

red tapis.

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Women's initiation sarongs feature in tribal and courtly culture across Indonesia, but few can rival those of the Paminggir of Lampung in Sumatra, whose *tapis* include ritual cloths that rank among the highest accomplishments of Indonesian textile art. Recent scientific testing has shown that some *tapis* are significantly older than has hitherto been supposed.



LAMPUNG IN SOUTHERN SUMATRA is known at its core for ancient Austronesian megaliths, Bronze Age decorative influences, and for the great cultural impulse of the Buddhist/Hindu state of Srivijaya a millennium ago. But the people of the area were also influenced by a cosmopolitan world of ideas and trade goods from China, India, Arabia, and Europe, all exchanged for their prized commodity, Lampung pepper. Thus in the textile art of the area we witness cultural and aesthetic hybridisation at its most fertile, both esoteric and compellingly beautiful.

The most famous of all *tapis* (women's ritual hip wrappers) arose from a very small region in the highlands above Kroe (Krui) on the west coast of the Lampung Peninsula.¹ In the vicinity of Lake Ranau are several small *kampongs* (villages) with Liwa being the centre that is thought to be the home of Paminggir *tapis adat*, a word that translates as 'customary law' but means much more than that, as the idea goes straight to the heart and psyche of Indonesian tribal culture. It was *adat* that prescribed the use of *tapis* as ritual wear in rites of passage for young women at puberty and marriage; and it was via *adat* that these ancient cloths later functioned as *pusaka*, ancestral heirlooms, which were consulted at times of grave decisions.²

The composition of these cloths generally includes either a brown (sometimes rosy coloured) warp-ikat ground, or a plain turmeric-coloured ground (sometimes with narrow ikat stripes as in **3**), and two symmetric panels finely embroidered in white silk thread, although golden brown thread is also known. One type of embroidery, a squid-like pattern known as *cumi cumi* **2**, which sometimes has red highlights at the extremities of the figures, may be interpreted as ancestor spirit forms. The other type, *tapis inuh* **3**, presents a display of ships carrying bird-headed ancestors, often separated by a stylised tree of life.³

The techniques of embroidery and ikat are technically very different. Ikat requires the disciplined organisation of tying resist bundles on the warp yarns before the threads are dyed and woven. Structurally this tends to make for motifs that are geometric in nature. Embroidery on the other hand allows a freedom from those constraints. The hand of the artist may be sensed as very much present; we perceive a deeply personal presentation of traditional subject matter, akin to a painterly tableau. It is this appealing juxtaposition of structural restraint and creative freedom that makes *tapis* so satisfying.

Scholars working in the first half of the 20th century, including Jasper, Steinmann and Heine-Geldern, all noted the distinct similarity between the boats observed on *tapis* and those decorating late Bronze Age (200 BC–200 AD) Dongson kettledrums found in both Indonesia and Indochina.⁴ The similarity, they suggest, is too great to dismiss as independent invention. They, and others since, have proposed that this ship imagery is important and ever present because it serves to recall the vessels that brought the first ancestors from the Asian mainland during archaic migrations.

Further, in a greater symbolic sense, the ship motif represents a kind of lifeboat to carry an individual through a dangerous transition from one stage of life to another – 'life crisis' events such as birth, puberty, marriage, attaining high status in society, and funerary rites. These fundamental human condition concerns are part of a grand life cycle, and as such it makes sense that patterns of ancestors, boats and trees of life would be carried forward from ancient times, preserved in conservative rituals and taboos.

So far I have introduced the topic of *tapis* as they are generally understood and encountered, and in so doing I have described the greatest number of surviving Paminggir examples, be they *tapis inuh* or *tapis cumi cumi*. However, a variant characterised by deep reddish shading to the ikat panels began to appear on the market in the late 1970s following a famine in the Lampung region.⁵ Nearly all known 'red' *tapis* came out at that time, with hardly any to be found in earlier museum collections.



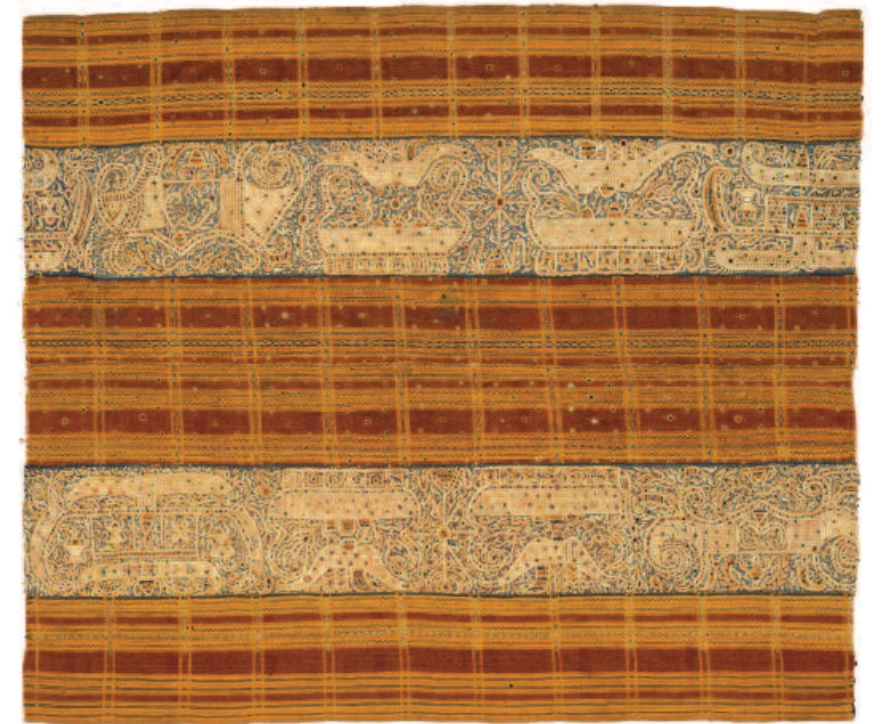
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1 Detail of the embroidered silk band of red *tapis* **6** showing a goddess figure with displayed feathery genitalia and anthropomorphs above

2 Double band *tapis cumi cumi* with ancestor figures, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, 18th–19th century. Cotton, silk, warp ikat, embroidery, 1.19 x 1.27m (3'11" x 4'2"). Author's collection

3 Double band *tapis inuh* with boats and birds, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, 15th–17th century. Cotton, silk, mirrors, warp ikat, embroidery, appliqué, 1.09 x 1.27m (3'7" x 4'2"). Author's collection

Please note that the illustrations in this article are each oriented so that the primary iconography can be most easily read, which is not necessarily the way they were intended to be worn



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4 Double band red *tapis*, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, 17th-18th century. Cotton, silk, warp ikat, embroidery, 1.32 x 1.19m (4'2" x 3'11"). Author's collection

5 Single band red *tapis*, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, labelled 19th century but now thought to be 15th-17th century. Cotton, silk, warp ikat, embroidery. 1.17 x 1.28m (3'10" x 4'2"). Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, R.H. Tannahill Foundation Fund, 81.717.



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These novel red *tapis* are normally made from cotton, but sometimes the ground is woven from silk.⁶ They come with either the standard two panels of embroidery **4**, or with a single panel through the centre **5-9**. In either case they often feature a relatively broad range of polychrome silks, giving a far more colourful palette in the embroidered zones.

Red *tapis* are exceptionally rare – fifteen pieces are known (either published or on-line) with double embroidered bands, and thirteen with single embroidery zones – to which we can add the four cloths that appear here for the first time, three with single bands and one double.

The first two examples to appear in print, belonging to the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and what is now known as the Museum der Kulturen in Basel, were published in black and white by Langewis and Wagner in 1964.⁷ The first to appear in colour (important for distinguishing a 'red' *tapis* from other varieties) was a double band piece from the Steven G. Alpert Collection, exhibited at the Dallas Museum of Art in 1983 and described in the exhibition brochure as belonging to an as yet unidentified and unique sub-style.⁸ Given their close similarity, the Dallas *tapis* is likely to have come from the same household or workshop as **4**.

Robert Holmgren and Anita Spertus deserve credit for recognising the two pieces published in black and white in 1964, and for coining the term 'red' *tapis* in 1989, when three brilliant examples from their collection – two single band *tapis* and a double embroidered panel – were exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum in New York.⁹ The following year, a spectacular single band piece acquired by the Australian National Gallery in Canberra appeared in NGA curator Robyn Maxwell's comprehensive book on Southeast Asian textiles.¹⁰ Then, in 1991, Brigitte Khan Majlis, curator of textiles at the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum of Ethnography in Cologne, wrote a bilingual catalogue of the previously unpublished Indonesian textile collections of Dr J.B. Lüth and the Römermuseum in Hildesheim that featured both a double band and a single band red *tapis*.¹¹

A single band *tapis* in the Detroit Institute of Arts with an archetypal boat form in the ikat zone **5**, was discussed in 'A Red Ikat Tapis: Ships and the Lands Beyond', a 1994 article by Mary-Louise Totton.¹² In 1996 Professor Shinobu Yoshimoto published a fine book in Japanese entitled *Ikat* that included two stunning single band red *tapis* from the Okada Collection of Osaka.¹³ Robyn Maxwell's NGA exhibition catalogue *Sari to Sarong* in 2003 enriched the field by featuring four red *tapis*, two double band and two single (one previously published in 1990).¹⁴ Indeed, the excellent website of the NGA's extraordinary collection now shows five double banded red *tapis*,¹⁵ and four of the single band variety.¹⁶

Brigitte Khan Majlis made a second significant contribution in 2007 in her catalogue of the Bakwin Collection at the Art Institute of Chicago, which featured two red *tapis* with double bands of note; one for the silk ground of the body, the other valued because of the great ikat panels, but with re-embroidered twin bands, probably done for the market in the early 1980s before many people really knew what to look for in red *tapis* iconography.¹⁷ The 2009 exhibition 'Wearing Wealth and Styling Identity', guest curated by Mary-Louise Totton at the Hood Museum at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, included one single band red *tapis* **7** and three double band pieces from the Stephen Lister Collection.¹⁸ Robyn Maxwell's 2010 NGA exhibition catalogue *Life, Death and Magic* included a close up detail of a single band already known to us and another chance to view in full the gallery's famous multi-anthropomorphic piece, acquired more than twenty years before.¹⁹

The most recentred *tapis* to be published, in autumn 2010, appeared in the award-winning book *Five Centuries of Indonesian Textiles*,²⁰ in which the late Mary Kahlenberg and her collaborator Don Longuevan presented a possible interpretation,



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discussed below, of the figures seen repeated in the quadrants of the ikat zone of this single central band *tapis*.

Another single band red *tapis*, which entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2000 as a gift from the estate of the late, great collector and raconteur John Elliot, appears online on the MMA website.²¹

The four previously unpublished red *tapis* presented here – one double band piece **4** and three with single bands **6, 7, 9** – were all first collected in the late 1970s.

For reasons of space, I will restrict my discussion mainly to the single band variety in order to see what insights may be gained from the compositional structure of the two primary pattern fields: the ground and the embroidered zone.

I will first consider the *badan* (body) of the garment – the ikat field of the ground cloth. Among the known examples of single band *tapis*, there exist two types of field, the narrative and the geometric, each of which further subdivides into two versions. Of those presently known to me through publication, including three previously unpublished pieces seen here, the seven with narrative ikat patterns in the body fall into two equal subtypes.

The iconography of the first subtype was recognised by Holmgren and Spertus, and later described by Totton, as depicting a ship with a heroic ancestor on deck. It is best seen in the DIA *tapis* **5** and the Elliott example in the Metropolitan Museum **10**. In the Osaka and Holmgren/MMA *tapis*, the boat

6 Single band red 'mother goddess' *tapis*, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, 15th-17th century. Cotton, silk, warp ikat, embroidery, 1.24 x 1.37m (4'1" x 4'6"). Author's collection



7 Single band red *tapis* with 'combination' motif, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia. Cotton, silk, warp ikat, embroidery, 15th-17th century, 1.27m (4'2") square.

Note the omen bird /winged ancestor, second figure from bottom. Author's collection

8 Single band red *tapis* with 'classical *patola*' ikat field, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, Labelled 19th century but now thought to be 15th-17th century. Cotton, silk, bast fibre, warp ikat, embroidery, 1.18 x 1.27m (3'10" x 4'2"). Stephen Lister Family Collection, Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire



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has dropped below the horizon so that the scene is less readable, although it is still clear enough to be associated with heroic ancestor on the deck of a boat.²²

Longuevan and Kahlenberg offer the well-informed and quite reasonable suggestion that the second mysterious narrative theme may be a wedding procession, with the iconography including bridal offerings and background botanicals **6**, **11**. All three known examples of this type conform very closely.²³

The alternative decoration for the ikat field of single band red *tapis* derives from Indian trade cloth *patola*. Some of them, those I call 'classical' *patola* **8**, are familiar from surviving examples of silk double ikat patterns; others have a geometric composition unknown to us. We can speculate that there either existed an Indian prototype now lost, or that a local Lampung artist reinterpreted and expanded upon the classical trade *patola* geometry to create something that was adopted into *adat* and itself became a formalised motif over time. I call this pattern variant 'eccentric *patola*' **9**, **12**.

Of all known single band red *tapis* there are four 'classical',²⁴ and five 'eccentric' *patola* examples.²⁵ The 'classical' *patola* patterns further tend to fall into two varieties. One can easily see that most of the classical *patola* patterns found in *tapis* closely resemble one form or another of the Balinese *gringsing*, with which they probably developed in tandem.

The embroidered panel of this rare class of single band red *tapis* tends to be distinctly different from all *tapis* with two bands, including double red *tapis*, in all cases save one. In examining all known examples, we again see divisions that fall into five primary sub-types: *tapis* that show one or more distinctly female 'goddess' figures with prominently displayed 'feathery' genitalia **1**, **6**;²⁶ a far more abstracted and stylised geometric composition that may include copulating couples **5**, **6**, **13**;²⁷ a panel I term 'organic', featuring a range of patterns from nature, among them a possible radiating core and zoomorphic subjects, including a scorpion pattern **9**;²⁸ a 'combination' field that includes some or all of the above features **7**;²⁹ and last, a single example that shows embroidered boat forms more familiar on double banded *tapis* **8**.³⁰

No rule was found that joined either narrative or geometric fields to any of the possible embroidery sub-styles. All were mixed with the exception of our one boat embroidery, which happens to come with a 'classical *patola*' field, but we cannot infer that would always be the case. We can recognise a conservative *adat* tradition guiding and formalising both the ikat and embroidered zones of a single banded *tapis*, but they seem to operate independently from each other, as is also the case with *tapis cumi cumi* and *tapis inuh*.³¹

It should be noted here that in attempting to sequence the iconography of the embroidered zones of a single band *tapis*, we cannot favour the more natural drawing of the 'mother goddess' as being *de facto* historically earlier than the highly stylised copulating couples reduced to a geometric abstraction, as both appear fully formed in the red *tapis* **6** and neither may be perceived as a decadent progression, one from another.

So where do these rare costume pieces come from, and how old are they? All publications except Mary Kahlenberg's, the most recent, offer only that they were made by Paminggir people of Lampung and perhaps that they were created by a single family or *kampong* workshop.³² Only Kahlenberg and Longuevan commit to print the very reasonable proposition that they are either from the areas of the Paminggir Belau or the Komering people, a remote region further inland that nonetheless produced some of the finest Sumatran textiles ever to come to light.³³

Given the fact that *tapis* 'travel' as dowry goods or through inheritance to begin with, combined with purposeful disinformation offered long ago by local dealers to keep competitors at a distance from their source, we will probably never know where red *tapis* come from. Logically however, since they came out



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so late, it seems reasonable that they survived in a very remote, inaccessible location, far from the long 'fished-out' and more easily accessible Liwa region thought to be the home of sought-after *cumi cumi* and *inuh tapis*, suggesting perhaps we should look to the Komering area, northeast of Liwa, which used to be hard to get to and remains dangerous.³⁴

All authors have given 19th century dates to the red *tapis* in their publications – although on the MMA website the Elliot piece is assigned to the 18th century – but is this correct or simply received wisdom?³⁵ Faced with the challenge of trying to date *tapis*, I have had radiocarbon tests performed on three single band *tapis* and four double band cloths – one red, two *cumi cumi* squid, and one *inuh* with boat motifs – each a classic of type, in order to attempt to discern whether, with all the

usual caveats about radiocarbon dating, any stylistic sequence emerged. All three single band *tapis* fell comfortably within the crucial 1450-1650 AD range.

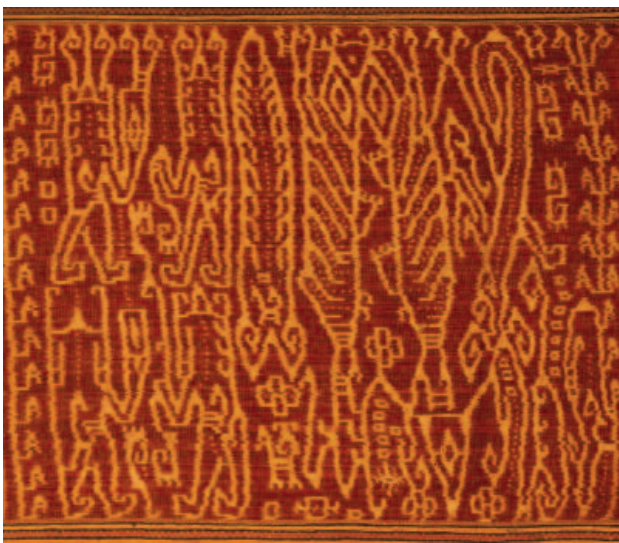
The cotton ground of the single band red *tapis* with 'mother goddess' **6** yielded a calibrated radiocarbon age of 1452-1526 (47.4%) + 1557-1633 (42.3%). Both the cotton ground and the silk embroidery on the red *tapis* with the 'combination' field **7** gave early dates: the cotton from 1454-1529 (47.4%) + 1552-1634 (47.6%), while the silk was from 1446-1517 (79.6%) + 1595-1618 (15.4%). Cotton threads taken from the field of the 'organic' design red *tapis* **9** were dated to 1442-1501 (87.5%) + 1508-1511 (0.7%) + 1602-1616 (6.7%). Silk from the same piece was tested to 1451-1523 (62.3%) + 1573-1629 (32.7%). The radiocarbon test results cited for all samples are at the 95% confidence level.

9 Single band red *tapis* with 'organic' central motif and eccentric *patola* ikat field, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, 15th-17th century. Cotton, silk, warp ikat, embroidery, 1.21 x 1.27m (4'0" x 4'2"). Author's collection

10 Detail of the ikat ground of a single band red *tapis* showing a heroic ancestor figure on the deck of a ship. Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, 18th century or earlier. Cotton, silk, warp ikat, embroidery, width 1.27m (4'2"). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of John B. Elliott through the Mercer Trust, 2000.160.5



11 Detail of the ikat ground of single band red *tapis* **6** possibly showing a wedding procession. For discussion of this motif see Barnes & Kahlenberg, eds., *Five Centuries of Indonesian Textiles*, 2010, pp.66-68, pl.8. **12** Detail of the 'eccentric *patola*' warp ikat ground of single band red *tapis* **9** **13** Detail of the embroidered silk band of red *tapis* **6** showing what Holmgren and Spertus suggest may represent copulating figures



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further supported by the dating of a double band *cumi cumi* variant **15**, chosen to be tested for the presumably earlier drawing style in the embroidered zone iconography, to 1644-1666 (82.8%) + 1785-1795 (12.9%).

It may perhaps be deduced that *tapis* with single bands and *tapis* with double bands shared an early existence and continued to evolve with the single band yielding fully to the double band, until by the end of the 17th century we see it no more. I suspect that *adat* defined red *tapis* proper ceased to exist in its own category and merged with the brown ikat field style to create the rose coloured ikat field mentioned above.³⁶ A radiocarbon test of the ground of **3** would help sort out this question, as the embroidered panels may have been handed down as heirlooms and inserted into a 19th century cloth.

Although this was a small sample, the three pieces tested represent about a fifth of all known single band *tapis*.³⁷ Other than that, there are perhaps a few others in private hands – a very limited number, but enough to justify further research.³⁸

Three of the tapis illustrated in this article (2, 6, 9) are among almost forty textiles from the author's private collection on display in 'Magic of Women' at the Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam from 5 April – 9 September 2012.



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NOTES

- 1** Abung, Kaur and other regional *tapis* styles of the greater Lampung district will not be addressed here. **2** See Thomas Murray, 'The Ship and the Tree: Adat Textiles of South Sumatra', HALI 101, 1998, pp.88-95, for an extended discussion of this topic. **3** Thoroughly discussed in the literature but seldom as well as in a rather obscure article by Anne E. Wardwell, 'Tapis: A Rare Sarong from South Sumatra', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 72/5, September 1985, pp.303-309. **4** J.E. Jasper & Mas Pirngadie, *De inlandsche kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indie*, The Hague 1912-1930; Edwin M. Loeb & Robert Heine-Geldern, *Sumatra: Its History and People/The Archaeology and Art of Sumatra* (Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik III), Vienna 1935; Robert Heine-Geldern, *Prehistoric Research in the Netherlands Indies*, Surinam 1945; A. Steinmann, *Bulletin Ethnographical Museum – Delft*, Delft 1965, pp.5-49, and bibliography, pp.78-9. **5** Personal communication, Keith and Curt Clemson, teachers in Jakarta at that time, who acquired **2**, **4** and **7** from the late Datuk Perpatih, an early teacher, friend and source for me as well, ca.1980. **6** Brigitte Khan Majlis, *The Art of Indonesian Textiles: The E.M. Bakwin Collection at the Art Institute of Chicago*, Chicago 2007, pl.3. **7** Laurens Langewis & Frits A. Wagner, *Decorative Art in Indonesian Textiles*, Amsterdam 1964, pls.173,179. **8** Inv.1983.69; Carol Robbins,

- Selections from the Steven G. Alpert Collection of Indonesian Textiles*, Dallas 1984, p.5. **9** Robert J. Holmgren & Anita E. Spertus, *Early Indonesian Textiles from Three Island Cultures: Sumba Toraja Lampung*, New York 1989, pls.41-43. **10** Inv.1989.1490; Robyn Maxwell, *Textiles of Southeast Asia. Transition, Trade and Transformation*, Melbourne 1990, p.125, pl.182. **11** Birgitte Khan Majlis, *Gewebte Botschaften: Indonesische Traditionen im Wandel/Woven Messages: Indonesian textile tradition in course of time*, Hildesheim 1991, pls.71-2. **12** Mary-Louise Totton, 'A Red Ikat Tapis: Ships and the Lands Beyond', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 68/3, 1994. **13** Shinobu Yoshimoto, *Ikat*, Tokyo 1996, pp.26-27. **14** Robyn Maxwell, *Sari to Sarong. Five Hundred Years of Indian and Indonesian Textile Exchange*, Canberra 2003, pp.180, 213-215. **15** <http://nga.gov.au/IndonesianTextiles>, inv.2000-783, 2000-799, 2000-801, 2000-802, 2000-900 **16** <http://nga.gov.au/IndonesianTextiles>, inv.1989.1490, 2000-784, 2000-786, 2000-796. **17** Majlis 2007, fig.8 and pl.3. **18** Mary-Louise Totton, *Wearing Wealth and Styling Identity: Tapis from Lampung, South Sumatra, Indonesia*, Hanover NH 2009, pls.19, 21, 22, 23. **19** Robyn Maxwell, *Life, Death & Magic: 2000 Years of Southeast Asian Ancestral Art*, Canberra 2010, pp.208-209, 234. **20** Ruth Barnes & Mary Hunt Kahlenberg, eds., *Five Centuries of Indonesian Textiles. The Mary Hunt Kahlenberg Collection*,

- London 2010, pl.8. **21** <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections>. Gift of John B. Elliott through the Mercer Trust, inv.2000.160.5. **22** Detroit, Elliot/MMA (both with clear heroic ancestor iconography), Holmgren/MMA, Osaka. **23** Kahlenberg, Murray x 2. **24** NGA x 2, Lüth, Lister/Hood. **25** NGA x 2, Holmgren/MMA, Osaka, Murray. **26** NGA, Holmgren/MMA, Murray. **27** NGA x 2, Holmgren/MMA, Kahlenberg, Osaka, Detroit. **28** NGA, MMA, Murray. **29** Holmgren/MMA, Osaka, Murray. **30** Lister/Hood. **31** More often than not *tapis cumi cumi* come with a brown ikat field and a woven-in area for embroidery continuous with the ground, whereas *tapis inuh* with boat motifs tend to come more often on plain turmeric grounds and have embroidered panels that are sewn in (and can therefore last longer as separate heirlooms), but this motif/ground combination is not a hard and fast rule. **32** Totton 2009. **33** E.g. Barnes & Kahlenberg 2010, pl.1, pp.48-49. It is possible that the complex ikat patterns of this type of *bidak* may be the source of the more familiar *cumi cumi tapis* brown cotton ikat patterns illustrated here. Both share striking similarities to the warp ikat *pua kombu* of the Iban Dayak of Borneo. **34** Personal communication, Don Longuevan. **35** The great Swiss ethnologist and scholar Alfred Bühler declared that no Indonesian textile could be older than a hundred years from the date at which it was collected,

as due to climate and vermin they could not survive any longer than that. That Indian trade cloth could be dated much earlier was revealed by Ruth Barnes in HALI 87, 1996, pp.80-85. Some of us took note of this tantalising hint that perhaps those Indonesian textiles that were preserved together with imported Indian trade cloths could be equally old. Confirming this possibility, Mary Hunt Kahlenberg first published Indonesian textiles with early radiocarbon dates in HALI 131, 2003, pp.82-87. **36** For a related example see Totton 2009, pl.3. **37** The second half of the Holmgren/Spertus Collection, now at Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven, CT, quite possibly has three, to balance the three that went to the NGA in Canberra. **38** This article is dedicated to the memory of my friend Mary Hunt Kahlenberg. I am especially grateful to Hwei-fen Cheah of the Australian National University for her encouragement to get this paper done now and not later, to Robyn Maxwell for her support, to Don Tuttle for his fine photographs, and to the team at the Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory in New Zealand, who have brought science to the intuitive world of art history. I would also like to acknowledge with gratitude conversations with colleagues and friends – scholars, curators, dealers and collectors in both Indonesia and the West – too numerous to name individually, as well as to all those in my 'support' team, without whose help this paper could not have been completed. And Robert Holmgren and Anita Spertus have always been a particular source of inspiration.

- 14** Detail of a double band *tapis inuh* **3**, with a big bird on a boat, florals radiating out on either side, while a bird-headed ancestor figure looks on from another boat on the right **15** Detail of a double band *tapis cumi cumi*, Paminggir people, Lampung, Sumatra, Indonesia, 17th-18th century. Cotton, silk, mirrors, warp ikat, embroidery, 0.61 x 1.32m (2'0" x 4'4"). Note the rich iconography of mountain, tree of life, projecting floral sprays, and *cumi cumi* flying through the air. Author's collection