

MEDIEVAL CLOTHING AND TEXTILES



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Edited by
Monica L. Wright, Robin Netherton
and Gale R. Owen-Crocker

Medieval
Clothing and Textiles

Volume 15

Medieval Clothing and Textiles

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Medieval Clothing and Textiles

Volume 15

edited by

MONICA L. WRIGHT

ROBIN NETHERTON

GALE R. OWEN-CROCKER

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Contributors

MONICA L. WRIGHT (Editor) is the Granger and Debaillon Professor of French and Medieval Studies at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. Her publications include the book *Weaving Narrative: Clothing in Twelfth-Century Romance* (2010) and many articles on the use of clothing in medieval French literature. She has a chapter on literary representations of clothing in literature for the “Medieval Age” volume of the six-volume *Cultural History of Dress and Fashion* (2016). Her most recent article in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* (in volume 14) examined the French literary sources for the term *bliaut*.

ROBIN NETHERTON (Editor) is a costume historian specializing in Western European clothing of the Middle Ages and its interpretation by artists and historians. Since 1982, she has given lectures and workshops on practical aspects of medieval dress and on costume as an approach to social history, art history, and literature. Her published articles have addressed such topics as fourteenth-century sleeve embellishments, the cut of Norman tunics, and medieval Greenlanders’ interpretation of European female fashion. A journalist by training, she also works as a professional editor.

GALE R. OWEN-CROCKER (Editor) is Professor Emerita of the University of Manchester. Her recent publications on dress and textiles include *Clothing the Past: Surviving Garments from Early Medieval to Early Modern Western Europe*, with Elizabeth Coatsworth (2018); *The Lexis of Cloth and Clothing in Britain ca. 700–1450*, a database available at <http://lexisproject.arts.manchester.ac.uk>; *Medieval Dress and Textiles in Britain: A Multilingual Sourcebook*, with Louise Sylvester and Mark Chambers (2014); *Encyclopedia of Dress and Textiles in the British Isles c. 450–1450*, with Elizabeth Coatsworth and Maria Hayward (2012); and *The Bayeux Tapestry: Collected Papers* (2012).

TINA ANDERLINI holds a Ph.D. in Art History and is an associate researcher at the Centre d’Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale de Poitiers. After completing a dissertation on Sir Edward Burne-Jones’s influences, she has focused on medieval art and costume and the connections between them. Since 2010, she has frequently contributed to the magazines *Moyen Âge*, *Antiquité*, and *Historia, Histoire et Images Médiévales*. Her academic publications include *Le Costume Médiéval au XIIIe Siècle* (2014) and articles in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* and selected conference proceedings on the Middle Ages and the Pre-Raphaelites.

Contributors

JOANNE W. ANDERSON is Lecturer in Thirteenth- to Seventeenth-Century History of Art at the Warburg Institute in London. She is the author of *Moving with the Magdalen: Late Medieval Art and Devotion in the Alps* (2019). Her research interests include art in the landscape, workshop practice, and patronage in the medieval and early modern periods. She also works on exhibition history in the twentieth century.

ALEJANDRA CONCHA SAHLI holds a doctorate in Medieval and Early Modern History from University College London. She studies the function of clothing as a form of social code during the Middle Ages. She focuses, in particular, on the role of religious habits in the construction of the collective identities of religious orders in the late Middle Ages and is currently preparing a book on this topic. She works at the Chilean Ministry of Education and teaches Early and Medieval Church History at Universidad Católica de Chile's Faculty of Theology.

MAREN CLEGG HYER is Professor of English at Valdosta State University. She specializes in researching textiles and material culture in the literary imagery of Anglo-Saxon England. Her recent publications include *Water and the Environment in the Anglo-Saxon World*, with Della Hooke (2017), and *Sense and Feeling in Daily Living in the Anglo-Saxon World*, with Gale R. Owen-Crocker (forthcoming), both in the series *Daily Living in the Anglo-Saxon World*; and *Textiles, Text, Intertext: Essays in Honour of Gale R. Owen-Crocker*, with Jill Frederick (2016).

ELIZABETH M. SWEDO is Associate Professor of Medieval and Early Modern European History at Western Oregon University. She specializes in Icelandic religious culture in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, including implementation of ecclesiastical reforms, interactions between laity and clergy, practiced religion, and material culture. Her current research projects explore continental and Icelandic perceptions of as well as devotional responses to natural disasters.

HUGH M. THOMAS is Professor of History at the University of Miami and Director of the Center for the Humanities there. His scholarly specialty is the social and cultural history of England from the Norman Conquest to the early thirteenth century. He has published four books, the most recent of which is *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066–1216* (2014). His current project is a social and cultural history of the court of King John of England, 1199–1216.

Preface

Volume 15 opens with an essay by founding editor Gale R. Owen-Crocker that provides a panoramic overview of the discipline of medieval clothing and textiles. The article affirms the importance of this truly interdisciplinary journal—a unique meeting place for diverse scholars whose academic homes are far afield from one another—for the work of understanding the fabric of the medieval world.

The six essays that follow bear witness to a rich diversity of range in chronology, geography, and discipline.

Maren Clegg Hyer explores the lexical legacy of “wordweaving” in Anglo-Saxon literature. She demonstrates that we must understand the text-textile metaphor found in texts composed in both Old English and Anglo-Latin as reflective of a deep familiarity with the practice of weaving and clothwork in Anglo-Saxon society. She traces this material aspect of literary composition through Anglo-Saxon poetics and through the influence of Greek, classical Latin, and early medieval literature on Old English and Anglo-Latin poets.

Elizabeth M. Swedo focuses on the narrative use of clothing in medieval Germanic literature, analyzing the divergent approaches embraced by the thirteenth-century authors of the Middle High German epic poem the *Nibelungenlied* and its late-thirteenth-century Old Norse prose counterpart *Völsunga saga*. Swedo demonstrates how the authors of both works richly employ clothing signifiers and relates the differences to each work’s unique cultural milieu.

Hugh M. Thomas probes the purchasing habits of the early-thirteenth-century English King John by examining the close and *misae* rolls that record the king’s chamber and wardrobe. Thomas’s work allows a clear picture to emerge of the importance of clothing and textiles at court, whether as personal adornment or as gifts bestowed upon members of the court. The contemporary literature attests to this focus, but as Thomas concludes, history tells a different story.

Tina Anderlini argues that silks with medallion designs were among the most luxurious and desired in Western Europe and relates their appeal to Christian symbolism despite their initial Eastern origin. Assessing the evidence provided by archaeological, textual, iconographical, and visual sources, she suggests that this spiritual connection helps to explain the prevalence of roundels in representations of sacred contexts.

Alejandra Concha Sahli asks if the habit does indeed make the religious and examines the various attempts by the Church to regulate the sartorial gestures that materialize the religious praxis of such pious but unsanctioned groups as the beguines

Preface

and the penitents. She concludes that by dressing in habits, members of these extra-religious groups alternately enjoyed privileges and risked accusations of heresy.

Joanne W. Anderson concludes the volume with an analysis of a representation of the Annunciation in Tyrol, Italy, in which the Virgin's loom is depicted strung with a partially completed heraldic textile. Anderson asserts that the Virgin's creation of the textile both represents and elaborates the emerging noble identity of the patron's family by evoking the rich ties to family and community created through strategic marriage and iconographic imagery.

Joining our board this year is Professor Sarah-Grace Heller, author of two articles for our journal (in volumes 5 and 11) and *Fashion in Medieval France* (2007) and editor of *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in the Medieval Age* (2016). She is Associate Professor of French at Ohio State University, where she served as director of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. She has published widely on sumptuary law, fashion in medieval literature, and the semiotics of culture.

Professor Monica L. Wright became lead editor for the current volume as founding editors Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker began a phased withdrawal of editorial duties. Monica heartily thanks Gale and Robin for their guidance and mentorship throughout the process of preparing volume 15. Monica will be joined by a new collaborator in 2020, and Robin and Gale will join the journal's editorial board while remaining General Editors of the affiliated book series *Medieval and Renaissance Clothing and Textiles* (see below).

As always, we thank our board members and the many other scholars who have generously devoted their time and expertise to review article submissions and consult with authors.

We continue to consider for publication in this journal both independent submissions and papers read at sessions sponsored by DISTAFF (Discussion, Interpretation, and Study of Textile Arts, Fabrics, and Fashion) at the international congresses held annually in Kalamazoo, Michigan, and Leeds, England. Proposals from potential conference speakers should be sent to robin@netherton.net (for Kalamazoo) or gale.owencrocker@ntlworld.com (for Leeds). Potential authors for *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* should read our author guidelines at <http://www.distaff.org/MCTguidelines.pdf>, and send a 300-word synopsis to mlwright@louisiana.edu.

Authors of larger studies interested in submitting a monograph or collaborative book manuscript for our subsidia series, *Medieval and Renaissance Clothing and Textiles*, should apply using the publication proposal form on the website of our publisher, Boydell & Brewer, at http://www.boydellandbrewer.com/authors_submit_proposal.asp. We encourage potential authors to discuss their ideas with the General Editors, Robin Netherton (robin@netherton.net) and Gale Owen-Crocker (gale.owencrocker@ntlworld.com), before making a formal proposal.

Old Rags, New Responses: Medieval Dress and Textiles

Gale R. Owen-Crocker

As the founder editors of *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* make a phased withdrawal and a new team takes over, it is an appropriate time to consider the ways in which our subject has developed, not just in the fifteen exciting years of our editorship but in the last half-century (coinciding with my own career); the current state of the art, including its historiography; and potential new directions. I make no claim to be encyclopaedic: My view inevitably reflects my own research experience and what I have learned from editing submissions to *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* and other collaborative volumes.

I begin with artefacts, commencing at the higher end of the social ladder and the later Middle Ages with surviving complete or near-complete garments, and continuing (by way of explaining the gender imbalances of our evidence) to the earlier material remains of textile and dress accessories from furnished graves in pre- and early Christian cemeteries and the organic remains (literally “rags”) from medieval occupation sites. I then consider representations of dress and textile in art and text before going on to examine theoretical approaches to the subject, giving particular emphasis to the usefulness of “object biography,”¹ which privileges study of the long-term life of artefacts, including their reuse, modification, preservation, and display, an approach I have found particularly useful in my recent work in collaboration with Elizabeth Coatsworth.² In following the continued existence of medieval textiles I consider why

An earlier, and more autobiographical, version of this paper was delivered as the opening lecture of the “Text-Textile-Texture” colloquium at Stanford University in May 2017, under the title “From Dissertation to Database; and from ‘Costume,’ via Cloth, to ‘Dress and Textiles.’”

1 See below, pp. 20–23.

2 Elizabeth Coatsworth and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past: Surviving Garments from Early Medieval to Early Modern Western Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018). Several items discussed in this paper appear in this book, with high-quality images, discussion, and bibliographies: the mantle and eagle dalmatic of the Holy Roman Empire; the buskins of Clement II; the Durham stole and maniple; the Ailbecunda belt; the shoes of saints Dizier and Germanus; two gowns of Eleanor, queen of Aragon; Greenland garments; the York hood and sock; a headdress from a Frisian *terp*; Bryggen shoes; the Orkney hood; the cloth-of-gold gown in Uppsala; Garçia d’Medici’s doublet. Where appropriate, original sources are cited in the present paper, but

and how artefacts have survived and discuss ways of treating and displaying them. Finally, this article highlights some gaps and imbalances in our present knowledge and suggests possible future approaches.

A major development of the last half-century is that the subject has, rightly, become interdisciplinary. When I began postgraduate research into what was then called “Anglo-Saxon costume”³ this was not the case, and I had to discover the books, journals, and (where they existed) bibliographies for a whole range of different topics: archaeology, literatures, languages, manuscript art, stone sculpture, and ivory carvings. It is now much easier for specialists in one topic to access the work of those in other fields and to become cross-disciplinary in their own writing.⁴ New researchers do not have the time to reinvent the wheel. They must have easy access to the achievements and variety of scholars who have gone before if they are to push the subject further. This article outlines the major areas which they must consider.

SURVIVING MEDIEVAL TEXTILES: SOURCES AND TYPES

Textiles are organic: They rot. They burn easily. They fade. Medieval textile was produced by labour-intensive methods, making it precious. Therefore it was extensively reused, sold on the secondhand market, handed down the social or familial hierarchy, repaired, remade, and often recycled into an artefact different from its original identity. This intensive use meant that much medieval cloth ended up as rags, fated to be burned or discarded, when it was sometimes used in landfill or, in the late Middle Ages, collected for paper-making. The nonspecialist might therefore suppose that little or nothing remains of medieval textile. However, the opposite is true.

There are in fact many surviving medieval textiles, some complete or almost whole, thanks to skilful modern conservators and restorers. Many have simply been kept for hundreds of years, usually in church or royal treasuries. Ecclesiastical vestments

where sources are numerous or obscure, or where the book contains a synthesis or information not available elsewhere, I have cited the book.

- 3 At that time—1968—“costume” was understood to mean “dress style.” The term has since become largely confined to the more specialised meaning of a dress style deliberately created in imitation of another period or place for the stage, re-enactment, or other performance.
- 4 In my own Anglo-Saxon area there are annual interdisciplinary bibliographies in past volumes of *Anglo-Saxon England* and still currently in *Old English Newsletter*. A subject-specific bibliography is Elizabeth Coatsworth and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Medieval Textiles of the British Isles AD 450–1100: An Annotated Bibliography*, BAR British Series 445 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007). Recent online bibliographies are Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, “Textiles,” in Oxford Bibliographies Online: Medieval Studies, 2012, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195396584/obo-9780195396584-0184.xml>, accessed June 29, 2018; Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, “Dress,” in Oxford Bibliographies Online: Medieval Studies, 2014, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195396584/obo-9780195396584-0150.xml>, accessed June 29, 2018; and Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, “Medieval Textiles,” in Oxford Bibliographies Online: Art History, 2018, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199920105/obo-9780199920105-0130.xml>, accessed Jan. 10, 2019. There are annual bibliographies in the journal *Costume*.



Fig. 1.1: Mantle of King Roger II of Sicily (1133–34); red silk decorated with gold and silk threads, pearls, gemstones, and enamels. Photo: Courtesy of Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria.

form the majority of the near-complete survivals. Cloths that had been imported, expensively dyed, woven or decorated with gold thread, or adorned with pearls, gemstones, enamels, and metal plaques were especially valuable. The garments among the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire are outstanding examples: Accumulated over centuries, the surviving vestments include a magnificent mantle (fig. 1.1) and alb, dated by Islamic inscriptions respectively to 1133/4 and 1181. A blue-purple dalmatic with borders of red silk and gold is probably twelfth-century; shoes and buskins, though much altered, may be contemporary. The red silk gloves were made for the coronation of Emperor Frederic II in 1220. The so-called Eagle Dalmatic (see fig. 5.3 in this volume for a detail) and a stole were added in the fourteenth century.⁵ Made of luxurious silks and sumptuously decorated, these garments are at the peak of the social scale, combining secular power and the spiritual nature of rulership in their vestment-like nature and iconography.⁶

A survival in more unpretentious materials, but nevertheless still impressive to audiences today, is the 244-foot-long Bayeux Tapestry, a wool embroidery on linen (fig. 1.2). Probably made within twenty years of the Norman Conquest of 1066, which it illustrates, it is first definitely mentioned in an inventory of 1476 and was rediscovered in the eighteenth century. Bayeux Cathedral still owns the wooden box in which it is believed to have been contained. Now on exhibition in carefully controlled conditions,

5 For a helpful list of relics and chronology, see “Imperial Regalia,” Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperial_Regalia, accessed Feb. 20, 2018.

6 Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, 19–20, 22, 71–72, 85–88, 233–34.

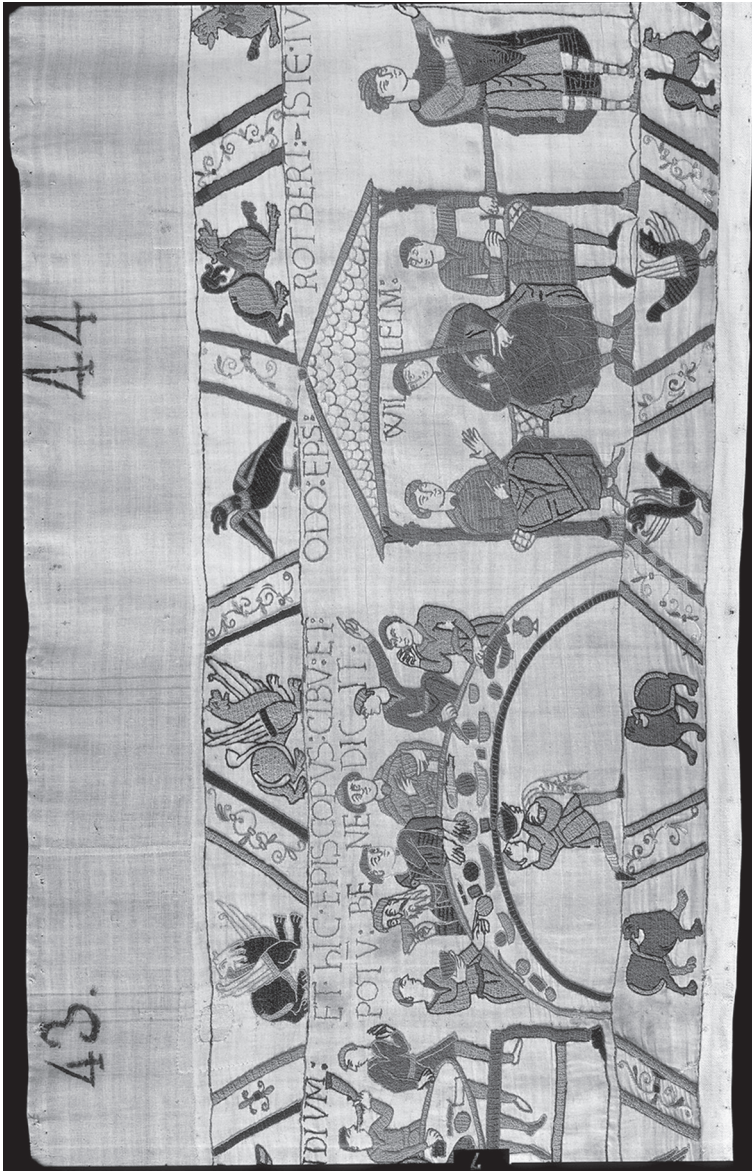


Fig. 1.2: Detail of the Bayeux Tapestry, showing the Normans feasting after their invasion and Duke William seated with his half-brothers Odo and Robert (eleventh century); linen embroidered with wool. Photo: By special authorisation of the city of Bayeux.

the Tapestry, with its bright colours and animated figures, draws over 400,000 visitors each year. It is probably the most famous surviving medieval textile.⁷

Numerous medieval cloths have been recovered from tombs, where airtight conditions have preserved some fibres while others have been damaged or destroyed completely by the rotting of the corpse and other destructive circumstances. Many of these textiles are garments; other surviving cloth items include coffin linings, bedding, and shrouds. Since elaborate tombs and burial in clothes which symbolised the importance of their office were normally the prerogative of only royalty and distinguished ecclesiastics, surviving material is predominantly silk and associated corpses predominantly male. Some discoveries present a time capsule of the burial date, such as the magnificent silk vestments of Pope Clement II, who died in 1047, preserved in Bamberg, Germany.⁸ In other cases, such as the shrines of Charlemagne in Aachen, Germany, and St. Cuthbert, in Durham, England, tombs were opened and their contents augmented over centuries of veneration, resulting in the eventual excavation of strata of precious textiles of various eras. Sometimes the probable occasion of the presentation of additional textiles is known: The gold-embroidered stole and maniple found in the shrine of St. Cuthbert originate from early-tenth-century Wessex, according to both the inscriptions upon them and their art style. They were very likely given by King Æthelstan, whose visit to the shrine of the seventh-century saint in 934 is documented in an eleventh-century history (formerly attributed to Symeon of Durham), with details of the king's donation which included a stole with maniple.⁹ The Elephant Silk found in the tomb of Charlemagne, who had died in 814, was, according to its inscription, woven in a Constantinople workshop and dates to the eleventh century. It was certainly a royal gift, but whether presented at the opening of Charlemagne's tomb in 1100 (by Holy Roman Emperor Otto III whose mother and fiancée were both Byzantine), added at his canonisation in 1165 (by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I), or given at the completion of Charlemagne's shrine in 1215 (by Frederick II, later Holy Roman Emperor) is uncertain.¹⁰

7 For a comprehensive bibliography, see Shirley Ann Brown, *The Bayeux Tapestry; Bayeux, Médiathèque Municipale: MS 1: A Sourcebook*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 9 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2013).

8 Sigrid Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab des Papstes Clemens II. im Dom zu Bamberg* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1960); Gregor Kollmorgen, "Catholic Bamberg: The Vestments of Pope Clement II and Other Treasures from the Diocesan Museum," *New Liturgical Movement*, May 29, 2009, <http://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2009/05/catholic-bamberg-vestments-of-pope.html>, accessed Dec. 20, 2018; Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, 18, 295–96.

9 Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, 327–30.

10 Anna Maria Muthesius, "Silk, Power and Diplomacy in Byzantium," in *Textiles in Daily Life: Proceedings of the Third Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, September 24–26, 1992* (Earlville, MD: Textile Society of America, 1993), available online at Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings, <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/580>, accessed July 31, 2018; Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine, Islamic, and Near Eastern Silk Weaving* (London: Pindar, 2008), 42.

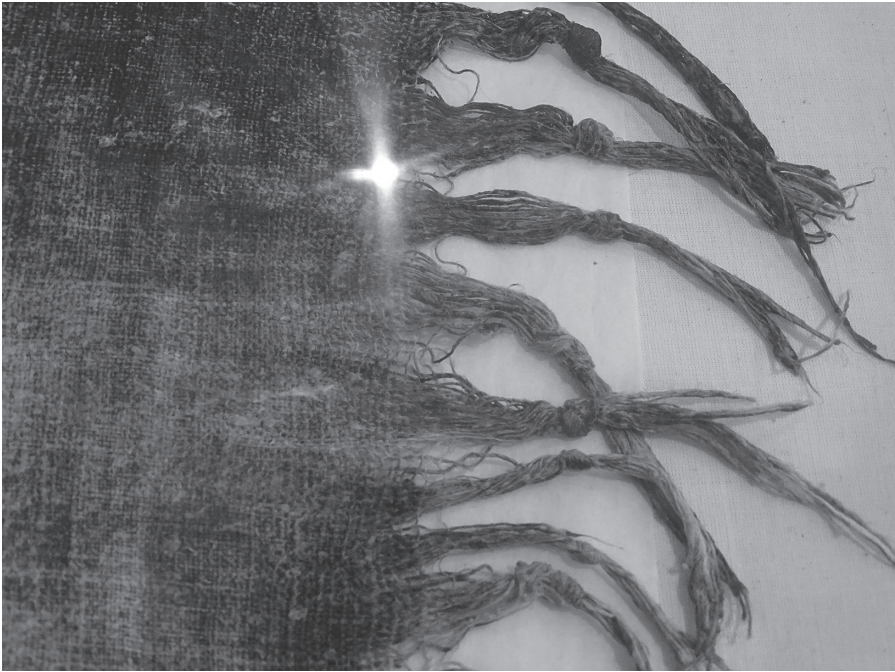


Fig. 1.3: Detail of fringed outer shroud from St. Bees, Cumbria (fourteenth century, possibly 1368); loom-woven linen. Photo: By permission of Chris Robson and courtesy of Beacon Museum, Whitehaven, Cumbria, UK.

The Elephant Silk was not tailored into a garment and was effectively a shroud. There are many such remains of magnificent textiles from Christian tombs.¹¹ Lesser-known survivals, relatively simple in terms of textile but unique, and therefore special in terms of cultural history, are two linen shrouds, from a tomb that probably belonged to a local knight fatally injured in Prussia on the Northern Crusade of the Teutonic Knights in 1368 and buried at St. Bees, Cumbria, England. Both shrouds were constructed of several pieces, two fringed (fig. 1.3), treated with preservative, and the whole corpse tied up like a parcel with knotted cord.¹²

Many surviving textiles have been preserved because of a real or supposed connection with a once-celebrated person. Fragments of high-quality textiles have been found wrapping bones or other relics of now-unidentifiable saints. Marian textile

11 Robin Fleming, "Acquiring, Flaunting, and Destroying Silk in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *Early Medieval Europe* 15, no. 2 (2007): 127–58.

12 Deidre O'Sullivan, "St. Bee's Man—and What 14th Century Shrouds Actually Looked Like" (lecture, London, Oct. 20, 1993), <http://www.shroud.com/pdfs/bstsmon3.pdf>, accessed Feb. 20, 2018; I. W. McAndrew, J. M. Todd, and Chris Robson, *St Bees Man* (St. Bees, UK: Parochial Church Council, 2016).

relics were popular in the Middle Ages and many survive today, including the silk veil in Chartres, France,¹³ and a camel hair girdle in Prato, Italy.¹⁴ A ninth-century ecclesiastical girdle, preserved in Augsburg, Germany, probably owes its survival to the fact that it was used to support textile remains believed to derive from the belt of the Virgin Mary. In fact the supposed relic (part of which is stitched to the Carolingian girdle and part contained in a silver and glass reliquary attached to it), is centuries later than the supporting girdle. Today, interest in the composite object focuses not on the spurious religious association but on the material objects. Both textiles are tablet-woven. The supporting belt is monochrome, with a skilfully worked inscription, only readable because the differently angled threads of the lettering reflect the light differently from the background. The inscription includes a repeated Christian invocation and a female name, “Ailbecund[a].” The person is unknown, but the name, probably from East Frankia, is relevant both for establishing the origin of the band and to questions of female workmanship and patronage.¹⁵ The attached band attributed to the Virgin Mary is twelfth- to fourteenth-century, multicoloured, skilfully depicting stylised animals and birds. It may be Islamic.¹⁶

Some garment-relics, shown by modern research to be chronologically incompatible with the saint to whom they are traditionally attributed, may have been linked to that saint erroneously through the desire to own relics, or perhaps because they were utilised in religious services associated with that person. Examples include the embroidered liturgical shoes now displayed at the Musée Jurassien d’Art et d’Histoire in Delémont, Switzerland, once preserved in the relic collection at Moutiers-Grandval Abbey and passed from there to the Church of St. Martin in Delémont. The *campagi*-type shoes (fig. 1.4), associated with the seventh-century St. Germanus, Abbot of Moutiers-Grandval, could be contemporary with the saint, since they are of an early European Christian style, bearing a family resemblance to undated shoes from Irish peat bogs and those illustrated in the eighth- to ninth-century *Book of Kells*; but the *sandalia*-type shoes (fig. 1.5) attributed to an obscure eighth-century bishop, St. Dizier (Desiderius), are probably from the twelfth or early thirteenth century, dated on stylistic grounds from sculptures and by comparison with datable archaeological finds.¹⁷

A considerable amount of research has been done on silk textiles which survive in western Europe in various states, from fragments to whole cloths and garments, almost entirely from the Christian period, encompassing the technical details of

13 “Marian Relics,” Textile Relics: Research Guide, Feb. 8, 2011, <http://sites.tufts.edu/textilerelics/2011/02/08/marian-relics>, accessed Feb. 20, 2018.

14 Cordelia Warr, *Dressing for Heaven: Religious Clothing in Italy, 1215–1545* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 35–50.

15 Valerie L. Garver, “Weaving Words in Silk: Women and Inscribed Bands in the Carolingian World,” *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 6 (2010): 33–56, at 37–40 and 51–56.

16 Sigrid Müller-Christensen, “Zwei Fragmente eines Zingulums. Aus dem Dom zu Augsburg,” in Müller-Christensen, ed., *Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters* (Munich: Hirmer, 1955), 14; Müller-Christensen, *Suevia Sacra: Frühe Kunst in Schwaben* (Augsburg: Städtliche Kunstsammlungen, 1973), 136–37.

17 Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, 380–85.



Fig. 1.4 (top): Shoes believed to be associated with St. Germanus (possibly seventh century); leather (probably sheepskin) embroidered with red silk. Fig. 1.5 (below): Shoe (probably erroneously) associated with St. Dizier (probably twelfth century); dyed leather embroidered with gilded leather strips, red silk. Photos: Courtesy of Musée Jurassien d'Art et d'Histoire, Delémont, Switzerland.



the weaving, the origin and interpretation of motifs, and the cultural significance of silk.¹⁸ The surviving garments and textiles from Christian tombs, like the dress items surviving in treasuries, are predominantly male-associated and ecclesiastical. Copes and chasubles exist in considerable quantities, sometimes wool but mostly silk. Linen albs are less common, silk dalmatics and tunics rarer still. Stoles, maniples, episcopal gloves, buskins, and shoes survive in small quantities. Textile remains associated with females are few and predominantly royal, but each unique in the evidence of dress which it yields. The richly dressed corpse of a woman found in the cathedral of Saint-Denis, France, is identified, by the inscription on her ring (*Arnegundis*, and an abbreviation of *Regina*), as Aregund, wife of Clotair I, king of the Franks, who died ca. 580. Her clothes were certainly of royal quality. She wore a long silk coat, dyed purple with expensive shellfish dye, with a front opening decorated with tablet weaving and cuffs with tablet weaving and gold embroidery, over a wool garment and possibly a linen one. She wore a silk veil on her head, stockings, cross-garters, and shoes. Over her purple coat was a luxurious garment of fine wool and beaver hair.¹⁹ Textile relics of Bathilde, wife of the Merovingian Frankish king Clovis II, later queen regent, nun, and eventually saint, were preserved in her abbey of Chelles, France, along with those of Abbess Bertille. Bathilde died in 680, Bertille ca. 704. Garments attributed to Bathilde include a linen “chasuble” embroidered in silk with depictions of two necklaces, one supporting pendants and a pectoral cross (the queen had abrogated jewellery in her lifetime); a fringed, silk, semicircular mantle; a voluminous linen overgown; a linen shawl; and a long silk ribbon that still binds the remains of her long, once-blond hair. A silk tunic with silk tablet-woven decoration on the cuff is attributed to Bertille.²⁰ Eleanor, queen of Aragon, who died in 1244, was buried in Burgos, Spain, in the royal mausoleum of her birth family, the rulers of Castile and León, wearing a gold-brocaded green silk gown, tightly laced up the left side and long enough to trail on the floor; a sideless overgown; and a semicircular mantle. Beneath, she wore a linen blouse, and she had a headdress of muslin, silk, and gold.²¹

There is, in contrast, a predominance of female evidence for the earlier medieval period in the form of grave-goods from pagan and early Christian burials. This is

18 See particularly Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200* (Vienna: Fassbaender, 1997); Muthesius, *Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (London: Pindar, 2004); Muthesius, “Silk, Power”; and Muthesius, *Byzantine, Islamic, and Near Eastern Silk Weaving*.

19 Sophie Desrosiers and Antoinette Rast-Eicher, “Luxurious Merovingian Textiles Excavated from Burials in the Saint Denis Basilica, France in the 6th–7th Century,” in *Textiles and Politics: Textile Society of America 13th Biennial Symposium Proceedings, Washington, DC, September 18–September 22, 2012* (n.p.: Textile Society of America, 2012), available online at Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings, <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/675>, accessed Feb. 20, 2018.

20 Jean-Pierre Laporte, *Le Trésor des Saints de Chelles* (Chelles, France: Société Archéologique et Historique de Chelles, 1988); Jean-Pierre Laporte and Raymond Boyer, *Trésors de Chelles: Sépultures et Reliques de la Reine Bathilde et de l'Abbesse Bertille* (Chelles, France: Société Archéologique et Historique; Amis du Musée, 1991).

21 Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *El Pantéon Real de las Huelgas de Burgos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1946), 23–24; Concha Herrero