


Panni tartarici and other oriental textiles in the Castilian ecclesiastical context (1270-1385)

María Barrigón

Patrimonio Nacional 

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ENG Abstract: This article analyzes, for the first time, the existence of *panni tartarici* and other oriental fabrics in the Castilian Church between 1270 and 1385 through documentary sources, thus demonstrating the existence therein of luxury materials the same as those used in the rest of the Western kingdoms. Worth noting is not only the abundance of terms such as *panni tartarici*, *suria*, *damasco*, *bucaran* or *tapete* among others but also, on occasions, the numerous mentions of some of them in the inventories. These documentation enables us to identify several details about certain fabrics and antedate the appearance of some in Castile compared to what had hitherto been estimated.

Keywords: oriental textiles, *panni tartarici*, cathedral treasure, inventories, silk.

^{ES} *Panni tartarici* y otros textiles orientales en contexto eclesiástico castellano (1270-1385)

Resumen: Este artículo analiza, por primera vez, la presencia de *panni tartarici* y otros textiles orientales en la Iglesia de la corona de Castilla entre 1270 y 1385 a través de fuentes documentales, demostrando la existencia de los mismos materiales de lujo que fueron empleados en otros reinos occidentales. Merece destacarse no sólo la abundancia de términos empleados como *panni tartarici*, *suria*, *damasco*, *bucaran* o *tapete* entre otros, sino también la gran cantidad de estos textiles listadas en los inventarios. Esta documentación permite identificar algunas de las características de los tejidos y antecede la aparición de algunos de los términos en Castilla con respecto a lo que hasta ahora se había considerado.

Palabras clave: textiles orientales, *panni tartarici*, tesoro catedral, inventarios, seda.

Sumario: 1. Introduction: oriental textiles in Europe. 2. Oriental textiles in the ecclesiastical context. 2.1 *Ultramar*, *bucaran*, *suria* and *damasco*. 2.2 *Panni tartarici* and *camoca*. 2.3 *Baldaqui*. 2.4 *Enperial*, *cataxamet*, *taftaf* and *tapete*. 2.5 *Marromaque* and *rricomas*. 3. Conclusions 4. References. 4.1 Primary sources. 4.2 Bibliography.

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1. Introduction: oriental textiles in Europe¹

During the last centuries of the Middle Ages, especially from the second half of the 13th century and throughout the 14th century, oriental textiles were all the rage in Europe. A number of factors contributed to their use in both the courts and the ecclesiastical

sphere, among them the growth of luxury consumption, the increased production of these goods, and a taste for exoticism.

While textiles rich in metallic threads were perhaps the most striking because of their grandeur, it is worth noting that they were not the only products traded, as textiles with various materials and weaves

¹ This work has been done within the Project *Thesauri Rituum Los artefactos de la liturgia medieval y su presencia en la cultura visual: objetos, vestiduras y libros* (ss. VI - XVI), proyecto I+D financiado por la Comunidad de Madrid (2023/00423/010), IP: Ángel Pazos López.

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(both plain and figured) were also abundant.² Some of them featured hybrids of decorative motifs from Chinese, Central Asian and Islamic traditions. These new designs represented a novel aesthetic consideration, and the textiles that embodied them were a magnificent element for the display of the social and economic status of their possessor. The reception and use of these textiles in various European contexts has been the subject of several recent monographs,³ such as those by David Jacoby who has systematized the periods and areas regions in which the trade networks of these precious textiles were operating.⁴

The goal of this article is to document the various types of oriental textiles that were used in the eccle-

siastical context. Thus, after this introduction that addresses and frames the general panorama of knowledge concerning the different names and regions of provenance of oriental textiles, the following sections will be devoted to the study of the types of goods found in the Castilian Church. The data is based on the archiepiscopal and cathedral inventories of Toledo and Oviedo during the time period from 1270 to 1385. Identified by different names in documentary sources, these textiles - imported from various regions of Asia and the Middle East - were highly sought-after at the time, as were those from Mamluk Egypt and Syria (some examples in figures 1, 2, 3 and 4).



Fig. 1. Oriental textile as lining in the coffin of Alfonso de la Cerda (00650545), prior to 1333, Monasterio de las Huelgas © Patrimonio Nacional.

Various textiles known generically as *tartari*, *tartare*, or *tartaresch* (among other variants) arrived in European kingdoms from 1260 onwards. In Western documentary sources, these terms encompass a large number of textiles made in the territories of Central Asia and the Middle East which belonged to

the Mongol empire, called *Tartar* at the time. This appellation has been recorded from between ca.1260 to 1350.⁵ Related to these, and with which they may have shared certain characteristics, are the silks of *Tars* and Turkey. Cited in various European inventories dated between 1280 and 1330, they

² Anne Wardwell was the first to differentiate groups among these oriental textiles, which she divided into eight categories according to their technical characteristics: Anne E. Wardwell, *Panni tartarici: eastern islamic silks woven with gold and silver, 13th and 14th centuries*, Islamic Art. An annual dedicated to the culture of the muslim world, III, (New York: The Bruschettini foundation for Islamic and Asian art, 1989). See also: James C. Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardwell, *When silk was gold. Central Asian and chinese textiles* (New York: MET Museum, 1997); Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and exchange in the Mongol Empire: a cultural history of Islamic textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

³ Paola Marini, Ettore Napione, and Gian Maria Varanini, eds., *Cangrande della Scala. La morte e il corredo di un principe nel medioevo europeo* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2004); Juliane von Fircks and Regula Schorta, eds., *Oriental silks in medieval Europe*, Riggisberger Berichte, 21 (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 2016); Maria Ludovica Rosati, ed., *Il parato di Benedetto XI. Storia di un tesoro* (Genova: Dario Cimorelli Editore, 2023); Juliane von Fircks, *Panni tartarici. Seidengewebe aus Asien im Spätmittelalterlichen Europa* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2024).

⁴ David Jacoby, "Dall'Oriente all'Italia. Commerci di stoffe preziose nel Duecento e nel primo Trecento," in *Cangrande della Scala. La morte e il corredo di un principe nel medioevo europeo*, ed. Paola Marini, Ettore Napione, and Gian Maria Varanini (Venezia: Marsilio, 2004); David Jacoby, "Oriental silks go West: a declining trade in the later Middle Ages," in *Islamic artefacts in the Mediterranean world: trade, gift exchange and artistic transfer*, ed. Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli and Gerhard Wolf (Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 2010); David Jacoby, "Rural exploitation in Western Asia Minor and the Mediterranean: aspects of interaction in the Thirteenth Century," in *Aureus*, ed. Taxiarchis G. Kolias and Knostantinos G. Pitsakis (Atenas: Institute of Historical Research, 2014); David Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols: patterns of trade and distribution in the West," in *Oriental silks in medieval Europe*, ed. Juliane von Fircks and Regula Schorta, Riggisberger Berichte, 21 (Bern: Abegg-Stiftung, 2016).

⁵ Jacoby, "Dall'Oriente all'Italia," 143; Juliane von Fircks, "Panni Tartarici: Splendid cloths from the Mongol Empire in European contexts," *Orientalia* 45, no. 7 (2014): 72-74.

were textiles of very high price.⁶ Other terms alluding to textiles with oriental origins were *camoca*, originally woven in China and later in the Mongolian regions,⁷ and *naques* or *nachis*, which were produced in China and Baghdad.⁸ Another term that has been associated with oriental textiles is *nassic*, a cloth of gold that has been interpreted as a synonym of the aforementioned *naques* or *nachis*.⁹ Another identification of *nassic* is the Arabic *nasij* or the Chinese *nashishi*. The term was already in use for Asian cloths of gold before and after the Mongol conquest.¹⁰

The names *suriani*, *damas* or *alexandria* have been linked to the East from between ca. 1330 and 1400, when a taste for Mamluk silks was established. Also, textiles woven in the Mongolian area for export to the Mamluk market were adapted to suit the Mamluk aesthetic taste, and they were also exported from that region to Western lands.¹¹

Due to the fact that oriental textiles were a fashionable product and in demand, from the early 14th century they were imitated in some of the Italian workshops, mainly in Lucca, Venice and Florence. These products were named after the silks produced in the Mongol regions but differed in design from the originals. They invaded the market especially from 1340 onwards. As a result, only when an Eastern origin is clearly pointed out in the inventories, they can be considered genuine fabrics, otherwise there is a chance that it was manufactured in Italy.¹² The high quality achieved by Italian goods led to their export through Mamluk Egypt, Syria and the Mongol territories, which led local oriental weavers in those locales to incorporate some of the Western decorative motifs into their designs, thus giving rise to multiple cultural exchanges back and forth between East and West.¹³

2. Oriental textiles in the ecclesiastical context

It is well known that despite some critical voices, in the Middle Ages in order to manifest the transcend-

ence of liturgical celebrations, officiants had to dress with great magnificence. The richness of the vestments was understood as a manifestation of both divine and ecclesiastical power. Hence, many of those vestments were made using the most sumptuous textiles in vogue at the time.

Material examples of oriental fabrics linked to the ecclesiastical context that have survived to the present day include the green and gold textile used to make the sleeve of the San Valero dalmatic (housed today at the Museum of Design, Barcelona),¹⁴ and the dalmatic from the urn of Santa Susana in the cathedral of Santiago (fig. 2 and 3), discovered in 1994 together with another fragment decorated with gold flowers on a brown background.¹⁵



Fig. 2. Oriental textile so called dalmatic of Santa Susana, Santiago cathedral
© Fundación Catedral de Santiago.

⁶ Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols," 100-101; Jacoby, "Dall'Oriente all'Italia," 145.

⁷ Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols," 102-104; Jacoby, "Dall'Oriente all'Italia," 145-146; Maria Ludovica Rosati, "Migrazioni tecnologiche e interazioni culturali. La diffusione dei tessuti orientali nell'Europa del XIII e del XIV secolo," *OADI Rivista dell'Osservatorio per Le Arti Decorative in Italia* 1 (2010): 62-63.

⁸ Jacoby, "Dall'Oriente all'Italia," 145 et 148; David Jacoby, "Silk economics and cross-cultural artistic interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim world and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks papers* 58 (2004): 233-234; Rosati, "Migrazioni tecnologiche. La diffusione," 63-64; Lisa Monnas, "The impact of Oriental silks on Italian silk weaving in the Fourteenth century," in *The power of things and the flow of cultural transformations*, ed. Liselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiß (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2010), 72.

⁹ Allsen, *Commodity and exchange in the Mongol Empire: a cultural history of Islamic textiles*, 3; Lisa Monnas, "Textiles for the Coronation of Edward III," *Textile History* 32, no. 1 (2001): 3-4; Rosati, "Migrazioni tecnologiche. La diffusione."

¹⁰ Jacoby, "Silk economics," 233-234; Jacoby, "Oriental silks go West," 73, 76 et note 8; David Jacoby, "Cross-cultural transfers of industrial technologies in the Later Middle Ages: Incentives, promoters and agents," in *Union in separation: Diasporic groups and identities in the eastern Mediterranean (1100-1800)*, ed. Georg Christ et al. (Roma: Viella, 2015), 489; Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols," 95.

¹¹ Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols," 110-116.

¹² Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols," 112.

¹³ Brigitte Tietzel, *Italienische seidengewebe des 13., 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: Oberstadtdirektor der Stadt Krefeld, 1984); Anne E. Wardwell, "Flight of the phoenix: Crosscurrents in late thirteenth to fourteenth century silk patterns and motifs," *The Bulletin of Cleveland Museum of Art* 74, no. 1 (1987); Anne E. Wardwell, "Indigenous elements in Central Asian silks designs of the Mongol period, and their impact on Italian gothic silks," *Bulletin du CIETA* 77 (2000); Donald King and Monique King, "Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376," in *Collected textile studies*, ed. Anna Muthesius and Monique King (Londres: The Pindar Press, 2004); Monnas, "The impact of Oriental silks."; Ignazio del Punta and Maria Ludovica Rosati, *Lucca, una città di seta. Produzione, commercio e diffusione dei tessuti lucchesi nel tardo medioevo* (Maria Pacini Fazzi Editore, 2017).

¹⁴ Wardwell, "Indegeneous elements in Central Asian silks," 92; Jacoby, "Oriental silks go West," 74.

¹⁵ Cristina Partearroyo Lacaba, "Dalmática del relicario de santa Susana," in *Canciller Ayala*, ed. López de Ullibarri (Vitoria-Gasteiz: Diputación Foral de Álava, 2007), 308-309; Ramón Yzquierdo Peiró, "Las colecciones de arte de la catedral de Santiago: estudio museológico" (Tesis doctoral Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 2015), 619-620.



Fig. 3. Detail of the so called dalmatic of Santa Susana, Santiago cathedral © Fundación Catedral de Santiago.

These two examples provide rare testimony for what once must have been the extensive quantity of textiles of different types that were used in the various ecclesiastical institutions. This great quantity is demonstrated by the inventories of the period, both those drawn up by a specific ecclesiastic and those relating to the treasures of the churches. These documents have not been previously utilized as an in-depth source for the study of textiles. In this article, among others, we examine the inventories that Gundisalvus Petri (or Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel) composed in 1273 when he was appointed bishop of Cuenca and in 1280 when he was appointed archbishop of Toledo.¹⁶ Textiles and liturgical vestments that he treasured were included in the collection such as orphreys from London, textiles from *Ispania*, silks from Malaga and Italian fabrics from Lucca and Venice,¹⁷ as well as the oriental fabrics on which we will focus in this paper. His list gives a precise account of the exquisite textiles (among other objects and books) that the archbishop possessed. He was not the only high-ranking ecclesiastic with such an impressive collection of textiles, as

evidenced by the objects belonging to his predecessor, Sancho of Aragon (archbishop of Toledo between 1266 and 1275), which were inventoried in 1284 when Gudiel took possession of his chapel.¹⁸

The fabrics stored in the Toledo Cathedral were numerous and luxurious, as demonstrated by the silks recovered by Archbishops Gudiel and Juan de Aragón. In 1282 and 1320, respectively, they recovered jewels, books and fabrics that their predecessors had deposited and pawned in Pistoia and Montpellier.¹⁹

We also consider inventories of the cathedral treasures of Toledo and Oviedo. These documents are an exceptional testimony to the content of the treasures of both cathedrals, showing the quantity, diversity and importance of the textiles preserved there. Although the Toledo inventories are well known, they have previously been used only for the study of the books housed in the cathedral, and to give a general idea of the textile wealth housed in the cathedral.²⁰ The first complete examination of the textile content of the 1277 inventory is provided in my doctoral thesis, in addition to the transcription of the inventory.²¹

The second inventory examined here is held in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid) and it was published by Pérez de Guzmán.²² This inventory was composed after the death of the treasurer Ferrant Alfons, and it has been estimated that it was written probably in 1338.²³ The inventory coincides in part with another one from 1343. This 1343 inventory records both the items that the treasurer Bernalt Safort himself received and also those that were not given to him. The latter remained in the possession of Don Gil, archbishop of Toledo.²⁴

Finally, the 1385 inventory of the Oviedo cathedral which indeed has been previously published, but has not been widely used to study the textiles listed therein.²⁵

In conclusion, our final objective is to examine some examples of the textile terminology used in these documents in order to try to evaluate, as well as possible, each of the fabrics. Since Italian imitations of oriental textiles were also existent, we cannot

¹⁶ Ramón González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros de Toledo (1086-1300)* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1997), 417-512. The transcriptions for the inventories of 1273 (ACT, A.7.H.1.1 and ACT, A.7.H.1.1^a) and the 1280 inventory (ACT, A.7.G.1.12) in: Francisco J. Hernández and Peter Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal. The life and times of Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel* (Firenze: Sismel. Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004), 476-496. On the name of the archbishop: Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 420.

¹⁷ "Item unum pluviale de xamito uiolaceo cum aurifrisio de Londoniis. Item unum pluviale de diaspro albo cum aurifrisio de Londoniis [...] Item unus pannus de serico de Melega. [...] Item octo tapeta Yspanica. Item unus pannus factus ad aves de Yspania. Item unum tapetum de Grecia. Item unum tapetum de Ispania factum ad figuras luporum [...] Item duo panni baldachini de Venetiis pro capella. [...] Item una petia de çendato rubeo de Luca. [...] Item una cultra alba de Ultramar. [...] Item tres carpita virgate de Ultramar": Archivo Catedral de Toledo (from now on ACT), A.7.G.1.12 cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 495.

¹⁸ Hispanic Society of America, Ms. B190 in Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 496-501.

¹⁹ ACT, A. 7.G.2.18 and ACT, A.8.C.1.6.

²⁰ González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros*; Tom Nickson, *Toledo cathedral. Building histories in medieval Castile* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2015), 124-129.

²¹ ACT, X.12.B.1.1. María Barrigón, *Vestirse para la muerte en el panteón de las Huelgas de Burgos: cultura textil en la Castilla plenomedieval. Un estudio del ajuar de Alfonso VIII y Leonor de Plantagenet († 1214)*, (tesis doctoral, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2022), 354-356, 386-408, 946-962, <https://docta.ucm.es/entities/publication/9d174fcc-3d7f-4dc7-8a18-5d7108a91829>.

²² Luis Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario del siglo XIV de la Catedral de Toledo (La Biblia de san Luis)," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* LXXXIX (1926).

²³ Nickson, *Toledo cathedral. Building histories in medieval Castile*, XIV.

²⁴ ACT, X.12.B.1.2. The textile references included between ff. 15r and 21r are what Miguel García, representative of the treasurer, Bernalt Safort, received and, with some exceptions, coincide with the inventory ACT X.12.B.1.6. The textiles contained between ff. 24r and 29r are the pieces of the treasure that the archbishop Gil Álvarez de Albornoz had received from the treasurer Gonzalo Ruiz for his personal use in the archiepiscopal chapel, and therefore, in 1343, they are recorded as having been lent but not returned.

²⁵ José Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos en su mayoría sobre el mobiliario litúrgico de las iglesias gallegas en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Nueva Imprenta de San Francisco de Sales, 1907), 42-65.

rule out the possibility that, for the later dates, these textiles could be either of Oriental origin or Western imitations.

2.1. *Ultramar, bucaran, suria and damasco*

We begin our tour of the terminology with the collection of textiles that Gudiel possessed when he was appointed bishop of Cuenca in 1273. These textiles are detailed in two inventories which were composed in Alvaladiel,²⁶ and reflect very well the taste of their owner for rich and exotic materials. This taste would even increase a few years later, as we will see below. In this context, not only did he point out the African origin of some of the carpets,²⁷ but also that of various oriental textiles.

Thus, some cushions (among other objects) from *ultramar* had been collected.²⁸ This term referred to the Eastern edge of the Mediterranean, and was quite useful to express that an object was indeed coming from Eastern lands, albeit without specifying a specific region.²⁹ Products from *ultramar*, such as *capiellos* (hats), are included in the *portazgos* (gates) of several Castilian cities throughout the 13th century,³⁰ and Gudiel himself would later, in 1280, mention a cloth of silk *ultramarina*, specifying again an uncertain oriental origin for this fabric, as was the case for some bedspreads and carpets.³¹

This silk *ultramarina* was not the only one of Gudiel's textiles whose provenance is credited with a toponymic adjective: In the inventory of 1273, a white bedspread is named *bucaran d'ultramar*.³² The fabric

known as *bucaran* has been interpreted as a very fine linen fabric which was manufactured in Bukhara, hence its name. It was later imitated in other European cities and lands, but of inferior quality.³³ It was important for them to emphasize in this document the trans-Mediterranean origin of the fabric. This account, written in 1273, antedates the first appearance of this term in a Castilian context, which had been previously estimated at 1293,³⁴ and is currently the earliest known mention.

Bucaran is not the only textile in this collection that has a toponymic name, identifying the place of its original manufacture. This same document mentions several *surias*, a term that could refer to a Syrian origin.³⁵ *Surias* are sometimes combined with *pieles* (fur) and *cendales* (kind of fabric) from Lucca.³⁶ In the Castilian sources, this fabric appears in the mid-13th century in the *portazgos* (gates) of the Castilian *fueros* (codes of law) and in the maximum prices listed in the Cortes de Jerez of 1268, where it was among the most highly valued fabrics.³⁷ The term *suria* continued to be used in the 14th century: In fact, in 1338, the cathedral of Toledo housed some ornaments made with this fabric, and their quantity increased by the year 1343.³⁸ A few years later, in 1348, it was included in one of the sumptuary laws, prohibiting its use in funerary rituals.³⁹

Another toponymic name is *Damas*, which may have originally been produced in Damascus. Its appearance in Castilian sources is later than in the previous cases. In the Toledo inventory of 1343, it does not yet appear as a textile but is linked to orphreys and gold

²⁶ Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 476-487.

²⁷ "Cuatro carpitas uiadas de Tremecen": ACT, A.7.H.1.1^a Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 485.

²⁸ "Tres esturnias de guadameci e otro [sic] labrada de Ultramar [...] Quatro moyuelos de Ultramar [...] un barril de uidrio de Ultramar": ACT, A.7.H.1.1^a Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 485.

²⁹ Jacoby, "Silk economics," 234.

³⁰ Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 373.

³¹ "Item unus pannus de seta uirgata ultramarina" and "Item una cultra alba de Ultramar [...] Item tres carpite virgate de Ultramar": ACT, A.7.G.1.12. Cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 487 y 495.

³² "Una colcha blanca de bucaran, muy delgada, d'ultramar": ACT, A.7.H.1.1 cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478.

³³ Pedro Voltes, "Nombres de antiguos tejidos de seda," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* CLXIII, no. Cuaderno II (1968): 220; Jesusa Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos españoles o nomenclatura de tejidos españoles en el s. XIII*, Biblioteca del claustro de sor Juana. Manuales, (Mexico: Instituto de estudios y documentos históricos, 1981), 60-61; M^a del Carmen Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de los tejidos en castellano medieval*, Series Lexica, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989), 421-426; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 463; Rosati, "Migrazioni tecnologiche. La diffusione," 62. Voltes suggested that perhaps it could be made of silk. However, it is widely interpreted as a linen and later cotton fabric: Gale Owen-Crocker, Elizabeth Coatsworth and Maria Hayward, *Encyclopedia of dress and textiles in the British Isles c.450-1450* (Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2012), 102.

³⁴ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 421.

³⁵ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 349-351.

³⁶ "Dos surias e media cardenas. Una suria parda. Otra suria uerde. Una suria negra. Dos surias moradas [...] Unos paños nuevos de suria negra en peñas blancas [...] Paños nuevos frescos de suria uiolada en cendal de Luca uerde [...] Unos paños de suria uiolada en peñas blancas [...] Otros de suria negra en cendal cardeno": ACT, A.7.H.1.1 cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478-479.

³⁷ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 168-169; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 349-351; Jacoby, "Oriental silks go West," 75; Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 368 and 421.

³⁸ In 1338, "Quatro destajos grandes de suria bastonados de suria uerde e bermeja a armas del arçobispo don Gutierre que ponen en la capiella de santispiritus el viernes santo": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 406. Both in 1338 and 1343, "Item casulla, tunica, dalmatica de suria prieta" and "Item casulla, tunica, dalmatica de suria verde": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 16r and 17r; Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 393 and 396.

In 1343: "Item una casulla de suria amoretada aforrada en çendal amariello. Item una casulla de suria prieta aforrada en lienço cardeno": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 17r; "Item una casulla de suria prieta aforrada en çendal prieto con un orofres angosto": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 24v.

³⁹ "Et que enel lecho que non pongan cobertura de oro ninn de seda nin de suria nin enla mortaja; pero que si algund cauallero o escudero o otro omme bueno onrrado o -duenna o donzella ffinare ffuera de Tolledo, e la ouieren a traer a Tolledo, que la puedan leuar en andas e que non aya y panno de oro nin de seda nin de suria" and "Las del común dela villa que ffueren casadas con omnes ffijosdalgo e con omnes que mantengan caualllos e armas, que non trayan pannos de sirgo nin de cannucanes nin de tapetes, saluo que pueda vestir cendalles de Tolledo e xurias e tornasoles e castafes viados sin oro o otros quales quisieren, pero que puedan traer acanefes de oro o de plata": RAH, *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla. Tomo primero*, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid: Imprenta y Estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, 1861), 622 and 623. José Damián González Arce, *Apariencia y poder. La legislación suntuaria castellana en los siglos XIII-XV* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 1998), 219.

thread as their place of origin;⁴⁰ and in the cathedral of Oviedo (1385) some cloth from *damasco* are recorded specifying not only their origin but also that they were made with gold, and often brand new.⁴¹ A specific type of silk woven in Damascus gave rise to a textile and the appellation of damasks, which were imitated the late 14th century in Lucca and Venice⁴² as well as in Almería.⁴³ With regard to the first appearance of *damasco*, the date of the Oviedo inventory (1385) antedates by a few decades Martínez's proposal that this term was first documented in the 1440s for Castile.⁴⁴ The mention of *damasco* in the Oviedo inventory is very early, considering that it is mentioned in the English royal wardrobe accounts in the 1390's and, in addition, the first Italian ordinances that include damask among their products are dated 1396 in Venice,⁴⁵ making certain the deduction of the oriental origin of the fabric used in the Oviedo liturgical vestments.

2.2. *Panni tartarici* and *camoca*

The category of *panni tartarici*, a group that encompasses a wide typology of different textiles that came from various parts of Asia, as mentioned above, deserves special mention. We will also include the fabric known as *camoca*, a term that is rarely found in these ecclesiastical inventories.

In the inventory that Gudiel composed in 1280 when he was residing in the papal Curia and was elected archbishop of Toledo,⁴⁶ the number of *panni tartarici* he possessed is recorded.⁴⁷ Not only are they among the first objects in the list, but they are also all fabrics, that were not yet used to make garments, as is also the case with the silk *ultramarina* which appears in that list. The Venetians and the Genoese controlled the trade routes to Acre and Laiazzo from 1260 onwards, the usual route for the arrival of *panni tartarici* in Europe at that time,⁴⁸ so it is not unreasonable to propose that the archbishop acquired these textiles in Italy. There, he could also have acquired other rich fabrics such as a *diaspro* or

a *baldakini* originating from Lucca, which are listed in his inventory right after the oriental fabrics. The appearance of *panni tartarici* among Gudiel's possessions in 1280 is a relatively early mention of these fabrics for a Castilian personage,⁴⁹ which implies that he was aware of the arrival of these new fashionable products in the West. Decorated with birds or pine cones, of the five textiles – three green, one red and one white – it is consistently specified that they are decorated in gold. This collection of fabrics (which not yet been made into vestments) is mentioned immediately after the silver pieces and before the rings, books, other silver objects and other textiles, a clear indication of the esteem in which these silks are held.

Another possible mention of this type of oriental textiles is found in the inventory of 1284 after Gudiel took possession of the chapel of his predecessor, Sancho de Aragón, archbishop of Toledo between 1266 and 1275. Among the luxurious textiles contained in this list is the mention of a chasuble of cloth from *Tors*, a term that has been suggested, with some doubt, to refer to the French city of Tours.⁵⁰ However, it would make perfect sense that it was a *panno de Tars*, one of the names for oriental textiles,⁵¹ and if so, it is also a very early mention.

It is well known that one of the functions of textiles in the Middle Ages was to serve as gifts. This meant that there was an important channel for the entry of fabrics and ornaments into church treasuries, in which these oriental textiles were also significant. In 1326, Don Gonzalo, bishop of Mondoñedo, sent a *tartarisco* cope (*pluuiale*) to the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.⁵² Another example can be found in the inventory of the Toledo church of 1343, where a white *tartari* pluvial with a silver clasp that had belonged to the queen was preserved.⁵³ Moreover, one of the purposes that Enrique III (r. 1390-1406) stipulated in his will for his cloths of gold (a generic category of textiles with abundant metallic threads, in which the

⁴⁰ "Item un amito con un orofres de domas estoriado et labrado con aliofar et en cabo un boton de aliofar [...] Item una capa de xamet blanco con un orofres de domas a ymagenes labrado con aliofar con quatro botones de aliofar [...] Item una casulla de xamet bermeio con un orofres de Domas con aliofar": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 25r; "Item pedaço de orofres de filo de oro de damasco labrado sobre xamet prieto con aliofar menudo que paresçe que es para capiella de capa": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 28r; "Item una casulla de xamete blanco labrada a leones et a grifos de oro con un orofres de filo de oro de damasco con aliofar a figuras de aguilas que corre sobre prieto envuelta en una sauana": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 28v.

⁴¹ "Una casulla de panno de damasco de oro el canpo vermejo nueuo": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 50. "Item vna capa de oro de damasco": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 52.

⁴² Damascus could point to the city or to the name of a cloth, see: Jacoby, "Oriental silks go West," 78-80; Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols," 112. On damask: Monnas, "The impact of Oriental silks," 75.

⁴³ Voltes, "Nombres de antiguos tejidos de seda," 222; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 295.

⁴⁴ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 295-298.

⁴⁵ Monnas, "The impact of Oriental silks," 75.

⁴⁶ González Ruiz, *Hombres y libros*, 417-512; Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 487-496.

⁴⁷ "Item unus pannus Tartaricus operatus ad aves de auro et campus de serico viridi. Item unus alius pannus Tartaricus cum campo de serico indico et pinnis auris. Item unus alius pannus Tartaricus cum campo de seta alba et cum uire (sic) aurea. Item unus pannus de seta virgata ultramarina. Item unus pannus Tartaricus de seta rubea cum pinnis aureis. Item unus pannus tartaricus de seta uiridi. Item unus pannus de diaspro albo de Luca. Item duo baldakini de Luca ad ymaginis sancti Nicolai": ACT, A.7.G.1.12. Cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 487.

⁴⁸ Jacoby, "Dall'Oriente all'Italia," 143; Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols," 94-102.

⁴⁹ The first mentions date from the 1260s onwards: Jacoby, "Oriental silks go West," 71-72; Jacoby, "Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols," 95-96 et 106-108. The hypothesis that this fabric was only used in Castile in the 14th century is not supported: Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 562.

⁵⁰ Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 497, note 25.

⁵¹ Wardwell, *Panni tartarici*, 134; Michele Bernardini and Veronica Prestini, "L'epoca mongola e il commercio di panni tartarici," in // *parato di Benedetto XI. Storia di un tesoro*, ed. Maria Ludovica Rosati (Genova: Dario Cimorelli Editore, 2023), 91-92. These authors think of a Central Asian origin, while Jacoby argues for a Cilician one: Jacoby, "Oriental silks go West," 73; Monnas, "The impact of Oriental silks," 68.

⁵² Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 393.

⁵³ "Item una capa de tartari blanco con orofres ystoriado et con broncha de plata esmaltada que fue de la reyna": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f.18r.

panni tartarici could fit) was that they must be used to make vestments for the Church.⁵⁴

The value given to the oriental silks can be inferred from an account dated 1320. Thanks to Archbishop Juan de Aragón's efforts, the cathedral of Toledo recovered, through the dean Vasco Fernández de Toledo, several items that his predecessors had previously deposited and pawned in Montpellier. These include several cloths of gold *tarthari* and *tartaresch*, which shows the great value of these objects, so high that they not only had served as pawn collateral, but were also fabrics worthy of being recovered, even when only fragments of them were preserved.⁵⁵

These are not the only *panni tartarici* linked to the church of Toledo. In the cathedral inventories of 1338 and 1343, numerous silks of this type were listed, and the number of pieces with this type of fabric increased from 56 in 1338 - to 72 barely five years later, so the assumption that there is very little documentation of this term is no longer supported.⁵⁶ It is also true that, given the date of the documents, one might wonder whether they came from Asia or whether they were Italian imitations.

In any case, the *panni tartarici* are mentioned in various colours such as *bermejo*, *verde*, *prieto*, *cardeno*, *blanco* or *indio*, and they are often accompanied by the adjective 'golden', or, include in their gold decorations *rodeçuelas*, *rosetas* and *pinnas* (small circles,

small roses and pine cones). We would like to highlight the case where indicated that it is a *panni tartarici viado*,⁵⁷ meaning with a marked striped decoration.

In some cases it is specified that a certain vestment has no additional ornamentation,⁵⁸ while other times it is described as being particularly richly decorated, as in the case in 1338 of a cope with *opus anglicanum* orphreys and the coat of arms of the King of Aragon,⁵⁹ or in 1343, of a chasuble with pearls and heraldic type orphrey with the coat of arms of Castile.⁶⁰ The greater richness or importance of some garments required that they were to be kept in a special way, wrapped in cloth. This aspect was noted in the inventory for enhanced identification of those textiles.⁶¹

There were also different vestments all made with the same type of fabric, such as several chasubles, tunics and dalmatics.⁶² Individual garments can also be found that were made of *tartari*, especially copes.⁶³ This fabric was not only used to make large ornaments and garments, but also smaller ones such as stoles and amices, among others.⁶⁴ It was also used in fragments to decorate and enrich other pieces, especially the lower parts of albs, but also tunics and dalmatics.⁶⁵

As a final note, it is worth mention that small pieces of *tartari* were kept: in addition to three small pieces of *tartari*, four pieces that were destined to decorate the lower parts of the albs were wrapped in *cendal*, a type of taffeta.⁶⁶ This information indicates

⁵⁴ "Otrosí, mando que de las mis ropas de oro é de seda con sus forraduras que están en la mi camara, que los mis testamentarios ordenen dellas por mi alma, así en ornamentos, como en cosas piadosas": Cayetano Rosell, *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los Católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel. Tomo segundo* (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra Editor, 1877), 265.

⁵⁵ "Item un drap daur de tarthari que seu en seda negra. Item un troç de drap daur tarthari que seu en seda blancha. Item capa et casulla de drap daur tartaresch que seu en uermeyll ab fres daur et ha très botons de perles en la capa. Item daquell drap metex tres troçes granets et dos poch. [...] Item una casulla de drap daur tartharesch ab fres daur et sau en seda morada. Item un troç de drap daur tarthari que sau en seda morada. [...] Item una capa de drap daur tartari et seu en blanch meys de fres": ACT, A.8.C.1.6

⁵⁶ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 562.

⁵⁷ "Item tres capas de tartari viado": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 f.15r

⁵⁸ "Item una capa de tartari que corre sobre yndio sin ningun guarnimiento": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 f.27r.

⁵⁹ "Item una capa de panno tartari blanco en beuado con oro e con orofreses anchos de Londres en uestido en çendal bermejo al capiello a harmas del Rey de aragon": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 386-387.

⁶⁰ "Item una capa de tartari corren en bermeio et los orofreses con aliofar a armas del rey de Castiella et del patriarca et tres botones de aliofar grandes" and "Item una casulla et tunica et almatica de tartari de oro corre sobre bermeio la casulla con un orofres muy noble armas del rey de Castiella e del patriarca con aliofar envuelta en una sauana vieja labrada la casulla e la tunica con orofreses angostos armas del rey de Castiella et de Aragon": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 f.26v and f.28r; all of them listed as well in 1338: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 404.

⁶¹ "Item una capa de un tartari que corre en lauor a pinnas de oro con un orofres labrado sin ymagenes enbuelta en una sauana": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 f.27v.

⁶² In the inventory of 1338, but not in the inventory of 1343, it is found: "Item una casulla tunica dalmatica prieta que fue del arzobispo don gutierre de tartari": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 396. Both in 1338 and 1343, "Item una casulla et tunica et dalmatica de tartari verde aforrado en cendal bermejo"; "Item casulla, tunica, dalmatica de tartari del cabillo [...] Item una casulla de tartari verde con oro et tunica et dalmatica dello"; "Item casulla, tunica, almatica de tartari blanco aforrado en çendal mermejo (sic) et la casulla a un orofres grande ystoriado. Item tres manipulos et una estola de tartari mesmo": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 ff.2r, 17r and 18v. In 1338, Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 396, 405, 406.

⁶³ In 1338, "Item una capa de un tartari sin aforradura e sin orofres": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 404. Both in 1338 and 1343, "Item una tunica de tartari prieto con rodeçuelas doro"; "Primeramente tres capas tartari bermejas la una con una broncha de plata [...] Item tres capas de tartari viado [...] Item tres capas de tartari prieto"; "Item una capa de tartari cardeno con orofres ystoriado [...] Item una capa de tartari verde con orofres [...] Item dos frontales de tartari prieto con oro": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 ff.2r, 15r and 16v. In 1338: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 391, 392, 395, 405.

⁶⁴ Both in 1338 and 1343, "Item dos amitos con orofres de tartari bermejo [...] Item un manipulo de tartari bermejo"; "Item dos cabeçales de tartari bermejo [...] Item un faseruelo de tartari bermejo a rosetas de oro": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 ff.17v and 18r. In 1338: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 397, 398.

In 1343, "Item un amito de tartari con rodeçuelas doro [...] Item un cabeçalejo a letras roto et esta metido en el otro de tartari a rosas doro": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 f.19r.

⁶⁵ Both in 1338 and 1343, "Item otra alua blanca con redropies de tartari viado [...] Item dos aluas de lino delgadas cum redropies de tartari bermejo"; "Item tres aluas de redropies de tartari cardeno et tres amitos de las del cardenal": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 ff.1r and 16v. In 1338, Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 394, 395, 407. Moreover, in 1338: "Item otras dos aluas con rredropies de tartari bermejos": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 407. In 1343: "Item una alua de lienço delgada con rodopies de tartari blanco con su amito de en que ay tartari blanco"; "Item tunica et dalmatica de xamet blanco con orofres angosto et redropies de tartari bermeio"; "Item tunica de xamet bermeio con orofres angosto et los redropies de tartari verde"; "Item casulla et tunica et almatica de xamet indio la casulla con un orofres ancho muy bueno et la tunica et almatica con sus redropies de tartari verde": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 ff.2v, 24v, 25r and 27v.

⁶⁶ In 1338, "Item quatro pedaços pequennos de tartari blanco con oro": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 407. In 1343: "Item tres pedaços de tartari pequennos"; "Item quatro pedaços de tartari para redropies de aluas a todos en uno pedaço de çendal indio": ACT, X.12.B.1.2 ff.5r and 3r. On the conservation of ornaments: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 482-485, 659-664.

that they were fragments ready to be used and, until that time, well preserved.



Fig. 4. Detail of the oriental textile used as lining in the coffin of Blanca de Portugal (00651950), prior to 1321, Monasterio de Santa María la Real de las Huelgas (Burgos) © Patrimonio Nacional.

There are also mentions of ornaments, described as old, made with this fabric, such as in the case of a grey *tartari* cope.⁶⁷ In this respect, it should be re-

membered that in the Middle Ages the notion of oldness was much broader than it is today, and could even cover several decades. Since some were considered old in 1338, these fabrics are most probably of Oriental origin, as Italian manufacturers began making copies of Asian textiles in the 14th century. It is noteworthy that, however old and fragmentary, they were still preserved and listed in the inventory.⁶⁸ One of the recommendations of the *Siete Partidas* (legislative code compiled by Alfonso X, 1284) established the obligation of clerics to keep liturgical vestments as long as they served, and to burn them afterwards to avoid prevent secular use, because they had been used to serve God.⁶⁹

The Oviedo Cathedral also had in its inventory of 1385 some rare garments made of *tartari*⁷⁰ and also made of *camocan* – a fabric especially used for mitres, although it is also mentioned for use in other vestments as well as sandals.⁷¹ In the absence of any additional information, it is impossible to determine whether it came from the East or from Italian manufactures, since Lucca and Florence wove it from 1329 and 1344 respectively.⁷²

2.3. Baldaqui

One of the most widely represented fabrics in the ecclesiastical inventories of the 14th century in both Toledo and Oviedo was *baldaqui*. This silk was also known as *bagadell*, *baldekyn*, as well as by similar names such as *baldaquin*, *baldaquino* or *baldoque*. It was originally woven in Bagdad,⁷³ and was later imitated in al-Andalus and Lucca at the end of the 12th century and in Venice in the mid-13th century.⁷⁴ Additional documentation indicates that it was manufactured in Damascus and other among other cities in the late 14th century.⁷⁵ In Castile it had been present at least since the 13th century,⁷⁶ and is mentioned in the inventory of Toledo in 1277, appearing as a fabric used especially to make copes.⁷⁷ This group of fabrics is also listed among the items returned to the

⁶⁷ In 1338 and 1343, “Item una capa de tartari viejo color de çenisa”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2 f.15r, in 1338, Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario,” 392. In 1343, “Item una capa de tartari vieja con orofres viejos”; “Item unas fasalejas de tartari prietas viejas”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2 ff.3r and 19v.

⁶⁸ Both in 1338 and 1343, “Item tartari blanco viejo”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2 f.19v, in 1338, Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario,” 406.

⁶⁹ “Et quando estas vestimientas et paños fueren envejecidas o rotas de guisa que non sean guisadas para usar dellas debennas quemar, et non las deben vender nin dar, nin meterlas á otras cosas que sean á servicio de los homes; ca lo que es dado para servir a Dios non debe ser despues tornado á otro servicio”: RAH, *Las Siete Partidas*, editadas y cotejadas con varios códices antiguos por la Real Academia de la Historia. Tomo I Partida Primera (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807), 187. See: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 662.

⁷⁰ “Otra capa de tartari forrada de çendal indio”, “Item otra capa de tartari con oro con vn orofres ancho forrado de çendal viado”: Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 53 and 54.

⁷¹ “Item otra mitra de vn camocan (sic) blanco borlada de oro grueso guarnida enderredor de vn xamete veermeio en que ha veynte e dos gastones esquinados con piedras [...] Item otra mitra de camocan blanco con oro guarnida de xamete cardeno con gastones de plata doradas (sic) con piedras e aliofar [...] Otra mitra de camocan blanco guarnida de vn orofres en que ha veynte gastones de plata con piedras”; “Item otra mitra de camocan de camocan (sic) blanco broslado de oro de vna fegura de dios padre con quatro angeles, con vn orofres cardeno con rrosas de oro. Otra mitra de camocan blanco guarnida sobre vn xamete uermeio con filo de oro e de plata e piedras con sus rramales deese mesmo lauor. Otra mitra de camocan blanco guarnida de vn orofres con sus rramales e forrada de penna grisa. [...] E el otro collar de vn camocan (sic) blanco con chatones de plata e piedras [...] Item vnas sandalias de camocan blanco con oro forradas de çendal uermeio”; “Item vna casulla e almatica de vn camocan (sic) blanco con oro e grifos las cabeças de oro”; “Item otra capa de camocan verrada (sic) en uerde con vn orofres ancho sin forradura”: Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 48, 49, 51 and 54.

⁷² Jacoby, “Oriental silks go West,” 77; Monnas, “The impact of Oriental silks,” 73.

⁷³ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 47-49; Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 251-253.

⁷⁴ King and King, “Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376,” 94; Jacoby, “Oriental silks go West,” 71 et 77; Monnas, “The impact of Oriental silks,” 74.

⁷⁵ Jacoby, “Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols,” 113.

⁷⁶ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 251.

⁷⁷ “Item siete capas de baldaqui: la una con lazadas cardenas en oro e gorada (sic) de blanco, la otra con pinnas de oro, la otra el canpo doro con palomiellas uerdes e cardenas, e otra con ruedas e flores de oro, la otra el canpo cardeno e grifos de oro, el (sic) otra el canpo cardeno e flores de oro, e la otra el canpo bermeio e lazadas blancas e ruelas de oro [...] Item dizesex capas de baldaqui que dio el Arçobispo don Sancho fijo del rey don Ferrando. La una el canpo cardeno e leones de oro; e dos el canpo bermeio e las flores de oro; e otra el canpo blanco e las papagays de oro; e dos de baldaqui a leones e castiellos e forradas en çendal bermeio. Otra

Toledo cathedral in 1282 and 1320,⁷⁸ as well as in the Gudiel collection (the inventories from 1273 and 1280), which makes explicit the Italian origin of some of them.⁷⁹

It has been estimated that, from 1330 onwards, this term transformed from indicating fabric and became the name of a finished product – canopy or dossal – made of silk, perhaps because it was usually made with this textile.⁸⁰ However, the date of the inventories of Toledo (1338 and 1343) and the later date of the inventory of Oviedo (1385) and even a document about the fabrics of Enrique III dated 1397-1398⁸¹ show that the meaning of the term as fabric was still in use. This is also reflected in records of purchases by Juan I in 1380, an observation made by María Martínez Martínez.⁸²

It has been suggested that the decoration with roundels, inherited from the Sassanid world, was typical of these textiles.⁸³ However, in Alfau's opinion, they might have featured various ornamentations.⁸⁴ This is indeed the case in the Toledo inventories, although sometimes in the 1343 inventory no decoration is specified. As a rule, when a decoration is mentioned, it is described such as the customary roundels, various animals (elephants, parrots, pi-

geons, griffins, deer, birds, eagles, lions), vegetal motifs (pine cones, branches and flowers), archer with crossbows (*sagitarios*), heraldry, images of the Virgin, waves, bows and small decorations as well.⁸⁵ Although these church inventories give no clues as to their manufacture of origin, one fabric features an Arabic inscription on the bottom.⁸⁶ In some instances, the location where the textile was found within the cathedral serves as a method of identifying the piece, instead of its decoration.⁸⁷

Curiously, in the Toledo inventories of 1338 and 1343, the vast majority of *baldaqui*, are qualified as "old".⁸⁸ However, this does not mean that they were no longer in use.⁸⁹ They may have been restored in some manner which enabled them to be utilized.⁹⁰ That said, sometimes it is noted that they are in a poor state of conservation, for example being torn.⁹¹ This is not to say that the type of fabric was out of fashion by that date, because some exceptionally rich examples are also included, with gold and preserved wrapped in linen cloths.⁹² In fact, the inventory of Oviedo mentions only once that this certain fabric does not contain gold, as if the opposite was the norm.⁹³ Moreover, unlike in the Toledo inventory, the *baldoque* is not described as old.

capa el canpo cardeno e los passaros de oro con lobos por las oriellas. Otra el canpo yndio e los grifos de oro; e otra el canpo bermeio con aguilas e peces de oro; e otra el canpo cardeno con aues de oro; otra el canpo blanco e los leones de oro. Otra el canpo bermeio con leones e flores de oro. Otra el canpo blanco e castiellos de oro en bermeio. Otra el canpo cardeno e los castiellos de oro en bermeio; e dos el canpo bermeio e los leones de oro [...] Item ocho capas uieias: la una de baldaqui el canpo yndio con los alifantes prietos [...] Item quatro pannos baldaquis: los dos el canpo yndio e los passaros de oro, otro con ruedas [ilegible] palomas de oro, e el otro el canpo cardeno e los leones de oro [...] Item dos baldaquis uieios que ouo dados don Sancho el canpo bermeio e los sagitarios con ballestas [...] Item un baldaqui refinado que dio donna Blanca muger del infant don Ferrando para casulla que es obrado a castiellos e a aguilas e leones": Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 946-957.

⁷⁸ In the 1282 document: "Item quidam frontale de uallaquino cum papagais": ACT. A. 7.G.2.18. In the 1320 document: "Item casulla, tunica et dalmatica de baldaquis ab leons. Item un baldaqui": ACT, A.8.C.1.6

⁷⁹ Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 478, 487, 495 and 497.

⁸⁰ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 252.

⁸¹ David Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte de Enrique III de Castilla (1397-1398)," *En la España Medieval* 37 (2014): 96, 100, 103 and 106.

⁸² María Martínez Martínez, "Los gastos suntuarios de la monarquía castellana: aproximación a los aspectos técnicos y económicos a través del ejemplo de Juan I," in *IX Jornadas d'Estudis Històrics Locals. La manufactura urbana i els menestrals* (ss. XIII-XVI), ed. María Barceló Crespi (Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Prensa Universitaria 1991), 122.

⁸³ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 252.

⁸⁴ Alfau de Solalinde, *Manual de tejidos*, 48.

⁸⁵ In addition to examples in the notes above and below, 1338 lists two "*pannos de baldoqui a pinnas de oro*": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 416. In 1343: "*Item un panno de baldaqui con ymagenes de sancta Maria*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 4v. Both in 1338 and 1343, "*Item un panno de baldoqui en que ay ramos et çieruos et aues*"; "*Item dos capas de baldoqui viejas a castiellos et a flores. Item dos capas de baldoqui viejas a aguilas et a castiellos [...] Item dos capas de baldoqui a ondas la una india et la otra bermeja*"; "*Item un panno baldoqui bermejo a laur menudiella viejo*"; "*Item un panno baldoqui bermejo con ramas*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 6r, 15r, 17r and 17v, in 1338: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 392, 396, 397.

⁸⁶ "*Item una dalmatica de baldaqui a los rodopies en letras moriscas aforrada en lienço bermejo*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 2v.

⁸⁷ "*Item dos pannos baldoquis vegesuelos que estan sobre el altar de sant Agostin*"; "*Item un panno de baldoqui que esta sobre el altar de sant Agostin*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 17v and 19v.

⁸⁸ "*Item una dalmatica vieja de baldaqui*"; "*Dos baldoquies viejos rotos el uno a armas del rey d'Aragon*"; "*Item tunica, dalmatica que dicen de las palomas de baldoqui viejos*"; "*Item dos capas viejas a flores de baldaqui [...] Item una capa de baldaqui blanco vieja con aues de oro [...] Item una capa de baldaqui vieja aforrada en çendal amariello con dos piedras de cristal*"; "*Item quatro capas de baldoqui viejas que corren en verde con oro et con aues. Item dos capas viejas de baldoqui la una con oro con ramas la otra a aues [...] Item una capa de baldoqui vieja [...] Item un panno de baldoqui viejo estoriado*"; "*Item un panno baldoqui viejo roto*"; "*Item un panno de baldoqui viejo bermejo [...] Item un panno de baldoqui viejo*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 1r, 2r, 2v, 3r, 15v, 19r and 20v. For the 1338 mentions see also Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," especially 392, 406, 415 and 416.

⁸⁹ In 1338 and 1343, "*Item una capa de baldoqui vieja que suele vestir el obispo con una broncha de laton*"; "*Item dos frontales de baldoqui viejos que ponen a Sant spiritus*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 15v and 18r, in 1338, Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 392 and 398.

⁹⁰ In 1338 is quoted: "*Item tres baldoquies viejos cosidos en uno para sobre el altar de ssant saluador*"; Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 393. In the 1343 inventory: "*Item dos pannos baldoquis viejos a aguilas et estan cosidos en uno*"; "*Item una cortina de baldoqui vieja rota con apanaduras de un panno de seda las pespuntas blancas et cardenas a leones et castiellos*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 19v and 20r.

⁹¹ "*Item dos capas viejas de baldaqui rotas*"; "*Item un panno de baldoqui viejo roto*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 3r and 3v.

⁹² "*Item una casulla de baldoqui cardeno cum oro enleuado doro et fecha a ruedas aforrada en çendal bermejo uuelta en un panno de lino roto*"; "*Item una capa de baldoqui blanco enleuado con oro con orofreses de Londres aforrada en çendal bermejo*"; ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 2r and 6r.

⁹³ "*Item una vestimenta la casulla de baldoque (sic) vermejo sin oro forrada en çendal verde conpiida del todo. Item una casulla de baldoque sin oro el campo indio forrada de çendal verde*"; Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 51. Through the statutes of Lucca of 1376, Donald King already proposed that the difference between *camuca* and *baldacchini* (both lampas) was that the latter had a metallic weft (although the ordinances do not prohibit them for *camuca*): King and King, "Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376," 94-96.

Indeed, the *baldoqui* was a very common fabric in the sacristies of cathedrals and it was employed to make ensembles of matching liturgical vestments.⁹⁴ Given the abundance of materials of this textile typology and the late dates of the inventories, it is logical to assume that many of these textiles came from Italy.

2.4. Enperial, cataxamet, taftaf and tapete

In addition to the abovementioned textiles, the collections of archbishops Sancho of Aragon and Gudiel included other textiles that may have been of Eastern provenance. The list of the former's possessions, which Gudiel acquired in 1284, mentions a cope (already old) of *enperial*,⁹⁵ a fabric which has been estimated to be of oriental origin and which in 1382 was included in the ordinances of Lucca.⁹⁶ Some *cataxamet* ornaments are also included in this inventory.⁹⁷ This term also appears in the inventory of the Cathedral of Toledo in 1277 regarding some vestments donated to the cathedral by Archbishop Sancho.⁹⁸ Those vestments have been linked to a Byzantine origin, and similar ones were also made in the Italian cities of Venice and Lucca.⁹⁹

Taffeta, a word of Persian origin, was introduced into Europe at the beginning of the 14th century. It was the cheapest of the silks and, from 1344 and 1376, it was present in the ordinances of Florence and Lucca.¹⁰⁰ Its appearance in the Toledo inventories of 1338 and 1343 as *taftafes* / *taftaf* antedates by

several years the first mention for Castile, hitherto estimated at 1348.¹⁰¹ Curiously, although it had been generally accepted that this was a fabric especially used for linings – based on certain references dated between 1348 and 1403¹⁰² – in these inventories of Toledo and Oviedo, its mentions are very scarce, and they do not specify that application but are linked to a striped decoration, *viada*.¹⁰³

The *tapete* was a word which, while originally meaning carpet, by the 14th century also had an additional meaning – cloth.¹⁰⁴ According to Gudiel's two inventories, it could be of either Eastern (Greek) origin or a manufacture from *Ispania*. In fact, a 1273 document specifically mentions the city of Murcia as the place of manufacture.¹⁰⁵ And the 1277 inventory of Toledo classifies them as *moriscos*.¹⁰⁶ Before the 14th century, the meaning of *tapete* may have been broader than just a mere carpet. It is a term that, having already been mentioned in ecclesiastical inventories from the beginning of the 12th century, appears in different documents from the 10th century onwards in connection with beds,¹⁰⁷ perhaps a carpet that could be used as mattress.¹⁰⁸ In the 1275 Salamanca inventory, it seems to serve as a wall hanging.¹⁰⁹

As a fabric in the inventories of Toledo, we find *tapete* in various colors, most abundantly in *bermejo*.¹¹⁰ It should be noted that this fabric was used to make ensembles of matching liturgical vestments.¹¹¹ This fabric could also have been made from linen as specified for a cloth,¹¹² and have heraldic and figurative decoration.¹¹³ In a unique instance, a horizontal band

⁹⁴ “Item casula, tunica, dalmatica de xamete blanco enleuado con orofreses de Londres et los redropies de baldoqui”; “Item una tunica de xamet bermeio con orofreses angosto et los redropies de baldoqui. Item una dalmatica de xamet bermeio con orofres angosto et los redropies de baldoqui verde” ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 6r and 25r.

⁹⁵ “Una capa uiaia de enperial”: Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 497.

⁹⁶ “Pupure transmarine quae nominantur imperiales”: Jacoby, “Oriental silks at the time of the Mongols,” 120. King and King, “Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376,” 95.

⁹⁷ “Tunica e dalmatica de cataxamet vermeio sin orfreses [...] Dos fazaleias de cata xamet blanco”: Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 497.

⁹⁸ “Item las capas que dio don Sancho fijo del rey de Aragón: treze capas bermeias de cata xamet con orofreses”: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 388 and 947.

⁹⁹ ACT, X.12.B.1.1: “Item las capas que dio don Sancho fijo del rey de Aragón: treze capas bermeias de cata xamet con orofreses” see Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 388 and 947. About the textile term: Jacoby, “Silk economics,” 229; Lisa Monnas, “Loom widths and selvages prescribed by Italian silk weaving statutes 1265-1512: a preliminary investigation,” *Bulletin du CIETA* 66 (1988); King and King, “Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376,” 105.

¹⁰⁰ Monnas, “The impact of Oriental silks,” 70-71.

¹⁰¹ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 352-356.

¹⁰² Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 353-354.

¹⁰³ “Item dos destajos de taftaf viados [...] Item un manto para sancta maria barrado por fuerça la una uia de taftan viado et la otra de un panno labrado con oro aforrado en çendal cardeno”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff.19v and 20r. The two fragments already appear in 1338: Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario,” 397. In Oviedo, “vna estola con su manipulo de tafe (sic) viado nuevos forrados en lienço uermejo”: Villamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 59.

¹⁰⁴ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 357-361.

¹⁰⁵ “Tres tapetes murcianos”: ACT, A.7.H.1.1^a; “Item octo tapeta ysipanica. [...] Item unum tapetum de Grecia”: ACT, A.7.G.1.12 cf. Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 485 et 495.

¹⁰⁶ “Item tres tapetes moriscos buenos. E tres uieios”: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 404 and 952.

¹⁰⁷ Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 400, 404, 612, 613, 624, 707 and 708.

¹⁰⁸ Hernández and Linehan, *The mozarabic cardinal*, 504.

¹⁰⁹ “Entre el choro et el altar un tapete con la estoria de Antiochia”: Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 404.

¹¹⁰ In 1338: “un panno de tepete de muchos colores para sobre la siella del arçobispo [...] una capa de tapete bermejo afforrada en çendal amariello con orofreses a las armas del rey de Castiella e del del França que dio el dean Vasco fferrandes”: Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario,” 385 and 405. Both in 1338 and 1343: “Item una capa de tapete bermejo con buenos orofreses”; “Item dos manipulos de tapete bermejo aforrados en çendal amariello [...] Item dos manipulos de tapete blanco aforrados en çendal bermejo con una via verde por medio”; “Item un panno de tapete verde con borlas aderedor para la siella del arçobispo”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 2r, 4v and 11v, in 1338: Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario,” 384, 403 and 418. In 1343: “Una capa de un tapete bermejo con un orofres ancho estoriado labrado con aliofar e con esmaltes”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 24v.

¹¹¹ “Item casulla, tunica, dalmatica et dos estolas et tres manipulos de tapete cardeno aforrado en çendal amariello”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 16v, also listed in 1338: Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario,” 395.

¹¹² “Item un panno tapete de lino a los cabos listas bermejas a la morisca”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 6r. In 1338: “unas fasalejas de lino que semejan como tapete”: Pérez de Guzmán, “Un inventario,” 404.

¹¹³ In 1343: “Item dos pannos tapetes de las armas del arçobispo don Gutierre”; “Item dos tapetes que dio el arçobispo don Ximeno a armas de don Iohn Manuel [...] Item otro tapete estoriado sin armas”; “Item un tapete viejo de las armas del arçobispo don Gutierre”: ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 18r, 19r and 20v.

decoration was painted on.¹¹⁴ The advanced age of some *tapete* is pointed out, however they were still in use.¹¹⁵ The dates of these inventories (1338 and 1343), antedate use of this term as a weave several years earlier than what had previously been estimated.¹¹⁶ In the Oviedo inventory of 1385, there are very few garments made of *tapete*, which only appear in two copes¹¹⁷ and this fabric also formed part of the vestments that Bishop Don Gutierre donated to his chapel.¹¹⁸ These inventories do not specify the fabric's origin, however, contemporaneous documents indicate that it could have been of two kinds, *raso* or *velludo* / *velloso*, and that it came from Tabriz,¹¹⁹ an addition to abovementioned list of places of origin. The interesting characteristic of *velloso* had already been noted in the Toledo inventory of 1277,¹²⁰ as it is an early mention of some kind of velvet.

2.5. *Marromaque and rricomas*

This last group consists of fabrics that are quite late and are rarely mentioned in the inventories, suggesting that they must have been luxury goods.

In the Toledo inventories of 1338 and 1343, several of the vestments were made of *marromaque*,¹²¹ a rich 14th-century fabric that formed part of the cloth of gold. Interpreted as a *lampas*, it has been proposed that it was originally woven in the Near East and later imitated in Europe when it appeared in 1458 in the regulations of Florence.¹²² The date of the Toledo inventories (1338 and 1343) antedates the first docu-

mentation of this term in Castile, which until now has been estimated at 1348.¹²³ The valuation in which the garments made with this fabric were can be inferred from the fact that they were wrapped in cloth, sometimes described as old and torn.¹²⁴ In addition, several of these references relate to their ownership by cardinals and archbishops.¹²⁵ In the inventory of Oviedo (1385) there are also several *marromat* garments¹²⁶ which are sometimes described as old. And was always emphasized that this was a rich fabric, being described as cloth of gold.¹²⁷ An example of the richness of this textile is that King Alfonso XI (†1350) donated some of his *marromaque* vestments to the cathedral, where they used them to make a cope.¹²⁸ These garments must have been in good condition as they were not listed as old, despite the difference between the date of the inventory (1385) and the year of the king's death (1350), which is the latest possible date of this donation. It is surprising that some of these items were not lined with another fabric.¹²⁹

The same lack of lining applies to some *rricomas* vestments.¹³⁰ *Rricoma* was a cloth of gold, whose name derives from the Arabic *rakamat* meaning embroidery, was made in Italy, as attested by the 1376 ordinances of the city of Lucca, and is considered appropriate for the most solemn occasions.¹³¹ In the Oviedo inventory, *rricomas*' rich decorations include trees, falcons and golden dogs. Some of these textiles were brought to the cathedral as donations from archdeacons¹³² as well as the donation

¹¹⁴ "Item un panno de tapete pintado a manera de uiado": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 6r.

¹¹⁵ "Item un tapete viejo"; "Item un tapete viejo de las armas del arçobispo don Gutierre [...] Item un tapete viejo que tiene Iohn Dias para servicio del coro": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 19v and 20v.

¹¹⁶ Up until now, the date 1348 had been proposed: Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 357.

¹¹⁷ "Otra capa de tapete (sic) uerde forrada en çendal... (sic) que dio el dean esteuan ffernandez"; "Item otra capa de panno de tapete color follinado (sic) forrada en çendal uermejo": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 53 and 56.

¹¹⁸ "Otra casulla de tapete indio con ororfres a armas del obispo. Item otra casulla de tapete colorado con vna cruz de trena ancha forrada de çendal verde": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 62.

¹¹⁹ Nogales Rincón, "Un año en la corte," 100.

¹²⁰ "Item un tapet uelloso muy bueno": Barrigón, *Vestirse*, 404 and 952.

¹²¹ In 1338: "quatro fasalejas que dio el dicho cardenal de marromaque": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 394. Both in 1338 and 1343: "Item una capa de marromaque con orofres estoriado con una broncha de plata forrada en çendal bermejo": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 16v. In 1338: Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 395. In 1343: "Item estola et manipulo de marromaque"; "Item dos manipulos de marromaque": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 16r and 17v. Related to these, in 1338 it was listed "dos manipulos e una estola de marrumaques": Pérez de Guzmán, "Un inventario," 413.

¹²² Lisa Monnas, "Silk clothes purchased for the Great Wardrobe of the Kings of England, 1325-1462," *Textile History* 20, no. 2 (1989): 284-285; Rosati, "Migrazioni tecnologiche. La diffusione," 61-62 and 64.

¹²³ Martínez Meléndez, *Los nombres de tejidos*, 313.

¹²⁴ "Item un panno viejo roto para cubrir las vestimentas de marromaque": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, f. 2v.

¹²⁵ "Item una estola et dos manipulos de marromaque aforradas en çendal bermejo del cardenal"; "Item tres pannos de marromaque que dexo el arçobispo don Ximeno. Item otros tres pannos de marromaque que fueron de don Pedro": ACT, X.12.B.1.2, ff. 5r and 18v.

¹²⁶ "Item otra capa de marromat con vn orofres e vna broncha de aliofar forrada de xamete vermejo [...] Item otra capa de marromat blanco con vn orofres de oro e con vna plancha de plata esmaltada forrada en çendal uermejo. Item otra capa de marromat vermejo con vn orofres a castiellos e leones forrada de çendal uermejo"; "Item otra capa de marromaque viejo con una trena de çendal viado": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 53 and 54.

¹²⁷ "Item una casulla tunica e almatica de panno de oro marromat (sic) viejo en campo verde. Item una casulla tunica e almatica de panno de oro marromat viejo": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 50.

¹²⁸ "Item otra capa de marromaque que corre en uermejo forrada en çendal amariello que es de las vestimentas que dio el Rey don Alfonso": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 56.

¹²⁹ "Item otra capa de marromaque (sic) que corre (sic) en cardeno sin forradura": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 54.

¹³⁰ "Item vna casulla tunica e almatica de rricomas (sic) uermejo sin forraduras"; "Item otra capa de Rricomas blanco con orofres ancho a ymagines sin forradura": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 50 and 53.

¹³¹ Monnas, "Silk clothes purchased for the Great Wardrobe of the Kings of England, 1325-1462," 285; King and King, "Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376," 95; Lisa Monnas, "All that glitters: cloth of gold as a vehicle for display 1300-1500," in *Arrayed in splendour. Art, fashion, and textiles in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. Cristoph Brachmann (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 102-107.

¹³² "Item mas vna capa de rricomas uermejo alauores... (sic) e aruoles de oro forrada en lienço cardeno e las cenefas de tapete (sic) indio que dio el dean Pero Gay. Item mas otra capa de rricomas... (sic) alauares (sic) falcones e podencos e señuelos de oro con vnas trenas de oro anchas forrada en çendal uermejo que dio don Gonçalo Garcia arcediano de grado. Otra capa de rricomas (sic) que corre (sic) en cardeno forrada en ... (sic) que dio Pero Esteuanes arcediano de Benauente": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 53.

from Bishop Gutierre for his chapel.¹³³ In addition, this fabric was also used for small liturgical ornaments,¹³⁴ as well as for orphrey bands.¹³⁵

3. Conclusions

This article analyzes, for the first time, the existence of *panni tartarici* and other oriental fabrics in the Castilian Church between 1270 and 1385 through documentary sources, thus demonstrating the existence therein of luxury materials the same as those used in the rest of the Western kingdoms.

One of the problems already mentioned in the introduction is the uncertainty regarding if we are dealing with oriental fabrics or with imitations made in Italy (as is the case with some of the *baldaqui*) which would, presumably, maintain some of the Oriental aesthetics.

Worth noting is not only the abundance of terms but also, on occasions, the numerous mentions of some of them in the inventories, regardless of the fact that they were sometimes considered old. In addition to the generic *ultramar*, different names indicate the place of manufacture that made them famous, such as *bucaran*, *suria* or *damas*. The number of mentions of *panni tartarici* in the inventories, both of ecclesiastics and of the sacristies, indicates that this term, which could allude to various textile typologies, was not rare in Castile.

In light of this new evidence, several of these terms antedate their appearance in Castile compared to what had hitherto been estimated. Thus, *bucaran* is antedated from 1293 to 1273, *damasco* from 1440 to 1385, *tafftafes*, *tapete* and *marromaque* from 1348 to 1338. In contrast, other terms prolong the fabric's use. This is the case of *baldaqui*, for which it had been estimated that, from 1330 onward, it ceased to mean a textile to designate a canopy or dassel. However, it continued to be used as a textile until the end of the 14th century.

Indeed, this documentation enables us to identify several details about certain fabrics. Thus, the term *damasco* was first used to designate metallic threads themselves, before it became a designation for a fabric coming from Damasco that included gold threads among its materials. *Camoca* appears to be linked especially to mitres, and *tafftafe* was not used as a lining but as the main fabric and, finally, *tapete* could be made of linen and also be called *uellose*.

The decoration of some of these fabrics and garments is not surprising, some of them being cloth of gold such as that of the *tartarici*, for which "decorated with gold" is usually emphasized, while the number of different motifs that adorned the *baldaqui* is outstanding. The *tafftafe* is particularly associated with striped decoration (*uiada*), and the heraldic decoration, possibly embroidered, is noted for many of the *tapete*, which are very abundant in *bermejo* colour.

To summarize, the Castilian Church was well stocked with these extremely valuable fabrics with their varied decorations, which contributed to dress

and to create spaces of solemnity for the different liturgical celebrations.

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¹³³ "Vna capa de rricomas cardeno con vn orofres de ymagines de apostolos aarmas del obispo forrada de çendal uermejo. Item cinco piecas de rricomas las quatro coloradas e la vna blanca para cinco capas (e dos açenechas de oro bosladas aymagenes de apostolos (adicion)": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 62.

¹³⁴ "Item tres maniplos (sic) de rricomas uermejo [...] Item mas dos estolas de rricomas uermejo": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 59.

¹³⁵ "Item un amito de lienço delgado con vn orofres de rricomas": Villaamil y Castro, *Colección de artículos*, 57.

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