SHORT REVIEWS


Literature on the Tibetan carpet is scant. In spite of the fact that many traditional techniques of spinning, dyeing, and weaving are used to the present day, making first-hand accounts possible, authors have a tendency to prefix or suffix their remarks on the subject with an apology that little or nothing is known of the Tibetan carpet. Philip Denwood has broken new ground in this book. It is the first thorough investigation thus far and includes a detailed account of weaving techniques employed among Tibetan refugees as well as a historical survey into the origins of the craft. The historical survey is especially valuable and worthy of attention.

Prior to H. A. Lorentz’s authoritative work, A View of Chinese Rugs (London and Boston, 1973), Tibet was virtually ignored in the field of oriental rugs. Lorentz verified that there was clear difference in knotting techniques between Tibetan and Chinese samples, but he still maintained that Tibetan carpets inevitably betrayed an original Chinese influence. The opinion that carpet weaving in Tibet was a direct offshoot of Chinese centers of manufacture, with its origin no earlier than the mid-18th century is one that is shared by most writers. The complete exposition of this view is given by Blanch Olschak in her article “Tibetan Carpets” (Palette 27, 1967). Tibetan carpets are referred to by other authors as fundamentally Chinese yet “characteristically Tibetanized” (to quote Marco Pallis). This, as Denwood points out, is not the whole story; still, it represents an advance over the older, widely-held view expressed as late as 1965 by the eminent authority Reinhard Hubel (The Book of Carpets, English translation, New York, 1970): “Examples of knotted carpet production from Tibet are lacking. What knotted carpets have come out of Tibet were all made in Khotan, and the provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Suiyan”.

Denwood has filled this gap with his scholarly research; his book surfaces in the midst of conjectures and sheds light on the historical background of the art. He concludes from extant, if circumstantial, evidence that by 1000 A.D. carpet weaving was already introduced from Central Asia and practised in Tibet. He cites the text of The Life of Mila Repa which confirms the use of pile carpeting in southern Tibet by the year 1200. Denwood’s critics will contend, as Murray Eiland does in a forthcoming book which contains a chapter on Tibetan rugs, that there is “enough ambiguity in the Tibetan words so that we cannot be at all certain that pile carpets rather than felts or other fabrics are mentioned”. However, Denwood’s reference
contains two separate Tibetan words for rug: *gdan*, a general term for cushions of all sorts, and *grum tse*, interpreted as specifically referring to pile carpets.

Denwood supports his argument with five observations, of which the most important is the difference in knotting techniques and looms between China and Tibet. His hypothesis points to Central Asia as the common ancestor of both techniques, but at entirely different periods of history. Tibet must have taken the “Senna loop” before the advent of “true knotting systems” in the area of Khotan and Kashgar. The “Senna loop” has since become extinct in all but peripheral regions such as southern Tibet. It was supplanted by the “true knot” (technically, I would prefer the term “dead knot”), which found its way to China via the silk route 400 years ago. This is entirely plausible and consistent with the author’s assertion that carpet weaving has a thousand-year history in Tibet. In contrast, the argument from negative evidence that since no extant Tibetan rug can be dated before the 18th century, rug weaving did not exist before that time appears weak and proves nothing at all.

It is in this area of historical conjecture that the author is at his best. The first and last chapters of his book give solid footing to his view that “The role of China was to provide the already entrenched Tibetan carpet industry with a wide and highly popular range of visual design, pattern, and motif which dominate its repertoire to this day”.

In the remaining five chapters of the book we leave the museum and library, the traditional home of carpet books, and delve into the weaver’s craft. Here the finely honed tools of the historian and scholar are clearly at a loss to convey the legitimate worth of the Tibetan tradition. In this respect it is unfortunate that *The Tibetan Carpet* belongs to the same category as the half-dozen other manuscripts, articles and books I have been seen, beginning with A. Messinesi’s “Rug Weaving in Tibet” (*Quarterly Journal of the Guilds of Weavers, Spinners, and Dyers*, June- and September, 1956, reprinted in Lorentz, 1973), which have attempted descriptions of tools and weaving practices found in Tibet. When not totally inaccurate (this Denwood is not), these accounts are indecipherable. Were they to be deciphered, still they would remain incoherent to those practicing the art, and useless to those studying it seriously. It is a case of misplaced accent and emphasis, an alien’s reduction of the technique to a cut and dried linear sequence mixing essentials and non-essentials and thus distorting the tradition. It is important and necessary for an author hoping to present an authoritative description of weaving techniques to be rooted in the tradition and to have already mastered the techniques he intends to describe.

Traditionally, then, we can speak of a texture peculiar to Tibetan rugs and certainly outside the sphere of standardization nearly universal in the Tibetan carpet industry today. Wool warp, hand-spun and plied, in conjunction with a wool weft (unplied) were used in Tibet and varied greatly in thickness and strength among weaving houses and districts. Perhaps it is because Denwood never saw wool warp in use that
he failed to ascertain the full importance of this diversity. Furthermore, the texture was individualistic to the extreme: the unique method of mounting the loom and tensioning the warp led to more irregularities that were peculiar to each weaver's tension. It is in this connection that we hear statements from weavers that for two or more people to work together on the same loom they must be of the same mind, the same tension. Essentially what this means is that, within the limits of his materials and individual tension, the weaver chooses a ratio in which to work. The ratio can be said to be the actual size of the knot (the smallest unit of design). Knots were seldom square and by ratio is meant the number of rows and the number of knots that effect a square. In the present day the standard ratio is 3:5 (sometimes 4:7), meaning three rows to five knots, prevalent among refugee weavers. It yields approximately 55 knots to the square inch and has been, for the most part, determined by the given thickness of machine-spun, cotton string found in India and used as warp. The ratio plays a definite role in the type of design to be woven as well as its execution, and it is just the standardization of materials, tensions and ratios that signals the loss of traditional texture.

Natural dyestuffs also belong to this textural tradition. Here again we assume that Denwood did not encounter a practicing Tibetan dyer for the recipe listed for indigo is incomplete while that for lac is simply a bad guess. These two dyes, together with rhubarb, were the most fast, and therefore, the most important of Tibetan dyestuffs. Secondly, there is traditional design with regard to Tibetan rugs. Here the question of "original influence" does not enjoy the same relevance it does when concerned with technique. Whether China influenced Tibet (probable) or vice versa (also possible) is not pertinent to the fact that these two traditions, though unrelated technically, are mutually intelligible aesthetically. Motifs may be borrowed among cultures for instance the cloud-band found in Turkish carpets is indeed related to the ribbon found in Tibetan ones—but it is the particular expression of that motif, its stylization, that is significant to any in-depth study. Symbolic interpretation of design is merely an aspect of the tradition; nevertheless, it has become such a temptation among panpaneclectics on the one hand (I am referring to S. V. R. Camman's "Symbolic Meanings in Oriental Rug Patterns", a series of articles published in 1971), and a sanctuary for simplistics on the other (see Fritz Hermann's article "Design and Pattern in Oriental Knotted Rugs" as an example: "Many Chinese carpets...are closer to the European way of thinking than to the Oriental.") that it is impossible to say anything further without specific examples. In this respect Denwood has remained silent and so it is H. A. Lorentz who provides some necessary background material for perceiving this really tight stylistic tradition. Lorentz has taken up where his predecessor Adolf Hackmack left off (Chinese Carpets and Rugs, tr. Tientzin 1924) and their accounts can serve as a bridge between these two traditions.
Philip Denwood has provided the first wide selection of color plates on Tibetan carpets to date. They are representative of the general order though decidedly (with the exception of two) mediocre when compared with some of the great rugs that have emerged from Tibet. Murray Eiland intends to publish at least one wonderful rug of this class in his forthcoming book and we can assume that more authors of rug books will follow suit as appreciation of these rugs increases. Tibet, after all, not only was the last practitioner of this ancient knotting system but also acted as a store house for many lost and forgotten motifs from all over Asia. When more examples are “discovered” in the wool many aspects of this tradition of rug weaving in Tibet will be explained to the discriminating eye and perhaps more eloquently than in any book yet written.

There is also much to learn from carpets produced in the present day by Tibetans. The carpet weaving industry is developing at a rapid pace among refugees. Kathmandu, Nepal has undoubtedly become the most important center of manufacture both in quantity as well as quality. Here there is a trend toward small private enterprise, of weavers who are independent of larger factories. Tibetan wool is trucked down from the Tibetan border and its use is becoming more widespread. At present there are four separate weaving houses which employ vegetable dyes in Kathmandu and one that uses it exclusively so on looms strung in wool warp and weft. The tradition of weaving is experiencing a revival and there is evidence of other knot ratios apart from the standard six to ten. This was unheard of only four years ago. If this trend continues and standardization is brought down to the family level it is very possible that carpet weaving will survive as it has for centuries— as a well-practiced folk art.

THOMAS L. GUTA

* * *


The present work is a revised version of a dissertation defended at the Historical Philosophical Faculty of the University of Oslo in 1973. The study concerns a small collection of songs known as the Cāryāgīti—in the author's translation “Songs of the mystic path” which was first published at Calcutta by Haraprasād Śāstri in 1916. Per Kvaerne’s primary intention was to elucidate a very difficult text. He has therefore restored as far as possible the corrupt original text and given an English translation of it “which is as correct as the material admits”. Kvaerne has not only battled with the Cāryāgīti; he has also read the Sanskrit commentary by Munidatta; and he has carefully studied the Tibetan translations of both the Cāryāgīti and Munidatta’s commentary. By concentrating on Munidatta’s interpretation of the songs, Kvaerne
has shown that the Tibetan translations frequently depend directly on Mundatta’s commentary and that the Tibetan translation of the latter is “remarkably poor”.

Kvaerne’s study is divided into two parts. In the first, the introduction passes in review the text, the Tibetan translations, the title, the language, the authors to whom the songs are attributed in the text, the date of composition (prior to the 12th century), and the genre. A useful critical summary of previous studies follows. Mundatta’s commentary and its Tibetan translation are then examined, and the three following chapters concern the religious background, the imagery of the Caryāgiti, and the concept of sahaja. Attention should be drawn at this point to a recent article by Kvaerne ‘On the concept of sahaja in Indian Buddhist Tantric Literature” published in Temenos, vol. II, 1975, p. 87–135. The second part of the volume under review contains the English translation of the Caryāgiti which is accompanied by the old Bengali text (also in romanization), philological notes in which Shadhidullah’s and Sen’s previous translations are often discussed, and the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of Munidatta (these also in romanization). For some reason, the notes to Part I have been printed after Part II.

Kvaerne appears to me to have given us the best edition and translation of these songs to have appeared to date. His study is a very thorough and painstaking job work; and he has undoubtedly fulfilled what was required of him by his university in an admirable manner. However, despite the respect which his philological competence inspires, this reader cannot help regretting that more attention was not devoted to the context in which these “texts” have come down to us. For they are not just dusty texts long laid in scholarly libraies, apt matter for learned dispute. They are primarily songs whichvehicle a tradition of devotion which is still alive. Caryā songs were collected in Nepal in recent times by both Rāhul Sāmkṛtyāyan and Shashibhusan Dasgupta. Unfortunately, as far as I know, they have not yet been published. Surely it should be possible to record such songs on tape, question the singers, investigate the conditions in which the songs are sung, observe the dances, analyse the musical accompaniment, in a word: study them in an anthropological perspective, before it is too late?

A. W. M.

* * *

TIBETAN FRONTIER FAMILIES. Reflections of three generations from D’ing–ri.
By Barbara Nimri Aziz. xvi+292 pages with 9 maps, 20 b/w illustrations.
Published by Vikas, New Delhi, 1978. I. Rs. 75

This excellent study is described by its author as a “social biography” of the D’ing-ri region of Tibet, located just to the north of Mt. Everest. It is a lively and readable account, firmly based on an anthropological study of the lives and ideology of the peasantry, the hitherto silent majority of a country which we all know to be
populated by saints, lamas, nobles, monks, and brigands. The result is a new and challenging perspective on Tibetan society.

The research was carried out mainly in a refugee settlement in Solu Khumbu, Nepal, where some 2000 of D’ing-ri’s 12,000 population, the great majority peasants, have installed themselves since 1960, some 100 km. from their former homes. This unique situation, a dense community of refugees all from the same small area, representing “all economic levels and social spheres formerly extant in D’ing-ri”, has enabled the author to draw a convincing portrait; she clearly got to know the ’Ding-ri-wa well from first-hand contact and observation and could check their memories against their neighbors’. Running through the book are 43 capsule biographies of individual D’ing-ri-wa.

D’ing-ri society is presented as divided into four hereditary categories. Ninety per cent are “commoners”, among whom the author recognizes three economic classes: tenant farmers (roughly half of rural ’Ding-ri-wa), traders, confined to the bazaar town of Gang-gar, and sharecroppers and intinerant laborers (40 per cent of all D’ing-ri-wa). The commoner category is defined socially by contrast with the two higher, landowning groups, hereditary priests (ngag-pa) and nobles who form one per cent of the population, and the hereditary outcastes (ya-wa) 9 per cent, a previously little described category of which the author gives a very interesting account. But it is the tenant-farming class of commoners who form the backbone of rural D’ing-ri; their social ideology dominates the rural society and the present study.

The author’s analysis of the household and family, illustrated by many case histories and mind-boggling kin-diagrams is most convincing and is the most important part of the book. “In D’ing-ri the household is the primary economic unit, it is the unit of production, the unit of taxation, the landholding unit and the unit for political representation.” The observation applies to the tenant-farmer household bound to a plot of land by rent and service obligations which outlive its members. For the household to be economically viable, it must be large enough to cultivate its holding to pay its rent or taxes in kind and in service and to meet its obligations for cooperative labor and the conscription of soldiers or monks, and still have manpower left for the more profitable activities of herding and petty trade. In this context the author shows that family and kinship organization is based on residence (i.e. the household, including adopted members) rather than on lineage. Tenant farmers are named after their household, and many kinship terms are shown to be used as houseranks, with only one of each category in any household. There is a household shrine but no equivalent of the Nepali lineage kul devata. The joint family is rather similar to the Chinese but with the added institution of polyandry which has long fascinated observers of Tibetan society. Although polygamy of all types accounts for only 30 per cent of all marriages (i.e. 50 per cent of married people) fraternal polyandry (two-thirds
of polygamous marriages) is universally idealized by rural D'ing-ri-wa who see it as increasing the size of the household by keeping brothers together, even if they eventually produce fewer sons. (Brothers who take separate wives do not remain in the same household.) The author shows that in such households, the daughter-in-law plays the central role, and that D'ing-ri-wa commonly attribute the success or failure of the household to her. Polyandry is practised mainly by the tenant-farming class (and by the landonwing classes), not by urban D'ing-ri-wa or by the other large class of commoners, the sharecroppers and itinerant laborers, whose generally nuclear households (d'ü-ch'ung 'small smoke') are not bound to the land and do not have permanent tax or rent obligations.

The village is described, in less detail, as a corporate unit of tenant-farming households paying rent to a single landlord. But the author asserts that there is no larger unit within which villages cooperate; they face a common landlord or governor individually.

"Religion in the home, in the temple, or in the minds of its practitioners does not constitute a central force in the social structure." Instead the D'ing-ri-wa responds to religion and chooses his guru individually from among the ten or so active teachers in the region. (Incidentally, the author notes that the D'ing-ri-wa does not care what sect his teacher belongs to.) These teachers are generally the heads of small gön-pa established by themselves or a recent predecessor on the strength of personal followings.

Among other religious establishments, the author introduces an old and little-known type of establishment, agricultural hamlets called ser-k'yim ('commoner') gön-pa which serve set parishes by performing routine domestic rituals. The large government monastery at Shel-kar is presented as irrelevant to the religious life of the people, having no pastoral function.

Throughout the book the author insists on the variety of religious, social, and economic options among which individual D'ing-ri-wa could choose and her method of using case histories is well chosen to bring this out. She criticizes previous students of Tibetan society for presenting an "administrative monolith" and for following the Tibetans themselves in describing social relations in narrowly economic terms; their accounts are "inconsistent with our sense of the robust Tibetan character and religion". The author herself slight economic data, with the result that outside the family circle her account seems incomplete. For example the landless d'üch'ung are presented (one hears the D'ing-ri-wa taxpayers speaking here) as "free of the constraints of land taxes and the social obligations of other classes" but there is no serious discussion of economic obligations, sharecropping and indebtedness.

The book is well printed and produced. However more professional editing would have removed a number of clumsy expressions and malapropisms e.g. "runagate" (p. 39) conflating "runaway" and "renegade", "malingering" for sexual misbehavior
by a celibate (pp. 247–8), and the description of Shel-kar as a "forboding centre" (p. 235). The book is well provided with maps.

B. M.

* * *


The book offers a collection of seven scholarly essays, four in French and three in English, by upcoming as well as well-established Tibetologists on aspects concerning Tibet. The foreword tells us that its publication was timed with the occasion of the exhibition arranged in the Grand Palais, Paris in 1977 which, one guesses, was devoted to the exposition of Tibetan art. All the essays included in the collection do not strictly pertain to the domain of art as the title of the book would imply. This departure may have been allowed by the editors in recognition of a very broad meaning of art and thus laying down no strict parameters of it. A. M. Blondeau has rendered a short review of Tibet's geography and history up to 1959; Y. Imaeda discusses some Chinese editions of the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur; R. A. Stein delves into the significance of the mouth of the makara (crocodile) head as it is found depicted in some ritual objects; Heather Karmay studies the Tibetan costume between the 7th and the 11th centuries; John Lowry describes a fifteenth-century sketchbook belonging to an artist; Ariane Macdonald, in the longest article of the collection, studies a bronze-statue depicting the fifth Dalai-Lama; and finally H. E. Richardson, the British official, who has the double distinction of being a renowned Tibetologist and living in Tibet for many years before the Chinese take-over has contributed a write-up reconstructing the architectural description of the Jokhang, "Cathedral" of Lhasa.

The essays in the collection are all written by scholars specialized in Tibetan literary and textual studies. Naturally, therefore, in all of them the central focus is on a search for and collation of their material proofs in the scattered literary sources of diverse forms rather than in the direct observation of art. But this methodology has more than proved its merit in the study of Tibetan art history as two essays in the collection show. For example Imaeda has shown the danger of a sweeping generalisation that an art historian, inexpert in handling relevant texts, can make by pointing out the error of Heather Karmay (p. 23). Much in the same manner, but through a far more formidable research, Madame Macdonald has enlarged upon a bronze-statue of the Boston Museum described in the museum's catalogue by the art-historian, Pratapaditya Pal. Her research has led to the accurate identification of the said statue with the fifth Dalai-Lama and helped to fix its date in a most convincing manner. In the course of it, she has made a further find of a terracotta figure of the fifth
Dalai-Lama, which has increased our information on the portrait-making art of Tibet even more.

One essay in this collection, that of J. Lowry on a fifteenth century sketch-book, has a subject matter that intimately concerns Nepal. It describes an illuminating instance of a Nepali artist who had gone to Tibet in order to learn the art there in the fifteenth century. Lowry discovered this sketch-book consisting of forty folios of Nepali paper joined in a folding manner in a private collection in Calcutta. It is all filled with line drawings in black ink of ornamental foliage, dragons and figures of mythical kings, arhats, kinnars and kinnaris gods and goddesses of the Mahayana-Vajrayana pantheon. In all probability it was an iconographical note-book of the artist which he had preserved for consultation before undertaking any artistic commissions. The value of the sketch book is greatly increased by its colophon written in Newari script and dated in the Nepala Samvat 555. The colophon has been excellently reproduced in the essay and a tentative translation of it given, but no reading of the colophon itself has been included. In view of its importance, and the ambiguity which still surrounds its full meaning, I thought it useful to give its reading here so that others may also attempt its full interpretation. I have taken the help of Dhanavajra Vajracharya in this task.

1. Om Samvat 555 vesasa vaddhi 12 jivaramana thavavana: se (ge) yochona bhotañeëa samphürhi saklabu thama doyakā juro: pratictarāṇa vava
2. lālācūnāvāyoke ſeṇā juro: viseṣa chyāṇa hayā vāhiri: nyara dvaroṣa jyā yāṇa hayā jurom jivarāmayā prateṣana doyakā kha
3. Šubha.
4. Orū Šubha: agurikutavakhana juro netāpari juro:

The sketch-book, thus reaffirms not only Nepal’s close artistic links with Tibet continuing since the days of A-ni-ko in the 13th century, it also sheds new light on the working methods of the artists in those days. It looks almost certain that rendering styles (such as the Chinese, Tibetan, Nepalese and Indian as modern art historians would call them) had become an inseparable part of art like its iconographic prescriptions. An artist like Jivaram needed to master all these styles in order to enable him to work for all kinds of commissions without disadvantage in these parts. There is no doubt about the interest the volume will generate among scholars of art of Asia despite the highly specialized nature of treatment given to the subject-matter in these essays. The printing and photographic reproductions are of high quality.

P.R.S.

The most useful seminars seem to be small ones. The volume edited by Martin Brauen and Per Kværne is a good example of a successful, small seminar. Twenty-five young Tibetologists met for five days at Zurich in the summer of 1977; and eighteen of the papers presented at the seminar are published here in a format and at a price which are most acceptable. The papers concern a variety of aspects of Tibetan culture history, literature, religion—and vary in length from 3 to 24 pages. All concerned are to be heartily congratulated on the success of the enterprise. After reading this volume one wonders whether an age-limit should not be set for participants in international seminars.

* * *


These two well-printed volumes in impeccable English constitute a serious contribution to the study of Tibetan art. The first volume contains the text and the second colour and black-and-white plates with explanatory captions which do not date the pieces illustrated. The text is divided into four sections. The first contains a general introduction on Buddhism, dealing with such matters as the Refuges, Hinayāna, Mahāyāna, and Tantrayāna. The second deals with early representations of the Buddha, the functions of religious statues and paintings, the artist and his training, the dimensions and symbolical adornments of statues and paintings, their consecration, their worship and the offerings made to them, and has some interesting pages on the main schools of art in Tibet—which to some extent complement Gene Smith’s recent researches on the same subject. The third section is concerned with different kinds of than-ka, the preparation of painted than-ka, and the materials used in painting. Clay sculpture, metal sculpture, metal casting, metals and alloys, as well as stone and wood carving are passed in review. The fourth and longest section (p. 60–118) deals with the sixteen gnas-brtan (sk. sthāvira), ša-ri’i bu and Mo’u gal gyi bu the dge bsñen Dharma Tal-la, Hva-šañ and the Four Guardian Kings. Useful legendary and textual explanations about all of these personages are provided. There is a copious and extremely useful bibliography of Tibetan sources (p. 119–133.) This is followed by an index of Tibetan authors included in the bibliography, a list of Indian authors as well as a list of those more commonly known by their Tibetan names. The volume ends with Tibetan and Sanskrit indexes.
This is a painstaking and useful study. The author is to be commended when he follows western rather than Tibetan practice by indicating in his notes references to pages and not just titles and authors. Unfortunately in his text he pays little attention to the dates of his sources and their inter-relationship; so much undoubtedly legendary material tends to get mixed up with historical facts in the course of the exposition. The photographs are good and clearly printed; but the artistic quality of the objects represented is perhaps not always of a high order. Indeed one of the interesting aspects of this book is the absence of an aesthetic perspective, the author's viewpoint is religious and technological. Quite apart from the information distilled in these pages, we learn by reading them how a Tibetan, who has adapted himself in a remarkable manner to western culture, sees the art of his homeland. It is unfortunate that the enormous price of this book will limit its readers to those who frequent specialised institutes and libraries. Mr. Dagyabs book deserves a much wider public; and it is to be hoped that some enterprising publisher will contemplate a paper-backed edition.

A. W. M.