

The Stylistic Development of 14th- and 15th-Century Italian Silk Design

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The Italian silks of the Gothic period, traditionally attributed to Lucca and Venice, constitute one of the most varied and imaginative chapters in the history of European silk design. Yet, the chronological development of the patterns and styles of this important group of silks has never been fully established. The difficulties encountered in determining such a chronology are considerable. To begin with, out of the vast quantities of silks which must have been produced, only several hundred survive and it is hard to judge how representative of the total output this remnant is. Compounding the problem is the fact that, of the surviving silks, the number which are documented is negligible. Consequently, one must rely on information provided by Italian silk patterns depicted in paintings or described in inventories. It is on this basis that the present paper seeks to establish a chronology of styles and patterns. No attempt, however, will be made to attribute any of the silks to specific weaving centers in Italy because there is simply not sufficient evidence at the present time.

Although other scholars have related certain of the existing patterns to those in painting or inventories, the wealth of material contained in these two sources has not been fully explored. Moriz Dreger in his discussion of the northern Italian textile industry in *Künstlerische Entwicklung der Weberei und Stickerei*¹ was one of the first to discuss types of patterns and motifs in relation to those depicted in paintings and particularly to those described in inventories. Although he certainly recognized that inventory records and paintings were important to the study of Italian silk design, he did not attempt to use this material to establish the chronology of the silk patterns. The first, and really only, scholar to use the material in this way was Otto von Falke, whose pioneering and monumental work, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*², has remained a classic ever since its publication in 1913. The major drawback, however, to von Falke's discussion of the Italian Gothic silks is that he relied on too few inventories and paintings for establishing the chronology of styles and patterns. Consequently, some of the evidence on which he based his conclusions

was misleading, and other important evidence was lacking altogether. To a far lesser extent, Fanny Podreider in *Storia dei tessuti d'arte in Italia*³ related silk patterns to those represented in paintings and occasionally to those described in inventory records. Her primary concern, however, was the textile industry in Italy, and she relied largely on von Falke for the dating of the silk patterns.

Aside from studies of the Italian Gothic silks as a whole, several scholars have written more specifically on extant patterns and those represented in paintings. Among these are Isabelle Errera's "Les tissus reproduits sur les tableaux italiens"⁴, Grete de Francesco's "Silk Fabrics in Venetian Paintings"⁵ and Martin Weinberger's "Silk Weavers of Lucca and Venice in Contemporary Painting and Sculpture"⁶. While these have concerned themselves primarily with silks depicted in Italian paintings, silk patterns represented in Northern paintings have been discussed by Heinrich Schmidt in two articles: "Die Seidenstoffe in den Gemälden des Konrad von Soest und seiner Schule"⁷, and "Die Seidenstoffe auf den Gemälden des Meisters Francke"⁸. The difficulty, however, in all of these studies is that random connections between extant and depicted patterns – some more appropriate than others – have been made without the perspective of the totality of available material in Italian and northern European paintings, to say nothing of the fact that they have not considered the crucial information available only in inventory records. The most recent contribution to the study of silks represented in paintings is Brigitte Klesse's *Seidenstoffe in der italienischen Malerei des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts*⁹. The catalogue of some 500 textile patterns at the end, a painstaking and monumental achievement in itself, suggests a certain development of patterns through the 14th century. Dr. Klesse, however, has not developed a chronology of styles and patterns in her text. Moreover, her study has concerned only textile patterns depicted in Italian paintings without the complementary and, for our purposes, crucial contribution of patterns depicted in northern European paintings or described in inventories.

An important study of inventory descriptions and extant silks is Ruth Grönwoldt's "Paramente und ihre Stifter"¹⁰. In her paper, Dr. Grönwoldt has drawn attention to the patterns of several surviving silks which seem to be the same or very similar to patterns described in the inventories of Angers Cathedral and Notre Dame in Paris. With less success, Agnes Geijer in *Textile Treasures of Uppsala Cathedral* tried to identify a loom piece and two copes with textiles mentioned in the will of Ingeborg Håkansdotter, ca. 1320¹¹. This document, however, does not describe the silk patterns themselves, and there is no other evidence that such patterns even existed before the second half of the 14th century. Both of these studies concern themselves with isolated inventories and silk patterns which can be related to them; but what is again missing is the perspective of the other inventory descriptions of the 14th and 15th centuries.

None of the studies of silk patterns described in inventories or depicted in paintings, with the exception of Klesse's book, have attempted to bring together as much of the available material as is possible. Thanks to Klesse, the majority of patterns which appear in 14th and early 15th-century Italian paintings have been assembled in the form of a catalogue; she has organized her material according to types of patterns – i.e., geometric patterns or animal and bird patterns, etc. – and chronologically within each group of patterns as far as possible. Such a study, unfortunately, has not been made of patterns painted by northern European masters working in the 14th and 15th centuries. An excellent source, however, for patterns depicted in Germanic and Slavic countries is A. Stange's *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*¹². Many of the patterns depicted by French 14th and 15th-century artists may be found in G. Troescher's *Burgundische Malerei*¹³, M. Meiss' *French painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*¹⁴, and G. Ring's *A century of French Painting, 1400–1500*¹⁵; while the silk patterns in English Gothic paintings are well illustrated in M. Rickert's *Painting in Britain in the Middle Ages*¹⁶. As for material on published inventories, J. Braun at the beginning of *Die liturgische Gewandung*¹⁷ has listed published inventories from some 150 cities, many of which date from the 14th and 15th centuries. Other useful documents are listed by Florence E. de Roover at the end of her article, "The Silk Trade of Lucca"¹⁸, and are referred to in the texts of von Falke's *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* and V. Gay's *Glossaire archéologique du moyen âge*¹⁹.

It is important for the sake of accuracy, when relating extant silks to those depicted in paintings, to

be familiar with as many patterns painted by a given master or school of painting as possible. The repetition of silk patterns within the work of a single artist or school occurs time and again in both the Northern and Italian paintings, and can be very misleading for establishing the dates of the patterns depicted if one is acquainted only with the later representations. A case in point is the pattern of animals and plants which Mariotto di Nardo painted several times: first in 1394–95 and twice later, around 1420²⁰. Likewise, a pattern of floral stems curving around birds and dogs was painted by at least three painters of the Austrian School: by the Master of the Presentation in ca. 1430 in his *Adoration of the Magi*²¹, by the Master of the Friedrich-Altars in his Friedrich-Altar, dated 1447²², and then by an anonymous Austrian painter in a panel of the *Adoration of the Magi* around 1470 to 1480²³. It is also important to consider the patterns depicted in northern European and Italian paintings as a total corpus for one not only reinforces the other, but in many cases provides evidence missing in the other. The Italian paintings provide a much more complete picture of the variety of silk patterns woven in the first three quarters of the 14th century than do the comparatively fewer Northern paintings and manuscripts; but the Northern masters painted many more fanciful animal and bird patterns in the late 14th and early 15th centuries than did the Italians and provide most of the evidence in paintings of animal and bird patterns dating from the last three quarters of the 15th century.

When considering the silk patterns represented in paintings, one might well ask how did the painters, particularly in northern Europe, know the silk patterns and how accurately did they copy them? The presence of Italian silks in northern Europe was largely due to the extensive trading among the cities of the Hansiatic League and to the presence of Italian merchants in Bruges, Paris and London. In Italy, some of the centers in which silks were woven, such as Venice and Florence, also maintained schools of painters, and there is evidence that some painters actually possessed pieces of silk fabric which served as models for the garments and hangings they painted²⁴. More often, however, painters probably made sketches of patterns which they knew through church vestments and hangings or through fabrics in the courts of the nobility. Inventory records and accounts, both of churches and courts in Italy and northern Europe, testify to the abundance of these silks. One of the many silk patterns painted by the Westphalian painter, Kon-

rad von Soest, the pattern of fenced lions rushing up trees in the Dortmund Altar (fig. 32), can be traced to the Burgundian court of Philip the Bold which Konrad had visited, for the pattern is described in the 1405 inventory of Marquerite de Flandre, wife of Philip the Bold²⁵. Later, in the Blankenberch Altar, one of Konrad's followers painted another silk from the Burgundian court with lions, palmettes and hats which is described in the 1404 inventory of Philip the Bold (fig. 28)²⁶. Among the patterns which can be traced to liturgical vestments and furnishings is that of the hanging in an anonymous painting, the *Trinity*, in the Marienkirche, Danzig²⁷. The design of this hanging was probably derived from a textile, possibly actually in the Marienkirche, with a pattern very similar to that of a cope (fig. 36) which was preserved in that church until the present century. There is ample precedent for the existence of silks with such similar patterns among the other liturgical textiles in Danzig²⁸.

The care with which painters copied silk patterns varied; but by and large, they seem to have been remarkably accurate. In the instances in which the patterns of surviving silks appear also in paintings (figs. 8, 9, 29, 30, 61, and 62), the patterns have been very faithfully copied, and in some cases, such as Figures 23 and 24, the over-all patterns are the same but certain details are slightly different. At the same time, however, the simplification of patterns by painters can occasionally be observed, particularly in patterns copied by several generations of painters, such as the pattern of floral stems curving around birds and dogs which was depicted by painters of the Austrian school.

Invaluable as the paintings are for establishing the chronology of Italian Gothic silk patterns, there is much information – particularly about motifs in patterns – which is provided only by inventory records. Certain silks can actually be identified with inventory descriptions (figs. 20, 64), but the primary value of the documents is that they indicate at what time certain motifs or combinations of motifs were common. For instance, the motif of chained animals or birds is mentioned several times in the inventories of Prague Cathedral and of Westminster Abbey in the 1380's and 1390's but only occasionally in the 15th century²⁹. For many patterns, particularly the fanciful patterns of the last third of the 14th century, inventory descriptions are the only available evidence indicating their date. Important as the inventories are, however, one must bear in mind that some descriptions of patterns are really useful, while others are not

and can be misleading. A useful description is one which gives some idea of how the pattern may have looked either by specifically identifying the motifs ("swans" instead of "birds"), or by describing how the motifs were arranged to form a pattern. A useless description is one as "animals and birds" which describes motifs vaguely and without any indication of how they were related so that the pattern cannot be differentiated from the scores of other patterns with animals and birds which have occurred throughout the history of textile design. Because some inventories, moreover, describe patterns which are considerably earlier in date, it is important to compare the descriptions of patterns in one inventory to those in other inventories.

Certainly, the most accurate impression of the development of patterns and styles among the Italian Gothic silks can be obtained only by using the inventory records together with the paintings and the corpus of surviving silks. Sometimes one source provides information not available in the others, and often the information afforded by one is misleading unless viewed together with complementary material available in the other two. It is, therefore, from this perspective that the present study of the chronology of the extant silks has been conducted.

Turning now to the development of styles and patterns which has emerged from this study, two co-existing trends can be identified during the first half of the 14th century: first, the persistence of traditional patterns which were very closely related to Levantine and Spanish designs; and secondly the emergence of new motifs and designs. Belonging to the first category is a silk in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 1), with a pattern of geometrically arranged eight-pointed stars containing foliage and paired animals and birds. This basic design of star-shaped compartments, clearly derived from Spanish models, was one of several geometric designs carried over from the 13th century³⁰. Numerous occurrences and variations of geometric designs may be found in silks represented in paintings and described in inventories from the early 14th century³¹. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the first group of silks belonging to the second category of design – the innovative patterns – was strongly influenced by earlier silk design. In these silks, rows of paired animals flanking concentric ogival palmettes alternate with rows of paired birds flanking similar palmettes (fig. 2). While the basic arrangement remained constant, variations among the animals and birds were common.



Fig. 1
Silk fragment. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

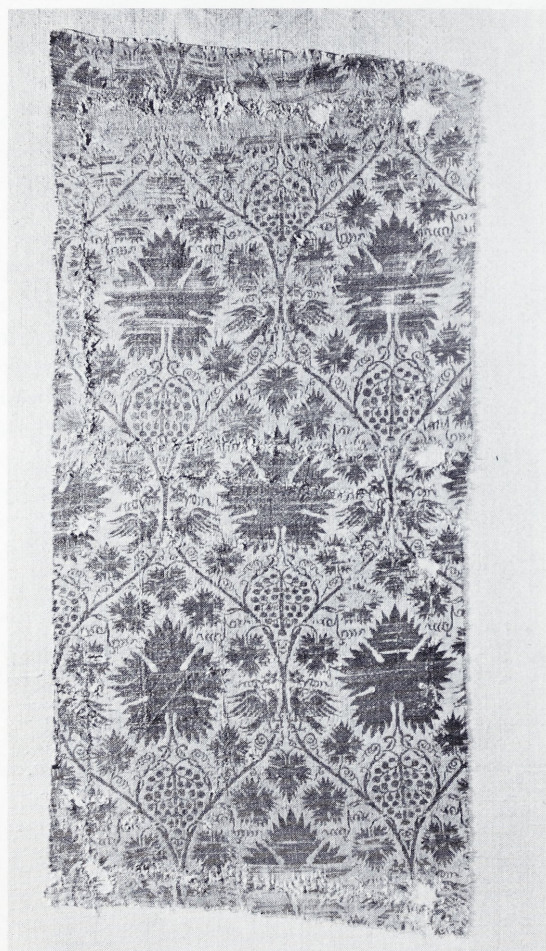
Parrots (actually eagles but called “pappagalli” in the inventories) were sometimes replaced with peacocks; in place of gazelles, griffons or even Lambs of God sometimes appear. The palmettes were usually filled with trifoliolate foliage, but in a cope in Nürnberg, they are filled with grape leaves instead³². Where this design originated is a question which can not be entirely answered. Spain immediately comes to mind since most of the components of the design as represented in the Cleveland silk (fig. 2) can be traced back to Spanish lampas silks of the 12th century. The combination of eagles, gazelles and concentric ogival palmettes appears in the eagle silk in Sieburg; the eagles themselves and the ornamental treatment of their necks and wing discs are similar to those on a silk in the cathedral archive at Salamanca, while the gazelles’ gold heads, crossed front legs, as well as the floral ornamentation of their hindquarters and shoulders are very much like the “Gazellenstoffe” in Berlin³³. Moreover, the fully developed design does appear to have been woven in Spain. There are two silks, a stocking in the Musée du Cluny and a fragment in the Cleveland Museum of Art in which the style of the animals and foliage is different from other animal/bird/ogival palmette silks³⁴. In these silks, moreover, the brocaded Cyprian gold has a silk core, a feature which appears to have been characteristic of Spanish silk

weaving in contrast to the linen core commonly found in the gold of Italian weaving. Several issues, however, still remain in question. Although the components of the pattern can be traced back to 12th century Spanish prototypes, the evolution from these early silks to the Italian design (fig. 2) remains a mystery. Part of the difficulty is that so very few silks remain from the 13th century that it is impossible to put together a complete picture of the patterns and motifs woven at that time. In fact, the only 13th century design which is clearly an intermediary step is that of a silk in Berlin with paired eagles, or parrots, flanking ogival palmettes³⁵. Another dilemma is the presence of basilisks in the designs of the stocking in the Musée du Cluny and the fragment in Cleveland. Basilisks are a common Italian motif but not a Spanish motif. This indicates that there must have been a considerable amount of interchange between Italian and Spanish designers. Whether the design evolved in Spain and was then copied by Italian weavers, or whether the Italians took elements of the design from Spanish silks and then created a new design which was later copied in Spain remains a quandary. There is also the possibility that the design evolved simultaneously in Spain and in Italy. Before leaving the subject of where the animal/bird/ogival palmette pattern evolved, the Syrian city of Antioch should also be mentioned. This city may have played a part either in the development or in the production of this silk design for occasionally in inventories designs of animals and birds with gold heads and feet are attributed to Antioch³⁶. Unfortunately, however, too little is known about the silk industry of Antioch to know more specifically what its role may have been.

Determining when this fully developed pattern began to be produced is equally a problem. Surprisingly, the design does not appear in 14th century paintings so that one must consequently rely on silks which can be dated and on inventory references. Of the silks with animal/bird/ogival palmette patterns which survive, those which are actually dated are few: a mitre in the Biblioteca Vaticana which belonged to Pope John XXII, d. 1334³⁷, and the stocking in the Musée du Cluny which belonged to Cardinal de Via, d. 1335; a chasuble in Vich which has been identified as part of a set of vestments which belonged to Bishop Miguel de Ricoma, d. 1361, and a silk with “parrots” and Lambs of God which was recognized by von Falke as having the same design as a cope described in the Vatican inventory of 1361³⁸. Descriptions of vestments with animals and birds

having gold heads and feet appear in inventories throughout the 14th century beginning with the inventory of Canterbury Cathedral, 1315³⁹. References only to animals and birds having gold heads and feet without mention of the palmettes was apparently standard for inventory descriptions of animal/bird/ogival palmette patterns. This is clearly proven by the descriptions of the chasuble in Vich ("unam tunicam de panno viridis coloris de serico, cum ymaginibus avium et animalium habentium capita et pedes de filis aureis, vocato diaspre . . .")⁴⁰ and of the silk with parrots and Lambs of God ("Item una planeta de diaspero albo ad pappagallos, cum capitibus, rotunditatibus alarum et pedibus de auro, et agnos Dei cum capitibus, et pedibus et crucibus de auro . . .")⁴¹ Confronted with the meager evidence of dated silks and of early inventories which happen to include descriptions of the vestments they list, one

Fig. 3
Silk fragment. Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum
(photo: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz)



can presume that this pattern began to be produced early in the second decade, or so, of the 14th century and probably continued to be produced through the second half of the century.

Also belonging to the category of innovative designs of the first half of the 14th century are those with grape vines, leaves and clusters of grapes. These patterns represent a greater departure from traditional motifs and patterns than did the animal/bird/ogival palmette patterns. At first, during the second decade of the century, the motif occurred in the context of traditional geometric compositions⁴², but by the third decade, the grape vine with leaves and grapes had become of sufficient importance to constitute the entire repeat of a pattern⁴³. A small number of silks with designs of delicate ogival grape vines, leaves, clusters of grapes, and sometimes animals or birds, an example of which is in Berlin (fig. 3), can be identified with the group of ogival grape vine patterns painted in the 1330's and 1340's by Bernardo Daddi and his followers (fig. 4)⁴⁴. Although there are very few silks with grape vine patterns from this period, their importance in the history of Italian silk design is not to be underestimated, for they represent a complete departure from the past and the first uniquely Italian designs of the Gothic period.

The third innovation in the first half of the 14th century was the absorption of Chinese motifs and patterns into Italian silk design, a step which has been recognized as revolutionary in the development of Italian Gothic silk design. Not only did the Chinese silks inspire designs previously undreamed of in Italy, but they introduced a whole new repertory of animals, birds and plants as well⁴⁵. Oriental silks had been known in Europe at least since the 13th century and were often described in inventories of the late 13th and early 14th centuries⁴⁶. However, it was not until the third and particularly the fourth decades of the 14th century that Italian painters began to copy them for hangings and garments⁴⁷. Evidently, it was at this same time that silk designers, too, began noticing the exotic Oriental patterns, for early in the fourth decade Bernardo Daddi in his *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*⁴⁸ depicted a silk which incorporated both Italian and Chinese elements. His pattern had a traditional diamond reseau for the framework, but the crane-like birds with long necks and legs were certainly inspired by Chinese models. The wall hanging in Matteo Giovanetti's *Death of Saint Martial*⁴⁹, 1346, is another early representation of a silk in which Chinese and Italian forms were



Fig. 4
Bernardo Daddi, *Saint Reparate before the Emperor Decius* (detail). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Maitland Fuller Griggs, 1943)

combined. Here, the familiar Italian arrangement of rows of alternating birds and stylized palmettes is combined with the Chinese motif of tiny scattered leaves which fill the interspaces. Among the surviving silks of this third type, a fragment in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, (fig. 5) combines

Fig. 5
Silk fragment. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (photo: Musée des Arts Décoratifs)



Fig. 6
Silk fragment. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum (photo: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz)

crane-like birds and palmettes inspired by Chinese models and the traditional diamond *reseau*. It represents one of the early attempts by Italian designers to assimilate Chinese elements into their traditional patterns.

The few silks that have survived from the first half of the 14th century, together with patterns recorded in contemporary paintings and inventories, reveal this as a period in which designers, receptive to influence from both East and West, were exploring new concepts of silk design. It was this experimental and imaginative spirit which provided the background for the numerous designs of exceptional imagination and diversity which were produced in the second half of the century. Of the abundance of styles and patterns which emerged in this second phase of the Italian silk industry, five major trends can be identified: patterns directly inspired by Chinese silk designs, patterns imitating Mamluke designs, the further development of vine patterns, the appearance of religious patterns, and, finally, a group of patterns which, for want of a better term, shall be referred to as "fanciful designs." Although for the sake of clarity, each group must be discussed separately, these trends largely proceeded concurrently, and in some silks one category of design is combined with another.

The first of the five trends in this second phase – patterns inspired by Chinese silks – had its origins, as we have already seen, in the first half of the 14th century. The designs which most obviously belong to this group are those which sought to copy the



Fig. 7
Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani, *Saints Dominique and Bartholomew* (detail). Fiesole, Museo Bandini
(photo: after Klesse)

Fig. 8
Parisian School, *Madonna and Child* (detail). Florence, Museo Nazionale (Bargello) (photo: Alinari-Art Reference Bureau)



Fig. 9
Silk fragment. Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum
(photo: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

oriental models. Of these, a number of examples survive and several can be dated from patterns depicted in paintings. A fragment in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, (fig. 6) in which pairs of fonghuongs are contained in ogival vines with large lotus flowers is very similar to the mantle of St. Bartholomew in Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani's *Sts. Dominique and Bartholomew* (fig. 7)⁵⁰. In this case, the painting attributed to the last quarter



Fig. 10
Silk fragment. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

of the century provides a *terminus ante quem* for the Berlin silk. Another exceptionally close correlation is the design of the hanging from the *Virgin and Child* (fig. 8) by a painter of the Parisian School, ca. 1390–1400, and that of another silk in Berlin (fig. 9)⁵¹. Closely related to these two silks in Berlin are a silk in Krefeld and two others in the Kunstgewerbemuseum which also have designs of fantastic Chinese birds in ogival vines with Oriental flowers⁵².

One of the most interesting silks imitating oriental models is a fragment (fig. 10) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with wide bands of fonghuongs alternating with narrow bands containing pseudo-Arabic letters, geometric ornament and running animals. The symmetrical subdivision of bands, as well as the pseudo-Arabic, have been derived from Mamluke striped silks⁵³, but the fonghuongs and some of the geometric ornament are close to the striped silks from hither Asia⁵⁴. In keeping with the Oriental models, the Italian designer has made the bands polychrome – red, pink, and blue – and has even gone so far as to orient the design in the warp direction. From the evidence provided by inventories, silks of this type can be assigned to the last quarter of the century. Designs of polychrome bands with letters or with animals and birds are described in the inventories of Westminster Abbey, 1388, and of Angers Cathedral, 1391⁵⁵; and in the inventory of Charles V, 1380, a silk with blue and black bands, Arabic letters and birds is mentioned⁵⁶. Among silks depicted in paintings, the Virgin's bedcover in the *Nativity* by

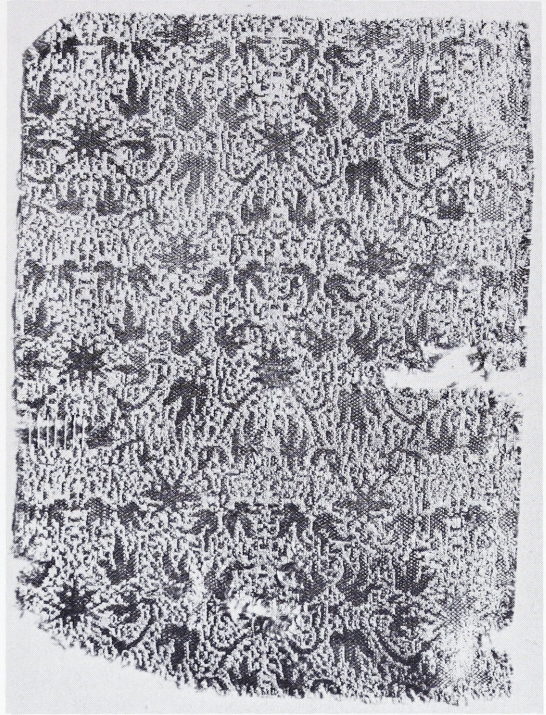


Fig. 11
Silk fragment. Krefeld, Gewebesammlung der Stadt Krefeld
(photo: Gewebesammlung der Stadt Krefeld)

a northern Guelders or Cleves master⁵⁷, ca. 1410 to 1415, has the same type of design as the London silk; particularly similar is the occurrence of the fonghuong and palmette.

It is difficult to identify patterns described in inventories with surviving silks which imitate Chinese silks. Yet the Prague inventory of 1387 describes motifs which must certainly have been derived from Chinese models. In one design, the elaborate plumage on the heads of birds was described as “branches growing from their heads”: “C.[appa] de baldikino in blauco cum aviculis viridibus, procedentibus eis ramis ex capite . . .”⁵⁸ Another pattern was described as having “lions with trees springing from their backs”, perhaps a misunderstanding of the fantastic Chinese lunghma which appears in a silk in Brussels: “C. de nachone ad modum stolarum, habens aviculas admodum upuparum cum leonibus viridibus, ex quorum dorso procedunt arbores virides . . .”⁵⁹ And the dragons described in still a third vestment – „C. de nachone in brunatico, habens dracones magnos aureos cum pluribus caudis, alas ad volatum extendentes”⁶⁰ – bring to mind the dragons in the hanging from Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani's *John the Evangelist and Scenes from his Life*⁶¹.

Also belonging to the category of designs inspired by Chinese models is the group of silks with “tiny pattern” designs. In these, the Italians were trying to imitate not the motifs of Chinese patterns but the effect of tiny leaves and animals strewn across the surface, which sometimes appears in Chinese designs⁶². The “tiny pattern” silks are, therefore, characterized by the very small repeats of their patterns and by the visual effect of a clutter of tiny scattered elements. In a “tiny pattern” silk in the Krefeld Gewebesammlung (fig. 11), the repeat of the pattern measures only about 6.5 cm. high by 4.2 cm. wide and its floral design, obviously derived from Chinese models, appears to be a profusion of tiny leaves. Sometimes, as in the Krefeld silk, the designs are floral, but more often they consist of animals and/or birds of either Chinese or European extraction combined with trees, vines or other floral motifs (figs. 12 and 13). The only silk of this group which is documented is a chasuble in Sens, originally from the church of Briennon (fig. 12). Two escutcheons are embroidered on the back, that of Jeanne d'Evreux who was the wife of Charles IV and died in 1370, and that of Blanche of Navarre who married Philippe VI in 1368⁶³. It is, therefore, probable that the silk was made in the 1360's. From this same decade to the end of the century, silks with the “tiny pattern” designs ap-

Fig. 12
Chasuble (detail). Sens, Cathedral treasure
(photo: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques)



pear in paintings. The little rabbits, deer with antlers, and lions found in the chasuble from Briennon also appear in the design of the backdrop in Nardo di Cioni's *Ss. Peter and John the Baptist* dating from the 1360's⁶⁴. Another “tiny pattern” design of scrolling vines, trifoliolate leaves, and little animals in the backdrop of the “Derision of Christ” in the *Petites Heures du Duc de Berry*, 1380 to 1385 (fig. 14)⁶⁵, is a very close variation of a silk in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (fig. 13); in fact, the only appreciable difference is that the dragons in Figure 13 are outside the scrolls of the vines, while the animals in the backdrop are inside. Inventory records also testify to the presence of “tiny pattern” silks at this time. An entry in the Papal Inventory of 1361 cites a dalmatic and tunic ornamented with tiny branches, leaves, roses, and animals: “Item una dalmatica et tunicella de dyaspero albo laborat. de opere Lucano ad quedam opera minuta ad ramunculos, frondes et rosas et animalia de auro . . .”⁶⁶ In the Inventory of Notre Dame, Paris, two silks of ca. 1373 are described as having a design of tiny animals: “II draps de Luques vermeils ouvréz à petites bestes qui furent des obseques feu Estienne cardinal de Paris l'an lxxiii”⁶⁷. Two pieces of silk designed with a tiny pattern were recorded among the possessions of Charles V in 1380⁶⁸, and in the Burgundian accounts from 1388 is recorded a payment made to a Lucchese merchant for a white silk decorated “à menuz ouvraiges”⁶⁹. Even as late as the beginning of the 15th century, in 1404, the inventory taken of Philip the Bold's possessions included a reference to a coat ornamented with tiny leaves in gold on a green ground: “Item, une autre longue houppelande de fin drap d'or a bien petis feuillaiges d'or sur champ vert . . .”⁷⁰ Judging by the evidence of inventory records and paintings, the “tiny pattern” designs reached their peak between 1360 and 1390 but continued to be produced until ca. 1400.

The second group of silk designs woven in the second half of the century, those strongly influenced by Mamluke silks, are not nearly so numerous as the patterns related to Chinese designs. Although the Mamluke influence is usually limited to one or two motifs out of several in a pattern, there is in Cleveland a fragment with a design clearly imitating a Mamluke pattern (fig. 15). The design of lotus palmettes in a “net” framework of lotus vines and leaves which served as its model was probably similar to two Mamluke pieces in London and Brussels and a third formerly in the Marienkirche, Danzig⁷¹. The Italian designer approximated the Islamic style of the scrolling lotus

vines forming the framework by deliberately drawing rather crude leaves and rosettes; then, instead of copying a Mamluke form of lotus palmette, he substituted an Italian form. A silk very similar to the Cleveland piece was represented by Angelo Puccinelli as the backdrop in the *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine* at the end of the 14th century⁷².

At the same time that silks closely related to Chinese and Mamluke patterns were being woven, vine patterns, already noted in the first half of the century, continued to be produced. Among these is a group of three silks with very similar patterns of animals, birds and grape vines. One, a fragment in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna⁷³, has a pattern of grape vines forming an ogival net; within the widest curves of the ogives are large paired peacocks or griffons forming alternating rows, while between these rows are rows of small paired animals flanking little trees. The basic arrangement of grape vines forming an ogival net with birds recalls the vine patterns of the 1330's and '40's (fig. 3). But in this later pattern, large birds and animals occur together with very small animals and trees which are related to the "tiny pattern" designs. A variation of the Vienna silk is in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York (fig. 16). The grape vines are now parallel, but again there are rows of large birds (now unpaired) and rows of little trees flanked by tiny animals; the pelicans which replace the griffons are identified by

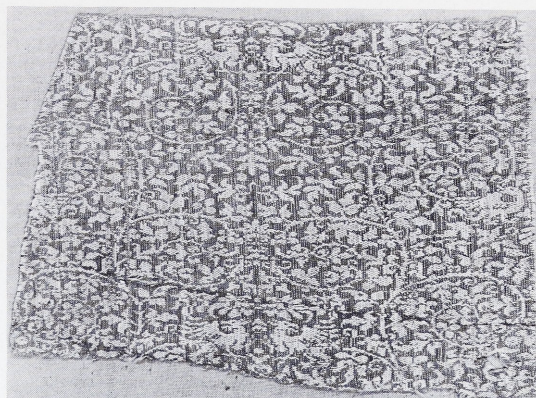


Fig. 13
Silk fragment. Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf
(photo: Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf)

HELYCE on their wings. The famous chasuble in Toulouse (fig. 17) provides still a third variation: grape vines scrolling horizontally alternate with rows of peacocks or pelicans. The pelicans are again inscribed with HELYCE on their wings, and now the peacocks are identified by PAONE. The vines of patterns such as these are not always grape vines but sometimes are lotus vines instead. In a fragment in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, and another in the Victoria and Albert Museum⁷⁴, for instance, large paired animals and small paired animals are arranged in alternating rows between which are vines with lotus leaves and palmettes.

Fig. 14
Derision of Christ (detail). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
ms. lat. 18014 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



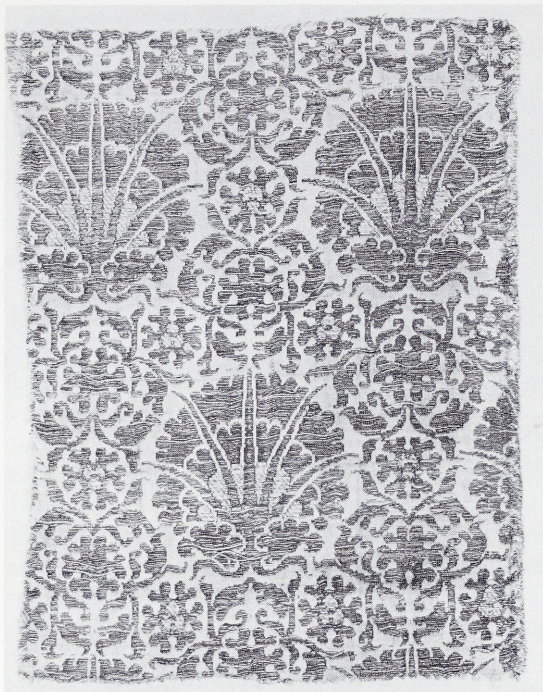


Fig. 15
Silk fragment. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art
(photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art,
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund)



Fig. 17
Chasuble (detail). Toulouse, St. Sernin.
(photo: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques)

Fig. 16
Silk fragment. New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum
of Design, Smithsonian Institution
(photo: Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design,
Smithsonian Institution)

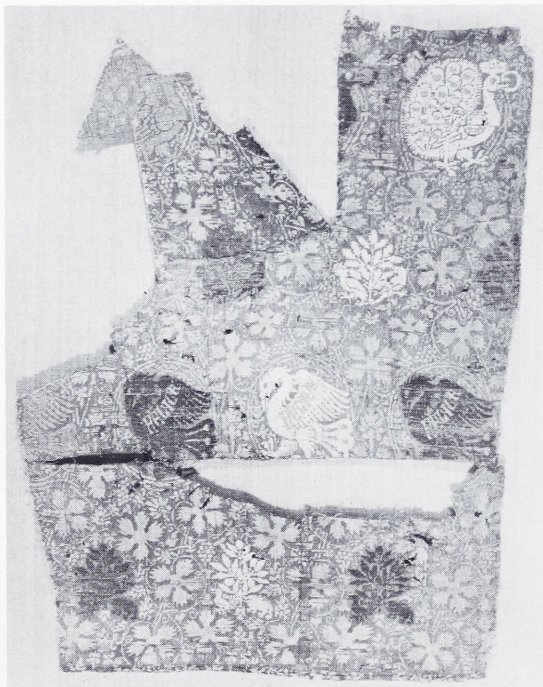


Fig. 18
Silk fragments. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art
(photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art,
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund)



Several factors suggest a date of ca. 1360–90 for these vine patterns. To begin with, the tiny trees flanked by little animals in the Vienna and New York silks (fig. 16) are clearly related to the “tiny pattern” designs (fig. 12). Moreover, in style and design the Toulouse pattern is very closely related to a silk in Cleveland in which one finds the motif of lions wearing flying scarfs (fig. 18). This motif supports the 1360–90 date because it did not appear in Italian silk design before the third quarter of the 14th century⁷⁵. One other consideration for the date is the treatment of the peacocks. Their “fanned” tails, which were probably adopted from Chinese models⁷⁶, had first appeared in the middle of the century as, for instance, in the design of the Christ Child’s garment in the *Madonna Enthroned with Saints* by the Master of the Pentacost⁷⁷. Also, not only are their tails rounded but the peacocks are polychrome too and would appear to be very similar to peacocks described in the Prague inventory of 1387: “C. in rubeo baldakin, habens aviculas ad modum pavonum de blaeo et caudas rotundas albo et rubeo tinctas”⁷⁸.

The designs of these four silks were not the only kinds of grape vine patterns woven in the second half of the 14th century. A very different design of vines with leaves and clusters of grapes is in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (fig. 19). Here, the grape vines form ogival “palmettes” which are repeated in staggered horizontal rows. A distinctive feature of the vines are the pinnate leaves, a motif which was particularly common in designs of the 1360’s and ‘70’s but which appear in later 14th century patterns as well⁷⁹. The silk itself is not documented; but the presence of the pinnate leaves indicates that it dates from ca. 1360–80, or shortly thereafter. A very close variation of the Berlin silk is a fragment in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna⁸⁰.

In the second half of the 14th century, there appear a number of silks with religious patterns. In contrast to the grape vine patterns, no textile prototypes from the first half of the century are to be found for this group; nor are religious designs among the Italian silks known from inventories or paintings before the middle of the 14th century. These religious designs, therefore, may be considered an innovation of the second half of the 14th century. One silk, fragments of which are in the Cluny Museum, Paris, (fig. 20) and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, has a design of angels carrying censers, nails and crosses amidst scattered stars. Dr. Grönwoldt has identified the pattern



Fig. 19
Silk fragment. Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum
(photo: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

as a variation of an altar hanging listed in the 1391 inventory of Angers Cathedral: “Item unum celum de panno auri, quod est super majus altare, quod etiam dedit ecclesiae dicta domina Regina”⁸¹. Later in 1421, the pattern itself was described:



Fig. 20
Silk fragment. Paris,
Musée de Cluny
(photo: Cliché des Musées
Nationaux)



Fig. 21
Silk fragment. Cleveland,
The Cleveland Museum of Art
(photo: The Cleveland
Museum of Art, Purchase,
Dudley P. Allen Fund)

"Item unum celum de panno serico rubeo, seminato angelis aureis, quorum quidem incensunt, alii portant cruces et calices et est seminatum stellis. Celum supradictum provenit de uno magno panno, qui erat super altare et dedit eum dicta Maria, regina Siciliae."⁸² Another silk with almost the same design, the only difference being candles in place of crosses carried by the angels, is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art⁸³. Still a third variation was evidently represented on a cope listed in the 1376 inventory of the abbey church of Fécamp: "Item l'autre [cope] est semée d'angelos d'or tenans chascun II. encensiers . . ."⁸⁴

The Annunciation appears several times on surviving silks and is described as well in inventories. On a silk in Cleveland, the Virgin and angel are both kneeling (fig. 21)⁸⁵; while in the Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, there is a similar but more elaborate version which includes a Bible on a book stand and the word "AVE" in addition to the kneeling Virgin and angel⁸⁶. A somewhat different rendering of the theme with the angel holding lilies and kneeling before an enthroned Virgin is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London⁸⁷. Undoubtedly it was the Annunciation which formed the pattern of two silks of ca. 1380 which were listed in the Inventory of Notre Dame, Paris: "Il draps d'or ouvréz à ymages de N^{re} Dame et angels donnéz par dame Helizabeth, royne de France, femme dud, seigneur en son joyeux advenement"⁸⁸. In inventory records there are references to other religious designs such as archangels described in the inventory of Westminster Abbey, "Albe blodji coloris de panno aureo non brudate sunt tres cum archangelis aureis . . ."⁸⁹ or angels proclaiming the letters "Regina coeli" in the 1387 inventory of Prague Cathedral, "Item capa dni Wlachikonis de atlas flauco cum angelis aureis precantibus literas Regina coeli"⁹⁰. The design of the cope in Prague may have been very similar to the design of angels holding scrolls of script ornamenting the Virgin's robe in Carlo da Camerino's *Madonna of Humility* dating from the last quarter of the 14th century⁹¹.

At the same time that silks with religious themes, grape vine patterns, and designs inspired by Mamluke and particularly Chinese silks were being produced in Italy, a fifth group of designs were also being woven – the fanciful patterns. This group incorporates a large number of silks which, in spite of their widely varying styles, are characterized by an imagination and inventiveness unprecedented in Italian silk design. The designers of

these silks drew upon the wealth of Oriental, Islamic and European motifs which were available to them, and then combined these with their own imagination to produce patterns expressive of their artistic temperaments. One of the best known silks belonging to this fifth category is the famous dalmatic in Perugia which has sometimes been associated with Pope Benedict XI who died in 1304⁹². So early a date for the dalmatic is, of course, impossible because there are no precedents for such a design before the last third of the 14th century. The large semi-circular palmettes are one of the many variations of semi-circular palmettes which were in evidence from the 1370's to the beginning of the 15th century⁹³. The motif of cheetahs chained to semi-circular floral palmettes was mentioned in the inventory of Westminster Abbey in 1388: "... [capi blodij] cum leopardis flores admodum semicircularum cum catenis rubiis ad colla trahentibus de secta"⁹⁴. Moreover, the form of the palmette tree flanked by cheetahs is very similar to the palmettes depicted on the Virgin's robe in Lorenzo Veneziano's *Virgin and Child*, 1372⁹⁵. Apparently, the original attribution of the dalmatic to Benedict XI was based on a Perugian inventory reference of 1458 which mentioned a vestment belonging to the Pope but gave no description of its pattern⁹⁶.

Another silk of this period is one in Krefeld with a design of lion heads framed by wreaths alternating with pseudo-Arabic letters which are intertwined with little shrubs (fig. 22). While the overall design cannot be identified with descriptions from inventories or representations in paintings, most of the individual motifs can be. Leopards' and lions' heads, for example, are mentioned several times in inventories of the 1370's and '80's. In the inventory of the abbey church in Fécamp, 1375, they are described with leaves: "Item, une [cope] à camp vermeil, à ymages et testes de léopars et feules et autres choses . . ."⁹⁷ and a few years later in the inventory of Westminster Abbey they are mentioned with animals and branches, "Item una capa cum ramis et bestiis atque capitibus leopardorum intermixtis."⁹⁸ Lions' heads were also mentioned in the Prague Inventory of 1387 in a more complex design of lions' heads, birds holding scrolls, and small animals under trees⁹⁹. Also described in the same inventory are bluebells which, in the Krefeld silk, form part of the wreath¹⁰⁰. Pinnate leaves also forming the wreath have already been mentioned as a motif often found in the designs of silks depicted in paintings from the last third of the century. And, finally, even the motif



Fig. 24
Bielefeld Altar, Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints
(detail). Münster, Landesmuseum für Kunst und
Kulturgeschichte Münster
(photo: Landesmuseum für Kunst und
Kulturgeschichte Münster)

in their bills, described in 1401 in the inventory of the Cathedral of Cambrai, was probably a variation of the Chicago silk (though evidently without the floral vines): “Item, une cape vermeille, semée de cignes d’or tenant un rolet en leur bec de lettres sarrasinoises . . .”¹⁰² Also from the late 14th century is a silk with a pattern of undulating vines, palmettes, cranes and lions formerly in Berlin (fig. 26). The arrangement of the pattern is quite different from that of the Chicago silk, but the palmettes are again derived from peacocks’ feathers. The total design brings to mind a pattern of lions and cranes “whose necks twist around trees”, described in the inventory of Westminster Abbey, 1388: “Item novem [albe rubee] cum leonibus et gruibus colla circa arbores volventibus . . .”¹⁰³

One of the more dramatic correlations between documents and existing silk patterns occurs in connection with a small fragment in the Cleveland Museum of Art with a pattern of hats with plumes and tassels (fig. 27). The hats in the Cleveland silk are the same as those in a pattern of plumed hats, lions and palmettes known from two different

Fig. 25
Silk fragment. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago
(photo: Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago)





Fig. 26
*Silk fragment (detail). Formerly Berlin,
 Königliches Kunstgewerbe-Museum (photo: after Lessing)*

sources: the 1404 inventory of Philip the Bold of Burgundy in which the pattern is described, “Item, un drap de Luques d’or sur champ asuré, a ouvrage ronds a lions et a chapeaulx a plumes”¹⁰⁴; and the Blankenberch Altarpiece in which the

pattern ornaments the Virgin’s bedcover (fig. 28) as well as the cape worn by one of the Magi. This altarpiece was painted by a follower of Konrad von Soest for Johannes Blankenberch, provost between 1422 and 1443 of the Walpurgiskirche near

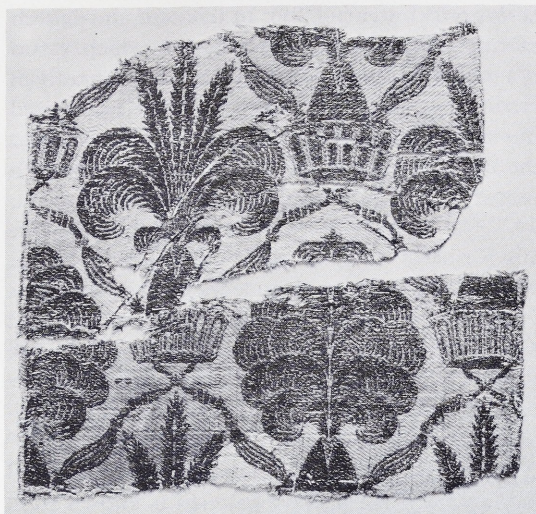


Fig. 27
Silk fragment. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art
(photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art,
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund)

Münster¹⁰⁵. There is evidence primarily in the Burgundian dress and hair styles of Konrad's figures that he spent some time at the court of Philip the Bold¹⁰⁶ at which time he probably made sketches of some of the Italian silk patterns he saw. Undoubtedly, Konrad's pupil, the painter of the Blankenberch Altarpiece, was indebted to him for the design of this silk as we know he was for the designs of other silks he painted¹⁰⁷. Although the inventory of Philip the Bold establishes an *ante quem* date of 1404 for the silk with palmettes, lions and hats, there is evidence that the silk may have been of an even earlier date, for in the accounts of Philip the Bold, a payment is recorded on March 28, 1369, to a certain Barthélemy Spifame for 8 pieces of Lucchese silk with designs of crowns and hats¹⁰⁸. The design of the silk fragment now in Cleveland, a variation of the silk formerly in the Burgundian Court, may be considered likewise to date from the last third of the 14th century.

Another interesting silk pattern painted by the same follower of Konrad von Soest is the garment worn by Augustine in an altarpiece formerly in the

Fig. 28
Follower of Konrad von Soest, *Death of the Virgin* (detail).
Münster, Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte
Münster (photo: Landesmuseum für Kunst und
Kulturgeschichte Münster)





Walpurgiskloster (fig. 29). In this case, the pattern of dragons, griffons, dogs and flowers which served as a model is actually known from a silk formerly in Berlin (fig. 30). Von Falke, who first recognized the silk pattern in the altarpiece, considered that the Berlin silk dated from the first half of the 15th century because the altarpiece dated from ca. 1420¹⁰⁹. However, there is reason to believe that the silk formerly in Berlin actually dated from the late 14th century. The components of the design, as von Falke recognized, belong to this period and some motifs such as the dog, dragons, and bluebell flowers are even described in the Prague inventory of 1387: “In flaveo panno cum canibus et draconibus et floribus ad modum campanarum . . .”¹¹⁰ That the master of the Walpurgis Altar knew and painted late 14th century patterns is known from the curtain in the central panel of the altarpiece¹¹¹, the design of which is a combination of two patterns painted by Konrad von Soest: the backdrop in the Dortmund Altar and the robe of Longinus in the Wildungen Altar of 1404¹¹². Probably the design of the Berlin silk used for the robe of Augustine was also known to this painter from his master. It would seem, moreover, that this pattern like that of the bed cover in the Blankenberch Altar was one of the patterns noted by Konrad at the Burgundian court because a pattern with similar motifs – serpents, griffons and leaves – was described in the 1404 inventory of Philip the Bold: “Item, deux autres draps d’or de Luques sur champ vermeil, a fueillaiges vers a serpens et griffons d’or.”¹¹³

A silk in Berlin (fig. 31), closely related to a pattern painted by Konrad von Soest himself has a design of rows of scalloped stems terminating alternately in leaves and in palmettes; on top of the leaves stand fanciful birds holding flowers in their bills while behind each palmette “tree” stands a lion. This over all arrangement as well as the style of the slender stems, curving leaves and palmettes is very similar to the pattern of the robe worn by the elder Magus in the *Adoration of the Magi* from the Dortmund Altar, ca. 1420 (fig. 32)¹¹⁴. For two reasons

Fig. 29
Follower of Konrad von Soest, *Walpurgis Altar* (detail).
Münster, Landesmuseum für Kunst und –
Kulturgeschichte Münster

the silks represented in the Dortmund Altar must certainly date from the late 14th century; first, the styles and types of patterns represented in the Dortmund Altar are very similar to those which appear in the earlier Wildungen Altar of 1404; and second, the design of fenced lions rushing up trees

which is represented in the robe of the kneeling middle-aged Magus in the Dortmund Altar is very likely the pattern described in the 1405 inventory of Marguerite de Flandre, wife of Philip the Bold: "Une chappe de drap d'or vermeil a arbres et lions . . ." ¹¹⁵ So similar in style is the design of

Fig. 30

Silk fragment (detail). Formerly Berlin, Königliches Kunstgewerbe-Museum (photo: after Lessing)





Fig. 31

*Silk fragment. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum
(photo: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz)*

lions rushing up trees to that of the elder Magus' robe and the Berlin silk (figs. 32 and 31) that all three must have been contemporary, dating probably from the late 14th century or ca. 1400.

Among the fanciful patterns, one finds a great variety of styles; some are monumental and dramatic in contrast to others, even when the same motifs are shared. While some patterns, such as



Fig. 32
Konrad von Soest, Adoration of the Magi. Dortmund, Marienkirche
 (photo: Landesdenkmalamt Westfalen-Lippe)

that of a silk in Nürnberg (fig. 37), almost vibrate with kinetic energy, others display a calm serenity (fig. 25). Humor is often an important part of the designs of this period and is so subtly conveyed that individual differences in their designers' personalities are unmistakably apparent. For instance,

in a silk in Stralsund¹¹⁶, the subtle humor of the dog's awkward and humiliating situation and of the bird's unexpected perch contrasts with the broad comedy of monkeys transporting hapless elephants in wheelbarrows in another silk formerly in Danzig¹¹⁷.



Fig. 33
Fragment of a chasuble (detail).
Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art
(photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art,
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund)

Because of the variety of styles and artistic temperaments found in the designs of the last third of the 14th century, it is sometimes possible to identify the work of individual designers. One, to whom a number of patterns can be attributed, had a great impact on his contemporaries, and must have been one of the great artists of this period¹¹⁸. In his designs, he captured the dynamic movement and fanciful imagery of Chinese ornament, combining these with European and sometimes Islamic motives to form a completely congruent and harmonious style of his own. In a fragmentary chasuble in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 33), a Chinese phoenix, a European dog sitting on a bit of turf, and pseudo-Arabic letters intertwined with a shrub constitute the repeated pattern unit. In spite of the diversity of the motifs, the refinement, gracefulness and kinetic energy – qualities characteristic of this designer's work – lend unity to the design. In a fragment in Nürnberg (fig. 37), the artist's feeling for dynamic movement is expressed by the agitated falcon standing on a lure and ensnared in a flapping, twisting scarf. This designer's boundless imagination and subtle sense of humor are both apparent in his design of a silk in Berlin

(fig. 35), in which a lion attacks a large fish which bites the stomach of a distressed dog which, in turn, snarls up at another lion with whom the sequence begins all over again. The humor of this interaction is further heightened by a feathered cap ridiculously balanced on the tip of the dog's tail. In some designs by this artist, such as the exceptional silk in Berlin,¹¹⁹ incorporating bicephalous deer sitting on scrolls, large winged palmettes, and paired lions below, there is an astonishing monumentality and abstraction which is further expressed in a chasuble, formerly in Danzig but now in Nürnberg (fig. 36). Here, the design is created entirely from abstracted floral palmettes and animals which have been transformed into imaginary creatures with long, flowing manes.

The only evidence for determining the period during which this designer was most active are the motifs and designs he used, many of which appear in inventories and paintings of the last third of the 14th century. The pseudo-Arabic letters entwined with shrubs in the fragmentary chasuble in Clevel-

Fig. 34
Jacopo di Michele detto Gera,
Madonna in Half Figure with Child (detail).
Montenero, Santuario (photo: Alinari)





Fig. 35
Silk fragment. Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum
(photo: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

land appear, as was noted above, in the Christ Child's garment from Jacopo di Michele Detto Gera's *Madonna and Child* attributed to 1370 or 1390 (figs. 33, 34). And described in the Prague inventory

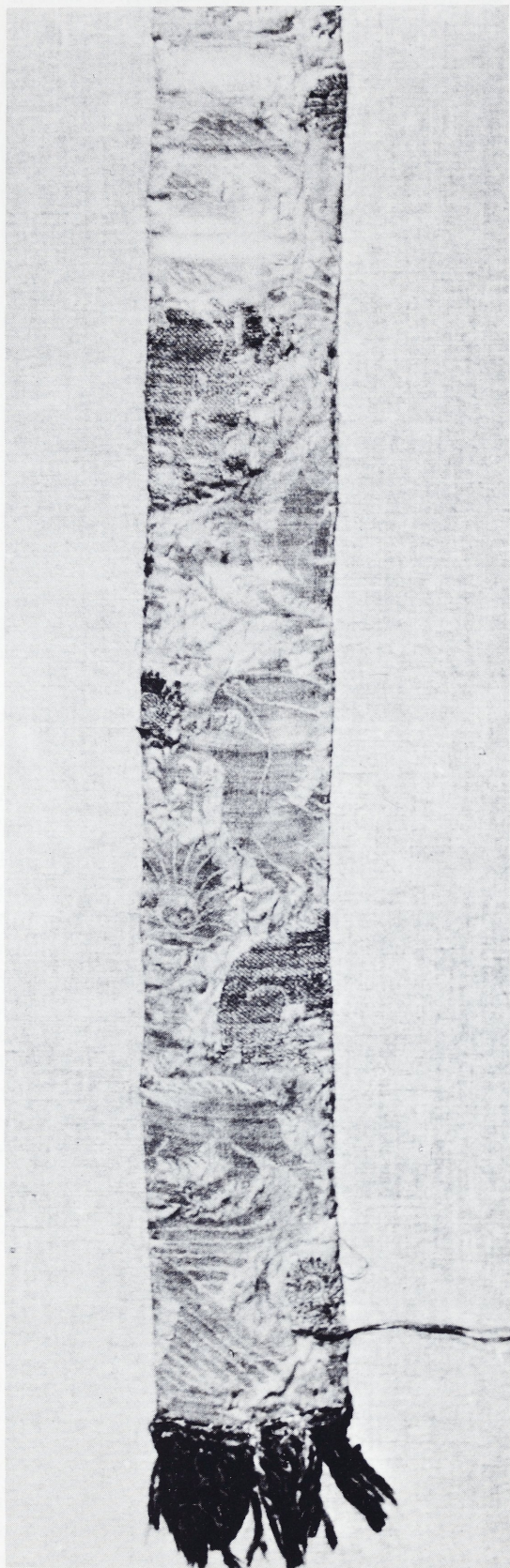
Fig. 36
Chasuble (detail). Formerly Danzig, Marienkirche
(photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg)



of 1387 is a design of birds holding letters in their bills, a motif probably very similar to the phoenix birds pecking at letters in the Cleveland chasuble: "Cappa in viridi cum aviculis aureis, tenentibus literas aureas in rostro . . ."120 The design of falcons and falcon's lures entwined with scarfs in a silk in Nürnberg (fig. 37) recalls the design of birds

Fig. 37
Silk fragment. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
(photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg)





and paired wings described in the same inventory, “Item cappa dni Pauli de Rakownik de baldikyn in rubeo ad modum stolarum, habens aves aureas, et inter allas alae duplices de serico blaeo . . .”¹²¹ The motif of dogs chained to bushes in another silk formerly in Berlin is also described in the Prague inventory¹²²; and variations of this motif – lions chained to branches or leopards chained to flowers – are described in the 1388 inventory of Westminster Abbey¹²³. The descriptions of two silks in the 1387 inventory of Prague Cathedral indicate that the motif of lions or dogs sitting on deer was also in evidence at that time¹²⁴. A variation of this motif with hawks perching on deer appears in a design which is preserved only in the form of a stola in Vienna (fig. 38)¹²⁵. Finally, the motif of deer holding chains on their feet which appears on a silk in London¹²⁶ is also described in the Prague inventory of 1396: “Item alius in blaeo aureus cum diversis animalibus catenatis, tenentes catenam in pede anteriori dextro, et cum diversis floribus et foliis.”¹²⁷

The work of another designer can be recognized in two surviving silks, one in Vienna and one formerly in Danzig (figs. 39, 40)¹²⁸. The drawing of the hawks, the animals in the bands, and the “ground” – small mounds with incised flowers and tufts of grass growing on top – are very similar. Also similar, but in a more subtle way, is the balance between patterned and ground areas. The animals and birds are full of vitality and energy; but these forces are checked by the designer’s use of symmetry and compositional structure – bands or ogives. These two silks probably date from the late 14th century. Although the drawing of the animals in bands is very similar to that of the lions in a silk painted by Meister Francke in the St. Barbara Altar, 1410–15¹²⁹, the motif of twisted bands or ropes is mentioned in the Prague inventory of 1387¹³⁰. In the inventory of Westminster Abbey, 1388, there is described a pattern of birds chained to trees from which hang scrolls, undoubtedly a variation of the motif in the Danzig silk of cheetahs chained to scrolls entwined in shrubs, “. . . [cape blodij] cum avibus ligatis per catenas ad arbores

Fig. 38
Stola (detail). Vienna, Österreichisches Museum
für angewandte Kunst
(photo: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst)

over, it has already been demonstrated in the case of Konrad von Soest and his followers that silk patterns were handed down from master painters to their followers and pupils. A careful study of the fanciful animal patterns which appear in 15th century paintings after 1425 reveals that the majority of these patterns had already been represented in earlier paintings. One such pattern of a floral vine curving around a snarling dog and then around a bird has already been discussed. Another pattern

of birds and large semi-circular palmettes which appears in the *Nativity* and *Death of the Virgin* from the former high altar of the Jacobikirche in Lübeck, 1435, as well as in the scene of *Christ Carrying the Cross* from the altar of the Lambertikirche, Hildesheim, dating from ca. 1433, had already been represented in 1409 as St. Ursula's dress in the Rostsche Altar¹³⁶. The beautiful pattern of palmettes and paired seated animals attacked by phoenixes which is represented in the *Annunciation* by the

Fig. 40
Chasuble (detail). Formerly Danzig, Marienkirche (photo: after Mannowsky)





Fig. 41
Chasuble (detail). London, Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

Master of the Albrecht's Altar, ca. 1439, had earlier been painted by the Master of the London Gnadenstuhls for the robe of St. Stephen in an altarpiece of 1425¹³⁷. So similar, however, are the overall design and the form of the palmettes in this design to those in the robe of Theodorich of Prague in the Altar of Charles V¹³⁸, 1371–75, that this silk pattern belongs in all certainty to the last third of the 14th century¹³⁹.

Other fanciful animal patterns represented in 15th century paintings after 1425 are likewise so similar iconographically and stylistically to those which appear in earlier paintings that there can be little doubt of their early date. The design of birds flanking a large floral palmette on a saint's garment from the wing of the Nothelferaltarpiece by the Master of the

Cadolzburger Altar dating from the 1420's¹⁴⁰ is very similar to silks painted by Konrad von Soest in the Wildungen Altar of 1404 and must, therefore, date from ca. 1400 or before. In the panel *The Trinity* dating from 1435–40 in the Marienkirche, Danzig¹⁴¹, the silk design of the hanging, a variation of an extant silk known to have been in the Marienkirche (fig. 36), cannot be directly related to silks represented in earlier paintings, although for stylistic and iconographical reasons it too belongs to a late 14th century date.

At the same time, during the early years of the 15th century, when the fanciful style of the late 14th century was diminishing, a new taste was developing which was to result in a style very different from that of the 14th century. Designers were no longer inspired by imaginative themes using exotic

Fig. 42
Silk fragment. New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution
(photo: Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution)



oriental and Islamic motifs, or even such traditional European motifs as grapevines and griffons. Rather, the designers of silk patterns became increasingly attracted to the world of nature – of animals drinking from pools, of ducks and swans swimming, and of animals and birds threatening or attacking one another. Swans, ducks, geese and particularly hawks replaced the fantastic birds of the late 14th century; while lions, deer, and dogs replaced the khilins, dragons and other imaginary animals of that period. Heavy vines or tree trunks, lobed leaves, pomegranates, and large circular palmettes grew in place of the delicate stems and trees with the varied leaves, flowers and imaginary palmettes of the 14th century. The new style, derived from the world of nature, which we shall refer to as the realistic style, did not suddenly emerge at the



Fig. 43
Silk fragment. New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum
of Design, Smithsonian Institution
(photo: Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design,
Smithsonian Institution)

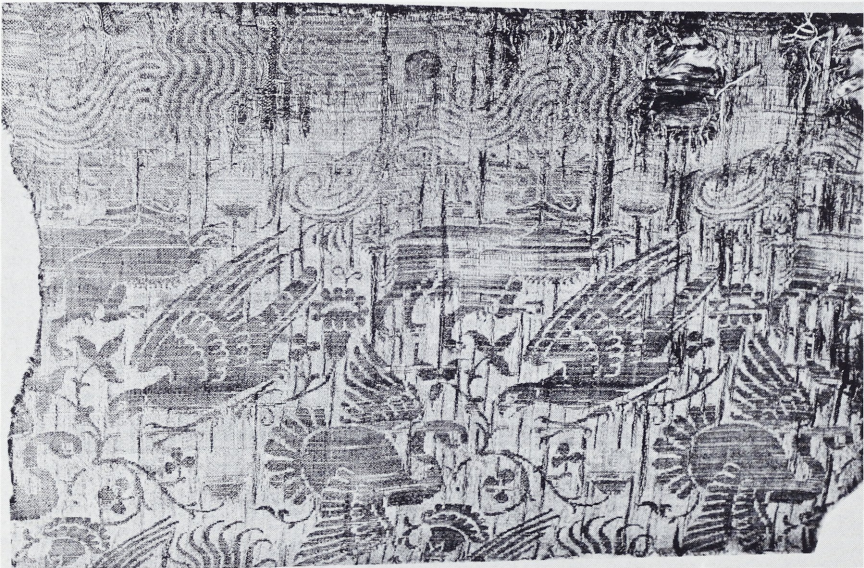


Fig. 44a
Silk fragment. London,
Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and
Albert Museum)

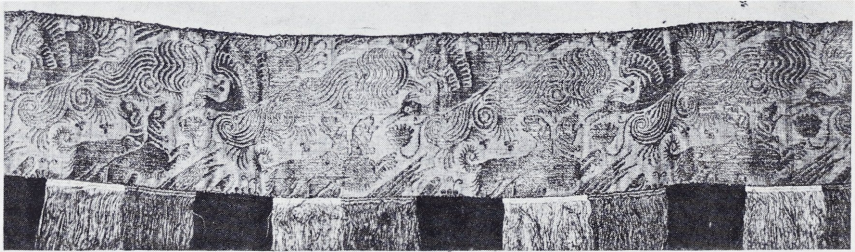


Fig. 44b
Substratorium (detail).
Formerly Danzig,
Marienkirche
(photo: after Mannowsky)



Fig. 45
Silk fragment. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
(photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 1946)

turn of the century but developed gradually as the fanciful, vibrant style of the 14th century waned. At this time, between ca. 1400 and the end of the second decade when the realistic style was fully developed, there occurs a transitional style of patterns in which elements from late 14th century designs are combined with those of the emerging realism.

The floral design of a silk in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 45) illustrates this combination of styles, and is also one of the few silks from the transitional period which can be dated. The sharply twisting parallel vines as well as the forms of the smaller palmettes are reminiscent of the 14th century taste and appreciation for Chinese forms; however, the circular palmettes and the heavy woody vines differentiate this pattern from earlier vine patterns¹⁴². A very close parallel to this transitional form of woody vine appears in the floral design of a bishop's robe in the Rostsche Altarpiece, 1409 (fig. 46). Likewise, in the portrait of Louis of Anjou, ca. 1410 (fig. 47) similar circular palmettes occur in the floral design of his robe. The pattern of the Metropolitan silk is so similar in style to the silks in these two paintings that it too must date from around 1410. Another design which certainly belongs to the transitional style is that of hawks rowing Venetian boats containing dogs and palmette trees in a silk in Krefeld (fig. 48). The very idea of animals or birds rowing boats which have trees growing out of them is typical of the fanciful and often humorous imagination of the late 14th century¹⁴³, as is also the delicate style of the stems with leaves. The realistic

rendering of the dog and birds, however, together with the presence of heartshaped leaves and pomegranates and, most particularly, the heaviness of drawing belong to the newly emerging realistic style. This silk can not be as readily dated as the floral silk in the Metropolitan Museum. Yet, because of the particular combination of styles within its pattern, this silk belongs to the transi-

Fig. 46
Cologne Master, Rostsche Altar (detail).
Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum
(photo: Hessisches Landesmuseum)





Fig. 47
French School, Louis of Anjou, King of Naples (detail).
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (photo: A. Giraudon)

tional style and must date from the early 15th century. Moreover, it is certain from the design of a silk represented in one of the panels of the *Life of St. Etheldréda*, ca. 1425¹⁴⁴, that the motif of water in which swim ducks or swans and, above, a bit of earth from which grows a palmette tree – a basic design of which the Krefeld silk is a variation – was produced at this time. Another design closely related in style to the Krefeld silk is that of a fragmentary chasuble in Cleveland¹⁴⁵. A design belonging to the transitional style which can be more specifically dated is that of a silk in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 49). The hawks still have the energetic vitality found in late 14th century designs (fig. 40); and the trees consisting of flowers and leaves, a form found in other silks of the transitional style, can be traced back to late 14th century prototypes (fig. 22). A very similar tree appears in another transitional silk also in London, while in a silk in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, there is an imaginative variation of the tree in which the top becomes a castle¹⁴⁶. Combined with these motifs are elements belonging to the realistic style: the theme of hawks threatening paired dogs is taken from the world of nature, and the pomegranates growing from the branches are among the most important floral motifs of the realistic style. This silk can be dated in the second decade of the 15th century on the basis of the striking similarity of its style and motifs to the design of a hanging represented in the *Annunciation* in Aversa which is dated 1419 (fig. 50)¹⁴⁷.

One other datable silk belonging to the transitional period was formerly in the collection of the Marienkirche, Danzig (fig. 51). The date is indicat-

ed by the scarf tied about the cheetahs, its circular arrangement being very close to the scarf forming the pattern of a velvet from the tomb of Duke Ernst of Eisers who died in 1424¹⁴⁸. In the pattern of the Danzig silk, only the scarf is reminiscent of the late 14th century designs (fig. 37). The remaining elements of the pattern – the hawk attacking a

Fig. 48
Silk fragment. Krefeld, Gewebesammlung der Stadt Krefeld
(photo: Gewebesammlung der Stadt Krefeld)





Fig. 49
Silk fragment. London, Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)

Fig. 51
Cope (detail). Formerly Danzig, Marienkirche
(photo: after Mannowsky)

Fig. 50
Master of St. Agatha, *Annunciation* (detail).
Aversa, S. Casa dell' Annunziata
(photo: Soprintendenza Gallerie, Napoli)



cheetah, the heart-shaped leaves, and the choice of animal motifs together with the somewhat heavy style of drawing – are now all consistent with the realistic style. A variation of this design which belongs entirely to the realistic style is to be found in a silk also formerly in the Marienkirche, Danzig¹⁴⁹. Here, the cheetahs are not encircled in a scarf, but are recumbant on the twisted branches of a tree.

Unfortunately, there is very little documentary evidence about this interesting period of transition between the taste of the late 14th century and that of the 15th century. Paintings in which silk patterns of the transitional style appear are very rare, and inventories in this instance are of no help at all since it is impossible to distinguish different styles within a pattern described in an inventory. However, the available evidence, namely the silk patterns of the transitional style which can be dated and the earliest datable patterns of the realistic style (figs. 52 and 54), indicate that this intermediary period of silk design was of short duration, emerging in the first decade of the 15th century and giving way to the realistic style in the second decade¹⁵⁰.

Once the realistic style was established, it was *the* style of the 15th century. A silk in the Krefeld Gewebesammlung (fig. 52), a stola in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna (fig. 54), and a silk published by Fischbach¹⁵¹ are among the earliest silks of the realistic style which can be approximately dated. The design of the

Fig. 52
Silk fragment. Krefeld, Gewebesammlung der Stadt Krefeld
(photo: Gewebesammlung der Stadt Krefeld)



Krefeld silk with undulating woody vines, clumps of large lobed leaves emanating rays, and birds perched on vines is a variation of the silk pattern represented in the backdrop of the panel of *St. Veronica* by the Master of Flémalle, 1430–32 (fig. 53)¹⁵². The stola in Vienna and the silk published by Fischbach are also variations of the London pattern: the trunks and leaves now independently form trees, and the animals and birds – swans, bears and hawks – have been interchanged. Another silk with a floral pattern of vines and palmettes in the Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, also prob-

Fig. 53
Master of Flémalle, *St. Veronica* (detail).
Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut
(photo: Gabriel Busch-Hauck)



ably belongs to the third decade of the 15th century¹⁵³. Here, it will be noted that between the large circular palmettes are smaller ones formed with plumes which are quite similar to the plumed palmettes in the backdrop of the *St. Veronica* panel (fig. 53). Also contemporary with this group are two other silks in the Cleveland Museum of Art

(fig. 55) and in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg¹⁵⁴ with similar patterns of deer recumbent in leafy branches and of threatening hawks. A clearly transitional pattern of their type ornaments the robe of the angel in the *Annunciation* by the Master of the Albrecht's Altar, 1437¹⁵⁵. Although this silk appears in a painting from the fourth decade of the century, it must have dated from the transitional period because of the long feathers of the hawks (left-overs, as it were, from the phoenix) and particularly because of the large palmettes which are the same type as appear on the robe of Louis of Anjou (fig. 47) and on the background of the *Madonna of Humility* by the "Maestro del Bambino Vispo"¹⁵⁶, dating from the second decade of the century. In the related Cleveland and Nürnberg designs, however, only the long feathers on the hawks recall the style of the late 14th century, while in all other respects the patterns belong to the realistic style. A date in the late second or third decades of the 15th century, therefore, seems appropriate for these two patterns.

Several silk designs can be identified more broadly as belonging to the second quarter of the 15th century. One, a piece formerly in the Marienkirche, Danzig, (fig. 56)¹⁵⁷ has a pattern of fenced dogs flanking trees which was probably similar to that described in the inventory of Altmützer Cathedral, 1435: "Item accreverunt dialmatica flavea cum canibus deauratis et cancellatura deaurata . . ."¹⁵⁸ The motif of animals under trees, sometimes attacked by birds and sometimes surrounded by fences was popular at this time. Ornamenting the robe of St. Nicholas from *St. Nicholas and Four Church Fathers* by the Master of the Schöppingen Altar, 1442, (fig. 57) is a design very similar to that of the Danzig silk in which almost the same dogs flank very similar trees. Still another variation of this theme is provided by a silk in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in which hawks flanking sunbursts hover over crouching cheetahs¹⁵⁹; while a fourth variation, with birds perched on the limbs of a tree which is flanked below by two fenced cheetahs, appears in a silk formerly in Berlin¹⁶⁰. The theme of animals attacked by birds or visa-

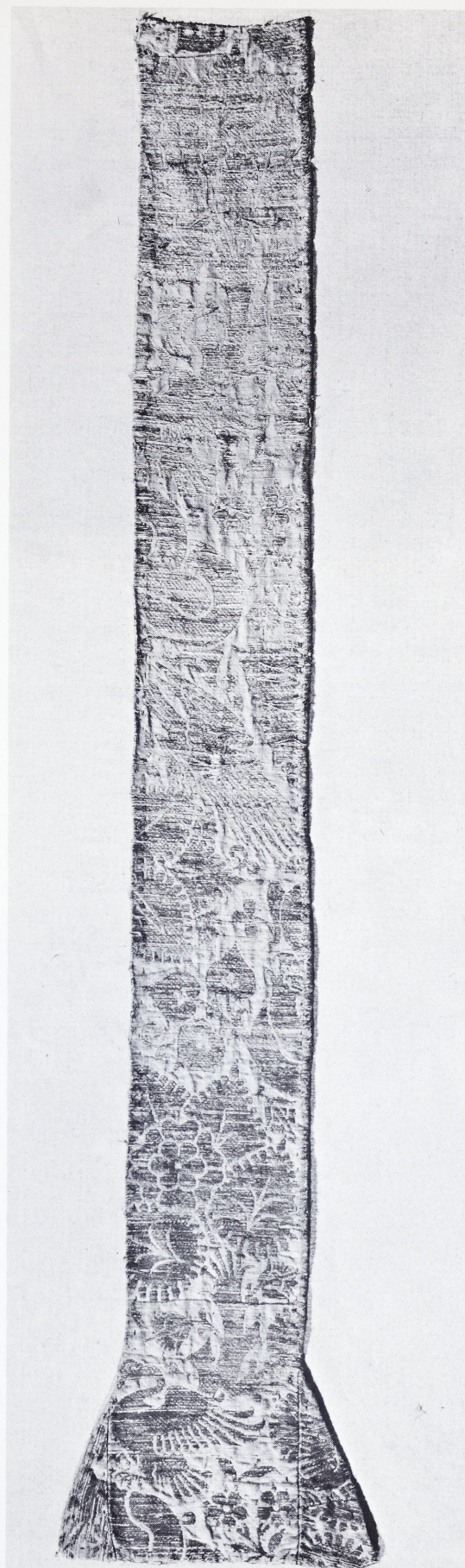


Fig. 54
Stola (detail). Vienna, Österreichisches Museum
für angewandte Kunst
(photo: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst)

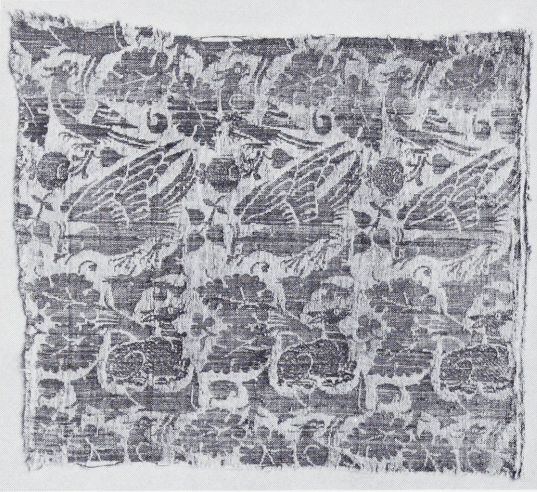


Fig. 55
Silk fragment. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art
(photo: The Cleveland Museum of Art
Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund)

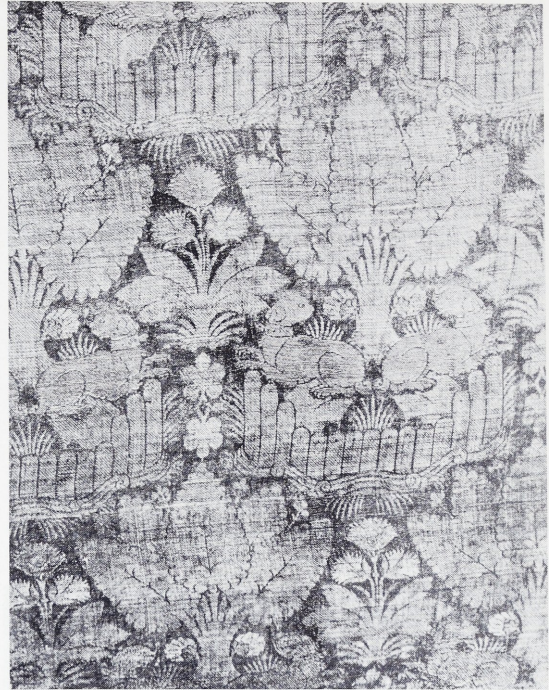


Fig. 56
Antependium (detail). Formerly Danzig, Marienkirche
(photo: after Mannowsky)

Fig. 57
Master of the Schöppingen Altar, St. Nicholas with Four Church Fathers (detail). Münster, Landesmuseum
für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster (photo: Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster)





Fig. 58
Silk fragment (detail). Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen
(photo: after Schmidt)

versa also appears in different compositional arrangements. A silk formerly in Berlin (fig. 58) has undulating vines with large palmettes, curving concentric leaves and, between the vines, birds on cloud-bursts attacking rampant lions below¹⁶¹. Among patterns described in inventories, that of a cope listed in the Prague inventory of 1441 with green undulating flowers and gold lions on a red ground may have been quite similar to the Berlin silk: "Cappa rubea cum floribus volatilibus coloris viridis et lionibus aureis."¹⁶² Similar designs appear in paintings of the 1440's such as the *Crucifixion* by the Master from Bodensee in Karlsruhe, or the wings of the Altar of the Einhornmaria in Weimar

(fig. 59)¹⁶³. Another arrangement of the same theme appears in a silk in the Krefeld Gewebesammlung (fig. 60), the pattern of which is a variation of the silk formerly in Berlin (fig. 58). The Krefeld pattern has been altered in much the same way as was the earlier pattern of a silk in Krefeld with birds on vines (fig. 52): the lions rushing up trees and the bird on a cloud-burst are the same, but the vines have become palmette trees.

Moving on toward the middle of the 15th century, a pattern which probably belongs to this period is that of paired recumbent deer in hexigons at the apexes of which are radiant cloud-bursts flanked

Fig. 59
German School, Altar of the Einhornmaria (detail).
Weimar, Kunstsammlung zu Weimar (photo: after Schmidt)



There are four other silks characterized by these same heavy ground wefts which probably date from about the same time as those with the Virgin and Child. One in the Statens Historika Museet, Stockholm, has a pattern of fenced lions recumbent under palm trees alternating with peacocks between parallel undulating vines (fig. 65). In two other silks, one in the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna (fig. 66), and the other in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

(fig. 67), the peacocks and lions are in compartments formed by vines and leaves. The design of the fourth silk (fig. 68), also in London, has peacocks between parallel undulating vines alternating with lions which attack fenced deer lying under palm trees. It is interesting to note that the vines of the Stockholm and London silks (figs. 65, 67, 68) are ornamented with flowers and leaves, a form which had been common among the pomegranate designs of velvets since the fourth decade of the

Fig. 61

Silk fragment. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago
(photo: Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago)



15th century¹⁷⁵. Judging by these four silks, lions recumbent or attacking other animals, peacocks, and vines were stock motifs which could be combined in a variety of ways. In the Prague inventory of 1476, two copes and a chasuble were described as having patterns apparently derived from the same stock of motifs. One of the copes with a design of lions, peacocks, and flowers in which spring roses and other flowers, recalls the Vienna and Stockholm silks: "Item cappa aurata rubea, habens leones, pavones et flores auratas per totum, in quibus floribus per totum eminent rosae rubeas et alii flores . . ."¹⁷⁶ The designs of the second cope and chasuble, judging from their descriptions, were close variations of the silk in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 68). In the pattern of the cope, gold lions attack white dogs while, above, are gold

peacocks and white and green roses: "Item cappa postawecz pohansky coloris flavei et rubei cum leonibus aureis et canibus seu weltribus albis, quos pedibus detinent suffocandos. Insuper pavones habet auratos cum rosulis albis et viridibus . . ."¹⁷⁷ Gold lions again attack white dogs in the design of the chasuble, but the description goes on to mention large and small white roses, red and green flowers, and flowers like palms: "Casula de postawecz pohansky, flavei et rubei coloris sicut ssilherz, cum leonibus auratis et canibus albis seu veltribus per totum, ac si quilibet leonum suum canem devorare vellet, cum rosulis albis maioribus et minoribus, decorata rubeis floribus et viridibus per totum et quibusdam floribus ad modum palmarum coloris viridis cum rubeo in medio et extremis decorata et in medio tria pucta flavea . . ."¹⁷⁸

Fig. 62

German School. *Death of the Virgin* (detail). Donnersmark (Zips), Klosterkirche (photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)





Fig. 63
Silk fragment. Lyon, Musée Historique des Tissus de Lyon
(photo: Musée Historique des Tissus de Lyon)

The Virgin and Child silks and the four silks with various patterns of lions, peacocks and vines are among the latest surviving silks of the Gothic tradition which can be dated on the basis of inventory records and paintings. Of these two sources, considering the 15th century as a whole, the paintings are by far the most informative, while inventories are, by and large, not as useful as one would hope. With the notable exception of the Prague inventories, descriptions are usually so vague that it is impossible to know how the patterns described actually looked. Moreover, vestments are all too often listed without any description of their patterns at all, and many of the patterns which are described are in fact 14th century designs. Unfortunately, very few of the remaining patterns can be related to those of surviving silks.

Looking back over the silks of the realistic style at large, one is struck by how little stylistic develop-

ment there was other than the increased coarseness of drawing. Evidently, once the style was established, designers created their patterns from a repertory of standard motifs and designs and did not, like the late 14th century designers, produce patterns expressive of their own imaginations. It is therefore very difficult to date silks of the realistic style which can not be directly related to patterns represented in paintings or described in inventories. Another factor which stands out in connection with these silks is the relatively small number which survive: only about one fifth the number of extant silks from the second half of the 14th century and the transitional period survive from the realistic style of the 15th century. This decline can also be observed in silks represented in paintings: although many of these patterns appear in paintings from the first and middle of the 15th century, not nearly as many were depicted at this time as were late 14th century patterns. Not only does the production of lampas silks appear to have been less during the

Fig. 64
Silk fragment. Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
(photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum)



period of the realistic style, but it seems to have diminished progressively as the century wore on, an observation which is also supported by the evidence of silks represented in paintings. The greatest number of patterns of the realistic style which were copied by painters appear in paintings of the second quarter, or so, of the 15th century: e. g. in addition to Figures 53, 57 and 59, the Altar of the Göttinger Barfüsserkirche¹⁷⁹, 1424; *St. John the Baptist* by Robert Campin¹⁸⁰, before 1425; the altar triptych of Stephen in Matejovce¹⁸¹, ca. 1430; or the *Crucifixion* by the Master from Bodensee¹⁸², ca. 1440. In the middle of the century, although patterns of the realistic style continue to appear, as for instance in the high altar in Lüneburg by Hans Borneman dating before 1460¹⁸³, and in the altar from Kloster Heisterbach by a follower of Stephen Lochner¹⁸⁴, as well as in the *Death of the Virgin* in Donnersmark (fig. 62) and in Fra Filippo Lippi's *Annunciation*¹⁸⁵, not nearly as many are to be found at this time as in the earlier decades of the century. By the end of the 15th century, most of the silk patterns of the realistic style which are represented in paintings are, in fact, earlier than the dates of the

Fig. 65
Silk fragment (detail). Hablingbo (Gotland), Kyrka
(photo: Antikvarisk-Topografiska Arkivet)



paintings in which they appear. In many cases, the patterns are ones which appear in earlier paintings, such as the angel's robe in the *Annunciation* by Johann Koerbecke, ca. 1481¹⁸⁶; the cloth on which St. Gregory kneels in the *Mass of St. Gregory* by Bernt Notke, ca. 1500¹⁸⁷; or the cloth under the Virgin in the *Adoration of the Magi* by the Master of

Fig. 66
Silk fragment (detail). Vienna, Österreichisches Museum
für angewandte Kunst
(photo: Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst)



the Schinkel-Altar, dated 1501¹⁸⁸. All of these silks had previously been painted in ca. 1443 by the Master of the Schöppingen Altar in the panel *St. Nicholas with Four Church Fathers* (fig. 57). Other silk designs of the realistic style represented in late 15th century paintings are so similar to the designs of silks which can be attributed much earlier that they can hardly be contemporary with the paintings in which they appear. The background of the *Adoration of the Child* by Brother Martinus Schwarz from the second half of the 15th century¹⁸⁹, the background of the *Madonna and Child* by the Master of the Gebweiler Wings, ca. 1475¹⁹⁰, as well as the bed cover in Herman Rode's *Death of the Virgin*, 1494¹⁹¹, for instance, are all very similar both in style and design to a silk formerly in Danzig¹⁹², and to Figure 62 which can be attributed to the 1430's

Fig. 67

Chasuble. London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: Victoria and Albert Museum)





Fig. 68
Silk fragment. London,
Victoria and Albert Museum
(photo: Victoria and
Albert Museum)

and 1440's. The fact that the silk designs represented in late 15th century paintings are designs which either had been depicted earlier or can be related stylistically to earlier silks means that the painters were relying on earlier designs for their models. This fact further supports the evidence of the silks themselves that production after the middle of the century diminished and then came to an end.

The latter part of the 15th century, then, marks the end of an era of silk design in Italy. The Gothic period, spanning the 14th and much of the 15th centuries, witnessed the rise and decline of a period of extraordinary stylistic imagination and diversity. Beginning with the animal/bird/ogival palmette patterns and the motif of the grape vine in the second decade of the 14th century, followed by the assimilation of Chinese forms during the third and fourth decades, the Gothic period of silk design reached its height of productivity and diversity during the second half of the 14th century. During these years, Chinese and Mamluke patterns were copied, European and Chinese elements were syn-

thesized in the "tiny pattern" designs, grape vine patterns of the first half of the century were further developed, religious themes were explored, and fanciful patterns were created from the wealth of available European, Islamic and Oriental sources. The second half of the 14th century was, moreover, one of the rare moments in the history of silk design in which the individuality of designers was expressed in their work. Shortly after the turn of the century the late 14th century style drew to a close while, at the same time, there began to develop, first in the form of the transitional style, a new aesthetic which was fully expressed in the realistic style of the 15th century. This new style, however, was the swan song of the Gothic period of silk design in Italy, for even though patterns continued to be produced through at least three quarters of the century, there was oddly little stylistic development and a noticeable, progressive decline in production. The creative innovation and imagination of the Gothic designers was simply not able to be sustained and, by the end of the century, this great period of silk design had come to an end.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Wien, 1904.

² Berlin, 1913. See also O. von Falke, *Decorative Silks*, New York, 1922.

³ Bergamo, 1928.

⁴ *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 5^{me} pér., IV, 1921, 143f.

⁵ *Ciba Review*, XXIX, Jan. 1940, 1036f.

⁶ *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, XXV, 1941, 3f.

⁷ *Westfalen*, XXIII, 1938, 195f.

⁸ *Nordelbingen*, XX, 1951, 40f.

⁹ Bern, 1967.

- ¹⁰ "Paramente und ihre Stifter, italienische Paramente des Trecento in zwei französischen Kathedralen," *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin, 1968, 81f.
- ¹¹ Stockholm, 1964, 31–32.
- ¹² München und Berlin, 1934–61.
- ¹³ Berlin, 1966.
- ¹⁴ London, 1967–68.
- ¹⁵ London, 1949.
- ¹⁶ London, 1954.
- ¹⁷ Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907, XVIII–XXII.
- ¹⁸ *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, XXXVIII, 1954, 48.
- ¹⁹ Paris, 1887–1928.
- ²⁰ Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 260, a, b.
- ²¹ A. Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, XI, Abb. 28.
- ²² *Ibid.*, Abb. 65.
- ²³ *Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, XXXII, *Feldkirche*, Wien, 1958, Abb. 291.
- ²⁴ G. de Francesco, "The Venetian Silk Industry," *Ciba Review*, XXIX, Jan. 1940, 1033.
- ²⁵ C. Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, et le Hainaut*, Lille, 1886, pt. 2, 899.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, 838.
- ²⁷ W. Drost, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig*, Stuttgart, 1957–63 (Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des deutschen Osten, Reihe A, IV), Abb. 139.
- ²⁸ In the collection of the Marienkirche, there were silks with very similar patterns as well as silks of the same pattern woven in different colors. See W. Mannowsky, *Der Danziger Paramentschatz, kirchliche Gewänder und Stickereien*, Berlin, 1931–33, V, Kat. N.F. 3, Taf. 6, and I, Kat. 16, Taf. 23; IV, Kat. 136, Taf. 133, and I, Kat. 7, Taf. 12.
- ²⁹ A. Podlaha a E. Sittler, *Chrámový Poklad u Sv. Víta v Praze*, Praze, 1903, XLIII, LVIII, LXXXIII, XCII. J. W. Legg, "On an Inventory of the Vestry in Westminster Abbey Taken in 1388," *Archaeologia*, LII, pt. 1, 1890, 262, 264.
- ³⁰ Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 23, 24.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 177–189, 314. See numerous references to geometric patterns in the inventory of Clement V, 1311 (*Regesti Clementis Papae, V*, Appendices, Rome, 1892, I).
- ³² The cope was formerly in the Marienkirche, Danzig (Mannowsky, *Paramentschatz*, II, Kat. 34, Taf. 50).
- ³³ Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, I, Abb. 200, 190, 191.
- ³⁴ There is another silk with the same pattern as the stocking published by von Falke (*Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 276). For the Cleveland fragment, cf. D. G. Shepherd, "Two Medieval Silks from Spain," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XLV, Jan. 1958, 5.
- ³⁵ Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 283.
- ³⁶ J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury*, London, 1726, Appendix VI, ix.
- ³⁷ W. F. Volbach, *I tessuti del Museo Sacro Vaticano*, Città del Vaticano, 1942 (Catalogo del Museo Sacro della Bib. Apost. Vaticana, III, Fasc. I) 49, no. T133.
- ³⁸ J. Gudiol y Cunill, "Una casulla nel Museo de Vich," *Museum; revista mensual de arte español antiguo y moderno*, no. 10, 1911, 365–366. Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, 34.
- ³⁹ Dart, *The History and Antiquities*, ix.
- ⁴⁰ Gudiol y Cunill, "Una casulla," 366.
- ⁴¹ E. Müntz and A. L. Frothingham, *Il tesoro della basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Roma, 1883, 37.
- ⁴² Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 37.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, Kat. Nr. 414.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Kat. Nr. 471, 472.
- ⁴⁵ Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, 69f.
- ⁴⁶ See for instance E. Molinier (ed.), "Inventaire du Trésor di Saint Siège sous Boniface VIII, 1295," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XLVI, 1885, 41 no. 1109, 43 no. 1144; *Regesti Clementis*, 431.
- ⁴⁷ Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 149, 152.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Kat. Nr. 232.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Kat. Nr. 243.
- ⁵⁰ The similarity was also noted by Klesse, *Ibid.*, 83.
- ⁵¹ This correlation was also noted by Schmidt, "Die Seidenstoffe in den Gemälden des Konrad von Soest," 200.
- ⁵² Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Abb. 103; J. Lessing, *Die Gewebesammlung des königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums*, Berlin, 1913, V, Taf. 147.
- ⁵³ Mannowsky, *Paramentschatz*, I, Kat. 3, Taf. 6.
- ⁵⁴ Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 339, 340.
- ⁵⁵ Legg, "Westminster Abbey," 229. De Farcy, "Broderies et tissus," 280.
- ⁵⁶ J. Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles V* (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, 3^{me} Ser.: Archéologie), Paris, 1879, 327, no. 3146.

- ⁵⁷ E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, 1964), II, pl. 56, fig. 110.
- ⁵⁸ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Víta*, XLIV, no. 415.
- ⁵⁹ I. Errera, *Catalogue d'étoffes anciennes et modernes* [Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, 3^{me} Édition], Bruxelles, 1927, 92, no. 75. Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Víta*, XLV, no. 439.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XLVI, no. 475.
- ⁶¹ Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 314.
- ⁶² Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 321. See also the white and gold brocade forming part of the dalmatic in Perugia (A. Santangelo, *Tessuti d'arte italiani* Milano, 1959, Tav. 20), and one of the silks forming the burial robes of Cangrande I della Scala (G. Sangiorgi, "Le stoffe e le vesti tombali di Cangrande I della Scala," *Contributi allo studio dell'arte tessile*, Milano, n. d., fig. 7).
- ⁶³ E. Chartraire, "Les tissus anciens du trésor de la Cathédral de Sens," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, XLI, 1911, 459–460.
- ⁶⁴ Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 277; see also the tiny pattern designs painted by Giovanni di Bartolomeo Cristiani and by Agnolo Gaddi (*Ibid.*, Kat. Nr. 278, 279).
- ⁶⁵ Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, 43.
- ⁶⁶ Müntz and Frothingham, *Il tesoro*, 39.
- ⁶⁷ G. Fagniez, "Inventaires du trésor du Notre Dame de Paris," *Revue archéologique* N.S. XXVIII, 1874, 98, no. 233.
- ⁶⁸ Labarte, *Inventaire*, 345, no. 3348.
- ⁶⁹ B. Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits de comptes des ducs de Bourgogne*, I, Paris, 1902–4, 412, no. 2653.
- ⁷⁰ Dehaisnes, *Documents*, 848.
- ⁷¹ A. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Muhammadan Textiles of the Medieval Period*, London, 1924, Pl. XI, Cat. 960; Errera, *Catalogue d'étoffes*, No. 26; Mannowsky, *Paramentschatz*, V, Kat. NF 7, Taf. 13.
- ⁷² Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 479.
- ⁷³ For a drawing of the pattern, cf. F. Fischbach, *The Principal Weaving Ornaments up to the XIX Century*, Mainz, n. d., II, Table 83.
- ⁷⁴ Cooper Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, 02-1-333; Victoria and Albert Museum, 838–1899.
- ⁷⁵ The earliest evidence of this motif in Italian silk design known to the writer occurs in the Madonna's garment in *Madonna of Humility* attributed to the Orcagne Master and dating from the third quarter of the 14th century (Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 275).
- ⁷⁶ Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 328.
- ⁷⁷ Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 280.
- ⁷⁸ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Víta*, XLIV, no. 404.
- ⁷⁹ Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 215, 476–478, 519.
- ⁸⁰ Dreger, *Weberei und Stickerei*, Taf. 118.
- ⁸¹ Grönwoldt, "Paramente und ihre Stifter," 82; de Farcy, "Broderies et tissus," 279.
- ⁸² L. de Farcy, "Broderies et tissus conservés à la Cathédrale d'Angers," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, XXIX, 1886, 179.
- ⁸³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 15.126.1.
- ⁸⁴ C. de Beaurepaire, "Anciens inventaires du trésor de l'abbay de Fécamp," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*, 4^{me} Sér. V, 1859, 400.
- ⁸⁵ The kneeling postures of the Virgin and angel were derived from a description of the Annunciation in the *Meditationes vitea Christi* which was probably written by the Pseudo-Bonaventura in the 13th century (D. M. Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *The Art Bulletin*, XVIII, December 1936, 485).
- ⁸⁶ A silk in Berlin with the same pattern was published by von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 462.
- ⁸⁷ Grönwoldt, "Paramente und ihre Stifter," Abb. 2.
- ⁸⁸ Fagniez, "Inventaires," 98, no. 236; Grönwoldt, "Paramente und ihre Stifter," 84.
- ⁸⁹ Legg, "Westminster Abbey," 252.
- ⁹⁰ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Víta*, XLVIII, Note 1.
- ⁹¹ L. Venturi, *Italian Paintings in America*, New York, 1933, Pl. 127. Venturi has attributed the painting to Jacobello del Fiore.
- ⁹² Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, 77, Abb. 421; H. Schmidt, *Alte Seidenstoffe*, Braunschweig, 1958, 223.
- ⁹³ Der Hamburger Kunsthalle, *Meister Francke und die Kunst um 1400* [30. August bis 19. Oktober 1969] Hamburg, 1969, Taf. 19. Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 288. Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, III, Abb. 232.
- ⁹⁴ Legg, "Westminster Abbey," 264.
- ⁹⁵ G. Bazin *Italian Painting in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, New York, 1938, pl. 21.
- ⁹⁶ Podreider, *Tessuti d'arte*, 69–70.
- ⁹⁷ Beaurepaire, "Anciens inventaires," 400.
- ⁹⁸ Legg, "Westminster Abbey," 263.
- ⁹⁹ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Víta*, XLIII.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, XLII, no. 372.
- ¹⁰¹ Closely related in style to Figure 23 is a silk in The Art Institute of Chicago (C. C. Mayer, *Masterpieces of Western Textiles from the Art Institute of Chicago*, Chicago, 1969, pl. 33).

- ¹⁰² Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pt. 2, 814. The motif of birds holding scrolls of pseudo-Arabic in their bills is also mentioned in the Prague inventory of 1387 (Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Vita*, XLIII).
- ¹⁰³ Legg, "Westminster Abbey," 252.
- ¹⁰⁴ Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pt. 2, 838.
- ¹⁰⁵ Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, III, 38–39.
- ¹⁰⁶ C. Hölker, *Meister Conrad von Soest und seine Bedeutung für die norddeutsche Malerei in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Beiträge zur Westfälischen Kunstgeschichte, pt. 7) Münster, 1921, 14. Schmidt, "Die Seidenstoffe in den Gemälden des Konrad von Soest," 195.
- ¹⁰⁷ In the panel *The Crowning of the Virgin* from the Walpurgiskloster, also by the Master of the Blankenberch Altar, the design of the curtain pulled back by angels is a variation of the backdrop in the *Adoration of the Magi* from the Dortmund Altar and of the robe of the centurian in the Wildungen Altar, both of which were painted by Konrad von Soest (Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, III, Abb. 20, 13).
- ¹⁰⁸ Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers*, 193, no. 1069.
- ¹⁰⁹ Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, 84.
- ¹¹⁰ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Vita*, XLII, no. 372.
- ¹¹¹ Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, III, Abb. 43.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, Abb. 13.
- ¹¹³ Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pt. 2, 838.
- ¹¹⁴ Schmidt, "Die Seidenstoffe in den Gemälden des Konrad von Soest," 198.
- ¹¹⁵ Dehaisnes, *Documents*, pt. 2, 899.
- ¹¹⁶ Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 438.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Abb. 437.
- ¹¹⁸ This is the same designer whom von Falke discussed in "Ein Luccheser Musterzeichner," *Pantheon*, XI, May 1933, 146f. The following attributions of von Falke's do indeed appear to be by a single designer: *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 432, 433, 438, 446, 457, 458, 490, 491. Possibly the silks in Mannowsky, *Paramentschatz*, I, Kat. 5, Taf. 10, and von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 435 and 444 were also designed by this artist as von Falke believed. Silks which were not included by von Falke but which also appear to have been designed by this artist are: *Ibid.*, Abb. 402, 407, 439, 455; Lessing, *Gewebesammlung*, VI, Taf. 168, 171a; T. Hampe, *Katalog der Gewebesammlung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, Nürnberg, 1896, Kat. 467.
- ¹¹⁹ Lessing, *Gewebesammlung*, VI, Taf. 165.
- ¹²⁰ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Vita*, XLIII no. 394.
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, XLVIII, note 1.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, XLIII, note 1. Lessing, *Gewebesammlung*, V, Taf. 144; a variation of this design was also in the Berlin collection (*Ibid.*, VI, Taf. 170).
- ¹²³ Legg, "Westminster Abbey," 262, 264.
- ¹²⁴ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Vita*, XLIII, note 1. Another version with leopards sitting on fenced deer is in the Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyon (22.746/B120 bis).
- ¹²⁵ For a drawing of the design, see Fischbach, *Weaving Ornaments*, II, Table 69. In the Cleveland Museum of Art there is a silk with a pattern which is a very close variation of the Vienna stola (A. C. Weibel, *Two Thousand of Textiles*, New York, 1952, no. 215).
- ¹²⁶ Von Falke, *Seidenweberei*, II, Abb. 402.
- ¹²⁷ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Vita*, LVIII.
- ¹²⁸ For a reconstruction of the pattern of the Vienna silk, cf. Fischbach, *Weaving Ornaments*, I, Table 34.
- ¹²⁹ Hamburger Kunsthalle, *Meister Francke*, Taf. 1.
- ¹³⁰ Podlaha a Sittler, *Sv. Vita*, XLVII, no. 510.
- ¹³¹ Legg, "Westminster Abbey," 264.
- ¹³² For a pattern similar in style to Fig. 44a, b, with this same treatment of water, see Mannowsky, *Paramentschatz*, I, Kat. 14, Taf. 21.
- ¹³³ Hamburger Kunsthalle, *Meister Francke*, Taf. 1, 13, 14, 17, 19. Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, X, Abb. 237.
- ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, Abb. 59, 135 and 292. A. Matějček and J. Pešina, *Czech Gothic Painting, 1350–1450*, Praha, 1950, pl. 173.
- ¹³⁵ Klesse, *Seidenstoffe*, Kat. Nr. 301, 302, 303, 503. A. Colasanti, *Italian Painting of the Quattrocento in the Marches*, Firenze, 1932, pl. 21.
- ¹³⁶ Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, III, Abb. 232, 81.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, XI, Abb. 135. O. Pächt, *Österreichische Tafelmalerei der Gotik*, Augsburg, 1929, Abb. 13.
- ¹³⁸ Schmidt, *Alte Seidenstoffe*, Abb. 186.
- ¹³⁹ Other examples can be mentioned: the pattern of winged dogs holding in their mouths ropes to which are attached palmettes appears in *The Trinity*, Austrian School, ca. 1420, in London; in *The Martyrdom of St. John*, Austrian School, ca. 1425, in Heiligenkreuz; and in the *Crucifixion* by a Lübeck master, ca. 1435, in Berlin (Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, XI, Abb. 134, 59, and III, Abb. 261). The pattern of birds and lotus palmettes in the *Annunciation*, 1414–1425, in Lübeck appears again in the *Nativity* by a Lübeck master, 1435, now in Schwerin (*Ibid.*, III, Abb. 242, 244). The pattern of birds flanking palmettes from the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Wildungen Altar by Konrad von Soest, 1404, appears again in the *Martyrdom of St. Andrew* by a follower of the Meister von Liesborn, ca. 1489, in Bremen (*Ibid.*, III Abb. 15, and VI, Abb. 67). The pattern of vines, palmettes and cloud-bursts

¹⁷⁹ Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, III, Abb. 229.

¹⁸⁰ The Cleveland Museum of Art, *Handbook of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Cleveland, 1969, 66.

¹⁸¹ Šourek, *Die Kunst*, Abb. 292. The same silk pattern was later painted by the Master of the Matzdorfer Altar in the altarpiece of the Matzdorf Cathedral (Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, XI, Abb. 310).

¹⁸² Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, *Katalog*, Kat. 25a–c.

¹⁸³ Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, VI, Abb. 138.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, III, Abb. 146. This pattern was also painted by the Master of the Lyversberg Passion, ca. 1461 (*Ibid.*, V, Abb. 83, 84).

¹⁸⁵ Berenson, *Italian Pictures*, II, fig. 855.

¹⁸⁶ Stange, *Deutsche Malerei*, VI, Abb. 28.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Abb. 175.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Abb. 211.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, IX, Abb. 246c.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, Abb. 11.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, VI, Abb. 167.

¹⁹² Mannowsky, *Paramentschatz*, II, Kat. 58, Taf. 75.