FIGURATIVE HISPANO-ARABIC TEXTILES
OF THE ALMORAVID AND ALMOHAD DYNASTIES:
HISTORICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF
THEIR DESIGN AND ICONOGRAPHY

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree Master of Science

by
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1980

Approved by

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The purpose of this thesis has been to examine Hispano-Islamic textiles which contain a figurative iconography. After having compared the iconography of twelve works with the secular and sacred traditions of both Christian and Islamic cultures, the following conclusions were reached. Both cultures shared common roots in classical and oriental culture and a rich spiritual life was shaped by Hispano-Islamic and Hispano-Christian peoples during the Middle Ages. Furthermore, it was concluded that the textiles, found in Christian tombs or sacred places, represent a "meta-language" by which Islamic and Christian peoples could communicate their compatible religious inclinations. Indeed, the persistence of a cosmological program of representation insinuates the existence of a substratum of values and institutions beneath dynamic and institutional distinctions. As a consequence, the evidence in these twelve textiles of a cultural substratum common to both cultures points to a compatibility of experience that was immune to the parochial distinctions of which both Christian and Islamic peoples proved susceptible in other environments. Finally, from this examination, it was inferred that the panHispanic cultural milieu was sufficiently resourceful to assimilate discordant interventions without relinquishing its fundamental autonomy or its cosmopolitanism.
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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

With the peculiar configuration of circumstances that accompanied the rise of Islam, it became incumbent upon the new Empire of religious fervor to disseminate ideas and extend several cultural traditions throughout a world that no longer enjoyed the order and sophistication of Rome. The Islamic peoples as a consequence became the transmitters and translators of cultural traditions that would otherwise have been extinguished (Serjeant, 1972). With the rise of Islam, a powerful and zealous movement not only preserved the essential forms of classical civilization but enlivened the ancient forms with a version of indigenous and oriental motifs that made it possible for the West to eventually find the Orient acceptable. Although the first efforts of Islam were devoted to a relatively wooden and rigid perpetuation of both classical and oriental cultures, the very intensity of the crusading Islamic peoples forged the borrowed cultural forms into a viable and significant cultural force that would continue to exercise a major influence over the imagination of the West for many centuries. It was in Spain, however, that some of the most significant forms were to emerge, precisely due to the richness of the converging influences and the geographical location of the peninsula. As a result, the study of Hispano-Arabic textiles becomes not only a subtle and worthwhile enterprise in its own right but also the vehicle for the study of complex relationships among the many forces that were brought to bear on the formation of Europe.
The purpose of this thesis is to examine twelve Hispano-Islamic textiles, found in Christian tombs or sacred places, which contain a figurative iconography with roots in both classical and oriental culture. By comparing the iconography of these works with the secular and sacred traditions of both cultures, it should be possible to assess the degree to which medieval Spain was an environment in which an intercultural lexicon of form and symbol could function. As a consequence, attention can be given to the manner in which Spain became a critical link in an exceptionally rich network of trade and culture, religion and ideas for many centuries. Furthermore, such a study is an acknowledgement of the nuances that contributed to the vitality and the resourcefulness of the medieval Hispanic peoples.

A project of investigation of an intercultural design provides advantages and obstacles to careful analysis of historical materials. First, it gives attention to an ostensibly innocuous area of cultural expression which, through its freedom from censorship, revealed details that would have been expunged in more carefully regulated official areas of life. Through its very neutrality, the design of textiles offers clues to the infrastructure of spiritual life. What would not have been as readily tolerated in mosque or church became a mode of expression in the work of textiles traditionally associated with personal rather than formal consumption. On the other hand, the lack of concentrated historical scrutiny of the textile tradition and the confusion regarding the very nature of Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Islamic thought during the Middle Ages makes of this study a tentative exploration in several controversial areas. As a consequence, findings
of this thesis must be regarded as inquiry into not altogether understood cultural landscapes whose intersections are only beginning to be recognized. In addition, attention must be given to relatively unrelated areas of scholarship whose nexus is not clearly established but is, in fact, ignored as an instrument of critical inquiry.

The study concerns the unique historical situation of Hispano-Islamic textile manufacture, the levels of interaction between the two peoples, and the influence which successive invasions of Berbers from North Africa and Christians from northern Europe had on the unique iconographic organization of textiles made in medieval Spain. Attention is given, therefore, to the varieties of cultural and religious experiences that had both official and unofficial life among the peoples of Spain. Above all, an attempt is made, in the elaboration of a larger historical context of medieval Spain, to suggest areas of communication and understanding. In the chapter on the historical review, attention is given to the mystical tendencies which developed in southern Spain and the modes of image construction which appeared in both Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Islamic cultures. It is through this means then that an attempt has been made to explore the cultural conditions and perceptions that made of medieval Spain a valuable resource for the refinement of sensibility of both Islamic and Christian peoples.

Concerning the format and content of this study, it consists of six chapters. The first chapter is the introduction which is followed by a selective summary and critique of literature. The third chapter includes a discussion of research procedure with a focus on the
methodology employed in classifying and describing the textiles analyzed. The fourth chapter is a historical review which is divided into five parts: textile manufacture; the historical foundation; forms of coexistence; the spiritual tradition and image formation. The fifth chapter is devoted to a detailed stylistic and historical description of the figurative textiles studied by the researcher. The sixth and final chapter includes a summary of the findings of the research.

DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

1. Historical - the continuing record of past events, especially those concerning the formation and growth of Hispano-Arabic communities in medieval Spain.

2. Ideological - the origin and nature of ideas.

3. Design - the outline, delineation or pattern of a piece of decorative work, especially textiles, after which the actual piece is to be completed.

4. Iconography - the pictorial representation of an object, delineation of forms as well as the conventional description of illustration of a subject by means of drawings or figures. Such a broad definition is needed for two reasons. Firstly, even though the Koran does not explicitly prohibit representation of living things, "much in the Revelation - its opposition to idols, ...argues against specificity of iconographic meanings" (Grabar, 1978, p. 3). Secondly, the intellectual and scientific curiosity of Muslim peoples invites them to attribute endless varieties of interpretation to reality.
Chapter 2

SELECTIVE LITERATURE REVIEW

The critical literature concerning Hispano-Islamic textiles is restricted to partial studies and limited works. Few scholars have devoted themselves to the subject of this thesis, and those who have done so have not explored the tradition as a unique expression of an important cultural phenomenon. There are exceptions to this situation which make the current study possible. May's study of Hispano-Islamic textiles from The Hispanic Society (1957) is an important contribution to the historical and stylistic aspects of Spanish textiles, and Shepherd of the Cleveland Museum has conducted numerous studies (1943, 1948, 1951, 1952, 1976, 1978) which represent the most comprehensive introduction to the field. Gómez Moreno (1946) has been limited, in otherwise valuable research, by unsystematic identification and study of textiles from the Panteón de las Huelgas in Burgos. Furthermore, his distinctions among Arab, Christian and Mudejar textiles on the basis of style are not sufficiently convincing to permit further analysis on the basis of his findings alone. Studies of Hispano-Arabic tapestries of the ninth to the fourteenth centuries by Berniz (1954-1956) provide a more complete system of classification but with insufficient historical or ideological criteria for further elaboration of the classification presented. The relationship between textiles and other major and minor arts of the period, without thorough discussion of the philosophical implications of these relationships, has been made by Torres-Balbás (1949). With the exception of Shepherd's work,
which does not attempt to explore the full cultural and intellectual resources of the Hispano-Islamic mind in the context of Spain, much of the material for the study of this thesis has been insufficiently structured as to facilitate further analysis.

Difficulties inherent in the critical literature of the textiles themselves are also found in the literature concerning other areas of art and thought of Hispano-Islamic textiles. In the area of Islamic art, study in general has been limited, "directed either to a narrow geographic segment of the Islamic world, with wide or limited historical boundaries, or to specific subjects with broad geographic limits" (Grabar, 1974, pp. 278-79). But as Grabar, himself a distinguished contributor to the study of Islamic culture and history, has indicated, scholars who have excelled in their particular area of competence have been reluctant to orchestrate several areas into more comprehensive studies of Islamic culture. However, studies do exist that permit analysis of general and specific aspects of Islamic art for the purpose of this thesis. Migeon (1927), Kühnel (1966), Grube (1967), Rice (1965) and Ettinghausen (1973) have completed valuable general studies of the field and Massignon (1921), Ago-Oglu (1945) and Ettinghausen (1944) have analyzed the religious and aesthetic foundations of the art. Specific studies include Diez (1936-38) who has examined the structure and metaphysical dimension of the art; Nasar (1964) who has scrutinized the structure and contours of various Islamic cosmologies and natural sciences of the eleventh century; and Critchlow (1970) who has examined the metaphysical and cosmological principles involved in the geometry of Islamic patterns. Each of these scholars has dealt with
his or her particular theme in a restricted fashion however, failing to provide a comprehensive context for the social and intellectual meaning of Islamic art. Such is also the case with Islamic architecture's writers who generally develop their studies along regional and chronological lines.

Narrow definition of the context of study has also limited the usefulness of architectural history. Gómez-Moreno (1949) and Torres-Balbás (1951) surveyed the main Spanish architectural monuments; Bargebuhr (1956) provided an insightful reconstruction of the Alhambra through coeval historical and literary sources. But only Grabar attempted to demonstrate the impact that architecture had made on other art forms, although he too excluded textiles. Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973) have contributed an important study of the influence of Sufi thought on the organization of architecture in Persia which, although not directly related to the material of this thesis, does indicate a direction of interdisciplinary study that is effective, although limited, in dealing with the vast cultural and expressive problems of the Islamic cultures of the Middle Ages.

The analysis of Hispano-Islamic iconography presents further problems primarily due to Revelations' opposition to specificity of meaning in iconographic programs. Moreover, it presupposes familiarity with calligraphy, protocol, literature, and folk beliefs as well as with pre-Islamic traditions and arts of the Near East. On the arabesque, the best source is Kühnel (1949). Regarding specific iconographical themes, it was found that Baer (1965) carefully traced the origin and history of the sphinx and the harpy in Islamic art and
Ettinghausen (1950) explored the unicorn in a similar book-length study. Hartner (1938) published an interesting article concerning the extra-Islamic connections of this iconography and Grabar (1965) has dealt with the more generalized theme of the princely life and courtly pleasures. Also of interest is Grabar's symbolic references in architecture which appear in his article on the Islamic dome. The celestial garden motif has been analyzed in general by Schimmel (1978) and, in particular, by both Hanaway (1976), who has discussed its evolution, and by Dikie (1976), who has focused on its eschatological role. Rice (1954) has analyzed the seasons and labours of the months and, in addition, has examined the tree of life motif as well as the themes of the banquet, the hunt, and the garden. Shepherd (1974) has also dealt with the twin themes of the banquet and the hunt and, according to her 1978 study, these motifs which traditionally have been considered part of the secular tradition in Islamic art, clearly belong to a religious one. Two other studies which also deal with specific iconographic motifs but which have wider implications are Oney's article on the fish in Anatolian Seljuk art (1968) and Ettinghausen's discussion on the iconography of a Kashan luster plate (1961).

The spiritual history of Islam in general and Hispanic Islam in particular has received a great deal of attention due to the understandable identification of Islam with spirituality. In Spain, Asín Palacios of the generation of 1898 used Hispanic Islam in a private crusade of universal spirituality. Although he was often inaccurate and in some cases used materials of doubtful authenticity (Chejne, 1974, pp. 306 & 337), his contribution to the study of this area is
critical to the development of the field of study. In his Algazel: 
Dogmática moral y ascética (1901) he analyzed the philosophy of the 
Middle East in order to elucidate Hispano-Arabic intellectual develop-
ments. His contribution to the study of Islamic influence in European 
scholasticism was made in El averróísmo teológico de Santo Tomás de 
Aquino (1904). In these and other studies in the review al-Andalus, as 
well as his monumental later work, El Islam cristianizado, Asín 
Palacios helped produce an environment for the study of the subtleties 
of Islamic spirituality in Spain and Europe as a whole.

Emilio García Gómez, a student of Asín Palacios, enriched the 
special area of literature as well as the field of spiritual history in 
studies on Hispano-Arabic poetry (1940, 1941, 1945 and 1952). In his 
1952 work, this scholar acknowledged the special importance of oriental 
motifs in Hispano-Arabic poetry of the Middle Ages. However, with the 
exception of several other students of Asín Palacios, including Miguel 
Cruz Hernández whose Filosofía hispano-musulmana (1957) is a useful 
tool in the analysis of the philosophical implications of geometric 
art, one must look to works published outside Spain for understanding 
Islamic philosophy and spirituality. Among these studies is Schimmel's 
work on Sufism (1975) which is comprehensive and methodical as well as 
sympathetic to mystical philosophy. However, clearly significant for 
the philosophical as well as general aspects of Islamic life in general 
and Spain in particular is the comprehensive study by Chejne. In his 
Muslim Spain: Its History and Culture (1974), not only is the tradition 
of intellectual life scrutinized but the entire range of historical and 
cultural features explored. Equally valuable as a general study of
Caliphal Spain is the work done by Levi-Provençal (1950-1953).

Several varieties of historical inquiry were provided in Chejne's work, helping to clarify one of the more difficult and less understood aspects of Islam, the development of an indigenous Hispano-Islamic society. Through his work, along with the work of O'Callaghan (1975) and Abun-Nasr's *A History of the Maghrib* (1977), many of the earlier historical assumptions have been corrected. For it is in the area of comprehensive history, the subject of concerned critical studies since the early nineteenth century, that the more impressionistic discussions of Hispanic Islam have emerged. From the work of Conde, *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España* (1820-21), which lacked methodology but inspired interest in Hispanic Islam, general studies have been highly polemical. Dozy's monumental *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne* (1918) gave considerable information regarding daily life in Islamic Spain but constructed a negative view of the country under the Almoravid rulers. Codera y Zaidín's *Decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides en España* (1899) was euphoric response to the earlier somber picture given by Dozy and evidence of continued use of Islamic Spain for purposes that corresponded more to the unique generational interests and commitments of the author than of the period.

Among historians who have made contributions to the study of this area which continue to have considerable impact on contemporary studies are Menéndez Pidal, América Castro, Sánchez Albornoz and Cagigas. While the first three have been central to important polemics, the latter, Cagigas, is noted for historical problems studied from a vantage point of sociology and ethnic study. His *Los
mozárabes (1947-48) and Los mudéjares (1948-49) are careful studies of Spanish attitudes toward Islam during the Middle Ages. He recreates a version of Islam that is dynamic and complex.

But in the area of polemical study of Islam, the scholarship of Menéndez Pidal, Castro and Sánchez Albornoz has done much to clarify and obscure Spanish Islamic studies. Menéndez Pidal, essentially a philologist with a primary interest in the language of Spain, approached the Islamic peoples from a perspective that was influenced by the medieval Christian view of the Arabs. In his España, eslabón entre la cristiandad y el islam (1956), he argued that the Islamic influence did not alter the essential conditions of Spanish life. While acknowledging features of Islamic influence in Spain, he molded an argument that made of the Islamic experience an interlude in an eternally Catholic Spain. Sánchez Albornoz in España y el Islam (1943) took controversial and not always reasonable argument that the presence of Islam in Spain represented the downfall of Spain, the end of a brilliant potential and the tragic twist in Spanish history. For Sánchez-Albornoz, whose voice in these polemical matters continues to resound with considerable force, the constant confrontation with Africa made Spain deviate from its natural course as a European nation, leading the country to economic stagnation and to religious intolerance. It is to be noted that these points of view are particularly important in understanding the attitudes which early twentieth century Spaniards had toward their own marginal economic and social position in European life, but they are not always maintained under scrutiny of medieval materials.
Against the argument of Sánchez Albornoz is the position taken by Américo Castro who, in *The Structure of Spanish History* (1954), produced an equally novel critical perspective which posited that Spain is a unique environment due to the special relationships forged by Jews, Christians and Moors. Through a lack of close knowledge of medieval Spain, Castro has attempted to reconstruct a phenomenological portrait of Spain using secondary resources and Renaissance views of the Islamic presence. As a consequence, he continues to wield great influence in an area that has not always enjoyed measured and prudent critical commentary.

Among the most useful studies concerning Christian spirituality and religious expression during the period were Von Simson's *The Gothic Cathedral* (1956) and Julius Weinberg's *Medieval Philosophy* (1964). Both of these works represent critical perspectives of facets of contemplative thought and expression during the Christian Middle Ages. Also important in the study of the relationship between Christian and Islamic spiritual expression was Ernst Kitzinger's *Early Medieval Art* (1940). For a discussion of symbolism in Romanesque art in general, Marie-Madeleine Davy's *Initiation à la Symbolique Romane* (1964). Wetherbee's *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of The School of Chartres* (1972) provided valuable insights into the Neo-Platonism of the Chartrian school and the function of naturalia in cosmological perspectives of the era.
Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

In preparing this study of the historical and ideological implications of motifs used in works produced from the eleventh through the early fourteenth century during the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties, it was necessary to gather materials from different critical traditions and to locate those museums where pertinent materials are available. Since the rarity, age and unevenness of the materials examined were factors in the selection of the textiles, extensive contact with curators and examination of materials were necessary for the selection of the twelve documents used. Final selection of textiles was limited to the following collections: The Hispanic Society, New York; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, New York; The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. The decision to examine and compare textiles from these museums was based on the extent of the collections and the accessibility of the museums. Special help and cooperation were extended by Florence Lewis May of The Hispanic Society and Dorothy Shepherd of the Cleveland Museum, foremost authorities on the materials utilized.

After a review of literature was made, contained in chapter two of this thesis, a treatment of several areas of historical experience was developed as chapter four of this thesis. This historical review is initially concerned with an analysis of the textile manufacture of Islamic Spain which is followed by a discussion of the development of both Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Islamic peoples. In turn, the
historical section addresses the unique forms of Neoplatonism that permitted in medieval Spain a spiritual life that was mystical. In conclusion, chapter four explores the formation of an iconography that was compatible with both Hispano-Christian and Hispano-Islamic peoples which had multifaceted roots in Western and Eastern cultures and which gives cause to study the textile design of the twelve works as an expression of attitudes as well as of decoration.

In the fifth chapter of the thesis, an analysis of twelve textiles is made. Each of the twelve textile pieces was selected on the basis of its figurative iconographic motif and each is studied in a format that includes the following items: provenance, date, the collection from which it comes, its accession number, the condition of the textile when available, a brief technical comment, an extensive stylistic description, and finally an historical and cultural analysis which shows the significance the iconography of each piece had for the Hispano-Islamic and Hispano-Christian peoples. Wherever helpful or necessary, distinctions based on the Islamic dynasties and the geographic origin of the pieces are stressed.

In each of the sections devoted to the twelve textiles, stylistic analysis is made of the central motif, the secondary, and additional design elements contributing to the uniqueness of the work. Since each of the images discussed is essentially figurative, attention is also given to the representational features that most accurately distinguish each piece from similar structures. Furthermore, since the iconography of the textiles falls into three major categories, the textiles are placed in three separate sections, each with its proper
subheading. The first section presents textiles representing the celestial banquet and hunt. In this section, attention is given to the manner in which each of the five pieces treated reflect a tradition of imagery that pertains to otherworldly experience and which has clear antecedents in the classical and oriental themes of heroization and apotheosis. The second section concerns the theme of mythological animals of a hybrid nature which are rooted in traditions of solar imagery. This section treats three textiles found in burial context which have as central imagery the griffin, the sphinx and the harpy. The third section of the textile analysis concerns the theme of power, both worldly and otherworldly, expressed through the images of the lion and the eagle which are found in four textiles.

Throughout the analysis, several assumptions are maintained to facilitate comparative scrutiny of pieces from different origins and periods in time:

1) A direct relationship exists between figurative design and conceptual significance.

2) Both classical and oriental origins of the motifs were used by the Islamic craftsmen.

3) There is a similar use of iconography throughout the textiles.

4) Similar archetypal and ceremonial functions of images were used.
Chapter 4

HISTORY REVIEW

The historical review is concerned with the areas of historical experience which have a direct bearing on the formation of the figurative images in the twelve textiles which are the focus of this study.

Textile Manufacture

When contemporary narrators described the textile industry of Spain during the Middle Ages, chief among their concerns were the diversity of trade, the multifaceted nature of the industry and the richness of the products of the Hispano-Arabic craftsmen. In effect, the chroniclers relate in their detailed description the complex and sophisticated nature of the mechanics of textile production and trade. They have been witnesses to the ongoing process of assimilation and transformation that is most characteristic of the Hispano-Arabic textiles. By describing the vast network of trade routes, tastes and regional qualities, they give evidence that Spain was never a simple depot for a single, authoritarian culture.

By 978 A.D. Ibn Hawkal ascertained that "in Andalus there is more than one tirāz factory, the products of which go to Egypt (Miszr) and sometimes some are taken to the utmost limits of Khurasan and elsewhere" (Ibn Hawkal, cited in Serjeant, 1972, p. 165). From a variety of sources it is known that Spanish textiles were appreciated as gifts from the Fatimid rulers and that major celebrations were moments at which silks and carpets were bestowed on deserving
friends and employees. But what is significant is the fact that these fine silks and carpets were probably appreciated as far away as the Orient. We do know that Spain had extensive and sophisticated trade with such distant places as Khorasan, Baghdad and Syria from such texts as the inventory of textiles copied by Makkarî for the Spanish Caliph al-Nasir in 925 (Makkarî, cited in Serjeant, 1972, p. 165). Thus Spain was engaged in an intense and continuing series of exchanges with the Orient, exchanges which reinforced and transformed the style of Muslim art for centuries. Ibn Hawkal gives us the following impression of the extent of the fame of the Andalusian manufactures:

"...and with regards to wool, there are pieces (kitâ) which resemble the best kind of Armenian carpets in relief (mahfûr) of high price, ranging to the beautiful sur-carpets (namat) made there. Concerning the wool (sûf), and the dyeing of it, and those things which they dye, they have marvelous stuff in the herbs (hâshîsh), peculiar to Andalus, with which the Maghribî felts (lubûd) of high quality and price are dyed, as well as silk and whatever colors of khazz-silk and kass-silk they desire. Brocade is exported thence, and no people on the face of the earth can equal them in the manufacture of their felts. Sometimes "thirty felts" (lubûd thalâthînîya) are made for their sultan, a single one of which is valued at fifty and sixty dinars, without their bread being more than five or six spans (shibr), for they are the loveliest of cloths (furş). In their country soft silk and close woven (al-khazz al-sâkî) is made which exceeds that which is made for the Sultan of Iraq. There is a waxed (mushamma) variety which prevents the rain from wetting the wearer" (Ibn Hawkal, cited in Serjeant, 1972, p. 173).

Among the famous international centers in Spain that produced rich textiles for export throughout the known world was Almería, the spiritual capital of Sufism in Almoravid Spain. The city outstripped Cordova in the number and diversity of fabrics and had far-reaching connection throughout the Muslim world. According to Idrîsî,

"there were found there (in the time of the Almoravids) all wonderful kinds of craft, and they counted among others,
eight hundred factories (tirāz) for silk (harîf) where they made precious mantles (hulla), brocades, sirālān, Isfahānī, Dūrđjanī, curtains ornamented with precious stones (sutūr mukallala), cloth with patterns of circles, small mats (khumra), Attābī, veils (midjar), and various other kinds of silk cloths....Ships used to come to Almería from Alexandria and Syria..." (Idrīsī, cited in Serjeant, 1972, p. 170).

Even a Chinese writer of the twelfth century noted that the kingdom of the Almoravids "is the one country which is visited by the ships of the Ta-shi (Arabs)" (Chau Ju-Kua, cited in May, 1957, p. 12). And so well known and prized were the textiles of Almería that foreign merchants had established communities of permanent traders in the city, as witnessed by the marble grave stone of an Alexandrian merchant buried in Almería (May, 1975, p. 12).

However, not only was Almería an important center of the Islamic world but it became a central source of design and luxury for the more primitive Christian kingdoms to the north. Old French romances pay tribute to the rich fabrics of Almería known as "pailes d'Aumarie or Amarie" and "le soie d'Aumarie" (May, 1957, p. 12). Throughout these romances one gains the sense that these Almerian pailes were covers and hangings for pennons and standards. Almería also produced "porpola" (May, 1975, p. 12) a silk material very popular among French merchants. Aye of Avignon, niece of Charlemagne, and her contemporary, Blanche-fleur, both wore gowns made of "porpola." The Genovese and the Catalans, exhorted by the Pope in his crusade against the Muslims, often attacked Almería. However, in spite of these common incursions, Almería remained under Muslim rule until 1489 and continued its weaving and silk industry until the end.
Among the other important centers of weaving and dyeing in Spain during the period were Seville and Málaga. Seville (Ishbīliyya) became a city devoted to textiles and developed its first tirāz factory when Ibrahim al-Hadjdjadj revolted against the Umayyad Caliph Abd Allah ibn Muhammed ibn Ad al Rahman in 899 A.D. Since Ibrahim built an arsenal to protect the city from the Normans, it is also believed he established the first factory in Seville. In fact, it is known that by the time of Ibrahim, his name was embroidered on textiles, just as was the custom for the sultan at the time (Serjeant, 1972, p. 171). Soon Seville was not only the supplier of all Andalus with cotton, but also exported it to Africa and other neighboring lands. In addition, Seville was celebrated for its famous dye-stuff:

"The best crimson (kirmiz) is the kirmiz of Andalus, and the most of that is in the districts of Seville, Labla, Shadhūna and Valencia... In it (Seville) is collected the kirmiz which is of brighter hue than the Indian lac (al-lakk al Hindī)" (Makkari, cited in Serjeant, 1972, p. 171).

And, of course, the dyes for which Seville was famous were the dyes which the local craftsmen employed successfully in their finished products, known throughout the world as unique and refined. In addition, during the Almohad kingdom, Seville became the capital of the dynasty.

Málaga, another great textile center, became the equal of Almería in the manufacture of silks after the year 1100. Just as Seville had become famous for cotton production, Málaga was to become one of the sources of fine cottons and silks. Ibn al-Khatib (1313-1374) talks about "cloaks (hulla) of its brocade with tirāz-borders (tatrīz)" (Ibn Al-Khatib, cited in Serjeant, 1972, p. 172). And Makkari analyzed the cloaks of "figured silk (al-hulal-al-mawghīya)" the prices of which
were extraordinary: "They have marvelous pictures (sūra) of a choice kind, with the names of the Caliphs and others (inscribed) upon them. Its coast is a trading-centre for the Muslims and Christians" (Makkarī, cited in Serjeant, 1972, p. 172). Much of Málaga's prosperity was due to its gold-threaded silks.

"Ibn Saíd wrote that Malagan weavers were proficient in manufacturing a silk called washi that appears from accounts to have been distinguished by a great deal of gold brocading; this material was also produced in other countries dominated by Islam. Al-Shakundi praised the manufacture of silks of all colors and patterns, saying that a suit made out of them was costly. Such expensive materials were, he amplified, the brocaded silks with exotic patterns and those with the names of Caliphs or wealthy persons woven into them. Ibn al-Khatīb, writing in the fourteenth century, noted that the tirāz for gold tissues was still operating in the city" (May, 1957, p. 14).

Silk manufacturing was a complete industry in Málaga. Large mulberry groves provided work for those who spun and dyed the silk threads. A tirāz factory is recorded as operating in the city as early as the years after the fall of the Caliphate (May, 1957, p. 14). Woven as well as embroidered tirāz garments were common, although reference made by Arabic authors regarding lines of poetry appearing on tirāz bands for women seem to allude to the embroidered type of tirāz.

Fraudulent practices in the manufacture of silk were a problem in Málaga and continued to tax the authorities who attempted to maintain high standards of production (May, 1957, p. 13). However, the very existence of inferior silk veils and turbans in the context of high quality material indicates once more that southern Spain was the center of trade and an open, free-flowing commercial area.
Throughout al-Andalus, textiles were the means by which a remote peninsula became a great and thriving part of an emerging world, one which continued to exist despite the loss of order and law of Rome. The industry in all its forms supplied the necessary connective association among the Mediterranean peoples for the development of what would later represent the basis for commerce and wealth in the Renaissance of Europe. Spain then functioned in the refinement of commercial objects that would make trade necessary and profitable. In addition to the gold silks of Almería, Murcia and Málaga, the carpets of Murcia, the cottons of Sevilla and the silken garments of Granada, the production of linen and the development of dyes occupy a special place in Hispano-Arabic history as well as world textile history in general.

In the area of dyeing fine linen and other fabrics, Spain was central. The Jews, who dominated the industry in Spain, provided for new and subtle uses of the art, making of Spain one of the world centers for such trade. Although they were ostracized because of the dirt and disturbance entailed in dyeing, they permitted the industry in Spain and elsewhere to become a major contribution to world trade. Furthermore, by controlling the industry as a monopoly, they devised a number of strict regulations which permitted them to establish a set of internationally recognized standards which, in turn, enhanced world trade and eventually international banking. An example of the regulations which governed Hispano-Arabic and Jewish textile dyeing can be seen in the author Al-Sakati of Málaga who gives a sense of the rigid standards in the dyeing trade which, paradoxically, permitted an international confidence to develop which in turn provided the
necessary innovation for the development of commerce in general.

"the muhtasib must prevent the dyers from dyeing red with brazil-wood (bakkam) for it does not last, and from dyeing with every color but sahabi (cloud-blue) in cotton and linen, for the dye in those two does not remain permanent, and that which is exposed for sale in the market is fraud-ulent and deceptive. Colors only shine when they are dyed taking into consideration the technical necessities of the material" (Al-Sakati, cited in Serjeant, pp. 206-7).

Similar descriptions of the regulations of the trade appear throughout the manuscripts of the period, indicating that the trade was well articulated and that society was also a well-ordered and coherent organism which would permit the sorts of stable developments necessary for the development of advanced civilizations.

In conclusion, a description of the history of Valencia can serve as an example of the rich and continuing traditions that made of the Iberian peninsula the site of innovation and creative forms of world trade. Known as a city where dyes, silks, brocades were produced, Valencia was also recognized as the scent bottle of Andalus due to its numerous orchards and gardens (May, 1957, p. 66). But what is significant in Valencia is that the ancient tradition of trade and manufacturing was unbroken by wars and even conquests. For example, when Valencia was conquered by the Christian king, James I of Aragon in 1238, after five hundred years of Muslim rule, the city was given ample opportunity to thrive as a textile center. Not only did James prize the Muslim crafts but he also granted them special privileges
to continue innovating and producing their famous goods. He even granted property to the artisans and "to a group of weavers he gave on November 13, 1273, houses and a textile workshop in the quarter of Alcira, with the provision that they remain there and not sell the place for ten years, an interesting commentary on the migratory habits of silk weavers" (May, 1957, p. 66). But no less a commentary on the respect and support of the profession by the new Christian monarch, this policy of James I of Aragón further demonstrates how the commonality of interest in the ancient tradition of textile production broke down the barriers imposed by religious warfare between Hispano-Christians and Hispano-Muslims cultures, creating an atmosphere of tolerance and conviviality between the two races. In fact, James even went as far as providing tax incentives for the major Muslim craftsmen. In the case of the silk weaver, Aly Allauri, "he was furnished with documents authorizing him to maintain his workshop there for the rest of his life, to buy tax-free all the silk, gold and other things he needed for his trade, and to sell his products freely" (May, 1957, pp. 66-7).

Indeed, it seems as if the ancient tradition of respect and tolerance for the trade and industry of the area was continued under James I and the Catholic domination of the region of Valencia. As a consequence, the ongoing industry thrived and, as late as 1414, silk weavers, descendants of the Valencia Muslims, still maintained their trade. Ferdinand I, at the end of the century, ordered thirty silk cushion covers from Valencia (Miguel y Badía, cited in May, 1957, p. 67), a fact which indicates that the traditions that had their
roots in prehistoric Iberia continued to exercise their influence over all of Spain and much of Europe even through the era of the Renaissance.

**Historical Foundation**

The presence of the Arabic people and the Islamic religion in Spain is in itself problematic. Neither was indigenous to the peninsula, yet both became central to the very existence of Iberian cultures from the eighth century to the present. However, in the very fact of the Iberian peninsula's relationship to Europe, it becomes necessary to recognize the special and often tenuous nature of Islamic culture in Spain. Historically, the Arab presence in Spain was an accidental by-product of the Islamic conquest of North Africa. Musa Ibn Nusair, an Arab governor of Africa who had subjugated and pacified the Maghrib, and his Berber lieutenant Tariq invaded the country taking advantage of legitimist intrigues with the Gothic kingdom of the Iberian peninsula (Dozy, 1972). Dynastic disputes, economic difficulties and palace conflicts had led to a situation in which the Visigothic King Rodrigo owed his throne to an illegal usurpation of the crown from the son of the last legitimate king, Witiza (García de Cortázar, 1977). Rodrigo's enemies thus invited the North African Arab to participate in the internecine conflicts which were concluded with the nearly total defeat of all Christian Spaniards and the beginning of an eight hundred year active government of significant parts of Spain by the Islamic rulers.

Nevertheless, from the very inception of Arabic rule in the peninsula, important traditions of autonomy from the other Arabic
Islamic rulers in North Africa emerged. From the very beginning, even open hostility was shown by the Spanish ruler of Islamic Iberia toward their overlords in North Africa with the consequence of political, social, and most importantly, cultural independence for the inhabitants of Spain. Moreover, within Spain there developed internal conflicts among the Islamic peoples which further heightened the special and problematic characteristics that were to develop in Iberia. For example, the Berbers, dissatisfied with the inferior status imposed on them by the Eastern Arabs, rose up in rebellion against the Arab leaders at the time when other Berbers of the Maghrib were resisting the heavy hand of the Arabs in North Africa (Sánchez-Albornoz, 1973).

But the situation was only exacerbated when the Iberian Arabs introduced another set of allies from the North African city of Ceuta, the Syrian Arabs of northern origin who were not compatible with the original invaders of southern Arab origin (Gabrieli, 1968).

After a period of considerable turmoil, a northern or Gasite Arab of Syria, one of the few Umayyads to have escaped slaughter during the Abbasid revolution, Abd-ar-Rahman I, with allies among the original southern Arab conquerors of Spain, succeeded in founding a new Umayyad dynasty in 756 that was to bring cultural as well as political and religious stability to Islamic Spain (Gabrieli, 1968). The center of power of the Umayyads' Caliphate was based on Seville and Cordova, but the Amirs held on the provinces was not as strong. Although a substantial number of Hispano-Romans became Muslims, a large number remained Christians and looked to the northern part of the country for moral and religious support. Thus, in spite of their administrative
capabilities which had been incorporated and adapted from the Persian and Greek peoples whom they had conquered, the Umayyads were unable to take control of the whole Iberian peninsula and bring it under Islamic rule.

Although the Umayyads were practicing Muslims, they did not show the same deference to the major exponents of Islamic religion and law as the Abbasids did. In addition, the Umayyads were not as involved as the Abbasids with imperial Persian traditions regarding administrative practices; the Umayyads relied on Arab tribal institutions and political ideas. As a result, the Umayyads were diverted from the theoretical Islamic norms of social and political organization by allowing non-Muslim local rulers to become tributary to Muslims, and Muslim local rulers to become tributary to Christians (Montgomery Watt, 1965). This in turn created "a genuine symbiosis of indigenous and adventitious elements of population" within the Christian and Muslim cultures (Montgomery Watt, 1965, p. 164).

Since the main centers of Islamic life were under the rule of the Abbasids, and they in turn had destroyed the Umayyads, the first Muslim dynasty in Spain has been considered more Arabic than Islamic in conception, especially during the Umayyad rule which lasted two hundred and fifty years (Montgomery Watt, 1965). According to Montgomery Watt, the Arab element persisted until the eleventh century and only during the Almoravid and Almohad periods did the Islamic element completely dominate the Muslim experience in the peninsula.
Despite their conflicts with the independent northern Christian kingdoms, the Umayyads made Cordova a remarkable center of trade, artistic and industrial production, and a major center of culture and learning. The luxury of a fixed capital and relative peace permitted the Arabs to introduce and nourish cultural traditions that would enhance the glory of the Islamic court. Byzantine artists were brought from Constantinople to enrich Muhammad's teachings with versions of Hellenistic and Neo-Platonic ideas and, very importantly, symbols. Cordova thus became a central point of dissemination of ideas and cultural values while still maintaining a curiously marginal position in the Islamic world. However, Cordova was not merely a center for the Arabic world, it became a crucial source of culture and refinement for the Germanic peoples to the north of Spain through whom the Spanish Islams exercised control over much of European cultural life. At the same time, Cordova was subtly drawn away from the orthodox and more severe Islamic cultures of North Africa. By the end of the tenth century, under the leadership of Al-Mansur (976-1009), the Cordova Mosque was extended and embellished becoming the third largest in the entire Islamic world. Brilliant examples of the double and hexafoil arches for which the Umayyads were justifiably famous were used in the Mosque. The city of Cordova became the center of a great and influential culture while at the same time preserved an autonomous quality of vision that was not subservient to either a European or a North African frame of reference (Dury, 1970).

Development of a rich culture in Islamic Spain coincided with the formation of a distinct Hispano-Muslim type of person. According to
Levi-Provençal (1950-53), the Hispano-Muslim person was the fusion of diverse ethnic elements: Arab, Berber, Syrian and descendants of the conquered population. It was a sociological, racial and personality type that had roots in Spain and which was neither Oriental nor Western in a strict sense. Not only did this amalgam of races and cultures produce a rich civilization but also produced a Hispano-Muslim type who regarded himself as separate from the rest of the European and Oriental peoples whom he saw. He regarded himself as "Andalusiyyun" and distinguished himself in his pluralistic, nature environment from the simplistic attitudes and customs of the Berber herdsmen and mountaineers with their aggressive and monolithic religious anxieties.

The end of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova in 1031 curtailed the rich and complex life which Spain enjoyed as crossroads of the world. A number of short-lived caliphates alternated with rule by local rulers of Málaga and Algeciras (Bosworth, 1967). The rise of the Christians in the north and the reaction of the Mauretanian Berbers from North Africa made of Spain as much a military as a spiritual battleground. Muslim Spain also experienced a period of political fragmentation, characterized by the alternating rule of local princes and different ethnic groups (Bosworth, 1967).

The strong spirit of religious fanaticism produced, during the end of the eleventh century, a strong anti-Muslim reaction in Spain. The hedonism and irresponsibility of the men in power created a negative response from the diverse religious groups and a warm reception towards the puritanical Berber Almoravids. The Almoravids proceeded to remove the aristocracy from power and found their support in the Malikite
jurists "to whom jurisprudence meant knowledge of what recognized authorities had decided" and the common people (Montgomery Watt, 1965, p. 108). The piousness of the Almoravid ruler's invested the religious institutions (ulema) with enormous powers, the likes of whom had not been seen since the time of the Visigoths (Dozy, 1972). The Muslim Almoravid clergy demanded conversion from both Jewish and Christian communities. The Jews escaped conversion, but only by heavy pecuniary losses, since they were forced constantly to replenish the deficiencies in the Muslims' treasury. The Christians or Mozarabs were ruthlessly treated, their churches demolished, their properties removed and their people maltreated, imprisoned and put to death (Dozy, 1972). Two Christian expulsions under the Almoravid rule decimated the Christians of Al-Andalus and the period of religious tolerance of the Umayyad dynasty was lost.

Yet, eventually, even the Almoravid dynasty succumbed to the pleasures and complexities of Islamic Spain. The illiterate and pious nomadic peoples of the North of Africa became part of the sensuality and cosmopolitan life of the South of Spain. Contradictions therefore resulted even in this period of Spanish history. On the one hand, the Almoravids espoused a strict religious orthodoxy yet, on the other hand, they were receptive to Hispano-Muslim culture. They even modeled the Grand Mosque of Tlemcen on the Grand Mosque of Cordova. Moreover, they used Andalusian artistic talent and workmanship to produce extensions of the Qarawiyn Mosque in Fez. Furthermore, as they began to appreciate the refinements of Andalusian culture, "their religious zeal waned and was lost in mundane pursuits" (Chejne, 1974, p. 88).
The brutality of which the Almoravids had been capable from the beginning did not soften commensurately with their decline in religious austerity and, as a result, indigenous Muslims, Jews and Christians pursued their downfall.

During the twelfth century, the more moderate and less organized Almohads succeeded the ferocious Almoravids, bringing the south of Spain not only under a direct control of North Africa but also insuring a greater fragmentation and less centrality to the small Islamic kingdoms of Spain. Although the Almohads had some support from the dispossessed aristocracy, they failed to gain favor with the populace. Their mission was to restore religious purity to the realm, insisting on a more sober rendering of social and artistic space. However, the Berber origin of their ruling elite had little attraction for the inhabitants of Al-Andalus and was unable to spark enthusiasm for their momentous cause. Thus when the Almohads saw their kingdom collapse in the thirteenth century, they also saw the last coherence of Islamic Spain. After the Almohads' fall, most of the major Muslim centers of Spain were conquered by Christians; Cordova fell in 1236 and Seville in 1248 (Bosworth, 1967).

**Forms of Coexistence**

Contributing to the complex environment of Spain during the duration of Islamic hegemony was the evolving presence of the Christians. Beginning with their legendary defense of a remote corner of Visigothic Spain in the battle of Covadonga (718), Spanish Christians largely defined themselves through their resistance to the superior Islamic forces. Paradoxically, however, they were molded by their coexistence
with Hispanic Islam. Gradually spreading across the Cantabrian range, these Christians constituted a primitive culture eventually enriched by the southern Spanish Christians, known as Mozarabs, schooled in habits of mind and culture of Islam (Castro, 1954, p. 88). By the eleventh century, the frontier provinces of Castile and Portugal had articulated a sense of identity independent of the original mountain kingdom of resistance centered in León. By the end of the eleventh century, Castile had engineered its independence from the kingdom of León and had begun the forceful march toward reconquest of the Islamic kingdoms to the south, aided by other regional Christian powers such as the kingdom of Aragón but always in possession of the impetus of war and always attuned to the existence of Islam.

Critical to the comprehension of the special circumstances that contributed to the development of culture in frontier and Southern Spain is also the possibility of an aggressive Christian advance toward Islamic centers and the imminence of European religious projects in Iberia. In fact, as soon as Castile had demonstrated the capacity to expand toward the plains of central Spain, the Cluniac Order of France had begun, for complex reasons of its own, to utilize Spain for pilgrimage. This pilgrimage, conveniently across the northern reaches of the land to Santiago, became a complete vehicle for colonization (Castro, 1954, p. 170). Throughout the road to the reputed burial site of Saint James, said to have been of aid to the Christians in battle against the Moor as early as 822 at Clavijo, Christian civilization emerged. As a consequence, before the Islamic peoples had reached the zenith of their own power and culture in
Spain, the Christians in the north were supported by a pan-European colonization pilgrimage giving explicit and implicit support to Hispanic Christians.

The result of Christian evangelical missions in the north, however, was the development of relative parity in the political and military presence of the two cultures for several centuries. While the Christians gradually forced the Islamic peoples to retreat, the outcome of the conflict was clearly not visible until after the period of coexistence. Coexistence, in turn, became a development of parallel institutions, traditions, aptitudes and even religious symbolism. For example, Santiago became an appropriate opposite to the spiritual religious leadership and war against Mohamed. During the hegemony of the Cluniac order, the color black of the Christian monks in Spain was a black that responded to the distinguishing color black of the Almohad warriors. Then, in the succeeding hegemony of the Cistercian order which followed the Cluniac order in an attempt to revitalize the presence of Christians in Spain, the white of the Cistercians became a conspicuous balance to the white robes of their contemporaries, the Almohads. Yet beneath the surface colors that intensified the comparisons between the successive generations of foes, architectural assumptions, attitudes toward ornament in art and a general austerity made the general foes similar in their approach to church and mosque construction. Indeed, the austere Cistercian temple is a significant parallel to the more dour structures of the Almohads (Cavigas, 1947-8, pp. 200-2). Above all, charismatic and heroic leadership became, it is
believed, the hallmark of both religious cultures which showed features forged through constant interaction.

Inevitably, then, the presence of the Christians in Spain during the Middle Ages cannot be restricted to militaristic and religious intransigence alone. During the period in question, the attitudes toward religion and religious culture became known through the school of Translators of Toledo, conquered in 1085, a source of intellectual enrichment for the Spanish as well as the European Christians. The tenets of classical and oriental religious experience created a common bond that intensified the wide cultural expression of the Mozarabs who constructed the visual and architectural monuments for the north from clearly Islamic models. Islamic music and design, attitudes and expressions were a constant presence among the Christians even after the Cluniac and Cistercians had formalized the relationship between Hispanic Christianity and the rest of Europe. Especially notable in this context is the marked tolerance of the legendary Cid toward the Islamic peoples in the epic composed in the late eleventh century. Furthermore, the fronterizo tradition of Spanish ballads celebrating the Islamic peoples in poems of eulogy and fascination during the end of the Islamic domination are evidence of a strong awareness of Islamic cultural nuances by the Hispano-Christians (Buceta, 1919, p. 57).

Additional cause for the continued relationship between the Hispano-Islamic and Hispano-Christian peoples was given by the very nature of the complexity within each religious camp. Not only were the Islamic peoples fragmented before the invasion of the two Berber dynasties from North Africa, but the indigenous Christians of the
peninsula were not predisposed to a unilateral confrontation and repudiation of the Moor. For example, at the end of the twelfth century when the Almohads had recaptured strategic towns in Portugal, the Christian rulers committed themselves to waging war against Alfonso VIII of Castile rather than collaborate against the infidel. Threatened by the ambition of the Christian King Alfonso, the kings of Aragón, León and Portugal joined in an anti-Castilian pact in 1190. Indeed, it was only through the intervention of Pope Celestine III that a pact in 1190 curtailed the internecine war and permitted the united Christian response to the virulence of the Almohads.

The Spiritual Tradition

The unique historical situation of Spain during the Middle Ages is matched by the originality of its religious configuration. Hispano-Christians and Hispano-Islamic peoples coexisted in what appears to be a prodigious environment of spirituality. This prodigiousness derives not only from the marginal position of Spain between Christianity and Islam but from the curious amalgams of mystical thought that emerged during the centuries of Hispano-Islamic hegemony. And it is in mystical and quasi-mystical experience that mutual influences appear to be most subtle and central. Therefore, whatever difficulties in analyzing the special traits of Hispanic spiritual life also make this study specially useful in treating the area of textile iconography which appears to be rich in symbolic value.

To study the context of spiritual life during the period is to begin in an area of acknowledged influence: Neoplatonism. For in
Neoplatonism can be found many of the roots of the illuminism that appear to have influenced both Christians and Islamic peoples during many generations of Spanish history. For Christians, Neoplatonism had a function in the development of a contemplative mysticism as early as the sixth century. Emerging from the Neoplatonism of Pseudo-Dionysius and John Scotus Eriugena, early medieval thought from the beginning then was informed by the notion that God permeates the world in an almost pantheistic manner inconsistent with the fundamental dogmas of Christianity. From such notions as the belief that God "becomes comprehensible through manifestations in nature and in the symbolic language of Revelation" (Weinberg, 1964, p. 50), all Europe was exposed to radical departures from orthodox modes of Christianity which were rooted in versions of Neoplatonism.

In Spain, however, the Neoplatonism of the Christians was greatly reinforced by a variety of Neoplatonic expressions of both an official and unofficial nature. The most distinguished and earliest important formal philosopher of Islamic Spain, Ibn Bajja (1070-1138) was crucial in formalizing a doctrine predicated on the notion that happiness "must be the result of the philosopher's own efforts" (Weinberg, 1964, p. 125). Furthermore, he advocated a withdrawal from that which is corporeal as a means of attaining the spiritual. Ibn Tofail (1100-1184) introduced a further articulation of Islamic Neoplatonism in emphasizing "that multiplicity reduced to unity so that the multiplicity of individuals reduces to the unity of their species, and by extension of this notion, the whole world, vital as well as inanimate, has a unity" (Weinberg, 1964, p. 127). However, in Tofail's pursuit of the means to
know God through the processes of abstraction he, like Ibn Bajja, continued a tradition that existed in both Christianity and Islam before them. Although it is true that they and later Islamic thinkers of Spain, including Ibn Rushd known as Averroes, had a profound impact on Christian thinkers, there existed before them the groundwork of notions that permitted a formal statement of these notions to be developed.

However, it is the unique religious expression of Sufi mysticism that gives Neoplatonic thought its most unusual forms in Spain. "They looked into the esoteric meaning of the religious texts and often gave their own interpretations which did not conform to those of the dogma" (Chejne, 1974, pp. 342-43). Developing out of a substratum of asceticism, Andalusian Sufism found organized shape in the writings of the tenth century Iben Masarrah, subject of a study by Asín Palacios (1, 1946). By the eleventh century, the Sufis of Almería had developed considerable influence and had transmitted their beliefs to other Spanish cities. Significantly, it was in Sufi dominated Almería, the textile center, that the unique spiritual sensibility of medieval Spain appears to have found some of its most poignant manifestations.

For example, when the Eastern Mediterranean Sufi ascetic master, Al-Ghazzali (d. 1111), was challenged in terms of dogma by the Almoravid rulers in Spain, formal resistance took place in Almería. In fact, when the Almoravid Sultan Yusuf Ibn Thafln ordered the master's books burned, despite Al-Ghazzali's moderate stance in spiritual matters, a protest was formally drawn up under canon lawyers of Almería under al-Barji formally condemning the conduct of the judge responsible for
the ordering of the burning of the books (Asín Palacios, 1952, p. 121).

However, the formal resistance of Almería is but an indication for the general climate of spiritual interests that opposed the official orthodoxy of the Almoravids, who indeed were threatened by this curious religious expression. Even after the death of the Sufi master, a rebellion in Portugal gave military form to the spiritual convictions, even with members given the mystic name of warrior: murid. Although the leader, Ibn Qasi, declared himself iman in what was an exercise in dubious fanaticism, he accomplished much precisely due to the credibility and extension of the Sufi tradition throughout most of the Iberian peninsula with a full political organization (Chejne, 1974, pp. 338-9).

For the purposes of this thesis, however, special attention must be given to the Spanish Sufi master, Muhyi-al-Din Ibn Arabi, a native of Murcia, educated in Seville, a friend of Ibn Qasi's son and an associate of one of the direct disciples of Ibn al-Arif, the important mystic of Almería. Through Ibn Arabi's concern with illuminism, some sense of the relationship between Hispano-Islamic mysticism and the iconography of the textiles studied in this thesis can be gained. This leader was concerned with similes of light and illumination as manifestation of the essence of God and the important assumption that the soul is but part of the universal soul. From Ibn Arabi it is learned that all things have the capacity to obtain objective reality or perfection directly from God and are capable of receiving divine illumination to the degree that they are in proximity to God. According to
Chejne, Ibn Arabi believed that

"If reason and intuition should conflict, the former should always be sacrificed for the latter; it manifests itself in the form of light which floods every part of the heart of the Sufi, and materializes itself in certain men; it perceives reality itself, which speculative knowledge is not able to achieve; it is one and identical with God's knowledge. It is infallible and through it the mystic gains perfect knowledge of this intuitive knowledge" (Chejne, 1974, p. 341).

Paralleling in general but more extreme than orthodox philosophers of a Neoplatonic inclination, the Sufi mystics such as Ibn Arabi were a threat to the political authority of the Almoravid dynasty in Spain by repudiating law as a means of salvation (Abun Nasr, 1977, p. 99). The school was an aggressive defender of notions that were essentially otherworldly and which militated against the orderly rule of the rulers of the land. In effect, Sufism represented a spiritual "subculture" which in itself made relations with government authority tenuous and the relationship with fellow, mystically inclined peoples of the peninsula a distinct possibility.

Christian participation in the unique spiritual environment of Spain during the period is of necessity little understood. But the Christian Mozarabs did enjoy a special relationship with the Islamic peoples who undoubtedly exposed them to the assumptions and practices of the Sufis. In the school of translators of Toledo, Sufi versions of Neoplatonism appear to have influenced the Christian scholars in attendance and contributed to alterations of European scholasticism. A late, but specific, example of Christian thought influenced by Ibn Arabi's Sufism appears to be Raymond Lull, the Catalanian thinker whose Neoplatonic theories of the early fourteenth century resemble those of the
Sufi masters. And in the work of The Book of Good Love, also of the fourteenth century, Sufi mystical traditions appear to have given shape to important aspects of the narrative (Kinkade, 1974, p. 53).

In a larger context, however, we know that the School of Chartres during the eleventh and twelfth centuries was an important point of synthesis of a variety of cultural perspectives including both rational and mystical ways of perceiving the universe. Especially in symbolic expression, the Chartres exponents found a vehicle for expressing a cosmic sacramentalism that included naturalia as a reflection of God (Wetherbee, 1972, p. 17). Although Chartres was to pursue a unique course not dependent on Islamic thinking to the South, it did provide a Christian environment in which attitudes toward symbolic expression were compatible with the otherworldly symbolic expression of Sufism in Spain.

**Image Formation**

To conclude the discussion of the context in which the textiles treated in this thesis were created, attention must be given to the traditions of image formation in medieval Spain. This discussion must include consideration of both orthodox and divergent iconography of Hispano-Islam and of Hispano-Christian image formation. Although full treatment is limited by the vastness of the subject and the controversies surrounding the problems of iconographical identification, attention in itself will underline the richness of the contributing features of the iconography of the twelve textiles. The iconography central to the pieces analyzed in chapter five of this thesis has a
varied and deeply-rooted place in the cultures of both peoples. As a consequence, aspects of image formation and the relations between images used, and the spiritual assumptions associated with these images, will at least allude to the complexity of the problems confronting the researcher of these materials.

Among the first problems to be considered in this area is the divergence between the official policies and structures regarding aniconic design and the figurative design which appears in the twelve pieces. The apparent contradiction is therefore a convenient point of departure for the discussion of the significance of the figurative designs found in these textiles for the Hispano-Islamic culture which produced them. Since no critical paradigm is available within the Muslim tradition, and since the Muslims did not actually create an explicit tradition of art criticism, a scholarly approach must combine the social and historical modes of inquiry with the intellectual history of the West. Especially significant in this inquiry then is the fact that attitudes toward art among Islamic peoples were limited, with little or no interest in the development of a theory of art or representation. Art, therefore, emerged not as an extension of an idea but as a convenience and accident. Without a rich prehistoric tradition to draw from and without a rich mythology of its own, Islam the religion had no articulated assemblage of doctrines that would be worked into an explicit set of theories governing art or any other area of life within its culture.

Islam as a synthesis of poorly understood ideas, symbols and premises of existing religions and cultures, had no established core of
principles with which to evaluate the variety of external influences that were incorporated into the new religion. Inevitably, the resulting mixture of traditions and attitudes often did violence to the original cultural view that had been accepted in part. But from another point of view, the curious construction of a mythical system from bits and pieces of existing cultures provides an opportunity for the modern scholar to evaluate what appear to be diametrically opposed systems of repudiating and assimilating figurative representation.

Among the most critical influences on the development of Islamic art and the manner in which the Islamic peoples thought about art is the existence of Christianity. Such influence, like the very nature of Islam, is contradictory and indirect. For while Christianity supplied many of the features of what would become the Muslim program of beliefs and expression, it also served as a negative model for the elimination of features that had been significant to a variety of Western cultures. Although Christianity during the Middle Ages often lacked a coherent program of attitudes toward art, there was a sufficiently sophisticated program of representation derived from classical models that allowed the religion and its culture to endure in the face of a plethora of assaults and deficiencies. Christianity survived, then, due in great part to the efficacy of its visual system of representation and its loosely but relatively predictable system of correspondences. Images were powerful and resistant tools of power and ideas. Although "the Christian Middle Ages rarely formalized its own view of the arts" (Grabar, 1973, p. 76), the era did have a coherent representation system by the time the Islamic peoples emerged as an identifiable society.
And in the very resourcefulness of their images, the Christians mili-
tated against the formation of the same within Islam.

Christianity posed itself as a threat in its very richness of art. While the Islamic peoples were rejecting the Arabic past because they regarded it as primitive and weak, they were also rejecting the roots of an autonomous artistic program and compounding the threat of the Christian iconographic system. In effect, the Islamic peoples were depriving themselves of tools with which to differentiate themselves from the other dominant culture of the area. However, in the process of denuding themselves of effective tools with which to assimilate Christian language and myths into their own system, they forced upon themselves the harsher task of repudiating the very basis of Christian iconography. Consequently, what were Christian symbols became converted into symbols of Arabic life and then into an impressive aniconic style. What was first a transformation of Christian motifs -- such as a cross becoming a "knob on a stand over three steps" (Grabar, 1973, p. 93) -- became script without iconographical significance. By the 690's, the first Byzantine and Sassanian motifs were converted into a totally new mode of portrayal that did not include the pictorial devices that had become central to Christian cultures throughout the Western world and the Mediterranean. Thus, as a rejection of one system of representation, the Islamic peoples forced themselves into a creative position that had no original creative inspiration. And in the necessity of the situation, the aniconic mode of cultural expression was placed into a context in which there would eventually arise a whole systematic approach to its existence.
Of the various elements that were assimilated into the aniconic system of representation was the corpus of the words of the Prophet. In turn, by using the phrases of the Prophet, there was an obvious sanctification of the process of representing his words and further mythification of the aniconic style. Slowly then a consistent program of representation did evolve, even without a coherent philosophical rationale for its existence. Accident, circumstance and fortuitous coincidence then combined to produce a system of symbols that was not rooted in the traditional mode of representation. Yet with the existence of a vehicle for the differentiation of the Islamic culture from other cultures and the convenient means of articulating the normative words of the Prophet, the new system of representation was of necessity destined to become a complex mode of projecting the culture and preserving that which would become its ideal. And, the accidental device would later become a standard by which all manifestations of the culture would be evaluated.

Chief among the special circumstances that pertain uniquely to the Islam of this discussion is the oral nature of the society. Unlike more ancient and organized cultures with religious institutions, Islam was a synthesis of cultures held together in a nomadic environment through oral presentations of tales, fables and the recitation of the Koran. Just as the society had few visual relics as tokens of their legitimacy, so did their religious ceremony avoid images and ceremonial pomp and circumstance that required a stable community and storage areas. Religion then became a phenomenon that could be articulated orally through the chanting of the holy texts and whose esthetic appeal did not rest
in pictorial or theatrical renditions of the essence of the religion.

Unlike the oriental or Christian experience, the first centuries of the Islamic religion communicated the truths of the institution by word. The proselytizing zeal of the Koran was furthermore better expressed orally than visually

"because its liturgical and other uses lacked the aesthetic complexities of the Christian use of the Gospels or of the Old Testament. The Koran was and still is recited in mosques at prayer time but its aesthetic appeal lies in the sound of its divinely inspired words" (Grabar, 1973, p. 84).

It could be further added that the lack of liturgy in Islam simply hindered the development of sacramental and ceremonial settings that would have been useful and conducive to the creation of a rich pictorial and symbolic setting.

However, with the gradual sophistication of an autonomous religious system, the existence of special vehicles of communication necessitated a development of attitudes that would correspond to the reality of the tools at the disposal of the society. Thus, since the image was to be associated with the Christian and the Christian was to be associated with deception and religious failure, images themselves became identified with evil. As an extension of their religion, the aniconic style then became associated with moral principles and came to assume a unique place in demonstrating the piety of the Islamic religion which, in turn, was not only the product of a harsh desert society but also of a religion which had fortuitously inherited a mode of expression that would lend itself to restraint. And, as the religion assumed a posture that was consistent with an attitude of restraint and vehicles that were often reductive, Islam eschewed the more complex forms of
religious intermediation in favor of the most direct, simple confrontation with God. Symbols that approximated the divine would of necessity become useless and eventually offensive.

"In as much as most artistic creation at that time was seen as a substitute for reality and thus an intermedialy between man and that reality, it appeared as evil in a much wider sense than the technically precise one of confrontation between God, the musawwir par excellence, and the maker of images, the musawwir in stone or paint. It was evil because it interfered between man and the morally good life, because it was a gratuitous temptation" (Grabar, 1973, p. 101).

Among the early formative influences on Islamic habits of mind and their relationship to the creative experience is a mode of perception that is rooted in the program of beliefs predicated on the total power of God. In the first religious experiences of the Islamic peoples, it became essential to recognize the inadequacy of any attempt to approximate God's experience. And since God was perceived as the great artist, the great sculptor, any representation that would resemble the holy process of God's creativity would be sacrilegious. Since the text indicates that the representation of the bird by the divine spokesman was for the purpose of breathing life into it, any other purpose for representing the objects of God's world would be unnecessary and improper.

By the middle of the eighth century, the formative influences of Islam had become institutions which possessed their own personality and legitimacy. What had been the circumstantial and useful device had become codified into a rigid system of beliefs. Proscriptions against art appear in a variety of texts which constitute the Hadith, a body of oral traditions which attributed the life of the prophet. In one case
it was claimed that the Prophet had stated that "the maker of images or pictures is the enemy of God" (Grabar, 1973, p. 86). Not only custom but law militated against images and there developed a systematic repudiation of pictorial art as a means of justifying the massive crusade which the Islamic peoples were waging throughout the world in the intense eighth century. As they defined themselves through the institutions with which they associated their unique voice, they found in non-pictorial representation a religiously meaningful feature. Aniconic representation was consequently frozen into the identifying feature of the entire civilization and a root of its attitudes and qualities.

Geometry became a basic vehicle of expression. By focusing on geometrical forms, Islamic art diverted attention from the representational world to that of pure form, thus giving "structural insights into the workings of the inner self and their reflection on the universe" (Critchlow, 1970, p. 8). Through the use of geometric forms then there was an attempt to separate form from meaning in an effort to achieve visual purity and arrive at the spiritual essence of the creative experience. This explains the reason why, in Islamic art, meaning is secondary to form and why Islam the religion imposes the forms in art, but disregarded the subject matter, allowing them to feed from diverse cultural sources (Grabar, 1978). Even though in the early history of Islamic art there was a dour, puritanical resistance to every symbol of the preceding Christian or Mediterranean culture, as the artistic experience matured, Islamic attitudes became more tolerant, complex and ambivalent toward these cultures. That is why research of the last three decades (Hartner, 1938; Ettinghausen, 1957; Cammam, 1957;
Hartner et al, 1964; Baer, 1965) has demonstrated that in addition to the traditional placid themes of Islamic art,

"or the calligraphically rendered inscriptions, or the princely scenes, there are also ancient themes of cosmic lore and the power of natural and supernatural forces symbolically reflected in combat scenes, zoological configurations, and various other emblems" (Grabar, 1974, p. 230).

As these themes were gradually assimilated into the Islamic artistic idiom, emphasis on form made their meaning less significant and noticeable.

Above all, the inner symmetry of the geometric pattern, whether it be the circle, the square, or the triangle, perceived and incorporated into every aspect of Islamic life by the spiritual craftsmen, was one of the most important principles of organization. It permits those who study Islamic art to understand the care with which each form appeared and reappeared endlessly and the absolute nature of the symbol rooted in a spiritual geometry. Moreover, recent studies have explained the astrological and astronomical source of inspiration of diverse images ranging from birds to animals. Many themes as well as such peculiarities of composition as awkwardness of pose, which traditionally had been associated with an interest in abstract design, now are considered representations of single stars or constellations. Thus, these heavenly symbols provide a unique view of the Universe ruled by the stars and in which the hopes and wishes of men are rooted in philosophical and sacred commitments.

However, in the absence of a unified legal and philosophical system, the maintenance of a strict and uniform code of ethics, ideas and art
was made exceedingly difficult. As a result, the aniconic form of the Islamic peoples underwent a variety of changes and evolutions that produced the extraordinarily rich, complex and sensual art of the Islamic culture. What began as a resistance to Christianity was to mature into a more complex art form with concomitant attitudes for its evaluation. Eventually, the move from the primitive desert creation to the highly sophisticated forms of Hispano-Islamic art would obscure the origins of the aniconic style. But it is in the context of the original forms that discussions of the evolving forms of Islamic art become critical.

By the middle of the eighth century, the literate, judicious and priestly "Middle" (Grabar, 1973, p. 102) Muslims were waging a curious war against several groups of Islamic peoples who failed to appreciate the edicts against iconographic representation. These groups against which the "Middle" Muslims struggled were the popular and the aristocratic segments of society, both of which repudiated the strict adherence to aniconic expression. On the one hand, the popular groups were loyal to ancient pagan symbols and traditions and, on the other hand, the aristocracy continued to exploit images as symbols of luxury and, above all, status. The poor and the rich alike were conservative forces which did not subscribe to the new program of representation which in effect was a synthetic and innovative feature not rooted in any ancient and mythical origins. And with the exceedingly complex and poorly articulated legal system that governed the life of the far-flung Islamic world, the result for the arduous "Middle" Islamic intellectuals was essentially a compromise with existing, uncooperative forces in society.
However, of all the implications that arose from the special visual reality created in a world that repudiated icons, perhaps the most philosophically complex and the most provocative in later Western European thought and culture was the notion that appearances are deceiving from a simple, geometrical point of view. By focusing on the extraordinary pattern of circles and straight lines, the artful creator constructed a labyrinth that taught a special lesson to those who participated in the visual and metaphysical exploits (Grabar, 1973, pp. 199-200). As the constructor leads and the viewer follows, both become involved with a process of recreating, in each minute corner of the program, the infinite pattern of life which is itself a maze with truths and falsehoods, lines and unusual twists for all. And as the Islamic craftsman still perpetuates the maze of light and shade, intense movement and frozen contours, process and stasis, he continues to express a premise that emerged, coincidentally, in the eighth century. It is the assumption that in the geometrical motifs and the total covering of the forms there is an expression of God as the only order and the giver of order (Grabar, 1973, p. 203). For in the rich decoration of the maze, one can see arbitrary and disordered accumulation in the absence of the key, or one can see the hidden, underlying evidence of the giver of all order and rejoice in the hidden and secretive ways of his revelation. Furthermore, in the abundance of line and shade, color and general impression, one is led to a further conclusion, one which the Islamic thinkers discovered to be similar to the Hellenic notion of the atomistic nature of the universe, that the world was made of an infinity of parts, all woven and rewoven into a
texture which had only one real significance: to demonstrate the higher order.

It is from this context, therefore, that the development of figurative iconography in Hispano-Islamic textiles becomes a significant area of critical investigation. For while figurative elements were gradually introduced to Islamic art from Baghdad to Spain, the very existence of this contrary mode of expression reflects the depth and complexity of unofficial artistic expression. Clearly beyond the range of even the most liberal exploitation of the aniconic style, figurative art demonstrates the diversity of Islamic culture. In Spain, this development suggests the influence of unorthodox traditions throughout the greatest period of Islamic rule and the advent of cultural institutions that militate against the religious hermeticism preached by both external and internal elements of Hispanic Islam. These influences appear to be both accidental and of a design. Study of them is both complicated and useful in the pursuit of a common ground of cultural and spiritual communication.

Historically, several of the conditions that encouraged the refinement of figurative design in a general environment of aniconic expression reflect the accidental and synthetic origins of Islamic culture. Among the first was the unique attitude of the Umayyad dynasty which permitted considerable latitude of culture during the first centuries of Spanish colonization. During this dynasty, cosmopolitan artistic creativity was permissive of Byzantine artists producing figurative motifs as an amalgam of Western and Oriental motifs. Through their inventiveness, these Byzantine-influenced creators facilitated the
evolution of a substratum of design that was to exist as an artistic tradition in its own right, paradoxically, to the benefit of Islamic and Christian consumers throughout the Mediterranean (Dury, 1970). As the Umayyad center of Cordova became a center of international trade, it also retained autonomous traditions that differed from the orthodox and more severe Islamic cultures of North Africa. By the end of the tenth century, under the leadership of Al-Mansur (976-1009), the Cordova mosque became a singular bastion of culture that was subservient to no external tradition of artistic assumptions. As a result, when invading Almoravid and Almohad dynasties reintroduced more standard Islamic thinking and art to the peninsula, orthodox Islam had to contend continuously with a well established corpus of artistic concepts and programs that had their own impetus and rationale for existence. Furthermore, layers of enrichment were added through contacts with Coptic artists whose expression was through iconographic representation similar to the Byzantine pictorial mode imbedded in Spain under the Umayyads.

Hispanic contact with and support of pan-Mediterranean culture did not end with specific dynastic persuasions. An indigenous mode of expression was gradually evolved to accommodate the larger civilization of Christians and Jews in Islamic Spain. These, by maintaining an affinity for their separate cultural orientation, introduced internal peninsular pressures to broaden the scope of cultural life. And, especially with the Mozarabic artistic population evoking Christian themes in a style compatible with, but not identical to, Islamic art cosmopolitan elements survived with unusual tenacity.
However, as Christian culture on the peninsula during the first centuries of Islamic rule was maintained with considerable religious integrity, Islamic culture contributed Mozarabic to enrich Christian expression. Mozarabic culture therefore developed as a parallel phenomenon, separate, but with infinite ties and allegiance to the dominant Islamic peoples. But in its survival as Christianity, it permitted introduction into Christian iconography and ideas those features of Islamic art that could be assimilated. Indeed, so unique was this culture that it found expression in modes of representation that were radically different from the artistic traditions of Christian Europe. Although Christian, the Mozarabs were profoundly indebted to the culture of Islamic Spain and articulated their faith in forms different from orthodox Christians to the north. Of course, by being sensitive to some forms of Islamic life, these Christians became the vehicles for a variety of communication of the special Hispanic world which the Umayyads had made possible through their tolerance and their flexibility. It is the contention of this thesis that eventually those Christians sensitive to their Islamic coinhabitants of the peninsula became the means by which large segments of a unique Islamic culture could survive and even be transmitted to the rest of Europe.

An example of the material influence of Islamic peoples on the Christians of Spain can be seen in the Beatus manuscripts of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. According to Ernst Kitzinger, these works which were illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse written by the Beatus of Liebana of the eighth century, demonstrate the most extreme departure from the classical traditions of Europe. For
Kitzinger, these works are outside the range of medieval European Christian art of classical heritage:

"Not only is there a profusion of Arabic ornament, such as horseshoe-arches, heraldic animal patterns, and Cufic lettering, but the fact that figure scenes are treated like ornament and strewn with a variety of patterns as though they were a carpet is also in accordance with oriental taste" (1969, p. 76).

Yet these manuscripts, separating Mozarabic art of the period from the rest of Europe, were not isolated phenomena for the Christians of Spain from the tenth to the twelfth century.

Clearly, the implications of Mozarabic influence, which in turn is the influence of the unique Hispano-Islamic culture, on Christian life and thought are worthy of consideration. For if the Christians were linked to Islamic culture through such documents as the Beatus manuscripts, then the importance of figurative representation of an Islamic origin on Christians must be acknowledged. Yet if it is also acknowledged that the external features of representation indicate a Christian receptivity to iconographic representation in general, the programs articulated must be examined from both cultural traditions.

In fact, as shall be demonstrated in the textile analysis section, the iconographic features of the works do contain meaning for both groups of people and signify as well as decorate. Since we do know (Kitzinger, 1969, p. 59) that the Byzantine root of both cultures in Spain had both Classical and Oriental influence, it then becomes not only possible but reasonable to pursue the intersections where those two kindred cultures found expression. Not only were there visual traditions that linked the two cultures but a shared conversation in Neoplatonic
principles of a contemplative nature appears to have added conceptual underpinning to those images. In addition, the abstract significance of art in pre-Romanesque and Romanesque Europe introduced through the Cluniac and Cistercian Orders (Davy, 1964, p. 11) did not militate against the inclination of Christians anywhere in Europe to consider art as a form of devotion. Indeed, the historical reality of religious expansion must have increased sensitivity to the concepts expressed through visual imagery.

It, therefore, seems unreasonable to divorce the textiles of Islamic manufacture found in Christian tombs from the larger context of this unique culture. Through the study of the images of the celestial banquet, the mythological animals of a hybrid nature and the heraldic images of the lion and the eagle, repeated opportunities are provided for demonstrating that these images were consistently identified with meaningful spiritual customs of both peoples. Each is rooted in a classical and an oriental tradition which gives a larger spiritual dimension to the culture which Iberia produced. Most importantly, although each has roots in the separate religious traditions of Islam and Christianity, the many intersections of these images in shared notions indicate that there developed a panHispanic spiritual environment in an infrastructure of unique spiritual communication. This communication, based on archetypal images of classical and oriental origin, therefore appears to be one of the artifacts by which cultural historians may be able to ascertain the intricate nuances of a religious and cultural life which was as tolerant as it was otherworldly. Indeed, it is in the spiritual imagery of these textiles that one can begin to trace the special meeting ground of East
and West, a meeting ground that had the merit of being ephemeral and referencial, allusive to a light and a majesty that could be captured in symbols of divine power and presence.
Chapter 5

TEXTILE ANALYSIS

The analysis of the twelve textiles is divided into three sections concerning the celestial banquet and hunt, hybrid mythological animals, and animals which symbolize power. In each of the three sections, an analysis of individual textile fragments provides an opportunity to compare the Islamic and the Christian interpretations which each image and its secondary iconographical context offer. In the first section, special attention is given to the manner in which several of the textiles fragments relate to the larger iconographic program of the celestial banquet and reiterate a clear program of spiritual significance. In this section it is, therefore, possible to extrapolate from an acknowledged representation of afterlife in Islamic culture possible uses of this program in coeval Christian culture and the reasons for its possible care of reception as a spiritual statement by the Christians who used the fragments in burial situations.

In the second section, special attention is given to the oriental and the western traditions of the hybrid animal and connotations that transcend the merely decorative for both cultures. Furthermore, special attention is given to the religious contexts in the Christian culture of Spain in which these animals appear.

In the third section, special attention is given to the hieratic traditions of both cultures in which the lion and the eagle had unique heraldic and spiritual significance.
The Celestial Banquet and Hunt

The first five textiles to be analyzed comprise a group as an expression of the themes of heroization and apotheosis. In each of the textiles there is a reference to transcendence through the vehicle of the celestial banquet and hunt. While the first textile studied contains a comprehensive view of the aspects of the banquet and hunt as an allegory of paradise, each of the four remaining textiles are abbreviated versions of the program displayed in the first version. All five works contain pairs of human figures enclosed in roundels which present aspects of the central iconographical program. In four of the pieces, the figures are seated, either drinking or playing a musical instrument; in one, the figures are standing, as if dancing. Analysis of the first textile will therefore suggest the larger program in which the other works function but will not treat exhaustively those features which are repeated in the remaining four versions. In each of the four versions, aspects of the celestial banquet and hunt will be discussed in relation to the iconography of each work.

The Bishop Gurb textile

The Bishop Gurb textile was found in the tomb of Don Arnaldo de Gurb, Bishop of Barcelona, who died in 1284. His tomb is in the Cathedral of Barcelona. Woven during the first half of the thirteenth century, the textile is believed to be of Almería origin (Shepherd, 1978, p. 128). The piece is now in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art, purchased with monies from the J. H. Wade Fund, (accession number 66.368). Originally from the collection of Montaner
Capmany, the piece is in fragile condition with discoloration. Furthermore, folding and mending suggest that the textile was not new when placed in the Bishop's tomb. The technique is a tapestry inwoven in tabby ground.

The central iconography consists of a series of figures in eight main roundels. These figures are as following: a pair of confronted human figures on each side of a palmette in two of the roundels, a pair of confronted harpies on each of a tree of life in the third roundel and mounted horsemen enclosed in the remaining five roundels. Of the two pairs of confronted human figures, one has the figures seated (Figure 1, p. 61), the other with figures standing (Figure 2, p. 63). The seated figures appear to be holding drinking vessels. The harpies, in an incomplete roundel, have human heads and peacock tails (Figure 3, p. 65). The horsemen in the remaining roundels suggest movement with loose skirts, turbans and scarves fluttering (Figure 4, p. 67).

Secondary iconography includes figures in seven small roundels which constitute the main elements of the textile border. Of these figures, two have seated figures, two have single griffins and two have single peacocks. The last has a single gazelle (Figure 5, p. 69). Finally, there is stylized Kufic inscription framing the larger roundels repeating the phrase "there is no god but God" (Shepherd, 1978, p. 111).

The comprehensive iconographical program of this textile has been carefully studied by Shepherd as a reflection of the themes of the celestial banquet and hunt (1978, pp. 111-129). She has persuasively argued that the two religious themes referring to the afterlife inform
the program of the entire piece, integrating a variety of details that had once been regarded as reflections of princely pastimes. In her analysis, Shepherd concluded that the juxtaposition of the themes of celestial banquet and hunt in the Hispano-Islamic textile undoubtedly signified heroization and apotheosis, or promise of paradise to the true believer, due to the use of the same themes in Sassanian art (1978, p. 119). In Sassanian art, in fact, the celestial banquet and royal hunt were combined to illustrate the exalted celebration of transcendence (Shepherd, 1974). As a consequence, it is necessary to scrutinize all features of the extensive iconography of this piece in the context of an afterworld symbolism. Furthermore, the composite resources of this piece serve to illustrate the significance of the same iconography isolated in heraldic environments of other textiles.

Among the iconographical features contained in this work that will be studied in subsequent analyses are the tree of life, the pairs of confronted figures, harpies, griffins, peacocks and the gazelle. Each has an important tradition and significance for both peoples. However, features of this textile which do not appear in the other works studied in this thesis and which provide special insights into the manner in which the two cultures shared a similar cosmological artistic language are the horsemen of the royal hunt, the figures plucking fruit from the tree of life and the references to the labors of the month.

In the iconography of the royal hunt, the sacredness of the imagery derives not only from the reference to the Sassanian tradition of a pastime worthy of paradise, but also from the presence of a coiled serpent beneath the horse (Shepherd, 1978, p. 121). As the killers of
Figure 1. Fragment of the Bishop Gurb's textile, first half of the thirteenth century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 66.368).
Figure 2. Fragment of the Bishop Gurb's textile, first half of the thirteenth century. Museo Nacional de Arte Hispano-musulmán, Granada.
Figure 3. Fragment of the Bishop Gurb's textile, first half of the thirteenth century. The Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York.
Figure 4. Fragment of the Bishop Gurb's textile, first half of the thirteenth century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 66.368).
Figure 5. Fragment of the border of Bishop Gurb's textile, first half of the thirteenth century. The Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York.
dragons, and hence of evil, these horsemen symbolize active pursuit of
goodness. For Christians of the Middle Ages, of course, universal
recognition of Saints Michael and George as horseback dragon slayers
would have made the Islamic iconography compatible with their own tra-
ditions. Indeed, the common root of both traditions in ancient art
would have made it possible for the Hispano-Islamic artists to have
responded to the Mozarab art in the tenth century Beatus' Commentary on
the Apocalypse which contained the illustration of the dragon slayer
(Shepherd, 1978, p. 121).

In the iconography pertaining to the plucking of fruit from the
tree of life, ample evidence suggests that this theme was not only
imbued with spiritual meaning, dating back to ancient versions of para-
dise, but that an Islamic people could have been influenced by Chris-
tian art. Although paradise and the tree of life were accepted features
of both cultures throughout their formation, the survival of the pluck-
ing of fruit from the tree of life was especially important as a facet
of the cycle of the labors of the month of a Christian origin. Evolving
in Spain through Visigothic iconography from late Classical traditions,
plucking of fruit from the tree of life became a part of a common
vocabulary throughout Andalusia during the Caliphate (Shepherd, 1978,
p. 126). In fact, according to Rice, the labors of the month was a
theme borrowed from the Christians and adjusted to Islamic art through-
out Islam (1954, p. 17). Inevitably, therefore, the religiositiy of the
Islamic textile would have been understood, at least through this icon-
ography, by Christians whose own traditions had contributed to its
formation and significance. Indeed, for Christians who believed that
the labors of the month represented a means to redemption and princely dignity (Male, 1914, p. 65), the courtly context in which this aspect of the celestial banquet appears would have heightened the significance of the plucking of fruit as an activity worthy of veneration.

**The Queen Berenguela textile**

The Queen Berenguela textile of women playing musical instruments was found in the tomb of Queen Berenguela who died in 1246. The textile was found in her tomb at the Cistercian monastery and royal pantheon of Las Huelgas and still remains in the collection of Las Huelgas, an active religious convent in Burgos. Shepherd has dated the work to the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and has also suggested that it could have been "made at the same time, and perhaps even by the same hands" as the textile of Bishop Gurb (1978, p. 117). It is in exceptionally good condition and in its original form. The technique is of compound cloth and tapestry.

The central iconography of the textile consists of two female figures seemingly dancing barefoot on each side of a tree of life. As these figures face each other on each side of the tree of life in an elongated roundel, one holds a disc which resembles a tambourine and the other a square piece that also appears to be a musical instrument. The secondary iconography consists of four eight-pointed interlaced stars between the roundel and the upper and lower bands of the textile. In the bands, Kufic inscription reads "perfect blessing" and in the roundel band the inscription is the message "there is no god but God" (Shepherd, 1978, p. 117), (Figure 6, p. 74).
In this monumental textile, the Hispano-Islamic artist represented a motif from the tradition of the celestial banquet. Although it is an isolated variant of the larger paradise program, its relationship to the iconography of the celestial banquet is expressed through the presence of the musicians. Indeed, the celestial banquet is here derived from the Sassanian prototype "usually represented by enthroned princes with their courtiers and musicians" (Shepherd, 1978, p. 119). Music was a vehicle of exchange between earth and heaven and was heard as the "sound of the doors of Paradise" (Schimmel, 1975, p. 183). In Spain, music had a particularly poignant significance, for among Sufis it was regarded as means of attaining communion with God. For some, music and its associated dance were perceived as "a dance with God" (Schimmel, 1976, p. 182). In this mystical concern, Neoplatonic and Pythagorean notions of celestial harmony were assimilated into ancient versions of paradise harmony.

The secondary iconography of the four eight-pointed stars reinforces another Sufi notion regarding the celestial nature of music and dancing. In their placement, these stars surround the main roundel and appear to be revolving as if in response to the music produced by the two female figures. This placement is especially important in that Sufis regarded the swirling motion produced in dance not only as a means of revelation but a reflection of the revolving of the dancer around the sun as particles of dust, just as man gravitates around God (Schimmel, 1975, p. 184). Further spiritual integration of the dancing and musical women with these stars is made by the placement of the stars in a pattern that resembles the sacred layout of Islamic royal
Figure 6. The Queen Berenguela's textile, second quarter of the thirteenth century. The Convent of Las Huelgas, Burgos.
gardens as a projection of paradise. It is only logical, then, to assume that these eight-pointed stars, whose octagonal shape represented perfection, gave reinforcement to the several levels of reference to paradise that the celestial banquet implied. As eight-pointed solar images in perfect placement, they represent the appropriate context for the ethereal performance of the two women.

In this program, therefore, the stylized tree of life in the center of the roundel and consequently in the center of the entire textile, serves to unify the celestial significance of the textile. In addition, the inscription containing "perfect blessing" and "there is no god but God" surrounds both the central focus of the piece and the totality of the representation. Like the extension of the images of paradise, these phrases serve to repeat in increasing frameworks the explicit spiritual intention of the piece. As such, the work becomes a unified and integrated statement of the entire Islamic tradition of the celestial banquet as obeisance to God.

For the Hispano-Christian population which placed this textile in the tomb of Queen Berenguela, music was also imbued with spiritual significance. Christian sculpture throughout medieval Europe contained images of holy figures with musical instruments as expressions of religiosity. Of course, the origins of the assumptions regarding music were similar to those which gave inspiration to the Islamic artists. Neoplatonic and Pythagorean habits of mind permitted the Christians to construct at Chartres and throughout the Cistercian and Cluniac temples in France and Spain central iconography of a musical sort. Indeed, music is prominent as a symbol of religiosity at Santiago de Compostela.
Although the music iconography would not have been understood in the context of the Arabic inscription, it would have been compatible with the geometrical figures of the stars. For, as Von Simson has indicated, music and geometry both contained for Saint Augustine the means for the mind to transcendent the world of appearances to reach a contemplation of divinity (1964, p. 22). As a consequence, the textile as a means of eulogy for Queen Berenguela not only served as a magnificent offering of elegant craftsmanship but as a statement consistent with Neoplatonic beliefs of the Christians of the period.

The Vich textile of women playing musical instruments

The Vich textile of women playing musical instruments was found at Vich in the leaves of a thirteenth century manuscript. It is one of many pieces of textile cut from a single length of material (May, 1957, p. 139). Considerable discussion surrounds the origin of this work. According to Breck, the nature of the geometric and interlacing designs date it to no earlier than the late twelfth century and more probably the early thirteenth century (1929, p. 254). Shepherd concurs with May (1943, p. 383) in the belief that it could be as late as the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries (1957, pp. 138-9). The textile belongs to the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, (accession number 1965.33.5), formerly of the collection of H. A. Elsberg. However, other fragments are to be found at The Metropolitan Museum of New York, (accession number 28.194); The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (accession number 28.528); as well as at The Cleveland Museum of Art and the Art Institute of Chicago. The piece at the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, like the others, is
of silk and gold brocade woven in compound cloth. The Cooper-Hewitt
example is in a fragile condition with some colors faded, while other
pieces are in somewhat better condition.

The central iconography of the textile consists of two female
musicians facing each other with a disc which appears to be a flat drum
or tambourine in their hands. The secondary iconography consists of a
hanging lamp or vessel between and above the figures and eight-pointed
interlaced stars. The stars are contained in smaller roundels inter-
laced to the larger roundel in which the seated figures are found
(Figure 7, p. 79).

Iconographically, this textile pertains to the same program of the
celestial banquet as the textile of Queen Berenguela. The seated female
figures apparently performing music would have been as identified with
Islamic, and especially Sufi expressions of divine harmony. Since they
are in the context of the eight-pointed star, they were not isolated
from the cosmology identified in the Berenguela textile. Stars were
clearly contextual evidence of the celestial banquet theme (Shepherd,
1974, p. 82). However, in this textile, the presence of the lamp
between and above the two seated figures adds an important note of
spirituality to the program that further identifies the program as
religious. The lamp as symbol of illumination provides evidence that
the program was intended to project enlightenment. Furthermore, since
this piece is undoubtedly of Hispanic origin, owing to its similarity
to an eleventh century Hispano-Islamic casket at the Victoria and
Albert Museum (May, 1957, p. 139), the religious symbolism of the
celestial banquet program and the dynamic configuration of geometric
Figure 7. The Vich textile, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, (accession number 1965.33.5).
lines surrounding the iconography suggest that this piece might well have been an expression of Sufi mysticism. In luminescent colors of blue, gold and white, the iconography and the dramatic outline produced by the interlaced smaller and larger roundels, of relatively equal size, produce a vibrant and exciting impression that seems to suggest the very state of transcendent emotion.

For the Hispano-Christians, this piece would have had the same impressive spiritual sense as the Berenguela textile. Although not of the monumental nature of the Berenguela piece of a magnificent architectural unity, this piece still contains images compatible with Neoplatonic assumptions and a general acceptance of music and stars as celestial.

The Granada textile border

The Granada textile border of highly ornate geometric ornament is believed to be of Granada origin of the fourteenth century. Although May attributes the piece to the thirteenth century, since it contains animal and human figures (1943, p. 387), Shepherd has convincingly argued that it is of the fourteenth century;

"the presence of animal and human figures and of finely drawn arabesques in combination with geometric ornament is evidence of a transitional style that must be placed between the fully developed geometric style of the fifteenth century and the style of the thirteenth century in which animal motives predominated" (1943, p. 387).

The textile belongs to the collection of the Hispanic Society of América. Since the textile resembles the architectural motifs of the Alhambra, a Granada attribution is in order, although even in Almería during the early fourteenth century, such geometrical motifs were known.
The textile is in excellent condition. The technique is plain compound cloth.

The iconography of primary importance is subsumed in the dominant geometrical ornament: pairs of seated human figures on a bench holding what could be a cup, fruit or a flower in their raised hands. These alternate in three symmetrical rows of roundels with addorsed antelopes with a slender tree of life between them. The secondary iconography is a series of stars "connected by framing ribbons" (Weibel, 1952, p. 101) or "linked vertically by stars" according to May (1957, p. 138). Stars of an eight-pointed nature form the basic geometric ornamentation of the entire piece beyond the band in which the roundels are found (Figure 8, p. 83; figure 9, p. 85).

For Hispano-Islamic peoples, the iconographic program of the Granada textile border would have been a complex and clearly recognizable reconstruction of paradise. In the alternating iconography of antelopes and pairs of seated figures in an extensive field of eight-pointed stars, images of both the celestial banquet and the hunt are given an environment of paradise. Three different mechanisms are thus joined in a spiritual orchestration of ancient iconography. The seated figures holding a cup, fruit or a flower are, in any case, easily identified symbols of the celestial banquet. If they are holding a goblet, of course, they would be consistent with Islamic, and especially Sufi, notions of iconography identifying the drinking of celestial wine as a means of reaching paradise. Although this aspect of religious intoxication is studied more thoroughly in the section concerning the drinking ladies, it is important to recognize that
Figure 8. The Granada textile border, fourteenth century. The Hispanic Society of América, New York.
Figure 9. Detail of the Granada textile border, fourteenth century. The Hispanic Society of América, New York.
confronted cup-bearers were identified as lovers who purified themselves through the power of divine love (Schimmel, 1975, p. 49). The intoxication of divine love as symbolized in the raised wine goblet was the means by which man erased the distinctions of earthly appearances and participated in the oneness of divinity (Schimmel, 1975, p. 353). In any case, the reference to confronted figures saluting each other with raised hands is consistent with celestial banquet iconography in general.

The juxtaposed iconography of the confronted antelopes in the alternating roundels of the textile suggests that the theme of the celestial hunt is incorporated into the banquet iconography. The antelopes as companion figures to the references to the celestial banquet would have been identified as figures of the spiritual hunt that would resolve itself in conquest of paradise. As symbols of divinity and as solar images, these antelopes would further the movement toward a higher realm by combining the classical implications of the hunt with the meditative function of the banquet (Grabar, 1968, pp. 188-89). Together, these icons pursue a spiritual meaning within the field of eight-pointed stars that represent infinite expansion of paradise in a manner consistent with Granada architectural ornament.

For the Hispano-Christians, the religious significance of the celestial banquet as expression of the themes of heroization and apotheosis was reinforced by the spiritual significance of the antelopes. Not only were antelopes perceived as solar deities within the traditions to which the Christians had access, but they were Christian symbols of spirituality. Furthermore, the late date of the Granada
textile border would have made it possible for the peoples of Iberia to have grown accustomed to the general religious modality of such combinations as celestial banquet and hunt in a context of the solar images of the stars.

The textile of the Drinking Ladies

The Drinking Ladies' textile is of unknown provenance but believed to be of a textile "preserved in a tomb or treasure in Christian Spain" (Shepherd, 1978, p. 128). Although Weibel dates it as early as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries (1952, p. 99), Shepherd regards this textile as the product of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (1978, p. 128). Formerly of the Miguel y Badía collection, it is now in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, (accession number 1902.1.82). The textile is in fragile condition. According to May, the technique is "slit tapestry" (1954, p. 139).

The central iconography consists of confronted figures seated on a low platform or bench. Of the two sets of confronted figures, each of which is found in roundels, the top pair has each figure with one hand resting on the knee and pointing to the other figure and the other hand raised, holding a wine goblet in a gesture of toasting one another. The bottom pair, which are incomplete, has the nearly identical figures repeating the gestures of the top roundel. However, in the bottom figure to the left, a decanter is held rather than a goblet. The secondary iconography consists of strapwork which frames the roundels and which forms crosses, four-lobed rosettes and a central eight-pointed star. Furthermore, there are small Greek crosses which form the pattern of the curvilinear drapery of the figures (Figure 10, p. 89).
Figure 10. The Drinking Ladies' textile, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, (accession number 1901.1.82).
For the Hispano-Islamic artist who composed this textile, the iconography was consistent with the celestial banquet theme. Shepherd also acknowledges this piece as "representing the themes of the celestial banquet" (1978, p. 120, Fig. 1). Although the absence of Arabic calligraphy with a clear religious message, the lack of monumentality and singleness of purpose on the part of the artist have subsequently led Shepherd to report that the piece does not have religious significance (personal interview with Shepherd); the textile appears to warrant further examination in that context. First, the iconography of the drinking ladies is consistent with the theme of the celestial banquet. Second, the repetition of the program in the two rondels gives an heraldic semblance to the depiction of the women and consequently a ritualistic meaning. Third, the focused attention on wine in a culture in which wine was more spiritual than secular gives the iconography a further significance. Especially among Sufi devotees, wine drinking became a metaphor for divine intoxication and knowledge of Him through ecstasy. Although not literally wine drinkers, the Sufis assumed that wine was a mode of representation for the process of enlightenment (Bakhtiar, 1976, p. 113). The provider of divine wine, the saqi, is therefore the provider of truth to those who receive the offering of Divine Knowledge. In such a tradition that transmission of knowledge is significant, and it is to this tradition which the drinking ladies appear to be alluding. Since the lower left figure of the piece contains an image of a woman with a decanter, the theme of the celestial banquet is reinforced as a transaction involving spirituality.
Other internal evidence to suggest that this fragment contains references to divine intoxication of the Sufis, or at least the generalized notions of the celestial banquet in sacred terms, is the presence of the four-lobed rosettes and the central eight-pointed star. As strapwork surrounding the central program, these religious symbols suggest both the celestial garden and perfection itself in the number of points to the star. They serve to enclose figures in a hieroglyph of paradise and to render their presence more poignant than would purely secular figures. In addition, the very presence of female images, resembling Turkish stone mother figures (Shepherd, 1943, p. 386), is consistent with Sufi preference for the female form as a symbol of divinity (Bakhtiari, 1976, p. 68).

**Hybrid-Mythological Animals**

The three textiles to be analyzed in this section each contain an iconography that had special significance for both Islamic and Christian peoples of the Middle Ages: mythological animals whose transcendental power derived from the joining of sacred beasts. The textiles contain respectively the sphinx, the harpy and the griffin. Each of these animals is formed from animals that had profound spiritual significance in both cultures and all are associated with solar imagery. Although the specific connotations of each of the constituent animals, as well as the hybrid animal, were different in the two religious cultures, the persistence of this heraldic iconography indicates the degree to which the cultures shared their common roots. In addition, the survival of this manner of hybrid-mythological animal iconography
among Hispanic peoples of both religions reinforces the assumption that coexistence in the peninsula was rooted in a common heraldic language. Not only are the figures of the primary iconography of the three pieces functional for both cultures, but the secondary iconography in each case substantiates the religious quality of the motif from both points of view.

The Saint Bernard of Calvó textile of confronted sphinxes

The Saint Bernard of Calvó textile of confronted sphinxes was found in the coffin of Saint Bernard, Bishop of Vich in Catalonia from 1233 until 1234. One of three textiles found in the Saint’s tomb, it is believed to be from the first half of the twelfth century. Although its provenance is unknown, it is possibly a product of Almería. Elliptical roundels, like those of the Saint Librada textile, suggest a similar origin. The fragment in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, (accession number 1902.1.216), is from the collection of Miguel y Badía. A similar specimen is found in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art,(accession number 59.394). While the Cooper-Hewitt fragment consists of one roundel and parts of another, the Cleveland example is larger and includes four roundels--two full, a third almost complete and a small corner of a fourth. Both fragments are in a fragile state. The technique of both is a brocade in plain compound cloth.

The central iconography of this textile consists of two winged sphinxes which confront each other with forefoot raised and touching the tree of life which is between them. These figures, enclosed in roundels, have bodies which resemble the bodies of lions and facial features with heavy eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes and beaked noses, possibly
denoting an Egyptian influence. In addition, they have a cap or halo on
top of their leonine hair and pearled bands adorning their necks,
chests and wings. The secondary iconography consists of lions and pea-
cocks. The lions appear addorsed with full heads in the upper hand
roundel of the Cleveland fragment, although the small animals at the
feet of the sphinxes of the Cooper-Hewitt fragment are almost indis-
cernible. The peacocks are found as two pairs of confronting birds
above and below a central star which forms part of the interstitial
pattern outside the roundels. Although this secondary iconography is
discernible in the Cleveland fragment, May has suggested that the pea-
cocks' "wings seem a miniature reproduction of the sphinxes' wings and
their tails extend into the point of the interstices in a succession of
fragile fern-shapes" (1957, p. 49). As such, they echo the forms of the
roundel as well as the scrolling vines, stylized flowers and leaves
within the outer middle band of the roundel (Figure 11, p. 96).

For the Hispano-Islamic artists who made this textile, this icon-
ography was a transmission of important Iranian images of a sacred
nature. The sphinxes of this piece are closely related to a configura-
tion found in tile relief in the palace of Susa and the facade of the
eastern stairway at Persepolis (Baer, 1965, p. 62). Although the
Spanish examples do not have the sun disk or the sorts of bird figures
found in the Iranian forerunners, they do possess an identical heraldic
posture and similar wing decorations as the figures of the sphinxes at
Susa. Moreover, with the presence of the peacocks, a clear continuity
of iconographic association is established with the solar imagery of
the Iranian figures. As Baer has indicated, the sphinx was associated
with eternal light (1965, p. 65), and as Bakhtiar has shown, the peacock's tail was an illuminist symbol of spirituality with the eyes of the tail feathers as "brilliant centers of contraction in the midst of overall expansion" (1965, p. 75). As a consequence, not only the formal arrangements of the Iranian spiritual iconography have been maintained but they have been adjusted to Islamic iconography of similar significance.

As Baer also has stressed, the presence of solar imagery in the sphinx heightens the importance of the tree of life on each side of which the sphinxes are placed:

"Guarded by mythical hybrid beings of solar connotations, these stylized trees presumably received a new, though related interpretation to the ancient tree of life. According to Islamic conceptions it is transformed into the sidra of the utmost limit of tuba which, on account of its often described luminary character, belongs to similar cosmological ideas" (1965, p. 65).

The primary iconography of the sphinxes and the tree of life was therefore linked with the secondary iconography of the peacocks as consistent reflections of light. While the peacocks are secondary in placement, they are integrated into the comprehensive program denoting the higher realms of transcendent experience.

For the Hispano-Christians of the period, sphinxes represented images that could have been understood as hybrid animals. In Italy, for example, sphinxes adorn the mosaic pavement in the cathedral of Otranto (Klingender, 1971, p. 282) under an apparent Byzantine influence. In the context of a narrative of a biblical theme, these sphinxes were suitable to the needs of the Christian designer. Although they do not
Figure 11. The Saint Bernard of Calvó's textile of confronted sphinxes first half of twelfth century. The Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, (accession number 1902.1.216).
contain specific iconographic significance, sphinxes do appear elsewhere in Christian art, and are compatible with religious expression (Klingender, 1971, p. 294). Most importantly, however, in this textile these sphinxes appear in the context of images that did have specific Christian significance. In the Saint Bernard of Calvó textile, the placement of sphinxes in the environment of the tree of life and the peacocks would have been acceptable to Christian sensibility.

Although secondary as iconography in the textile, the peacocks clearly enrich the significance that the program in general would have possessed for the Christians of the period. Peacocks, according to Klingender, were an old Christian symbol (1971, p. 280). At Ravenna, for example, they drink from the fountain of life (Klingender, 1971, p. 272), and at Saint Pietro in Silvia at Bagnacavallo, "a white peacock" joins "two lambs, identified by crosses which they carry as symbols of Christ, trampling on lesser beasts" (Klingender, 1971, p. 284). Since Hispano-Christians had extensive exposure to the Byzantine tradition from which this iconography had had its most forceful expression, it is reasonable to assume that they would be responsive to its formulation in the Saint Bernard of Calvó textile. In addition, the heraldic beasts in conjunction with the tree of life were forms that had special Mozarabic sensibilities which refined flat representation and exploited hybrid animal depictions.

The Saint Peter of Osma textile of lions and harpies

The Saint Peter of Osma textile of lions and harpies was found in the tomb of the Saint in Burgo de Osma, province of Soria. It had been used as a shroud for the Saint at the time of his death in 1109 and is
believed to be of contemporary manufacture (May, 1957, p. 36). It is believed to be from the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Like the two previous textiles, the shape of the roundel of the piece is flattened, again suggesting a similar origin. Furthermore, since the dimensions of the roundel enclosing the sphinx as well as the textile itself are similar to the other textiles, Shepherd believes that they could well have come from the same loom (1943, p. 369). As a consequence, assumption that this is a piece of Almería origin is in order. Two fragments of this textile are extant: a piece in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, (accession number 33.371), and a smaller fragment found in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, (accession number 1940.8.1). The technique is plain cloth weave.

The central iconography of this piece consists of addorsed lions on the back of each of which stands a harpy. Between the pairs of animals is a slender palmette which resembles a tree of life that is standard in such heraldic iconography. The secondary iconography is complex and multifaceted; it includes four pairs of confronted griffins with a kneeling man in between them, all of which are contained in the roundel border. Secondary iconography also includes Arabic script in smaller roundels tangent to the larger roundels. According to Elsberg and Guest, this script reads: "This was made in the town of Baghdad, may God guard it" (1934, p. 271), but according to Shepherd, this script reads: "This was made in the manner of Baghdad, may God guard it" (1943, p. 365). In the context of Shepherd's full study of the Kufic script of the piece, it is reasonable to assume that the latter attribution is correct (1943, pp. 372-73). Further secondary
iconography consists of four heart-shaped rosettes with multiple petals in the center of small roundels which intersect the larger roundels. In addition there are interstitial motifs between the tangent smaller and larger roundels. Consistent with the interstitial motifs of the textiles analyzed in this section, these icons are palmettes growing from a central star. At the base of each of the four palmettes are two volutes on top of which are a quadruped which resembles a rabbit. Since these quadrupeds resemble rabbits, and since they form addorsed pairs on each side of the palmette, they are compatible with the main iconographical program of the larger roundels of the piece (Figure 12, p. 101).

For the Hispano-Islamic artist of this piece, it is clear that there were existing models for its primary iconography. As Baer has indicated, a work believed to be of Hispano-Islamic origin is found with addorsed harpies facing each other on each side of a plant device in the relics of Saint Valero in the Roda de Isabena Cathedral (1965, p. 6). In addition, there is a pair of human-headed birds shown in profile on a textile in Greece, also of Hispano-Islamic origins (Baer, 1965, p. 6). Traditionally, the iconography of the harpy pertained to the otherworld. As guardian against entry into the realm of either the netherworld or heaven, the harpy represented from Babylonia through succeeding cultures a transitional figure of precarious ambivalence. However, based on Baer's thorough study on the Islamic harpy, I believe that the Hispano-Islamic prototype of the harpy is rooted in the Egyptian ba-bird (1965, p. 28); as a consequence, these harpies appear to suggest divinity and resurrection (Goodenough, vol. 8, pp. 29-30).
Figure 12. The Saint Peter of Osma textile, late eleventh or early twelfth century. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (accession number 33.371).
Since the Saint Peter of Osma textile also contains the tree of life between the addorsed harpies, and since the harpies appear to emerge from lions, the iconographical program must be identified with references to the afterlife. Furthermore, as Goodenough has shown, a figure of the harpy or other symbol of afterlife on top of a lion in Syro-Hittite art "made tautologically clear (the identification that) this god had the lion's nature" (vol. 7, 1958, p. 43).

The secondary iconography supports the assumption that the harpies facing the tree of life pertain to the gates of the otherworld. Through the stars and minor trees of life in the interstitial motifs, a cosmological reinforcement is given to the entire program. In addition, the hares or rabbits in each of the interstitial spaces represent a traditional symbol of love, and the griffins confronting the man in the bands of the main roundels denote the triumph of the spiritual over the temporal realm (Goodenough, vol. 8, 1958, p. 144).

For the Hispano-Christian population of the period, the harpy was a significant symbol of afterlife. It appears throughout Christian art, especially of the Mediterranean area, and seems to be associated with celestial imagery in many Romanesque churches. Grube believes that the Hispano-Christian origins of the motif derive from "the Persian peri, a similar creature with a bird's body and a human face, seen frequently in Persian painting and pottery" (1960, p. 83). Grube also believes that the harpies of the Saint Peter of Osma textile strikingly coincides with human-headed bird of the twelfth century Church of Lleida, probably of Mozarab inspiration (1960, p. 83). Most importantly, however, the identification of harpies as the work of Hispano-Christian artists as
far as Sicily indicates that the motif was not unusual in the Christian context of the period. Indeed, the special attention given to this iconography by Mozarab craftsmen further illustrates the sharing of a motif among Christian and Islamic peoples in a manner that made the common traditions of the motif more accessible to each group, regardless of their ostensible lack of sensitivity to each other's religious dogmas.

**The Saint Librada textile of addorsed griffins**

The Saint Librada textile of addorsed griffins is one of two silk fragments found wrapped around the relics of Saint Librada in the Cathedral of Siguenza. This textile appears to be of twelfth century Almería origin. Although specific information regarding its provenance is unavailable, stylistic criteria for attribution are corroborated by the legend that the relics were brought from Almería by Alfonso VII in 1147 (Shepherd, 1955, p. 6). Furthermore, it is technically similar to the San Juan de Ortega textile of that provenance and date. The textile is currently in the Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 52.152). The piece is in fragile but good condition. The technique is diaper weave.

The central iconography of this textile consists of pairs of addorsed griffins with heads turned toward an extremely stylized tree of life surrounded by roundels of highly elaborate borders. In the center of the tree of life is a star and on the flank of each griffin is a gazelle which faces its companion gazelle, image of the other griffin. The secondary iconography appears in the tangent roundels in
which the griffins, trees of life and gazelles are found. In these roundels' borders are highly stylized animals which are half geometrical and half figurative or, according to Shepherd, "strange half-animal, half-serpent motifs" (1955, p. 8). Secondary iconography also includes "richly ornamented interstitial motifs based on a palmette device which grows out in four directions from a central star" (Shepherd, 1955, p. 7). In addition, around the central star in the interstices are four pairs of confronted gazelles, almost replicating those on the flanks of the addorsed griffins. However, whereas the gazelles of the main roundel appear to be nipping at the griffins, these smaller variants seem to be nibbling from the faint reference to the tree of life which separate them (Figure 13, p. 107).

For the Hispano-Islamic artists who made this textile, the iconography was obviously part of an "heraldic" tradition of representation of ancient oriental roots. They represent beast-forms of a strictly oriental type. They are, therefore, compatible with the solar symbolism that appears to have been central to the development of the griffin in Persian art forms. Not only is the griffin a hybrid of two solar animals, the eagle and the lion, but it is a hybrid of two superior solar animals which was from ancient times associated with guardianship to the road to salvation. Such an identification was traditionally emphasized in heraldic art through the placement of pairs of griffins on each side of a tree of life (Cirlot, 1971, p. 133).

In the Saint Libraïda textile, the ancient association of the griffin with guardianship of the road to salvation is maintained by the conventional placement of the addorsed griffins on each side of the tree
of life. Furthermore, the central placement of the tree of life in the roundels coincides with the notion of the tree of life as the center of paradise (James, 1966, p. 83). The spiritual intention of the Islamic artists engaged in producing this iconography is also reinforced by the gazelles which, from the time of the Gilgamesh legend, were associated with the afterlife. It is especially consistent to find, then, that they are nibbling at the tree of life in the star program in the intersection of the roundels. As a consequence, the secondary motif of the star, imbued with spiritual associations, echoes the symbolism of the gazelles and helps establish even further the importance of the central iconography. True to the tradition of oriental heraldic art, this iconographic program intensifies the meaning of one program by providing it with a variant in the subsidiary program that visually links the tangent roundels. Moreover, since the axis of the griffin iconography in the roundels is the tree of life which is the symbol of the center of the cosmos, all of the iconography here used strongly suggests a mystical union of the higher and lower realms. As such, the cross in the center of the tree of life appears to suggest a union of all constituent parts as allegorical expression.

For the Hispano-Christians who observed this textile, and who used it in a sacred context, there is no evidence that the iconographic program of the Islamic peoples was strictly followed according to Islamic tradition. Yet, there are sufficient iconographic features in this textile to make it worthy of a sympathetic iconographic reading by the Christians. Throughout the Middle Ages, the griffin and the tree of life were recognized symbols of Christian representation. The griffin,
Figure 13. The Saint Librada textile of addorsed griffins, twelfth century, The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 52.152).
moreover, was associated with Christ. In Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, the griffin was the means to represent Christ both through the majesty and bravery of the lion and the resurrectional features of the eagle (Von Simson, 1961, p. 113n). Indeed, from that early image of Christ as griffin, the allegorical representation of this order appears to be a regular feature of medieval perception. Both Suger and Dante used the symbolism and there is reason to believe that it became a part of the religious vocabulary of the period. Furthermore, although it was a particularly compatible image for Christ since its ancient associations gave it value as symbol for valour, magnanimity and vigilance, it came to represent more generally the guardian figure on the road to salvation. As such, it would have been widely recognized by Christians as a symbol of obvious spiritual importance.

Regarding the tree of which which is identified with the griffins in this textile, Christians would have had ample material with which to compare their own notion of paradise. As Curtius has indicated, the *locus amoenus* with which the tree of life is associated was an important feature of medieval Christian representations of Christian paradise. It was a setting around which other Christian allegorical features were placed (Curtius, 1953, p. 200). In this context, therefore, the appearance of a cross, which seems to represent the nexus between the earthly and celestial worlds represented in the Islamic iconographic program, would have been a device of significant representation for the Christians. Not only is it a cross, it is an undoubtedly unintentional replica of the Saint Andrew's cross which the Christians would have associated with heraldry. Ironically, it was the symbol of Christian
resolution and valour, awarded to those who scaled the walls of towns (Wade, 1898, p. 44), certainly an important activity in medieval Spain.

The context in which the gazelle appears, including the star that forms the center of the tangent roundels, seems to suggest that they would have been regarded as animals of a bestiary. As a whole, therefore, what appears to be a coherent representation of the cosmos from the Islamic point of view is similar to archetypal patterns of representation in Christian art. But with the dominant iconography of griffins and the tree of life suggesting paradise, the Christian viewer was equipped to interpret even the stylized animals in the roundel beadings as meaningful.

**Symbols of Power: The Lion and the Eagle**

The four textiles to be analyzed in this section further illustrate the importance of transcendental iconography in Hispano-Islamic textiles of the Middle Ages. In each case, imagery employed was pertinent to both Islamic and Christian peoples: the single-headed eagle, the double-headed eagle with lions, lions and the Master of Animals motif. In each case, the secondary iconography indicates that these textiles are part of the general iconographic programs of the previous textiles. Moreover, since each contains iconography that had ancient religious significance for both cultures, they complete a cosmological cycle of art that was comprehensible to both Christians and Islamic peoples. Furthermore, in these solar symbols connoting power sanctioned by divinity, the textiles of this section are evidence of the attitudes which both cultures had toward the legitimacy of authority through divine intervention. As such, these textiles form an important
framework for the study of two societies with compatible religious origins and forms of expression.

**The Saint Librada textile of the single-headed eagle**

The Saint Librada textile of the single-headed eagle is the second textile found wrapped around the relics of Saint Librada in the Cathedral of Siguenza. Like the textile of the addorsed griffins, this piece appears to be of twelfth century Almeria origin. The legends surrounding the piece are those of the textile of the addorsed griffins, and also point to a similar attribution. Purchased with monies from the J. H. Wade Fund, this piece is in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 52.15). It is in fragile, although good condition. Its technique is diaper weave.

The central iconography consists of a single-headed eagle in an heraldic posture with one beak. Secondary iconography consists of gazelles enclosed in medallions below the upper edge of the wings of the eagle and in the quatrefoils which serve to connect the large roundels of the eagle motif. In the latter case, the gazelles are paired below the outer arc of the outer ring of the quatrefoil and above a rosette. In the band of the larger roundels are found winged animals, "their heads turned back as they strain to escape from a bird with a human head, which might represent a harpy" (May, 1957, p. 39). Although identification of the human-headed animal is most certainly a harpy, it has not been established by any scholar that the animals from which it is fleeing have a particular nature of a mythological character. However, from their cloven hooves, their wings and what appears to be a horse's head, these animals are probably hippocryphs, deriving from the
mythological pegasus (Figure 14, p. 113).

For the Hispano-Islamic artist, the iconographic configuration of this textile would have had the clear spiritual significance of transcendence. Not only does a calligraphic message of "blessing" and "blessing from God, success, and help, and..." (Shepherd, 1955, p. 9) suggest a funerary message, but this phrase resembles the Syrian funerary monuments adopted by the Romans "to indicate the apotheosis of the emperors at death" (Goodenough, vol. 8, 1958, p. 121). The power of the eagle and its spiritual value were translated into a vehicle of afterlife. Moreover, in the heraldic iconography of this textile, the placement of gazelles further argues for the program as a symbol of pursuit of the afterlife. As symbols of transcendence, they reinforce the meaning of the eagle as the guide to paradise.

The other secondary iconography is therefore but substantiation of the religious significance of the program. With harpies being chased by the pairs of pegasus, the lower symbol is vanquished by the symbol of the pegasus. Especially in the ninth and tenth centuries, under Byzantine influence, this symbol met the requirements of both Christian and Islamic artists as a symbol resembling the eagle and the griffin (Klingender, 1971, p. 245). Just as the eagle in the primary iconography suggests flight to a higher realm with the gazelle, so does the rejection of the evil harpy by the pegasus figures intensify this highly spiritual program. Furthermore, the rosette in the quatrefoil suggests that the soaring eagle of the central motif and the struggle of the pegasus animals in the border of the roundels resolves itself in union
Figure 14. The Saint Librada textile of the single-headed eagle, twelfth century, The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 52.15).
with God. The rosettes not only were a reflection of divine nature deriving from Persian and Assyrian models (Goodenough, vol. 8, 1958, p. 189), but their placement in the center of the gazelles in the quatrefoil indicates that they represent a cessation of all tension implied in the struggle for attainment of salvation.

For the Hispano-Christians who placed this textile in the holy environment of the Saint Librada relics, the multifaceted Islamic program of salvation would have had many points of contact with Christian traditions of representation. Saint John as represented by the eagle transported the soul to Heaven. The gazelles were symbols of the soul for Christians, the harpies were identified with matters of the after-life—although with more ambivalence than in the Islamic tradition—and the pegasus had been widely adopted by Christians according to Klingender (1971, p. 292). Furthermore, with the presence of plant figurations that resemble the tree of life on the body of the eagle and the rosette in the quatrefoils, the Christians would have regarded this iconography as compatible with their own traditions of resurrection. Indeed, the rosette was a symbol of protection for the deceased (Goodenough, vol. 7, 1958, pp. 195 & 197).

For both Hispano-Islamic and Hispano-Christian peoples, therefore, the presence of nobility in the form of the eagle and the insistence on transcendent symbols would have been a particularly poignant program for divinely ordained societies. It is in such textiles that the tension between earthly and divine powers reached a consummation that would have been compelling for each of the cultures rooted in ancient traditions and highly indebted to oriental formalism.
The Saint Bernard of Calvó textile of the double-headed eagle and lions

The Saint Bernard of Calvó textile of the double-headed eagle was found in the tomb of Saint Bernard of Calvó, as was the first textile of the second section. Similar to a Byzantine textile at the Church of Saint Eusebe Auxerre, this textile has been dated to the eleventh century by comparison with the clearly Byzantine piece (Volbach, 1969, p. 134). Although believed to be of Byzantine origin, Shepherd has made a definitive attribution of the piece to Spain (1952, p. 14). The fragment is in the collection of The Cleveland Museum of Art, purchased with the J. H. Wade Fund, (accession number 51.92). This textile is in fragile but good condition. "It is a plain compound weft twill" (Shepherd, 1952, p. 13).

The primary iconography of this piece consists of double-headed eagles in roundels in rows. The eagles clutch lions as prey in their claws. In the beaks of the double-headed eagles are crescent-shaped objects with pendants and on their bodies are plant forms, which could be stylized trees of life, within pearled lozenges. The secondary iconography is the predictable tree of life in the form of stylized palm-ettes in the roundels between the scalloped hands above and below the double-headed eagles (Figure 15, p. 118; figure 16, p. 120; figure 17, p. 122). In general, the iconographic program is consistent with Byzantine heraldic art that influenced both Islamic and Christian artists.

For the Hispano-Islamic artists, however, the iconography of the double-headed eagle as a bird of prey extended back through a clear heraldic tradition. As Shepherd has indicated, eagles clutching prey "can be traced in an unbroken line in Persian art back through
Sassanian, Parthian, and Achaemenean art to prehistoric times, where this motive is found in a painted pottery from Susa III (1943, p. 363). As the king of birds and a solar symbol, the eagle in a state of clutching a lesser animal represented the triumph of the spiritual over the temporal. The eagle also represented the deity of the king who employed such symbols (Goodenough, vol. 8, 1958, pp. 128-29). As a powerful and assertive bird with solar implications, the eagle, therefore, was an obvious symbol of superiority with divine connotations. Since it was also associated in Roman art with imperial grandeur, the double-headed eagle added yet another dimension to its associations of rulership.

The double-headed eagle in this textile, however, has in its claws another solar symbol, the lion. As a consequence, the ancient associations appear to be furthered in yet another uniquely Hispano-Islamic mode. According to Shepherd, lions clutched by the double-headed eagle is an indigenous variant on the old theme (1952, p. 14). Since lions, as has been seen in the analysis of the previous textile, were of solar importance, the apparent contradiction would not have been lost on the artists responsible for them. Although insufficient critical commentary is available on this question, it would appear that the Hispano-Islamic artists employed these dual solar symbols to indicate that the struggle was of a uniquely spiritual nature, with the king of birds vanquishing the king of beasts.

The esoteric nature of this struggle would have been especially appreciated by the Hispano-Christian population of the period. From existing Sicilian textiles, it can be established that the Christian
Figure 15. The Saint Bernard of Calvó's textile of the double-headed eagle and lions, eleventh century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 51.92).
Figure 16. Detail of the Saint Bernard of Calvó's textile of the double-headed eagle and lions, eleventh century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 51.92).
Figure 17. Detail of the Saint Bernard of Calvó's textile of the double-headed eagle and lions, eleventh century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 51.92).
population of Italy did come into contact with this special variant of
the theme (Jaques & Flemming, 1958, pp. 40-1). Although the Sicilian tex-
tile in Palermo might well have been created by a Mozarabic artist, it
was circulated in the Christian environment of Italy. As a consequence,
the very juxtaposition of two powerful images in the Italian context
indicate that Christians would have been predisposed to this particular
configuration of lion and double-headed eagle. The Christians did
recognize the eagle as a spiritual symbol. The eagle was a symbol of
resurrection, "based upon the early belief that the eagle, unlike other
birds, periodically renewed its plumage and its youth by flying near
the sun and then plunging into the water" (Ferguson, 1946, p. 17). As
it was believed to be able to look into the sun, it became the symbol
of Saint John, "who from the first transports men to the very heart of
Christianity" (Mâle, 1913, p. 36). It eventually came to mean the power
of the gospel.

For Christians, however, the union of the sacred symbols of the
eagle and the lion would have had ambiguous but clearly powerful sig-
nificance. Both symbols were associated with spiritual and earthly
power. While the specific context would not have had necessarily a
place in an iconographic program of a predetermined nature, the place-
ment of the two images in an heraldic context of Byzantine inspiration
would have denoted importance generally. In addition, the exploitation
of this iconography in Hispanic and Italian contexts also suggests that
the particular meaning might have been understood by the persons who
were at the frontier of their respective cultures, sharing a hybrid
symbolism of perhaps an arcane nature.
The Saint John of Ortega textile of addorsed lions

The Saint John of Ortega textile of addorsed lions was found in the tomb of Saint John of Ortega who died in 1163. It is believed to be of early twelfth century origin due to the inscribed band of the fabric which alludes to the Almoravid amir Ali who ruled Spain and North Africa from 1106 to 1143. Since it is of Baghdad inspiration but of Spanish manufacture and stylistic features, there is reason to believe that it was manufactured in Almería, site of Baghdad influence as evidenced in the earlier textiles. The fragment is now in the Church of Quinta Ortuña, near Burgos, and in a fragile condition. Research, based on a photograph of the textile, does not permit commentary on the technique by which the piece was made.

The central and secondary iconography of this textile are similar to the motifs of the hybrid mythical animal pieces analyzed in the previous section. The primary iconography here, however, is addorsed lions on either side of, and heads turned toward, an elaborate palmette signifying the tree of life. Included in the primary iconography is also a pair of antelopes at the feet of the lions, obviously an heraldic image of prey for the lions. Secondary iconography, although also included with the lions and the antelopes in the roundel, are creatures above the heads of the lions which are "half bird and half lion with necks intertwined" (May, 1957, p. 36). Secondary iconography of special importance in this piece also includes confronted sphinxes and griffins with a simplified tree of life in the roundel band. In the interstitial spaces between the bands of the roundels is a centrally placed star out of which radiate four palmettes, replicating even further the central
image of the tree of life in the center of the roundel. Furthermore, in bands which interrupt the large roundels and the interstitial motifs, there is an inscription which eulogizes the Almoravid ruler with a special reference to divine intervention: "Victory from God to amir al-Muslinin 'Ali" (Shepherd, 1951, p. 61), (Figure 18, p. 127).

For the Hispano-Islamic manufacturers of this textile, the heraldic associations with a religious significance are established by the reference to God. But the heraldic iconography in itself establishes the divine importance of the imagery. From ancient Mesopotamian and Syro-Hittite heraldic art, the struggle of beasts was of cosmic importance. Indeed, the lion attacking antelopes was a recognized program of such a struggle (Klingender, 1971, p. 46). In general, for Eastern cultures, the struggle of the lion, a solar symbol, with the antelope represented the struggle of the divine over the earthly. In the context of the reference to the ruler in the inscription, the lion symbol emphasizes the hegemony of sacred power over the earthly realm.

With a secondary motif of confronted sphinxes and griffins in the roundel band, the solar iconography of the addorsed lions is intensified. Since both the sphinx, with the head turned toward the sun, and the griffins which are a combination of the solar animals of the eagle and the lion, clear continuity between the primary and secondary iconography is established. Then, with the recurring iconography of the tree of life, there is no doubt that the artist intended this piece to signify that the Almoravid ruler was graced with illumination.

For the Hispano-Christian persons responsible for placing this piece in the tomb of Saint John of Ortega, what might not have been
Figure 18. The Saint John of Ortega textile of addorsed lions, early twelfth century, The Church of Quinta Ortuña, Burgos.
understood in the inscription was clearly evidenced in the central and secondary iconography. The lion possessed for them, as for all Christians of the Middle Ages, multifaceted religious significance. Not only was the lion a symbol of Christ and divinity, but this sort of heraldic image of the lion was adopted throughout Mediterranean Europe (Klingender, 1971, pp. 113 & 270). The lion was also the symbol of guardianship, since it was assumed that the lion never slept with its eyes closed, an especially important significance in the context of the griffins which were acknowledged as further guardian symbols. The lion also represented moral courage in general and was a particular symbol, in pairs, of immortality.

However important the lion symbolism was to the Christian Middle Ages, the iconographic program of this textile would have been well received by the persons associated with the burial of Saint John of Ortega. The Saint, patron saint of travelers on the road to Santiago de Compostela and builder of bridges over rivers that would have otherwise impeded pilgrims, was a paragon of the Christian protector of the road to salvation. Even more importantly, Saint John was a Christian saint who lived in the special environment of coexistence of frontier Spain in which the population was heavily Mozarabic. It is only appropriate that he was buried in a royal textile from a culture with which he had come into extensive contact.

The Saint Bernard of Calvó textile of the lion strangler

The Saint Bernard of Calvó textile of the lion strangler was found in the tomb of Saint Bernard. Believed to be of the first half of the twelfth century due to similarity in technique and color to the Saint
John of Ortega textile, it is also believed to have an Almería provenance. The piece is now in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art, purchased with monies from the J. H. Wade Fund, (accession number 50.146). Another fragment is in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, (accession number 1902.1.220). Both pieces are in fragile but good condition. The technique is a brocade of compound cloth.

The central iconography of the textile consists of a man strangling two lions with the crook of the elbow of each arm. The secondary iconography consists of peacocks, a pair of which are under the man's feet in each of the roundels in which the primary iconography is contained. Other peacocks are found in the interstitial space around the roundel in which addorsed peacocks are on either side of palmettes. There are also octagonal central stars from which emanate the palmettes pertaining to the peacocks. In the bands of the central roundels are to be found pairs of griffins facing each other and separated by a palm-ette (Figure 19, p. 132; figure 20, p. 134).

For the Hispano-Islamic artist, the central iconography of the lion strangler is derived from ancient traditions reaching to the legend of Gilgamesh (Saggs, 1961, p. 135, Fig. 58). Most importantly, the iconography also derives from the Master of Animal theme represented on Babylonian and Assyrian seal stones and among the sculptures of the Achaemenid palace at Persepolis. Continuation of this theme is found in the Byzantine silk at the Cathedral of Sens of the eighth century (Klingender, 1971, p. 269, Fig. 161), and the lion-slayer of the tenth or eleventh century Iranian silk found in the Musée Historique des Tissus in Lyon. The survival of the theme was clearly through an
Eastern heraldic style of Persian origins (Klingender, 1971, p. 262).

The significance of the iconography also appears to be rooted in the Persian origins of Darius killing the lion. By strangling the king of beasts, a solar deity and symbol of courage, Darius himself became a symbol of power and divinity: "he appears to become by that act himself the source of divine life and fertility for his people, as did the kings of the East when they held the flowing bowl of the gods" (Goodenough, vol. 7, 1958, p. 41). As a consequence, the image of the lion-strangler became a representation of liberating power and a symbol of salvation (Goodenough, vol. 7, 1958, p. 43). Surviving through Iranian and Byzantine models with the original program virtually unchanged, the lion-strangler became for the Hispano-Islamic artists a signal example of divinely inspired leadership, vigilance and power. Furthermore, in the context of the griffins which have been scrutinized as a standard heraldic image of the Hispano-Islamic tradition imbued with the significance of salvation, it is clear that the Hispanic artists were cognizant of and sympathetic to the original spiritual meaning of the program. Peacocks are therefore a continuation of the central iconography of salvation through vigilance and illumination.

For the Hispano-Christian population of Spain as well as the rest of Mediterranean Europe influenced by Byzantine traditions and modalities, the lion-strangler motif was important as a variant of the iconography of Samson and Daniel. In both cases, the domination by a human of the lion had clear religious significance relating to salvation. In the case of Samson, rending of the lion represented immortality as seen in the sarcophagus of Doña Sancha, daughter of Ramiro I of Aragón, of
Figure 19. The Saint Bernard of Calvó's textile of the lion strangler, first half of the twelfth century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 50.146).
Figure 20. Detail of the Saint Bernard of Calvó's textile of the lion strangler first half of the twelfth century. The Cleveland Museum of Art, (accession number 50.146).
the early twelfth century (Panofsky, 1964, p. 59, Plate 235). However, it was in the iconographic tradition of Daniel in the lion's den that the motif had its greatest importance.

"Daniel conquers the lions by prayer, not by violence, but the value is the same. For the divine power has come to the ancient Persian scene as to the Christian one, a power which conquers death. The latter explanations have slightly changed the pose of the Deliverer, but not the value" (Goodenough, vol. 7, 1958, p. 41).

For both medieval Christians and Islamic peoples, the survival of the lion-strangler motif further evidences the coexistence of similar roots of spirituality and their evolving variants. While religious doctrine maintained separate orthodoxies, the commonality of the experience in more fundamental ways was expressed through such iconography as the lion-strangler that has virtually the same significance for both populations. Furthermore, since both cultures were marginal to official religious culture of either Christianity or Islam, it is reasonable to assume that they found in such shared images as the lion-strangler the underlying similarity of their search for transcendence.
Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

However modest the individual fragments of the twelve textiles are, together they become a significant testimony to the rich spiritual life of the Hispano-Islamic and Hispano-Christian peoples of the Middle Ages. As they transcend mere decoration to become facets of an allegory, the iconographic programs of these works demonstrate a means by which different peoples formed a common language of visual images rooted in the highest aspirations and the most ancient roots of a Mediterranean past. As a consequence, the cosmological cycle of celestial banquet, mythological animals and heraldic symbols of divine power are a single statement of the most diverse ramifications during the Hispanic Middle Ages.

Several implications emerge in postulating that the iconography studied in this thesis represents a "meta-language" by which Islamic and Christian peoples could communicate their compatible religious inclinations. Historically, the persistence of a cosmological program of representation insinuates the existence of a substratum of values and institutions beneath dynastic and institutional distinctions. In turn, the existence of a substratum as a nexus between the two Hispanic peoples argues for a social stability which mitigated the influence of the cyclical invasions and intrusions by Islamic and Christian peoples from afar. Indeed, the tenacity of this cultural substratum seems to point to a commonality of experience that was immune to parochial
distinctions of which both Christians and Islamic peoples proved sus-
ceptible in other environments. The importance of the iconography
studied here then also suggests that the panHispanic cultural milieu
was sufficiently resourceful to assimilate the discordant interventions
without relinquishing its fundamental autonomy or its cosmopolitanism.
In this manner, there is ample evidence that Spain was able to generate
reflections compatible with its diverse constituencies and even to
export them as models of its cultural life. Above all, the existence of
this shared iconographical corpus implies flexibility which have tradi-
tionally made the most sophisticated Mediterranean societies coherent
without being reductive.

As a means of cultural communication, the iconography of these
textiles suggests that the society in which they were produced was
highly eclectic, drawing inspiration from a variety of sources and
unrestrained by the orthodoxies which periodically presented themselves
as salvation for the indigenous population. Furthermore, the coherence
of the iconography seems to suggest a cultural confidence that would
make transmission of Hispanic models attractive to those peoples who
came into contact with the Hispanic mode. In any case, the richness,
imagination and assertiveness of the symbolism, as well as the quality
of production, would also indicate that the society was capable of
mature habits of thought and expression. In such an environment, com-
patibility of iconographic programs would have facilitated the refine-
ment and transmission of values as an inevitable feature of an urbane
civilization.
Among the artistic implications of a shared iconographic program in these textiles is the preservation of heraldic traditions of both ancient and Byzantine origins. Not only did the Hispano-Islamic artists influence Christianity, but the Islamic-influenced Mozarab artists of Spain contributed to the esthetic foundations of the peninsula and even of the rest of Mediterranean Europe. On the other hand, the amalgam evolving in the Hispanic environment undoubtedly influenced the production of art throughout Islam. Throughout the world, then, the coordination of primary and secondary iconography in a unified and hierarchical field of representation made the iconographical solution of this tradition a cogent exponent of medieval formalism.

The iconography of the twelve textiles examined in this thesis is most provocative, however, as an expression of religiosity. As extensions of transcendental art, the programs here studied suggest that the spirituality of the peninsula reached a broad range of peoples as a form of illuminism. Especially illustrative in this context is the presence of hybrid or other mythological animals of ancient origin and solar significance. These appear to function in what could be seen as hierarchy of symbols informing a corpus of a special, otherworldly, sensibility. Although the exact dimensions of this realm of unorthodox mystical experience cannot be exactly known, the survival of the symbolism in its special environment of the solar context is at least a partial clue to the attraction that Spain had for mystically inclined scholars throughout the world.
In conclusion, the analysis of the iconography of these textiles emphasizes the autonomy and dignity of a culture capable of paralleling orthodox religious culture but embracing each tradition in a larger scheme of spirituality. The very persistence of the iconography argues for a compelling cultural landscape that had the power to survive the discrepancies of dogma which each culture held. The result was that through Spain some of the most ancient resources of Mediterranean life became revitalized and sustained in an area of general ferment. By transforming the limited aniconic style and the narrow range of visual symbols into a compelling whole, the Hispano-Islamic artist provided an important access to the cultures of both East and West.
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