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DESIGNING DATABASE FOR ORIENTAL TEXTILES PRESENT IN TUSCAN
PAINTINGS (1270-1370) BASED ON GENETTE'S THEORY

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“But, whether our efforts are or not favoured by life, let us be able to say, when we come near the great goal, **I have done what I could.**”

Louis Pasteur: 1822-1895

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INTRODUCTION

By studying the history of Central Asia during 6th – 8th century, it can be seen that various ethnic group adopted and indigenized the material and visual cultures and a common Central Asian style can be found among fragments from the West and East boundaries of Eurasia; similar to patterns that appear on textiles (and other media) which were locally contextualized. The Medieval transcultural exchanges that extended from Asia to Europe over seven centuries, had been happening due to nomadic migrations. They were often spurred by Political reason like warfare or intermarriage.

Craftsman were also dislocated, moving from one area to another during wars, and taking with them technologies and related knowledge developed in their own territories, which were then adopted to new contexts. The development and knowledge of technology and experience made possible the manufacture of similar types of textiles that, even if not technically identical, became uniform in technique, common to various ethnic groups, and, as we shall see, a universal form of power linked to the extramundane.

It is clear that a vast group of textiles with similar composition circulated in Eurasia for more than seven centuries. The transmission of these compositions stimulated the deconstruction of their elements and their reassembly or the simple repetition of a singular motif. By the arrival of Arabs and Islamization of Central Asian territories, both the production and artistic style of textiles undoubtedly are transformed; but for sure this passage from old to new style was not immediate.

This dissertation is tracing the surveying of iconography of fabrics presented in paintings of Tuscan artists (1270-1370) based on Gérard Genette's intertextuality hypothesis as its topic in four chapters. For defining and studying the motifs used by Tuscan artists, on which the intertextuality theory is adapted to the topic of this dissertation, it was required that the oriental fabrics produced prior to advent of Islam be surveyed and their iconography be reviewed as far as possible.

The last kingdom in Iran before advent of Islam had been Sasanian Empire (224-651) that naturally the motifs of Iranian Sasanian art should be abundantly used in the art of early Islamic era so that one may conclude that the iconography in fabrics produced in early Islamic epoch were certainly originated from Iranian Sasanian; but the problem is that in a large section of these motifs such an attribution cannot be concluded; the point which is the principle challenge of the researchers of this field. Even though we are sure that silk production was under control of the imperial court and their defined iconography should act as a key word, unfortunately none of the written references presented an exact description of decorative motifs specialized for Sasanian imperial court.

Sasanian art grew out of the successful merging of several Near Eastern traditions with roots extending back to the Achaemenian period (550 BC- 330 BC). The Hellenistic-Roman presence is further explained by the direct participation of Roman craftsmen in the creation of Sasanian art. The Hellenized Roman style was brought into Sasanian Persia by the Syrians captured in periodic territorial raids. The resulting Sasanian art can be best understood as reflecting both the complex history of the vast Sasanian controlled territory and receptivity to new and different artistic forms and ideas suitable for assimilation into the dominant culture¹.

¹ Harper, 1978, p.78.

Hence, this dissertation seeks to trace the roots of fabrics belonging to the late Sasanian era until advent of Mongols in 13th century available to us, or being represented in other arts (focusing on paintings), from iconography viewpoint. Due to that, the fabrics or their representation in other works are studied in two categories of pre-Islam and Islamic era, each forming various subcategories. On the other side, nowadays, there is no doubt that the origin of Italian weaving industry -and following that their displaying in other works- is firmly linked to the Italian colonies established in West Asia and North Africa during the Crusades. But the point that puts this issue in conformity with Genette's theory is the simultaneous presence of pre-Islamic and Islamic iconography in the fabrics presented in Tuscan paintings (1270-1370). Due to that this dissertation is seeking to trace the roots of these fabrics.

The obtained results indicate that even though simultaneous with the creation of these paintings in the province of Tuscany, the country of Italy had made great progress in the creation of fabrics, painters have again referred to the iconography of eastern fabrics (both pre-Islamic and Islamic), which the thesis examines how this phenomenon occurs and examines the various ways of this multiplicity by considering Genette's theory.

THE STATE OF ART AND CHALLENGES

Prior to this thesis, several researchers paid attention to this subject. It is more than a century from the publication of the valuable book *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* by *Von Falke*². He surveyed historical textiles based on history and geography. Later, many researchers were attracted to the presence of Oriental silk, and more important to that, Oriental elements in western art because Von Falke, in surveying Italian fabrics, turned to “chinesischer Einfluss in Italian” and “sinopersischer Einfluss in Italian” which pointed to the relation between western textiles with Chinese ones in 13th and 14th centuries.

Anne Wardwell took another significant step in this respect at the end of eighties and by aiming to categorize Asian textiles in the said centuries brought a new vision in this topic³. Other scholars in their various researches spoke about these foreign elements, while they were studying the history of silk production in *Lucca*. Between the second half of 1800 and the first thirty years of 1900, regarding the growth of European collections of historical fabrics, many catalogues were published and the topic of motifs presented in fabrics were increasingly under attention.

By the beginning of 1960s, *Donata Devoti* developed a new method for surveying fabrics not only historical ones produced in Lucca, but also, as her suggested methodology, technical and artistic aspects of a textile (or a group of textiles) to be studied all together⁴. This prominent master is one of the most important connoisseur for fabrics produced in Lucca and her researches are still significant sources in this field. Around the end of the same decade *Brigitte Klesse* published *Seidenstoffe in der italienischen Malerei* in which she reiterated the importance of the issue⁵.

² Von Falke, 1913.

³ Wardwell, 1989.

⁴ Devoti, 1966, 1974.

⁵ Klesse, 1967.

David Jacoby is another researcher whose several and various researches about the history of silk weaving in the Middle Ages must be mentioned⁶.

Maria Ludovica Rosati, as an active researcher in this field, believes that there can be no doubt about the presence of foreign elements in Italian fabrics during 13th and 14th centuries⁷. This scholar, who has mentioned to this subject in her different articles, published a book under the title of *Lucca una città di seta* with cooperation of *Ignazio Del Punta* in 2017⁸. In this book various historical, economic, cultural, and technical aspects of fabric production in Lucca are surveyed. In the first chapter, Rosati talked about different Oriental fabrics that existed in Lucca and their iconography is explained. It is considered to be one of the credible sources for obtaining the Oriental models available in fabric weaving in this city in the Middle Ages.

In the field of textile history there are two big challenges; first: the reconstruction of a textile surface does not necessarily clarify its origin. Written sources and comparison with other media may, sometimes, help to form a possible geographic area of manufacturing or using. Second: the terminology in this field – especially about Asian textiles – is a turbulence, since there is not any accurate and universal language for describing textile structure (the same problem which exists about written sources in Western countries; e.g, chapter 3, part. 3.2.1., *Panni tartarici*). Unfortunately, it has almost never been possible to relate any of the innumerable of the textiles recorded in historical sources with actual textiles which have come to us. This problem becomes more difficult if the textile under examination is part of a multicultural heritage confirmed in a variety of sources. We know as well as possible which Central Asia had been controlled by multi-ethnic powers.

⁶ Jacoby, 1997, 2000, 2004, 2018.

⁷ Rosati, 2010a, 2010b.

⁸ Del Punta, Rosati, 2017.

Following this multi-cultural phenomenon, it can be said that there are two main reasons why similar compositions were produced for about seven centuries in Central Asia: technological developments and adaptation by new powers as new system that came from afar landed in Central Asia. Indeed, they have been coming from various domains of East and West. The invention of the semi-mechanical draw loom made possible the production of complex textile structures on which weavers could reproduce and transmit patterns that eventually became part of a common cultural background. That common imagery was adapted for royal courts, the nobility, and sacred institutions from China to Italy, and Central Asia.

The textiles presented in this thesis were produced during a period when the world did not yet have a global cultural structure (according to the present definition of globalization) and territories were not yet divided into nation-states. Textiles were produced or transmitted through and between kingdoms and empires whose territorial boundaries constantly changed; so, the technical and stylistic analysis of weaving -which the focus of thesis is on the second part- leads us to comprehension of the uniform, common, and universal aspects of a medium that might easily be bracketed as merely functional or aesthetic. This problem is also noticeable in surveying textiles presented in wall paintings; it means the collection of data may not be sufficient to confirm the origins or use of the object discovered.

Regarding mentioned challenges, it should be said that the existing problem in many of the researches achieved in this issue is the use of the word “Oriental” or general phrases as “Islamic pattern” or “Islamic art” without presenting any adequate definition. In case, we want to discuss about Oriental art in geographical scope, we would arrive to a very vast area which needs border definition and territorial division.

In case the intention is art based on Islamic concepts, it should be considered that Islam arrived into different countries within various timespan and in many cases was under the influence of local traditions; this point, before any other thing, is related to iconography in different types of art.

On the other side, many of authorities dealing with this topic paid much attention to Chinese motifs which were more abundant and easier to study as sources were more at hand. These researchers mostly covered only 13th and 14th centuries and they have not spoken about oriental motifs that have appeared on western textiles in previous centuries.

There is not much attention to painting as a source for surveying fabric iconography and many researchers analyzed and discussed the fabric presented in one painting or fabrics a certain artist displayed in his works. Whereas by studying the process of fabrics' designs presented in paintings in a certain and definite timespan, the procedure of transformations created in fabric iconography can be studied.

The objective of this dissertation is not presentation of similar samples of fabrics in each painting, rather by surveying the transformation accomplished in fabrics displayed by painters, it is seeking the fact that Tuscan painters, similar to fabric weavers, were first faithful to the main designs arrived from Orient but gradually presented their own interpretation in designs; something that *Genette* called it intertextuality and enforced the researcher to refer to previous historical eras in order to trace the original roots and concepts.

THEORETICAL PRINCIPLE & RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is based on Genette's theory called the intertextuality. The original meaning of this word is either intermingling or interweaving and it can be said that it undertakes the formation of any concept in several textual components. According to intertextual hypothesis, no text can be formed per se and in isolation. Also it cannot be understood and comprehended without any relation with other contexts. On this base, knowledge is interrelated. Julia Kristeva⁹ and Gérard Genette¹⁰ presented important hypothesis in this respect which is not limited to literary fields. According to Kristeva's theory (intertextuality), for understanding a context, the audience should refer to other texts and each time takes one of them into consideration. In each case, by returning and substitution of previous or next context, there will be an expansion in the context and its concept.

Genette steps even further and proposed a hypothesis under the title of transtextuality in which the presence of several texts in one context and their effects on each other is under survey. Intertextuality in painting is an approach in which visual experiences in accessible and deep impressions from others are revealed and it means the relation of one work with the other one. In regard to artworks, it should be mentioned that this hypothesis indicates the intersection era of artistic styles.

⁹Julia Kristeva (born 1941) is a Bulgarian-French philosopher, literary critic, semiotician, psychoanalyst, feminist, and, most recently, novelist.

¹⁰Gérard Genette (1930-2018) was a French literary theorist, associated in particular with the structuralist movement and such figures as Roland Barthes and Claude Lévi-Strauss, from whom he adapted the concept of bricolage.

According to Genette, transtextuality, or textual transcendence, includes elements of imitation, transformation, and the classification of types of discourses. In his own words, transtextuality is “all that sets the text in relationship, whether obvious or concealed with other text”¹¹. Transtextuality is basically Genette’s version of intertextuality. Genette coins the term transtextuality to distance his approach from post-structural approaches. Genette uses the concept of transtextuality in such a way as to show how texts can be systematically interpreted and understood. In order to do so, Genette subdivides the term transtextuality into five more specific categories: intertextuality¹², paratextuality¹³, metatextuality¹⁴, hypertextuality¹⁵, and architextuality¹⁶.

In this thesis, the first, the second, and the fourth categories of above mentioned are examined. In a general view, there is a relation between fabrics presented in Tuscany paintings (1270-1370) and the maniera of pre-Islamic textiles (Status Symbolos) that an intertextuality is created and fabrics produced in Sicily, Spain, and Lucca played a hypertextuality role in this relation. In this regard, painters like Duccio, Giotto, and Simone Martini played a paratextuality role and acted as templates for the artists after them and are similar to key words or guidance for their audience.

¹¹ Genette, 1992, pp. 83-84.

¹² “A relationship of co-presence between two texts or among several texts” and as “the actual presence of one text within another” (Genette, 1992, pp.1-2).

¹³ The paratext in Genette’s conception marks the elements at the entrance of the text, which help to direct and control the reception of a text by its readers. This threshold consists of a peritext and an epitext (Genette, 1997b).

¹⁴ “It unites a given text to another, of which it speaks without necessarily citing it (without summoning it), in fact sometimes even without naming it” (Genette, 1997a, p. 4).

¹⁵ Any relationship uniting a text B to an earlier text A, upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary” (Genette, 1997a, p.5).

¹⁶ “The reader’s expectations, and thus their reception of the work” (Genette, 1997a, p.5).

For attaining the objectives of this dissertation, first, oriental pre-Islamic fabrics are studied. Regarding the timespan under study in this thesis with respect to Oriental fabrics, there are two approaches: iconography based on concepts of pre-Islamic era, and intended iconography during Islamic epoch. Then samples of fabrics produced in Lucca are discussed, which based on available documents, certainly rooted in Oriental iconography. In this thesis, the challenge was to trace in order to indicate to which mentioned iconography (Islamic or pre-Islamic) each motif is related. Finally, the paintings displaying fabrics are surveyed.

THE STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The first chapter is dedicated to study of the fabrics produced during pre-Islamic epoch in Iran focusing on Sasanian era which are introduced as Status Symbolos in this dissertation. In this section, historical references (in Persian, Chinese, and Arabic sources) were studied but due to shortage of authentic sources available to us from that era, in which the detailed description of Sasanian fabrics are presented and iconography aspects and technic are studied, and since fabrics contemporaneous of Sasanian are attained outside of Iran territory, this chapter turned to one the challenges of this respect and with a wider view, Status Symbolos is defined as the pre-Islamic style.

The second chapter of the present thesis is allocated for studying about Islamic textile weaving. In this chapter, first happenings in Iran after Arabs conquest in 8th century and advent of Islam are surveyed and in continuation the communication routes between Iran and western countries are pointed out. Then, the formation of Islamic arts during Almoravid (1040-1147) and Almohad (1121-1269) in Spain are explained because they acted as turning point that simultaneous with Seljuk in Iran (1037-1194) caused transfer of pre-Islamic and Islamic traditions in textile weaving to the west (especially Italy).

The third chapter is allocated to textile weaving in Italy. Sicily as the starting place of textile weaving in this country and then the transference of this art to Lucca is studied. The most significant point is creation of an extended cosmopolitanism in this respect which caused a significant influence on textile production in this city. As we will observe, the weavers in this city created a modern form of Oriental iconography; even though remained faithful to its originality, presented their own interpretation.

In the fourth chapter, motifs presented in the paintings of Tuscany during 1270-1370 are surveyed. Since in paintings of 1300 in Tuscany, many artists turned to representing fabrics in their works, in this dissertation fifty works among the most important ones are selected which appeared as key words in this direction. This means, the fabrics which artists displayed in later decades were inspired by these works. The remarkable point is that at the time that Tuscan artists started to recreate fabrics in their works, Lucca had got to self-sufficiency in fabric weaving and it was able to produce qualitative textiles; but still the artists displayed the fabrics with Oriental origin. In order to decode the applied iconography by the artists, these works are selected to be discussed in this dissertation. Eventually, the data base designed for the purpose of placement of the results is introduced.

CHAPTER I: ROUNDEL MOTIFS A COMMON MANIERA OF PRE-ISLAMIC TEXTILES IN CENTRAL ASIA

This section, aiming at surveying oriental pre-Islamic fabrics from historical and iconography point of view. Between the 7th and 14th centuries, a recognized central Asian textile iconography, composition of roundels enclosing animals, spread from Tarim to the Mediterranean Barim. This Iconography mainly developed on complex structures, were woven in weft-faced compounds. Animal patterns were clearly preferred by the later Sasanians, who often combined them with old symbols from territories to the west, such as rosettes and dots, to create royal or religious emblems. Thus, the “original” animal style would remain a common Eurasian reference that was used widely to the end of the Mongol period. These roundels are mainly known as “Sasanian roundels” and the main reason is their usage in Taq-e Bostan¹⁷, but the enigmatic pearl roundel pattern still represents one of the great problems of Sasanian art, especially in the field of textile production: firstly, the study of pre-Islamic textiles (especially in Iran) is limited because of lack of archeological findings and reliable sources. Secondly, the other problem is that many textiles relics embellished with pearl roundels have been found outside Persian territory.

Therefore, we cannot talk about an Iranian style while referring to pre-Islam style. The best term that can be used is *Maniera*. Nonetheless, the artistic decision to reproduce textile motifs on other media, even if reflexive, became a process or maniera and therefore customary. The concept of maniera, already popular in fourteenth-century Italy, was reused in 1550 by *Giorgio Vasari* (1511-1574) to explain the style of great Italian artists in his work *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti* and *Jurgis Baltrušaitis* (1873–1944) referred to the bizarre and zoomorphic elements in the European gothic art as *maniérisme gotique*¹⁸.

¹⁷ Archeological site with a series of large rock reliefs situated in Kermanshah, Iran.

¹⁸ Gasparini, 2020, p. 30.

But this approach to art-making was already highly visible in ancient Eurasian material culture¹⁹.

¹⁹ Gasparini, 2020, p. 30; see Baltrušaitis, 1993, 295.

1.1. Surveying pre-Islamic fabrics in Iran and their presence in some art works

While the lack of direct written sources still represents a serious gap for the study of Persia during the Sasanian period, in classical, Islamic and Chinese literature, Sasanian textiles are celebrated as a very precious commodity, but unfortunately no more specific descriptions are given. It is now quite clear that many formulae considered typical of Sasanian art, were known and created during the Arsacid period (247 BC-224 AD) and actually one cannot say much about Sasanian textile art. The only textile fragment referable to the Sasanian period, recovered during the scientific excavation at Shar-e-Qumis do not display particular decoration (fig. 1.1).

Inasmuch as there is no fabric whose attribution to that epoch can be surely proved, it cannot be claimed with certainty that the designs were sewn on the textiles or were a part of the texture. Also, it cannot be understood that these fabrics had been woven in Iran or had arrived in this country from other places. An enigmatic group of textiles that is said to have come from Egypt, is extremely interesting for the study of pre-Islamic Persian textiles²⁰.

The fragments cannot be considered Coptic; they display several Iranian elements which don't completely respond to Sasanian artistic canons. One important fragment is kept in excellent condition in Benaki Museum of Athens (fig.1.2). There are four people dressed in the typical garment observed in many Sasanian reliefs. The central figure – probably sitting on a horse– seems larger in dimensions. He wears a belt and a Caftan embellished with pearls and what could be considered jewels sewn on the entire parts (see part. 1.2., Movashah).

²⁰ E.g. Ghirshman, 1962, p.230; Musée de Louvre, Inv. MG1138.

However, the most important sources at hand, a large section of which belong to Sasanian, should be mentioned. One of the most remarkable documents regarding the existence of textile in Iran is Book of Esther in Old Testament:

“[...] That in those days, when the king Ahasuerus sat on the throne of his kingdom, which was in Shushan the palace, In the third year of his reign, he made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces, being before him: When he shewed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honor of his excellent majesty many days, even an hundred and fourscore days. And when these days were expired, the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king’s palace; Where were white, green, and blue, hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white, and black, marble”²¹.

Travelogue of *Hwan T’Sang*, written in the early 7th century, mentioned the skills and workmanship of Iranian weavers²². He spoke of the skill of the Persian artisans in weaving not only patterned silks in large pieces, enriched with metal thread, but also wools²³. According to *Suishu* (Book of the Sui dynasty), completed in 636, Persian textile were already known since the beginning of the 7th century. An artisan by the name of *He Chou* is mentioned in relation to their manufacture in China, although western textiles were already known a century earlier:

²¹The Book of Esther, 1:1, 2-7.

²²Pope, 1964, p. 691.

²³For *Ahmad ibn A’tham* of Kufa (beginning of 10th century), in describing the flight and murder of *Yazdgerd*, the last king of Sasanian dynasty, makes a special point of his fine garments of wool worked with gold and silver (Pope, 1964, p. 692).

“Persia presented [to the emperor] a beautiful gown of jin in golden threads. The Emperor ordered [He] Chou to reproduce it. He began to weave and succeeded in making a type even more beautiful than the one sent as a gift. The emperor was extremely satisfied”²⁴.

He Chou talked about “Iranian fabrics” but did not describe them in details. He just mentioned that the fabrics were made by gold thread. In Weishu travelogue or “Book of Wei” (386-550), a book which was presented to the court in 554 and is now available, this fabric is also mentioned and it is written that it was under the influence of Sasanian fabrics. In the same book, at the beginning of a section which is about Iran (chapter 102), it is written that in Ctesiphon²⁵ various textiles were produced, including fabrics containing gold thread²⁶.

It can be said that the presence of these written documents ensure us about the existence of fabric weaving workshops during Sasanian era, but our major challenge is about iconography that we cannot confirm as Iranian with certainty.

As it was mentioned, almost all of Sasanian textiles are found out of the country and territories very far from Iran. The fame of textiles in this era is such that *Al-Mas'ūdī*²⁷ in his book *The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* mentioned that half of glory and magnanimity of this era should be sought in expansion of industries such as textiles. Iranian made their clothes from skin, wool, felt and silk fabrics whose colors were not diverse and were mostly dark and deep²⁸. All that Al-Mas'ūdī really says is that, after winning a victory over the Romans, King Shapur transferred

²⁴ Gasparini, 2020, p.46; see also Dien, 2007, p. 345.

²⁵ It was an ancient Iranian city and Sasanian royal capital.

²⁶ Compareti, 2020, 753, Thierry, 2007, 144.

²⁷ المسعودي (896- 956) He was an Arab historian, geographer and traveler.

²⁸ Talebpour, 2007, pp. 50-51.

captive Aramaic or Syrian weavers to his capital of Susa and the province of Fars²⁹. This is one of the cases that increases the probability of external influences on textile production.

Unfortunately, this author does not specify to which victory or which king Shapur he is referring. There were in fact two Sasanian rulers of this name, *Shapur I* (r. 241- 272) and *Shapur II* (r. 309-379), both of them powerful monarchs, who waged successful wars against the Roman Empire. The rulers of Sasanian dynasty were not to be outdone by their predecessors in the matter of costly textiles, but regrettably we have no exact information concerning the manufacture. Of all the Arab writers who have so vividly described the flourishing silk manufactories of Susa and the province of Fars, only one, Al-Mas'ūdī, supplies an indication of the date when these industries might have been founded³⁰.

With more researches in Persian and Arabic sources, this doubt is removed. *Mohamad Hassan Zaki* in his book *Iran's Industrial History after Islam* mentioned to Shahpur II³¹. Besides that, Christensen said Shahpur II encountered Romans in Mesopotamia. Constantine I (r. 306-337) was dead and his successor, Constantine II was commanding Roman army personally, which is a strong and exact reason for indication of timespan³². He also mentioned about a fight on Amida fort, in present Diyarbakir³³, happened in 359.

²⁹Jairazbhoy, 1965, pp. 18-19.

³⁰Ibidem.

³¹Ibidem.

³²Christensen, 1962, p. 173.

³³This city actually is located in Turkey.

Checking the writings of Roman historian *Amianus Marcellinus*³⁴ (330 A.D- 400 A.D), a roman officer of Greek origin, we got to Shahpur II again³⁵. Therefore, certainly, the production of silk fabric in Iran coincided his kingdom. In this era, silk and its related industry was very common in most cities of Iran particularly in the cities of Susa, *Shushtar*³⁶, *Dezful*³⁷ and *Jundishapur*³⁸; and each of Iranian cities produced a particular type of cloth with different styles³⁹.

Amianus Marcellinus's accounts on the Persian Empire is probably one of the most reoccurring points of referral for historians of Near-Eastern studies. He provides us with a rare glimpse into an ancient Iranian sericulture⁴⁰ community:

“The Seres themselves live a peaceful life, forever unacquainted with arms and warfare; and since to gentle and quiet folk ease is pleasurable. They are troublesome to none of their neighbors [...]. There is an abundance of well lighted woods, the trees of which produce a substance which they work frequent sprinkling, like a kind of fleece; then from the wool-like material, mixed with

³⁴Amianus Marcellinus (c. 330 - c. 391- 400) was a Roman soldier and historian who wrote the penultimate major historical account surviving from antiquity (preceding Procopius). His work, known as the *Res Gestae*, chronicled in Latin the history of Rome from the accession of the Emperor Nerva in 96 to the death of Valens at the Battle of Adrianople in 378, although only the sections covering the period 353 to 378 survive.

³⁵Christensen, 1962, p. 174.

³⁶ [شوشتر] It is a city in the southwest of Iran, bordering Iraq and the Persian Gulf.

³⁷ [دزفول] It is a city located in the southwest of Iran.

³⁸ [جندی شاپور] This city was the intellectual center of the Sasanian Empire, founded by Shapur I. It's located in southwest of Iran in 14 km of Dezful.

³⁹Pope, 1964, p. 2008.

⁴⁰ The silkworm sericulture was presumably known in India, Central Asia followed slightly later (Kageyama, 2002, pp. 46-55).

water, they draw out very fine threads, spin the yarn, and make sericum, formerly for use of the nobility [...]”⁴¹.

Marcellinus’s account:

“Most of them are so covered with cloths greaming with many shimmering colors, that although they leave their robes open in front and on the sides, and let them flutter in the wind, yet from their head to their shoulder no part of their body is seen uncovered. To the use of golden armlets and neck-chains, gems, and specially pearls, of which they possess a great number”⁴².

He explained about a great international exhibition annually held in *Batne*⁴³. This place was on the route of caravans and joined Antiochia⁴⁴ to *Seleucia*⁴⁵ and *Edessa*⁴⁶ and eventually got to Persian Gulf. In this place, different products of various countries, including China and India, were displayed. This was a very crowded place because Iranian, Syrians, and Jews were in touch⁴⁷.

⁴¹Matthews, 1998.

⁴²Ibidem.

⁴³Batne was an important and ancient city near Zeugma, on the upper course of the Euphrates, in the area known as Antemusia. It was founded by the Macedonians at the intersection of two important trade routes, the one that reached Mesopotamia from the Persian Gulf and that which connected the Near East with Parthia and Central Asia.

⁴⁴Antiochia may refer to any of several Hellenistic cities in the Near East which were founded or rebuilt by the several rulers named Antiochus during the Seleucid Empire.

⁴⁵Seleucia was a major Mesopotamian city of the Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian empires. It stood on the west bank of the Tigris River opposite Ctesiphon, within the present-day Baghdad Governorate in Iraq.

⁴⁶Edessa was an ancient city in Upper Mesopotamia, founded during the Hellenistic period by King Seleucus I Nicator (r. 305–281 BC), founder of the Seleucid Empire.

⁴⁷Boulnois, 1993, p. 134.

Rich decorations full of jewelry and pearls were specifications of these textiles. There are documents proving that when Shahpur II attacked Mesopotamia, *Diyarbakir* and other cities, then under the control of Roman Empire, he brought many of the weavers of those territories to Iran and housed them in the southern zones of this country.

These weavers remained in cities and promoted the weaving of figured fabrics⁴⁸, which of course proves the role of strangers in expansion and growth of textile industry in Iran. Posi is one of these roman captives that was transferred to Bishapur⁴⁹ city in Persian Empire. Shapur II organized a workshop for Posi in his palace. He was a great weaver and skilled craftsman specialized in making brocade silk fabrics. To narrate this issue in a Syriaan source, the Greek word Metax was used, which means “raw silk” interwoven with gold. At the time, Posi, who was a master weaver and skilled artist aware of his art, had a great influence on King and attracted his attention to silk’s art. He achieved many honors and was chosen as the head of Khuzestan silk-workers and obtained the fame. The name of the cloths and fabrics Posi could create was *vestis auro picta*⁵⁰.

This is an example of the processes of colonization, deportation, and the migration of various groups of people (among them many artisans), along with the continuous changing of territorial borders in medieval Central Asia and Eurasia, drove the cultural osmosis, including the art of weaving. In the medieval world, this widespread aesthetic was perceived simply as universal⁵¹.

⁴⁸Christensen, 1962, p. 147.

⁴⁹It was an ancient city which was the link between Sasanian capitals. It does not exist now and there are only ruins of this city in its location,

⁵⁰Pigoloskya, 1984, pp. 208, 311-313, 317, 339.

⁵¹Gasparini, 2020, p.5.

The motifs and designs of these fabrics are not displayed in any primary embossed carvings. After destruction of Khosrow Parviz's palace⁵² by Byzantine army in 627., a lot of silk garment and decorative fabrics were got booty including curtains, crochet, embroidery, brocade fabrics and carpets⁵³. Still, there are not obvious reasons how Sasanian fabrics were woven and imported as accessible archeologic evidences are very rare.

Sasanian fabrics were already known and admired as far west as Gaul in 5th century, for *Sidonius Apollinaris*⁵⁴ tells of a wall hanging which, while not specifically Persian in actual workmanship, is described as from a far land and represented a Sasanian theme, the heights of Ctesiphon and the wild beasts running over the field furious and affrighted, the Persian horsemen on their agile mounts⁵⁵. By surveying these historical documents and the information left by contemporary writers, especially French historian of 20th century, we know that in Sasanian era, silk, wool, cotton textiles were produced with adequate quality and due to elegance of designs and attractive motifs had a lot of enthusiastic customers in many other countries. In this period, the technique of weaving reached to the peak of majesty in Iran. The silk textiles left from that era are indications of promotion of this industry in Sasanian dynasty.

⁵²Luce Boulnois wrote "King Khosrow I died in 579, had received from a Chinese sovereign a silk robe on which was depicted a king wearing the same robe [...]. The bottom of the dress was of light blue silk and was enclosed in a gold box" (Boulnois, 1993, p. 166).

⁵³Jafarpour, Mahmoudi, 2008, p.13; Huart, 1944, p. 182.

⁵⁴Appollinaris (430-84) was a poet, diplomat, and bishop.

⁵⁵Pope, 1964, p. 692; Ebersolt, 1930, pp. 370-372.

The weavers in this age, innovated a lot in creation of diverse and attractive designs and motifs and also challenged the evolution and development of weaving machineries. Patterned textiles left from this period suggest the existence of weaving machineries with advanced facilities.

Arthur Upham Pope wrote:

“[...] all the royal robes were worked with gold and trimmed with precious stones, and one especially notable garment was woven with gold thread and jewelled with pearls and rubies. The royal banner was one of corresponding magnificence”⁵⁶.

We have also about 35 pieces of textiles remained from this period, presently some of them belonging to the third to eighth centuries are kept in museums of the world. They are found in diggings different archeological sites of the world or there are clothes which arrived in Western world through trade of holy items. Due to this, and as it was mentioned, it cannot be claimed with certainty that these textiles are Iranian. But one of the important documents available and is worthwhile to note is the writings of *Hamza al- Isfahani*⁵⁷ from the book *Molouk-e-Bani Sasan*⁵⁸. Isfahani in his other book *Soni Molouk Alarz va Alanbia*⁵⁹ recited clothing of 26 Sasanian kings/queens from a version of the book *Molouk-e- Bani Sasan*. He used five major categories to explain the kings' and queens' trousers and garments:

⁵⁶The Sasanian flag marks an advance towards the modern conception: instead of being a religious-magic device, it was a commemorative, functioning as an emblem of the royal authority and public loyalty (Pope, 1964, p. 692.).

⁵⁷ حمزه الاصفهانی (c.893-961). He was a Persian philologist and historian, who wrote in Arabic during the Buyid era.

⁵⁸ The Effigy of the Sasanian Kings.

⁵⁹ The history of the years of the kings of the earth and the prophets.

- *Be-Lown*⁶⁰
- *Movashah*⁶¹
- *Vashy-e- be Zahab*⁶²
- *Vashy-e- Modannar*⁶³
- *Vashy-e- be Lown*⁶⁴.

The meanings of these words have undergone many changes during the centuries and a part of our confusion is originated from these changes. By surveying the meaning of these words in old Arabic and reconciling them with the historical texts such as Tabari History, *Al-Tha'alibi History*⁶⁵, *Muqaddimah of Ibn-e- Khaldun*⁶⁶, *Kitab Al- Tanbih wa al-ashraf*⁶⁷, we can get to a general conclusion.

بَلُون⁶⁰
 مَوْشَح⁶¹
 وَشَى بِالذَّهَبِ⁶²
 وَشَى مُدَّنَر⁶³
 وَشَى بَلُون⁶⁴

⁶⁵ ابومنصور عبدالملك ثعالبي (961–1038), was a writer of Arab ethnicity native of Nishapur, Persia, famous for his anthologies and collections of epigrams.

⁶⁶ *Muqaddimah of Ibn Khaldun* [مقدمه ابن خلدون]. It is a book written by the Arab historian *Ibn Khaldun* in 1377 which records an early view of universal history.

⁶⁷ *Kitab Al- Tanbih wa al-ashraf* [كتاب التنبيه و الاشراف]. It is written by work by al-Mas'ūdī.

1.2. Be-Lown

Colored fabrics without any motif. In Isfahani report, it can be seen that he has written about Ardashir⁶⁸ trousers:

“His trousers had the same sky color”⁶⁹.

He also has written that the shirt of Yazdegerd’s son (Firouz)⁷⁰, was red⁷¹. We are almost sure that in that era - even before Sasanian-simple fabrics had produced in Iran (see fig. 1.1). Aside from the pieces of fabrics attained from historical excavations, and also the works that showed Sasanian kings dressed up in simple, without any design, clothing; historical writings are also available. Al-Buhturī⁷² in describing mural of Kasra palace⁷³ praised the king in green simple dressing riding his horse. In Farsi translation of this book, the word *parand* (پرند) is used. The translator has written:

“Persians [...] took gold, silver, diba, *parand*, silk, weapons, Kasra and his daughter clothing”⁷⁴.

In *Sahah’ol Fors*⁷⁵ and some other Farsi dictionaries *parand* is defined as silk plain fabric. In some art works, plain, without motif can be observed in Sasanian kings clothing (figs. 1.3-1.4). There is no fabric left from this epoch but plain sections of some fabrics woven in early Islamic.

⁶⁸ اردشیر (180–242 AD), was the founder of the Sasanian Empire.

⁶⁹ سَراوِیله آسمانجونى، الاصفهانى، ۱۹۶۱، ۳۸.

⁷⁰ Yazdegerd III (624-651) was the last Sasanian King from 632 to 651.

⁷¹ شعارة احمر

⁷² *Al-Walīd ibn Ubaidillah Al-Buhturī* [أبو الوليد بن عبيدالله البحتري] (821–97 AD, 206–84 AH) was an Arab poet born at Manbij in Islamic Syria.

⁷³ کاخ کسرا

⁷⁴ «پارسیان [...] طلا، نقره، دیبا، پرند، حریر، سلاح، لباس‌های کسری و دختران وی را بردند».

⁷⁵ The second ever known Persian-Persian dictionary.

1.3. Movashah

In describing Kavad II⁷⁶ and Azarmidokht⁷⁷ clothing and Kavad I⁷⁸ shirt, Isfahani used the word Movashah. Some Arabic sources defined this word as decorated with pearls and jewelry⁷⁹. In *Tarikh-i Bayhaqi*⁸⁰, it is also mentioned that “the governor attired his men dark clothes with Movashah with pearl”⁸¹. Movashah is also considered as fabric decorated with valuable stones. Al-Tabari in his writings pointed to fabrics decorated with pearl⁸². Displaying of such kinds of clothing in Sasanian era may be surveyed in two different models:

- Hollow small circles (figs. 1.5-1.6).
- Stuffed circles (fig. 1.7).

⁷⁶ Shērōē [شیرویه] (590-628), better known by his dynastic name of Kavad II was king of the Sasanian Empire briefly in 628.

⁷⁷ Azarmidokht [آذرمدخت], was Sasanian queen of Iran from 630 to 631. She was the daughter of king Khosrow II (r. 590–628).

⁷⁸ Sasanian king (r. 488-496).

⁷⁹ الفيروزآبادي، ١٤٢٦، ٢٤٦؛ البستاني، ٢٠٠٩.

⁸⁰ *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī* [تاریخ بیهقی] is a history book written by *Abul-Fazl Bayhaqi* [ابوالفضل بیهقی], in Persian, in the 11th century.

⁸¹ «امیر مردان را لباس سیاه می پوشاند موشح به مروارید».

⁸² “On the other mule there were (also) two baskets containing the king's garments, in which he used to dress up, brocaded with interwoven gold thread and adorned with gems, as well as other garments made of different fabrics similarly interwoven and adorned”. (Al-Tabari, Vol. XIII [The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt], 1989, p. 26).

In the second group, the clothing of Khosrow Parviz in the scene of granting position in Taq-e Bostan can be mentioned in which stones similar to tear drops are sewn on the clothe (fig.1.7). There is an important point in that possibly Isfahani mentioned two types of fabrics: The fabrics in which the background color and stones color are different⁸³; while in another section, only the background section is pointed out⁸⁴. This can mean that in some of these fabrics, the background and stones color is similar and in some others the colors are different. Even though these types of Sasanian fabrics are not available for us, Ackerman mentioned about two fabrics which had probably embroidered stone⁸⁵. According to the fabric left in the Victoria and Albert Museum, it can be said that there were two types of this fabric. In some cases, such as Khosrow Parviz's dress, stones were embroidered on it, and in some cases, the fabric design was a representation of expensive jewelries. Mackie has stated about this fabric that probably stones were embroidered on places that resemble teardrops⁸⁶; but we cannot comment on it with certainty and it is better to consider it as two models. Beside the topic of using stone on fabrics, the diamond repeat pattern of this fabric, is one of the patterns which are persistent in fabric weaving history and it can be observed in Medieval paintings as well.

⁸³ علی لون السماء موشحا بالبياض و السواد. الاصفهانی، ۱۹۶۱، ۴۴.

⁸⁴ علی لون السماء موشحه. الاصفهانی، ۱۹۶۱، ۴۴.

⁸⁵ Pope, 1964, (Vol.2), pp. 880, 885.

⁸⁶ Mackie, 2002, pp.92-100.

1.4. Vashy-e-be Zahab

Based on ancient Arabic texts, vashy meant embossing on fabric after it is woven; but this term bears various meanings and it cannot be decided with certainty. The authors of *Giat al- Logat*⁸⁷ and *Farhang-e Ānandraj*⁸⁸ dictionaries considered vashy a very soft silk fabric which was produced in Vashy city (in Turkestan); also, some other Arabic text considered this word attributed to other cities.

In description of Firouz pants⁸⁹ and Yazdegerd trousers⁹⁰ also the same word is used. His writing about Yazdegerd trousers is one of the contexts for which there is slight disagreement among Arab writers; that we are not going to deal with here, but all of them shared the opinion about this fabric as being brocade⁹¹. Al-Tabari also mentioned about this type of fabric in different sections of his own history book. Fabric pieces are at hand from 6th - 8th centuries which were produced in Sasanian fabric weaving workshops, or Islamic workshops under the influence of Sasanian (fig. 1-9).

⁸⁷ غياث اللغات is a Persian dictionary compiled in India in 1827 by the linguist, philologist, and poet *Mohammad Gīāt- al-Din b. Jamāl-al-Din b. Šaraf-al-Din Rāmpuri Moštāfā-ābādi*. Bayevsky, "GĪĀT AL-LOGĀT," Encyclopædia Iranica, online edition, 2002, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gia-al-logat-1> (accessed on 30 April 2017).

⁸⁸ *Farhang-e Ānandraj* [فرهنگ آندراج], a dictionary of the Persian language named in honor of the maharaja *Ānand Gajapatī Rāj*, the ruler of Vijayanagar in South India. It was compiled in 1306/1888-89 by the maharaja's chief secretary (*mīr monšīr*), the poet and lexicographer *Moḥammad Pādāxāh b. Ġolām Moḥīr-al-Dīn*, known by the penname Šād. Moḥammad Pādšāh Šād, *Farhang-e Ānandrāj*.

⁸⁹ علی لون السماء موشاه بالذهب، الاصفهانی، ۱۹۶۱، ۴۴.

⁹⁰ موشاة سوداء وشبيها ذهب، الاصفهانی، ۱۹۶۱، ۴۳.

⁹¹ Al-Tabari, Vol. V [The Sasanids, the Byzantines, the Lakmids, and Yemen], 1989, pp. 381-400 (section: Qubadh II Shiruyah).

1.5. Vashy-e-Modannar

In his report, Isfahani used this word twice: in describing shirts of Ardashir I⁹², and Ardeshir⁹³. In Farsi dictionaries, this phrase is defined as engraved with Dinar pattern. While this motif is one of the most famous ones attributed to Sasanian epoch, it had created one of the difficulties in surveying fabrics of this era. Since all of the fabrics bearing this design were found out of Iran, it put their unique production in Iran subject to question. On the other side, it can be seen that in Taq-e Bostan, in Antinöe, and stuccos (fig. 1.10), certainly belonging to Sasanian era, they were used. Also, in some classic sources, the term Rotae (in Latin “wheel” that is roundels) is used to name the motif of Iranian fabrics but further information is not presented to know if their inside spaces were empty or legendry creatures were placed and also if the roundels are joined together or separated⁹⁴.

In reality, the size of this roundel is subject to question. The phrase, pattern of Dinar, can be assumed both as being circular and also mentioning about the size of these motifs. On the other side, one of the existing problems in surveying this type of fabric is its similarity from linguistic viewpoint which may create interference with the second and the third group. Taq-e Bostan is facilitator in this section. With studying the motifs in this site, it can be observed that circular motifs are displayed in various sizes (fig.1.11).

Ackerman and many other researchers believed that in spite of all doubts existing about Sasanian fabrics, undoubtedly, this motif is one of their attributes (fig. 1.12). Even though in Sogdian, Byzantium, and Islamic samples the motifs inside frames are different, there is one common point among them: this motif acted as frame that encompass

⁹⁴ Compareti, 2005, p. 150.

⁹² شِعَارِ مُدَنَرِ، الاصفهانی ۱۹۶۱، ۳۸.
⁹³ شِعَارِهِ مَوْشَى مُدَنَرِ عَلَى لَوْنِ السَّمَا، الاصفهانی، ۱۹۶۱، ۴۱.

other motifs majorly animal designs. The repetition of these motifs created a rhythm forming a Dinar- like view.

In Arabic and Persian sources, textiles with roundels are referred to as *parniyān*⁹⁵. In the *Loḡat-e Fors*⁹⁶, *Asadī Ṭūsī*⁹⁷ explains that “parniyān is a silk from Eastern Turkistan which has patterns in roundels”. The decorations seem to recall coins (dinars and drachmas), as suggested in a panegyric by the poet *Lāme`ī Gorgānī*⁹⁸ (b. ca. 1023–1024), or the stars of the Byzantine empire, as in a poem by ‘*Onṣorī Balkī*⁹⁹ (d. 1039–1040). Thus, a textile with blue background seems to have been preferred for its recollection of the celestial vault¹⁰⁰. *Mas`ud-e Sa`d-e Salmān*¹⁰¹ (ca. 1046/1049? –1121/1122) mentions the human face as one of the patterns enclosed in the parniyān roundels¹⁰².

⁹⁵ پرنیان

⁹⁶ لغت فرس the dictionary was written to familiarize the people of Arran and Iranian Azerbaijan with unfamiliar phrases in Eastern Persian (Darī) poetry. It is the oldest existing Persian dictionary based on examples from poetry, and contains fragments of lost literature.

⁹⁷ اسدی طوسی (ca. 999/1000–1072/1073) He was a Persian poet, linguist and author. He was born at the beginning of the 11th century in Tus, Iran.

⁹⁸ لامعلی گرگانی he was a Persian poet in the 5th century AH.

⁹⁹ عنصری بلخی he was a Persian poet in the 4th century AH.

¹⁰⁰ Gasparini, 2020, pp. 47–48; see also Windfuhr, 2006, pp. 58-60.

¹⁰¹ مسعود سعد سلمان was an 11th-century Persian poet of the Ghaznavid empire who is known as the prisoner poet.

¹⁰² Gasparini, 2020, p. 47; see also Melikian-Chirvani, 1991, pp. 175–179.

1.6. Vashy-e- be Lown (Vashy)

This group that includes many of Isfahani descriptions is attributed to the time that the writer has used the word Vashy (Movashy¹⁰³) along with colors. Studying this group of fabric requires the surveying of ancient Arabic sources. In many of the sources, this type of fabrics was described as stripped Vashy. *Lisan al-Arab*¹⁰⁴ and *Diwan al-Hadhlyin*¹⁰⁵ named these fabrics based on strips. *Ibn-e- Manzur*¹⁰⁶ in *Lisan al- Arab* called these fabrics *Borud Al-Vashy*¹⁰⁷; *Al-Jahiz*¹⁰⁸ and *Al-Tha'alibi*¹⁰⁹ confirmed that the most privileged garments are made in Yemen¹¹⁰. On the other side, Al-Tha'alibi has written in Almasdar Vashy fabric is similar to vashy produced in Yemen (that can be true both for quality and also iconography).

Al-Jahiz in his book *Tabserat al Tejarat*¹¹¹ has written Vashy made in *Bishapour*¹¹² is among the most excellent cloth. None of these fabrics are available to us from Sasanian era but through these writings and considering that historians mentioned the most important fabric weaving regions, it can be concluded that the fabrics remained from that

¹⁰³ مؤشى
¹⁰⁴ *Lisān al-'Arab* [لسان العرب] is a dictionary of Arabic completed by *Ibn Manzur* (footnote no.103) in 1290.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Hadhlyin, 1995.

¹⁰⁶ ابن منظور (1233-1312). He was an Arab lexicographer of the Arabic language and author of a large dictionary, *Lisan al-' Arab*.

¹⁰⁷ برود الوشى
¹⁰⁸ الجاحظ (776-869) He was an Arab prose writer and author of works of literature, zoology, and politico-religious polemics

¹⁰⁹ ثعالبي (961–1038) He was a writer of Arab ethnicity native of Nishapur, Persia, famous for his anthologies and collections of epigrams.

¹¹⁰ العلى، ٢٠٠٣، ١٤٠-١٣٩.

¹¹¹ تبصره التجارت
¹¹² Bishapur was an ancient city in Sasanid Persia (Iran) on the ancient road between Persis and Elam.

epoch are reflective of Sasanian samples; aside from the point that samples of Vashy can be observed in in early Islamic textiles (fig. 1-13).

Among these documents, we got to production of single color striped Vashy. As per Isfahani saying single color striped Vashy had been very pervasive in sewing Sasanian dresses. In some remaining metal works, the presence of striped fabrics in Sasanian era can be noted (fig. 1.14).

1.7. Wall paintings observation

The identification of patterns and motifs on textiles in the examinations of this research would not be possible without comparison with other media like mural paintings and architectural ornaments. What follows below is analysis of mural paintings in a few Central Asian archeological sites that depict textiles similar to real compounds. Given the complexities of multicultural interactions among artisans of different races and regions in the period under discussion and continual new archaeological discoveries today, the analysis presented here may be reconsidered at any time and enriched with new data or read again through a new and different lens. Even so, the sheer quantity of similar or identical textile structures with evident common features from across medieval Central Asia cannot be denied. Their use, however, can be understood only by looking at their depiction, whether as material items or deconstructed for decorative purposes, in a different medium such as wall-paintings that have been great importance for the study of textiles.

There is no doubt that painting was a form of representation, a presentation of people's daily social life. Whether in a public space (like a temple, a church, or a palace) or in a hidden space (like in a tomb), mural depictions recreated social contexts that were containers of physical objects and cultural identities. But in some cases, images of gods and humans were rendered in the same manner or were decorated with similar ornaments that highlighted the multiple uses or the recycled aspect of textiles and accessories in religious and nonreligious spaces. Sometimes the textile patterns depicted on walls were enlarged to create a spectacular effect that would not be evident if depicted at the original scale of the weaving¹¹³.

¹¹³ Gasparini, 2020, p. 39.

One of the oldest murals in which the presence of fabric can be observed is that of *Xu Xianxiu* tomb (died in 571). The fabrics contain roundels and since he had been continually in contact with Sogdian immigrants all through his kingship, there is a possibility that roundels was transferred from China to Iran (fig. 1.15) by them. The Sogdian were among the main transmitters of Central Asian textile imagery and are often seen as “the merchant of the Silk Road”¹¹⁴.

As it can be seen the roundels have the simplest form of the kind which are formed by placing small circles next to each other; similar to *Snmurv* silk of Victoria and Albert Museum (Cf. fig. 1.12). Therefore, it is not easy to talk about these roundels as being merely Iranian design. These motifs are changed through history; that we deal with in Islamic epoch. But the point that remains constant is that they always play the role of a frames that contain something inside.

For identification and studying pre-Islamic textiles in Iranian territory (during 6th-8th century), one of the most important documents and the oldest one, according to Roman Ghirshman, is the mural in Susa¹¹⁵ (fig. 1.16) from the first half of the fourth century in which the colorful clothes of horseman woven from golden yarns with rhombus networks and geometric decoration is observed.

¹¹⁴ Gasparini, 2020, p. 6.

¹¹⁵ Ghirshman wrote: “L’ordonnance décorative de ces tissus est généralement formée de roues, isolées oh tangentes, que les anciens auteurs appelaient circumrotatae. Il ne faut pas s’étonner de retrouver dans ces compositions ornementales des thèmes qui nous reportent jusqu’aux plus anciennes civilisations de l’Asie antérieure et des plateaux de l’Iran. La Perse sassanide recueillit ce héritage et en fit revivre la grandeur religieuse oh héroïque. Les motifs animés, inscrits dans ces roues ou cercles, se présentent souvent symétriquement par l’affrontement ou l’addosment, tantôt à s’unir sur l’axe médian: arbre sacré ou pyrée. Les scènes de chasse, déjà remarquées sur les monuments rupestres et l’orfèvrerie, y sont fréquentes. Parfois aussi, le décor continu intervient, sous forme de frise, évoquant les lions passants des bas-reliefs de Suse” (Ghirshman, 1962, p.137).

Ghirshman identified the remaining of an important building in historical site of Susa in 1950., which belonged to Sasanian era. The archeological team accessed a mural on the wall of a hall which has been, so far, one of the most significant discoveries of Sasanian era.

The major motif of this mural is a background with a hunting scene. As per Ghirshman himself, the remaining of ash, found in the fourth layer - the layer in which the mural was discovered- probably is the consequence of Shahpur II assault in 341 for quenching Christian attack to Susa and as a result, this mural was ruined. According to this opinion, the mural belonged to the fourth century. Anyway, there are only some photos available from this painting which were left from Ghirshman. This painting, incidentally, brings us closer to certainty that roundels are not Iranian. Probably, Sasanian used them after dealing with non-Iranian fabrics, otherwise before that, the fabrics would have been without pattern or checkered.

Several of the *Mogao Caves* at *Dunhuang* even allow for a tentative chronology of how the iconography employing it evolved, the Sui Dynasty (581-617) seeming to mark a transition period in which the depictions of animals within the pearl borders gave way by the subsequent Tang Dynasty blossoms). The Bodhisattvas in Cave 427 (possibly as early as the 580s) are dressed in a dazzling array of textiles. Phoenixes are shown within pearl-bordered rhomboids, whereas the pearl roundels contain lotus blossoms¹¹⁶.

Roughly contemporary (approximately mid-Sui, no precise date known) is Cave 420, where the dhotis of the described as “Sasanian-type” pearl roundels, containing, it appears, a mounted hunter spearing a feline. Another of the Sui caves, No. 277, has pearl roundels with confronted winged horses. By the early Tang though, both in Cave 57 and in Cave 220 (built in 641 CE), the fabrics with pearl roundels contain blossoms¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁶ Gasparini, 2016, p. 86.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 87.

According to this transcultural phenomenon in Central Asia during the examined period, it's better to take this motif as a pre-Islamic maniera.

CATALOGUE I



Figure 1.1: Sasanian (?) textile fragment, Iran, Shar-e-Qumis, 6th century, wool, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv.69.24.34. a-c.



Figure 1.2: Fragment of a wall hanging with figures in Persian dress, late 6th- early 7th century, ©Benaki Museum of Athens.



Figure 1.3: Silver plate, Shapur II on a Lion hunt, 310-320 (approx.), Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, Inv. S-253.



Figure 1.4: Sasanian King Hunting Lions, late AD 300s. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1963.258.



Figure 1.5: Plate with a King and Queen, 6th – 7th century, Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, Inv. 57.709.



Figure 1.6: Plate with a hunting scene from the tale of Bahram Gur and Azadeh and the detail of the dresses, ca. 5th century A.D., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 1994.402.

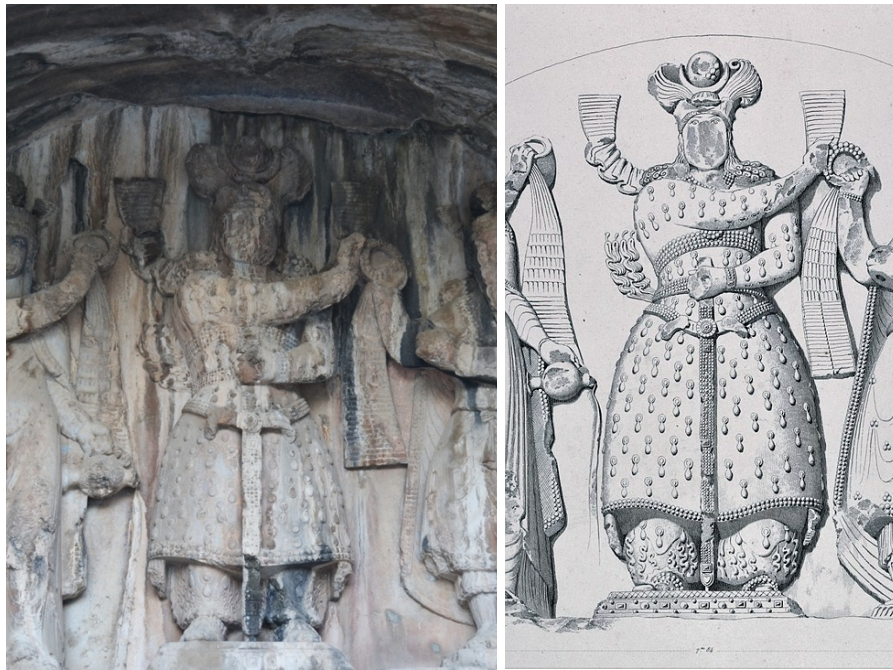


Figure 1.7: The investiture scene of Taq-e Bostan and the reconstruction of Khosrow Parviz's dress.



Figure 1.8: Silk Fragment of Pearls, Iran, 7th c., London, Victoria & Albert Museum, 2189-1900.
Source: P.O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter. Art of the Sasanian Empire*, New York, 1978, p. 129.



Figure 1.9: Two examples of so-called Vashy-e-be Zahab, 6th – 8th century, Tesoro del Laterano. Source: Ghirshman, 1962, p. 230



Figure 1.10: Various stuccos including roundels from Sasanian era. Up: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv.32.150.01., Down: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1931, p. 194.



Figure. 1.11: The existence of round (roundel) motifs in various sizes in sections of Taq-e Bostan.



Figure 1.12: The Senmurv silk, 7th-8th century, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Inv. 8579.1863.

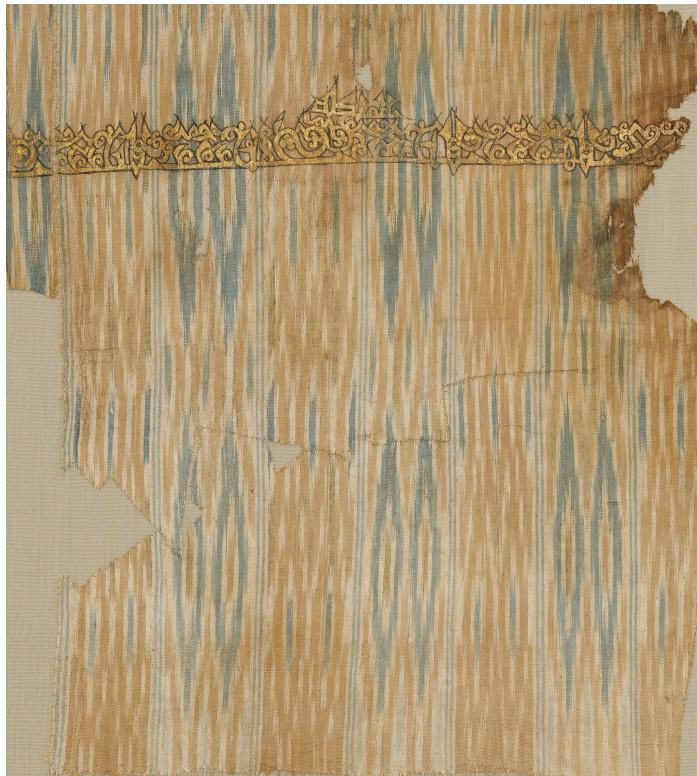


Figure 1.13: Tiraz Textile Fragment, late 9th–early 10th century, made in Yemen, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 29.179.9.



Figure 1.14: Silver plate showing a Sasanian king hunting lion, London, The British Museum, Inv. 124092.



Figure 1.15: Wall painting, Xu Xianxiu (550-557), Shanxi, China.



Figure 1.16: The fresco of Susa, 4th century (approx.) and its reconstruction.

Susa, Iran. Museum of Susa.

CHAPTER II: ISLAMIC TEXTILES IN IRAN AND ITS ICONOGRAPHIC PROPAGATION TO SPAIN

In this chapter, in seven parts, the changes that took place in Iranian fabric weaving after the advent of Islam and its iconographic expansion in Spain are discussed. Due to existence of several and different dynasties that ruled over Iran, researches about art in many cases are interconnected with politics. So, in studying about art in the era of each dynasty, a brief account of their history and their influence on art is explained. In a general view, it can be said that because of the prohibitions Islam imposed on using some motifs - especially human ones - a return to Sasanid traditions can be seen in fabric weaving in this era. With the defeat of Sasanid, the crust of Zoroastrian religion decamped from Iran but many of the Myths, concepts, rituals, and beliefs continued their existence in the frame of Shia sect¹¹⁸. For this reason, this section paid attention to studying the similarities and differences between Islamic iconography in the section of textile and the Sasanid samples. Regarding to geographical expansion of Islam religion, there are several samples available that there is no information about the creator, the time and the place of their production.

At end of this section, four samples of these groups of fabrics are analyzed from iconography point of view. Disregarding the shortage of information about the fabric trade between east and west in this period, this section turned to study the method of expansion of commercial routes between Iran and the west. The very important point is that in studying about Islamic era, it is not necessary to talk about the transfer of fabric (or other arts) to western countries.

¹¹⁸Jafarpour, Mahmoudi, 2008, p. 13.

Due to presence of Muslims in Spain and Sicily, they directly influenced on arts in these territories and some of the fabrics which are presently known and studied as Islamic fabrics were actually produced in these states. Therefore, it can be claimed that Islamic art is a linking loop between east and west in fabric weaving, which was later continued in painting in Tuscany and caused the creation of intertextuality in this field.

2.1. Islamic Art: History and Definition

In studying and reviewing Islamic art, two methods are raised: traditional method which confirms the Islam basic principles; and historical method which studies culture, politics, and geography instead of religious faith. There are objections against both methods because studying an artwork by utilization of one method will be defective in most cases. Since a vast section of Islamic art is created by artists who were not familiar with Islam and its proposed principles, it can be claimed that the historical method is privileged. In Islam religion, the phrase “There is no deity but God [...]”, announcement of believing in uniqueness of God, is the first condition of being a Muslim. According to this phrase, no image can display the uniqueness of God.

Avoiding creation of images and rejection of construction of human statues are based on the same belief. It is necessary to say that there is no mentioning about the prohibition of sculpture or iconography in Quran; but there are verses indicating that creation, making faces, is confined only to God¹¹⁹. Therefore, an artist who represents a living creature is imitating God and is interfering in creation which is restricted only for God. In other words, in Islamic thought, noticing to sensible beauty and researching about regularity and beauty of being, without citing the original creator, God, is defective.

In Islamic vision, art and beauty belong merely to God and artists in this tradition did not sign their name in the works. In fact, individualism did not have any position in their vision and rituals. Islam as a religion or culture is a historical phenomenon that has emerged since the third decade of the seventh century and has progressed with astonishing speed in geography.

¹¹⁹ See the Quran surah (each concept in this religious book calls one surah) the The Believer (40), The Believers (23), The Ant (27), The Family of Imran (3), Mutual Fraud (64), The Fig (95), Light (24), The Heights (7).

The history of Islam started by the year of *hijra* (622 A.D.), when the prophet Muhammad established himself in Medina (originally Madina-al-Nabi¹²⁰ -the town of the Prophet- ancient Yathrib¹²¹) as the head of the small Muslim community and thus became the first year of the Muslim calendar¹²². Muhammad, who was born in about 570 A.D., dedicated the first forty years of his life to travel and commerce; probably in this phase of life, he came into contact with the Jewish and Christian circles¹²³.

In 634 the Muslims conquest began to extend beyond Arabia itself, thus, within little more than twenty years of that date, Syria and Egypt had been wrested from the Byzantine empire, Iraq and Iran from the Sasanian. The great Byzantine state, heir of Roman territory and Roman Glory, was thus brought to its knee by the loss of its most important provinces, while the mighty power in Persia that had halted the progress of the Roman advance in an easterly direction for some four centuries was wholly subjected¹²⁴. Since then up to Mongols assault- that a unity among oriental government created- various governments ruled the territory which possessed different geography with various capitals.

So, it can be said that Islam is a civilization of people which gained its largest geographical territory between 661 and 750., that transmitted its rules and regulation, from the Gulf of Aden to the Mediterranean, it has passed the long Silk Road and thus gained a multicultural perspective and has transmitted the great cultural traditions but has put them in a common culture.

¹²⁰ مدينة النبي

¹²¹ يثرب

¹²² Grabar, 1987, p. 7.

¹²³ Curatola, 1993, p. 15.

¹²⁴ Talbot Rice, 1977, p.9.

By 750 Arab Muslim armies had penetrated into southern France, crossed Oxus (Amu Darya) and the Jaxartes (Syr Darya), in Central Asia, and reached the Indus¹²⁵. Therefore, the phenomenon of Islam (or rather Islamization) represented a new sudden unification, not only in a political sense but also for rather especially in a cultural sense in a huge territory that stretched from China to Spain¹²⁶. This expansionism caused that the European kingdoms, through Islam, have received the inheritance of the distant worlds (Indian, Persian ...); but these kingdoms, unlike the Empire that fell apart, resisted and to some extent dialogued with Islam.

There could not have been any Islamic art - as a label coined in the West in the 19th century - before the existence of Islam and its practical proposes. One can adopt the canonical the same year of hijra as the basic date for any possible formation of this art; but the main question is this: what does the world Islamic means when used as an adjective modifying the noun art?

For answering this question, *George Marçais*¹²⁷ contended that almost automatically a group of works would be identifiable as Islamic, Muslim, Moorish, Muhammadan, or Saracenic. Because they shared a number of commonly known features- what Marçais called the personality of Islamic art- which differentiated them from masterpieces of other artistic traditions¹²⁸.

¹²⁵ Ettinghausen, Grabar, Jenkins-Madina, 2003, p. 3.

¹²⁶ Curatola, 1993, p. 35.

¹²⁷ George Marçais (1876-1962) was a French orientalist, historian and scholar of Islamic art.

¹²⁸ Grabar, 1987, p. 1.

But the best answer is the words of Oleg Grabar. He thinks: “Islamic does not refer to the particular religion, for the vast proportion of the monuments have little if anything to do with the faith of Islam works of art demonstrably made by and for non-Muslims can appropriately be studied as works of Islamic art”. He continues: “[...] the importance is that Islamic in the expression of the Islamic art is not comparable to Christian or Buddhist in Christian art or Buddhist art”¹²⁹.

Regarding this hypothesis and considering this historical fact that Islam conquered various territories with different cultures and histories, and also surveying several samples, it can be concluded that artworks created by non-Muslim artists are not merely originated from Quran and religious narrations and are not based on religion (as artists were not familiar with them) but they contain common specifications with religious subcategories of this art. In a word, in case we consider Islamic civilization a combination of various components, they turned into a common language throughout Islamic civilization whose center is monotheism; and when they arrived into art, they are utilized even by non-Muslim artists. Therefore, this question should be answered that how this art got such features that remained steadfast for centuries and how it still possessed unity and perseverance. In order to reply this question, it is necessary to survey the different eras of this art. According to *Estelle Whelan*, Islamic art is divided into four eras; The primary period (622-1050), Classic period (1050-1250), Post-classic period (1250- 1500), and modern Islam (1500-1800). In this thesis, only the first two periods are under consideration.

¹²⁹ Grabar, 1987, p. 2.

In the primary style of Art, despite their institutional roots, the products of the state workshops had a distinct character from those of their predecessors. We can say that without any doubt Islamic art in the first phase had an encounter with the classical, Sasanid Persian and Byzantine basic culture, while at the same time they did not interrupt a significant dialogue with the new art, contributing in a decisive way to the general formulations of certain aspects, especially iconography. The artistic traditions of Persia at the time of Arab conquest were of great complexity. The Sasanian Empire extended far beyond the borders of Persia and included a large part of Central Asia. This Sasanid art that Muslims encountered was not purely Persian art but the result of a very multifaceted cultural amalgam.

Therefore, when we confront a fabric (or any other form of art) belonging to this period, we have to review that the iconography is related to which one of these civilizations. Undoubtedly, the most complicated phase of surveying in this interval is that many of the motifs of Byzantine world, Sasanid world, and even early Islam contain common concepts (for example the tree of life); also distinguishing the birth place and approach of the iconography would be difficult in this phase. In this stage, Islamic artists did not seek new and unfamiliar works (either visual field or ideological definitions) and remain dependent to the already existed patterns because in this era the most important concern of the Muslims was save keeping of their borders. Of course, it should be mentioned that among these patterns, those which were matching the religious rules were chosen and improved.

In the classical period the character of patronage in Islamic art became clearer. The two most important characteristics common to all forms of Islamic art of this period are the ever-increasing role of Arabic inscriptions and the extraordinary development of figurative ornament¹³⁰. The prevalence of Arabic inscriptions indicates the profound Islamization of the conquered world of Muslim armies many centuries earlier. Large sections of the population under the Islamic government remained Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians until the tenth century, but the conversion to Islam made it necessary to adopt Arabic inscription. So, the objects are expressions of an Islamic society¹³¹.

It was in classic period that they pursued to consolidate a certain shape of art which was inclusive from India to Spain that maintained a homogeneous artistic decoration. The prohibition of images in Islam applies, strictly speaking, only to the image of the Divinity; it stands, therefore, in the perspective of the decalogue, or more exactly of Abrahamic monotheism, which Islam sees itself as renewing. In its last manifestation as in its first in the time of Muḥammad as in the age of Abraham monotheism directly opposes idolatrous polytheism, so that any plastic representation of the divinity is for Islam, according to a “dialectic” that is both historical and divine, the distinctive mark of the error which “associates” the relative with the Absolute, or the created with the Uncreated, by reducing the one to the level of the other¹³².

¹³⁰ Atil, 1994, p. 121.

¹³¹ Ibidem.

¹³² Burckhardt, 2009, p. 46.

Noticing to this issue (uniqueness of God in creation) is the most important change that Islam brought to ancient art. But in line of coordination among art in different geography, the opinion of Talbot Rice should be mentioned. In his opinion, in the second place after the uniqueness of God, the divergent trends, unified by the universal adoption of the Arabic script, became more than anything else the factor which made the art of the Islamic world into a distinctive style, the distribution of which coincided with the bounds of the faith, and not with those of any particular ethnic or political element within it¹³³. Islamic art is therefore not the creation of a nation, but the result of an ever-growing process of interchange and amalgamation of a great variety of peoples and cultural traditions. We can say that they created a profound and permanent change that they used the traditions without never submitting. So, Islamic Art having inherited the Oriental propensity for representing the essential aspect of form as opposed to rendering the immediately visible in all fidelity, would naturally exalt the approach that expressed the general universal idea¹³⁴.

Therefore, it can be concluded that Islamic art adopted ancient world traditions and brought changes into them. These changes which appeared in two items of artwork concepts and its visual form passed through two stages: Islamization of art and different tradition with confirmation on certain specifications; and creation of conformity among them. In one word, Islamic art is an entity that adopted ethnic and regional traditions and changed their form, even though in some cases, and as per requirements of moving along religious line, eradicated them or changed the traditions; but as a whole, a single artistic expression is created which makes the task irritating for historian because in most cases distinguishing what is ethnic, what is Islamic, and where is it from is so complicated and next to impossible. The point to be taken into consideration is the specifications that Islam has added to ancient art.

¹³³Talbot Rice, 1977, p.9.

¹³⁴Jairazbhoy, 1965, p. 3.

2.2. The role of Islamic teachings in art and textile production

The collapse of Sasanian dynasty and formation of Islamic organizations in Iran did not stop textile industry; and even did not cause remarkable changes in that. Since Arabs did not possess any special style in their textile, they could not confront traditions left from Sasanid era and in this way an Iranian- Islamic culture overrode art. On the other side, a new style was created in Islamic world which was originated from Sasanid and Byzantine arts. As it can be seen in the various samples remained from early Islamic era, the same Sasanid style advanced, which can be surveyed in techniques of fabric weaving, utilization of iconography, and also types of clothes usage. It can be claimed that early Islam is an intervening of Islam religion rituals with Ancient Iran culture.

Regarding the subordination of pre-Islamic style and technics, discrimination of early Islam fabrics from this era is very complicated, except for some details and intricacy¹³⁵. Determination of the type of texture remains ambiguous and discrimination is impossible. This issue continued up to the time that Islamic weavers started to use calligraphy in fabrics. One of the discriminating aspects in fabrics is the presence of Arabic calligraphy on them. Application of this calligraphy in Islamic art was an indication of unity among Muslims. In case of Iran, the usage of this calligraphy popularized in the 9th century, much later than other Islamic countries.

¹³⁵Talbot Rice, 1977, p.55.

In some cases, Islamic artists adapted architecture and fabric weaving decorations without any change, especially for plant motifs. Due to this reason, utilizing Sasanid traditions in fabric weaving in this country lasted longer. Regarding the human and animal motifs, it should be mentioned that viewing the restrictions defined in Islam religion, these motifs continued their living and then, gradually, turned to decorative motifs and maintained value and importance of other geometric motifs, flowers, and bushes¹³⁶.

Pope studied this topic from a different view. In his opinion, the artists in early Islam applied Sasanid era geometric motifs in tiling of the buildings. According to this art historian, the fabric weavers of that period looked at these motifs and adapted them. Even though there are not any source or document in this respect, but it is not much far from mind¹³⁷.

Prophet Muhammad is known to have distributed silk tunics among his wives, relatives and close followers. He himself wore purple mantels trimmed with gold and solemn occasions a great red robe which costs 50 dinars¹³⁸. On the other hand, in Quran, IXXVI surah is written: “God hath rewarded their constancy with paradise and silken robes [...]”. The conception of paradise with its “couches and lining of brocade” is repeated several times in Quran.

¹³⁶Talebpour, 2007, p. 68.

¹³⁷ Pope, 1945, p. 97.

¹³⁸ Jairazbhoy, 1965, p. 31.

2.3. Islamic textiles weaving in Iran and in the Dar al-Islam¹³⁹

The history of Arab and Iranian tribes dated back to long time before Islam. Within 635-660, the victorious Islam army conquered the whole Iran plateau and were settled in their military sites. They were getting rich by trophies and tributes and transferred their family and kinfolks to conquered territories. The first Arab immigrants arrived in *Kerman*, *Fars*, *Khuzestan*, and a section of *Khorasan*. During 650s, aside from mass of warriors, there were businessmen, religious missionaries, and many religion-politics opponents among these immigrants.

The important point is that Arabs dwelt in the cities in Iran which were the famous center for fabric weaving and this caused they were fully impressed by Sasanid fabric weaving. According to what has been said about Islamic Art (especially in the primary and classic period), for the iconography in the fabric sector, it is normal that the textiles producer in the major part of their productions, have used pre-islamic iconography. For this part, two reasons can be mentioned: the fidelity on the traditions and alignment of Sasanian iconography with Islamic rules. In the large percentage of their products, Sasanian did not use human figure, as we have already seen in Taq-e Bostan and from the fabrics left in the museums, they used a lot of geometric elements. Surveying the produced fabrics in Islamic civilizations, during the indicated period of time in this research, can lead us to study the course of transformation in fabric designing in these civilizations, the rate of their loyalty (lack of loyalty) to Sasanid fabrics, and eventually, the method of formation of new shapes.

¹³⁹ (دارالاسلام) lit. territory of Islam/voluntary submission to God)

2.3.1. Umayyad dynasty (661-750) and their influences on textiles' producing

Umayyad, with Damascus as their capital, from 661 to 750, gained the largest geographical territory. This era can be considered as initiator of a type of art which maintained a direct relation with religion and Islamic culture. The reasons for continuation of classical traditions in art in early Islam may be briefed in three issues: the geographical vastness of pre-Islam; the fact that people before advent of Islam were familiar with the classic world¹⁴⁰, and the most important of all was the fact that Sasanid empire, which had been the vastest up to that time, was of multicultural per se. Therefore, the art in early Islam, both by penetration into vast geographical territories and by employment of artists and craftsman from Sasanid and Byzantium empires continued their ways in such a way that nowadays, we are talking about Abbasid (see part. 2.2), Samanian (see part. 2.4.1), and Seljuk art (see part. 2.6); but you cannot name any style of art as Umayyad's. From the very early beginning, Umayyad governors dressed in Iranian style, which is the most indicative sign of Iranian culture penetration in them. Later and after Umayyad, Abbasid came to power, who were opponents of Umayyad. They transferred the capital to Baghdad, the former capital of Sasanid government and as a result Iranian culture expanded in their court¹⁴¹.

¹⁴⁰The Arabs encountered the classical world outside of Arabia, with the creation of important political and cultural centers completely based on the traditions of the classical world: Palmira, Petra and Dura are examples of their civilization.

¹⁴¹Talebpour, 2007, p. 65., Baker, 1995, p. 60.

In this period, wearing silk and wool clothing was common and silk fabrics were decorated with images of animals, flowers, and bushes¹⁴². There is no fabric that can be definitely attributed to this historical era or even the certain place of its production; but there are fabrics available which are technically more advanced than Sasanid era and are discussed in more details; but from iconographic point of view, they are following Sasanid art and they belonged to this period. For the most samples of this era, it cannot be proved with certainty that they are from Iran or other countries of Islamic civilization. All samples left from this era prove their closeness to Sasanian iconography (figs. 2.1-2.3).

In the first fragment (fig. 2.1), roundels are similar to pre-Islamic ones. From a distance, the overall structure with its repeating pattern forms a grid in which geometrical roundels oscillate between contact and isolation. They are not close to each other and in the space between them, there are the vegetal patterns in a rhomboid shape. All the roundels have the same visual motif inside which is vegetal. Instead in the next fragment (fig. 2.2) roundels are joined together and the artist left the space created between them empty.

In the next fabric (fig. 2.3), the style of displaying animal is more advanced than pre-Islamic animals and the proportion of its body organs is quite close to nature but the ribbon hanging from its neck is an interesting point; the form of this ribbon which is similar to the form of the ribbon hanging from Khosrow Parviz hat in Taq-e Bostan. This point can be a mention to the rank of “royalty” or “divinity”.

¹⁴² Chitsaz, 2001, p. 81.

2.3.2. *Tiraz*¹⁴³: The new iconography in Islamic textiles

The geographic area of Islamic world was too large. Regarding this point and surveying fabrics left from different cities and countries, it can be claimed that unification of religious concepts of Islam in this vast territory and using Arabic calligraphy in fabric were the most important effect of Islam on fabric weaving. Fabric containing writing are presently known as Tiraz.

“The word is borrowed from the Persian and originally means embroidery; it then comes to mean a robe adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially one ornamented with embroidered bands with writing upon them, worn by a ruler or person of high rank; finally, it means the workshop in which such materials or robes are made (in Arabic it calls *Dar-al-Tiraz*)”¹⁴⁴.

A margin including script and writing was referred to as Tiraz. Inscription was a distinctive feature of many fabrics during Umayyad caliphate. This type of decorative inscription and annotation with needlework on the margin of fabric was called Tiraz. Workshops for this weaving had been established in some Muslim countries during early Islamic era and they were exported to other parts of the world due to their high quality¹⁴⁵.

There is no information about the place where Tiraz weaving started in Islamic civilization territories. Ibn-e Khaldon considered it from Iran, without mentioning any reason; and Masoudi in his book confirmed this idea. So, it can be concluded that Tiraz weaving workshops were located in Sasanid territory¹⁴⁶.

طراز¹⁴³

¹⁴⁴Grohmann, 1936., see also Atil, 1994, p. 313.

¹⁴⁵Ibn Hawqal, 1966, pp. 66-67., see also Talebpour, 2007, p. 71 and Rouhfar, 2001, p. 10.

¹⁴⁶Serjeant, 1972, p.9.

The innovation of Tiraz as a fabric is attributed to *Abdolmalk al Marwan* (r. 685-705), one of Umayyad Caliphate¹⁴⁷ (fig. 2.4). Even though he was busy with his kingdom in Damascus, the apparent similarity of decorative elements of this fabric, and its similarity to the present motifs in Taq-e Bostan, it can be assumed that it was woven in Iranian workshop.

This textile is woven in green and yellow on a red ground, featuring large roundels with rosettes in the spandrels, in imitation of Sasanid textiles. Bearing an inscription naming an Umayyad Caliph *Marwan II* (r. 744-750), it is written on this Tiraz in Arabic “Marwan commander of the [faithful]” and the “tiraz of Ifriqiya”¹⁴⁸. The similarity of decorations of this fabric with decorative elements of Taq-e Bostan is so much that if it was not for the existence of writing, this fabric was certainly considered as Sasanian fabric. The same model of flowers and circles were repeated in the Tiraz of Marwan and studying about these fabrics and their discrimination without writing was definitely very difficult.

Due to this new iconography, margin in fabric was under much attention and the weaver did not consider the fabric itself rather the margin was taken into account. This attention improved to the extent that in many cases, margins were woven with gold threads while gold was not used in other parts of textiles. But the method this Tiraz remained persistence in history, arrived into western countries, and later was used in the Middle Ages paintings to display the clothing of prominent figures, such as Holy Mary, can be based on different reasons:

¹⁴⁷Talebpour, 2007, p. 71., see also Baker, 1995, p. 54.

¹⁴⁸ (مروان اميرالمومنين [...]، طراز الافريقيه) Ifriqiya situates the textile in the province of North Africa shortly after the arrival of Islam in that region of the Byzantine Empire (Amara, 2016, p. 8.).

- The first and the most important reason is that these fabrics were all produced with a very high quality and their entrance to western countries (due to whatever reason such as booty, gift, or trade) were naturally welcomed and was used by very higher class of people or in the western Cathedrals. Since even in Islamic countries, in early eras, Tiraz was under possession of a special social stratum, royal Tiraz for kings and their relatives or dignified people, and more common Tiraz for wealthy people were provided.
- The second, Tiraz, as a new iconography in Islamic countries, certainly, attracted the attention of western weavers and artists. This iconography was new in both Arabic script and also in the method of usage; as it was mentioned, at first it was used only in the margin of the fabric but not in the whole surface.

2.3.3. Surveying the difference calligraphy used in Tiraz

In the Tirazes of this period, Kufic calligraphy (fig. 2.5) is used in writings with various themes: Quran verses, poems, name of the kings. Arabic calligraphy rapidly substituted Pahlavi calligraphy in Iran, Coptic script in Egypt, and Latin calligraphy in the North Africa and Spain.

The space between letters in horizontal part is much and the type of decoration of this calligraphy caused the creation of an orderly rhythm which is quite adequate for fabric design. Since this rhythm is repeated vertically close together and they occupy less space. This was an adequate choice for Tiraz fabrics. Kufic calligraphy, the oldest method of Arabic writing, is as old as Islam and since it appeared in city of Kufi, it is named after the name of the city. At the beginning, it was used just to write Quran but gradually covered diverse types. All letters in this calligraphy have horizontal base and when they are put next to each other, an orderly margin is formed which posses decorative applications. This calligraphy is divided into groups of simple and decorative Kufic. This calligraphy is divided into four sub-groups¹⁴⁹:

¹⁴⁹Grohmann, 1957, pp. 185-187. This point should be noted that there are more sub-groups but its use for the architecture and as the main subject of this thesis is textiles designs, I didn't speak about them. For more info: Christy Wilson, 1939, pp. 130-132.

1. Interwoven Kufic: The decorations are utilized separated from the letter itself and they are placed around the letters (fig. 2.6). This calligraphy was rarely used for fabric decoration as it was special for mosques decorations but the knots that had appeared in this calligraphy (fig. 2.7) were later used abundantly in paintings; and in some of them, the artist merely used these knots and writings were not used. These knots can be considered as an element of Islamic art which were used in various types such as tiling and calligraphy.

2. Scroll Kufic: The body of the letters is longer. They are joined together to form a network (fig. 2.8). This type is the most attractive, the most decorative variety of lapidary styles and marks a culminating point in the development of the Arabic script. This inscription is known to western scholars since the first quarter of the 8th century in Persia.

3. Floral Kufic: the upper part of letters are longer and their decoration is vertical. They form a row which looks like a flower. In this Kufic calligraphy writing was not merely important and the background was decorated with plant motifs; due to that it is known by this name. This calligraphy was also mostly used in buildings (fig. 2.9).

4. Square Kufic: Simple Kufic handwritten were placed inside rectangle (fig. 2.10). This type of writing is special for using in bricks but many western painters used this type of calligraphy for the margins of clothing- especially for Holy Mary.

By looking through the course of transformation of Kufic, it can be understood that in a Tiraz fabric, whatever the decoration of its Kufic calligraphy is more, it has more time interval with the Islam early centuries. Therefore, this point is true even for the lines arriving into paintings of the Middle Ages, or in the fabrics produced in western countries. In Iran, using line in fabrics became common in late 9th century. Before that, the traditions left from Sasanid were still stable and, in some cases, Islamic artists adopted the decorations of Sasanid era without any change such as plant motifs and especially palm tree. As for human and animal motifs, it should be remembered regarding the defined restrictions in Islam religion, these motifs continued their being but gradually transformed to decorative motifs and gained value and importance similar to geometric designs, flower, and bush¹⁵⁰.

¹⁵⁰ Janson, 1997, p. 181.

2.4. Abbasid dynasty (750-1285) and their power in Iran

Abbasid Caliphate can be considered as a ring between Iranian art and Islamic art in Arab territories. Abbasid, who were against Umayyad, by transferring the capital from Damascus to Baghdad, which was near Ctesiphon, caused the revival of a vast current of influences of Sasanid art. This process progressed in such a way that the distinctive features of the fabrics of this era with that of Sasanid's (in case there is not inscription, and the fabric is not Tiraz), are in details and the delicacy of the motifs.

The most important forces that led to the rise of Islam's "Golden Age" is a period of Islamic development, that lasted nearly five centuries beginning with the reign of the Abbasid Caliph *Harun al-Rashid* (r. c.786-809) and ended with the collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate following the Mongol invasions and the sack of Baghdad in 1258¹⁵¹.

Many of Abbasid consumable fabrics were produced in Iran; but the advantage they had comparing with pre-Islamic fabrics was in utilizing details. The support of Abbasid kings from the production of precious fabrics, which were used as gifts, facilitated boom of this industry. On the other side, the expansion of Islamic territory in east, facilitated the trade; as a result, the market for Iranian fabrics expanded¹⁵². So, it can be considered that aristocratic class had noticed to this Iranian industry and purchased much fabrics.

¹⁵¹Renima, Tiliouine, Estes, 2016, pp. 18-22.

¹⁵² Zaki, 1987, p. 227.

Abbasid government took Iranian art, industry, and culture to near and far away territories under their governance; including Mediterranean coasts, the north of Africa, and the south west of Europe. It is obvious from historical documents that in the early eras of Islam, Abbasid Caliphates moved a group of weavers from Shushtar to Baghdad and silk fabrics were produced in that city¹⁵³.

Using dots, margins, tree leaves, and lines for decoration of fabrics; using medallions with animal shapes, legendary and real birds' images, were very common. Regarding that Abbasid ruled over Islamic territories for a long time and their geographical area was very vast, in surveying the decorative arts in that time, regarding the objective of this project, we have to refer to their subordinate governments which were ruling over Iran.

¹⁵³Talebpour, 2007, p. 69.

2.4.1. Textile producing through Samanian dynasty (874-1004) in Iran

Samanian were among the agents of Abbasid Caliphate in Iran that changed to a local power in Khorasan and Transoxiana by support of Caliphate. Gradually, they could bring many of the northern part of Iran under their own rule¹⁵⁴. Samanians maintained a special position in Iran history both by political-military events and significant cultural-social transformations because, by surveying Iran history we noted that they made great effort to gain Iran independence from Abbasid Caliphates and they gradually became politically and culturally independent.

One of the most important influences of this dynasty is reviving the Iranian roots in arts. As it was mentioned using Arabic calligraphy and Islamic concepts caused a unification in art but during Samanians era the share of Iranian roots increased in comparison with Arabic-Islamic concepts.

*Spuler*¹⁵⁵ wrote about this tribe as “They formed the initials and primary conditions for revival of Iranian morale and spirituality. Iranian culture and civilization are indebted to them [...]”¹⁵⁶. Originally, Samanian created a combination of Iranian-Islamic art which penetrated artifacts as well but the Iranian roots were stronger in them. It can be said that they imitated the common patterns of Central Asia style.

¹⁵⁴ Heravi, 2020, pp.121-127.

¹⁵⁵ Bertold Spuler (1911-1990) was a German Orientalist.

¹⁵⁶ Spuler, 2014, p.141.

Their concentration was not merely on masques and architecture. This era is mentioned in many history books as “Iranian Culture Renaissance” because there had been much efforts for the growth of Persian language and the thought of unification of Iranian tribes was formed. The center of their activities was Khurasan, which presented an adequate ground for advent of innovative and creative ideas¹⁵⁷. Whatever we know about Iranian-Islamic art is actually the continuation of Samanian art.

There are two sources available from Samanian art for surveying fabrics: Artworks in which the fabrics are displayed (by focusing on mural paintings, miniatures illustrated in books and the ceramics); and the fabrics themselves now at hand. Of course, the exact information about the date and place of their production is not indicated.

One of the most important sources for surveying the fabrics of this era is related to one of the oldest paintings in Iran after Islam. It is the mural painting of a huntsman, discovered in exploration of in Nishapur¹⁵⁸ by an archeologic group of Metropolitan Museum (fig. 2.11). This work belongs to the 3th century. This painting is framed in a rectangle of 140×120 centimeter. As per researcher’s opinion, this painting probably displays one of the Samanians governors or is merely a symbolic picture with the topic of memorialization of hunting tradition. Even though a large part of this work is destroyed, the fabric of his clothing including roundels and four petal flowers can be observed.

Samanian art can be reminisced as one of the first efforts of a civilization for creation of a cohesive art among all visual arts which interrelated Islamic art and Sasanid art and begot a balance between them. This means, in Samanian art merely aesthetic elements of Sasanid art did not exist and they were inspired by Islamic art to the same extend; and this, per se, is one of the difficulties in determining the date and the place of Samanian art creation.

¹⁵⁷ Heravi, 2003, p. 67.

¹⁵⁸ It is a city in northeastern Iran.

About the mural paintings, none of the sources are in Iran. The older part of Samarkand had been one the Sogdian significant cultural and artistic center in Transoxiana that during 6th to 8th centuries was important city of textile production. In the seventh century, this city was visited by Chinese Hwan T'sang, who had brought information about the glory and civilization of this city in his book¹⁵⁹.

The fresco (fig. 2.12) was discovered in 1965 in one of the dwelling houses. All the paintings have non-religious subjects. Men and women are displayed in luxurious and decorated clothes. In front of them, elephants heavily decorated are moving and images of some horses, camels, and big white birds are complementary of this painting scene. According to the text on the scene -in Sogdian language-, this is the scene of wedding ceremony of a princess from Chaghaniyan¹⁶⁰, who is sitting under a canopy on a white elephant coming to Samarkand to be the wife of Samarkand ruler.

In this part, the clothing of the first person in right possesses new repeat which did not exist in Taq-e Bostan designs. In this clothing, the artist displayed medallion with Ogee pattern repeat (fig. 2.13). Apparently, using this motif was common during Sasanid epoch and it was also used in architecture (fig. 2.14).

In the same salon, there is a part of mural painting that shows the king Varkhuman¹⁶¹ (fig. 2.15). His clothing is patterned and the ducks in medallions are seen which are placed by simple repeat, as usual, have ribbon on their beaks.

¹⁵⁹Frumkin, 1970, p.199.

¹⁶⁰It was a medieval region and principality located on the right bank of the Oxus River, to the south of Samarkand.

¹⁶¹ He was the king of Sogdian during the 7th century, residing in Samarkand.

The works left from this era in Iran are mostly faithful to the geometric motifs of Sasanid era and Islamic civilization works left from this period have mostly used animal motifs; so, a combination of Sasanid, Islamic, and Chinese traditions are observable together. Samanian took Sasanian traditions and in an advanced state mixed with Islamic traditions and offered to the world. As it was mentioned, there are only a few fabrics left from this era which cannot be claimed with certainty that in which section of Islamic civilizations they are produced. On the other side, Samnians were the unique ruler of Iran only for 85 years (874-932) and after that a simultaneous government, Buyids, appeared whose interferences make the attribution of fabrics to each era almost impossible; but it can be expressed that Samanian were more faithful to the Sasanid designs wherever they used them and did not perform much changes in their basic plan. There are some pieces of fabric that can be attributed to Samanians (fig. 2.16).

In this fabric, the principle of symmetry in Sasanid era and simple repetition of roundels are used. The difference between the design of this fabric and that of Sasanid designs is using facing animals in a medallion. This type of composition became more common herein after in history and it can be seen, aside from Iran and other Islamic civilization countries, in European fabrics as well.

In another fabric (fig.2.17), attributed to Iran or Iraq, the concentration of the artist had been on the inside part of pre-Islamic and had not paid attention to the surface of the fabric. The most significant point is the start of using human motif in this design. The artist had woven the rider by considering the common composition of riders in that era which can be seen in paintings and potteries.

The important point in the figure is the intricate attention to details of the crown, head, and mustache of the rider, and also the falcon sitting on his hand, which is an indication of skill and capability of the artist. In this fabric, the plant motifs are used in the background of medallion which are utilized by considering the general symmetry principle in the fabric but inside each roundel, the artist

tried to get away from that. In the open space existing among four roundels, the artist used eight-pointed star which is a symbol of Islamic architecture. This pattern which is known as Shamseh¹⁶² (fig. 2.18) is one of the most important motifs in Islamic art (fig.2.19), abundantly repeated in various arts (architecture, fabric weaving, miniature....). Number eight is an indicator of different meaning in Islam¹⁶³. This number is the eighth step in pondering, the phase of holiness, in which soul is under attention.

Also, Muslims believe that there are seven hells and eight paradises because God mercy is more than His anger¹⁶⁴. In Sasanian art, artists had used roundels as the frame for the main subject, while in Islamic era artists used of shamseh in this way; so, it can be said that the Shamseh is the deformed design of medallions.

The artist also has well taken into consideration the color rotation and by using red color around medallion and in open space among four roundel caused the attention of the audience is not attracted merely to the red horse. Putting Shamseh together, unintentionally, creates a quadrilateral design which is known as knot in Islamic architecture (fig. 2.20).

Only if these shamseh are placed in form of $\frac{1}{2}$ vertical repeat¹⁶⁵, the knots would form crossed mode (fig. 2.21). The weaver used it to place between medallions. Of course, this design is not merely a visual decorative element and contains different meanings.

شمسه¹⁶²

¹⁶³ Laleh Bakhtiar, 1960, pp. 100-102.

¹⁶⁴ Quran, 69th chapter, verse 17., see also Hosseini, Farrashi Abarghouee, 2014, pp. 36-41.

¹⁶⁵In textile design it is called *Half drop pattern*.

This sign is an indication of link with the sun and the moon and also the classical elements of creation (water, wind, fire, and soil) which are protector of existence, creation, universe, and human¹⁶⁶. Using cross enforces this hypothesis that the fabric is woven in Iran (or by Iranian weaver) but it cannot be claimed authentically. This fabric is among a few multicolor samples left from that era. The display of the faces darker than the color of the background was one of the traditions of fabric weaving in this era and Buyids period. It can be named as a symbol of these eras.

In another fabric¹⁶⁷ available from this era (fig. 2.22), Senmurv is displayed which is an exact subordination of famous Sasanian version (Cf. fig. 1.12). Also, the motifs inside roundels are based on Lotus flower whose usage in Iran maintained a very long history. The very important point in iconography of this fabric is the use of rectangular knot among medallion. This motif belongs to Islamic era architecture. The artist used cross and eight-pointed star (or shamseh) in the lower part of Senmurv tail. Even though the exact geographical place of its production cannot be indicated, the similarity of Senmurv and its general composition enforces the probability of its production in Iran.

Another fabric left from this era well indicates an intermediate sample between pre-Islamic and Islamic fabrics (fig. 2.23). In this fabric, the composition of medallion transformed from circular to polygonal (in this case octagonal). With the same reasoning that was mentioned in using of number eight in the Islamic mode of thinking.

¹⁶⁶Bakhourtash, 2001, p. 138.

¹⁶⁷The comparisons accomplished in this section (figs. 2.22-2.26) have not been published in any article or book so far and is proposed by the writer for the first time.

The plant decorations are more similar to decorations used in Islamic architecture rather than pre-Islamic ones and birds used among four medallions are used abundantly in Islamic metal works and their analogous cannot be found in pre-Islamic art. But the most important design, which is totally far away from Sasanian decoration, is the decoration of the medallion margin by using square Kufic calligraphy, in some part of which the word Allah¹⁶⁸ is recognizable (fig. 2.24).

Even though the animals present in medallion of this fabric are far away from the display of realistic animals, the effort of the artist to get away from the merely mythological animals, whose samples do not exist in the real world, is obviously indicated. Only this piece is left from this fabric but regarding the placement of designs among octagons, it could be understood that the simple repeat is used by weaver.

There are two Tiraz left from this era which are attributed to Khorasan (figs. 2.25, 2.26). In both of them, only the same calligraphy is used which is not very long. The first fabric has a striped background and in written part simple background with a different warm color for writing in order to show the importance of the writing. From the parts destroyed and split, it can be understood that it was woven double-sided and they cannot be separated. Regarding the curves formed in the direction of writing, most probably, the written part is added later and was not present in the process of weaving. In this Tiraz, the successor of Islam prophet is mentioned and the type of calligraphy is simple Kufic (see part. 2.3.3).

الله¹⁶⁸

The second Tiraz (fig. 2.26) has a simple beige color background and the writing on it has a contrasting color with the background. Its Kufi calligraphy is similar to subset of scroll Kufic (Cf. fig. 2.9). This writing is started with “In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Happiness from God to servant of God, Ahmad, the Imam al-Mu’tadid billah¹⁶⁹, Commander of the Faithful, may God strengthen him. This has been ordered by the Amir. Year 283”. Since these phrases are of much value in the rules of Islam religion, the value of this Tiraz could be understood which was probably woven for the king or an important court figure. Usually, Tiraz weavers used bigger lines and more decorations in fabric in which Quran verses were used.

¹⁶⁹(احمد، امام المتعاضد بالله) He was an Abbasid Caliph (r. 892-902).

2.4.2. Textiles production through Buyids dynasty (932-1055)

Buyids were a tribe in the north of Iran, Gilan. Their historical simultaneousness with Samanian brought a lot of artistic and cultural progress in Iran. In this era, the western part of Iran was under the control of Abbasid and the eastern part was ruled by Samanian. So, the lack of a central government provided a ground for Buyids progress and gaining power.

Iranian disappointment for having a merely Iranian government stimulated Buyids to concentrate on patriotism concepts whose manifestation can be investigated¹⁷⁰. They were Shia and because of that it can be claimed that their art was actually the first Islamic-Iranian art in which, the Iranian part referred to Sasanid and in Islamic part worked with Shiite concepts.

It can be said that in this era, against other eras of Islamic civilization history, referring of the artist to Sasanid art is merely because of patriotism. In this period, the motifs and technics of fabric weaving improved to a large extent and the artists were not restricted, in comparison with previous eras, in iconography and were able to use various topics but the same patriotism forced them to get back to Sasanian traditions. In this era textile weaving and designs benefitted from an extraordinary prosperity in such a way that fabric weaving might be considered as their artistic manifestation. Buyids rulers supported fabric weaving so much and valuable silk fabric were used as royal gifts. In this era, silk was under special consideration as a particular commercial commodity. The clothing of the rulers and court men were made from very expensive and splendid fabrics¹⁷¹.

¹⁷⁰ Shojaei, Marasy, 2018, pp. 73-82.

¹⁷¹ Spuler, 1997, p. 414.

In this era, exportation of fabric to other countries, especially Islamic ones, expanded. The important center for fabric weaving were Marv and Nishapur, and the most famous one was Rey (as in a period of Sasanian era).

The samples left from this era which is merely a retreat to Sasanian period, with no trace of Islamic concept are very rare. One silk fragment is remained from this era (fig. 2.27), aside from Senmurv, whose head only has resemblance with Sasanid art, and whose body against Sasanid one has four legs, a snake is added to the frame which is a symbol of the battle between good and evil. The Chinese dragon inspired the composition of this snake and the presence of Chinese elements were increasing in Iranian fabric from this era on. Medallion is in form of oval and its size increased in horizontal direction. Also, two medallions are linked together in this form which had never been observed before. The artist had not paid much attention to the surface of the fabric and left it quite simple. Regarding the lines left on the upper part, it can be assumed that there had been a strip there.

There is no information about the place where this fabric is woven, but regarding its resemblance to one of the fabrics kept in National Museum of Iran (fig. 2. 28), it should be Rey or another city in Iran. The surface of the fabric is in pea color and the main design is in brown, on the back side, it is inverse. It can be said that Buyids fabrics are the first effort of Islamic artists for more orientation toward Islamic era iconography, without forgetting the Sasanian regulations.

One of the rare fabrics left from this era (fig. 2.29) maintain a special composition which is between Islamic and Sasanid eras and it can be claimed that its iconography is a linking bridge between Iran and Spain in Almoravid era and also Byzantine empire regarding fabric iconography. The composition of the body of an eagle and the head of human can be an analogy of soul flying after death and probably, this fabric was used as shroud. In this fabric, the artist has used the medallions composition of Sasanid. The attention of the artist to the background is well observable after a long period of neglect. Medallions are joint together and there are no connecting elements (such as small circles which had already existed) between them.

The eight-pointed stars (shamseh), as an Islamic architecture sign are placed in the joining place of the medallions. The artist is quite away from plant motifs of Sasanid era, but he/she was in the progress of changing the mentality about textiles' iconography; while this piece is quite far away from Sasanian iconography, again we can't say that is Islamic art.

By reading the historical documents, it is clear that some of fabrics left from Buyids contained hunting scenes and simplified designs of animals; but there is only one fabric left with this iconography (fig. 2.30). Although the artist had used a real topic, the proportions are not observed and the ratio of human and animal bodies and also animals with each other are not adequate. Even though there has been much attention in Islamic art to the topic of hunting, regarding the crown on the head of the rider, there is a possibility that the artist was intended to display Khosrow Parviz II and this point reinforces the probability of weaving of the fabric in Iran. It can be observed that the artist remained faithful to Sasanid era but, from this era onward, this faithfulness is not restricted to use of medallions and observance of symmetries.

In the whole Islamic era, due to the limitation of the presentation for human figures, animal motifs were much under attention but in Buyids era there are more care about their proportions and realistic concepts. One of the samples that indicates this issue is a fabric with the motif of two birds in the center with well observance of the proportions in their bodies (fig. 2.31). This composition of the birds in which their tails are turned toward their heads is much repeated in the art of this era.

An important event is using calligraphy as a decorative element. In Tirazes, calligraphy was originally an element of message transmission but here it turned to be an element among decorative elements and it was continual. It can be said that writing perchance found less importance from design. In case, writing was important, it should be placed vertically. We have another fabric available that can be attributed to this era. In this fabric (fig. 2.32), similar to the previous one, writings are in both sides in rectangular rows and among them animals are placed symmetrically. The motif of this fabric is painted and is not a part of weave. Animals are much freer and their movement is fully perceptible. This fabric is a combination of silk, cotton, and golden thread. This means being a Tiraz is not related to the technic and such an iconography was used in any weaving technic. Regarding its color and composition, probably it belongs to Buyids era (Cf. fig. 2.33).

As we will see in future samples (fig. 2.33) this type of displaying birds continued while in general composition of the work, it referred to pre-Islamic era but the type of displaying animal is more complete and much different. In another fabric left from this era (fig. 2.34), birds are in medallions of previous fabric; they are imaged individually without any frame. This type of birds displaying was certainly the tradition of that era which was again originated in Sasanian art (fig. 2.35).

Birds figure (except for the wing) is quite realistic and the proportions are observed accurately. The tree of life which is placed between them is smaller in comparison with birds and also other animals which are displayed are smaller. Birds in Iran culture prior to Islam and also Islamic epoch was a representation of the sky and it can be said that it is displayed bigger to point to the importance of spiritual world.

We have an important document from this era regarding textile production, *Abu Dulaf al-Khazraji*¹⁷² in his travel book wrote: “In Rey, they weave a fabric famed [...] that is special for that place and I have never seen it woven in any other place. I saw a roll of it, almost two hundred spans, sold for ten thousand Dirham”¹⁷³. In the book, *Hudud al-Alam*¹⁷⁴, the production and importation of fabric in Rey is mentioned¹⁷⁵.

The fabrics gained from Rey in Buyids era are shrouds with burial writings on them according to Islamic rituals. This is an indication that the rulers, in their lifetime, ordered special fabric for their shroud. Among the mythological and legendary animals, the attention of the weavers was mostly on birds, among which eagle is the most utilized one. A fabric which is considered as a symbol of fabric weaving of this period is a piece of fabric with a motif of double-headed eagle carrying a human to the sky which is again a mentioning to the fly of soul to the sky after death (fig. 2.35).

¹⁷² [ابودلف الخزرجي] He was Arab traveler of 10th century

¹⁷³ Minorsky, 1995, p. 75.

¹⁷⁴ [حدود العالم] It is a 10th century geography book written in Persian by an unknown author.

¹⁷⁵ Minorsky, 1937, p. 82.

On the wing of the birds a sentence is written in Kufi with this meaning: “A person with high mindedness is valuable”¹⁷⁶. The birds are separated by a tree which is probably a reminder of the tree of life. The general composition of this work is reminder of one of the rare cases of Sasanid era fabrics which have been repeated several times during history. Also, there is another sentence over the heads of the birds with such a meaning as: “The one who is authentic has good deed”¹⁷⁷.

The significant point which is noticeable about the fabrics of this era is that iconography about death exists in majority of them. Using of tortilla and peanut colors, with no indication of the aspects or reasons for using such colors but it can be said that these colors are symbol of soil that human will return to that. According to Islam educations and several references in Quran; human is created from soil and will return to soil.

¹⁷⁶ من كبره همه كتره قيمه

¹⁷⁷ من طالب اصله ذكي فعله

2.5. The construction of new commercial roads during 8th – 10th centuries in the East (Focusing on Iran)

The relationship between nomadic and sedentary people in Eurasia created some of the most important common artistic elements among various cultures living on and beyond the boundaries of western China and eastern Iran, in the vast area that was a cultural outpost of both empires. About the transcultural relationship in the Medieval era in Asia, the trade is one among the most influential factors. The existence of three major conditions was necessary for international trade: the demand for exotic products, the availability of vehicles for their transportation over long distances, and safe passage for the trade Caravans¹⁷⁸.

The crucial center of the ancient Eurasian continent included territories that would become the five nations of the former Soviet Union (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan), as well as Xinjiang (known in the nineteenth century as Chinese Turkestan), Gansu, and Qinghai provinces of China, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the western Himalayas, and Mongolia. It was traversed by two main roads that skirted the Tarim Basin, now conveniently called the Northern and Southern Silk Roads, which connected important cities and sacred places that over the centuries shared richly heterogeneous artistic influences of the basin's multi-ethnic inhabitants. At the end of the seventh century it was along the Northern Silk Road linking the city of Bukhara in Sogdiana (parts of modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) to Turfan. While the relationships between these empires and their neighbor are still under historical and archeological examination, it is clear that in Xinjiang, the zoomorphic creatures enclosed in the beaded roundels now recognized as "Sasanian roundels" began to proliferate on textile compounds (most likely developed a century earlier)¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁸ Asadov, 2016, pp.33-50.

¹⁷⁹ Gasparini, 2020, pp.16-17.

By occupancy of Iran, Syria, and Egypt, these important commercial territories joined together after a long time. Many roads from Rey and Hamedan¹⁸⁰ (in Iran) in one side; and from Basra and Kufa in another side were formed to Damascus and Alexandria. From long time ago, and due to her geographical specification and climates, Iran land maintained open economy and her various sections, except some zones, were not self-sufficient. This issue justified the significance of commerce and foundation of large cities. This fact can be considered as the base and the reason for creation of great empires in this territory. Arab Empire played an important role in this respect and assisted commercial boom and expansion of cities.

Another point is that Islam, per se, is an urban religion and confirmed expansion and prosperity of city from its early genesis in Madinah. By occupancy of Egypt and North Africa by Umayyad, due to pirates' activities, and increasing insecurity in Mediterranean Sea, major ports of Byzantium confronted recession and European commerce which was relying in this sea, was severely endangered. Caspian businessmen tried to circle around Islamic territories in North-east Caspian Sea through Transoxiana and Kharazm and find a new route to Europe.

The difference of this era comparing with Silk Road in Sasanid epoch was the expansion of sea trade routes but even Arabs preferred land Road rather than sea ways and except Spice Road that joined India to Basra, all commercial routes of camels and horses caravans passed through the Middle East deserts. Silk road from Sasanian era was among the most significant commercial roads which joined China to Transoxiana, North Khorasan, Rey, Hamedan, Mesopotamia, and eventually to Damascus.

¹⁸⁰ [همدان] it's a city in the West of Iran.

Fierce confrontation from the beginning of the conflict until the end of the 8th century led a military-political balance and a peace in which former rivals and enemies became partners in lucrative international trade of the Silk Road¹⁸¹. During the 8th century, regarding the changes that had appeared in systems of cities and roads, the trade was developed by various governments of this century.

In center of Iran, Rey and *Hamedan*, *Merv*, Bukhara and Samarkand were major commercial centers (fig. 2.36). In outskirts of Caspian Sea, *Tabarestan*¹⁸², *Deylam*¹⁸³, and Gilan were separated, to some extent, from other parts of Iran for a long time because they were almost self-sufficient economically and because of that their rulers demanded political autonomy from long time ago¹⁸⁴. An interesting point is that all these centers (except Deylam and Tabarestan) were among the most important fabric weaving centers and this per se is one of the most important reasons causing the transference of fabrics bearing Islamic Iran iconography to western countries.

By consolidation Abbasid caliphs and foundation of their new capital, Baghdad (792) in the heart of Mesopotamia, this city increasingly found political importance and especially improved commercial activities and gradually turned to be the main center for commerce for the whole Islamic world. Instead, two major cities, Damascus and Kufa which maintained much importance in previous era lost their boom. Perhaps in the old world, only Constantinople, the capital of Byzantium, could equalize Baghdad. In this age, an Arab caliphate, Harun al-Rashid (r.786-809) made the golden age in Dar-al Islam. The Islamic state became powerful and united as never before. A feature of this era was also a rapprochement between Frankish empire of Charlemagne (r. 800-814) and the Arab Caliphate¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸¹ Asadov, 2016, p.41.

طبرستان¹⁸²

ديلم¹⁸³

¹⁸⁴ Minorsky, 1937, p.24.

¹⁸⁵ Capetigue 1842, p. 21. About the commercial exchange specially in the textiles section there is Pieces of silk and others half-silk, made of silk and cotton, originating in Khorasan and dated

Both powers sought to establish secure trade between China and Western Europe through the Mediterranean Sea routes which were under control of Byzantium and its allied: Venice¹⁸⁶. Regarding the relations among these kings, it was natural for them to think about expansion of commercial routes. Among the commercial important cities in Western Iran, Hamedan, Ahwaz, and Shiraz can be named. These cities, after Baghdad, were considered as the second-rate capitals of rulers and were greatly boomed during the peace and security periods.

In Eastern Iran, all cities in Northern Khorasan and Transoxiana which were in the direction of the Silk Road found commercial importance; Merv, Neyshabur, Bukhara, Samarkand can be named which were Samanian important cities (fig. 2.37).

Aside from an old route that got to Caspian land and Russia, there were two new routes toward the North and the West. The first was a sea way through Caspian Sea to Russia and Turkish residents in the North of this sea; and the second was a land way that by joining Tabriz to Armenia and Georgia, through the outskirts of Black Sea got to Byzantium. There is the illustrated map by *Leonardo Dati*¹⁸⁷ in his book *The Sphere* that shows us the commercial ways between Caspian Sea and Indian Sea (fig. 2.38). Since Dati was an Italian humanist of the 15th century, it can be said that the Persian sea routes had been extended by various government until that century.

to the late eighth were inserted between the pages of the Bible of Theodulf, the manuscript produced in the last years of Charlemagne (Jacoby 1997, pp. 55-81).

¹⁸⁶ Farda Asadov, 2016, pp. 33-50.

¹⁸⁷ Leonardo di Stagio Dati (1360 – 1425) was an Italian friar and humanist.

In *La Pratica della mercatura* (The Practice of Trading), compiled between 1335 and 1340, *Francesco Balducci Pegolotti* (1310–1347) describes in detail what was required for an Italian merchant to successfully undertake such a journey¹⁸⁸. He had to make a stop in Tana to hire good *Turcimanni* (Türks or Turks) as guides and translators; most important, he had to carry linens from Genoa and Venice to Urgench on the lower Amu Darya, with which to purchase silver. All forms of silver were then taken to the lord of Cathay, who gave him local paper money (balishi) with which to buy silk and local merchandise. If the merchant died during the journey, his belongings were left to the local lord, unless a family member was with him and could rescue his property. Pegolotti tells us that the merchant could buy:

“from nineteen to twenty pounds of Cathay silk, according to Genoese measure, for one silver [...] from three to three and a half cloths of cammocca of silk for one sommo, and from three and a half to five cloths of nachetti (nasīj) of silk and gold [...]”¹⁸⁹

By the second half of the tenth century trade between western Europe and the Islamic world was developing in a definite pattern, and its volume was increasing. The most noteworthy feature was that the actual transporting of goods across the Mediterranean had come to be in the hands of the Italians and not of the Arabs. Amalfi and Venice had first found across the Mediterranean and they were soon followed by Pisa and Genoa¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁸ Gasparini, 2020, pp. 131-132; see also Balducci Pegolotti, 1936, pp. 23-24.

¹⁸⁹ Gasparini, 2020, pp. 131-132

¹⁹⁰ Del Punta, 2010, p. 45.

2.6. Seljuk dynasty (1037-1194)

Seljuk epoch is one of the brilliant eras in Islamic Iran art. Since Iran had been the power center of this dynasty, this query would be about the artistic production of this dynasty in Iran. In this era, Iranian elements in art were enforced. Even though, some of Seljuk rulers expanded their territory to western part and even to north-east of Islamic world, their artistic achievements in these areas were not remarkable¹⁹¹. During Seljuk rule, an adequate opportunity for booming of various arts provided and the support and encouragements of Seljuk rulers from artistic activities resulted in improvements in all art fields. Seljuk expanded the bases of Iran art; it can be claimed that in this era, an unparalleled movement appeared in all Iran art fields whose effects continued up to Mongol epoch. Since the main concentration of Seljuk was on Iran and Iranian art.

Viewing the fabrics woven in this era, it can be noted that both the designer and the weaver got to the highest point of workmanship and artistic climax. According to Pope it is unprecedented in any era of the history of weaving art that technical principles of this art is known and analyzed to this extend of accuracy¹⁹². Fabric iconography got to the highest rate of diversity and most of the fabric maintained compact decorations. Even though the fabrics in this era displayed similarities with composition of pre-Islamic fabrics, they maintained their own unique style. In one of the sample available from this era (fig. 2.39), double headed eagle is repeated and human figure is placed in the center and it is larger in comparison with figure 2.35. In this fabric, quadruped animals are placed under the feet of eagle and are trying to prevent its ascension; that is an allusion of crossing from material world to spiritual one. In this fabric, the eagle and its wings are closer to nature, comparing with the previous image.

¹⁹¹ Rafiee, Shirazi, 2008, pp. 107-119.

¹⁹² Pope, 1945, p.101.

There is a point that we have a fabric at hand belonging to this era, in which the iconography of facing animals which are used belong to caftan. This point provides us significant clues because it happened again later in Henry VII clothing in his tomb situated in the Cathedral of Pisa. The facing animals were used in shrouds. This means this image had been used in Sasanid era for the kings clothing, in Islamic era for men clothing and shroud. Probably those men who wore clothing with such images were maintaining important dignity¹⁹³.

There is a fragment (fig. 2.40) which is a caftan. The robe's main motif is a roundel containing a pair of confronted peacocks with erected tail. Each tail issues eight crescent-shaped "eye" feathers. The stylized tree motif that stands between the peacocks is made up of a fine series of vine scrolls. This fragment features vertical rows of six medallions. Straight-sided octagons are squeezed into the interstitial spaces between the rows of roundels. The octagons have a fill motif of upright stems with floral terminals, almost forming a square¹⁹⁴. The Sasanian and post-Sasanian motifs are easily recognizable. Under the throat of birds, a piece of hooped fabric is hanging. This point is also remained from Sasanid era bird iconography.

There is other silk fragment of caftan (fig. 2.41) decorated with addorsed birds which is made probably by Central Asian wavers. The fabric features rows of large medallions. At the center of each medallion is an addorsed pair of birds of prey, their heads turned back towards each other, framing a stylized tree; a wide band of leopards, hares, deer and zebu outlines the roundel. The interstices contain a repeat motif of flowers, eight-pointed stars and pairs of birds with prominent beaks¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹³ In some cases, the fabric is Tiraz and we are able to see the name of the king. But there are samples which do not have any writing on fabric. Probably, this would be the case.

¹⁹⁴ Spuhler, 2020, p. 20.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 24.

Among the fabrics left from this era, human image can be seen (fig. 2.42). As it has been noted so far, human images in fabrics of early Islam period maintained certain features (Cf. figs 2.19, 2.31) mostly away from displaying details; their faces are dark and attention to details of human organs is not observed. In one of the fabrics left from this era, this point is repeated. In comparing with previous designs, it can be noted that this type of displaying human is a tradition of this epoch and human figures possess costly patterned clothing; basically “the display of fabric in fabric”. In this fabric, medallion is much larger and there are two frames, instead of one, around the design. An extensive part is lost but from what is apparent, there had been plant-animal design in the first row, Kufic calligraphy in the second row and an image of a rider inside circle. Even though, we have just this medallion at hand, certainly there was a gap from the next medallion and they were not joint together.

Whatever is left from these fabrics concerning medallions proves that displaying several medallions turned to be a tradition. In another piece of fabric from this era, only facing animals are displayed inside each medallion (fig. 2.43). There are three rows of medallions. The main composition and also the existence of animals refers to Sasanian traditions but the extreme delicacy is used in its weaving.

The witness for multiple medallion is a piece of embroidery left from this era (fig. 2.44), in which the diversity of medallions is clearly observable. There is a simple single line medallion around the falcon; around the quadruped (probably lion), there is a two-part medallion, one part of which contains designs, and a third medallion that nothing is left from the design in its center. Medallion contains three parts, two of which possess geometric designs and inside the largest one (in the center) there is the design of an animal.

In this historical era, one may perform a simultaneous comparative study between eastern and western textiles. This epoch is contemporaneous with Almoravid and Almohad in Spain and Seljuk in Iran. The textile production during these three dynasties is researchable in their dependence to Islam religion. Similar to main Islamic era fabrics, the color of design is darker in comparison with the background and it can be claimed that one of the differences among textiles of Seljuk and Buyids is multiple medallions.

Even though it was necessary to mention the commercial routes between east and west during Abbasid epoch, it was not of much importance in Seljuk era because Seljuks were ruling in Roman empire and were actually the relation between Iran and Abbasid empire. A commercial and cultural golden age began that coincided more or less with the rule of the sultan *Ala al-Din Kayqubad*¹⁹⁶ (r.1220-1237). The territory of the Seljuks of Rum expanded toward the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, where the harbor city of Alanya was founded along with a shipyard to promote trade with the Italian Maritime Republics. The road system was expanded in Anatolia and furnished with a dense network of caravanserais¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁷ Lewis, 1968, pp.49-68.

¹⁹⁶ علاء الدين كيقباد

2.7. Production of Islamic textiles In Spain (1040-1269)

Al-Andalus was, for seven centuries, the occidental frontier of Islam. Floating on the western edge of the Mediterranean like an island welded to Europe only by a jagged chain of peaks, it was geographically isolated from both Europe and North Africa, from the pathways to Christian as well as to Islam lands¹⁹⁸. In 712., Muslims under the command of Tariq ibn Ziad (r.711-718), during Umayyad ruling, conquered Al-Andalus and later dominated major part of Iberia peninsula and named it Al-Andulus. From the first Muslim occupation until the formation of Independent Umayyad dynasty in 775, there is no sign of any Islamic art, in form of scientific works or original document in Spain. But during Islamic government in Al-Andulus, the rulers supported the expansion of art and culture and each ruler left remarkable art works after himself¹⁹⁹. Regarding the time coverage of this project two governments of Almoravid (r.1040-1147) and Almohad (r.1121-1269) are under study.

¹⁹⁸Dodds 1992, p. XIX.

¹⁹⁹Talebpour, 2015, pp.49-51.

2.7.1. Almoravid period (1040-1147)

In this period, Almeria, one of the first great manufacturing cities in Iberian Peninsula, became the center of textile production. *Yāqūt al-Hamawī*²⁰⁰ pointed out that brocade was made in Cordova but Almeria outstripped it²⁰¹. People of the city made excellent brocade, unique in Al-Andalus territory. According to *Al-Maqqari*²⁰² and *Al-Idrisi*²⁰³, in Almeria during the time of the Almoravids, figured textiles with rondels were woven. Regarding this subject, there is a document; Al-Idrisi's writing is a source for weaving during Almoravid era that he mentioned about the existence of eight hundred silk (Tiraz) factories in which wonderful and precious kinds of crafts such as mantles, brocades, *Siklatun*²⁰⁴, *Isfahani*²⁰⁵, curtains ornamented with precious stones, cloth with patterns of circles, small mats, *Attabi*²⁰⁶, and various other kinds of silk cloths were produced. He mentioned that in the time of writing (1154 A.D.) Almeria was conquered by Christians who ruined the city, enslaved the people, the comeliness of the city disappeared, and the ships stopped coming from Alexandria and Syria.

²⁰⁰ [ياقوت الحموي] He was an Arab geographer and historian of 12th century.

²⁰¹ Serjeant, 1972, p. 7.

²⁰² [المقري] (1577-1632) was an Algerian scholar, biographer and historian.

²⁰³ [الادريسي] (1100-1165) was an Arab Muslim geographer, cartographer and Egyptologist who for some time lived in Palermo, Sicily at the court of King Roger II.

²⁰⁴ [سقلاطون] Silk fabric containing gold threads.

²⁰⁵ [اصفهانى] This word means "made in Isfahan" which indicate the presence of Iranian textiles in Spain in this epoch; but we do not have any information about the distinctive features of an Isfahani fabric as there was not any special system for appellation (Talebpour, 2007, p. 200).

²⁰⁶ [اعتابي، اتابي] heavy silk taffeta with a watered effect (Sims, 1987, p.20).

Almoravid textiles of the first half of 12th century share many characteristics and exhibit a special technique favoring five woven lines between two juxtaposed colors and accentuated outlines. This inclination two of stress lines rather than masses of color was developed with such precision and to such degree by Spanish weavers that the intricate and delicate products tends to resemble a painted miniature more than a textile.

Almost fifty samples of the textiles are available, of which the most representative ones are selected. They all share the technical features and decorative style of large rondels with ribbons of pearling. Some textiles bear horizontal band with Arabic inscriptions of typical Kufic ornamentation and certain letters terminating in vegetal elements. A sample is seen on the chasuble of San Juan de Ortega (fig. 2.45). Which reads, “Victory from God the emir of the Muslims, Ali, the work of...”, alluding to the Almoravid sovereign *Ali Ibn Yusef*²⁰⁷ (r.1106-1143), who died in 1163, the date when chasuble was produced²⁰⁸.

Medallions in this fabric is similar to Seljuk fabrics, which means each medallion is consisted of three parts; also, the placement of medallion is similar to Seljuk fabrics, indicating that either Iranian weavers had been in Spain or they had confronted Iranian fabrics. This composition of animals turned to each other had existed in Seljuk era in Iran, before being in Spain. Some samples are available (fig. 2.46).

²⁰⁷ علی ابن یوسف

²⁰⁸Partearroyo, 1992, p. 106; Talebpour, 2015, pp.49-51.

Another important piece is a textile fragment of the “lion strangler”, found in the tomb of San Bernardo Calvò in Vich (fig. 2.47) and named after the principal figure of the design. According to Partearroyo, this piece with a fragment of the shroud of San Pedro de Osma (fig. 2.48) may have been obtained as booty in 1238 in the capture of Valencia, in which San Bernardo fought accompanying James I the Conqueror (r.1231-1276)²⁰⁹. Woven into the smaller circles linking these roundels is an Arabic phrase meaning, “This was made in Baghdad, may God watch over it” (fig. 4). Based on this epigraphic evidence, scholars believed the fragment had been made in the Middle East; however, Florence E. Roovers’s detailed analysis of the inscription, which comprises a number of orthographic peculiarities, revealed that this textile claiming to be a “Baghdad silk” must actually have been woven in Al-Andalus²¹⁰.

According to Christian inventories, these textiles were known as *pallia rotate*, that is, panels with wheels or rondels, and *cum rotis mayoribus*, or with large wheels, to distinguish them from those with small-circle decoration²¹¹. Other sample is the fragment of worked silk and gold brocade (fig. 2.49)²¹².

It is embellished with rondels, not tangent, enclosing pairs of lions with turned heads; between them is a fine palmette executed in the manner of a tree of life. In the other piece remained of this era (fig. 2.50), the spaces between the rondels are filled with eight-pointed stars that in turn contain disks. So, it can be seen the presence of Islamic architectural patterns on the textiles design. Completing the decoration are stylized ataurique motifs distinguished by asymmetrical leaves. The pattern is pale red on ivory ground²¹³. In the history of Islamic fabrics, once Abbasid played the role of a chain ring and joined Iranian elements to Islamic concept and once again, Almoravid put these concepts together.

²⁰⁹Partearroyo, 1992, p. 107.

²¹⁰ Ibid, p.106.

²¹¹Partearroyo, 1992, p. 108.

²¹² Cf. Von Falke, 1913, Plate. 266.

²¹³ Partearroyo, 1992, p. 109.

2.7.2. Almohad period (1121-1269)

Ibn Khaldun reported that in early sixth century, the Almohad founded their empire. In the early period of their domination, they did not adopt this institution (Dar-al Tiraz), because they followed the ideal of piety and simplicity that they learned from the Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi ibn Tumart. Since they were not willing to wear silk or gold, the office of the inspector of the Tiraz was suspended in their court. However, in the latter part of this dynasty their descendants adopted something of this usage, but it did not have the same as it had in former times.²¹⁴

In addition, *Abu Yusef Yaqub al- Mansur*²¹⁵ (r. 1184-1199), issued an edict prohibiting luxurious silk garments and forbidding women to wear sumptuously embroidered gowns; at the same time, he ordered the sale of silk and gold cloths. These facts explain why there are so few samples of textiles from this period. In the textiles produced during Almohad kingdom, rondels containing pairs of confronted animals gradually disappear and circles decorated with interlace are substituted for them. Pattern is distributed on the basis of medium bands filled with reticulated lozenges, rosettes, stars, starred polygons, and other figures borrowed from caliphal marbles.

Ataurique decoration features pepper leaves and pods, as well as asymmetrical leaves or palms. Epigraphic ornamentation is in Kufic or cursive script. Few remained samples belong to a single workshop or school, of which the cap of Infant Fernando of Castile, is the most important case. (fig. 2.51).

²¹⁴Serjeant, 1972, p. 8., see also Partearroyo 1992, p. 106.

²¹⁵[ابو يوسف يعقوب المنصور] (1160-1199) he was the third Almohad Caliph.

The piece is made up of four types of eight-pointed stars worked between bands of double spirals bordered by interweaving ribbons of two strands and other band with long, simple Almohad-type leaves. Framing the cap is cursive Almohad inscription of gold and white on blue ground that Gómez Moreno translated as *In the Lord is our Solace*²¹⁶.

According to the information recorded from these two fabrics, gold threads were used in both of them and, as it was explained, both were in possession of the kings. The fact that thereafter we can observe in paintings, fabrics with gold threads are displayed for important figures.

Another sample is the fragment of the mantle of the King Ferdinando III (r.1217-1252). It was found in the king's tomb in the cathedral at Seville (fig. 2.52)²¹⁷. The fragment is composed of two textiles stitched together; both are tapestry weave. The upper is decorated with castles and lions disposed on a grid. The lower band is unique; it is decorated with Almohad ataurique based on spiraling stems from which spring double palms with asymmetrical and divergent lobes, often with truncate endings curling back upon themselves.

There is a fabric available from Seljuk era in which the same composition is used (fig. 2.53)²¹⁸. There are two shared features between these two fabrics: using golden thread, and using lion motif. This animal is a symbol of power and golden thread was special for certain figures. Therefore, it should be noted that this iconography was special for people at the helm of power.

²¹⁶ Gómez-Moreno, 1946.

²¹⁷ Partearroyo, 1992, p. 110.

²¹⁸ This fabric weaving technic called Mulham [مُلْحَم]: a fabric of tabby weave with fine silk warps almost completely covering coarser cotton wefts (Shepherd, Henning, 2002, 257) . The fragment remained from a dalmatic of St. Valero (The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1942.1077) has the repeat pattern and it could be inspired by a piece of Mulham with the same repeat pattern.

One of the samples that certainly proves how Spanish textiles in this period created a bridge between Sasanid and Islamic samples, is a fabric on which medallions and Islamic architecture elements appeared. It's an Almohad textile which is kept in the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan (fig. 2.54) and is a fragment of worked silk and gold²¹⁹. On a navy-blue ground circular medallions are formed by gold ribbons outlined with red. The medallions are filled with the same ribbons, creating curving interlace. Around the roundels are joined by smaller medallions containing eight-pointed stars.

One of the developments that happened in this period which is much influential on fabric history and also its manifestation in painting is the change of medallion shape. In this period, circular medallions are totally transformed into eight-pointed stars or Shamseh. Prior to this epoch, this star was placed near circular medallions and had been a part of its composition but from Almohad on, it played the role of medallion individually. Inside it, as per Sasanid traditions, an animal was placed or, as per Islamic traditions, two facing animals were displayed in a single medallion (fig. 2.55)²²⁰.

Pirenne spoke that the Arab conquest of North Africa and Spain altered old patterns of trade and caused western Europe to northwards rather than to Mediterranean²²¹. Though Spain was in contact with the eastern Mediterranean, in the most of western Europe trade was at low ebb in the later eighth century, and it was only gradually that trade between Arabs and European developed.

²¹⁹ Partearroyo, 1992, p. 112.

²²⁰ Brigitte Klesse named this motif as *Sternfliesenornament* (Klesse, 1967, pp. 83-49).

²²¹ Pirenne, Cohen, Focillon. 1935, pp. 189-192.

By about 800 most of the Mediterranean was dominated by Arab's fleets, though the Byzantine maintained themselves in the Adriatic and Aegean. They are heard of at Amalfi, which was often their ally, from the ninth century onwards, and at Pisa from the tenth. There is even some slight evidence for contacts of this kind of the eighth century²²².

²²² Montgomery Watt, 1994, p. 17.

2.8. The New discoveries (Analysis of four pieces in Moghadam Museum of Tehran)

As it was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, due to unification of Islamic art motifs in a very wide geographical area, identification of fabrics or Islamic objects in which date of creation is not mentioned is almost impossible. Four textile samples of Islamic era are available which are now kept in the collection of Moghaddam Museum in Tehran²²³. These samples so far unpublished, are not studied and are presented by the author for the first time. Regarding the similarity among these fabrics and the fabrics of Samanian and Buyids fabrics in the field of iconography, there is a possibility that the fabrics are woven in Iran or in other Islamic territories (Dar-Al Islam) by Iranian weavers; or a kind of imitation from them.

One of these fabrics (fig. 2.56) contain animal design and medallions encircling with Floral Kufic (Cf. part. 2.1.2., No. 3). The color of background is darker than the design and colors are various totality of pea color, the point which was observed in Buyids fabrics (Cf. figs. 2.28., 2.31., 2.32., 2.35). The medallion part of this fabric is similar to Seljuk era fabric at hand (fig. 2.42). Of course, the delicacy applied in displaying plant designs between alphabet is less in this fabric and it is mostly similar to one of the available fabrics of Samanian epoch (fig. 2.57).

²²³ A historical house in Tehran belonging to late *Qajar* dynasty (r. 1796-1925) which is changed to a private museum. *Mohsen Moghaddam* [محسن مقدم] (1900-1987) is the collector, the first Iranian who could win the *Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur* granted to him by *Charles de Gaulle*.

Most probably, there had been another bird facing the present bird and they were placed symmetrically around the tree of life, unfortunately, just this part is left. In this section, the point should be noted that there is only a single medallion on the fabric in Moghaddam Museum while in Seljuk fabrics there are multiplex medallions.

Regarding the lesser delicacy of the fabric and the lack of multiplex medallions in pre-Seljuk eras, it can be claimed that the fabric belongs to the 10th century. Meanwhile, the bird sitting mode and the form of its wing are similar to samples of Buyids fabrics.

By a comparison among them, it reveals that in the wing part of the bird a certain principle is observed. The wing is divided to two sections whose designs are separated by vertical lines. Generally, on the first section (near the neck), there are curved designs or writings; on the second section there are geometric designs (figs. 2.59). Another point to be noted is the display of the bird's beak, for which we have a similar sample at hand from Buyids era (fig. 2.34). There is a circle above the part that peak joined the face. Also, there is a plant design on the head of the birds, which is repeated in fabrics of Buyids epoch (fig. 2.60).

On another fabric kept in this treasure (fig. 2.61), the background is late and designs are darker. A single section medallion is used and it can be claimed with certainty that it belongs to pre-Seljuk era. The internal decorations are illegible and it seems that the weaver did not intend to convey a message or to insert a proper name. Similar to Buyids fabrics, visage is woven black without any details.

It is just understandable that the lines are displaying eye and nose. The event in this fabric is the division of empty space inside medallion into four sections and the main figure which is human-animal (sphinxes) here, is repeated four times around the tree of life. In this fabric again, medallions are not tangent to each other and there is a flower between them which is similar to figure 2.33 (fig. 2.63). Also, the dark blue color which is used on the sample of Moghaddam Museum is similar to this fabric. This color is used by Seljuk weavers in various textiles. Similar to this combination of human-animal can be observed in a fabric left from 10th-11th centuries (fig. 2.62).

The wing of displayed creatures in this fabric is similar to Buyid and Samanian fabrics (Cf. figs. 2.22., 2.27., 2.28., 2.43) which are displayed upward and interesting point in comparison among these fabrics is the existence of legendary creatures in all of them (fig. 2.65). Of course, the last fabrics belong to Seljuk era and this means the continuation of this traditional designing in Iranian fabric weaving history. In the same line of continuation of designing, it is necessary to mention about the tree of life displaying mode. The trunk is very thin and its tip is rather large. This combination is repeated in one of the fabrics of Buyids (fig. 2.66). Of course, this type of displaying existed in Transoxiana during 8th and 9th centuries and this point is again an important confirmation for continuing visual traditions (contracts) in fabric weaving in Islamic territories (Dar-Al Islam).

Also, in vertical part of the tree, similarity in Buyids fabrics can be observed. Of course, in the fabric available in Moghaddam Museum, the design is simpler and they are similar just in their form (fig. 2.67). As it was mentioned, the figures of this fabric are combination of human-animal. The head of the some of the characters are with crown, similar to human motifs displayed in Samanian, Buyids, and Seljuk but the difference is that the details are not displayed (fig. 2.68).

There is another piece of fabric in this treasure with a background of dark blue and brick designs (fig. 2.69). Animal designs, animal face and its body anatomy are woven with much delicacy. The color of background is similar to designs of previous fabric and one piece of textile we have seen (fig. 2.70, of course the said fabric was double-faced).

In this fabric (fig. 2.69), there is no medallion but similar to what is observed in Seljuk fabrics (Cf. figs, 2.35., 2.36) legendary animals are used. Animal anatomy is imaged correctly. The display of wings is similar to previous one and they turned upward. The method of placement of animals among a series of plant designs is also similar to inside medallion (fig. 2.71). The head of the animal turned backward, which can be observed in Islamic-Spain era (Cf. figs. 2.49., 2.50). Regarding all these interpretations, it can be concluded that outwardly, these fabrics should belong to the late Seljuk era.

The next fabric which is available in this collection maintains animal-geometric motifs (fig. 2.72). Its background color, similar to fabrics of early Islam and Buyids era, is soil color and also similar to some Tirazes that we have seen (e.g. fig. 2.26) and Spanish fabrics (e.g. figs. 2.45., 2.50) contains decorations in ocher color but the type of medallion is different. We cannot be sure that they are original medallion. Maybe this design by itself had been a design inside a circular medallion but it cannot be commented with certainty. The type of placement of animals – two animals in one frame- is similar to fabrics of early Islam (C.f. fig. 2.16). The decorations around animals which are inside two lines is repetition of circle in simple form whose root can be found in pre-Islamic fabrics (fig. 2.73).

The face of the bird is so simple and the birds' peaks turned down exaggeratedly; something which is quite observable in the fabrics of this era. The decorations on the birds' necks can be found on the fabrics of 10th century (Cf. fig. 2.35) that is the continuation of pre-Islamic traditions (fig. 2.74, Cf. fig. 2.3). Also, their wings are decorated similar to fabrics of early Islamic era: a combination of lines and geometric motifs. Regarding the long tail that the weaver considered for the birds; it seems that the intended birds should be peacock that the weaver displayed sideview. In case this probability came true, it should be mentioned that peacock in Islamic culture is as a paradise bird.

We have a piece fabric at hand (fig. 2.75) whose color composition is very similar to fabric in Moghaddam Museum (fig. 2.71) and its decorative designs are similar to fabric of the museum. This fabric is estimated to belongs to 11th-12th centuries and generally it seems simpler than the fabric in Moghaddam Museum. According to this fabric and the examined samples, it can be said that the decorations on the desired fabric (fig. 2.71) are more advanced than the 10th century but less than the second half of 11th century and then on. Probably it belongs to time interval of the late 10th and early 11th centuries.

CATALOGUE II



Figure 2.1: Samite with roundels of rosettes from Iran, 700s-800s, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1950.514.



Figure 2.2: Fragment of roundels with single bird, 700s, Iran (prob.), Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv.1982.277.



Figure 2.3: The Fragments of a Border (up), late 700s - early 800s, Iran (prob.), Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1950.522., and the presence of the ribbon in Khosrow Parviz's hat, Taq- e Bostan (det.), Kermanshah, Iran.

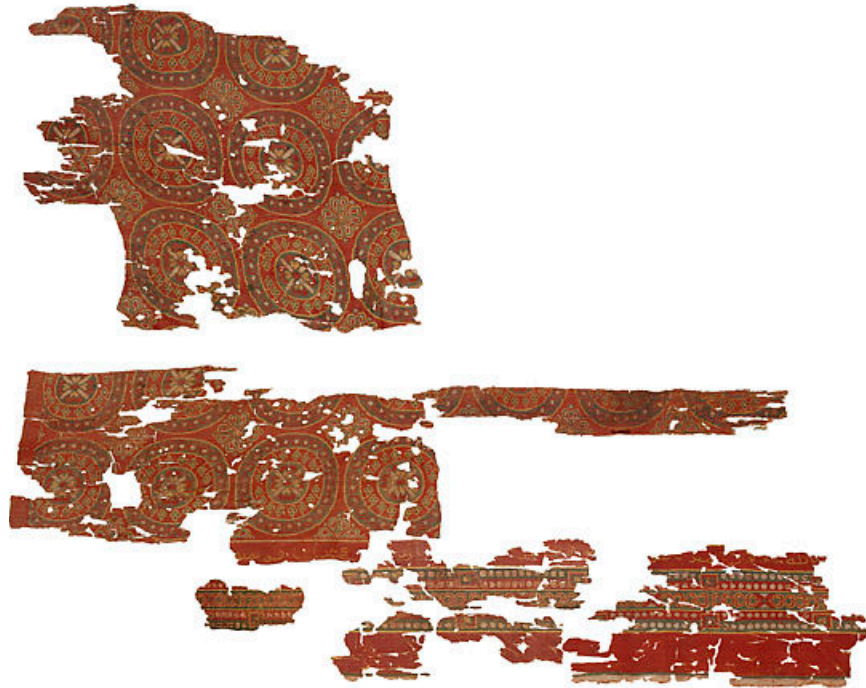


Figure 2.4: The tiraz of Marwan, 744-750, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Inv. T.13-1960., and the common motifs in Taq-e Bostan (det.).

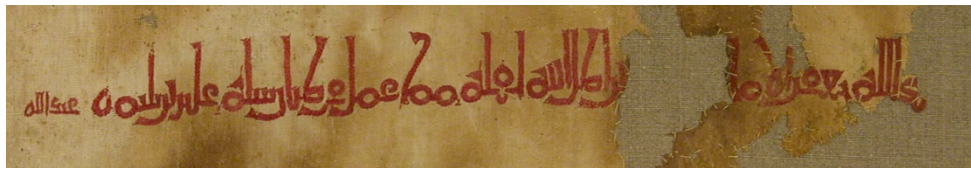


Figure 2.5: The example of the presence of Kufic calligraphy on textile. New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv. 31.106.55a

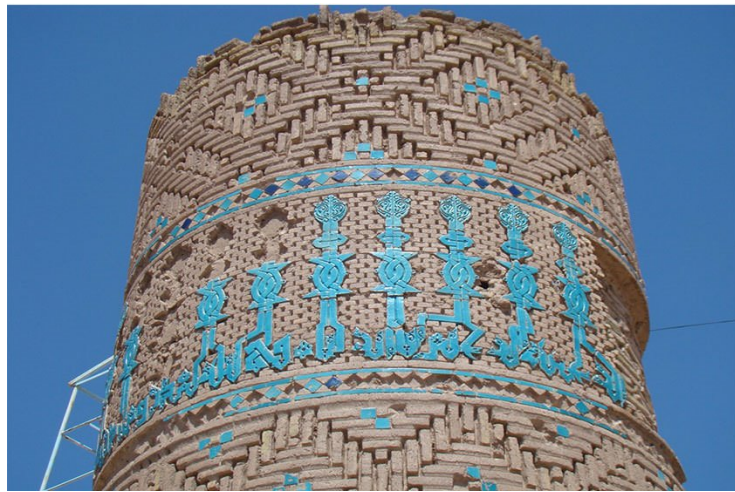


Figure 2.6: using of interwoven kufic in a mosque, Kerman, Iran.

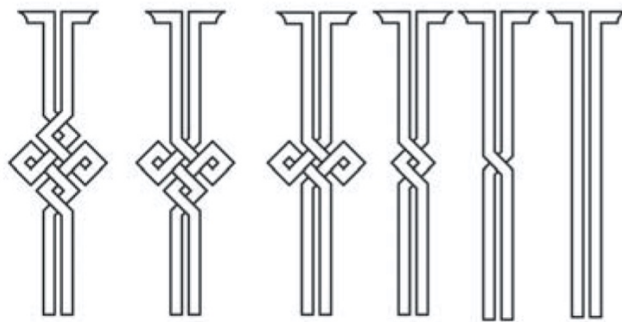


Figure 2.7: The various model on nudes in the foliate Kufic calligraphy.

Illustration: Makinejad, 2018.

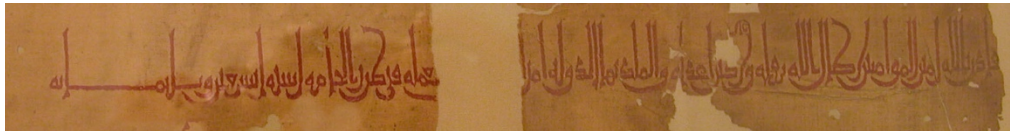


Figure 2.8: The example of the presence of scroll Kufic calligraphy on textile.

New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv. 31.106.58.



Figure 2.9: The example of the presence of scroll Kufic calligraphy on a Mihrab,

Yazd, Iran.



Figure 2.10: The presence of Square Kufic calligraphy, 1150, attributed to Iran (Yazd), New York, Metropolitan Museum, Inv. 33.118.



Figure 2.11: The oldest available mural painting of Iran, Tehran,

©National Museum of Iran. Inv. 3281.



Figure 2.12: The detail of the Ambassadors' Paintings, 7th century, Samarkand.

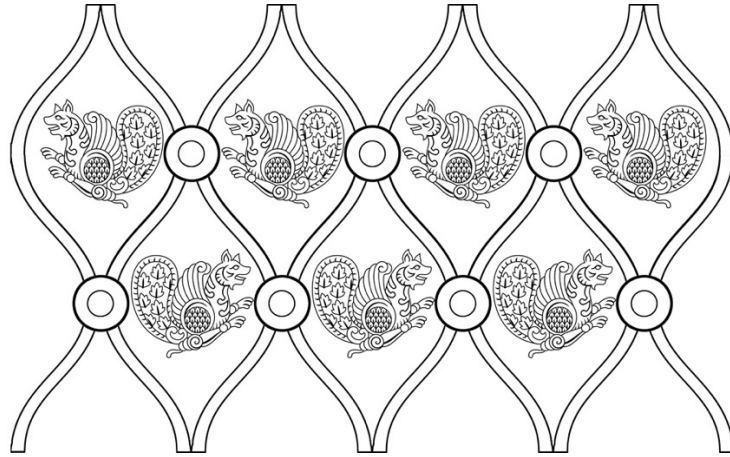


Figure 2.13: illustration of the textile design on the first person from right in the figure No. 2.12.



Figure 2.14: The ruins of Haji Piayada (*Noh-Gonbad*) mosque including the ogee pattern repeat, Balkh, Afghanistan.



Figure 2.15: Varkhuman (Sogdian King of Samarkand), mural painting from 6th-8th century, Samarkand.



Figure 2.16: The silk fragment, 8th-9th century, attributed to Iran or Iraq, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 41.119.



Figure 2.17: Fragment with Equestrian Falconer King, Iran or Iraq, 9th century, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1971.23.

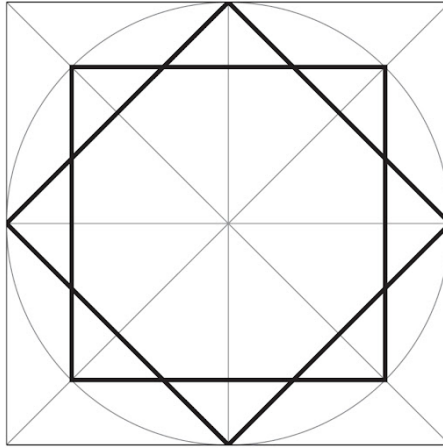


Figure 2.18: Surveying geometric proportions in Shamsah motif.



Figure 2.19: the ruins of Haji Piayada (Noh-Gonbad) mosque including the Shamsah pattern, Balkh, Afghanistan.

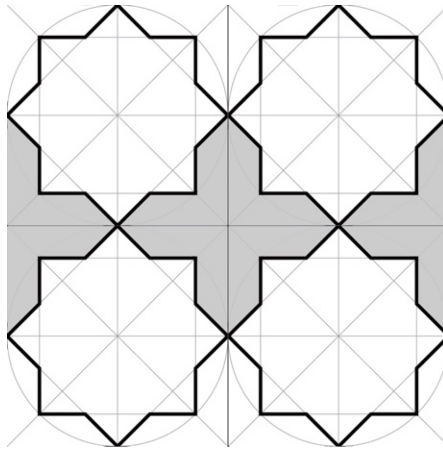


Figure 2.20: Surveying geometric proportions for formation of simple knot (known as four-petal knot).

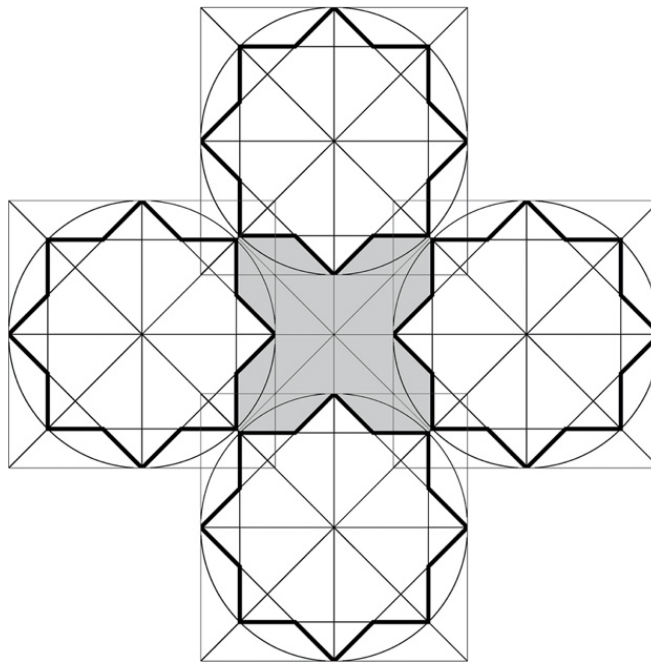


Figure 2.21: Surveying geometric proportions for formation of cross knot.



Figure 2.22: Textile with Senmurvs, 800 (?), Iran or Iraq, Abbasid period, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1971.22.



Figure 2.23: The silk fragment, Iran, Abbasid, early 10th century, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1982.24.



Figure 2.24: Recognizing the world Allah on the octagonal medallion on the textile fig. 2.23.

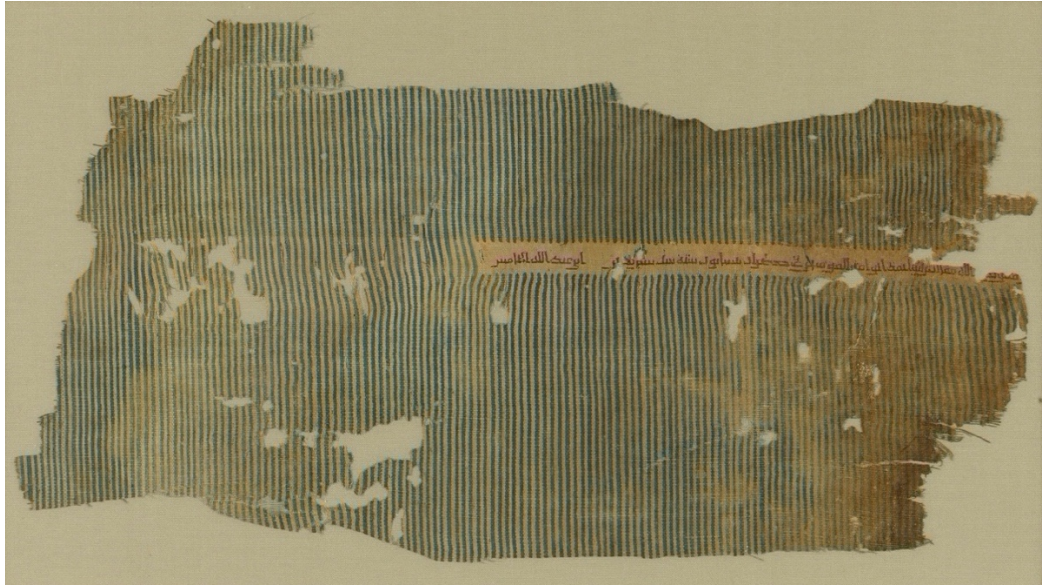


Figure 2.25: The silk fragment, 879-880 ca. attributed to Iran (Khorasan), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 31.106.27.



Figure 2.26: The silk fragment, 892-902, attributed to Khorasan, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 31.19.2.



Figure 2.27: The silk fragment from Buyid period, Cleveland,
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1968.224.



Figure 2.28: The silk fragment of Buyid dynasty, Tehran, ©National Museum of Iran, Inv. 22597.



Figure 2.29: The silk Fragment, Iran (att.), Buyid dynasty, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv.1968.233.



Figure 2.30: The silk Fragment, Iran (att.), Buyid period, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv.1970.300.1.



Figure 2.31: The silk Fragments, Iran, Buyid Period, Cleveland,
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv.1968.228.

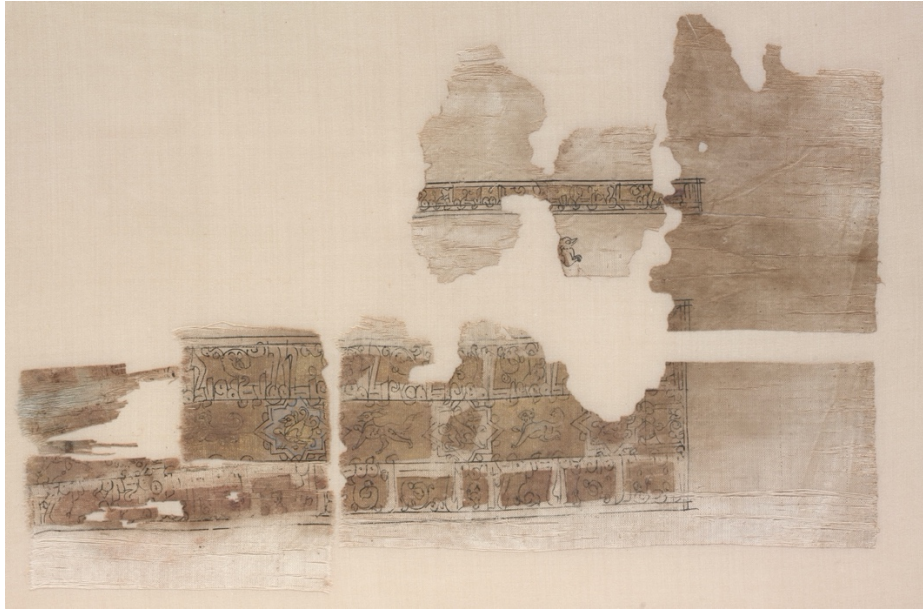


Figure 2.32: The Silk fragment with tripartite band, 1000s - 1100s. Iran or Iraq, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1950.551.



Figure 2.33: The silk fragment, Iran, Buyid period, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1968.235.



Figure 2.34: Silk fragment, Buyid period, Iran or Iraq, Cleveland,
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1961.34.

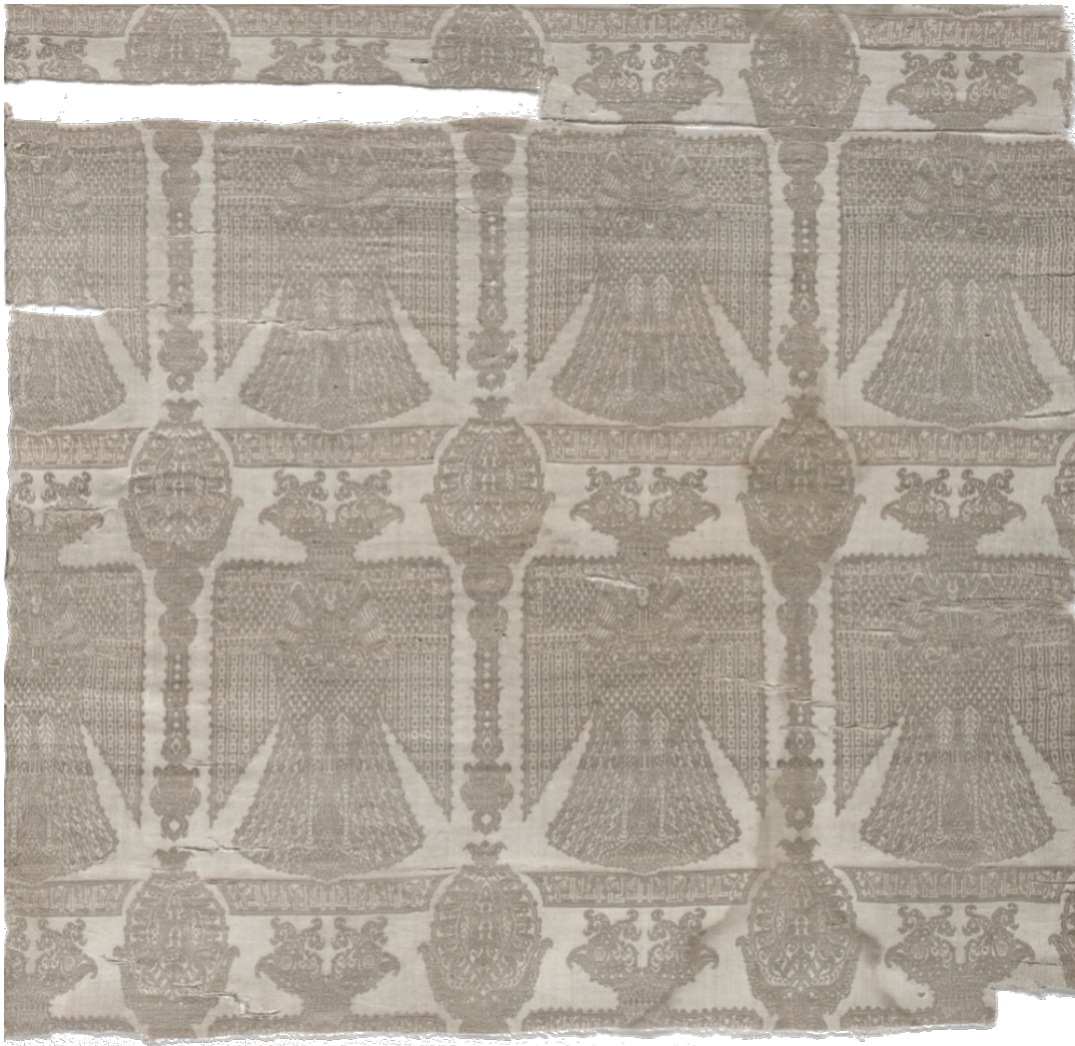


Figure 2.35: The silk fragment, Buyids period, Iran, Cleveland, Cleveland,
The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1953.434.

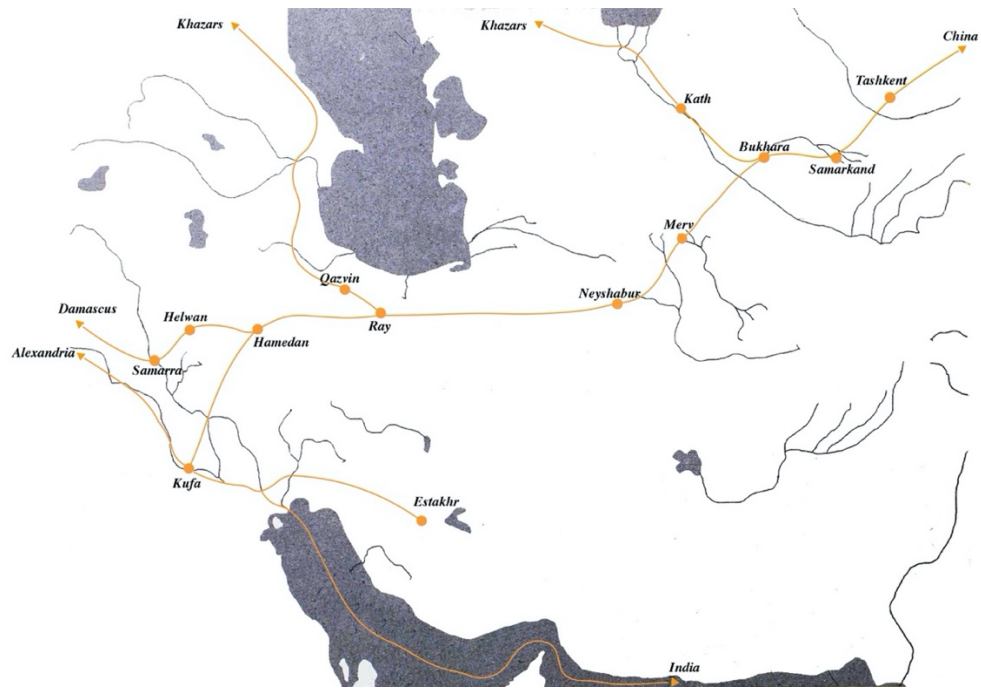


Figure 2.36: The major trade roads between China and the West passing Iran in 8th century.

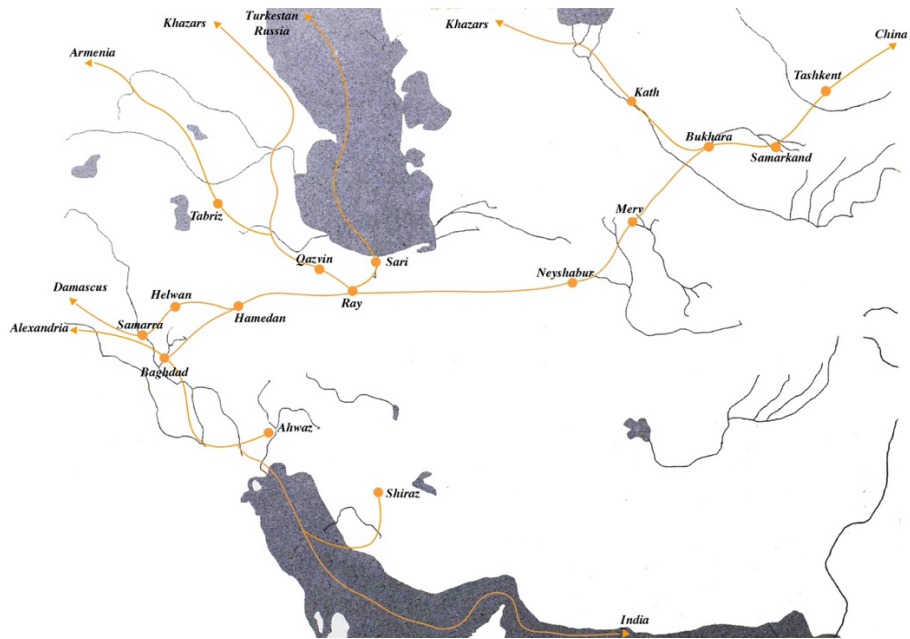


Figure 2.37: The major trade roads between China and the West passing Iran in 10th century.



Figure 2.39: The silk fragment, Iran, 11th century. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1962.264.



Figure 2.40: The silk fragment of a Caftan, Iran, 11-12th century, Kuwait, The Al-Sabah collection, Inv. LSN 1176T.



Figure 2.41: The silk fragment of a Caftan, Iran, 11-12th century, Kuwait, The Al-Sabah collection, Inv. LSN 1190T.



Figure 2.42: Silk fragment, 1000s-1100s. Iran, Ray, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv.1968.246.



Figure 2.43: The Silk Fragment with Griffins in Roundels, 1100s. Iran or Iraq, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv.1982.19.



Figure 2.44: The Silk fragment, 1000s-1100s, Iraq (prob. Baghdad), Seljuk period, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1952.257.



Figure 2.45: Chasuble of San Juan de Ortega, first half of 12th century, silk and gold thread, Parochial Church, Quintanaortuño, Burgos.



Figure 2.46: Silk fragment includes paired lions, 12th century, Iran (founded in Samangan presently located in Afghanistan), Kuwait, Al-Sabah Collection, Inv. LNS 1206 T.



Figure 2.47: The fragment of silk and gold thread, first half of 12th century, New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Inv. 18130461.



Figure 2.48: Fragment of Shroud of San Pedro de Osma, first half of 12th century, silk and gold thread, Boston, Museum of Fine Art. Inv.33.371.



Figure 2.49: Textile fragment, 12th century, silk and gold thread, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Inv. 58.85.1.



Figure 2.50: Textile Fragment, 13th century, New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art. Inv. 44.130.



Figure 2.51: Cap of Infant Fernando of Castile, 12th- 13th century, silk and gold thread, Burgos, Museo de Telas Medievales, Inv. 007/001 MH.



Figure 2.52: Fragment of mantle of King Ferdinand III, 13th century, raw silk and gold thread, Madrid, Armeria del Palacio Real, Inv. N9.



Figure 2.53: Fragment with gold leaf lions, 1000s - 1100s. Iran or Iraq, Seljuk period.
Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1950.558.



Figure 2.54: Textile fragment, 13th century, silk and gold thread, Madrid,
Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, Inv. 2093.



Figure 2.55: Silk fragment, 12th century, Spain, New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 46.156.3.



Figure 2.56: Textile Fragment includes bird and medallion, Tehran,
©Moghadam Museum, Inv. 2032.



Figure 2.57: Similarity among medallion in fabrics fig. 2.56 (center), and fig. 2.42
(left) and fig. 2.24 (right).



Figure 2.58: Studying the sitting mode of the bird in fabrics fig. 2.56 (center), and fig. 2.33 (left) and fig. 2.24 (right).



Figure 2.59: Studying the method of displaying bird wing in fabric fig. 2.56 (right), and fig. 2.35 (left).



Figure 2.60: Studying the method of displaying bird beak in fabrics fig. 2.56 (right),



Figure 2.61: Textile Fragment includes bird and medallion, Tehran,

©Moghadam Museum, Inv. 2048.



Figure 2.62: The silk fragment includes confronted sphinxes, 10th -11th century, Iran, Kuwait, Al-Sabah Collection, Inv. LSN 443 T.



Figure 2.63: Similarity between flowers displayed in empty spaces among medallions in figures 2.61 (left) and 2.33 (right).



Figure 2.64: The method of displaying the legs of legendary creatures or animal in figures 2.61 (center), 2.43 (left) and 2.34 (right).



Figure 2.65: Studying the type of displaying the wing of legendary creature in fabrics figures from left to right: 2.22., 2.27., 2.28., 2.43., and 2.61.



Figure 2.66: The similarity between the method of displaying tree trunk in fabric figs. 2.61 (left) and 2.34 (right).



Figure 2.67: The similarity between the method tree form between the fabric figures 2.61 (left) and 2.33 (right).

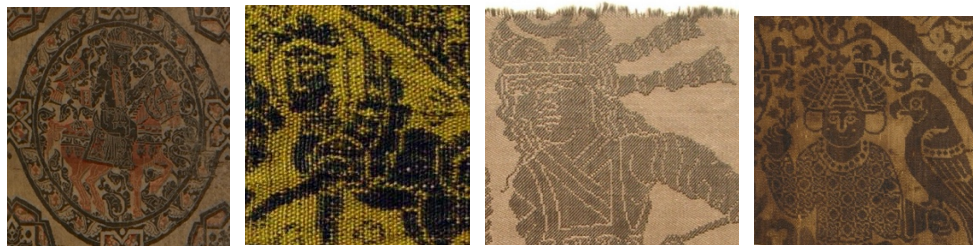


Figure 2.68: The comparison between displaying human head in fabrics figures from left to right: 2.17., 2.61., 2.30., and 2.37.



Figure 2.69: Textile Fragment includes bird and medallion, Tehran, ©Moghadam Museum, Inv. 3731.



Figure 2.70: Detail of back side of figure 2.33 (The silk fragment, Buyid period, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 1968.235).



Figure 2.71: The similarity between displaying method of animal among plant motifs in fabrics figures 2.69 (left) and 2.17 (right).

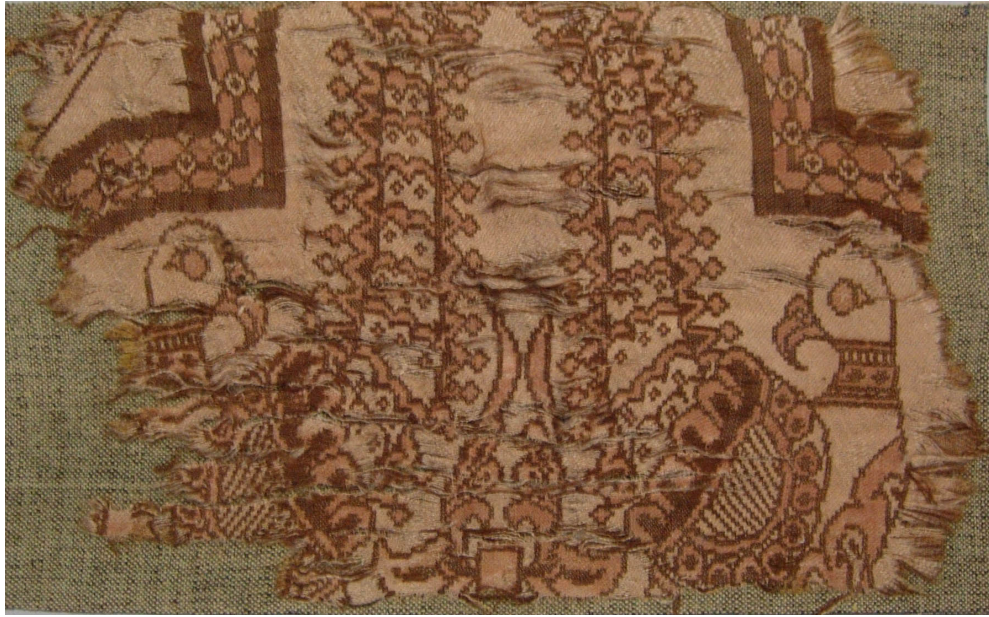


Figure 2.72: Textile Fragment includes bird and medallion(?), Tehran,

©Moghadam Museum, Inv. 3737.

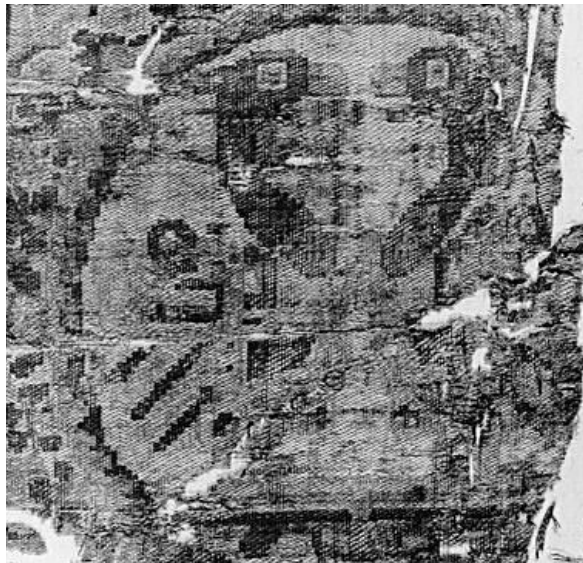


Figure 2.73. Detail of figure 2.16 (The silk fragment, 8th-9th century,
Iran or Iraq, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 41.119).



Figure 2.74: Surveying the similarity between displaying bird neck and beak in fabrics figures 2.71 (left), 2.35 (center).



Figure 2.75: The silk fragment includes standing bird, 11th -12th centuries, Iran, Kuwait, Al-Sabah Collection, Inv. LSN 96I T.

CHAPTER III: TEXTILE WEAVING IN ITALY FROM SICILY TO TUSCANY THROUGH ISLAMIC-ORIENTALISM APPROACH IN ICONOGRAPHY TAKEN BY SPAIN

In this section, Italian fabric weaving is discussed. Sicily and Lucca are two districts where fabric weaving should be studied. The common point between them is creation of a sort of cosmopolitanism. Sicily was under direct rule of Muslims, Byzantines, and Normans; on the other side, Lucca had several commercial routes to various sections and territories which brought a great compact on their fabric weaving. A noticeable and positive point in this section is the existence of several documents available (especially in Tuscany) which validate the research about fabric iconography. In Sicilian fabric weaving, the direct influence of Islamic iconography (especially Islamic – Spain) is quite observable, in such a way that even though, the place of production of many fabrics, presently kept in various museums, is not indicated, it can be identified with relative certainty that they are produced in Sicily. As we witnessed in Islamic fabric section, in some part, we may even step further back and inspect Sasanid iconography. It is not the case in Lucca. Both Sasanid and Islamic iconography arrived there through intermediary elements and in order to study them, it is necessary to research about each motif and its origin which are in conformity with Genette proposed hypothesis. Due to this, in this section, firstly the history of fabric weaving in these districts is discussed and the available documents are reviewed; then, after discussing about the methods of transference of fabric to Lucca, the iconography of some selected fabrics woven in Italy, with regard to Oriental iconography, are studied.

3.1. The first signs of weaving and textile production in Sicily

It is difficult to find a starting date for fabric production (weaving) in Europe, and especially in Italy. The places where weaving started are Spain, Sicily; and later central and southern Italy. For proving such claim, it is enough to mention the historical, economical, and political conditions of the said geographical points causing the creation of these products: they were all located in Mediterranean zone having relations with Byzantium and Arabs²²⁴: the producers of exceptional product in the Early Middle Ages. Before the Mongols, the four Crusades had already given the four Italian Maritime Republics opportunity to establish their own colonies in Eastern territories, from which to trade textiles and other luxury objects. In the course of that trade, the original meanings of patterns and inscriptions were often lost in translation, transmission, and in the re-interpretation of textiles that entered the trans-Mediterranean area between the North African and South Italian coasts. Those items, when first acquired and reproduced, aroused astonishment in Italian society, where they were described as strange (*strani*) and marvelous (*meravigliosi*)²²⁵. The Royal *Ṭirāz* Workshop established in Palermo sometime around the twelfth century represented a major step in the development of Italian textile production²²⁶.

The conditions that made this possible can be found in the political - especially about the Crusades- and social situations in the second Middle Ages, during which the presence of Italian colonies around the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea was strong enough to permit trade, transmission, and the reproduction of Asian models in the West²²⁷.

²²⁴ Devoti, 1974, p.11.

²²⁵ Gasparini, 2020, p.126.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²²⁷ *Ibidem*.

Already in a *crisobolla* dated to 992, Byzantium prohibited Venetian merchants from taking Amalfi or other southern Italian people on their ships from Constantinople (only Greeks were allowed), possibly because of the illegal trade in luxury Byzantine textiles that the Amalfitans conducted in southern Italy and in Rome²²⁸. Although Amalfi played no great role in the East, its trans-Mediterranean activity was crucial to the transmission of textiles and other goods. Trade entanglements between North Africa, South Italy, and the East in the eleventh century made possible the promulgation of the first and most important Italian maritime code, *Capitula et Ordinationes Curiae Maritimae Nobilis Civitatis Amalphe* (Texts and Rules of the Maritime Court of the Noble City of Amalfi), better known as *Tabula Amalfitana* (Amalfi's Rules), which remained in use until the sixteenth century.

While Massei, in his profound and exclusive studies, mentioned that weaving in Italy is in an aura of ambiguity²²⁹; Cantelli believed that the first fabric production centers were born in Sicily in the 9th century; and in Palermo, Messina, and Girgenti, wool producers existed²³⁰. Referring to *Al Maqdisi*²³¹, as the first witness who talked about fabric production in this island in 975, it is concluded that Cantelli is right²³².

²²⁸ Jacoby, 2011, pp. 98-128.

²²⁹ Massei, 1843. p.6; cited in Cantelli, 1996, p. 32.

²³⁰ Jacoby, 2018, p. 19.

²³¹ Al-Maqdisi (c.945/946-991) was a medieval Arab geographer.

²³² Santangelo, 1959, p.5; Talebpour, 2018, pp. 75-82., Valori-Piazza, 2017, Vol. I, pp. 45-47, Vol. II, pp. 151-159.

There is an important document available in which *Ibn-al Awwam*²³³ cited the cotton weaving in Sicily was performed by imitation from Spain either in method of weaving, or in iconography; or even in both of them²³⁴. Up to 1147, Sicily hold exclusively Islamic heritage in wool weaving. This issue is noticeable from the existence of Arabic names on fabrics. After Normans conquest in Sicily, still the weaving and iconography under the influence of Muslims continued and private workshops kept on using in order Islamic fabric production during that era. Because Aghlabid incursions on Sicilian territory (827-909) and the gradual establishment of Muslim rule over the island meant that the political history of Ifriqiya and Sicily followed parallel lines from the ninth to mid-eleventh century²³⁵. Due to the situation in that place, Globalism can be observed because foreigner's domination (Muslims, Byzantines, Normans) lasted shortly but influenced directly and lengthy on weaving art.

Creating the fabric is an art which insisted on preserving the traditions. Once after invasion of Arabs over Iran, it insisted on maintaining Sasanian tradition and transferring it to Europe (especially Spain and Sicily). And once again after invasion of Normans over Sicily insisted on maintaining Islamic traditions. The centers of Silk production, however were few, located on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and in Al-Andalus²³⁶. Looking at Italian textile items produced from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the thirteenth century, it is clear that the woven graphic elements followed foreign models. The re-elaboration of models coming from the East became indisputably the prototypes for other ornamental surfaces, such as in

²³³ He was a Muslim Arab agriculturist who flourished at Seville in southern Spain in the later 12th century. He wrote a lengthy handbook on agriculture entitled in Arabic *Kitāb al-Filāḥa* (English: Book on Agriculture), which is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject in medieval Arabic, and one of the most important medieval works on the subject in any language. It was published in Spanish and French translations in the 19th century.

²³⁴Santangelo, 1959, Milan, p.5.

²³⁵Dolezalek, 2013, p. 93., see also Metcalfe, 2009.

²³⁶Dolezalek, 2013, p. 94., see also Lombard, 1978, pp.88-89.

architecture. The presence of foreign motifs can be seen also in the painting during the time examined in this project.

Even though Byzantines were ruling over Sicily and southern Italy prior to Arabs and Romans, and in spite of their fame in silk production (their ability in production of qualitative silk products), it seems silk production was introduced to Sicily by Arabs²³⁷. In fact, whatever was transferred to Lucca was a combination of them all. There are not many samples remained from Islamic Sicily and there are not widely mentioned in church inventories, while textiles from Ifriqiya are frequently mentioned. We might deduce from this that Sicilian fabrics were not very prestigious, though there must have been exceptions. Sicilian production of costly silks and gold-woven textiles is attested from the 10th century²³⁸.

The two samples must be considered (figs. 3.1, 3.2): the mantel of Roger II of Sicily (r. 1130-1154)²³⁹ and a piece obtained from the tomb of Henry VI (r. 1191-1197). On the margin part, it is written: “Here is what was created in the princely treasury, filled with luck, illustration, majesty, perfection, longanimity, superiority, welcome, prosperity, liberality, shine, pride, beauty, the achievement of desires and hopes, the pleasure of days and nights, without cease or change, with glory, devotion, preservation, protection, chance, salvation, victory and capability, in the capital of Sicily, in the year 528 H. (1133-1134)”²⁴⁰.

²³⁷Dolezalek, 2013, p. 95.

²³⁸Jacoby, 2004, pp. 197-240.

²³⁹This mantel is a Tiraz and probably it is made by weavers in the occasion of the coronation of Ruger II, when “palatium quoque regium undique interius circa parietem palliatum glorifice totum rutilabat” and no one moved there “servitor nullus, nisi quem sericam teget vestis” (Santangelo, 1959, p.6). See also Jacoby, 2018, p. 20.

²⁴⁰ Jacoby, 2018, p. 21. This mantle was probably embroidered by Arab craftsmen, because some of Norman textile workshop mentioned among the Ifriqiyan treasuries and they have Arabic name. *Diarhodon*: a rose- colored textile, or *mudabbaj*: silk brocades interwoven with gold and silver-threads. It means they had had this type of production and probably they made this mantle.

Even though there are differences in the colors of the fabric with the samples which we have ever seen, the design of the background maintains one color which is left simple and all the decorations are in motifs. Anyway, in displaying the animals in this mantle, a sharp and sudden variation appeared. Even with all these, there are shared similarities in fabrics left from that era in Sicily which rooted in Oriental art: birds facing each other and pre-Islamic medallion along with Islamic plants or Arabic calligraphy (pseudo-calligraphy).

In the fabric found in the tomb of Henry VI, the facing animals are displayed in physically acceptable sizes and they looked real. Imaginary animals are not used. Whereas, in another fabric sample left from this period (fig. 3.3), two types of animals are seen: birds which are apparently inspired from real world, and dragons which are imaginary creatures. This means that the weavers were familiar with various iconography.

Sicilian weavers did the same thing that Abbasid did in Iran. They caused Iranian principles of fabric weaving to be transferred to other territories. Sicilians caused the then principles of fabric weaving (which was under the influence of Islam) transferred to other places.

In the fabrics at hand, which are attributed to Sicily, the direct influence and closeness of Islamic- Spanish iconography (Almohad period) is quite observable (fig. 3.4). The design of this fabric is completely similar to figure 2.55 and originated from Islamic architecture. There are several cases of fabrics remained from Sicily on which the direct influence of Islamic Spain fabric iconography is observable. Al-Idrisi writes of Tiraz factories in Gebe “in which beautiful silk was made”²⁴¹.

²⁴¹ Serjeant, 1972, pp. 181-182.

This important point should be mentioned that Roger II of Sicily extended his rule to Africa and gained territories comprised strategic commercial ports on the Ifriqiyian coast, and Norman authority exerted through the intermediary of local rulers, lasted until the Almohad invasion in the late 1150s., so, for the centuries they were linked through, they continued trade and culture²⁴².

Next geographical point in Italy that should be studied and forms the linking point of various sections of the present thesis is Tuscany province (focusing on Lucca). By analyzing the iconography in fabrics of this city, the presence of Islamic together with pre-Islamic iconography can be observed: the same Intertextuality theory. The reason is that the presence of Islamic and pre-Islamic iconography in some cases is explicit and intentional, and in some other cases more analysis is needed to attain the roots of motifs formation.

²⁴² Dolezalek, 2013, p. 94.

3.2. Textile production in Italy with the Orientalism approaches: from Sicily to Lucca

Textile art in Tuscany has ancient roots and it is more than a millennium that it formed a significant economic and cultural source for the zone and the whole country. This state is certainly a turning point in textile art. In the mid-thirteenth century, in Prato, Pisa, Pistoia, Lucca, Florence, and especially Siena, weaving wool was considered the most important commercial activity. Even though Florence and Lucca could produce wool, they were assigned for high prestige products, which are now considered as the most beautiful products in Europe²⁴³. Silk weaving turned to an industry in Italy because this luxurious item was imported by merchants who were present in permanent commercial exchanges in Levant and Byzantium²⁴⁴.

One of the most important factors in this new trade between East and West was the establishment of *fondaci*, a type of developed caravanserai in each colony where merchants could rest and store their goods²⁴⁵. Pisa established one of the first *fondaci* in Egypt, but Venice had the longest-lasting one, in Alexandria, which housed twelve elected merchants, eight administrators, one consul, and one translator²⁴⁶.

²⁴³Boccherini, Marabelli, 1995, p.3.

²⁴⁴ Innocenti, Zupo, 2010, p. 12. About the commercial connection between Italy and Levante, there is one document actually in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Inv. Ricc.2261 c. 26v.

²⁴⁵ Lopez, 1938, pp. 93–94.

²⁴⁶ Gasparini, 2020, p. 130; see Mack, 2001, pp. 20-21.

The later *Fondaco dei Turchi* (Fondaco of Turks), built in the fourteenth century and first used as a guesthouse for dignitaries, by the seventeenth century became a storehouse for Turkish goods. It still stands in Venice today. According to *Marco Polo* -who was of Venetian origin and who had an enormous impact on the history of Eurasian relationships- in 1274 a fondaco established a mile outside the capital was assigned to distinct groups of foreign merchants according to their place of origin²⁴⁷.

Regarding that fabric weaving transferred through Sicily to Tuscany, the influence of Islamic fabric weaving is observable in the fabric woven in this province (especially Lucca). Only between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth (when, coincidentally, a few Italian merchants reached central China), did Lucca begin to produce the so-called Tartar patterns, which were reinterpreted as purely decorative or exotic motifs. These began to appear not only on textile grounds but also in paintings and as architectural elements²⁴⁸.

The fabric weaving, maintaining the principles of Italian various clans, started in Sicily and continued in Lucca; with a deep difference: Muslims never ruled over Tuscany but the iconography of their art in the field of fabric weaving is researchable in two ways; fabrics imported to and fabrics woven in this state. The latter is more complicated to survey.

By studying the fabrics produced in Lucca during the epoch under study in this research, it can be observed that this city maintained the highest degree of cultural diversity in fabric production. This cultural pluralism is much appreciable in Lucca. If in Sicily, the insistence on keeping the principles transferred from the rulers to weavers, Lucchese weavers stayed committed to the principles which were not directly in relation to anything or anybody.

²⁴⁷Gasparini, 2020, p. 128.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p.126.

3.2.1. Lucca: the cosmopolitan point of weaving between 11th -14th centuries

The origins of production in Tuscany are in Lucca, a city situated in the length of *Via Francigena*, which was the premium passage of merchants and pilgrims in the Middle Ages. In this city, silk was known- both as a raw material and final product- even before 14th and 15th centuries. One of the oldest documents we have in regard to fabric weaving in Tuscany is the following poem from *Folgóre da San Gimignano*²⁴⁹:

*“came’r e letta d’ogni bello arnese
Lenzuol’ di seta e coperto di vaio”*²⁵⁰.

Lucca was one of the largest commercial centers in Europe and most probably the most active. Thanks to the industrial power and, more important to that, banking power of Henry IV (r.1050-1106) and Henry V (r.1106-1125), it could expand its contacts with most European territories and Islamic Mediterranean zones. When silk trade started in Lucca, the luck of merchants was in the beauty and high quality of the fabrics; not for the secret of silk²⁵¹.

It is not possible to indicate a definite date when fabric weaving started in Lucca but in a German romantic poem *Ruodlieb* composed in 11th century by unknown poet, the existence of silk ribbons is mentioned in this city²⁵². The poet is unknown and it is probably composed between 1050 to 1070. When the hero came back home after a long journey, great celebrations were held in his honor and he had worn silk stockings woven in Lucca²⁵³:

²⁴⁹ *Folgóre da San Gimignano* pseudonym of Giacomo di Michele or Jacopo di Michele (c. 1270 – c. 1332) was an Italian poet.

²⁵⁰Contini, 1960, Vol. 2, p.40; see also Molà, Mueller, Zanier, 2000, p. 251.

²⁵¹Bussagli, 1986, p.94

²⁵²Jacoby, 1997, p .71. Rosati, 2017, p.20.

²⁵³ Del Punta, 2011, p.15.

“Ille ligaminibus de Lukka crura coemptis”

The oldest document which is available about sericulture (silkworm breeding) is related to 15th of May 1223²⁵⁴. Certainly, in that time, the aim of breeding was not industrial. The most brilliant era of fabric productions in Lucca dated back to 12th and 13th centuries (at that time, people from Lucca possessed warehouses in Acre, Syria)²⁵⁵. The name of fabrics produced in Lucca presented in old warehouses were *Sendati*, *Zendati*, *Cindati*, *Diasperi*, *Sciamiti*²⁵⁶. In *Tintori* statute (1225) it was written: *Zendado*²⁵⁷ and *Cendatum* were among the medium level fabrics in Lucca in the early 14th century, a simple fabric with plain weave whose quality depended on the quality of thread²⁵⁸.

About this type of textiles, we have another document, *Notker Balbulus*²⁵⁹ in *Gesta Karolini Magni* reports that while hunting in Friuli Charlemagne disapproved of his companions dressed as on festive days in precious silk garments acquired at Pavia.

²⁵⁴ Cited in Maria Massagli, *Origini della Sericoltura*. In “Arte della Seta a Lucca. La Storia, i Mercanti”, online version accessible on this address:

<http://www.luccavirtuale.it/rubriche/sete/index.htm>.

²⁵⁵ Cantelli, 1996, p.34; Georgopoulo, 2004, pp.115-128; Weiss and Mahoney (edited by), 2004, pp.97-137.

²⁵⁶ Historic term for silks and half-silks woven in weft- faced compound twill, derived from the Byzantine Greek.

²⁵⁷ See part 3.2.2.

²⁵⁸ Innocenti, Zupo, 2010, p. 20.

²⁵⁹ Nokter Balbulus (c.840-912) was a Benedictine monk at the Abbey of Saint Gall.

His successor Louis the Pious (r. 814-840) granted many silks to the dignitaries of his court, churches and monasteries, among them pieces of sendal, a lightweight silk cloth in toby weave²⁶⁰. The continuity of this trade is attested by Abbot Odo of Cluny in his *Vita*²⁶¹ of St. Gerald of Aurillac presumably composed between 936 and 942²⁶².

Hundreds of Zendadi fabrics in which golden and silver threads were used and were usually without any design transferred from Lucca to Champagne. As we saw, the origin of such fabric production was in Sicily and were created under the influence of Islamic governments. Genoese and French archives maintain documents from the first decade of the 13th century in which the existence of such fabrics is recorded²⁶³.

Devoti talked about the first production in Lucca. In her opinion, the production of silk in Lucca was simultaneous with the immigration wave in 10th century from Amalfi, Gaeta, and Salerno; and due to that Jews expert in dyeing and weaving silk came to Lucca. Her opinion is without any special documents²⁶⁴. Massei also talked about production in Lucchese factory in which he mentioned that king Roger II in 1148 (the second Crusade) fought with Greeks and conquered many cities²⁶⁵.

²⁶⁰ Innocenti, Zupo, 2010, p. 25.

²⁶¹ Ibid, 2010, p. 26.

²⁶² Litprand of Cremona, who visited Constantinople in 949-950 and again in 968, is more specific about the export of high-grade silk to Italy by Venetian and Amalfitan merchants. Also, in 1067 Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino bought at Amalfi various Byzantine Silks, among them *exameta* and a *tunica diaspitin*, the latter made of “diasper” cloth (Jacoby, 1997, p .71).

²⁶³ Digilio, 2014, p. 295.

²⁶⁴ Devoti, 1974, p.14.

²⁶⁵ Massei, 1843. p.7.

He moved many silk weavers to Palermo. Some of them, later, transferred to Calabria and then to Lucca and in a short while, this new industry started in Lucca; in this respect, the start of weaving in Lucca is about 1148²⁶⁶. As per documents, we know the merchants from Lucca were in Mediterranean territories and European courts. Another kind of textile which Lucca was able to produce from the beginning of 1200, was the samite²⁶⁷. Henry III (r. 1216-1272) bought a Samite and six fabrics with golden margin from Ranieri di Lucca in 1245; these fabrics were usually multicolor²⁶⁸.

In one of the samite fragments attained from the reliquary box of Santa Elisabetta located in the church of Marburg (fig. 3.5), Sasanian medallions are displayed and the principle of symmetry is observed. Also, animals are legendary; this is the same thing that we saw in Pre-Islamic textiles. But the colors are totally changed and sharp colors are used which had not been seen up to that date²⁶⁹.

Another samite fabric of Lucca (fig. 3.6) is attained in which we are faced with pre-Islamic principle of textile weaving. In the inventory of the cathedrals in Lucca in 1286, the design of ad rotellas is mentioned which is certainly the same medallion²⁷⁰. Therefore, the immigration of silk weavers from Palermo to Tuscany was first reason for transference of fabric from Sicily to Lucca. Certainly, the iconography of these braids and its composition effected on fabrics produced in Lucca. On the other side, in 1197., Henry VI (r.1169-1197) was obligated to make a present of a piece of brocade to Florence, but he died the same year and only a piece of his clothing was left (fig. 3.2).

²⁶⁶ Massei, 1843. p.7.

²⁶⁷ Samite was a luxurious and weft-faced compound twill.

²⁶⁸ Digilio, 2014, pp. 296-297.

²⁶⁹ Digilio, 2014, p. 307. Von Falke, 1913, plates, 261-262.

²⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 307., Von Falke, 1913, plate. 268.

This is the last sample by which we may talk about textile production in Opificio Regio of Palermo with certainty²⁷¹. Generally, the policy of this king approximated Pisa and Lucca to Islamic countries, especially to Barcelona and the Near East, and most of all to Egypt²⁷². Naturally, these weavers had very limited familiarity with teachings of Christianity and due to that, even when Christian iconography is used, Islamic art roots can be observed in their braids.

Another very important reason was the growth of Silk industry in Byzantium Empire territories. Not only in the capital where the production was almost monopolized to satisfy the demand of the court for silk, its production was concentrated in the western provinces. As an example, Thebes, Patras and Corinth got to high levels of various fabric production during 12th century²⁷³. *Ottone da Frisigna*²⁷⁴ in *Gesta Friderici Imperatoris* remembered that in 1146 - the end of war with Greece, Temple peace with Byzantium Emperors- men and women, skillful in silk weaving, who were captured in Tebe and Corinto, exiled to Sicily²⁷⁵.

Aside from Genoese who were in relation with Thebes from 1171, Roger II had transferred weavers, expert in fabric production, to Thebes, Corinth and Sicily²⁷⁶. A large part of the raw materials arrived into Lucca from Genoa. The presence of marketers and merchants in Genoa was due to silk trade which was done in two forms: as an item for exchange and as an item for using in rich and important figures clothing²⁷⁷. *Sergio Tognetti* wrote that silk from *Lahijan*, *Astarabad* and other territories of Caspian Sea and Iran arrived into Genoa by ship²⁷⁸.

²⁷¹Santangelo, 1959, p. 10.

²⁷²Ibid, p.13.

²⁷³Geijer. 1979, p. 140.

²⁷⁴Ottone da Frisigna (c.1114-1158) was a German churchman and chronicler.

²⁷⁵Santangelo, 1959, p.5.

²⁷⁶Del Punta, 2010, p.42.

²⁷⁷Jacoby, 2000, p. 256.

²⁷⁸Tognetti, 2001, pp. 423-479.

In 1263 a Venetian merchant in *Tabriz*, in north-west Iran, *Pietro Vigioli*, with the help of two Pisani, dictated his last will (now in Venice), which is the earliest original written evidence of the presence of Italian merchants along the Silk Road²⁷⁹. A treatise on the silk craft in Florence, written around 1450, gives an insightful account of the numerous kinds of silk, most of them imported from the Islamic world, and their specific functions²⁸⁰. It makes us sure that this trade between Tuscany and Oriental countries had been continuing during the 15th century. Whereas *seta spagnola* and *ciattica* from the Iberian Peninsula, *seta modigliana* from Romania, and the Persian *stravai* were suitable for making both warp and weft threads, the Persian *leggi*, *leggibenti*, *catangi*, and *talani* were used only for weft threads, *calabrese* specifically for velvet, and *siciliana* for heavy satins.

We know that in March 1191, a load of 168 pound of raw silk arrived in Genoa from these regions for the first time²⁸¹. A silk which was called *Ghella* or *Chella* was imported from *Guilan*. The place where Marco Polo cited in the 13th century and wrote that some Genoese were busy in commercial exchanges in this province. According to his report, the Genoese seem to have been among the most consistently active traders in Eurasia from the end of the eleventh century until the end of the fifteenth century. He also talked about other silks: *Colusmia* silk which was produced in *Chalous*²⁸², *Colzani* silk which was produced in *Khorasan*. Therefore, it can be thought that Iranian silk got to Lucca by Genoese merchants²⁸³.

²⁷⁹ Molà, 2012, p. 258.

²⁸⁰ Gargioli, 1995.

²⁸¹ Tognetti, 2001, p. 434.

²⁸² It is a city in north of Iran.

²⁸³ Cfr. ASLu, Notai, n. 29, I, f.9 cited in Jacoby, 1997, p. 71.

In addition to Persian silks, we find instances of silk apparently imported to Genoa from Spain between 1161 to 1163. So, the imported silks from Genoa to Lucca could have the Spanish root. Undoubtedly, Lucca had been in commercial contact with Spain. All through 13th century, they imported kermes from Spain, which was used for dyeing the textiles red²⁸⁴. As it was mentioned, crimson color fabrics (coloring by kermes) were the production of Arabs.

Probably, these materials existed in Spain and then transferred to Lucca. Another important reason we have about fabrics produced in Lucca in this era, is the research performed by *Molinier* in Vatican inventory in 1295. He talked about special fabrics in this list²⁸⁵:

- *Panni Tartarici*: similar to Iranian and Chinese fabrics.
- *Panni di Romania*: fabrics found in Byzantium Empire regions which were described by contemporaries.
- *Panni Lucani*: fabrics produced in Lucca with griffon, lion, bird, and other animals designs on them²⁸⁶.

Panni Tartarici are mentioned in various documents. According to the *Libro dei benefattori* (Book of Benefactors), during the period of the papacy in Avignon, France (1309–1377), the papal treasure was enriched only by luxurious textiles that were offered as gifts²⁸⁷. Around 1367, before the reestablishment of the papacy in Rome, a new inventory was drawn up of the gifts received between 1294 and 1303. At this point, Tartar textiles began to be listed, especially those patterned with roundels and animals. It reads, for instance:

²⁸⁴ Digilio, 2014, p. 302.

²⁸⁵ Molinier, 1885, pp.16-44

²⁸⁶ Geijer, 1979, p. 143.

²⁸⁷ Gasparini, 2020, p. 139; see also In *Archivio del Capitolo di S. Pietro. Libro dei benefattori* [Archive of the Chapter in St. Peter: Book of Benefactors], 1337. Also reported in Müntz and Frothingham, 2010, p. 5.

“Item, two pluvialia (capas) of diasper and Tartar cloth (panno tartarico) (Folio 144-v^o) . . . Item, a planeta of white Tartar cloth lined with red muslin, fully decorated with refined small work in gold with undecorated orifices, with roundels of polychrome silk on the verso and the recto, and a cross on the breast. . . .54 Item, a small tunic and a dalmatic of Tartar cloth worked with refined small gold patterns, and the hem down to the feet [made] of red cloth [patterned] with lions and golden grape leaves. On the sleeves the hem is decorated with a golden cloth patterned with griffins, parrots, peacocks, and eagles included in roundels of grape leaves in polychrome silk (Folio 50-v^o)”²⁸⁸.

Some fragments with the patterns described above are held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, including a set of three fragments with only leaves (or tiny birds) and another with leaves surrounding small animals, all dated between 1300 and 1350 (fig. 3.7). The fragments might be identified as the *camucha/i* described in *Lo Statuto della Corte dei Mercanti in Lucca del 1376* (The Regulation of Merchants in Lucca of 1376)²⁸⁹. The Statuto describes different types of *camuchi*:

“*camucha di du fila in dente in una seta* (camucha of two threads per dent [of a reed] in one silk), *camucha di una et di du sete* (camucha of one or two silk colors), *e camuca acolorati* (polychrome camucha). These were generally sold at the same price as the *baudekins*, *diaspers*, and *gold cloths*; they are woven with small patterns, often foliage, or small animals and birds”²⁹⁰.

²⁸⁸ Quoted from Gasparini, 2020, p. 139.

²⁸⁹ Gasparini, 2020, p. 140.

²⁹⁰ Dorini, Mancini, Lazzereschi, 1927.

The style of these textiles closely recalls a type of lampas with satin ground and a brocading golden weft produced in Iran in the same period. It is possible that the Italian type was an economical version based on the original luxurious eastern one listed as Tartar (rather than camucha or other names) that was generally brocaded and thus heavier in weight.

About the last one (Panni Lucani), it should be mentioned that during the Middle Ages, the trade of weavings between East and West was mostly limited to Central Asia as the farthest Eurasian contact zone. West Asia continued to function as a filter between East and West in the transmission of products and images often created for Buddhist or Islamic environments. Those images were copied or decoded and recoded in a new Christian imagery that finally reached the Mediterranean Basin, where they were further recontextualized in a mix with ancient Hellenistic and Romanic elements. Those Asian textiles that reached Europe's noble and ecclesiastic courts carried unknown foreign patterns or scripts in gold that were seen simply as decorative yet generated astonishment and curiosity about Eastern lands. They were used for lavish clothing and also as prototypes for local production, which might incorporate local materials to create new surfaces, such as the mezzasetta (half silk) made in cotton/linen and silk, which became one of the most popular Italian textiles during the Middle Ages.

There is no doubt that the origin of the Italian weaving industry is firmly linked to the Italian colonies established in West Asia and North Africa during the Crusades. If few examples have survived from the earliest Italian production site, namely, the Royal ʿIṣṣān Workshops of Palermo, great quantities can be found of later types produced in Lucca (and in Venice), which are sometimes found or combined with those of foreign provenance. Among these are textiles used in papal clothing, which today are stored in cathedrals and museums or described in ecclesiastic documents as panni lucani. Although the inventory lists a variety of textiles, there is no doubt that the combination of red (Tartar) cloth

and gold decoration was one of the favorites for sacred and imperial vestments²⁹¹.

One positive point is that we have the name of Oriental textiles which arrived in Lucca based on their designs; *ad listas*: vertical and horizontal lines with various thickness; *ad rotas*: includes circle tiles, *ad pineas*: teardrop motifs and double-pointed medallions and *de opere minute*: a textile full of interweaving of tiny patterns²⁹². As it is understood through definitions, the first type is probably a Tiraz, the second one are fabrics bearing medallions which can be either pre-Islamic or Islamic, the third types are fabric with ogee repeat pattern which are again Islamic, and the last types are the ones we have dealt with majorly during Islamic era, fabrics which were decorated with various patterns (generally plant motifs)²⁹³. One of the historical documents in relation to value of these fabrics in Tuscany is certainly the poems of Dante. He wrote in *Inferno*:

*“due branche avea pilose insin l’ascelle;
lo dosso e ’l petto e ambedue le coste
dipinti avea di nodi e di rotelle.
Con più color, sommesse e sovraposte
non fer mai drappi Tartari né Turchi,
né fuor tai tele per Aragne imposte”*²⁹⁴.

²⁹¹Gasparini, 2020, 131-132.

²⁹²Del Punta, Rosati, 2017, p. 31.

²⁹³See part. 2.3 of this chapter.

²⁹⁴Dante, 1867, XVII, 12-18.

The poet clearly refers to a fine colorful textile production made by Tartar²⁹⁵ or Turk people that also included the use of embroidery. The comparison here with the monster's skin underlines not only the high quality of the textile structures known in the late Middle Ages, but also distinguishes between West and East Asian "tissues"²⁹⁶. The word "Tartar" was applied to textile compounds, especially those produced during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, without a clear definition of the typology or the material used in the weaving. Tartar has been used to refer to all people living in the Mongol empire from China to West Asia. In terms of textiles, however, it referred to most weavings from the East, with the exception of those of Islamic Mediterranean origin, which were called *panni saraceni* (Saracen cloths) or *saracinati*. Some of these weavings have more recently been identified with lightweight plain silks, sometimes woven in a twill-tabby structure²⁹⁷.

This quote from Dante's poem is a confirmation of the presence of both pre-Islamic and Islamic traditions together in fabrics produced in Tuscany. Up to 14th century, silkworm breeding (sericulture) was done only in Calabria and Sicily. All raw silk should be imported from outside Italy to Lucca. Up to the middle of 12th century, this importation was only from Spain, a country that had known Islamic fabrics before Italy. This issue is one of the reasons that one may study the presence of Islamic-Oriental iconography in fabrics produced in Lucca. There is a possibility that merchants who traveled to Spain for importing raw silk, brought pieces of fabrics woven in Lucca with them²⁹⁸.

²⁹⁵ About this word again there is not any clarified description and such terminology, created between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has only added confusion to the vocabulary used in textile studies, In Europe, during the Mongol period the term "Tartar" referred to all textiles from the East, without clear distinction.

²⁹⁶ Dante's description of the monster moreover recalls the makara, or dragon-fish, woven on earlier Liao and coeval Mongol textiles.

²⁹⁷ Gasparini, 2020, p. 133.

²⁹⁸ Geijer. 1979, p. 146.

In the second half of 14th century, silk weaving progressed noticeably in Lucca and there was a demand for other countries and Lucca produced silk for Syria, China or territories under authority of Byzantium Empire. This city was leader in this kind of silk fabrics production until mid-fourteenth century²⁹⁹.

At the end of the same century, due to economical- political reasons and clashes between two clans Guelfi and Ghibellini, silk weaving in Lucca confronted crisis and many artists, producers, and entrepreneurs of silk production forced to immigrate from this city. Of course, another bitter happening was the start of plague, or black death, which heavily impressed the industry of this city. The city, with 30,000 population at the beginning of the century, had only 10,000 at the end of the same century³⁰⁰.

Lucca started production from 11th century, but until the early 14th century, raw materials were imported from Syria, China, Romania, and Byzantium Empire. Therefore, the raw materials or fabrics which were imported to Lucca before this date were under the influence of Islamic art. They arrived to Lucca through Spain or Sicily and in this respect, both the influence of Byzantium art and also Islamic Iran art are observable in Lucca; of course, the influence of Islam started much later.

As it was mentioned above, at the end of 13th century, wool weaving was the most extensive industry in Prato, Pisa, Pistoia, Lucca, Florence, and above all, Siena. Florence and Lucca simultaneous with wool production, produced the most prestigious and the most beautiful silk fabrics which were intended for the most important European courts³⁰¹.

²⁹⁹De Roover, 1993, pp. 29-31.

³⁰⁰Tognetti, 2001, p. 443.

³⁰¹ Boccherini, 1995, p.3.

For sure the arrival of oriental fabrics in 13th-14th centuries was an event of unprecedented dimensions in quantitative and qualitative terms, so that this phase of the centuries-old process of diffusion of foreign silks in Europe represents a watershed between the phenomena of Eurasian circulation of the epochs. precedents and the new modes of reception and perception typical of the modern era³⁰². Certainly, the most cosmopolitan city in the Medieval period in the section of textile, is Lucca (fig. 3.8).

³⁰² Del Punta, Rosati 2017, p.25.

3.2.2. *Zendado* or the so-called *Zandanījī*

In the field of textile studies, there are some words in Italian language, which are originated from Orient, such as the Arabic word *barrakan* which is a term borrowed from the Phalavi Paragan assonance *baldacchino* that was woven in *Baldac* (Baghdad). It happened many times in Orient that the name of the textile was determined by the name of the city.

This is one of the greatest difficulties which stands in the way of textiles identification. It is the fact that the name of textiles then, as now, were essentially commercial terms and not related to design or technique; such as *damask* from Damascus or *muslin* from Mosul of *Mardīn* in southeastern Turkey, Ibn Battuta wrote: “They make stuffs here which take the name of the town”³⁰³. This problem provides little help as most weaving centers produced more than one type of fabric and because the name for a fabric made famous in one city was soon applied to similar fabrics copied in other centers. This event may have happened about “*Zendano*” and this word may refer to fabrics called “*Zandaniji*”.

According to Dorothy G. Shepherd (1916–1992) and Walter B. Henning (1908– 1967), *zandanījī* was produced in *Zandana*, a city near Bukhara, in Sogdiana, mainly developed on complex structures, composition of roundels (beaded or lobed) enclosing animals were woven in weft-faced compounds (fig. 3.9).

³⁰³ Quotaed from Serjeant, 1972, p. 92.

In accordance with this designs, there is a scroll titled "Emperor Taizong Gives an Audience to the Ambassador of Tibet (Buniantu) attributed to the Chinese painter Yan Liben" (600-673)³⁰⁴. The scroll depicts the audience granted the Tibetan envoy by Tang Emperor Taizong. In the painting, the only character who wears a patterned robe, which clearly distinguishes him from the others, is the Tibetan ambassador. He is dressed with a narrowly cut caftan and boots.

The motif of roundels on the garment each framing a standing bird (a duck??) suggests the fabric likely was of Central Asian origin, possibly manufactured in the area that stretched from Sogdiana to the Gansu Province of China³⁰⁵ (fig. 3.10).

Our principle source concerning zandanījī stuff is Narshakhī who wrote the history of Bukhara in the mid 10th century³⁰⁶. He wrote:

“The specialty of the place is zandanīji, which is a kind of cloth made in Zandana. It is a kind of fine cloth which is made in larg quantities. Much of that cloth is woven in other village of Bukhara, but it is also called zandanījī. That cloth is exported to all countries such as Iraq [...]. All the nobels and rulers make garments of it, and they buy it at the same price as brocade”³⁰⁷.

In the same book, it has been assumed that the structure of the zandanījī was also made of cotton:

“Zandanījī: Cloth from Zandana with suffix origin, Sogdian -čyk, NP (Neo-Persian) -čī/zī. Most NP dictionaries describe it as a coarse white cloth usually made of

³⁰⁴ The extant version may be a later Song Dynasty copy.

³⁰⁵ Gasparini, 2016, p. 86.

³⁰⁶ Muhammad ibn Jafar al Narshakhī, *The History of Bukhara*, translated from a Persian abridgement of the Arabic original by Richard N. Frye, Cmbridge, 1954.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 15-16; see also Serjeant, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

cotton. The *Burhān-I qāti'* as well as other dictionaries, prefer the form *zandpīcī*, from *pīcīdan* “to twist and intertwine”³⁰⁸

The *Siyāsat-Nāme* is another source concerning *zandanīji*, written in 1092 by Nizam al Mulk³⁰⁹, which tells us, in describing the first year of service of a Turkish slave in the Samanid court:

“He served on foot in the capacity of a groom [...] at this period he wore garments of *Zandani cloth*”³¹⁰.

This made one contrast; according to *Narshakhī*, it was widely exported and nobles and rulers had garments of it and they paid as for brocade while less than 100 years later, it was used for the clothing of slaves of the lowest rank at Samanid court. Fashion may have changed or the quality of the production may have declined over this period.

In 1959 Henning analyzed an inscription on a piece of weft-faced compound discovered in the Collegiate Church of Notre Dame at Huy in Belgium, with a repetition of roundels enclosing pairs of stags, which he dated to the seventh century (fig. 3.11). The fragment proved to be almost a complete loom piece consisting of four and one half rows of three large-scale roundels each. The whole are framed in two sides and below with ornamental borders and preserves both selvages and the finished edge at the bottom of the piece; a strip of indeterminable width has been cut from the top of the fabric.

The inscription was identified as an archaic form of Sogdian language; the two lines, $\beta rz\ 61\ wyt\check{s}p / zn\delta n\ 'k-\check{c}y\ y\ 's\delta h$ were tentatively translated as “long 61 spans, *Zandanīcī*...”³¹¹ (fig. 3.12).

³⁰⁸Vaissière and Trombert, 2005, pp. 181–283.

³⁰⁹ He was scholar, political philosopher and vizier of the Seljuk Empire.

³¹⁰ Berthold, 1927, p.227.

³¹¹ Gasparini, 2020, p. 51; see also Shepherd and Henning, 2000, pp.21-37.

After the exhibition *La Route de la Soie: Un voyage à travers la vie et la mort* in 2009–2010 at the *Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Bruxelles, during which the textile discovered in Huy was displayed, Nicholas Sims Williams and Geoffrey Khan re-analyzed the inscription, which turned out to be a form of Arabic like that appearing on papyrus dated to the ninth century. According to Khan, the textile belonged to the commander Abd al-Raḥmān (889–961) and was acquired for thirty-eight dinars³¹².

That discovery was followed by an extensive description and analysis of similar textiles that Shepherd divided into two groups (in accordance with Von Falke, the groups are divided based on technical difference and differences in color and design), zandanījī I and II, based on the style deduced from the piece in Huy and from another discovered in the Cathedral of Sens. Both would commonly be referred to by the name zandanījī: the first group revolving around the silk at Huy, may for convenience sake be referred to as zandanījī I; the second, and larger group which includes such well known silks at Sens may then be called zandanījī II.

There are all eleven silks which can be identified with zandanījī I. Of these nine have been preserved in Europe, seven of these, were preserved in reliquaries associated with saints of the of the 7th to 9th centuries. The following are the silk of zandanījī I which has, so far, been possible to identify:

1. Lion silk in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy. It is believed to have been originally associated with the relics of St. Amon in the Cathedral of Toul (fig. 3.13).
2. Lion silk in the Cathedral Treasury, Sens. This textile generally known as the *suaire de Ste.Colombe et St.Loup* actually consists of two pieces (figure 3.14).

³¹²Baltrušaitis, 1993, p. 295.

3. Lion silk in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 3.15). Two other fragments of the same silk are in the Cooper Union Museum, New York and in the Museo Nazionale di Bargello, Florence.
4. Lion silk in Berlin. This piece is composed of several fragments pieced together (fig. 3.16). In the same museum there are two additional fragments (not illus.) and another fragment of the same textile in the Musée Diocésain, Liège³¹³.

Nowhere do we find a clue to the kind of cloth that *zandanījī* was. One thing stands out as certain: the name was not limited to textiles from Zandana alone but was applied to a class of textile, probably originating in Zandana, but evidently produced in the whole Bukhara region. It seems clear from this source that *zandanījī* was a very fine kind of weaving that took its name from the village where it was first created and was traded westward. Nonetheless, the work of *Naršaḳī* mentions neither the fiber employed in the weaving nor any pattern.

There is simply no evidence that a composition of the (also mislabeled) Sasanian roundels with animals or other figures in weft-faced compounds (and maybe also in warp-faced ones) was created near Bukhara and called *zandanījī*. The term *zandanījī* might be the source of the transliteration (and transformation) in the later medieval Italian term *zendado*, which was associated with a type of textile produced in China and recorded in the last will of Marco Polo and papal sources. *zendadi* produced in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were mostly of Iranian-Central Asian origins. During the Yuan dynasty, the Chinese word *nashishi* 納石失 (which has no literal meaning) was the transliteration of the Persian word *nasīj* (from the Arabic verb *nasaja*, “to weave,” a short form of *nasīj al-dhahab al-ḥarīr*)³¹⁴. It referred to “cloths of gold and silk.” Three types

³¹³ More samples: Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. 1746-1888; silks found in Ch’ien-fo-tung presently in British Museum, illustrated in Sheperd and Henning, 2002, figs. 8-12,14.

³¹⁴ Rosati, 2012, pp. 234-270.

of gold weavings were produced at the same time, but despite their similar appearance, they all had different structures³¹⁵.

As it was mentioned, the difference between the first and the second group is based on color and technic and it can be claimed that the difference in technic is more important. But as far as iconography is concerned, as it is seen, in the first group, roundels including facing animals are observable. What is mentioned as pre-Islamic style. Probably, Zendale is the same as Zandaniji and it seems that Zandaniji fabrics were one of the way of transference of medallion to western fabrics. As it was seen in fabrics produced in Lucca, their medallions are very similar to medallions of these fabrics (fig. 3.17).

³¹⁵ Gasparini, 2020, p. 136; see also Allsen, 1997, pp. 2-3.

3.2.3. Diasper: a new kind of textile born in Lucca

Lucca was very famous in diasper³¹⁶ production; fabrics with much brilliance that all the world in the last decade of 13th century demanded for. One of the oldest documents about this type of fabric is the inventory of Saint Denis Treasure written in 9th century: “cappam ex diaspro [...]”³¹⁷. We can find the name of diasper in some other documents: the inventory of Bonifacio VIII (d. 1303) from 1295 “*unam planetam de diaspro albo cum avibus in rotis habentibus caudas, capita et pedes ad aurum*”³¹⁸; in the same year, the inventory of Saint Paul cathedral of London indicated “*diaspratis, quarum capita, pectora et petes, et flores in medio arborum sunt de aurifilo contextae*”³¹⁹. In the Vatican inventory in 1361, it is written: “*planeta de dyaspero rubeo, cum pappagallis, cum capitibus, rotunditatibus alarum, et pedibus de auro [...] de opere Lucano*”³²⁰.

There is also a document in the inventory of Pisa Cathedral from 1369: “*Pannum unum de draspido de luca laboratum ad dracones et gallos quasi sanguineum*”³²¹; and another one in the same Cathedral: “*Pannum unum de draspido lucensi cum foliis albis et avibus et canibus*”³²².

³¹⁶(lat. *diasprum*) it is the ancient name of lampas.

³¹⁷Cited in Del Punta, Rosati, 2017, p. 47.

³¹⁸Ibidem.

³¹⁹Del Punta and Rosati, 2017, p.47.

³²⁰Ibidem.

³²¹Barsotti, Pisa, 1959. Cited in Devoti, 1966, p.26.

³²²Cited in Devoti, 1966, p.26.

These descriptions³²³ overlap perfectly with some fabrics, technically lampas, with a design of animals (parrots, dragon, gazelles) made tone-on-tone and embellished with details in metallic thread that can be started at least at the end of the thirteenth century and then pursued in the first fourteenth century. This weaving technic provided the possibility of having a monochromic background with other colors for designs.

Also, the technics of weaving the background and the designs are different in this method. In these fabrics it can be seen the luminosity of colors which could be comparable with Byzantian mosaics. Devoti in her article, wrote that the first document of Pisa Cathedral refers to a textile actually situated in Lyon (fig. 3.18) and she wrote that the color of background (now pink) was originally crimson; this color could be the kermes imported from Spain (see footnotes No. 12, 47).

One of the different points between textile weaving in Lucca and Islamic territories, in 13th-14th centuries, is coloring subject because weavers in Lucca combined various colored threads: *de serico diversorum colorum*³²⁴. The primitive diaspers produced in Lucca-white on white or green on green- for 1314., imitated the Islamic character in the iconography especially in using Kufic calligraphy (figs. 3.19-3.20). The flower displayed on these fabrics had already been observed on a piece of Sasanid fabric (fig. 3.21). Animals in this fabric are more real. Even though their symmetry is preserved, their dimensions, proportions, and type of animals are more natural than animals in Islamic and Sasanid fabrics.

³²³ For more documents see the Pontifical Inventory in 1304, the Inventory of Francesco di Filippo di Bello in 1306-1307, Cited in Del Punta and Rosati, 2017, p.47. See also Tietzel, 1984, p.27, note, 159.

³²⁴ Red (*rubei, vermaus, pavonato, sanguini*), green (*viridi*), purple (*violacei, violati, endici or indici*), gialla (*ialli, crocei coloris*), white (*albi*), black (*nigri*), blue (*celesti, azzorini*), pink (*rosei*). Del Punta, Rosati 2017, p. 44.

On the latter fabrics, in many cases, it is not clear which animals the weaver intended but in Lucchese fabrics, except birds which are legendary, other animals are obvious. Rosati mentioning that the *panni tartarici* which arrived in the western countries were the pioneers of *dispro* seems correct; because according to the documents, *diasper* including animal motifs and sections woven with golden threads maintained two elements which arrived to Europe by Asian textiles.

Another reason ascertaining us about the faithfulness of *diasper* to *panni tartarici* is the inventory of Pope Clemente V (d. 1314) “*Aliam tunacellam de panno tartarico sive lucano albo laborato per traversum ad virgas rubeas de serico et auro*”³²⁵.

Devoti in her article pointed out that artists from Lucca used their imagination in weaving textiles and created a starting point for textile weaving which was later known as the culture of Lucca in fabric weaving. She selected some pieces of works which are indicative for originality, imagination, and innovations of form and conscious elaboration of artists from culture of Lucca³²⁶. This point is obviously correct but in some of the works collected and studied by her, the relation with Orient is quiet observable. The point about Lucca is that such a relation is not direct and for attaining iconography roots, using Genette hypothesis is necessary; because there is a cosmopolitan phenomenon which needs to exfoliation to arrive at the main point of iconography.

³²⁵ INVENTARIUM CLEMENTIS V 1311, cited in Del Punta and Rosati, 2017, p. 56.

³²⁶ Devoti, 1961, p.29.

As an example, in figure 3.12 such an event occurred and the artist got away from Oriental traditions in iconography while as we have seen, the technic of using the golden (or silver) thread has the roots in Islamic art. While from the same era, there are some examples (figs. 3.23., 3.24) in which we can see the Oriental elements (in both of them the artist(s) use of Arabic words).

But the point is that in the selected paintings for this thesis, the artists preferred the fabrics containing Oriental roots; even for the period contemporaneous of these fabrics production and this is the same point enforcing cosmopolitanism. The climax of the weaving art of Lucca is that all elements coming from various cultures are equally valued and due to that iconographical rooting is difficult. Weavers before creation of textile weaving in Lucca pointed to Oriental origin such directly that, as we have seen, attribution to being Italian or from Islamic territories was doubtful but for the textile fragments created in Lucca we are sure that the fabric was produced in Lucca while using oriental elements indirectly.

In case we want to determine a historical point for analyzing the origins of Oriental motifs that the weavers had used in textiles produced in Lucca it should be said that before mid-13th century, Lucca did not have any Islamic influence, even though Islamic fabric were imported. Prior to this period, the effects were mostly Sasanid influences. Three samples should be mentioned (figs. 3.25., 3.26., 3.27)³²⁷.

In the Cope remained in the tomb of Bernardo degli Uberti (d. 1113), on the blue strip that is placed on this clothing, the link among Lucchese, pre-Islamic, and Islamic principles is easily recognizable: background blue color is one of the Lucchese traditions, medallions are Sasanid tradition, and double headed eagle which originated from Islamic Spain traditions.

³²⁷ For more examples: Musèe Historique des Tissus di Lione, Inv. 29256, Inv. 21990.

In general, Lucchese weavers, while observing the symmetric principles of pre-Islamic era, acted quite freely and in several fabrics, animals are outside of any medallions.

All through 14th century, Italian industries improved and came up with their own solutions without forgetting lessons learned from the east. They were primer of Gothic epoch. Fabrics with gold and silver warp and weft and facing animal motifs constantly kept the presence of Orient in both sides of Islamic and Sasanid traditions. There was a revolution in the lampases produced in the second half of 14th century and non-religious topics along with new techniques, which were progressing up to the end of this century, indwelled in Italy and caused the creation of velvet weaving techniques³²⁸.

³²⁸ Del Punta, Rosati 2017, pp.77-78.

3.2.4. Per totum pattern

As it was noted, in inventories of Lucca, Oriental fabrics which arrived in this city (*panni tartarici*) were named based on their iconography. This point is true about Lucca as well. *Cum rotai e virgate* are fabrics with circles and lines; *ad undas* are fabrics with wavy (rippling) lines. *Ad combassus* are fabric bearing quadrilateral or circular designs which are combined together with various sizes. *Ad pineas* are fabrics bearing medallions similar to teardrop, oval shapes, or small palm trees, all rooted in Orient³²⁹. Meanwhile in this city, there are other fabrics in which previous designs are miniaturized and are moving freely on all through the fabric. This type of design was called *per totum* which includes a combination of small animal and plant designs (figs. 3.28, 3.29).

This type of fabric weaving in Lucca was common during the fourteen century and it can be said that it was totally different from their contemporary designs. In Islamic fabrics, the artist sometimes filled the free space between medallions with plant motifs, but in Lucca these motifs were used independently for the whole fabric. These patterns can be divided between two types of weave- with or without using gold thread- and two groups- combination of animal and plant or only plant motifs. As per Rosati opinion, these patterns are free interpretation of Oriental designs which are crafted and transformed in order to display *chinoiserie ante litteram* phenomenon: a quite new and updated definition of Orient with faithfulness to its roots. The patterns of these fabrics are remarkable for us because they are abundantly used by artists in paintings under survey in this thesis.

³²⁹ Del Punta, Rosati 2017, pp. 46.

CATALOGUE III



Figure 3.1: Mantle of Roger II of Sicily, bearing a date of AD 1133-1134 ©Wien, Kaiserliche Schatzkammer, Inv.WS XIII 14.

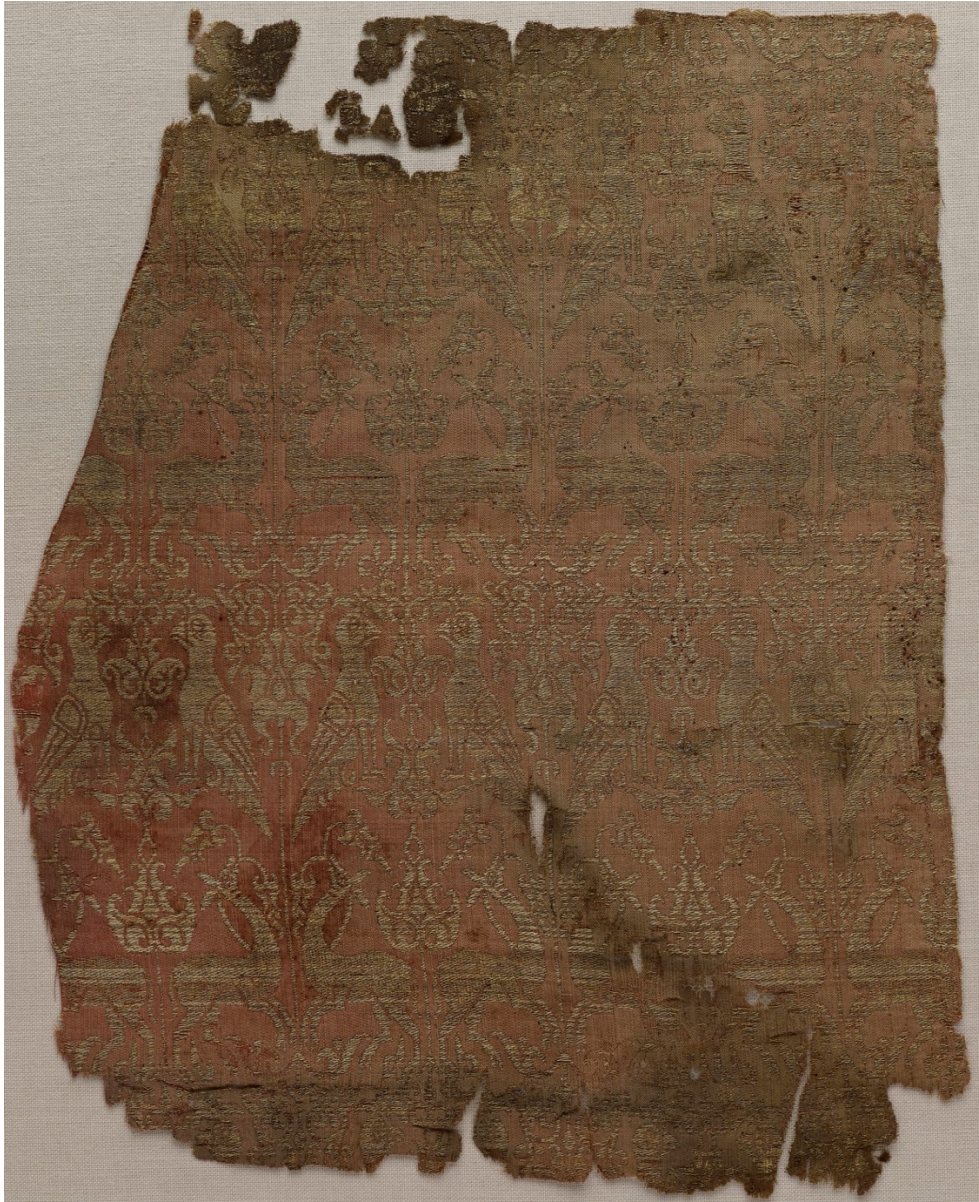


Figure 3.2: The fragment of silk found in the tomb of Henry VI, 12th century, Sicily(?),
©London, The British Museum, Inv. 1878.0907.4.



Figure 3.3: Fragment of a lampas-woven textile, Sicily, 13th century, ©Copenhagen, The David Collection, Inv. 8/2016.



Figure 3.4: Silk fragment, Italy (Sicily?), 13th century.

Lyon, Musée des Tissus, Inv. 29256.



Figure 3.5: The samite fragment produced in Lucca in 12th century, Marburg, Universität museum.



Figure 3.6: The samite fragment produced in Lucca in 12th century, Krefeld, Deutsches Textilemuseum.



Figure 3.7: fragment of lampas silk produced in Lucca, 1300-1350, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. 1297-1864.

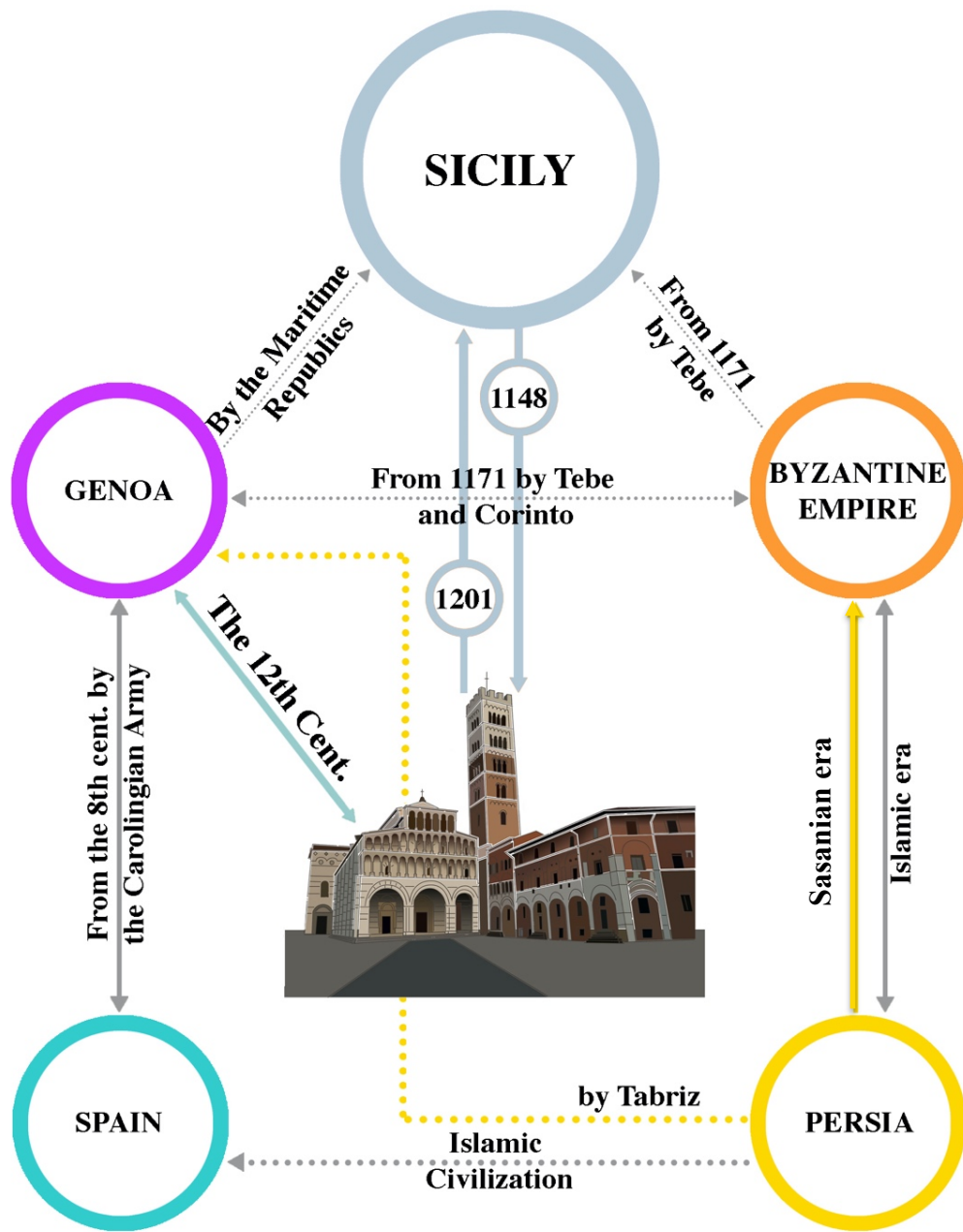


Figure 3.8: The various ways of trans-cultural exchanges in Lucca during 11th-14th centuries.



Figure 3.9: Silk fragments with roundel designs, from Tang-period burials in the Astana Cemetery in Turfan. The second of the pieces has the “Sasanian duck” design. Collection of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region Museum, Urumqi, photographed in the Gansu Provincial Museum by Daniel Waugh.



Figure 3.10: Emperor Taizong gives an audience to the ambassador of Tibet, Beijing, Palace Museum.

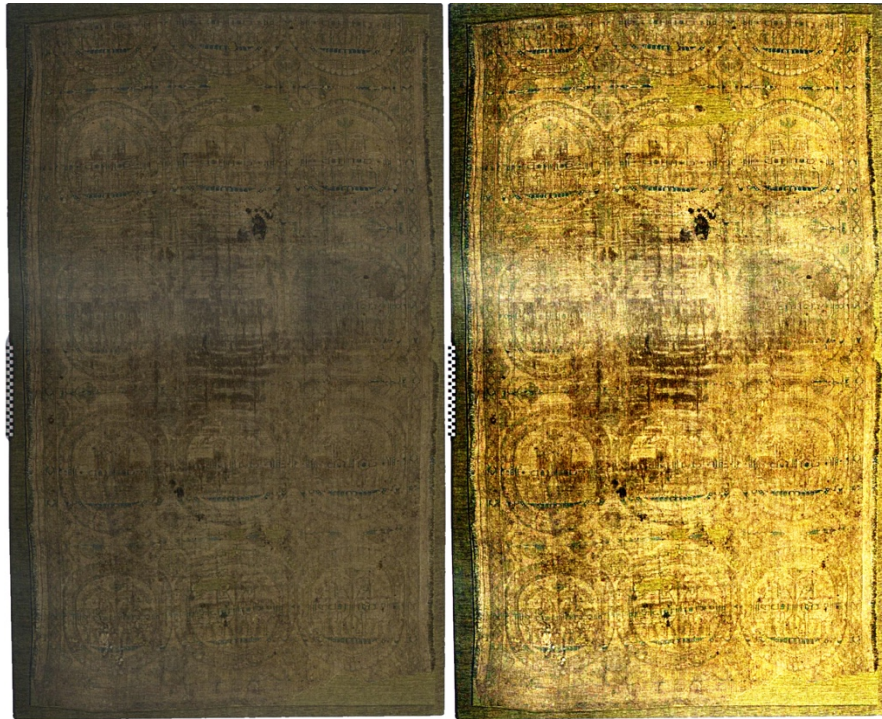


Figure 3.11: Ram silk in the Collegiate Church of Notre Dame, Huy (left), © A.C.L. Bruxelles and the equalized version to distinguishing the motifs (right).

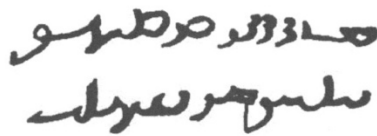
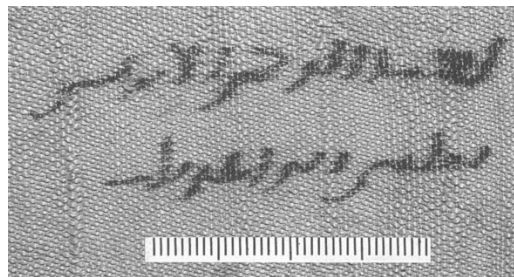


Figure 3.12: The Sogdian inscription on the reverse of the silk at Huy (up), ©A.C.L. Bruxelles and Henning's drawing of the inscription (down).



Figure 3.13: Lion silk in the Musée Lorrain, Nancy. Photo by Giraudon.

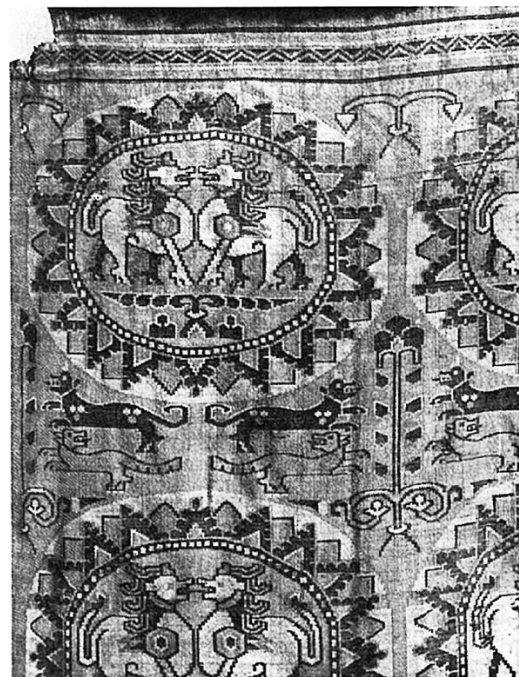


Figure 3.14: Detail of Lion silk in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Sens. Source: Sheperd, Henning, 2001, p. 263.



Figure 3.15: Lion Silk in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. 763.1893.

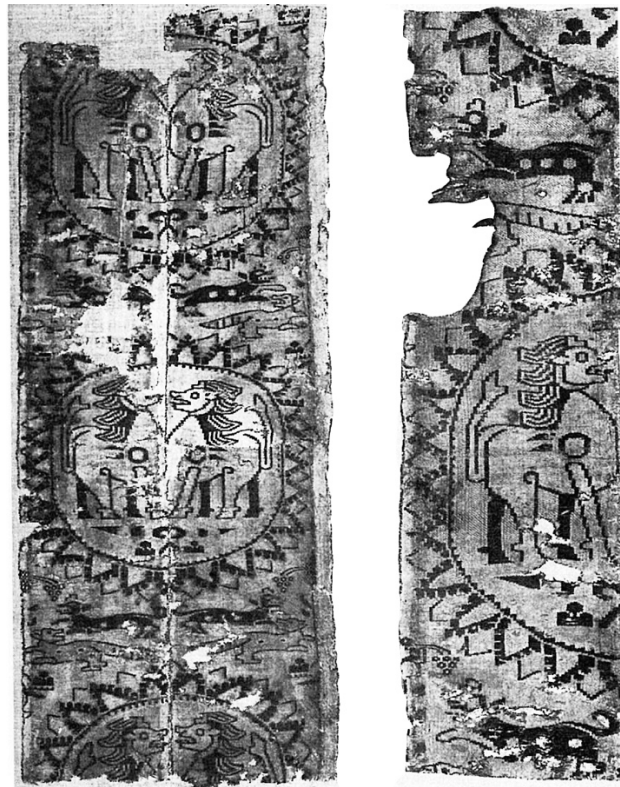


Figure 3.16: Lion Silk in th Musée Diocésain, Liège. Source: Sheperd, Henning, 2001, p. 267.



Figure 3.17: The comparison between the manner of displaying medallions on the fabrics produced in Lucca (fig. 3.5, det.) and fabrics known as Zendaniji.



Figure 3.18: The lampas fragment produced in Lucca in 14th century, Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissues, Inv. 24577-1.



Figure 3.19: The silk fragment, Lucca (first half of 14th century),
Florence, Museo Nazionale di Bargello.



Figure 3.20: The silk fragment, Lucca (first half of 14th century),
Berlin, Staatliche Museen.



Figure 3.21: The flower presented on a piece of Sasanid textiles (fig. 1.23) and the silks produced in Lucca (figs. 3.7-3.8).



Figure 3.22: The lampas fragment produced in Lucca in 14th century, Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissues, Inv. 25439.



Figure 3.23: The lampas fragment produced in Lucca in 14th century,
Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissus, Inv. 28492.



Figure 3.24: The lampas fragment produced in Lucca in 14th century,
Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissus.



Figure 3.25: The fragment of Chasuble, Lucca, 13th century,
Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.



Figure 3.26: The fragment of Chasuble, Lucca, 13th century,
Rome, Museo di Palazzo Venezia. Inv. 10642.



Figure 3.27: Cope founded in the tomb of Bernardo degli Uberti, c. 1133, Florence, Church of Santa Trinita.



Figure 3.28: The silk fragment with animal and plant designs, Lucca, first half of 14th century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Inv. 46.156.47.



Figure 3.29: The silk fragment with animal and plant designs, Lucca, first half of 14th century, Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissus, Inv. n.22.777.

CHAPTER IV: INVESTIGATION INTO THE SIMILARITIES BETWEEN ORIENTAL FABRICS AND PAINTED FABRICS IN SOME EXAMPLES OF TUSCAN PAINTERS' WORK (1270-1370)

All through the Middle Ages, silk production was in relation with church circumstances and clergymen were among the major customers of silk products. It can be said that in west Latin world, clergymen were practically the only customers after kings, princess, and social high rank personalities. So, there is no wonder that in religious paintings, the presence of fabrics is abundant and noticeable.

There is a remarkable development in Italian art and especially in painting in the second half of 14th century in connection with (fabric) iconography. The common technics in that era were fresco and painting on wood. The topics are mainly religious from Old and New Testaments, Saints life, and in rare cases non- religious subjects. Painting passed by limited themes of Crucifix and Maestà and there were remarkable transformations in decorative motifs³³⁰. Florence and Siena turned to be the most important art centers and, in this way, Tuscany made great progress in painting.

One of the attractive themes in this era was displaying fabrics in painting by artists. This subject was surveyed by Cennino Cennini³³¹ in his "The book of art" for the first time. He explained in details the process by which the artists went through to design fabrics in painting³³².

³³⁰ Bazin, 1963, pp. 26-35.

³³¹ Cennini (c.1360- c.1472) was an Italian painter. He is remembered mainly for having authored *Il libro dell'arte*. Thought to have been written around the turn of 15th century, the book is a "how to" on late Medieval and early Renaissance painting.

³³²Cennini, 1991, CLI, CLII (pp.135-136), CLXII (p. 144), CLXIV (p. 146).

In this section, 50 paintings from Tuscan painters, who were prominent in displaying fabrics and were modeled for other painters, are selected in which the presence of fabric is noticeable. The date of the catalogue started from 1270 when one of the oldest Italian paintings -Maestà of Orvieto by Coppo di Marcovaldo- containing fabric is created. The process of choosing art works is based on the form of fabrics. As we will see in the catalogue, for displaying the fabrics, artists followed Sasanid principles, directly or indirectly, by dealing with them and paying careful attention to their iconography.

The artists, by advent of Islam, gradually and very slowly, replaced some of pre-islamic iconography with Islamic weaving principles. But the important point in this respect is that in previous decades, artists referred back to pre-islamic iconography once again which caused the formation of an intertextual relation. The writer selected the paintings in relation to iconography transformation. Probably some of the textiles presented in these groups of painting were studied individually but in no other text they were studied together with such an approach. The objective of the present catalogue is not studying their textile iconography one by one rather researching about the process that Tuscan painters went through in fabric iconography changes.

Although diasper, zendati, xamiti, and baudakins had already appeared in the thirteenth century, nacchi and nachetti were listed only a century later, as in the will of Niccoló da Prato, which, in Entry 37, records two sheets to set on the altar, one in green naccho and the other in purple³³³.

³³³ Gasparini, 2020, p. 145; see also Paravicini Bagliani, 1980, pp. 44, 47–48, 116–146.

There is no doubt that naccho and nachetti had a particular structure (or two structures) and had arrived in Europe with the Mongols and was recognized as such. With their arrival, Italian textile production moved from Sicily to Lucca (and Venice), grew, and its products gained popularity. In the same period a new painting movement, which had begun with Giotto and produced icons in gold on wood panels, flourished in Tuscany and produced our principal and definitive visual evidence of Mongol material culture in Italy.

Group A: 1270-1280

The works selected here all maintain the simplest form of fabric repeat pattern and all of them include the roundels. Considering the various shapes existing in these fabrics, there is a probability that the artists have faced with fabrics having this type of design. In the works of this group, artists remained faithful, to a great extent, to simple repeat pattern. Of course, there are similarities – the most important one is that roundels are all in one layer and do not contain many decorations – and differences among them.

Coppo di Marcovaldo in *Madonna of Orvieto* (fig. A.1) drew tangent roundels (fig. A.2). In this work, the artist did not form a thick encircle around each medallion and considered a thin line sufficient. This artist is not ignorant about the designs among medallions and filled them with quadrilaterals, and casually used thick encircling in this part. Their background is in comparison with the main background in positive-negative. The important point is that most probably this fabric is stitched in the middle part. The heads of eagles in the right side of *Madonna* turned left and vice versa. If we think that it is really stitched, the fabric is woven hundred percent double-faced. The shared point of the designs of this group is using simple repeat pattern. Also, all artists used encircling; which means there is a frame around all main designs, either in form of a circle or other geometric shapes.

In an unknown Florentine artist work (fig. A.3) the same composition and the same medallions are used and since wrinkles of the fabrics are very close to each other, it can be claimed that the artist, in displaying the textile, had been under the influence of Coppo di Marcovaldo (Cf. figs. A.1-A.2). This artist in his painting is inspired by Cimabue³³⁴ but probably, regarding the textile motif displaying, the date of creation is very close to the previous *Madonna*.

³³⁴ Garrison, 1949, p. 42., n. 11., Longhi, 1974, pp. 13, 46.

Guido da Siena in his *Maestà* (fig. A.4) used medallions separated with a thicker encircle around them (fig. A.5). Medallions encircling are rather darker than the fabric. In all four Madonna in this group, the upper margin of the fabric contained designs which are different from the fabric itself and their color is also darker than the fabric.

The important point about using medallions is expressed in the *Madonna del Bordone* by Coppo di Marcovaldo (fig. A.6). In this painting, the presence of medallion and eagle on the covering of Holy Mary's head are quite distinctive (fig. A.7)³³⁵. Contemporaneous of the same artist, an anonymous Pisan Artist used the same medallions in *Crucifix* (fig. A.8). Medallions are without any inside designs and are placed far apart and the method of their display is similar to Guido da Siena's work (Cf. fig. A.4)

Probably one of these artists (in this group) had closely seen a fabric maintaining medallion. This design possessed so much value for utilizing in the head covering. It can be claimed that Oriental fabric which had been worthy and were kept in churches could be very attractive and valuable for artists. In the medallions on Holy Mary head covering, the pattern presented in the *Maestà* of San Domenico (Cf. fig. A.4) has been used and there is space between them. A lozenge is formed among each four of them.

The textile repeat pattern which Coppo di Marcovaldo used in the fabric behind the characters is similar to the *Crucifix* by Cimabue (fig. A.9., A.10). Once again, the presence of Medallion is observable and, in this time, it is on the pillow Holy Mary is sitting on; but there is only medallion and inside it is quite simple.

³³⁵ Brandi, 1950, pp.160-170.

One of the reasons for choosing this Cimabue's Crucifix is the usage of golden sheet. We have seen samples of fabrics from Islamic states and also fabrics produced in Italy with golden threads (Cf. chapter 2., figs. 2.53., 2.55). There is a possibility that the artist had confronted such fabrics so that the frames around main subjects are golden³³⁶.

³³⁶Another sample of these crosses can be seen in *Galleria dell' Accademia*, under number 1890. n.1345 in Florence. In this work also, the artist has used golden sheet for encircling.

Group B: 1280-1290

In this group, even though few samples are available, a sudden mutation is observed and that is the presence of Islamic fabric motifs. In these paintings, Sasanid circular medallions are not visible, meanwhile, the artist have placed motifs within frames but the frames are not those of Sasanid's. It can be said that this group formed the link between using Sasanid motifs and Islamic ones.

In this fabric (fig. B.1), Duccio is inspired by Islamic fabrics; a combination of shamseh and four-petal knot (fig. B.2). As much as Duccio paid attention to inside of frames, he noted the outside space and encircled them. In the design of fabric border, a golden sheet is used on a dark background. There is no trace of any Arabic word on the margin and not even any Pseudo-Arabic script but utilization of golden color confirms the probability that the artist had seen Tiraz or brocade fabric closely. The case that happened in this fabric is that on the left of the image, the fabric margin is in perspective but the design is displayed from opposite. The type of wrinkles is similar to Coppo di Marcovaldo (Cf. figs. A.1., A.6).

In using Sternfliesenornament in fabrics, Duccio and Giotto turned to be reference artists in such a way that many artists referred to their motifs later. As we observed in the third chapter, these motifs did not intermixed with motifs commonly used in Lucca and we are sure that the artists who have used them referred to Duccio and Giotto or were inspired by Islamic fabrics.

In the Crucifix of Cimabue in the church of Santa Croce, Florence (fig. B.3), the design of the fabric is the same as the work of this artist situated in the church of San Domenico in Arezzo (Cf. fig. A.9) and its precedence, the Madonna of Coppo di Marcovaldo (Cf. fig. A.6). Cimabue considered smaller circles but the type of lines which are displayed are delicate similar to the Madonna del Bordone, there is only line and similar to Arezzo cross filled motifs are not used (fig. A.9).

In the next Crucifix, attributed to Duccio (fig. B.4), it is clearly visible that the artist is passing by Sasanid circular medallions but it seems that he didn't have any definite idea for designing the fabric without them. Anyhow, medallions kept their functions for framing a motif but their appearance changed to octagonal (fig. B.5), the inside designs are Sasanid four-petal flowers. Medallions linked together and their color is lighter than their inside.

Group C: 1290-1300

In this group, the works of Giotto are selected. In the first work (fig. C.1), the artist used elements analogous to Islamic Spain architecture and fabrics. Four-sided knot which had been used in Duccio's Madonna (Cf. fig. B.1) is also present in this work and the designs are still brighter than the background but more curved lines are used in comparison with Duccio's designs.

Encircling of designs are thicker and bolder but symmetry is kept. In the spaces provided, Giotto has used knots which rooted in Kufic calligraphy (Cf. part. 2.1.2). He also displayed the four-pointed knot with curved lines in this work. A Spanish fabric is available in which this repeat is used. Even though, the fabric contains plant motifs and Giotto did not use plant motifs, it ascertains us about the existence of fabrics with this type of repeat and composition (fig.C.2). Giotto used also the same motif in Crucifix in Santa Maria Novella (fig.C.3) and regarding multiplicity of usage of this motif, most probably, he had encountered with fabrics containing it.

Hereinafter, the curved circle can be observed in several works. In Preach in front of Honorius III (fig. C.4), the artist imaged a combination of his own geometric designs and Duccio's Madonna Rucellai (Cf. fig. B.1): the famous combination of eight-pointed star (shamseh) and four-pointed knot we have seen in Islamic-Spain textiles (Cf. fig. 2.55). But for the first time in these fabrics, this curved knot appeared inside shamseh and each four-petal knot includes one shamseh. Giotto has displayed this knot in more decorative form (fig. C.5). Generally, this artist has used larger motifs. In this case, Giotto acted similar to Guido da Siena (see fig. A.4) and has not paid much attention to details. Giotto had no exaggeration in encircling and they are thin here. The margin of this fabric is simple square whose background color is in contrast with the fabric background color.

This fabric maintains a repeat pattern which is already seen in figures 2.52-2.5). As it was mentioned there, this fabric is Mulham (see chapter 2, note. 81), and there is a possibility that it was used in this section due to its high value (C.6).

Giotto in his other two works, Vision of Friar Augustin (fig. C.7) and the Dream of Innocent III (fig. C.8), used the same composition for the textiles and it can be said that he had not confronted with many fabrics containing various motifs. But in his work St. Francis appears to Gregory IX (fig. C.9), noticeable changes appeared in fabric designs: combination of geometric and curved lines together (fig. C.10). Giotto has changed the form of four-pointed knot and designs started inside each other. As a result, knots are created between them which can be traced back in Kufic calligraphy (Cf. fig. D.10).

The fabric overhead is displayed in two colors and it is a double-sided fabric; it is not that two fabrics are sewn together because the designs became positive and negative. The designs of this fabric are created by combination of curved and square four-pointed knot (fig. C.11). The writing on fabric margin is very similar to Square Kufic (Cf. part 2.1.2., No. 2) that Giotto has repeated one element and unlike many pseudo-Arabic calligraphy, which were used in paintings of the era, various words are not used. Of course, as it was mentioned, this calligraphy was used mostly in Islamic architecture and most probably Giotto had confronted fabrics bearing such elements (fig. C.12).

Group D: 1300-1310

In this group, in which Giotto is again the main artist, the continuation of his style in fabric designing can be observed. Motifs are chosen from Islamic ones but in the type of repeat patterns some differences appeared. In the first work (fig. D.1), in designing the fabric for St. Nicholas clothing, the artist used Brick pattern repeat. It seems this artist had confronted with a textile fragment from Islamic-Spain or Islamic-Sicily. Similar to many of his works, Giotto displayed the motifs of the fabric in liner forms and lighter than background (fig. D.2).

Using this repeat pattern caused the formation of a deformed shape among four-petal knots and four-petal flowers which is rarely seen in artists' works (fig. D.3). Due to this, the motif which is placed inside this deformed shape is not orderly and in a certain geometric shape with other works. It seems that Giotto was interested in experiencing various fabric repeat patterns.

Memmo di Filippuccio in *Madonna with Child* (fig. D.4) used the combination of shamseh and four-pointed knot (Cf. fig. B.1). The fabric is in three colors and there is a delicate encircling for each motif. In this image, the artist created a visual error and this doubt is created that the fabric is formed by sewing two pieces of fabrics of the same material and design (fig. D.5). Parallel to the sitting place of Madonna, on the left, the fabric repeat pattern messed up and is in form of half-Brick repeat pattern and then again returned to the main mode. This fabric has no margin and the artist is probably inspired by a normal fabric, not a piece of Tiraz.

In this group, Duccio in *Maestà of Siena* (fig. D.6) has displayed one of the most glorious fabrics. The first one, is the fabric over the chair (fig. D.7). This fabric consisted octagonal medallions which are placed with brick pattern repeat. This medallion had already been used in figure B.3 that is attributed to Duccio and here the artist made them more decorative.

In a Spanish fabric, presently in Berlin, the same repeat and motif are used and there is possibility that Duccio had encountered with it (fig. D.8).

The design of the fabric on the chair is formed by octagons which started from each other center similar to St. Francis appears to Gregory IX (Cf. fig. C.9) and due to that shamsheh are formed in the spaces among them. This fabric is a Tiraz with written parts. Up to this date, just the written parts of fabric were woven by golden thread; but in this work, the artist displayed all the motifs in golden thread, only the background of written parts contains darker color. So, there is a probability that the artist had faced a brocade fabric. Duccio has shown the margin lower than other artists' works. Up to this point, in whatever fabric we have witnessed, the margin had always been on the upper part, but it is not the case in this work. There is no Arabic word in the margin but the type of its ordering is similar to floral Kufic (see chapter 2., part. 2.1.2., No.3). An important point in this fabric is related to the one in the right. In this part Duccio displayed the back side of the fabric. Even though the written parts are positive-negative, which is an indication of being a double-sided fabric, this is not taken into consideration in the lower and upper parts.

The important point in this work is that we witness a significant change in it. Duccio is using fabric with medallions and he used new medallions which are combination of various shapes in clothing of Saint Catherine and Saint Agnese (figs. D.9., D.10). Saint Sabinus's clothing -that unfortunately, exact identification of the design and the type of repeating is impossible- contains geometric and plant motifs with linear designs. They are just encircled. Aside from the fabrics including medallions, Duccio used fabric without medallion in clothing of this Saint. This is an important step that should be mentioned because later in paintings of Tuscany fabrics without medallions are repeated.

In the next work of this group (fig. D.11), Maestro of Santa Cecilia has used a combination of shamseh and knot in the fabric under the feet of Saint Peter (figs. D.12., D.13). There are shamseh inside four-pointed knots. This type of combination had already existed in Preach front in Honorius III (fig. C.3) and between motifs some knots are created. That means motifs, unlike the previous image and St. Francis appears to Gregory IX (fig. C.9), did not start from each other center but there are knots among them that are rooted in Kufic calligraphy (see Chapter 2., part. 2.1.2., fig. 2.9). This type of combination had already existed in Preach front in Honorius III (fig. C.4) and between motifs some knots are created. This type of four-petal knot has seen also in the fabric produced perhaps in Islamic-Sicily and the presence of this knot in this painting confirmed the presence of Islamic iconography – especially Almohad period – in the subsequent decades (fig. D.14., Cf. fig. 3.4).

The artist sufficed to encircling. On the fabric which is on the sides of the Saint's feet, the artist has used simple repeat pattern; but the usage of eight-pointed stars which are placed in the frames is mostly related to Islamic architecture. It seems that the artist was much adhere to architecture principle instead of decorations visible on a fabric or he had seen a fabric with these motifs that in this case belonged to Almoravid era (Cf. Chapter 2., fig. 2.55).

In this group, there are two other works in which the same geometric combination is repeated. As it was mentioned, either these artists had not dealt with many fabrics or they have observed monuments with such decorations. Giotto used a single-color background with liner design in his work, Presentation of Jesus at the Temple (fig. D.14) and his color pallet is based on shade and complementary color. He has created interference among four-pointed knots and, as it was mentioned in previous work, these knots have roots in Kufic calligraphy (fig. D.15).

Regarding that Giotto used these knots in more than a single work, it seems that he has confronted with an Islamic written work, which was probably a Tiraz. There is another piece of fabric belonging to 13th century and Almohad era in Spain. Its geometric designs are the same Shamseh and four-pointed knot (fig. D.16). The important point is that blue color is used in some sections that Giotto also used (fig. D.17). We are almost sure that Giotto has dealt with a piece of Spanish fabric.

Group E: 1310-1320

Joseph Polzer wrote: “with Simone Martini the rich oriental silks became the subject of study and experimentation, reaching the maximum potential”³³⁷. Simone Martini in his magnificent *Maestà* (fig. E.1) has used curved four-pointed knots (fig. E.2) which have been seen in Giotto’s works (Cf. fig. C.3) and placed shamseh inside them. Similar to this fabric can be observed in a Spanish fabric presently kept in Bern. The said fabric is attained from mantle of Don Felipes, the son of king Ferdinand III (fig. E.3).

These medallions are located with a definite distance and according to a simple repeat pattern causing that the space formed among them is the same four-pointed knot with curved lines which is more decorated, subtler, and away from that tiling mode. The fabric spread on Holy Mary’s chair contains margin in which golden sheet on darker background is displayed. There is probability that the artist had faced a brocade fabric.

Brunori in her thesis believed that Simone was quite acquainted with Oriental textiles and performed accurately about them. This recognition was the consequence of his relations with Santa Sede and Avignon courts, where several textiles (and handicrafts) were received from Mongol ambassadors in 14th century³³⁸. Therefore, this speculation is created that Simone had direct contact with these fabrics³³⁹. This opinion is quite correct; as we can observe in *Maestà*, Simone presented the dry and limited designs formed by combination of shamseh and four-petal star more delicately and softer while preserving their originality.

³³⁷ Polzer, 1985, pp. 167-173., cited in Brunori, 1989. p. 50.

³³⁸ Brunori, 1989. p. 304., see also Magagnato, 1983, p. 188.

³³⁹ Simone Martini in his work *Saint Louis of Toulouse crowning his brother Robert of Anjou*, c.1317., Naples, National Museum of Capodimonte, displayed a fabric whose original one is now kept in Bargello Museum of Florence (Inv. 127 F) and was produced in Tabriz (Iran); and due to that, the probability of his well acquaintance with Oriental silks is enforced.

This is exactly a significant point causing the raise of intertextuality hypothesis. We do not know if the fabrics presented as gifts by Mongols were produced in 14th century or they were fabrics with historical value (e.g. left from Sasanid era), or produced in Dar-al Islam, prior to Mongols. This issue compels us to study their historical roots.

A combination of Sasanid medallions and Islamic fabrics are visible together in the work of Maestro di Figline (fig. E.4). The fabric behind Madonna (fig. E.5) is a composition of shamseh and four-pointed knot, in which the artist displayed shamseh rather curved. But in order to show wrap and wrinkles, repeat is not displaced. The background of shamseh are filled and rather thick encircles are used. In the right-side fabric (fig. E.6), medallions are linear and their interiors are decorated with plant designs; and regarding the kind of composition, most probably, the artist had seen a fabric of Islamic Spain closely. He has used perspective in this fabric, whereas in the left side of the fabric, these capabilities are not utilized. Regarding that the fabric is not Tiraz and also the artist has used Kufic calligraphy in geometric designs in margin of the image, Holy Mary mantel, halo over the head of angle in the left, and the saint at the right bottom, probably, he had confronted an Islamic building. Of course, there is possibility that artists had dealt with the fabrics containing elements of Islamic architecture. Devoti in her prominent article³⁴⁰ displayed a fabric produced in Lucca which is preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston (Inv. 3584) with a monument on which written parts were played as decoration. Perhaps artists had seen such a fabric.

³⁴⁰ Devoti, 1966, pp.26-38.

This type of placement of these medallions which include lozenge (fig. E.6) is repeated several times in Tuscany province works. One of the oldest samples is related to Giunta Pisano (fig. E.7). This artist has taken margins into consideration to confirm that certainly it is a textile hanging behind Christ. Due to that, there is possibility that the artist using this repeat had probably seen fabric with this icon.

In *Maestà di Massa Marittima* attributed to Duccio (fig. E.8), the four-pointed knot is used which is repeated with simple repeat pattern; as this artist used the same motif in his some other works (Cf. figs. B.1., C.3). The artist has made a change in it and a vertical rhomboid is placed among them. In this way, the eight-pointed star is rather deformed and became larger than usual (fig. E.9). The artist decorated the interior part with curved four-pointed flower. He has also used circle in the center of this knot which had never been seen in paintings. In this textile, margin is also used but no Arabic word is recognizable. Decorative rows are displayed in upper and lower parts. In this way, the artist has done the same for the background and designs: both contain decorations.

In the next work of this group (fig. E.10), Pietro Lorenzetti in Mary's dress has considered curved four-petal flower as medallion and decorated the interior part with plant designs (fig. E.11). The color of design is darker than the fabric background and encircling are slightly thicker. The repeat pattern is simple and in order to show wrinkles, the artist has deformed the designs and, in some cases, they are in half. The margin of the fabric is darker than the background and is decorated with geometric designs. In the clothing of Saint Donato (fig. E.12), medallion disappeared. The proportion of the designs is based on four-pointed knot but encircling is totally eliminated.

In the Saint Catherine polyptych of Simone Martini (fig. E. 13), in the Saint Catherine's clothing the medallions are the same curved four-pointed flower whose ends are slightly stretched which are repeated in two forms of small and large (fig. E.14). This is the first time that such a move is created. The main medallions are large four-pointed knots. From their extensions four-pointed frames started and red painted squares are placed inside them. The repeat pattern is simple in this work.

The interesting event that is observable in this decade is that the patterned fabrics are not particular just for Holy Mary clothing or the place she is sitting. Other figures in the story wore clothing with valuable fabrics. The shared feature among them is being religious.

Group F: 1320 –1330

Bernardo Daddi in Triptych of Ognissanti (fig. F.1), in Madonna clothing, used a combination of knot and shamseh. Encircling is very delicate. In order to induce fabric twist, the artist did not mess up the fabric repeat but in upper part of the chest designs are changed so that the elements can be placed. In the next Crucifix (fig. F.2), Lorenzetti used combination of flower and multiplex medallions. Medallions, similar to Seljuk ones are multiple and the main form of flowers are similar to four-petal flowers in Saint Donato's dress in the Tarlati polyptych by Pietro Lorenzetti (Cf. fig. E.11). The important point is the displaying details for this cross. Both medallions and decorations are more impressive. Another important point is that there is not any certain design inside of medallion and it is just painted. The textile repeat pattern is simple and the artist is not ignorant about the background and all contain plant designs.

The type of fabric display in Apparition of Christ and angels in a dream of St. Martin by Simone Martini (fig. F.3) is similar to St. Francis appears to Gregory IX (Cf. fig. C. 9) that a linear design is repeated on a dark background and designs started from each other centers. The linear quality is the same in the whole fabric and from the right side of the scene, where the fabric is displayed, it can be understood that the fabric is single faced, as designs are not positive-negative. For the fabric covering the Saint, this artist used checkered repeat which is also recurred again in the same basilica (fig. F.4). Whatever a textile is repeated in various works, the probability that the original fabric existed and the artists referred to that is reinforced.

In the next work (fig. F.5), Bernardo Daddi combined checkered repeat with a combination of shamseh and four-petal knot. The analysis of the design indicates that it is basically the same combination of shamseh and simple knot in which the artist created a mode of checkered by using color (fig. F.6). This artist designed his fabric by placing four-pointed knots together. For the first time in such a composition, three colors are used and due to that a checkered design is formed whose coloring, from dark-light point of view, is similar to Simone Martini.

In the next work (fig. F.7), Lorenzetti has used a certain medallion which can be seen in the work of Madonna and Child with St. Nicolas and St. Proculus (Cf. fig. G.1). In this style, the artist placed a four-petal flower inside medallion and the decorations of medallion are merely series of lines which are repeated with an orderly rhythm. It seems that Lorenzetti was interested to display the inside of medallions with dark color. In both works, medallions are fully coincident and there is no space between them.

Group G: 1330-1340

This decade is the transformation turbine decade when the artists are experiencing the remaining traditions and updated events about fabric. In the first work of this group (fig. G.1), the artist act is quite dual in displaying fabrics. In the Saint on the right, Sasanid traditions and medallions are utilized. The fabric repeat is Half-Drop and the artist did not leave any free space among them. Medallions are thick and four-petal flowers are used inside them. Instead, in the Saint on the left Lorenzetti took a step toward using modern fabrics. Medallions are totally eliminated and plant designs substituted. Repeat pattern is Half-Brick and it can be claimed that the artist was trying to get away from Islamic-Oriental fabric iconography (fig. G.2), because in Lucca the weavers could produce the textiles with new iconography and repeat pattern.

In the dress of Saint Nicolas, the artist used a medallion which he already used in the Crucifix (Cf. fig. F.7). This type of medallion is observable in other works as well. Noticing what we have seen in medallions for designing fabrics, this artist draws the concentration of eye by using dark color in a section. In this fabric the artist used the Half-Drop repeat pattern (fig. G.3).

The noticeable point about Saint Nicolas cloak is its designs composition. The background of the fabric is crimson and there are two types of designs on it: A series of pale plant designs and a series of four-petal flowers whose backgrounds are golden and their surfaces are covered with green (fig. G.4). There is a piece of Italian fabric available belonging to 14th century in which the same color composition is used in its designs while the designs are totally different (fig. G.5); it means the artist was inspired by this textile (fig. G.5 or other piece with the same color) or he had re-designed a real piece of textile bearing the motifs which he had shown.

In the next image which is Annunciation by Simone Martini, two patterned fabrics are displayed, both of which are on Gabriel's body. His mantle fabric has checkered design that Simone Martini had already used (fig. G.6); Simone used Sgraffito technique. This decorative method, involves scarping through a layer of white slip to reveal the darker clay body of the vessel beneath and, finally, covering the whole surface with a clear lead glaze. It was used in twelfth-thirteenth century Persian pottery and even earlier in Near East. However, as early as the Duecento, this technique of painting was employed on polychrome wooden sculpture³⁴¹. The first appearances of sgraffito in paintings dated from the late Duecento and early Trecento and also involved the use of white metal leaf. Furthermore, right from the start in painting the technique was used to depict patterned luxury textiles. Simone Martini in his Annunciation transformed it³⁴², with a difference that more lines have been used in this fabric. In the underneath clothing fabric, Simone Martini has taken the same step that Lorenzetti has also taken toward medallion elimination (fig. G.7 up), because in that period, there were some oriental textiles without the medallions in Italy³⁴³.

³⁴¹ Norman Muller mentioned the wooden Crucifix from the Cathedral of Arezzo dated ca. 1200-1225.

³⁴² Hoeniger, 1991, p. 154.

³⁴³ This mantle might be a representation of one of the types described by the *argentier* of the French king Philippe V (1293–1322) in the list of the cloths in gold and silk in the Palace of the Louvre. Those include *tartaires apelez taphetaz* (tartar in taffeta), *tartaires d'or* (golden tartar), and the *tartaires changeans de Luques* (iridescent tartar of Lucca). 34 These are distinct from the *samiz* (samit), *nachis* (*nasīj?*), *camoquas* (*kīmkhā*), and other gold cloths or cloth with gold decorations, like the textile of the angel's robe, most likely made of Central Asian golden lampas or tabby structures, that are listed in the French inventory: "Item, two purple *camoccati*. Item, sixteen pieces of satin, with works in gold of different types. Item, seventeen cloths of Lucca in blue ground and worked with flowers of golden lilies. Item, thirteen tartar spreads of gold. Item, forty-three samits of Lucca, vermillion. Item, six *nachis* of Lucca in gold. Item, seven *nachis* of Lucca, six of which with no gold and the other with golden rosettes. Item, seven diapers of gold. Item, six cloths of Lucca of gold. Item, six tartars of Lucca, iridescent. Item, thirty-six cloths of gold called *naques*. Item, four *naques*, with white ground. Item, thirteen small golden *nacques*. Item, a piece of *nachis* of Lucca made of two pieces worked with foliage. Item, forty-five pieces of other tartar". Gasparini, 2020, p. 134; see also Douët-d'Arcq, 1884, pp. 1-19.

One of them (which could be the point of inspiration for Simone) is the dalmatic of Benedict XI, produced in Central Asia (fig. G.7 down). He, similar to Lorenzetti, used the Brick pattern repeat (Cf. fig. G.2). This point can prove that these artists had dealt with fabrics with such specification.

The fabric over the shoulder of Gabriel seems more simple and contains patterned design (Fig. G.8); regarding that the back side of the fabric contains checkered design and its surface is totally golden, there is a probability that the fabric behind has lower quality. Regarding that the same event is repeated in the work of Jacopo di Mino (Cf. fig. J.7), probably lined fabric was common in that era.

In the Allegory of Good Government by Lorenzetti (fig. G.9), diamond repeat is used in the right-side fabric which is the largest one presented; and the artist did not use any new element. The type of coloring insisted on keeping the surrounding frame around the main design which is a shamseh. In the fabric on the left (Sapienza Divina), Lorenzetti used motifs on golden fabric, which can be claimed to be an innovation of this artist because in brocade fabrics, the motifs always appeared with golden thread in other colors background; Lorenzetti acted reversely. In the same fabric, black rhomboids are placed with definite distance from each other that formed again a diamond repeat that the spaces among them can be assumed as four-pointed knots. It can be said that Lorenzetti preferred this repeat to other ones related to fabric designing.

As it was mentioned, it seems that using a black point in fabrics is Lorenzetti technic. On both right and left side of the king, fabric has equal repeat but there are differences in coloring and details inside frames (figs. G.10., G.11). One of the points about this artist is the abundant use of diamond repeat pattern whose early samples were seen in Crucifixes (Cf. figs. A.8., B.2). Lorenzetti dealt with them more decoratively and he expanded this repeat with various decorative elements.

The color of this fabric is quite new and probably it was woven in Lucca; or possibly the artist has chosen the color based on an inspiration of fabrics produced in Lucca (see chapter 3). As it was mentioned, diamond repeat started from painted cross and was utilized by several artists.

Diamond repeat is also repeated in Daddi's work (fig. G.12)³⁴⁴, but this artist, unlike Lorenzetti, used a linear design between main motifs. Inside rhomboids, which are considered as frames, animal and plant designs are used, in which Sasanid symmetry principles are quite preserved. In displaying animal designs, details are not observed and by the general design it can be concluded that it is a bird. This fabric contains a margin which is formed by some rows per se. The first row is simple and there is another row over it decorated with golden color. The method of displaying birds in this fabric is much similar to the ribbons of a dress which is presently kept in the church of Santa Trinità, Florence (fig. G.13).

Bernardo Daddi preserved his own method for displaying fabrics and there is a common point in his works (in this decade) which is creating decorations by using smaller designs around bigger ones. He used this method in painting Magnificat Madonna (figs. G.14., G.15).

³⁴⁴ Due to smallness of this work, there is no possibility for its exact redesigning.

Group H: 1340-1350

It can be said that in this decade, the artists did not create any special event in textile design, but the important point is all the fabrics are brocade (except one, fig. H.3). In the first figure (fig. H.1), the artist used four-petal knots which are in two modes of curved and geometric placed in a simple repeat pattern (fig. H.2). In the next work (fig. H.3), Pietro Lorenzetti used the same diamond composition presented in the Allegory of Good Government by Ambrogio (fig. H.4., Cf. fig. G.9) with the difference that medallions are eliminated and the design is totally linear. The background color is light cream, which Ambrogio has already used. In this work, Lorenzetti used again his usual technic and created a turning in the eyes by using a dark color. He presented this combination in one fabric or, similar to the next sample, painted in some separate fabrics (fig. H.5). In this work, dependence to existing traditions and also modernization process of the fabrics can be observed together. In Madonna clothing, combination of shamseh and four-pointed knot are used that the artist displayed it in linear form (fig. H.6).

Shamseh possessed curved lines and their design resembles in Saint Catherine of Alexander polyptych by Simone Martini (Cf. fig. E.13). The designs started from each other center. On the fabric behind Madonna, the artist used Ogee pattern repeat (fig. H.7), inside which plant designs are displayed. This type of repeat pattern was first seen in Samarkand (see chapter 2., part 2.2.1., figs. 2.12-2.14). Probably, fabrics with this type of repeat had already arrived to the Western world. Henceforth, in several paintings, this type of repeat is used and it can be said that it was a popular repeat in fabric weaving after half drop pattern.

In the next work (fig. H. 8), that is one of the most magnificent works in this catalogue, Ambrogio Lorenzetti presented six fabrics, five of which are brocades. The clothing of Saint Catherine of Alexandria has dark background and plant designs with simple repeat pattern. The iconography of textile is a per totum pattern (see chapter 3., part. 2.3) and probably this textile is produced by weavers of Lucca. A sample of this fabric is now available and the painter had probably seen this fabric closely (fig. H.9). Allegretto Nuzi also used the same fabric in his work (fig. H.10).

The clothing of Holy Mary (fig. H. 11) has a simple repeat pattern which has not been seen in other works. The repeat of the design is simple but Lorenzetti placed lines between each row which caused the audience eyes pursue the design vertically. The fabric of Christ's dress has plant designs on cream background and its repeat is Half-Drop pattern. The fabric is brocade and it seems that Lorenzetti admired the combination of cream and golden color. The fabric spread on the chair had the same color but the technic of its designs weaving is not merely brocade and in case of flowers, weaving is with thread other than gold.

There is a silk fragment which comes from the sleeve of a tunic, one of a set of high mass vestments with a traditional, unsupported association with Emperor Henry VI. This fabric (fig. H.12) includes vertical lines with some golden thread decoration inside them. There is again probability that the artist had close contact with a fabric bearing these motifs or he was inspired by them.

There is a fabric in two colors on the Saint Bishop clothing in the left and over the pillow which Madonna is sitting on. Its design is a combination of plant and animal motifs. Animals which are placed symmetrically whose most significant Italian sample, with inspiration from Oriental motif, is Fragment of Henry VI (Cf. chapter 3., part. 1., fig.3.2). Regarding that there are animal motifs in the fabric spread on the ground, there is probability that the artist had seen

such a fabric with this iconography. The next point that should be mentioned about this decade is that we witness the increase in linear designs.

Group I: 1350-1360

In this group, commitment to traditions and innovations in fabric designing existed together and innovations are influential in fabrics produced later and created designs lasted for long times in fabrics. In the first work of this group (fig. I.1), the artist displayed four fabrics. The fabric behind Holy Mary is formed by the constant combination of shamseh and four-petal knot in two colors with golden decorations. The interesting point about this fabric is that it has lining. Sections of this fabric which is turned and displayed its back has blue color (some parts lighter and some parts darker) and its material is different from the surface (Cf. fig. G.8).

Holy Mary clothing contains interlinked medallions and plant designs are linear; their color is darker than the background. Designs are similar to those of Almoravid era in Spain (see chapter 2., part. 3.1). The fabric spread on the chair contains diamond repeat which has, similar to the Allegory of Good Government created by Lorenzetti (Cf. fig. G.9), black lozenge designs and hypothetical four-petal knots can be considered among them. In the fourth fabric which spread under the feet of Holy Mary, the artist has used plant and geometric designs. Small lozenge designs are placed beside larger ones.

In the next work (fig. I.2), the artist used the same combination of four-petal flowers design whose encircling is similar to medallions of Saint Catherine polyptych (Cf. fig. E.13) that a four-petal flower is placed inside each and there are floral lozenges among them (fig. I.3).

In the Strozzi Altar (fig. I.4), four patterned fabrics are displayed. The fabric spread under the feet of the characters contains Half-Brick plant design. Its background is red with golden design that enforces the probability of the artist acquaintance with brocade fabric. Other characters clothing (St. Catherine and St. Lorenzo) have patterned fabrics whose most important common feature is displaying facing birds (fig. I.5). This type of displaying bird turned to be one of the designs of the second half of 14th century and its samples existed in the works of many artists and are also seen in the later works of the artist himself.

In the next work (fig. I.6), the artist used two fabrics for child Christ: the clothing fabric contains plant designs, the background color is close to the cream color used by Lorenzetti and designs are placed with Half-Brick relation to each other (fig. I.7). Among designs, there are quadrilateral designs which are similar to motifs of the same group used by Taddeo Gaddi (Cf. fig. I.2). In the fabric of Christ's mantle, the artist used more decorations (fig. I.8). Repeat pattern is Half-Brick and the main design includes a lozenge and a four-petal flower that artist created a mode of positive-negative in them by colors. The background color had been crimson and a layer of cream was put on it; that in some part is shed. There is a slight difference between the first and the second row which is in displaying the center of the designs. In the first row (from the downside) there is a four-petal knot in the center and in the second row, there are four circles.

The design of the fabric covering the pillow is similar to the design³⁴⁵ which had been used in the Crucifix of Deonato Orlandi (fig. I.9). Orlandi, similar to Giunta da Pisa (Cf. fig. E.6) used margin for his fabric and by viewing the image of Madonna and the child, it can be concluded that the artists had dealt with this fabric maintaining such repeat (Cf. fig. I.10).

³⁴⁵ The Italian name of this repeat pattern is *Griglia Romboidale*.

There are two fabrics displayed in the next work (fig. I.11): the design of Holy Mary clothing consisted of combination of the letter S and M and four-petal flower which are joined together with thin lines. In Christ clothing, the artist used diamond repeat patterns and its design is similar to Bernardo Daddi (Cf. fig. G.14). This repeat enforced the probability that there had been a fabric with this iconography in reality and the artists were in close contact with it. There is a fabric now in Berlin that turns this probability to certainty (fig. I.12).

The fabric in the child clothing has diamond repeat pattern including animal designs. The interesting point is that the legendary animal in his clothing fabric and its color composition is similar to a fabric kept in Mogaddam Museum in Tehran (Fig. I.13., Cf. fig. 2.69), even though the repeats are different. Since this event has repeated again, there is a probability that fabrics with the same color but different motifs and iconography had been produced.

Group J: 1360-1370

This group, in which the most prominent artist is Nardo di Cione, is the only group that all the fabrics are seen in the works of other painters. One of the shared points in this group is the presence of warm color in most of their works. In the most important section of the first work (fig. J.1), the artist used a fabric similar to Saint Lorenzo clothing in Strozzi Altar (Cf. fig. I.5) and in its both sides used a fabric with the same color combination but with merely plant motifs. The similarity between these motifs and Lorenzetti works can be found in that point that black color is used in form of dot causing the turning of eye.

In his other work (figs. J.2., J.3), this artist used the same composition. Regarding the use of sharp colors for displaying fabrics, there is a possibility that the fabrics are productions of Lucca because, similarly, in this city artists used sharp colors (chapter 3., fig. 3.8); away from the samples which had existed at that time. There were fabrics with similar iconography in Iran in 14th century (fig. J.4) but, as it was mentioned, the colors are not sharp to that extent. Probably, this iconography is transferred and then transformed in color subject.

Up to this point and in this decade, it is possible to see samples that the fabrics present in the works of this artist are repeated in other artists works; but there are also works in which the design of fabrics is a return to Islamic fabric principles. In his next work (fig. J.5), he used the same famous Islamic knots for Holy Mary dress. Regarding the fact that in that era the design of fabrics (either real or displayed in paintings) was more complicated and most of the artists moved toward brocades, this fabric is very simple and this probability should be taken into consideration that the artist was intended to return to the past (Cf. fig. H.2).

In the next work (fig. J.6) for displaying fabric and choice of color, the artist performed similar to Daddi (Cf. figs. G.9., G.11). Due to extensive damages of the work, there is no possibility for restoration but the fabric is brocade and its motifs are linear and plants (fig. J.7). As it was mentioned in the works of Daddi, this type of repeat is basically a return to repeat pattern in Samanians fabrics. Naturally, as we are moving ahead in Italian painting history, the probability that a painter referred to the previous painters, or observing his contemporaneous fabrics with such iconography is enforcing.

The next work, which is studied as the last work in this catalogue (fig. J.8), is one of the most abundant fabric among the works present in the catalogue. In the fabric on the background and the fabric spread on the pillow, the artist used diamond repeat and the color of fabric in the background is similar to the color of Cione's works (Cf. figs. J.1., J.2). The sharp colors are noticeable. The major elements of this fabric are the four-petal knots in various angles. The fabric over the pillow contains lozenge shape medallions inside which four-petal flowers are placed.

The fabric of Christ dress has a design and color combination of the previous work and the same fabric is repeated in the underneath dress of Holy Mary. The fabric of angels clothing (the second from the right and the first from the left) is similar to the fabric used by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in image H.8 for the Saint Bishop on the right. The important point in this image is the fabric of Holy Mary cloak. It is similar to fabric in Simone Martini Annunciation (Cf. fig. G.6) in which the surface of the fabric is alike Gabriel clothing. The checkered pattern design of the back of the fabric is noticeable. It seems that in that time the fabrics with lower quality had checkered designs. This painting is a perfect sample of intertextuality in which Sasanid principles (medallion, symmetry), Islamic fabric weaving principles (four-petal knots, brocade design), and Italian fabric weaving principles (sharp colors) are preserved.

One of the interesting point in this group is the work of Luca di Tommè. He used medallions in his Crucifix (fig.J.8). This point again proves the durability of this pre-Islam design. But the existing point is intertextuality, which is the topic of this thesis, and this mean that the artist most probably had encountered one of the painting containing these motifs and repeated them in his work.

Since this project is a section of Digital Humanities Ph.D. program in history of art field in University of Florence, the founding of the present thesis is designed in a frame of a database under the address <https://textileinpainting.com>. In this database, harmonized with the relevant catalogue, works are divided into ten groups. By arriving into each, explanations are given about the works and their relation to each other. In each category, attempt has been made that the most significant fabric is placed. In this way, the audience, aside from studying about the motifs in painted fabrics, would deal with the motifs of the real fabrics.

CATALOGUE IV



Figure A.1: Coppo di Marcovaldo, Maestà of Orvieto, c.1270, tempera and gold on wood, Orvieto, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.

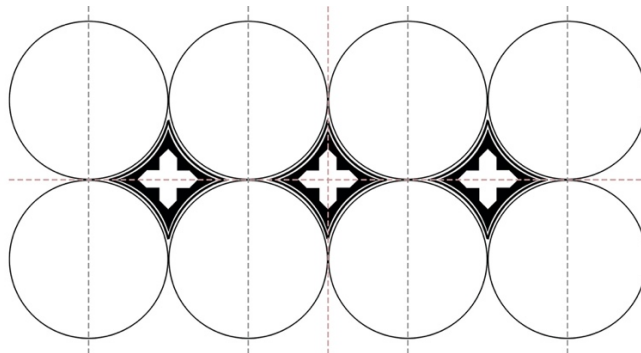


Figure A.2: The illustration of textile repeat pattern presented in Maestà of Orvieto (fig. A.1).



Figure A.3: Unknown Florentine artist, Maestà, 13th century, tempera on wood, Florence, Church of Saint Remigio.



Figure A.4: Guido da Siena, Maestà of San Domenico, c. 1270, oil on wood, Siena, Church of Saint Domenico.

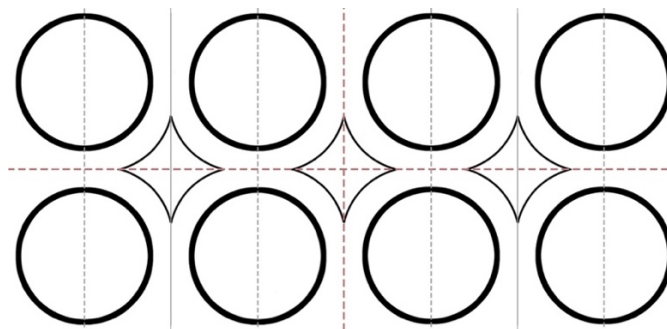


Figure A.5: The illustration of the textile represented in the Maestà of San Domenico by Guido da Siena (fig. A.4).



Figure A.6: Coppo di Marcovaldo, Madonna of Bordone, 1261, oil on wood, Siena, Church of Santa Maria dei Servi.

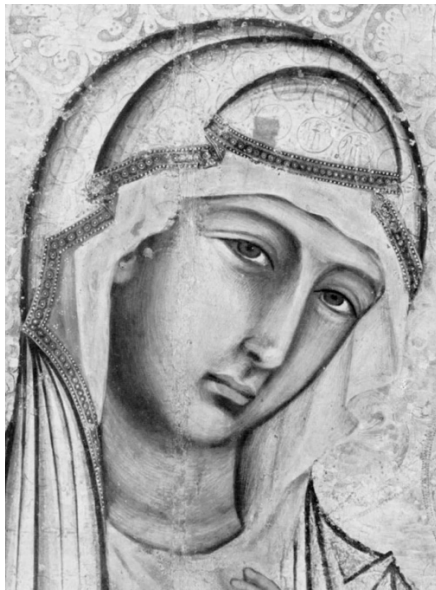


Figure A.7: The presence of medallions including the eagle in the covering of head of Madonna in Madonna of Bordone by Coppo di Marcovaldo.



Figure A.8: Pisan artist, Crucifix, second half of 13th century, tempera and gold on wood, Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Inv. 1573.

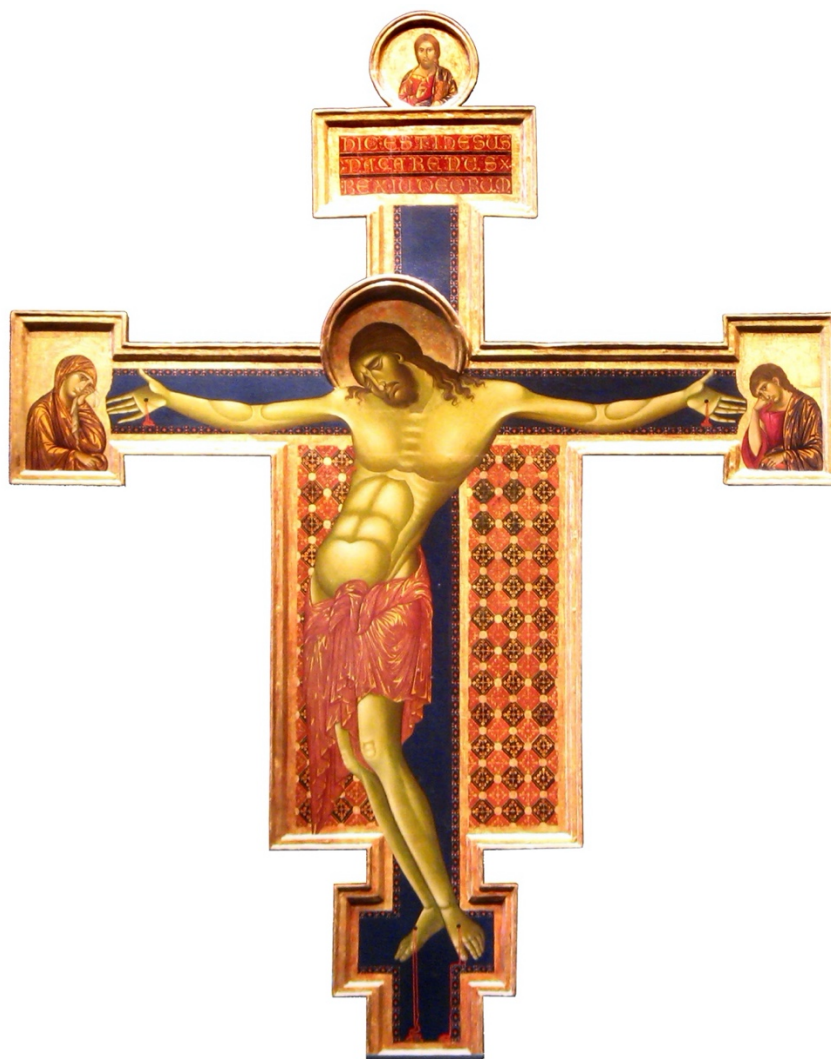


Figure A.9: Cimabue, Crucifix, 1270, oil on wood, Arezzo, Church of San Domenico.



Figure A.10: The presence of lozenge as medallions in Crucifix of Cimabue (left) and Maestà of Coppo di Marcovaldo (right).



Figure B.1: Duccio Buoninsegna, Rucellai Madonna, 1285, tempera and gold on panel, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, ©MIBACT 2017.



Figure B.2: The textile design includes shamseh and four-petal knots in the masterpiece of Duccio.

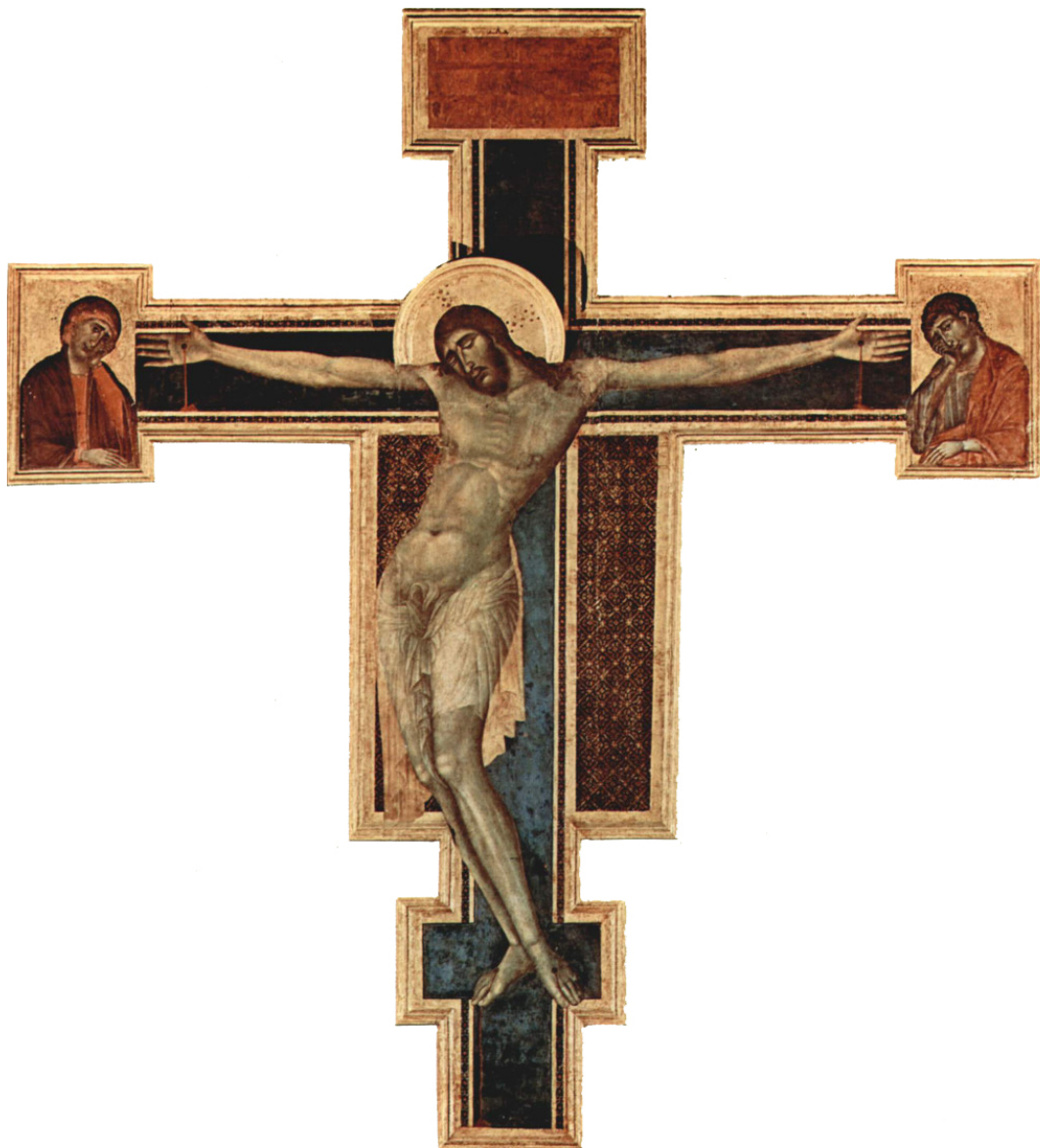


Figure B.3: Cimabue, Crucifix, 1285, distemper on wood panel, Florence, Church of Santa Croce.



Figure B.4: Unknown Artist (attributed to Duccio and Maestro di Badia a Isola), Crucifix, c. 1285, tempera on wood, Grosseto, Church of San Francesco.

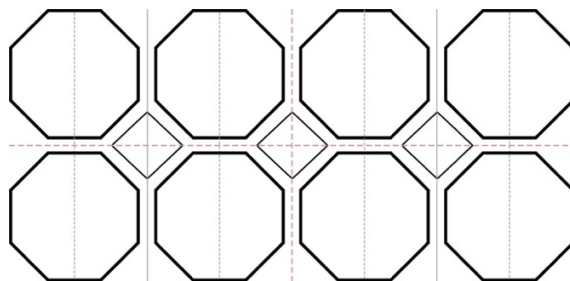


Figure B.5: The transformation of medallions in the Crucifix of Grosseto.



Figure C.1: Giotto, Madonna and Child, 1295, tempera on wood, Florence, Museo Diocesano di Santo Stefano al Ponte.

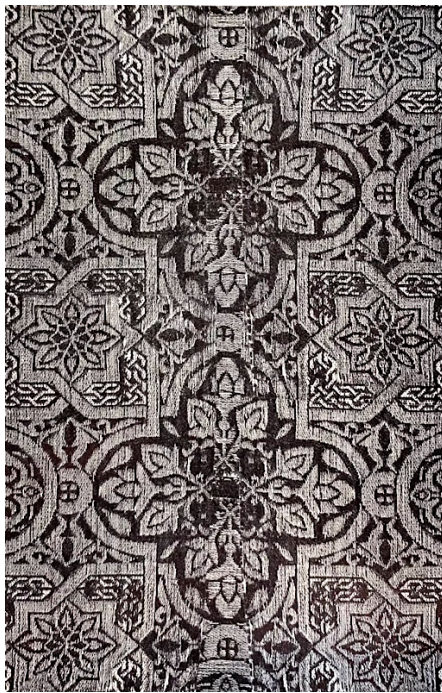


Figure C.2: Textile fragment, Spain, 14th century. Source: Klesse, 1967, fig. 24, p.47.



Figure C.3: Giotto, Crocifisso, 1290-1295, oil on wood, Florence, Santa Maria Novella.

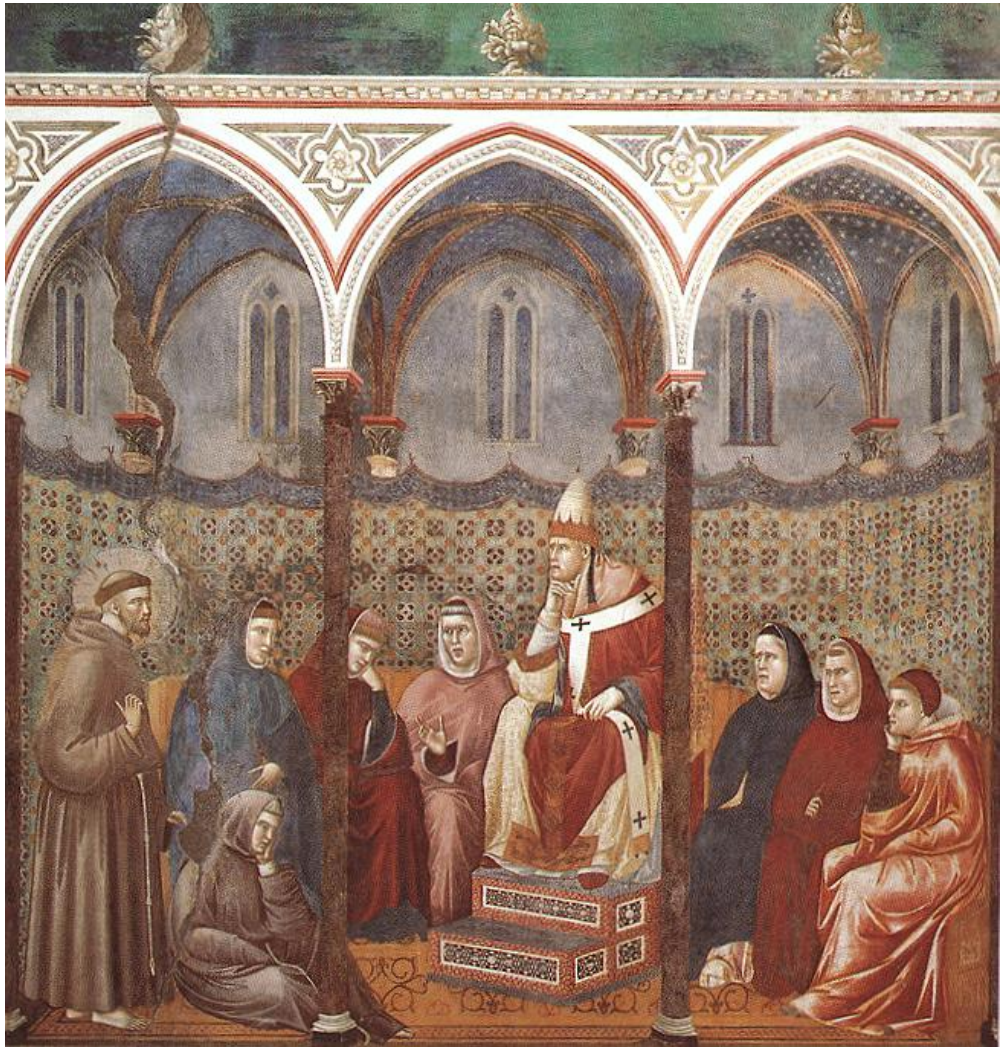


Figure C.4: Giotto, Preach front in Honorius III, c.1295-1299, fresco, Assisi, Basilica superiore of Assisi.

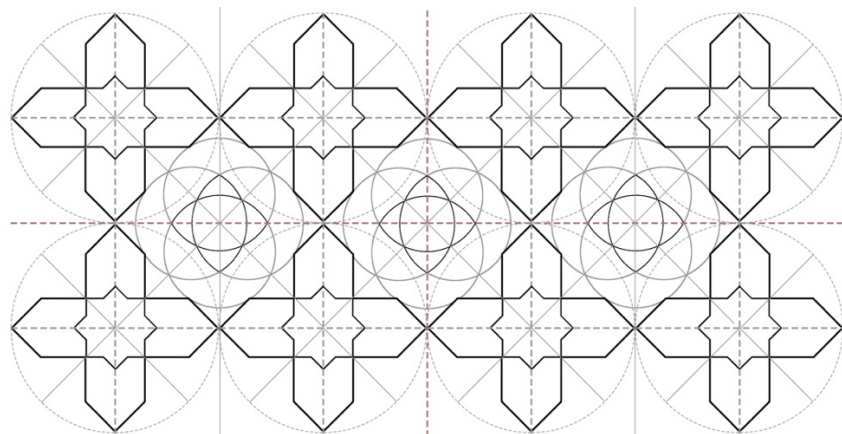


Figure C.5: The illustration of the textile pattern presented in Preach front in Honorius III by Giotto (fig. C.4).



Figure C.6: The comparison between the repeat pattern of textile behind characters in Giotto's work (fig. C. 4) and textile fragment from a dalmatic of San Valero, 1200s. Spain, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art. Inv. 1942.1077.



Figure C.7: Giotto, Vision of Friar Augustin e del vescovo di Assisi, c.1295-1299, fresco, Assisi, Basilica superiore.

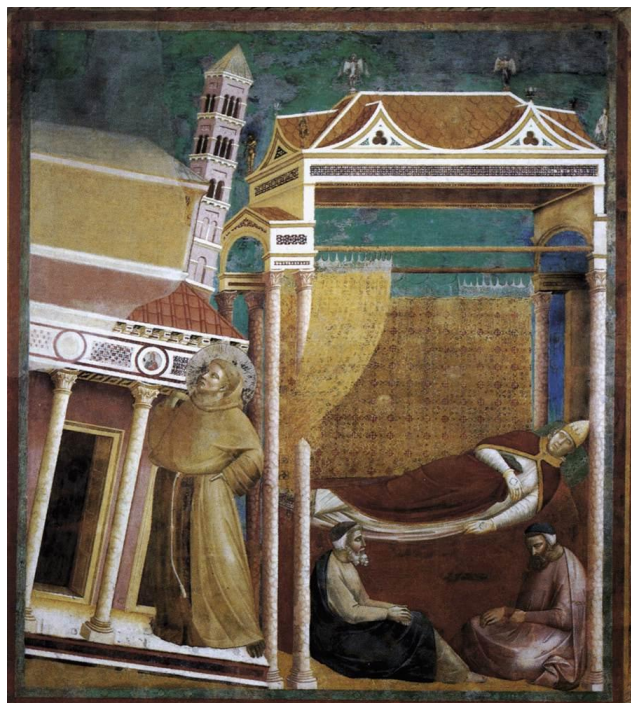


Figure C.8: Giotto, Dream of Innocent III, c.1295-1299, fresco, Assisi, Basilica superiore.



Figure C.9: Giotto, St. Francis appears to Gregory IX, c.1295-1299, fresco, Assisi, Basilica superiore.

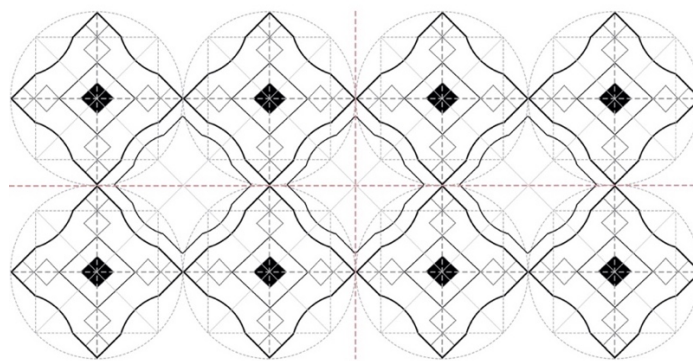


Figure C.10: The illustration of the repeat of textile (behind of characters) presented in St. Francis appears to Gregory IX (fig. C.9).

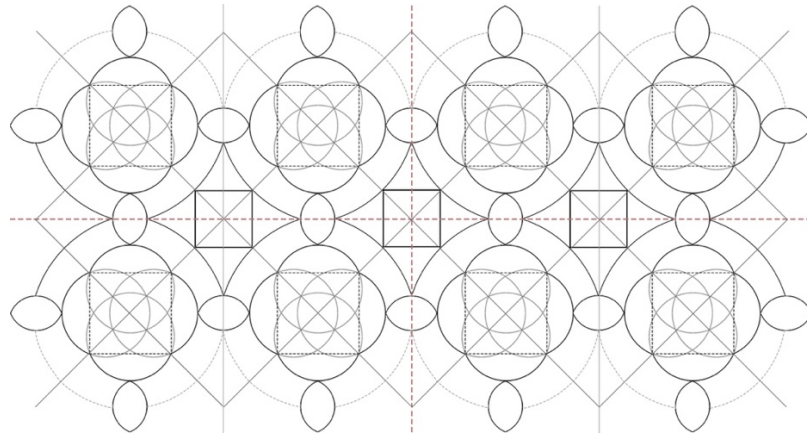


Figure C.11: The fabric repeat pattern over the head of characters in St. Francis appears to Gregory IX by Giotto (fig. C.9).



Figure C.12: The similarity of the calligraphy used by Giotto (down) with Kufic calligraphy used in Islamic monument (up, detail of figure 2.7).



Figure D.1: Giotto, Madonna and Child with St. Nicholas, St. John Evangelist, St. Peter and St. Benedict, 1300, tempera on Wood, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

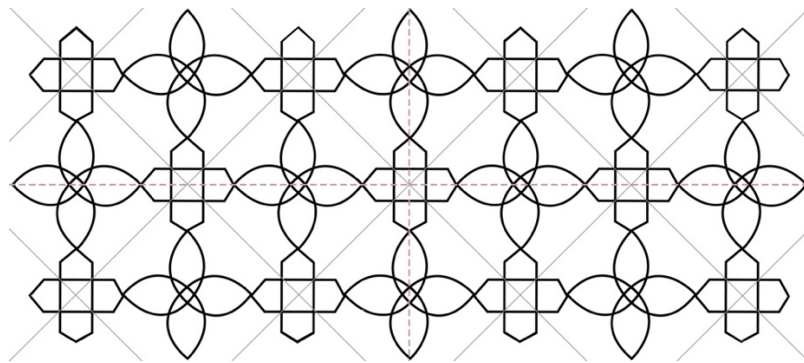


Figure D.2: The Illustration of the repeat pattern of textile presented in Madonna and Child with St. Nicholas, St. John Evangelist, St. Peter and St. Benedict by Giotto (fig. D.1).

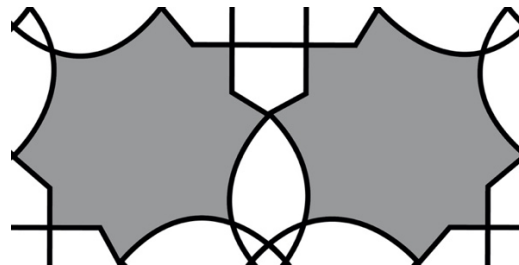


Figure D.3: The deformed geometric shape in design of fabric in Madonna and Child with St. Nicholas, St. John Evangelist, St. Peter and St. Benedict by Giotto in fig. D.1.



Figure D.4: Memmo di Filippuccio, Madonna and Child with the Donor, a Poor Clare Nun and Saints (detail), 1305-1311, oil on wood, San Gimignano, Pinacoteca.

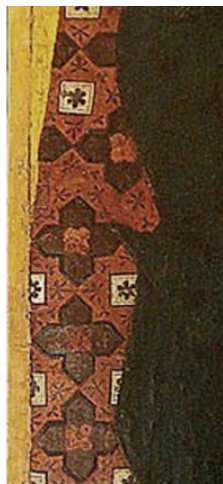


Figure D.5: Creation of displacement in the main repeat pattern of the fabric represented in fig. D.4.



Figure D.6: Duccio, *Maestà of Siena* (det.), 1308-1311, tempera and gold on wood, Siena, Museo dell'Opera Metropolitana del Siena.

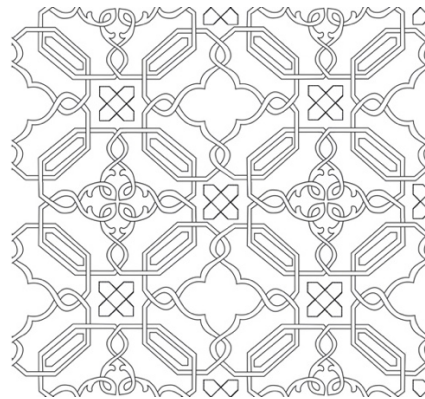


Figure D.7: The illustration of the textile over Mary's chair in the *Maestà* by Duccio.

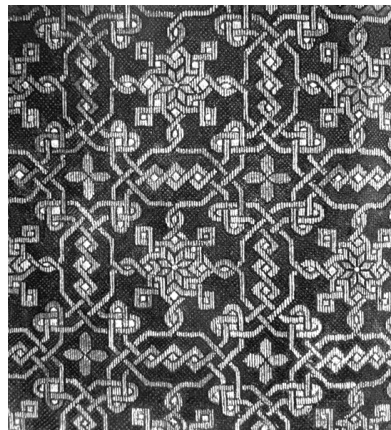


Figure D.8: textile fragment, 13th-14th, Spain. Source: Klesse, 1967, fig. 26.

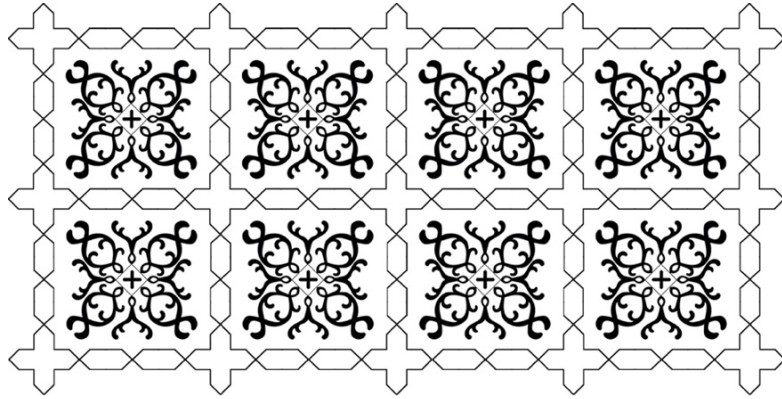


Figure D.9: The illustration of the textile of the Saint Catherina's dress in Maestà by Duccio (fig. D.6).

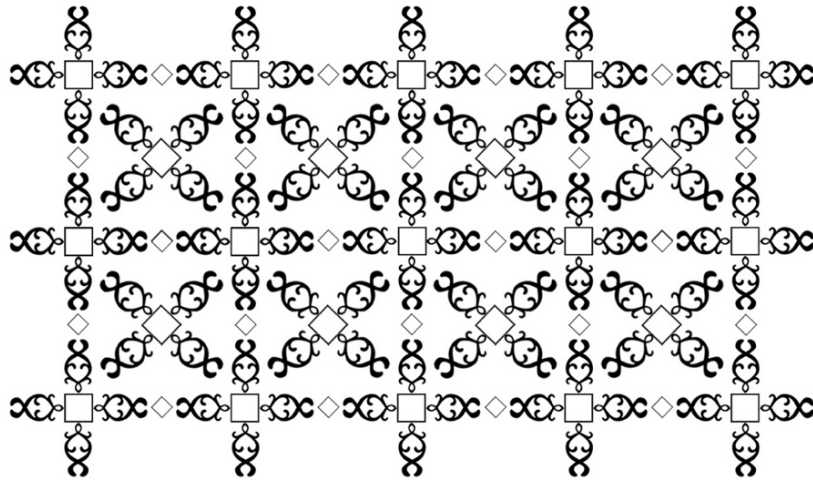


Figure D.10: The illustration of the textile of the Saint Agnese's dress in Maestà by Duccio (fig. D.6).



Figure D.11: Maestro di Santa Cecilia, Saint Peter enthroned, 1307, oil on wood, Florence, Church of San Simone.

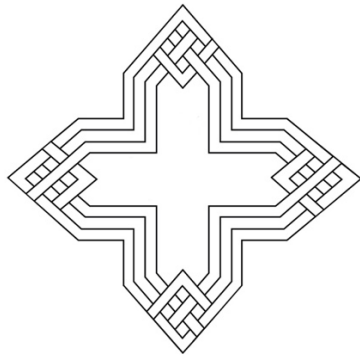


Figure D.12: The illustration of four-petal knot after getting involved in Arabic knots.

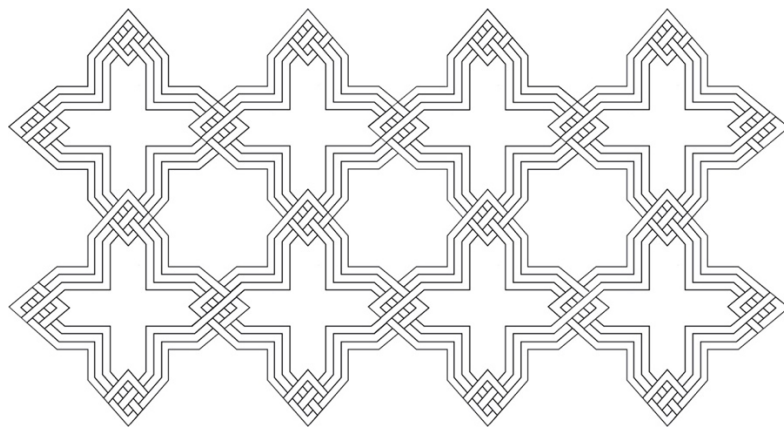


Figure D.13: The illustration of the repeat pattern of textile presented in Saint Peter enthroned (fig. D.11) and the comparison with a textile produced in Sicily in 13th century (fig. 3.4).



Figure D.14: Giotto, Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, 1305-1310, fresco, Padova, Cappella degli Scrovegni.

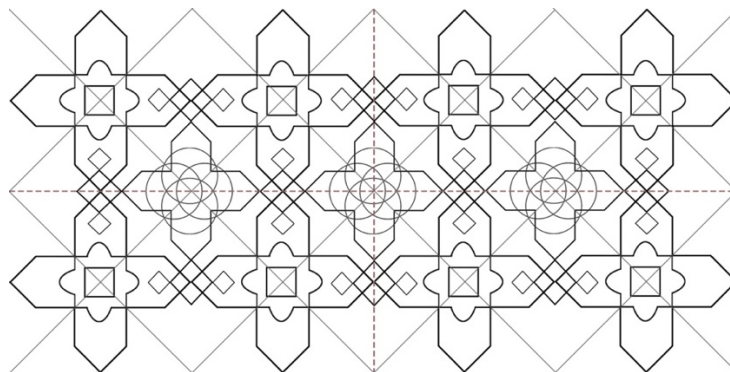


Figure D.15: The illustration of the repeat pattern of textile presented in Presentation of Jesus at the Temple by Giotto (fig. D.14).



Figure D.16: Textile fragment includes Shamsah and four-petal knot design from the tomb of Don Felipe, 1200-1274. Spain, probably Almeria, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv. 19.39.39.



Figure D.17: the comparison of presence of the blue in a textile founded in Spain (fig. D.15) and the painted textile by Giotto in Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, 1305-1310.

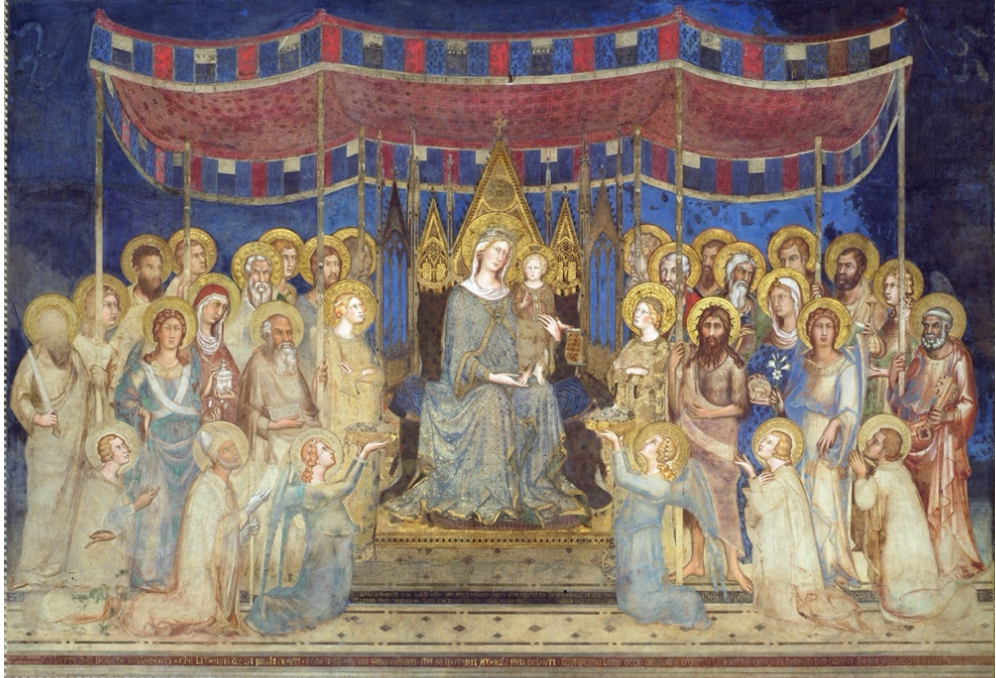


Figure E.1: Simone Martini, Maestà, 1315, fresco, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico.

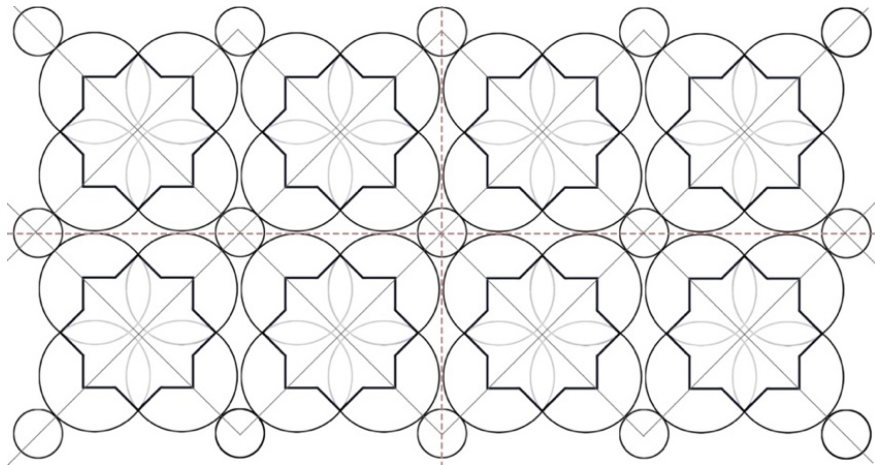


Figure E.2: The illustration of the repeat pattern of textile of Madonna's clothing in Maestà by Simone Martini (fig. E.1).

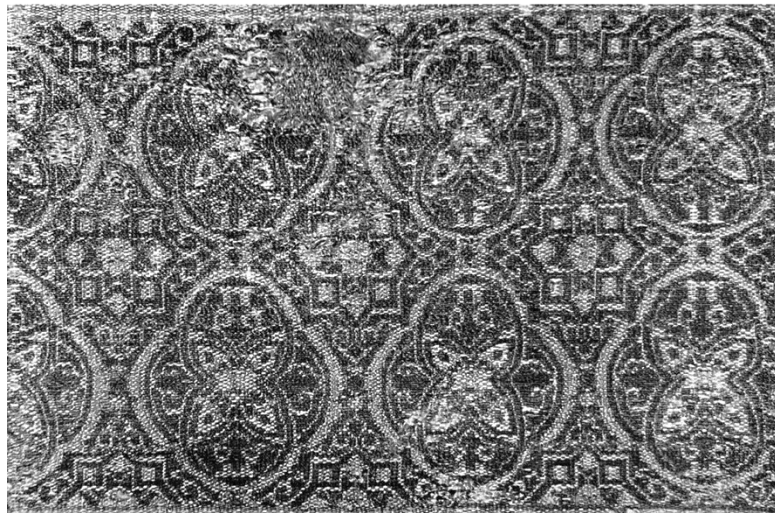


Figure E.3: Textile fragment from Don Felipes's mantel, 13th-14th century, Spain. Source: Klesse, 1967, fig. 42, p.57.



Figure E.4: Maestro di Figline, Maestà, 1320, oil on wood, Figline, Collegiata Santa Maria.

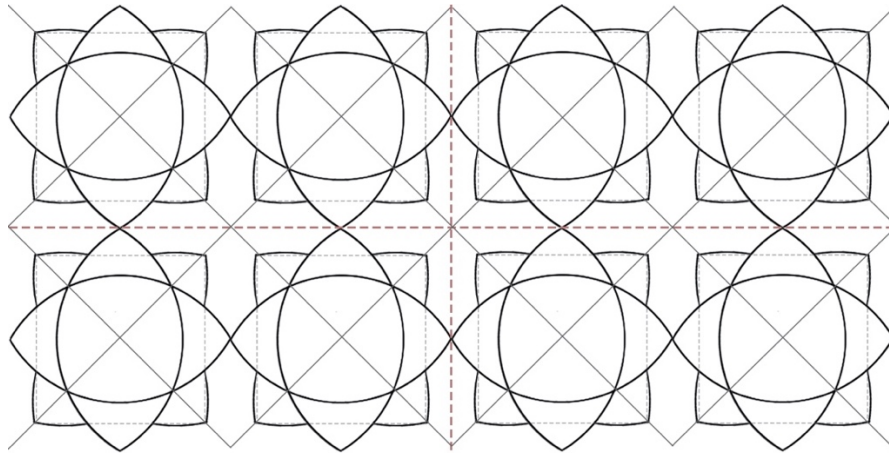


Figure E.5: The illustration of textile's medallions repeat pattern behind Mary and Child in the Maestà of Maestro di Figline (fig. E.3).

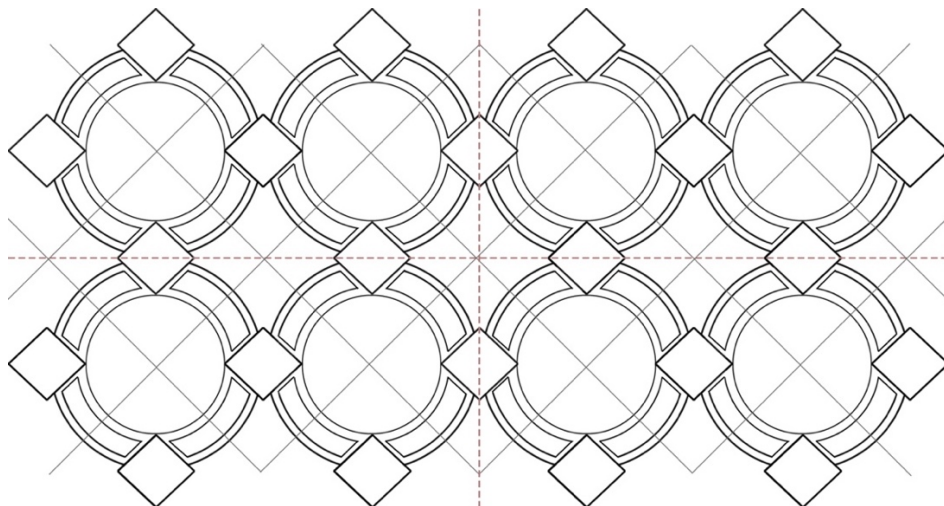


Figure E.6: The illustration of textile's medallions repeat pattern in the right-side of Mary and Child in the Maestà of Maestro di Figline (fig. E.3).



Figure E.7: Giunta Pisano, Crucifix, 1250, oil on wood, Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo.



Figure E.8: Duccio (attribuite), Maestà, 1316, Massa Marittima, Cattedrale of San Cerbone.

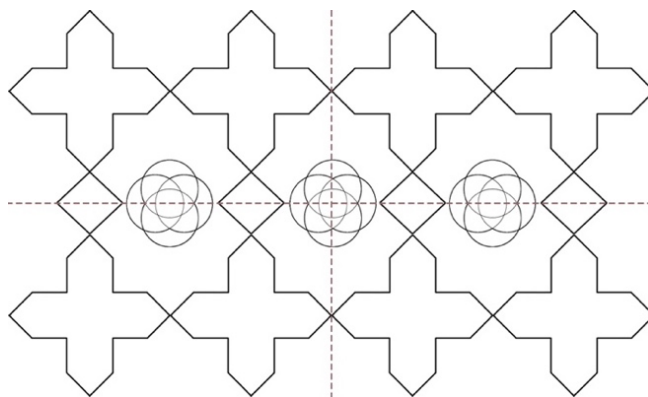


Figure E.9: The illustration of the repeat pattern of textile presented in Maestà attributed to Duccio (fig. E.8).



Figure E.10: Pietro Lorenzetti, Tarlati polyptych, 1320, tempera and gold on wood panel, Arezzo, Church of Santa Maria della Pieve.

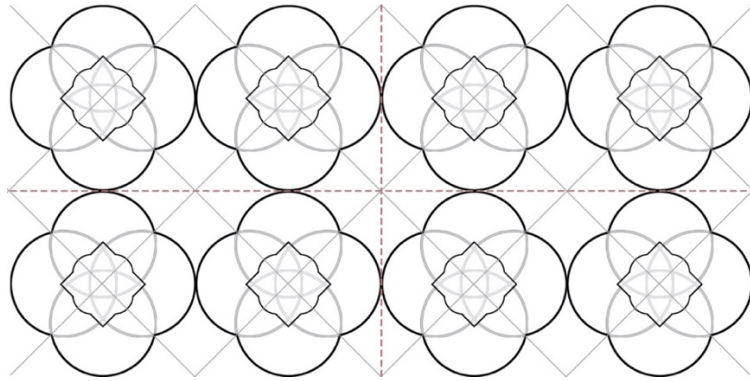


Figure E.11: Illustration of the repeat of textile of Madonna clothing in Tarlati polyptych by Pietro Lorenzetti (fig. E.9).

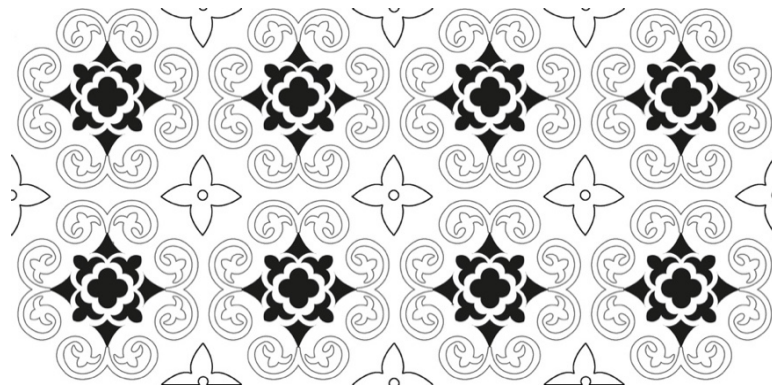


Figure E.12: Illustration of the repeat of textile of Saint Donato clothing in Tarlati polyptych by Pietro Lorenzetti (fig. E.10).



Figure E.13: Simone Martini, Saint Catherine of Alexander polyptych, 1320, oil and gold on wood panel, Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo.

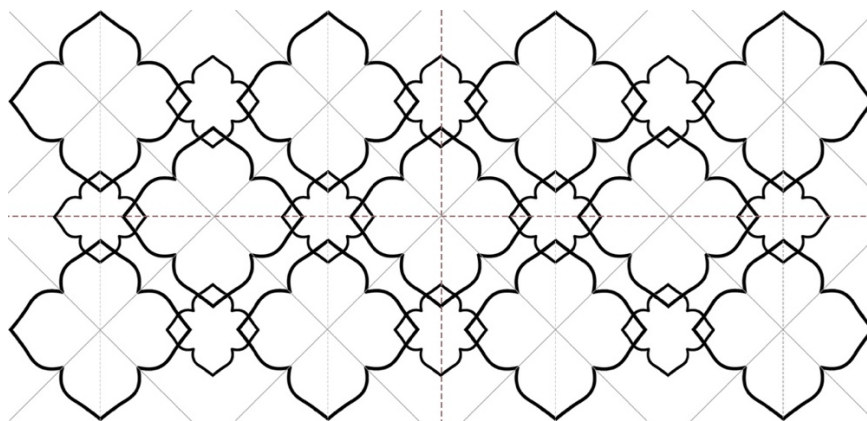


Figure E.14: The illustration of the repeat of textile of Saint Catherina's clothing in the Saint Catherine polyptych by Simone Martini.



Figure F.1: Bernardo Daddi, Triptych of Ognissanti, 1328, tempera and gold on wood, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv. 1890.n.3073.



Figure F.2: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Crucifix, 1326-1330, Siena,
Pinacoteca Nazionale, Inv.598.



Figure F.3: Simone Martini, Apparition of Christ and angels in a dream of St. Martin, 1322-1326, fresco, Assisi, Basilica superiore.



Figure F.4: Detail of the Investiture of St. Martin as a Knight, Simone Martini, Assisi, Basilica Superiore.

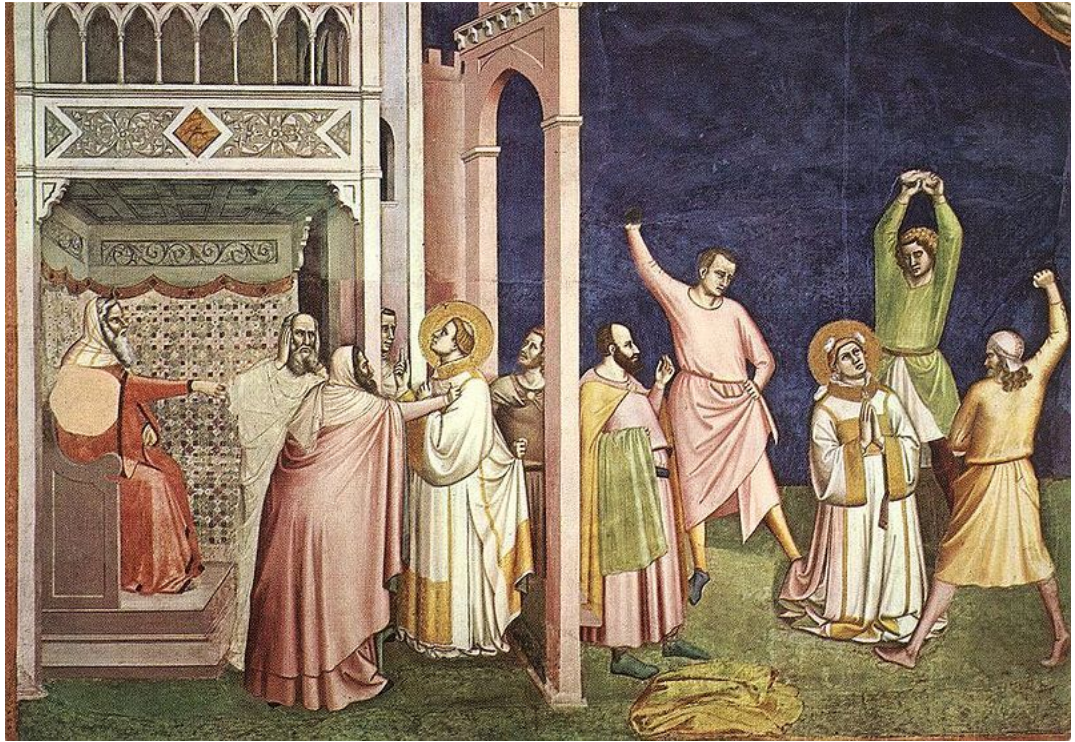


Figure F.5: Bernardo Daddi, Martyrdom of Saint Stephen, 1324, fresco, Florence, Church of Santa Croce.

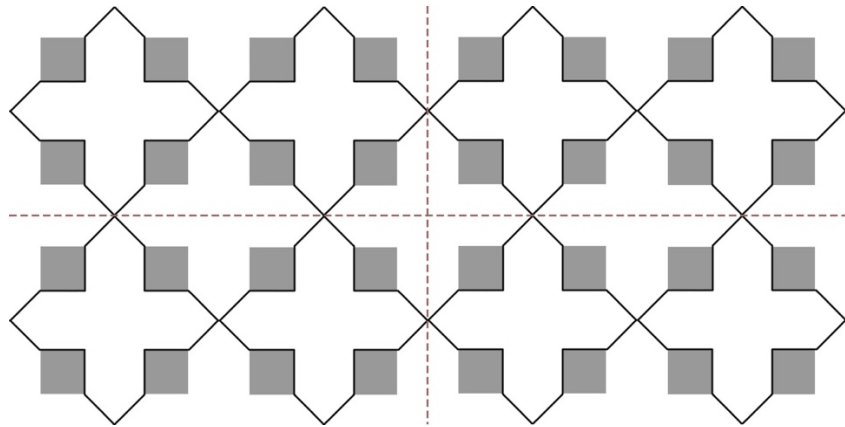


Figure F.6: The illustration of the textile presented in Martyrdom of Saint Stephen by Bernardo Daddi (fig. F.5).



Figure F.7: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Crucifix, 1320-1325, Montenero d'Orcia (Castel del Piano), pieve di Santa Lucia.



Figure G.1: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna and Child with St. Nicolas and St. Proculus*, 1332, tempera on panel, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.

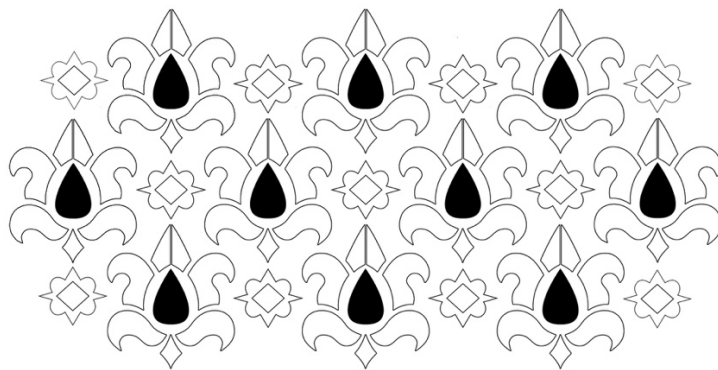


Figure G.2: The illustration of the textile of Saint Proculus's dress in fig. G.1.

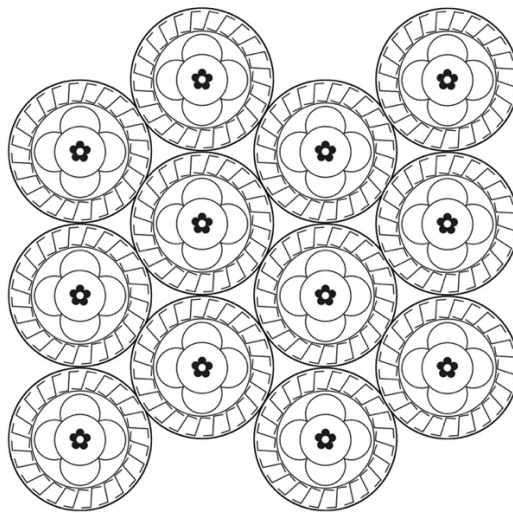


Figure G.3: The illustration of the textile of Saint Nicolas's dress in fig. G.1.



Figure G.4: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna and Child with St. Nicolas and St. Proculus* (det.), 1332, Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi.



Figure G.5: The fragment of lampas, Italy, 14th century, Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissu, Inv. 28492.



Figure G.6: Simone Martini, Annunciation with St. Margaret and St. Ansanus, 1333, tempera and gold on panel, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv. 1890 nos. 451, 452, 453.

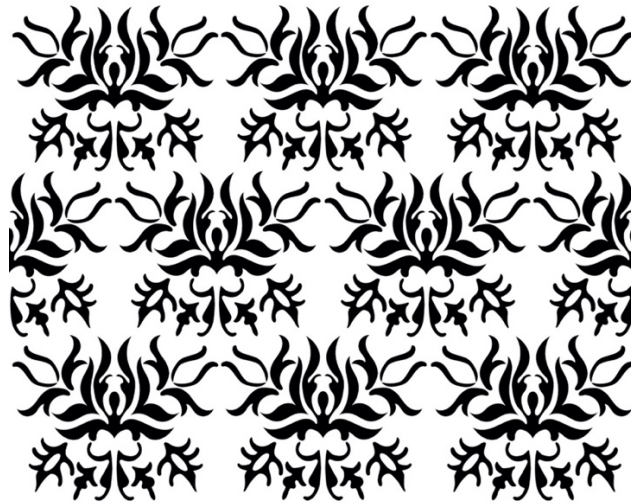


Figure G.7: The illustration of the textile of Gabriel's dress designed by Simone Martini (up) and the dalmatic of Benedetto XI imported from Central Asia, acutally in in Perugia, Church of Sam Domenico produced in the second half of 13th- first half of 14th century (down).



Figure G.8: Gabriel cloak fabric in Annunciation by Simone Martini (fig. G.6).



Figure G.9: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Allegory of Good Government, 1338-1339, fresco, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico.

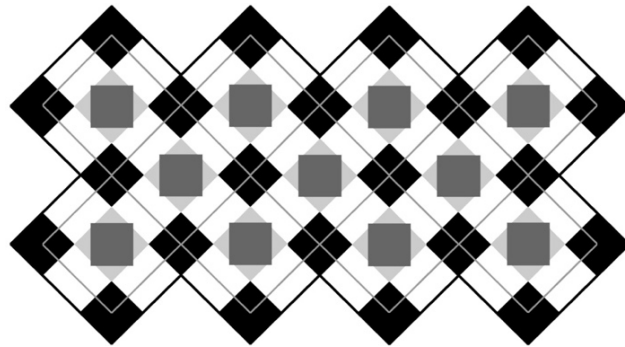


Figure G.10: The illustration of the textile on the left side of the King in Allegory of Good Government by Lorenzetti (fig. G.9).

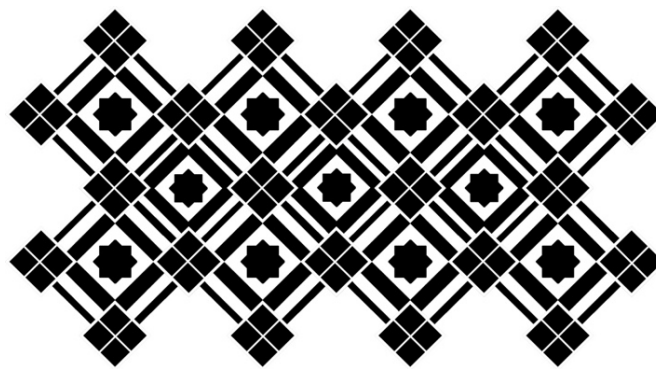


Figure G.11: The illustration of the textile on the right side of the King in Allegory of Good Government by Lorenzetti (fig. G.9).



Figure G.12: Bernardo Daddi, Madonna with Child enthroned between Saints, 1334, tempera on panel, Galleria degli Uffizi.



Figure G.13: The cope from the tomb of Beato Bernardo di Uberti, c.1133, Florence, church of St.Trinita.



Figure G.14: Bernardo Daddi, Magnificat Madonna, 1335-1337, tempera on panel, Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana.

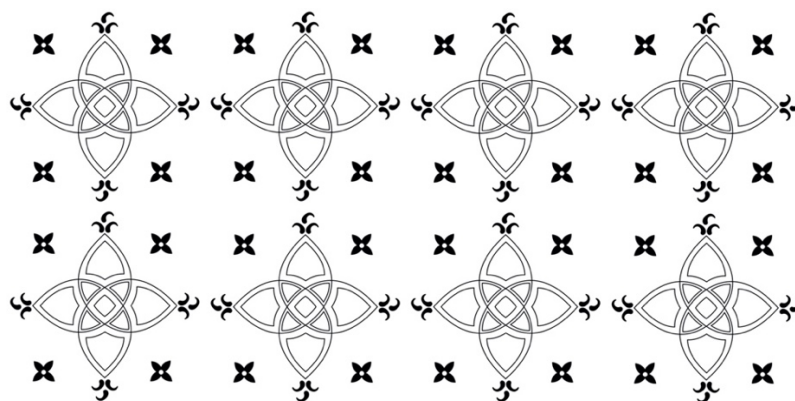


Figure G.15: The illustration of the textile of Mary's dress by Lorenzetti (fig. G.14).



Figure H.1: Bernardo Daddi, Virgin and Child with a goldfinch, 1345-1348, tempera on panel, Boston, Isabella Stewart Museum.

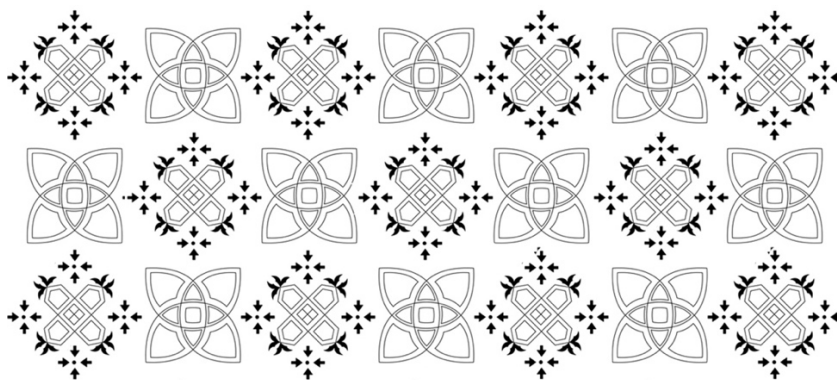


Figure H.2: The illustration of the textile of Madonna's dress designed by Daddi (fig. H.1).



Figure H.3: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna with Child, 1340, fresco, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico.

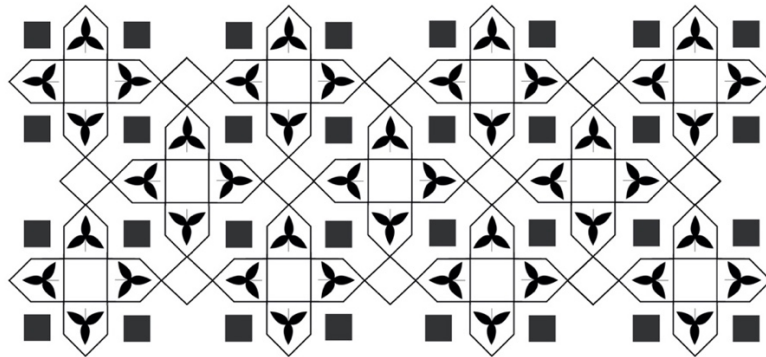


Figure H.4: The illustration of the textile on the chair and behind Madonna in Lorenzetti's work (fig. H.3).



Figure H.5: Bernardo Daddi, Triptych with Madonna Enthroned with Child, 1340-1345, tempera on panel, Altenburg, Lindenau Museum.

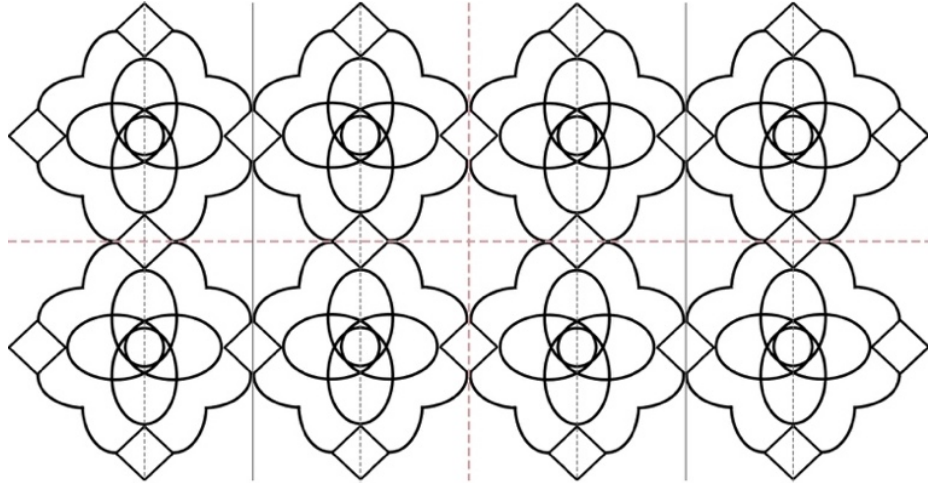


Figure H.6: The illustration of the Mary's dress in fig. H.5.

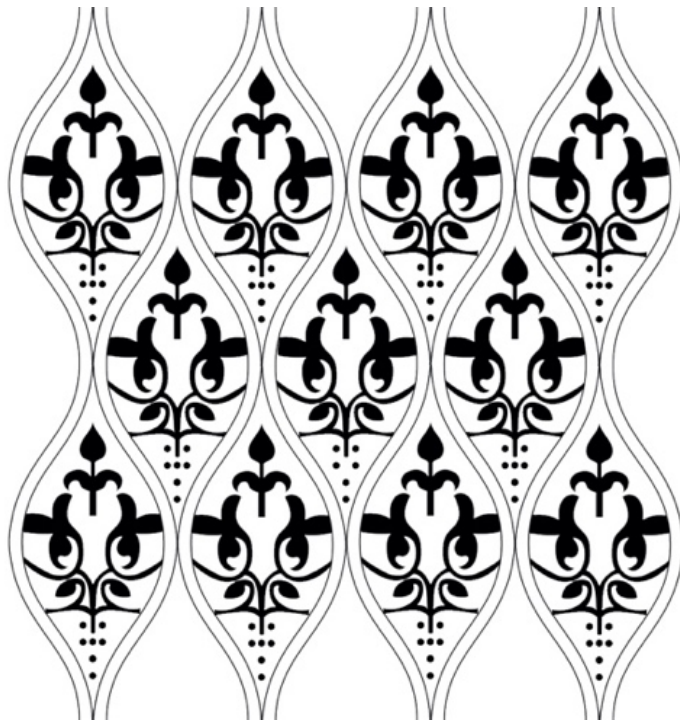


Figure H.7: The illustration of the textile behind characters in fig. H.5.



Figure H.8: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Madonna enthroned by the Saints, 1340-45, tempera on panel, Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale.



Figure H.9: The textile of St. Catherine's dress and a silk fragment, Italy (second half of the 14th century), Riggisberg, Abbeg-Stiftung.



Figure H.10: Allegretto Nuzi, Madonna of Humility, tempera on wood, c. 1360, San Severino Marche, Pinacoteca Civica.



Figure H.11: The detail of Madonna and Child of Lorenzetti's work (fig. H.8).



Figure H.12: The silk fragment, Central Asia (prob.), c. 1197, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, Inv. 8601-1863.



Figure I.1: Bartolomeo Bulgarini, Madonna and Child, 1350-1360, tempera on panel, Siena, Church of St. Pietro and Olive.



Figure I.2: Taddeo Gaddi, Madonna and Child enthroned with the Saints, angles and musicians, 1354, Florence, Church of Santa Felicita.

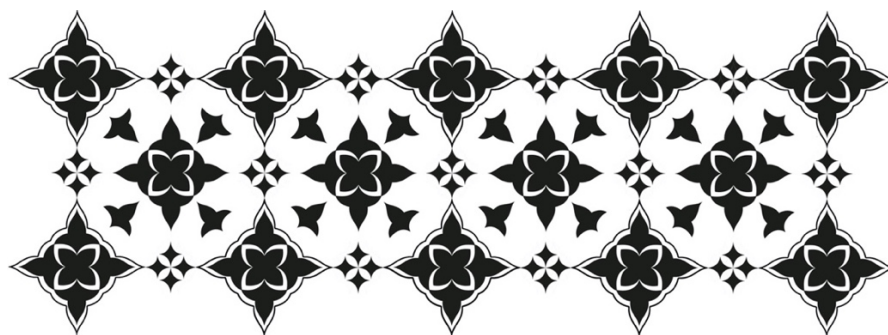


Figure I.3: The illustration of the textile of Mary's dress Gaddi's work (fig. I.2).



Figure I.4: Andrea Orcagna, Strozzi Altar, 1354-1357, oil and gold on wood, Florence, Basilica of Santa Maria Novella.



Figure I.5: The detail of *Strozzi Altar* (St. Chaterine and St. Lorenzo) by Andrea Orcagna (fig. I.4).



Figure I.6: Giovanni di Nicola da Pisa, Madonna of Humility, oil and gold on wood, 1350-1360, Venezia, Galleria G. Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro.

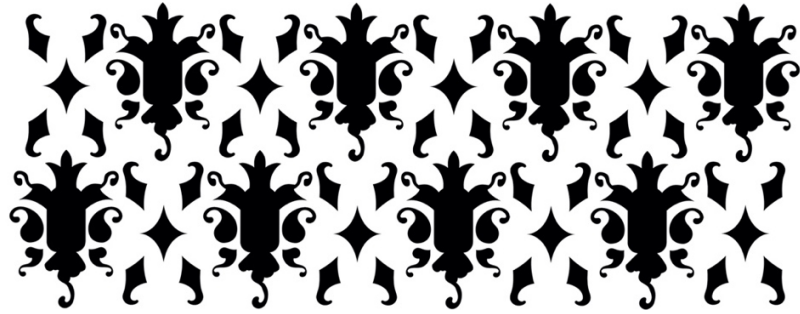


Figure I.7: The illustration of Christ's dress in the Madonna of Humility by Nicola da Pisa
(fig.I.6).

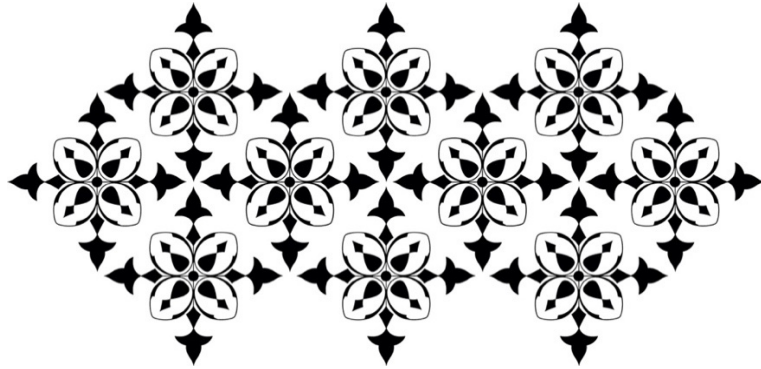


Figure I.8: The illustration of Christ's mantle in the Madonna of Humility by Nicola da Pisa
(fig.I.6).



Figure I.9: The comparison of fabric repeat pattern in Crucifix of Deonato Orlandi and Madonna of Humility by Nicola da Pisa.

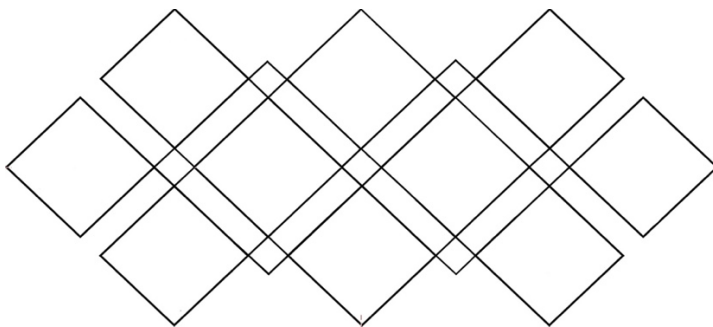


Figure I.10: the type of medallion shared between Crucifix of Deonato Orlandi and Madonna of Humility by Nicola da Pisa.



Figure I.11: Taddeo Gaddi, Madonna and Child enthroned by Saints, 1355, oil on wood, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.



Figure I.12: Textile fragment, Italy, 14th century, Berlin, Staatliche Museen (source: Klesse, 1967, p. 87).



Figure I.13: Comparison between the color composition of Child dress in Gaddi's work (fig. I.11) and the silk fragment in Moghaddam Museum in Tehran (fig. 2.69).



Figure J.1: Nardo di Cione, Trinity, 1365, oil on wood, Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia.



Figure J.2: Nardo di Cione, Three Saints, 1360, oil on wood, London, National Gallery.



Figure J.3: The detail of Three Saints by Cione (fig. J.2).



Figure J.4: Iranian fabric, 14th century, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, Inv.1945.34.



Figure J.5: Nardo di Cione, Madonna of Prato, 1360, oil on wood, Fiesole, Bandini Museum.



Figure J.6: Niccolo di Tommaso, The Virgin and Child between Angels and six Saints, c. 1362 -1367, Madrid, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Inv. no.303 (1930.81).



Figure J.7: Niccolo di Tommaso, detail of The Virgin and Child between Angels and six Saints, c. 1362 -1367.



Figure J.8: Jacopo Di Mino del Pellicciaio, Coronation of the Virgin, c. 1360-1380, oil on wood, Museo Civico di Montepulciano.

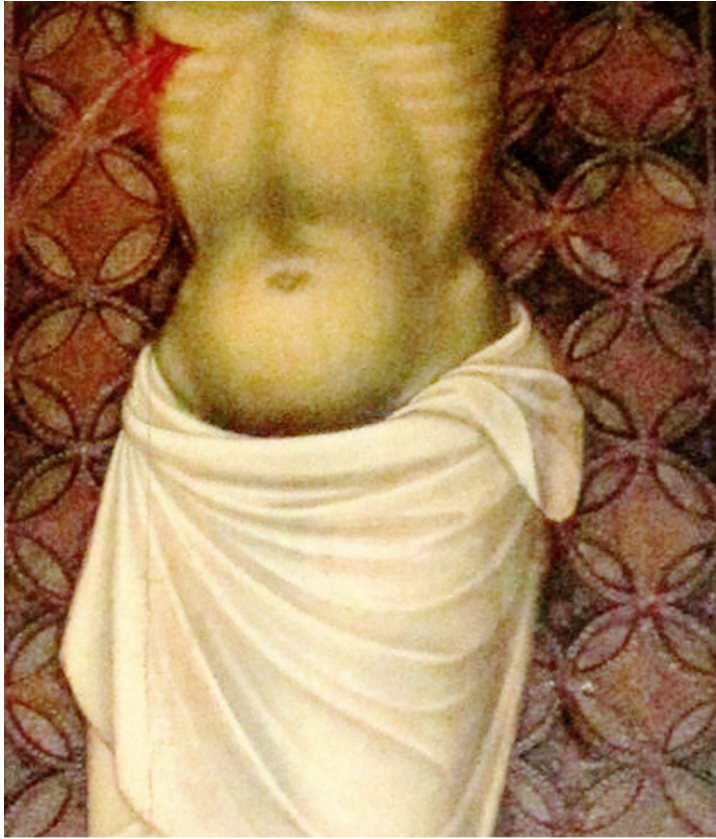


Figure J.9: Luca di Tommè, Crucifix (det.), c.1360, oil on wood, Museo di Roccalbegna.

CONCLUSION

The present dissertation is accomplished aiming to survey iconography of fabric present in Tuscany Medieval paintings (1270-1370). As per the procedure of this thesis, the following results are obtained:

Events occurred in formation of early Islamic era is researchable in textiles painted by Tuscan artists (in their paintings) between 1270 till 1370. Islamic artists due to the restrictions of this religion were faithful to previous principles at the beginning and the textile weavers used geometric, animal and plant designs which became very similar to Sasanid motifs in type of displaying. This case is also observable in Italian textiles and painted fabrics and in the timespan of 1270-1370 the preference of motifs is geometric and animal.

In Tuscany, artists first started with fabrics in which simple medallions were used. As it was mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, these designs are recognized as “Sasanian roundel” and they maybe considered as indicators of fabric designs for pre-Islamic era in Orient, in such a way that they ma be pointed as a *maniera*. Since fabric weaving started in Tuscany later than in Sicily where Muslims initiated this event, if we consider that the artists displayed their contemporaneous fabrics, the textiles presented in the works rooted in Sicily; this means Italian fabrics with Oriental iconography. The objective of this thesis is challenging to find these roots. All the selected paintings share religious theme, which means there is a possibility that the artist had seen the Sasanid fabrics kept in churches. In this way, pre-Islamic textile weaving principles whose most important components were symmetry and use of medallions were continuing even in the eras which were not contemporaneous with them.

As it can be seen, when Tuscan artists started to create these works, cosmopolitanism had already been developed in the field of fabric weaving in Lucca. Generally, it can be said that a cosmopolitan fabric weaving appeared in Lucca that studying its various aspects is more difficult than Sicilian, Spanish (1040-1269), and Iranian samples. Sicily and Spain were directly in contact with Muslims and, as we have seen, they transferred pre-islamic traditions to these states and studying about fabric iconography, either from pre-islamic aspects or Islamic features, is easier. This means, at least Islamic traditions transferred without any intermediary. Pre-islamic traditions are easier to recognize because they are well-defined and were based on definite principles. In this thesis, Zandaniji textiles are taken into account as item for transmission of this iconography. While in Lucca influences of Islamic and pre-islamic traditions were transferred through various means and were transformed in most cases.

Transfer of textile from east to west caused the creation of intertextuality hypothesis. Based on the procedure of surveying the paintings, it is indicated that, painters started using pre-islamic iconography from the seventh decade of the 13th century and after 1310 onward and the combination of Islamic and pre-islamic principle was created that in later decades was combined with Italian textile weaving principles. Meanwhile, the studying about the root of each of the motifs is the same thing that Genett dealt with in intertextuality hypothesis. Since textile weaving started in Italy later than Iran and Dar-al Islam, the probability that in studying the paintings from the intertextuality point of view, we got to pre-islamic and Islamic root is much enforced.

Regarding the survey of fabric designs process in Tuscan painting, it can be concluded that artists started with the simplest designs rooted in Sasanid era (1270-1280). In subsequence decade (1280-1290) they stepped toward geometric motifs which belonged to Islamic art and this procedure continued for two more decades. By advent of Simone Martini, who is certainly the most

prominent artist familiar with Oriental fabrics in that time, expansion in using Islamic fabric iconography took place and artists did not suffice merely to the primary designs. After this decade (1300-1310), we witness the presence of pre-islamic and Islamic fabrics together in paintings that we need rooting in order to study the motifs. On the other hand, along with the growth of fabric weaving in Lucca, the fabrics produced in this city appeared in paintings. This instance is very influential in surveying fabric iconography. By paying attention to the designs present in selected works, it can be said that the motifs are classified into five categories:

1. Geometric pattern or Ad combussus (or sternfliesornamet)
2. Ad rotas (probably new version of Zandaniji)
3. Ad undas
4. Ad rotos virgati
5. Per totum pattern

As it was studied in this thesis, all these motifs maintain Oriental origins, which were studied in four chapters. The remarkable point is the rate of faithfulness of Tuscan artists to these fabrics which can be divided into three groups.

- The brilliant artists give a pictorial interpretation not a replica of the drawing.
- The most "faithful" reproduction is generally found in less brilliant, more slavish artists.
- The less gifted artist ends up losing the sense of the fabric, reducing it to a pattern.

To put everything together, it can be concluded that the relation between fabrics displayed in Tuscan paintings (1270-1370) and Sasanid fabrics (status symbols) created an intertextuality and fabrics produced in Sicily, Spain, and Lucca maintained a hypertextuality function in this relation. Meanwhile, prominent figures such as Duccio, Giotto, and Simone Martini played a paratextuality role, became templates for the artists in later periods, and acted as key words or guidance for their audience.

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