

ლიზი მოწმობს, რომ აქ იკვეთება რამდენიმე ქრონოლოგიური ფენა, სადაც ნათლად მოჩანს განსხვავებული კონსტრუქციული და ტექნოლოგიური თავისებურებები.

განსაკუთრებით ფართო და მასშტაბური სამუშაოები ტარდებოდა ქალაქის უმაღლესი აყვავებისა და გაძლიერების ჟამს – XII საუკუნესა და XIII საუკუნის პირველ მესამედში, მხარგრძელთა მმართველობის ხანაში, როდესაც ანისი ქართული სახელმწიფოს ნაწილს წარმოადგენდა. სწორედ იმ პერიოდში საფორტიფიკაციო სამუშაოები განსაკუთრებით მნიშვნელოვნებას იძენს როგორც თავისი მასშტაბებით, ასევე ტექნიკური და ესთეტიკური თვალსაზრისითაც.

SILK ROAD WITHOUT FABRICS: ANI AT THE CROSSROADS OF TRADE AND TEXTILE MOTIFS IN ARCHITECTURE

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The city of Ani was a crucial node for trade until shifts in trade routes towards the Black Sea took place in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Eventually, these shifts contributed to the city's decline in the mid-fourteenth century. The present chapter uses this framework of medieval trade along the westernmost reaches of the Silk Road(s) in order to investigate a commodity largely absent from the archaeological record: textiles. While textiles, particularly silk from Central Asia and Iran, doubtlessly played a central role in the merchant community of Ani, the fabrics in question have not been preserved on site. This is not surprising considering the wet winter weather in Ani, where textiles would not have survived in archaeological contexts. Nevertheless, textile motifs in some monuments at Ani, and in objects associated with the site, allow me to venture into suggestions that the city was closely connected to the various textile cultures of medieval Anatolia by way of both representations of textiles and the rare extant fragments produced in that region. Further evidence for textiles in the context of thirteenth-century Anatolia will complete the picture.

Architecture and Textile in Medieval Anatolia

The first object that is associated with Ani and, perhaps, textile motifs, is a metal chandelier from the Church of St. Gregory, commissioned by King Gagik (r. 998-1017), found in Nikolai Marr's excavation campaign in the early twentieth century (Fig. 1).¹ The chandelier has motifs of eagles and

¹ Acknowledgements: I thank the organizers of the Conference *Ani at the Crossroads*, in particular Zaza Shkirtladze, for including me both in the symposium and its publication. For comment that were integrated into this chapter, I

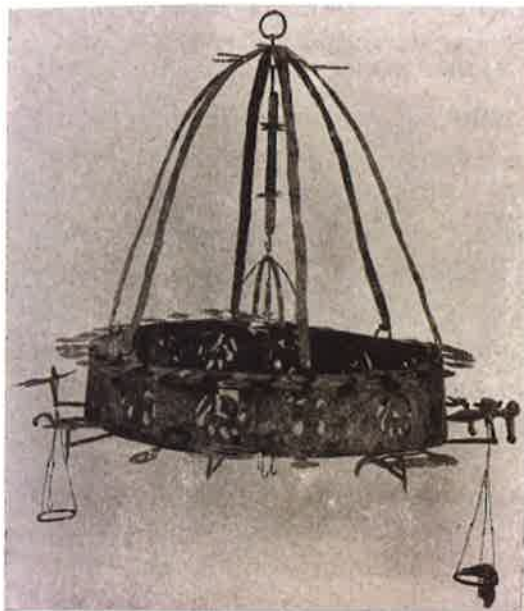


Fig. 1. Eleventh-century chandelier found in excavations of Gagikashen/ St. Gregory of King Gagik (r. 998-1017), Ani (Photo: from Nikolai Marr, *Ani* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934), XXVIII, fig. 94)

griffins in its main ring. In a study of the role of light in the night offices of the medieval Armenian Church, Christina Maranci has shown the objects

thank Erik Thunø and Scott Redford. I thank Sheila Canby, Deniz Beyazit, and Martina Ruggiadi for inviting me to the symposium connected to Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs, in June 2016, which afforded me the rare pleasure of seeing many of the textiles discussed in this chapter side-by-side in the same room. For research and publication support, I thank the Society of Architectural Historians and the Dean's Office at Pomona College. For access to objects, I am grateful to the director and staff of the Musée des Tissus in Lyon, to Gerhard Lutz at the Dommuseum in Hildesheim, and to Moya Carey at the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. For images and permissions, I thank the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Art Resource/ NY, the David Collection in Copenhagen, Mattia Guidetti, the Musée des Tissus in Lyon, and the Victoria & Albert Museum in London. The last section of this paper draws from Chapter 4 in my book, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rûm* (Farnham and Burlington, 2014).

Nikolai Marr, *Ani. Книжная история города и раскопки на месте городища [Ani. A Literary History of the Town and Excavations on the Settlement]* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934), 55-66.

place as a source of varied light effects that could include the reflections of colored glass.² Yet the shadows cast by the oil lamps fitted into the chandelier may not only have provided effects of light and dark. Their patterns perhaps also suggested that the interior of the church was hung with precious textiles, by projecting these motifs onto the walls. These reflections would have been combined with the clothing of those attending the services – presumably the court of King Gagik – and members of the clergy, considering that such clothes are represented in sculpture of the period.³

Textiles from eleventh- to thirteenth-century Iran and Anatolia (in the latter case from both Byzantine and Islamic contexts) are relatively rare, yet patterns show continuity with earlier examples. Particularly the roundel motifs with various animals enclosed in them, frequent in Central Asia, Iran, and the Byzantine Empire over centuries (Fig. 2 and Fig. 3), continued to be used.⁴ Extant fragments of textiles attributed to Anatolia show motifs including the *senmurw*, various birds, dragons and lions, often enclosed in roundel patterns delineated by pearl bands other patterns. The few examples attributed to medieval Anatolia under Islamic rule are quickly listed, as I shall discuss below.⁵ Attributions are fraught, considering that at times, what may be fragments of the same textile held in dif-

² Christina Maranci, "Sights and Sounds of the Armenian Night Office as Performed at Ani: A Collation of the Archaeological, Historical, and Liturgical Evidence", unpublished paper presented in symposium "Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination", Stanford University, 5 November 2016. The chandelier is illustrated in: Marr, *Ani*, 64-5, and plate XXVIII, fig. 94.

³ See, for instance, the donor figure at the Church of the Holy Cross, Aghtamar, Lake Van, 915-21: Lynn Jones, *Between Islam and Byzantium: Aghtamar and the Visual Construction of Medieval Armenian Rulership* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2007).

⁴ On early examples, see: Matthew Canepa, "Textiles and Elite Tastes between the Mediterranean, Iran and Asia at the End of Antiquity", in *Global Textile Encounters*, eds. Marie-Louise Nosch, Zhao Feng and Lotika Varadarajan (Philadelphia, 2014), 1-14.

⁵ For the relevant pieces gathered in one place, see: Sheila Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (New York and New Haven, 2016), cat. nos. 5, 150, 151.

ferent museum collections are recorded with various suggested origins. A textile with pairs of felines in polylobed medallions, and with double-headed eagles in the spaces left between the medallions is a good example for this problem. A fragment of this silk brocade with metal threads in the David Collection, Copenhagen, is attributed to late thirteenth to early fourteenth-century Anatolia.⁶ A much larger piece, possibly of the same textile, at the Cleveland Museum of Art is attributed to northeast Iran in the thirteenth century, and connected to Mongol rule in the area.⁷ Overall, attributions remain general, as written sources relating to the region offer little information about textile production, and none of the recorded mentions are from texts written by the chroniclers of Seljuq Anatolia, but rather



Fig. 2. Fragment of textile with *senmurw* motif, Iran or Central Asia, seventh to eighth century (The Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 8579-1863)

⁶ inv. no. 32/1989 see: Maria Wenzel, "Textiles & the Seljuks of Anatolia", *HALI* 53 (1990): 136-8 and Kjeld von Folsach, *Islamic Art: The David Collection* (Copenhagen, 1990), 231, fig. 395.

⁷ Cleveland Museum of Art, purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1990.2, object record, http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1990.2?collection_search_query=1990.2&op=search&form_build_id=form, accessed 25 February 2018. See also: Louise W. Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7th-21st Century* (Cleveland, OH and New Haven, CT, 2015), 215-20.



Fig. 3. Fragment of textile with *senmurw* motif, Constantinople, 900-1100 (The Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 764-1893)

from the accounts of European travels and Mamluk visitors.⁸ Marco Polo – not the most reliable of sources – mentions Konya, Sivas, and Kayseri are mentioned as centers of production of carpets and some silk textiles.⁹ This observation on places of production begs the additional question whether the textiles attributed to Seljuq Anatolia based on their motifs and, in one case, their inscriptions, might have been produced elsewhere based on designs provided by the Seljuq court.

Returning to Ani, at the early thirteenth-century Church of Tigran Honents, the painted imitation of a textile with a *senmurw* motif (Fig. 4) is a perhaps testimony to the presence of such fabrics on site or, if not, then certainly to the appreciation for such luxury goods that would have been known in this trade center. The panel is only a small part of the large painted program that I will not discuss, yet its presence on site at Ani is a crucial point for this paper.¹⁰ The textile motif is painted on a narrow

⁸ Robert Bertram Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles: Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut, 1972), 193-5.

⁹ *ibid.*, 193.

¹⁰ Literature on the painted program abounds, but for a recent discussing with up-to-date bibliography, see: Maria Andaloro and Maria Raffaella Menna, "La



Fig. 4. Wall-painting with *senmurw*-textile motif, south side of apse, Church of Saint Gregory of Tigran Honents, Ani, c. 1215 (Photo: Neli Chakvetadze)

wall to the south of the apse, and is done in rich tones of maroon, red, and purple that suggest a reference to a purple silk. Since *senmurw* motifs appear in Islamic and Byzantine textiles, the exact reference intended is not quite clear. As Mattia Guidetti suggested, the use of this motifs together with other, more clearly Islamicate ones in the architecture of the church

Chiesa di San Gregorio l'Illuminatore ad Ani e le sue pitture", in *"A mari usque ad mare". Cultura visuale e materiale dall'Adriatico all'India*, eds Mattia Guidetti and Sara Mondini, special issue of *Eurasiatica* 4 (2016): 25-47.

points to the desire of local patrons to participate in an elite culture that reached across several regions along the western fringe of the Silk Road.¹¹ Since Tigran Honents, the patron of the church, was a wealthy merchant, it is entirely plausible that he may have owned, or traded in such fabrics that could have reached Ani from the East.¹² Similarly, merchant Samadin who built a palace in Mren a few decades later also resorted to Islamicate motifs in order to show his participation in the larger elite culture of the region, which spanned a wide geography and included both Muslim and Christian patrons.¹³ The shared court culture of the medieval eastern Mediterranean that, for instance, Oleg Grabar has discussed is part of this complex exchange between Christian and Muslim courts.¹⁴

These forms of patronage are closely connected to the transculturation that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries marked the Mediterranean, as Eva Hoffmann and Scott Redford have discussed in detail.¹⁵ From the Mediterranean, these forms of interaction extended along trade routes into Anatolia, and reached Ani, which was also connected to Iran and Central Asia on the eastern trade routes leading all the way to China. Hence, the

- ¹¹ Mattia Guidetti, "The 'Islamicness' of Some Decorative Patterns in the Church of Tigran Honents in Ani", in *Architecture and Landscape in Medieval Anatolia, 1100-1500*, eds. Patricia Blessing and Rachel Goshgarian (Edinburgh, 2017), 155-87.
- ¹² On the extent of trade, see: David Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West", *DOP* 58 (2004): 197-240. On the patron of the church, see Jean-Pierre Mahé, "Le testament de Tigran Honenc': la fortune d'un marchand arménien d'Ani aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles", *CRAI* 145, no. 3 (2001): 1319-41.
- ¹³ Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rûm, 1240-1330* (Farnham and Burlington, 2014), 127.
- ¹⁴ Oleg Grabar, "The Shared Culture of Objects", in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, DC, 1997), 115-30.
- ¹⁵ Eva R. Hoffman and Scott Redford, "Transculturation in the Eastern Mediterranean", in *A Companion to Islamic Art and Architecture*, eds. Finbarr Barry Flood and Gülru Necipoğlu (Hoboken, NJ, 2017), vol. 1, 405-30. On related issues specifically with regard to textiles and textile motifs, see: Vera-Simone Schulz, "Crossroads of Cloth: Textile Arts and Aesthetics in an Beyond the Medieval Islamic World", *Perspective: actualité en histoire de l'art* 1 (2016): 93-108.

phenomena of transcultural exchange observed at Ani are also connected to the larger context of the Mongol empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the movement of commodities that Thomas Allsen examined.¹⁶ The use of overland roads for this part of the trade has, of course, the inconvenience that evidence such as that from the eleventh-century Serçe Limanı shipwreck, giving a snapshot of the kind of cargo traded in the Mediterranean at the time, is not available.¹⁷

While we do not have direct evidence for the use of textiles in the merchant community of Ani, is it possible to discuss related contexts in thirteenth-century Anatolia under Seljuq rule and Armenian-ruled Cilicia that will help to establish how textiles might have been used, and how these uses relate to textile motifs in architecture. One of the main challenges in this project is to bring together the limited evidence in a number of materials: actual textiles, often fragmentary and very rarely as entire pieces; representations of clothing in manuscript paintings; and textile representations in architectural decoration in a range of materials that includes tile, stone, and painting.

That such textiles were worn can be inferred from the donor portrait of prince Levon of Cilicia and his wife, princess Keran, in a Gospel manuscript dated 1262.¹⁸ While the prince wears a robe with a lion pattern and a cloak with griffins and eagles, his wife's dress is adorned with a hybrid of eagle body and human heads.¹⁹ This motif is recurrent in the tile work

¹⁶ Thomas Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge, 1997).

¹⁷ Hoffman and Redford, "Transculturation", 405-7; on the shipwreck: George Fletcher Bass and James W. Allan, *Serçe Limanı: An Eleventh-century Shipwreck*, 2 vols. (College Station, TX, 2004).

¹⁸ Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem, ms 2660, fol. 228, image in *Armenia Sacra: Mémoire chrétienne des Arméniens (IVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, eds. Jannic Durand, Ioanna Rapti and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris, 2007), 258, fig. 5. See also the discussion of textiles in Arménag Sakisian, "Tissus royaux arméniens des Xe, XIe, et XIIIe siècles", *Syria* 16, no. 3 (1935): 291-6.

¹⁹ A small fragment of a textile with double-headed eagle motifs, attributed to thirteenth-century Anatolia is in the Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, inv. no. 1881, 475, image in Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. 151, 240.



Fig. 5. Silk fabric with name of Seljuq sultan 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-37), Lyon, Musée des Tissus, inv. no. 23475. © Lyon, MTMAD – Sylvain Pretto

of Islamic architecture in central Anatolia just a few decades earlier, for instance in the palace of Kubadabad, c. 1220-30, where such tiles were used to decorated the dado.²⁰ Such depictions also exist in Byzantine painting, both in manuscripts and in wall-paintings, pointing to the wide-spread practice (at the court level) of turning such textiles into clothing.²¹

²⁰ Rüçhan Arık, *Kubadabad – Selçuklu Saray ve Çinileri [Kubadabad – The Seljug Palace and its Tiles]* (Istanbul, 2000); Katharina Otto-Dorn, "Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad Oktober 1966", *AA* 84 (1969): 438-506; Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Önder, "Bericht über die Grabung in Kobadabad (Oktober 1965)", *AA* 81 (1966): 170-83.

²¹ Jennifer Ball, *Byzantine Dress: Representations of Secular Dress in Eighth- to Twelfth-century Painting* (New York, 2005); Warren T. Woodfin, "Repetition and Replication: Sacred and Secular Patterned Textiles", in *Experiencing Byzantium: Papers from the 44th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Newcastle and Durham, April 2011*, eds. Claire Nesbit and Mark Jackson (Farnham and Burlington, 2013), 35-55.

Entire garments made of such textiles have rarely been preserved, and hence an example from Iran and possibly dated to the eleventh or twelfth century is useful to get a better idea of what the clothing shown in the painting of Keran and Levon might have looked like, and that the garments shown were not just born from the painter's fantasy.²² The textile of Levon's robe, in turn, evokes one of the few textiles that have been preserved from thirteenth-century Anatolia. This silk fabric with lions in roundels woven into it in gold thread is preserved in the Musée des Tissus in Lyon, France (Fig. 5). At the bottom, an inscription (Fig. 6 and 7) contains the name of Seljuq sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 1219-37).²³ Since



Fig. 6. Inscription showing part of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad's name and titles on silk fabric, Lyon, Musée des Tissus, inv. no. 23475. © Lyon, MTMAD – Sylvain Pretto

published photographs don't allow for a clear reading of the inscription, I went to see for myself and was lucky enough to see the piece in the conservation workshop where it just had been taken. Since my visit to the museum in October 2015, the textile has once more been restored. In preparation for the *Court and Cosmos* exhibition about the arts of the Seljuq dynasty at the Metropolitan Museum in summer 2016, the fragments were once more reassembled to look like the fragmentary liturgical vestment

²² Sarikhani Collection, Oxfordshire, UK, Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. no. 24.

²³ Musée des Tissus, Lyon, inv. no. 23475, images in Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. 5, 54-5.

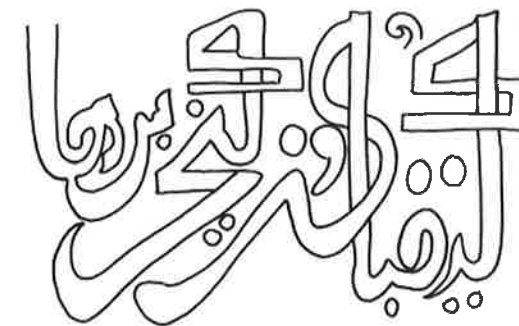


Fig. 7. Drawing of detail of 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād's name on textile, Lyon, Musée des Tissus, inv. no. 23475

that the museum acquired in the late nineteenth century.²⁴ The state of the textile before its first restoration is shown in an archival photograph from the 1970s in the museum's archives.²⁵ A digital reconstruction published in the *Court and Cosmos* catalog shows the pattern as rows of medallions.²⁶ This pattern is suggested by the repeated appearance of the same pair of lions that are mirrored to the left and right of a tree of life, and with the heads of dragons at their feet (Fig. 8).

The place of production of this silk is unclear; the structure with a roundel pattern featuring affronted lions and the thirteenth-century date could place it in a number of regions, including Spain, the Byzantine Empire, and Iran and Central Asia. The inscription, of course, gives reason to pause, since it supplies information about a specific context for patronage, even though it is one for which no documentation about textile production exists. Technical analysis of the fabric carried out at the museum dur-

²⁴ The photograph in Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. no. 5, 54 shows the textile before its restoration in 2015-16, in the same state I was able to see it in October 2015. The observation about the re-restoration comes from my comparison of the textile in the exhibition in New York in June 2016 and photographic documentation that I viewed in the documentation center of the Musée des Tissus in Lyon.

²⁵ My observation, Musée des Tissus, Lyon, October 2015.

²⁶ Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, fig. 35.

ing a previous conservation project in the 1990s suggests that the piece was certainly an eastern Mediterranean (rather than Andalusian) product.²⁷ The small number of comparative pieces, as well as the absence of sources about textile production in medieval Anatolia make it impossible to narrow this down more closely. Looking at details of the textile, the Anatolian localization of, if not the production, then of the design, is clear. The inscription is, of course, the most direct clue with its partial mention of a Muslim ruler's name and titles: "[...] 'l-dīn abū 'l-fatḥ Kayqubādh bin Kaykhusraw burhān amī[...]"'.²⁸

The inscription is the most reliable indication, if not of the place of production of this silk, then of who this was made for, namely 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād, the Seljuq ruler of Anatolia between 1219-37. This ruler was



Fig. 8. Detail of one medallion in the silk fabric with name of Seljuq sultan 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-37), Lyon, Musée des Tissus, inv. no. 23475. © Lyon, MTMAD – Sylvain Pretto

²⁷ Object documentation, Musée des Tissus, Lyon.

²⁸ This could have continued to read *burhān amīr al-mu'minīn*: Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. no. 5, 54-5. Object documentation at the Musée des Tissus, Lyon contains J. Michael Rogers's notes on the inscription.



Fig. 9. Drawing of one of the dragon heads in the silk fabric with name of Seljuq sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād (r. 1220-37), Lyon, Musée des Tissus, inv. no. 23475

largely responsible for shaping the central Anatolian city of Konya as his capital, as Scott Redford and Suzan Yalman have shown in detailed studies of the city and its architecture in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.²⁹ A ruler of this stature would, of course, also have owned textiles, yet nothing else has been preserved that can be as clearly attributed to the context in question as the textile in Lyon.

Further connections to Anatolia emerge in the Lyon silk that suggest that perhaps, it was indeed made in the region, or at the very least designed there. In the motifs on the fabric, the dragons (Fig. 9) evoke metal work such as the early thirteenth-century door knockers on the doors from the Great Mosque of Jazīrat ibn 'Umar (modern Cizre in south-eastern Turkey) (Fig. 10).³⁰ The talismanic form of these and similar dragons is abun-

²⁹ Scott Redford, "The Alaeddin Mosque in Konya Reconsidered", *Artibus Asiae* 51.1/2 (1991): 5474; Scott Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique", *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 148-56; Scott Redford, "Thirteenth Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery", *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 219-27; Suzan Yalman, "'Ala al-Din Kayqubad Illuminated: A Rum Seljuq Sultan as Cosmic Ruler", *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 151-86; Suzan Yalman, "Building the Sultanate of Rum: Religion, Urbanism and Mysticism in the Architectural Patronage of 'Ala al-Din Kayqubad (r. 1220-1237)", PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2011.

³⁰ The doors and one handle are today in the Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul, inv. no. 3749. The second handle, stolen from Cizre in 1969, is now in the David Collection, Copenhagen, inv. no. 38/1973. The doors were removed from the mosque as a direct consequence of the theft. See: Z. Kenan Bilici, "Bronze



Fig. 10. Door knocker from the Great Mosque of Cizre Jazirat ibn Umar, early thirteenth century. The David Collection, Copenhagen, inv. no. 38/1973 (Photo: Pernille Klemp, used by permission of The David Collection)

dantly clear, and they, too, provide a possible connection to architectural decoration.³¹ Two textiles with related motifs have survived in small fragments, and have also been attributed to medieval Anatolia, in part based on comparisons to the Lyon one. The first examples (Fig. 11) now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, has a pattern of double-headed eagles in triangles, with dragon heads closely related to those on the Lyon fabric in the gaps between the triangles.³² The second example, only preserved in a

Door-knockers of Cizre Great Mosque: A New Example", in Matteo Compareti, Paola Raffetta, and Gianroberto Scarcia eds., *Ēran ud Anērān: Studies Presented to Boris Il'ich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Venice: 2006; first published online in 2003) electronic version: <http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/bilici.html>, accessed 1 December 2017. For an image of the doors in situ, see: Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, fig. 37, 64.

³¹ Such motifs often take on talismanic functions in the medieval Jazira and Anatolia: Persis Berlekamp, "Symmetry, Sympathy, and Sensation: Talismanic Efficacy and Slippery Iconographies in early Thirteenth-century Iraq, Syria, Anatolia", *Representations* 133, no. 1 (2016): 59-109. Door-knockers, including those from Cizre, are discussed at 90-98.

³² Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1881,475. Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. no. 151; Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin, 1921), fig. 122.

fragment with half of the motif, showed as double-headed eagle with lions at its feet, all within two half circles formed of double-headed snakes.³³ This motif, is a depiction of al-Jawzahar, the pseudo-planetary nodes of the moon used to calculate eclipses, but in astrology and myth taking on



Fig. 11. Textile fragment with double-headed eagle, Anatolia, thirteenth century. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1881,475 (Photo: from Julius Lessing, *Die Gewebe-Sammlung des K. Kunstgewerbemuseums, im amtlichen Auftrag herausgegeben von Julius Lessing* (Berlin, 1900), pl. 38)

³³ Collection of Rina and Norman Indictor; see: Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. 150; von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, fig. 185 shows a larger fragment (here attributed to eleventh- or twelfth-century Byzantium) with the location St. Peter in Salzburg, Austria. This image is used as the reconstruction for the pattern in *Court and Cosmos*, fig. 95.



Fig. 12. One of a pair of sculpted angles from Konya's city walls, 1220s. *İnce Minare Medrese* (Taş ve Ahşap Eserleri Müzesi), Konya (Photo: Patricia Blessing)



Fig. 13. Double-headed eagle, stone relief from Konya's city walls, 1220s. *İnce Minare Medrese* (Taş ve Ahşap Eserleri Müzesi), Konya (Photo: Patricia Blessing)

the form of a snake or dragon directly responsible for these astronomical events.³⁴ Such iconographies connect to that of the silk with 'Alā al-Dīn Kayqubād's name, where the cosmological and royal symbols of dragons and lions are recreated in gold thread, enhancing their importance. It also serves to point out that the city walls of Konya, rebuilt at the orders of this same ruler in the 1220s, carried an array of sculptures with royal and cosmological connotations, such as a pair of winged angels (Fig. 12) and double-headed eagles (Fig. 13).³⁵ These types of motifs were frequently used within the context of medieval Anatolia, the Caucasus, and the Jazira, where examples on coins and carved into the walls of monuments, including city walls appear frequently.³⁶ Even though textiles were certainly abundantly used in the courts of medieval Anatolia – including that of the Seljuqs and that of the kings of Cilicia, among many others – we have little physical evidence as the discussion of examples above shows.

The nature of the textile in Lyon also poses the question of function: the inscription at the bottom might have made for uncomfortable tailoring if this were to be used in clothing. Moreover, the inscription would have become illegible, hidden in the folds of a garment as it hangs from the wearer's body.³⁷ Therefore, it is possible to suggest that perhaps, the textile served as a wall-hanging or, even more likely, as part of a royal tent, and it is also unclear where in the textile the inscription would have been: top or bottom.³⁸ Unfortunately, no such tents from medieval Anatolia have been preserved, although they are mentioned in written sources. Only one illus-

³⁴ W. Hartner, "al-Djawzahar", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, eds. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. Heinrichs, consulted online on 17 February 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2041; on related iconographies in medieval Anatolia, see: Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia", *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 151-64.

³⁵ Berlekamp, "Symmetry, Sympathy, and Sensation", 83-90.

³⁶ See examples in Berlekamp, "Symmetry, Sympathy, and Sensation".

³⁷ I thank Scott Redford for discussing this aspect of the textile with me.

³⁸ The Ilkhanid example in Cleveland discussed above has a pseudo-Arabic inscription towards the top of the panel, rather than at the bottom.

tration of a tent connected to Seljuq Anatolia is known to, in the *Daqā'iq al-Haqā'iq* manuscript (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Persan 174), made for Seljuq sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw III (r. 1265-84) in 1272-73 in the Central Anatolian cities of Aksaray and Kayseri.³⁹ While the image on fol. 103v depicts the tent of Alexander the Great, rather than that of a Seljuq ruler, it is at least an indication of the kinds of monumental tents that could have been used in the Seljuq court, particularly considering the prevalent taste for hunting preserves and garden settings.⁴⁰ In the context



Fig. 14. Peacock textile from the St. Godehard shrine, Hildesheim, Germany. Made in the eastern Mediterranean before 1132. Dommuseum Hildesheim. © Abegg-Stiftung, CH-3132 Riggisberg, 2014 (Photo: Christoph von Viräg)

³⁹ On the manuscript, see: Marianne Barrucand, "The Miniatures of the *Daqā'iq al-Haqā'iq*: Bibliothèque nationale pers. 174: A Testimony to the Cultural Diversity of Medieval Anatolia", *Islamic Art* 4 (1991): 113-42; Canby ed., *Court and Cosmos*, cat. no. 130. Even though Barrucand argues that some of the images were added at a later date, a sustained argument can be made to the effect that they are contemporary to the manuscript: Scott Redford, "Rum Seljuk Flags: Textural and Visual Evidence", in *Textiles and Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. Nikolaos Vryzidis (Turnhout, forthcoming).

⁴⁰ Scott Redford, *Landscape and the State in Medieval Anatolia: Seljuk Gardens and Pavilions of Alanya, Turkey*, BAR international series 893 (Oxford, 2000).



Fig. 15. Iconostasis plaque with peacock. 9th-10th CE. Turkey, Constantinople or Nicomedia. Ceramic with polychromy, 33 x 33 cm. Inv. AC84. Photo: Martine Beck-Coppola. © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY

of medieval Spain, Avinoam Shalem has also argued that the presence of large inscription bands – too long to be the *ṭirāz* bands found on sleeves – point to use as tent panels or curtains.⁴¹

In order to examine the issue of textile and architecture, further branching out into the transcultural realms of medieval art in Anatolia and connected regions will be central. A textile in the museum of the bishopric of Hildesheim in Germany is perhaps connected to this larger body of question. With its double-headed peacocks, each nearly 1 meter tall, this fabric seems particularly adapt for use in an architectural context (Fig. 14). Even though the peacocks are not enclosed in full roundels, the pattern evoked is that of types of textiles discussed before, as pearl-bands form arches

⁴¹ Avinoam Shalem, "The Textile Contextualized", in *The Chasuble of Thomas Beckett: A Biography*, ed. Avinoam Shalem (Munich, 2017), 93-4. In the same article, Shalem also discusses the *Daqā'iq al-Haqā'iq* illustration, although he maintains a fifteenth-century date for the image, following Barrucand: *ibid.*, 98-9.

above and below the birds. The silk was found in the shrine of St. Godehard, a bishop of Hildesheim who died in 1132, and is now preserved in the Dommuseum of that city.⁴² While full findings of the restoration, completed in 2014, have yet to be published, textile specialist Regula Schorta suggested in a preliminary paper that based on dyes and technique, this textile was made somewhere east of Byzantium, without venturing into further suggestions.⁴³ Yet of course, east of Byzantium evokes the Islamic world, although the *terminus prae quem* of 1132 is probably a bit too early to suggest an Anatolian Seljuq production. In terms of the motif, a close parallel exists in a fragmentary Byzantine wall tile of unknown provenance, but thought to have been from Constantinople or northwestern Anatolia, in the collection of the Louvre (Fig. 15).⁴⁴ The tile shows a peacock in a larger roundel, and considering the parallels to textile patterns, it is possible that several such tiles could have been arranged in a row. Similar tiles in the same collection and in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore have equally unclear origins, yet they fit into the larger body of tenth and eleventh-century architectural ceramics from the Byzantine context that Sharon Gerstel and Julie Lauffenburger published.⁴⁵ The scale of the motif is different in tile and fabric, yet the logic of the pattern is strikingly close, even though the roundels are complete in the tiles and without several tiles being preserved, the repetition is not easily shown. In textile comparisons,

⁴² I was able to see the textile in an exhibition at the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland in 2014, and again in the permanent exhibition of the Dommuseum Hildesheim in October 2017.

⁴³ Regula Schorta, *Die Stoffe in den Hildesheimer Schreinen: Zu Textilien im Reliquienkult und zu Luxusgeweben im hochmittelalterlichen Europa* (Cologne, 2010). I thank Gerhard Lutz for providing me with a copy of this publication.

⁴⁴ Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AC 84; Jannic Durand and Christine Vogt, "Plaques de céramique décorative byzantine d'époque macédonienne", *Revue du Louvre* 4 (1992): 38-44. The tile is shown in Figure 3. See also: Jannic Durand, "Plaques de céramique byzantine des collections publiques françaises", in *Materials Analysis of Byzantine Pottery*, ed. Henry Maguire (Washington, DC, 1997), 25-34.

⁴⁵ Sharon E. J. Gerstel and Julie A. Lauffenburger, *A Lost Art Rediscovered: The Architectural Ceramics of Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2001).

Byzantine fabrics with eagle motifs come to mind, such as a red-and-black example in the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin (Fig. 16).⁴⁶ Similarly to the peacock textile in Hildesheim, it does not have full roundels surrounding the birds. Once more, the question of attribution remains unanswered, yet in terms of the composition and the kinds of motifs that are used in them, they refer back to the kinds of fabrics consumed across the eastern Mediterranean, regardless of the places of production for specific textiles.



Fig. 16. Textile with double-headed eagle and lions, Constantinople or Thebes, eleventh to twelfth centuries (Photo: from Julius Lessing, *Die Gewebe-Sammlung des K. Kunstgewerbe-Museums, im amtlichen Auftrag herausgegeben von Julius Lessing* (Berlin, 1900), pl. 75)

⁴⁶ This textile comes from the tomb of Bernardo Calvó (d. 1243), bishop of Vic in Catalonia. Further fragments are in the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, the Cooper Hewitt Museum, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the Museu Tèxtil, Terrassa, and the Museu Arqueologic-Artistic Episcopal in Vic: Muḥammad 'Abbās Muḥammad Salīm and Karel Otavsky, *Mittelalterliche Textilien I – Ägypten, Persien und Mesopotamien, Spanien und Nordafrika* (Riggisberg, 1995), cat. no. 90, 163-6.

Travel and Trade in Medieval Anatolia

While the textiles seen here may have been imported, there is the question of textile production in medieval Anatolia, and particularly in Ani where perhaps, textile were made in addition to being traded. Scarce written evidence can be inferred from the William of Rubruck's description of Armenian Sergius who, as Antony Eastmond has discussed, managed to integrate into the Mongol court by pretending to be a priest. As Eastmond notes: "Sergius presented himself at court as a monk, although on closer questioning he turned out to be a cloth-worker from Ani who had taken the opportunity to reinvent himself once he had arrived in Mongolia."⁴⁷ Such figures as Sergius – but also thirteenth-century noble-woman Tamta, whose involuntary travels and marriages in various courts of the region Eastmond follows, show the extent of travel that took place in medieval Eurasia. Armenian merchants like Tigran Honents and Samadin – centered in Ani and Mren, respectively – were part of this exchange, either traveling themselves or sending their agents. Trade routes are, therefore, crucial factors in understanding how the textiles we just discussed moved into and out of Ani.

During the period under investigation, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, trade routes moved due to shifting conflicts between the Ilkhanids, Mamluks, the Byzantine Empire, the Golden Horde, Venice and Genoa. The two Italian city-states were primarily interested in maintaining their trade connections with the Middle East and in the late thirteenth century moved into the Black Sea, providing access to Iran and the Dasht-i Qipchāq. With the Mongol conquest of Iran in the 1220s and of Anatolia in the 1240s trade was rerouted based on the changing commercial interests of these regions' overlords. Tabriz in western Iran became an important center since it was in a position to absorb goods from the Caucasus, the Eurasian steppes, and the Silk Road.⁴⁸ The conflict for control of

Tabriz in the 1250s between two of Genghis Khan's grandsons, Batu (d. c. 1255) and Hulagu (d. 1265), shows how important the city had become in the economic domination of the region.⁴⁹ The Ilkhanids, starting with Hulagu (r. 1256-65), controlled trade in Iran, large parts of Asia Minor (thanks to their victory over the Seljuqs), and Cilician Armenia. The Mamluks soon became the Ilkhanids' main rivals for domination in the Middle East. As Anatolia became a buffer zone between the two empires, access to Mediterranean trade was an important point of contention as they vied for control over ports.⁵⁰

In the late thirteenth century, an agreement with the Armenian kings of Cilicia secured Genoese access to the port of Ayas on the Mediterranean, while an alliance with the Ilkhanids guaranteed trading privileges in Tabriz. The Genoese, with a strong fleet, treaties with the Byzantine Empire (after its restoration in Constantinople in 1261), the Golden Horde, and the Ilkhanids, were able to retain access to the Black Sea and to Tabriz.⁵¹ The resulting inclusion of the Black Sea in more wide-ranging trade networks shifted parts of the Silk Road towards this sea route.⁵² The prosper-

Tabriz and the Multi-Cephalous Cultural, Religious, and Intellectual Landscape of the 13th to 15th Century Nile-to-Oxus Region", in *Politics, Patronage, and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden, 2014), 1-11; Sheila Blair, "Tabriz: International Entrepôt under the Mongols", in Pfeiffer, *Politics, Patronage*, 321-56.

⁴⁹ Bertold Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde: die Mongolen in Russland, 1223-1502* (Leipzig, 1943), 33-52.

⁵⁰ Virgil Ciociltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden and Boston, 2012), 43-58, 70-7, 148-50.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, 77-82 and 92-5.

⁵² *ibid.*, 102-3, 155-9; George Ioan Brătianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1929), 219-20. Archaeological finds in present-day Ukraine reveal the extent of trade between the Middle East and the Dasht-i Qipchāq: Renata Holod and Yuriy Rassamakin, "Imported and Native Remedies for a Wounded 'Prince': Grave Goods from the Chungul Kurgan in the Black Sea Steppe of the Thirteenth Century", in *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca. 1000-1500*, eds. Heather E. Grossman and Alicia Walker, special issue of *Medieval Encounters*

⁴⁷ Antony Eastmond, *Tamta's World: The Life and Encounters of a Medieval Noble-woman from the Middle East to Mongolia* (Cambridge and New York, 2017), 354-5 with references to: William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255*, translated by Peter Jackson (London, 1990), 197-9 and 251.

⁴⁸ Judith Pfeiffer, "Introduction: From Baghdad to Marāgha, Tabriz, and Beyond:

ing Genoese colony of Caffa (today Feodosiya) on the Crimea was closed from 1308 until 1313, when the ruler of the Golden Horde, Toqta Khan (r. 1303-12), expelled foreign merchants to limit slave trade with the Dasht-i Qipchāq. After Toqta Khan's death, trade was restored.⁵³

In addition to the new sea routes, some of the overland routes shifted during this time: as more trade moved to the route from Tabriz to Trebizond in the early fourteenth century, the route that led through Ani, an Armenian city in the northeast of Anatolia, slowly dried up.⁵⁴ The city itself, a bustling trade center in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, along with nearby Mren, where the merchant Samadin had built a palace in 1276 to demonstrate his wealth, slowly declined.⁵⁵ In the development of trade and trade routes, caravanserais were essential in the overland portion of the routes – from Tabriz through Erzurum to Trebizond, but also across Anatolia to the ports of Alanya and Antalya. Architectural evidence suggests that early thirteenth-century caravanserais were still in use in the fourteenth century, and that new foundations were scarce after the 1270s.⁵⁶

While the evidence connecting Ani and textiles is sparse, certain conclusions emerge from the preceding discussion. First, merchants who operated with Ani as their center were also active as patrons. Second, motifs related to textiles produced in the vast span of territory between Central Asia and Constantinople were used in both merchant and royal founda-

18, no. 4-5 (2012): 339-81. On Seljuq interests in the Black Sea: Andrew C. S. Peacock, "Black Sea Trade and the Islamic World down to the Mongol Period", in *The Black Sea: Past, Present and Future, Proceedings of the International, Interdisciplinary Conference, Istanbul, 14-16 October 2004*, eds. Gülden Erkut and Stephen Mitchell (London, 2007), 65-72.

53 Ciociltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade*, 104-8, 164-71.

54 Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, 197-8.

55 Hakob A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, translated by Nina Garsoian (Lisbon, 1965), 178, 187-90; Nikolai Marr, "Новые материалы по армянской эпиграфике" ["New Materials on Armenian Epigraphy"], *Записки Восточного Отделения Императорского Русского Археологического Общества VIII* (1893-94): 82-3.

56 Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia*, 173-9.

tions. Third, similar textiles were used in Christian and Muslim courts across Anatolia in the thirteenth century. Fourth, the prevalence of such textiles points to the trade that must also have passed through Ani, into Anatolia, and from there to the Mediterranean. Thus, these small elements form a chain that leads us from the trading center of Ani to the trans-cultural Mediterranean of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

ანისი გზაჯვარედინზე: აბრეშუმის გზა ქსოვილების გარეშე

პატრიშა ბლესინგი

პომონა კოლეჯი, ქლერმონტი

აღმოსავლეთისა და დასავლეთის გასაყარზე მდებარე ანისის, „აბრეშუმის გზის“ ერთ-ერთი საკვანძო პუნქტის მემკვიდრეობა საშუალებას იძლევა, თვალი მივადევნოთ იმ მრავალფეროვან კულტურულ კავშირებს, რომლებიც წარმოიშვა განვითარებული შუა საუკუნეების პერიოდში

ნაშრომში განხილულია მრავალფეროვანი მასალა – ანისისა და სხვა რეგიონებში (ანატოლიაში, ბიზანტიაში, ირანში, შუა აზიაში, კილიკიაში და ა.შ.) გავრცელებულ ქსოვილთა იშვიათი ფრაგმენტები, რომლებიც, მიუხედავად ამ სათუთი მასალის შენახვისათვის არახელსაყრელი, რთული კლიმატური პირობებისა, მაინც გვხვდება დღეს მსოფლიოს სხვადასხვა მუზეუმებში, ილუსტრირებულ ხელნაწერებში წარმოდგენილი სამოსის მაგალითები, დეკორატიულ-გამოყენებითი ხელოვნების ნიმუშებზე და არქიტექტურულ დეკორში – ფრესკებზე, რელიეფებსა და კერამიკულ ფილებზე ასახული ქსოვილთა ტიპები, და სხვ.

სწორედ ამ მასალების თავმოყრა, ანალიზი და შედარება-შეპირისპირება იძლევა საშუალებას, გაირკვეს ის გზები, რომლითაც ვრცელდებოდა კულტურული და სავაჭრო ურთიერთობები სხვადასხვა სახელმწიფოებრივ წარმონაქმნებს, განსხვავებულ ეთნიკურ და სარწმუნოებრივ ჯგუფებს შორის.

ქსოვილთა აღწერა, მათი ტექნოლოგიური და მხატვრული მხარის ანალიზი ბევრ რამეს გვამცნობს მათი თავისებურებების, დანიშნულების, წარმოების ცენტრების და გავრცელების შესახებ. უნდა აღინიშნოს ორნამენტის სხვადასხვა ტიპების და გამოსახულებების – სენმურვის, ორ-

თავიანი არწივის, ლომის, დრაკონის, გრიფონის, ორთავიანი გველის და ანტროპომორფული გამოსახულებების ანალიზი, რომლის საფუძველზე დგინდება ქსოვილების შექმნის ადგილი, ეპოქა და გავრცელების არეალი. მნიშვნელოვანია, რომ ეს არეალი ძალზე ფართოა, რაზეც მეტყველებს, მაგალითად, ევროპაში აღმოჩენილი აღმოსავლური მოტივებით შემკული ქსოვილები – ერთი და იგივე ქსოვილების არსებობა ქრისტიანულ და მაჰმადიანურ სამყაროში მათ შორის არსებულ კავშირებზე მეტყველებს.

ამ თვალსაზრისით განსაკუთრებით მნიშვნელოვანია ანისში აღმოჩენილი მასალა, მაგალითად, მეფე გაგიკის მიერ წმ. გრიგოლის ეკლესიისადმი შეწირული ლითონის ჭაღზე ან არქიტექტურულ ძეგლებზე, მაგალითად, ტიგრან ჰონენცის ეკლესიის კედლებზე არსებული გამოსახულებები.

ყოველივე ზემოაღნიშნული საშუალებას იძლევა, რათა კიდევ ერთხელ გაესვას ხაზი ანისის როლის მნიშვნელობას იმ კონტაქტების განმტკიცებაში, რომლებიც არსებობდა შუა საუკუნეებში აღმოსავლურ და დასავლურ სამყაროს შორის.

MATERIALS FROM ANI IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE GEORGIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM

Jimsher Chkvimiani, Sona Hovsepyan

Georgian National Museum, Armenia History Museum

Archaeological study of Ani city-site began in the last decade the 19th century.¹ Works started in 1892 on the instructions of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Commission and under the leadership of Nicolai Marr continued until 1917 and covered sixteen archaeological seasons.² Excavations carried out in the second half of the 20th century brought to light important archaeological data.³ Archaeological research of Ani city-site continues until now.⁴

In 1904, the Museum of Antiquities of Ani, so-called I and II Departments of the exhibition and repository, were founded in Ani city-site. The first Department was placed in the building of the mosque of Manuchir, and for the second Department the building was specially built. Before establishing the Museum of Antiquities in Ani, the material obtained as a result of archaeological excavations had usually been sent to St.-Petersburg or Echmiadzin.⁵ In the process of transformation of the mosque of Manuchir into the space for the museum, repository and exhibition,

¹ "Докладные записки Н. Я. Марра о раскопках в Ани (1892г.) [Reports of N. Marr about Excavation in Ani (1892)]", *Литературно-научный вестник* [Bulletin of Social Sciences] 5 (1981): 100-10.

² Nicolai Marr, *Ани: Книжная история города и раскопки на месте городища* [Ani. Literary History of the City and Excavations on the Site of the Ancient Settlement] (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934), 13.

³ Machteld Johanna Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 71/ 2 (April, 1967): 155-74, 165; Tom Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, vol. 1 (London, 1987), 377-8.

⁴ Fahriye Bayram, "Ani Excavations Between 2012-2016 Years", *The First International Symposium of Ani-Kars* (Istanbul, 2016): 79-90.

⁵ Nicolai Marr, *Краткий Каталог Анийского Музея (Анийская Серия: 1)* [Brief Catalog of the Ani Museum (Ani Series: 1)] (St.-Petersburg, 1906), I-III.

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ანისი გზაჯვარედინზე

საერთაშორისო კონფერენცია

2017 წლის 17-18 ნოემბერი

რედაქტორი
ზაზა სხირტლაძე



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