New England Rug Society, P.O. Box 6125, Holliston, MA 01746; or by contacting Jim Sampson at jahome22@gmail.com.

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