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Los Angeles

Books of Thread: *Merletti* in Early Modern Venice

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Art History

by

Laura Mary Hutchingame

2019

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2019

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Books of Thread: *Merletti* in Early Modern Venice

by

Laura Mary Hutchingame

Master of Arts in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Bronwen Wilson, Chair

Focusing on Cesare Vecellio's *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne*, published in Venice in 1625, my thesis investigates *merletti*, printed pattern books, and ways in which lace and clothing were intertwined. The 1625 edition of *Gioiello della corona* is indicative of a significant historical moment: it follows the efflorescence of *merletti* and costume book publications at the end of the Cinquecento, and is contemporaneous with the expansion of monastic lacemaking in Venice. Because Vecellio was a printmaker known for his depictions of costumes, many of which he would have observed firsthand in Venice, his *merletto* is an exemplary case study. My thesis proposes that Venetian pattern books, which were a staple of the city's publishing and textile markets, accentuate characteristics shared not only by print and lace, but also forms in the Venetian visual environment. In analyzing Vecellio's *merletto* designs and interactions between the line and processes of making lace, I suggest that the centrality of the thread responds to, and creates, associations with some of the city's distinctive spatial forms. The thesis probes this idea in *merletti* in terms of material processes, architectural character, and liminality.

The thesis of Laura Mary Hutchingame is approved.

Lamia Balafrej

Hui-shu Lee

Bronwen Wilson, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

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Clothing, lace patterns, and lace are connected through the continued use of thread in early modern Venice. A pattern in Cesare Vecellio's *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne* (1625), a book of woodcut lace patterns, illuminates how materials related to textiles are enmeshed (Fig. 1). The pattern consists of two horizontal sections divided in half, and each portion of the pattern features its own title. The top portion is titled "Crown of beautiful figures, who dance."[1] The bottom displays "Beautiful figures of the four seasons of the year."[2] As woodcut prints, all black areas of the pattern correspond to the part of the block that is inked, and therefore was not carved away. The white parts of the pattern correspond to the surface of the paper, and thus the portion of the woodblock that is removed. Black dots speckle the white forms of the pattern, indicating apertures. These apertures denote that the speckled matter is lace. The clothing, architectural elements, and vegetal forms in the pattern display such apertures; all of these features are made of lace. Figures are part of the lace pattern, yet they wear lace themselves. Lace architectural elements form the structure of the pattern. Vegetal forms are not just motifs for lace, they are lace. Vecellio's design is both *for* and *of* lace.

The upper register of the pattern conveys a coherent rhythm. Four central figures, alternating between female and male, hold hands. Directly behind each pair of clasped hands is a Solomonic column with an ionic capital. These columns support round arches and spandrels, which contain pointed trefoils. All structural elements are clad in or comprised of lace itself. The central four figures are flanked at each end by a figure who is cut in half by the vertical frame of the pattern. The linkage of all the figures reinforces the theme of the pattern and evokes the rhythm of dancing. A rhythm dictates the arrangement of clothing: the design of the forepart (the

[1] "Corona di bellissime figure, che ballano."

[2] "Bellissime figure delle quattro staggion dell'anno."

central portion of fabric visible beneath the skirt of the outermost female gown) alternates between geometric and floral, while the length of the breeches varies between below- and above-the knee. This rhythmic activity is underscored by the two bisected end figures: their vertical slicing signals an interruption of the rhythmic chain, while implying continuous movement beyond the frame. Growing leaves push up from the lower pattern and manifest behind the column bases and between the men's legs, connecting the dancing figures with the personifications of the four seasons. Like the splicing of multiple sections of lace into a single work, the upper register stitches together a chain of continuous lace figures, architecture, and clothing.

I use this folio to introduce *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne*, a *merletto* (printed pattern book) containing thirty-one woodcut lace patterns designed by Cesare Vecellio. It is the fourth book, or *Libro quarto*, in Vecellio's *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne* series. The object of the present study is the 1625 edition of *Libro quarto*, published by Alessandro de' Vecchi in Venice. Through a close study of Vecellio's *Gioiello della corona*, I investigate the limits and potential of line and thread in early modern Venice. Focusing on the role of thread within the book, I show how Vecellio's lace patterns display the imbrication of social experience and artistic and artisanal practices of making in Venice.

The pattern book itself is connected to working with textiles and foregrounds the relationship between women, their bodies, and lace. The female figures in the dancing register sport *corni,* a fashionable Venetian hairstyle in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth century, and lace collars (Fig. 1). A late sixteenth-century portrait of a Venetian noblewoman (Fig. 2)

provides an excellent example of this hairstyle, particularly in relation to lace.[3] Echoing the *corni* of the dancing pattern women, the sitter's hair is comprised of golden, interconnected oval and circular loops stacked beside and atop one another. Despite invoking rings and echoing the hoop of the sitter's left earring, the loops are curls of hair. The stacked loops form hornlike protrusions on the sitter's head, extending her body into space. A sumptuous lace collar frames the sitter's head and neck with triangular turrets protruding from the edge of the collar, projecting the sitter further into the pictorial space. The perforated hairstyle and lace collar cement the connection between female bodies and lace.

By investigating the links between clothing, papermaking, pattern books, and lace, I further suggest that the city's modes of making and distinctive visual forms exhibit a shared investment in the line as thread. My thesis demonstrates that Vecellio's merletto, a printed lace pattern book, both responds to and articulates the interconnectedness of different material practices and forms in Venice. Vecellio's merletto illustrates how Venetian practices and forms were continually intertwined around the centripetal axis of thread.

I. The Work of *Merletti*

The Book

Vecellio's merletto is an exemplary case study. Cesare Vecellio (1521-1601) was a Venetian printmaker known for his depictions of costumes, many of which he would have observed firsthand in Venice. His most famous publication, *Degli habiti antichi et moderni di diversi parti del mondo* first published in Venice in 1590, and published as an expanded version in 1598, features more than four hundred depictions of costumes from Europe, Asia, Africa, and

[3] Ann Rosalind Jones, "Labor and Lace: The Crafts of Giacomo Franco's *Habiti delle donne venetiane*," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17.2 (2014), 412-413. Jones indicates that this portrait is from the Palazzo Ducale; she also cites Doretta Davanzo Poli's description of this portrait from *Il Merletto Veneziano*, 86.

America.[4] Vecellio's first lace pattern book, *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne. Libro Primo*, was published in 1591.[5] The object of the present study is Vecellio's *Libro quarto*, the fourth book of his *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne* series.[6] *Libro quarto* was published in 1593 or 1594 at Vecellio's press in the Frezzaria.[7] A fifth and final installment of the series followed three years later.[8] Unlike the other books in the series, *Libro quarto*'s title begins with *Gioiello*, or "jewel."[9] It is also interesting to note that *Libro quarto* contains thirty-one woodcut lace patterns while *Libro primo* contains seventy-six.[10] It is unclear how many patterns were in the second, third, and fifth books, as well as what these differences might mean. The 1625 version that I examine here was published by Alessandro de' Vecchi, an editor and printer active in Venice from 1570 until about 1630.[11]

Libro quarto contains thirty-one woodcut lace patterns of varying complexity. The patterns increase in difficulty and number of figures, beginning with a floral pattern (Fig. 3) and ending with a pattern comprised entirely of animals (Fig. 4). Although the patterns become more advanced as the viewer turns the pages, the progression is not always linear; for instance, the

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[4] Christopher L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in the Renaissance: Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 292.

[5] Ibid., 293.

[6] Ibid., 293.

[7] Ibid., 293; http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/imain.htm. The entry on *Gioiello della corona* in EDIT16, an online database of publication records for sixteenth-century printed books, operated by the Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico, indicates that *Libro quarto* was published in 1594 at Vecellio's press in the Frezzaria, while Witcombe indicates 1593.

[8] Witcombe, 293.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/web_iccu/imain.htm. Vecchi was known for publishing numerous theatrical texts that were sold in Rome beginning in 1606.

eleventh pattern lacks any grid structure (Fig. 5) and animal and human figures appear as early as the second pattern (Fig. 6). Without exception, every pattern title begins with *Corona*, or "crown," followed by a few words to briefly describe the type of lace-work illustrated by the pattern. These titles are centered at the top of the page directly above the pattern. Every pattern also features an additional descriptive line below, centered at the bottom of the page. This second phrase is usually more detailed than the pattern's title, although the two lines of text often contain similar information. For example, the title of the first lace pattern (Fig. 3) is "Crown of beautiful works" while the lower description is "Beautiful work of air [sic] for multiple workers."[12] Both titles indicate that the pattern's design is exquisite, but the lower description is informative: it indicates that the pattern is for *punto in aria* lace and that it is catered to more than one lace-maker. This description is valuable for reconstructing how the patterns were employed during the lacemaking process.

Prior to his work as a printer and author, Vecellio painted altarpieces and portraits in the Veneto. He entered Titian's *bottega* (Tiziano Vecellio, believed to be a cousin) in the mid sixteenth century, where he worked until Titian's death in 1576.[13] When producing woodcuts for *Degli habiti antichi* (1590), Vecellio was aided by his assistant, Christopher Krieger, who carved the woodblocks based on Vecellio's drawings. By the time he published *Libro primo* of *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne*, Vecellio was familiar with printing text alongside illustrations.

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[12] "Aiere" refers to *punto in aria* ("stitch in air"), a virtuosic type of needlepoint lace produced without an underlying structure and therefore appearing to be suspended in air. For more on the development of lace, see: Bullock, *Lace and Lace Making*; Earnshaw, *Lace in Fashion: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*; Kraatz, *Lace: History and Fashion*; Levey, "Lace," in *Textiles, 5,000 Years: An International History and Illustrated Survey*; Simeon, *The History of Lace*.

[13] Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret F. Rosenthal, "Dress as Civic Celebration in Late Sixteenth-Century Venice: The Woodcuts of Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti antichi et moderni* and the Paintings of Paolo Veronese," *California Italian Studies* 5.2 (2014), 2-3.

When examining *Libro quarto*'s designs, it is useful to remember Vecellio's experience with collaborative enterprises such as painting and woodblock printing.

Connected to the upper register by sprouting vine leaves, the lower register displays the cyclical nature of the four seasons. As in the upper register, four central figures are flanked by bisected vertical forms: in this register, the bisected forms are floral motifs. The figures do not alternate in this pattern—the two left figures are male and the two right figures are female. All represent allegories of the four seasons, as indicated by the names of the seasons written in the central horizontal band that divides the two halves of the pattern. The name of each season is directly above the corresponding figure: Winter and Autumn are both male, while Summer and Spring are female. Similar to the dancing register, the presence of exposed leg versus unexposed leg alternates between the season figures, despite their uneven gender distribution. Holding a bellows in his right hand and an axe in his left, Winter is surrounded by leafless trees. Autumn clutches bunches of grapes in his left hand while squeezing the grapes from his right hand into a footed vessel. The three-leaved plant on the vines behind Autumn are grape leaves from fruit that has already been picked; these leaves directly echo the pointed trefoil spandrels from the dancing register. Beside Autumn, Summer holds a bunch of wheat and a scythe, flanked by corn and gourds. Donning a floral headdress and garland, Spring grips a hollow scepter. Directly beside the scepter is a circle, congruent to the hollow portion of the scepter, attached to the far-right plant. The movement of the seasons from winter to spring, connected by lace flora, objects, and clothing, illustrates the life cycle of the natural world. Through the lace pattern, the cycle occurs and continues.

"For the Noble and Virtuous Women"

Vecchi's 1625 edition features a dedicatory page addressed to a noble female patron, as was common in merletti. The book is dedicated to Giulia Correr Morosini, the wife of Antonio Morosini, who is most likely a political official from the patrician Morosini family (Fig. 7). The dedication is written by Isabetta Alberti and dated 8 September 1616, nine years prior to the date of publication.[14] Alberti signs her dedication as a "devoted servant" and the text exalts the Morosini for their kindness toward her. Alberti offers the lace patterns that follow to demonstrate her sincere gratitude. Interestingly, Isabetta suggests that the designs in this *Libro quarto* are ones that Giulia has already seen and admired.[15] Since pattern books were targeted toward female consumers, it is possible that both Giulia Morosini and Isabetta Alberti used the *Libro quarto* patterns.

As evidenced by its dedication, *Libro quarto* is intertwined with female lacemaking. Vecellio's 1625 merletto follows the efflorescence of the costume book which, according to Ann Rosalind Jones, occurred between 1550 and 1610.[16] Although *Libro quarto* arrives late compared to most pattern books, which were published during the period of intense print production at the end of the sixteenth century, *Libro quarto* is closely connected to monastic lace production. As Anne Schutte has shown, ecclesiastical regulations were implemented in the seventeenth century after the Council of Trent (1545-1563) that intensified Venetian monasticism[17]—the pulse of the

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[14] Although I have not been able to conduct archival research to determine who these individuals were, I plan to incorporate these findings as I work to turn this thesis into an article for future publication.

[15] "Col presentar à vostra Sig. Clariss. la quarta parte, delli disegni che sono stati da chi li ha veduti, per la eccellenza loro apprezzati, e graditi."

[16] Ann Rosalind Jones, "'Worn in Venice and throughout Italy': The Impossible Present in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39.3 (2009), 512.

[17] Anne Jacobson Schutte, "The Permeable Cloister?," in *Arcangela Tarabotti: A Literary Nun in Baroque Venice,* ed. Elissa B. Weaver (Ravenna: Longo, 2006): 19-36; Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Between Venice and Rome: The Dilemma of Involuntary Nuns," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 41.2 (2010): 415-439.

Venetian lace industry. By the mid Seicento, more than three thousand women lived in these monastic settings;[18] the number of cloistered women is nearly fifty times greater than the number of convents. With the establishment of new convents in the seventeenth century, Gabriella Zarri notes that unlike other cities at the time, the number of tertiary convents in Venice did not increase.[19] In other words, the convents built were exclusively for nuns. Until the seventeenth century, monastic lace production had occurred primarily in female cells, but the Seicento saw the enterprise become highly organized and grow to a remarkable scale.[20] This trend is interesting alongside lace production, since the prevalence of such convents in Venice contributed to the lace industry's isolation and exploitation.

In addition to convents, from the mid sixteenth century onward, numerous charitable institutions were erected in the city to care for unmarried women. Monica Chojnacka explains that this was part of a peninsula-wide trend of salvific institutions that arose beginning in the 1540s.[21] Religious institutions for women included: Casa delle Zitelle ("Home for Unmarried Women") on the island of Giudecca;[22] Casa del Soccorso ("Home of the Rescue"); Casa delle Convertite ("Home for the Saved"), also on Giudecca; and Casa del Derelitti ("Home for the Destitute"), also known as the Ospedaletto ("Little Hospital"), for homeless women. These institutions were often patronized by noble Venetian women. The founding members of Le

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[18] Schutte, "The Permeable Cloister?," 109. Schutte cites Cushman Davis for this number.

[19] Gabriella Zarri, "Venetian Convents and Civic Ritual," in *Arcangela Tarabotti: A Literary Nun in Baroque Venice,* ed. Elissa B. Weaver (Ravenna: Longo, 2006), 39.

[20] Lidia Sciama, "Burano's Lace-Making: an Honourable Craft," in *A Venetian Island: Environment, History and Change in Burano* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 167.

[21] Monica Chojnacka, *Working Women of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 123.

[22] Monica Chojnacka, "Women, Charity and Community in Early Modern Venice: The Casa delle Zitelle." *Renaissance Quarterly* 51.1 (1998), 68.

Zitelle, officially established in 1559, were Andriana Contarini, Isabella Grimani and Loretta Loredan—all from three of Venice's most prominent patrician families.[23] The patron of the Casa del Soccorso, established sometime after 1577, was Veronica Franco (1546-1591), Venice's most famous courtesan and a gifted poet. In practice, as Margaret Rosenthal has observed, the Soccorso "was administered by the same noblewomen…associated with the Zitelle and Derelitti."[24] Laura McGough has shown that despite its uncertain origins, Le Convertite was officially established in 1551, probably in part by women, and was connected to the convent of Santa Maria Maddalena.[25] Chojnacka also notes that the noble female patrons of Le Zitelle would regularly visit the house as well as bequeath items to the Zitelle residents in their wills.[26] It is conceivable that these patrons may have purchased some of the lace produced by the *zitelle*, the unmarried girls, while visiting. It is possible that the zitelle had access to merletti or lace donated by one of their noble patrons. One can imagine the cloistered zitelle working with merletti, books which were always dedicated to the edifying act of lacemaking and its role in producing *nobili et virtuose donne* ("noble and virtuous women"). The efflorescence of merletti toward the end of the sixteenth century corresponds directly with the establishment and development of the aforementioned charitable institutions.

The number of convents and female religious institutions was high in early modern Venice due to the financial burden of funding a daughter's marriage dowry. Stanley Chojnacki and Virginia Cox have both explored the *fraterna* system in Venice by which patrimony was

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[23] Ibid., 70.

[24] Margaret F. Rosenthal, *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 293.

[25] Laura Jane McGough, "'Raised from the devil's jaws': A convent for repentant prostitutes in Venice, 1530-1670," PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1997, ProQuest (UMI 9814268), 1-3.

[26] Chojnacka, "Women, Charity and Community in Early Modern Venice," 84-85.

equally divided between the sons of a family, with no portion reserved for the daughters.[27] Cox outlines how, toward the end of the sixteenth century, patrician families began marrying only one male child in order to preserve the family wealth.[28] For daughters, this meant that only one or two could be conjugal investments and any remaining daughters were cloistered.[29] The one-son marriage policy continued well into the early modern period, and this exacerbated the surplus of unmarried women in Venice. Wanting to provide a safe life for their daughters at an affordable price, numerous parents sent their daughters to convents, as this was the only way to guarantee that an unmarried woman could be protected and her basic needs met. Due to these concerns, it was common for women to be forcefully monachized in this period. Such women who entered monastic life against their will partly comprised the tremendous monastic lace workforce in the seventeenth century. The experience of being forcefully cloistered and subsequently laboring to produce lace is best expressed by Suor Arcangela Tarabotti (1604-1652), a nun at the Sant'Anna convent in Venice, in *Inferno monacale* (1643)—a scathing account of her life in monastic servitude.[30] Thus, *Libro quarto* is a symptom of the changing Seicento social system in which female monasticism and monastic lacemaking had both increased in scale and regulation.

In addition to monastic expansion, the seventeenth century also saw economic difficulty in the Venetian lace industry. By the middle of the century, Flemish and French lace rivalled that

[27] Stanley Chojnacki, *Women and Men in Renaissance Venice: Twelve Essays on Patrician Society* (Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 121 & 134-135; Virginia Cox, "The Single Self: Feminist Thought and the Marriage Market in Early Modern Venice," *Renaissance Quarterly* 48.3 (1995), 531.

[28] Cox, 531.

[29] Ibid., 532.

[30] Meredith K. Ray and Lynn Lara Westwater, "Introduction, Arcangela Tarabotti: A Life of Letters." in *Letters Familiar and Formal*, The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe: The Toronto Series, 20, Arcangela Tarabotti, ed. Meredith K. Ray and Lynn Lara Westwater (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012), 1.

of Venice.[31] The industry faced growing competition from which it could not recover. As a result, the livelihoods of women in religious institutions were at risk since these institutions depended on lacemaking for their income. For merletti, this means that Vecellio's lace books were produced during a more prosperous economic period than the 1625 *Libro quarto*.

The Pattern Book in Venice

Printed pattern books emerged in sixteenth-century Europe. The first known printed pattern book was published in Augsburg, Germany by Johann Schönsperger the Younger in 1523, with the first Italian counterpart following four years later, published by Giovanni Antonio Tagliente in Venice.[32] (Vecellio's *Libro quarto* would be published by Alessandro de' Vecchi almost one hundred years after Tagliente's *Opera nuova che insegna a le donne a cuscire*.) The period from 1523 to 1600 was a highly productive for merletti publications, with over a hundred pattern books receiving their first printing at this time.[33] Printmakers in Venice at this time who created pattern books include Christopher Froschower (c. 1490-1564), Matteo Pagan (1515-1588), Giovanni Ostaus (active 1554-1591), Cesare Vecellio (1520-1601), and Giacomo Franco (1550-1620).[34] Femke Speelberg has shown that, beginning in the 1540s, pattern books became more attentive to contemporary textile designs.[35] From the 1550s onward, merletti emphasized forms of openwork, which were conducive to needle and bobbin lace.[36] The first merletto to

[31] Jones, "Labor and Lace," 410.

[32] Femke Speelberg, "Fashion & Virtue: Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution, 1520-1620," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 73.2 (2015), 16 & 23-24.

[33] Jones, "Labor and Lace," 404.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Speelberg, 33

[36] Ibid., 34-35.

include bobbin lace patterns was published in Venice in 1557 by Giovanni Battista and Marchio Sessa.[37]

Scholarship on the extensive history of printing in Venice underlies the pattern book. The two primary branches of print scholarship relevant to merletti are studies of print and costume and the history of the printed book. In the context of the book industry, Lisa VandenBerghe attributes the pattern book to two contemporary trends: the dissemination of work to a broader audience, facilitated by the printing press, paired with the financial profitability of producing books at the time.[38] Bronwen Wilson has shown ways in which printed depictions of costume inscribed practices of looking, visual identification, and identity in early modern Venice.[39] Similarly, Jones has explored the costume books of Giacomo Franco and Cesare Vecellio and pointed out the complex social practices with which such prints are in dialogue.[40] Regarding printed books in Venice, Angela Nuovo's work is central and has traced the development and commerce of the printed book market.[41] Paul Grendler also addresses the distribution of "popular books" in early modern Italy, which were printed books intended for consumption by lower social classes with limited education.[42] Prior to merletti, a crucial point of intersection between

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[37] Ibid., 35-36.

[38] Lisa VandenBerghe, "Early Modern Needlework Pattern Books: Tracing the International Exchange of Design," *Crosscurrents: Land, Labor, and the Port, Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* (2016), 523.

[39] Bronwen Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," *Studies in Iconography* 25 (2004): 221-274; Bronwen Wilson, "Costume and the Boundaries of Bodies," in *The World in Venice: Print, The City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto, Buffalo & London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 70-132; Bronwen Wilson, "*Foggie diverse di vestire de' Turchi*: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation." Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 27.1 (2007): 97-39.

[40] Jones, "Labor and Lace," 399-425; Jones, "'Worn in Venice and Throughout Italy'," 511-544; Jones and Rosenthal, "Dress as Civic Celebration in Late Sixteenth-Century Venice," 2-42.

[41] Angela Nuovo, *The Book Trade in the Italian Renaissance*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Library of the Written Word 26, The Handpress World 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[42] Paul F. Grendler, "Form and Function in Italian Renaissance Popular Books," *Renaissance Quarterly* 46.3 (1993), 452-454.

patterns and books is found in patterned textile or woodblock-printed leather incunabula bindings.[43]

As profitable books, merletti were frequently reprinted after their initial publication. For example, Jones cites a study that counts "four hundred editions of at least 256 pattern books."[44] The 1625 *Libro quarto* is such a reprint after its initial publication in the 1590s. The abundance of reprints indicates that merletti traveled and became available to a wide audience, as VandenBerghe explains.[45] A lace pattern book was valuable because it offered a template, a direct ground with which to begin lacemaking, even if the publishers of those designs were more akin to "curators" than designers.[46] In the late sixteenth century, pattern designers sometimes included a personal mark on their designs; this is a significant departure because previously, printed patterns were exclusively associated with the publisher.[47] While such recorded instances are known, it is important to temper the desire to trace a secure evolution to the pattern book. Although this idea is seductive, pattern books and their content were generated by exchanges of ideas and murky authorship. The designs published in pattern books were gleaned from varied sources and authors. Based on modern notions of artistic originality, such designs might seem "plagiarized"—a term VandenBerghe herself employs—given that their exact point of origin was less significant than their potential to be worked into a textile.[48] Such issues of collaboration, originality, and design remain complicated in early modern print culture, and not easily

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[43] Speelberg, 10.

[44] Jones, "Labor and Lace," 404.

[45] VandenBerghe, 523.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Speelberg, 36.

[48] VandenBerghe, 523-524.

accommodated by art history's preoccupation with the concept of artistic originality and identifying the "hand" of the artist. I resist this tendency and contend that it is more productive to consider the migration and movement of visual motifs in merletti.[49] Accordingly, my thesis focuses on the exchanges between visual forms in lacemaking and elements of the Venetian built environment and local artisanal practices.

It is difficult to map where merletti would have been sold and purchased within the city. Given that merletti were pattern books in which text played a secondary role, it is clear that they were meant to be looked at instead of read. In contrast to print forms that were read aloud, merletti were graphic and intended to be experienced visually; so, the urban-oral-spatial component of many popular print genres is less germane to merletti. In early modern Venice, prints were primarily sold in the area between the Rialto Bridge and Piazza San Marco, a series of shopping streets known as the Merceria.[50] Nearby, the Frezzaria—a cluster of streets in San Moisè teeming with artisanal wares—was another center of print commerce.[51] Rosa Salzberg maps the zones of Venice with the greatest concentration of print making and selling: extending

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[49] Witcombe, 291-293. Christopher Witcombe notes that permission to print, or a *privilegio*, was given to publishers for the printing of pattern books upon application to the Venetian Senate. Some of the first *privilegii* granted for the publication of *merletti* in Venice were to Francesco Pellicioli in 1542 and Giovanni Ostaus in 1556. The formal process of appealing to the Venetian Senate indicates a measure in place to ensure publishers were authorized to print particular books; yet, this does not mean that the sources of the patterns had to be original. While it is beyond the present scope to explore the nuances of printing *privilegii*, it is interesting to note that *privilegii* could be granted either for the designs themselves or for the book as a whole. In the latter case, the patterns themselves were not subject to any copyright restrictions. When Vecellio received his *privilegio* for *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne* in 1591, it was for the first, second, and third books in this series. The *privilegio* was based on the publications being books of textile patterns, but Witcombe does not indicate any other stipulations regarding the designs themselves. Witcombe also does not provide any information on a *privilegio* acquired for *Gioiello della corona*, the fourth book in the series, first published in 1593. Without further evidence, it is difficult to deduce what the *privilegio*'s absence might mean; however, since the *Libro quarto* was not under the purview of the initial *privilegio* granted in 1591, I suspect that Vecellio would have had to apply anew to print subsequent *merletti*.

[50] Rosa Salzberg, "'Per le Piaze & Sopra il Ponte': Reconstructing the Geography of Popular Print in Sixteenth-Century Venice," in *Geographies of the Book*, ed. Miles Ogborn and Charles W.J. Withers (Surrey, UK & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 114; Gert Jan van der Sman, "Print Publishing in Venice in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," *Print Quarterly* 17.3 (2000), 235.

[51] Salzberg, 118.

beyond the Merceria, print commerce occurred in a consistent swath from the Rialto area to that of San Marco—the economic nodes of the city.[52] Evelyn Welch explains that each year on the feast of the Ascension, a fifteen day street fair would be erected in Piazza San Marco.[53] During this fair, "women, particularly those from the lower social groups, were expected and indeed encouraged to purchase goods."[54] This occasion is significant in and of itself as women, especially patrician women, were discouraged from moving freely about the city. Although little is known about the purchase of merletti by women, it is possible that female customers purchased merletti in public markets. Merletti must also have been sold in local print hubs within parishes such as San Salvador, San Fantin, and San Luca—all of which boasted a high concentration of artisans who were familiar with printmaking.[55] Although purchase records of extant merletti are murky, they were most likely printed and sold in zones of the city such as the Frezzaria and Merceria— not in close proximity to any convents or female religious shelters.

Although merletti printmakers were overwhelmingly male, the link between pattern books and women is indissoluble. Pattern books were "targeted towards an almost exclusively female market," as Natalie Lussey states.[56] While it is beyond the scope of the present study to provide an exhaustive overview of the complex ways in which lacemaking and gender intersected, lacemaking as well as embroidery and other needlework, consistently retains a female or "feminine" connotation. Pattern books both participated in and reinforced this

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[52] Ibid., 115.

[53] Evelyn Welch, "Fairs," in *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2005), 177.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Natalie Lussey, "Staying Afloat: The Vavassore Workshop and the Role of the Minor Publisher in Sixteenth Century Venice," *Kunsttexte.de* 2 (2017), 5.

[56] Ibid., 6.

association given their readership. It was common for merletti to feature dedicatory pages addressed to noble women, or that extolled the virtuous and edifying value of lacemaking, as *Gioiello della corona*'s dedication illustrates.[57] Speelberg points out that textile production being "virtuous" for women was also intended to connote "virtuosity" and encourage women to "measure themselves with the best poets, painters, and sculptors" through their needlework.[58] Speelberg notes that printed pattern books became successful when they emerged in the sixteenth century given the emphasis on textile production and the importance of textiles in the lives of women.[59] Given that a primary responsibility in the life of an upper class woman was to maintain the home, managing and decorating the household textiles was in this purview.[60]

As Patricia Allerston has shown, women were excluded from guild-structured economic activities in Venice;[61] therefore, given the connection between textiles and the domestic sphere—perhaps in part due to women's restriction to the home and the idea that needlework was a virtuous activity for women—textile decoration became an important activity for women, and thus a market for pattern books was sustained.[62] While pattern books were directly addressed to upper class women, the medium of print permitted the circulation of lace patterns to a clientele beyond the elite. In her examination of the Vavassore print workshop, Lussey suggests that the presence of lace pattern books for female clientele indicates the publishers' response to the

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[57] Jones, "Labor and Lace," 405.

[58] Speelberg, 43.

[59] Ibid., 19.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Patricia Allerston, "An Undisciplined Activity? Lace Production in Early Modern Venice*," XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, August 2006, Session 68*, 2-4.

[62] Speelberg, 19.

market for these books.[63] Lussey notes the workshop sought to "appeal to all aspects of the book-buying market"; thus, although merletti have been relegated to the peripheries of Venetian print historiography, this in no way reflects their prevalence in the early modern period.[64] In other words, merletti would not have been produced in large quantities if there were no proportional female market to consume them. How, then, did this genre of Venetian printed book participate in diverse spheres within the city, such as book publishing, printmaking, lacemaking, the lives of women, and religious institutions?

Lace

The history of pattern books is tethered to the history of lace in Italy. As tempting as it may be, it is impossible to securely trace the origins of lace due to its material fragility and lack of a single point of origin. Lace making also existed outside of the guild system and was concentrated in the domestic or monastic sphere; therefore, records are scanty.[65] Scholars are not in agreement on lace's origins; nevertheless, it is likely that lace arrived in Europe from the Levant. Lidia Sciama observes that several centers of Italian lace making, such as Sicily, Genoa and Venice, were also those that traded the most with the Levant.[66] As a result of Venice being an entrepot, different forms of embroidery flowed into the city, from which Venetian lace appears to have developed. For this reason, lace was initially referred to as merletto ("lace") to distinguish it from its predecessor.[67] This distinction was essential, since embroidery was created by stitching onto pieces of fabric while merletto "designate[d] lace made with a needle and

[63] Lussey, 12.

[64] Ibid., 12.

[65] Sciama, 166-167; Allerston, 2.

[66] Sciama, 163.

[67] Jones, "Labor and Lace," 399.

thread."[68] This term, which originally denoted lace, has come to signify Venetian lace pattern books. In Italy, Venice and Burano were the pre-eminent centers of lace making; however, Genoa and Milan's lace output was significant as well. Each lace-producing center was characterized by its own stylistic trends, though several remained common across Italian lace.

Venetian lacemaking has been well-recounted in scholarship,[69] and work on this topic is characterized by three general approaches. Doretta Davanzo Poli has traced the emergence of lace as it pertains to textile and other artisanal practices in Venice, as well as the history of costume.[70] Lidia Sciama takes an anthropological and ecological approach, focusing on the island of Burano and the extent to which the environmental habitus influenced lacemaking in Venice.[71] Via the writing of Arcangela Tarabotti, Meredith Ray has investigated the connections between monastic life and lacemaking with an emphasis on female agency and gender in early modern Venice.[72] Scholarship has extensively mapped the gendered associations of lacemaking in Venice. My analysis seeks to extend this line of inquiry into new areas. It is my contention that a continued emphasis on lace and gender will perpetuate the relegation of merletti to the peripheries of art historical scholarship. Merletti have been afforded less attention both because they were ubiquitous and used by women; yet, continuing to approach them in terms of women and lace limits what can be learned from the process of making, to which merletti are crucial.

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[68] Ibid.

[69] See footnote 12.

[70] Doretta Davanzo Poli, *Arts & Crafts in Venice* (Cologne: Könemann, 1999).

[71] Sciama, 155-190.

[72] Meredith K. Ray, "Letters and Lace: Arcangela Tarabotti and Convent Culture in Seicento Venice," in *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters*, eds. Julie D. Campbell and Anne R. Larsen (Surrey, UK & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 45-73.

Accordingly, in examining Vecellio's *Libro quarto*, I am more attentive to the material qualities and implications of the lace pattern books than to the connections between women and lace.

II. Thread and Venetian Sensibility

The title page of *Gioiello della corona* effectively announces the book's contents (Fig. 8). In a central square panel, an architectural space contains five figures. The central female figure divides the entire scene in half. The central figure stands on a pedestal, her right arm outstretched, holding an orb in her right hand and pointing upward to her head with her left hand. She is Fortune, who is frequently represented with such an orb. To the right of Fortune, a male figure is in the act of sculpting as indicated by his hammer, chisel, and the stiff, stony figure on a plinth. A shield appears to stand in front of the statue's left hand. The shield could also be the statue's left leg, engaged and bent at the knee.

In the left background, two women are seated and hunched over an object in their laps. The left-most woman clutches a pillow with her left hand, and a needle with her right: she is engaged in producing bobbin lace. The woman beside her holds an opened book with both her hands and is reading. Perhaps she examines a pattern book and is instructing the woman who is producing lace. This representation echoes the size of the book itself: the book is small enough to be held in the viewer's hands and it invites, if not requires, an experience of looking wherein the viewer is physically close to the book. It would not be uncommon for the viewer to find herself hunched over the book, much like the left-most woman is hunched over the pattern producing bobbin lace.

The line figures prominently throughout this image, as evidenced by the vertical lines of the columns and the scoring of the curb around the central open area. The horizontal scoring of the backdrop, along with the diagonal line that extends from the sculptor's chisel to Fortune's

head, leads the viewer's eye through a trajectory of looking that is linear by design. To the right of the image's frame are faint dots that, together, form the outline of the sculptor—a remnant of the technique of transferring the design onto a support material.

Following the paratext, the first lace pattern presented a *punto in aria* needlework design for multiple lace-workers, as specified in the caption (Fig. 3). Here, the emphasis on line continues, and the play between circle and line permeates the pattern. The page presents two separate patterns, both of which emanate from a circular center to form a shape that fills their respective square frames, topped with lace protrusions in each square's four corners. In both cases, the central lace program is ensconced between an upper and lower register that repeats modular features. The white portions of the pattern that are substitutes for lace thread are speckled with black dots; these indicate apertures. These apertures invoke the transfer dots from the title page, alluding to the process by which these patterns would be transformed into lace.

Formed Thread

The presence of different artistic practices on *Libro quarto*'s title page emphasizes the material interactions between merletti and other artisanal practices. Prior to the emergence of printing patterns onto paper supports, as Femke Speelberg points out, linen and other pieces of cloth, which were used to form paper, were also the most common supports for printed textiles.[73] Speelberg further notes that "the woodblocks for both would have been ordered from the same block carvers."[74] Speelberg states that pattern books evolved organically from printed textiles due to the intermingling of technology and materials in both practices.[75] The paper of merletti

[73] Speelberg, 9.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid. 9-10.

most clearly illustrates the fundamental continuity of the thread. Early modern Italian paper was created from recycled clothing. In Venice, the Jewish community was tasked with the collection and sale of secondhand clothing. As a result, the secondhand clothing trade was a stable part of the city's economy since it had a designated workforce. After being collected, the used threads of clothing would be dissolved into a pulp, then laid on wire mesh to form paper.[76] As Juraj Kittler explains, once dried and hardened, this pulp would first be polished with glue so that ink would adhere to the page, and then rubbed or polished with stone to create an optimal surface. [77] This cloth paper would then serve as the medium for printing lace patterns.[78] Before merletti are printed, the textile printing and secondhand clothing industries are already enmeshed in the production of paper.[79]

The lace pattern with dancing figures and the four seasons (Fig. 1) from *Libro quarto* attests to the interlacing of textile trades and merletti. The entire structure of this design is lace, as is all the clothing worn by the figures. The clothes that were dissolved to form paper have simultaneously become the ground for this lace design, as well as have become the new lace clothing that the figures wear in an actual piece of lace. The horizontal format of this pattern (and

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[76] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, "The Smooth and the Striated," in *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 474-500. Deleuze and Guattari note that space always moves between smooth and striated states; it can never be one or the other, they are not mutually exclusive. The materiality and immateriality of the surface of the pattern page exhibits this oscillation. Deleuze and Guattari further state that fabric is a striated space given its structured vertical and horizontal elements—this description is also applicable to laid paper given its laid and chain lines.

[77] Juraj Kittler, "From Rags to Riches: The limits of early paper manufacturing and their impact on book print in Renaissance Venice," *Media History* 21.1 (2015), 9.

[78] The theme of recycling is also striking in the lace pattern process—it is a *chaîne opératoire* based on the continuation and recycling of material forms. The threads in the secondhand clothing become paper, which becomes the support for the lace patterns, which goes on to create more clothes in the form of lace.

[79] Victoria Mitchell, "Drawing Threads from Sight to Site," *Textile* 4.3 (2006): 340-361. Victoria Mitchell discusses thread and its generative potential. This led me to think about the amorphous pulp that creates laid paper, and how it is similar to the fibers of any pre-spun raw material that would subsequently be spun into thread. In their raw states, lace and *merletti* both exist as unspun cotton, linen or silk.

all patterns in the book) recalls the shape of the basin in which the paper pulp was formed, thus visually alluding to the process of producing the very paper on which the pattern is printed. Further, the connective and structural lines in the lace pattern resemble the grid lines of the wire rack on which the pulp was formed to become a sheet of paper. In the outer border of the sheet, the portion with no pattern, chain lines are visible. (Chain lines are the thin vertical lines impressed in the paper from the wire rack during the process of papermaking.) This self-referential lace pattern clearly displays the ongoing interconnectedness of clothing, lace, papermaking, and merletti.

Vecellio's *corni*-clad dancing women demonstrate merletti's engagement with artistic practices in the city, as presented in the book's title page. In another pattern in *Libro quarto* (Fig. 9), two Venetian women appear in the far-right triangular section of the design, standing with their hands on their hips beside a central fountain, both sporting *corni* and upright lace collars. As a sculptural form produced with the body, *corni* have an interesting relationship with lace. To return to the painting of a Venetian patrician woman (Fig. 2), it is clear that lace collars and corni both extend the body into space.[80] Like the *corni* hair loops, the lace collar is perforated and allows light to diffuse. Set before the dark brown background, the lace collar resembles a lace pattern; it appears as though one of Vecellio's patterns was cut and fanned out around the sitter's head. The pleats in the lace collar above the sitter's left shoulder resemble paper creases and highlight the collar's connection to paper patterns. The process of lacemaking, beginning with the pattern and ending in the textile, is indexed in the lace collar like an insect suspended in amber.

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[80] When worn together, they create a sail-like effect around the wearer. In a maritime city such as Venice, this connection is important. I am grateful to Bronwen Wilson for sharing this observation.

Libro quarto's title page also features a connection to sculpture: a male sculptor carves a female statue while two women stitch lace. Along with the title page, the corni lace pattern reinforces the relationship between merletti and sculpture. Like corni, the products of merletti contain a sculptural potential for the wearer's body. The link to sculpture further elucidates Femke Speelberg's point that women were encouraged to rival artists with their lace creations.[81] The sculptor's chisel becomes the woman's needle—with both producing sculptural works. *Libro quarto*'s sculptural title illustration is resonant given the 1625 date of publication: in the seventeenth century, high relief lace was popular. As evidenced by its name, this type of lace is inherently sculptural and is intended to project into space, much like a lace collar or corni.

Woven Thread

Another textile essential to Venetian artistic and artisanal practices was canvas. It was, after all, in Venice where the shift from painting on panel to painting on canvas took hold in the fifteenth century.[82] This watershed technological development was influenced by the presence of canvas in Venice for mercantile and maritime purposes.[83] Venice's Arsenale, or compound of state-run shipyards, was the largest industrial center in Europe before the Industrial Revolution. Given the tremendous output of ships, each vessel would have also required sails; these were

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[81] Speelberg, 43.

[82] Jonathan Stephenson, s.v. "Canvas," Oxford Art Online, Oxford University Press, accessed March 29, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T013791. Until the late fifteenth century, most paintings would have been executed in fresco, on panel or on textiles. In its origins, canvas would have been "applied to wooden panels employed for tempera painting, as a cover either for the joints where stress might occur or for the whole of the surface to be worked on." Jonathan Stephenson notes that the first canvas paintings were likely executed in this way in order to facilitate transportation, and then placed *in situ* over a panel support. Over time, canvas was incorporated into Venetian painting praxis. Artists such as Jacopo, Giovanni, and Gentile Bellini as well as Andrea Mantegna were main proponents of the adoption of painting on canvas in the quattrocento. Given Venice's maritime resources, the city was conducive to the development of painting on canvas.

[83] Ibid.

created from canvas or coarser weaves of textiles like cotton, hemp, or linen.[84] As a comprehensive factory, the Arsenale manufactured all components for their ships onsite, including rope and sails.[85] Cotton canvas sails were standard for Venetian ships by the middle of the thirteenth century and remained so throughout the early modern period.[86] Venice was a hub of nautical manufacturing, which means that it produced and required significant amounts of canvas.

The textile nature of *Libro quarto* also connects the book to different uses of canvas within the city. "Canvas" signified both the woven material manufactured with hemp, as well as a type of coarse cloth.[87] Canvas can also consist of "coarse flax or tightly woven linen" as well as "textiles of cotton and jute."[88] It was sold by the same merchants as linen and cotton in Venice.[89] Based on the second definition of canvas as a type of textile, the secondhand clothes dissolved to form paper would be encompassed under the term. Merletti paper is thus constituted by canvas. Moreover, the process of sealing paper is similar to that of preparing a canvas for painting: just as paper is sealed with glue to retain ink, so too is canvas primed with gesso to provide a surface on which to paint.

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[84] Ibid.; Maureen Fennell Mazzaoui, "The Cotton Industry of Northern Italy in the Late Middle Ages: 1150-1450," *The Journal of Economic History* 32.1 (1972), 265, 270 & 286; David Celetti, "The Arsenal of Venice and the Organisation of Domestic Hemp Growing in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *The Journal of European Economic History* 2 (2005), 448.

[85] Celetti, 459.

[86] Maureen Fennell Mazzaoui, *The Italian Cotton Industry in the Later Middle Ages: 1100-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 103. Mazzaoui also indicates that ships would keep two emergency "storm sails" on board, and these were likely created from hemp.

[87] Stephenson, s.v. "Canvas."

[88] Ibid.

[89] Richard Mackenney, *Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250-c. 1650* (London & Sydney: Croom Helm, 1987), 230.

In paintings on canvas, several geometric borders or edge designs from Venetian artist Lorenzo Lotto's carpets could have been lifted from *Libro quarto*. Clear examples of this material interplay are found in Lorenzo Lotto's painted carpets in *Family Portrait* (Fig. 10) and *The Alms of St. Anthony* (Fig. 11). In *Family Portrait*, the white interlaced band in the central section of the carpet, the twisted rope border along the top and bottom edges of the lower dark-ground section, and the red floral motifs on the dark-ground in the lower section all directly recall patterns in Vecellio's book. The red central motif on the dark ground, flanked by a vine-like tendril on both sides, recalls the meandering floral boughs of a *punto in aria* pattern (Fig. 5). The red and black triangular edge pattern evokes triangular patterns in the central horizontal band of a lace design (Fig. 12) as well as the delicate geometric border along the bottom of another (Fig. 13). In between the white interlaced band and the dark-ground section of the carpet, a curvy line fills the narrow space, carrying a floral vine with it. This vine pattern has a counterpart in the top two horizontal bands of a floral *punto in aria* pattern (Fig. 14). *The Alms of St. Anthony* features a similar floral-vine motif that fills the red portion of the carpet, between the grey-blue outer border and the dark-ground frame featuring white interlaced designs. The *St. Anthony* vine also corresponds to the prior floral *punto in aria* (Fig. 13). Finally, the yellow floral tendrils in the central panel of the carpet echo the twisted filaments on the edges and points of the four triangular lace crenellations that extend downward from the central horizontal band (Fig. 12). These floral tendrils also resemble the knots of lace.

The geometric carpet designs are also evocative of watermarks. Pictorial precursors to watermark designs are *The First Knot* after Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer's *The Sixth Knot*: their representations of twisted, looped wire are visually similar to the watermark of the *Libro quarto* paper (Fig. 15). During the papermaking process, a watermark was produced by

attaching a wire design to the wire rack on which the paper would be formed. The shaped wire that is pressed into the paper pulp acts as an extension of the wire rack itself. In *Family Portrait* (Fig. 10), for example, the interlaced white design resembles watermark designs. With a carpet, figure and ground are conflated into a single visual plane. On laid paper, a watermark design indexes the moment that figure and ground merge. The wire (the figure) is absorbed into the ground (the paper pulp). The watermark design in carpets and merletti provokes the idea of figure and ground—a relationship which is complicated by both objects. With merletti, this process is intensified given that the figure (the lace pattern) goes on to become the ground for the subsequent lace work. Figure and ground are further confused in that, the black ink is pressed onto the page, and the white un-inked part of the paper constitutes the lace design. Hereby the ground, which is the paper, becomes the figure and the ink that is applied to the woodblock becomes the ground. From this ground, the figure will emerge, which is the traces transformed into threads, or the final lace creation.

Carpets and merletti are materially entangled. David Kim demonstrates that for Lorenzo Lotto, the representation of carpets allowed Lotto to conceptualize pictorial space.[90] Kim outlines the manifold meanings of carpets in Venice, such as signaling wealth, mercantile activity, public ritual and the relationship between the domestic interior and the urban exterior.[91] Merletti, too, are imbricated in both domestic interior and urban exterior spaces: they are printed in print shops and sold in urban spaces within the city, then used by female lace-makers in private, isolated religious institutions. Like carpets, printed lace patterns in Venice are mobile objects. Carpets' associations in Venice echo how merletti are printed books of individual sheets that can be

[90] David Young Kim, "Lotto's Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 98.2 (2016): 181-212.

[91] Ibid., 182.

rearranged, traced, and then employed in new contexts. Kim also shows that Lotto was not only aware of the Venetian textile world, but that he intentionally interacted with it.[92] For Lotto, "woven materials" were crucial throughout "the painting process, from the use of canvas as a support to the depiction of textiles on those very canvases."[93] Just as woven clothes become a pulp that becomes laid paper, so are woven carpets—created from individual threads—transposed to the woven surface of the canvas (although they sit on top of the sealed gesso layer, just as the merletti pattern sits on top of the sealed sheet of paper).

Twisted Thread

The lower, horizontal strand of one of Vecellio's patterns features a braided line of lace (Fig. 12), visually reinforcing the connection between lace and ropemaking. In Venice, thread incarnated as rope functioned alongside canvas. Ropes are essential to the functioning of a ship and, like sailcloth, rope was manufactured onsite at the Arsenale, as David Celetti explores.[94] Ropemakers were crucial to the Venetian economy and not only had a guild, but also their own dedicated portion of the Arsenale (the Corderie or Tana).[95] The hemp spinners' guild participated in ropemaking since, at this time, nautical rope consisted of twisted hemp threads.[96] The Republic required a constant supply of hemp for its ship industry, primarily for ropemaking, but also for the production of sailcloth. Eventually, the Arsenale began localized hemp production to

[92] Ibid., 186.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Celetti, 459.

[95] Mackenney, 11.

[96] Frederic C. Lane, "The Rope Factory and Hemp Trade in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1966), 277.

sustain its rope demand.[97] Although perhaps elementary, it must be stated that rope consists of spun fibers—threads—that have been twisted together to form a composite, super-thread unit. Here, a connection can be drawn to the act of spinning, which was central to the preparation of thread for lacemaking, and the act of ropemaking itself. To manufacture premodern rope, a long, rectangular space was required as individual filaments (usually three) were hung along the entire length of the space and subsequently twisted together by the ropemakers. This process is illuminating because, in a sense, ropemaking required two phases of spinning. (Bobbin lace could be seen as having two phases of spinning: the spinning of the raw fibers to form thread, and the subsequent winding of the thread around the circular bobbin pin.) Rope is also a distinctive feature of Venetian sculptural practices—as evidenced by the sculpted rope decoration of the central door, outer doorframe, wooden beams, and capitals of the church of Santa Caterina on the island of Mazzorbo in the lagoon, just north of Venice.

Closely related to nautical rope, Vecellio's patterns display connective stitches that invoke fishing nets. Connective stitches proliferate in *Libro quarto* patterns, especially when employed to attach a knotted stitch, or circular stitch that resembles a knot, to another component of the piece. In the first pattern of the book (Fig. 3), the top horizontal register of the left design contains an alternating inverse triangular pattern. In the upward facing triangles of negative space, a floral design is at the center of the triangle, attached to the rest of the lace structure by faint, thin connecting threads that extend in four directions. The suspended flowers alongside the connective threads resemble the structural knot of a fishing net stitch and the centrifugal threads that link this knot to the other stitches. This delicate structure is crystallized in a figural pattern (Fig. 6) in which two mythological, winged male figures at bottom are attached to two griffins

[97] Celetti, 448-450.

via a triangular line punctuated by three small circles. The circles represent knots in the thread and allow the male figures to be structurally attached to the central part of the pattern. A complex geometric pattern (Fig. 16) displays similar knot-and-thread stitches in each of its five registers. An intricate jewelry-like pattern (Fig. 17) features the aforementioned stitches throughout as well as net-like forms and structure, stabilized by thin, diagonal connective threads. In a pattern showcasing a variety of birds (Fig. 18), the lower horizontal register features lace rope formed into four and a half roundels. In between each roundel, the two strands of rope create a loop—a small connective chain link in the register's design. These rope-loops could become knots. They contain the potential for this transformation and it is reinforced by the knot-and-thread stitches throughout the pattern. Here, the intertwined thread is presented before it becomes a knot. Upon close examination, structural connective stitches can be discerned in almost every pattern in the book.

An important Venetian maritime rope practice is the stitching of fishing nets on the nearby island of Burano. Perhaps the most powerful material connection between rope and merletti is the origin story of Burano lace. Refuting the notion that lace was brought from Venice, local mythology ascribes the emergence of Burano lace making to the island.[98] The distinctive form of Burano lace, named after its birthplace, features a type of stitch called *rete* ("net") in contrast with the "bar" stitches that characterize Venetian lace.[99] Sciama also notes that the lace indigenous to Burano is so-named "as it is said to reproduce the technique by which fishermen used to make their nets."[100] This point is striking: it conjures the image of Buranelli

[98] Sciama, 179.

[99] Sciama, 156.

[100] Ibid.

women sitting together (as they do to this day while stitching lace) repairing or knotting fishing nets as the men fish in the lagoon.[101] Considering lacemaking in relation to the body, the repeated movement of tying fishing net stitches with rope could be transposed to stitching lace with linen thread. However compelling, this connection between fishing nets and Burano lace is mythological, rather than historical.[102] Nevertheless, the conceptual link between creating fishing nets and stitching lace is clear in *Libro quarto*.

Built Thread

Vecellio's "Crown of friezes of air" pattern is replete with tracery (Fig. 12). Excluding the second horizontal band filled with geometric designs, the lace design reproduces architectural tracery from the built environment of Venice. The alternating triangular forms in the first and third registers, upward-facing diamond finials in the top register, and intertwined serpentine curlicue forms in the bottom register (resembling the f-holes of a violin), all mirror ornamentation on Venetian palace façades. On the Grand Canal, Ca d'Oro boasts ornate crenellations at the top of its façade, horizontal and vertical bands of interlaced relief design on the *piano nobile* (second) and third floors, pointed trefoil arches, and sculpted rope. Many of these flourishes correspond to the "Crown of friezes" pattern, and the pattern is clearly in dialogue with these architectural forms. Another pattern in Vecellio (Fig. 19) features alternating triangular and diamond-crested finials in the third horizontal register, arising from the structural band of lace underneath. This motif, a large triangular form followed by a mace-like form, directly recalls the crenellations along the top of the Palazzo Ducale façade. On the Palazzo

[101] There is much more to be said about the oral and aural culture of lacemaking, particularly in the isolated female settings in which nearly all lace was produced at this time.

[102] Poli, 284; Tim Ingold, "Transformations of the Line: Traces, Threads and Surfaces." *Textile* 8.1 (2010), 20.

Ducale, the polychromed crenellations consist of a thick white pointed trefoil arch followed by a red tapered cylindrical finial. Visual links to crenellations and similar architectural filigree can be found in nearly every one of Vecellio's patterns.

Similar architectural tracery can also be observed in the frames of Venetian-made altarpieces—a form of Venetian microarchitecture, really—such as the Vivarini brothers' *Certosa Polyptych* and Giovanni Bellini's *Frari Triptych*. In the polyptych, the top of the frame is filled with elaborate finials and carved openwork, and the body of the frame features intricately perforated wood carved into quatrefoil, trefoil, and trefoil arch forms, among others. Bellini's triptych also has five finials at the top of the frame which, collectively, resemble a candelabra. The architectural filigree common to Venetian facades and altarpieces invokes a crown due to the abundance of regularly-patterned finials. The full title of *Libro quarto* likens the patterns contained within to jewels on such a crown.

Another frieze-crown pattern in *Libro quarto* (Fig. 20) is characterized by interlaced circular forms in its lower two horizontal registers. In particular, the three trilobed protrusions in the third register display an attentiveness to working with circles—much like the three interlaced roundel designs on the Palazzo Dario façade. The way in which the circular, outer frames of the trilobed lace crenellations are incorporated is indebted to the Palazzo Dario decoration, where small roundels are interwoven via a sculpted border around a large, central roundel. Although not tracery, the delicate sculptural decoration of Palazzo Dario and its lace pattern counterpart further demonstrates how merletti were connected to Venice's architectural forms.

On the dedicatory page of *Gioiello della corona*, the square frame around the illuminated "E" (Fig. 7) exhibits the same wrought iron tracery as a window grille or *fondaco* door. Venetian fenestration displays filamentary motifs. The city boasts notable window grilles such as those

above the Porta Sant'Alippio on the west façade of San Marco: [103] of the five round-arched grilles, the central three are comprised of interlaced sculptural thread. The jewel-like pattern in Vecellio's merletto (Fig. 17) is nearly identical to that of the center-most Porta Sant'Alippio grille. Both pattern and grille are an interlaced net of framed circular and square forms. Another example is the exterior, quadrilobed window grille on the church of Santa Maria dei Derelitti, a part of the complex in which homeless women were rehabilitated and produced lace. Similar grills characterized internal monastic spaces, such as the grills that mediated the interactions between nuns and visitors, which Francesco Guardi depicts in his painting of the *parlatorio* at the convent of San Zaccaria. Looking out to the Grand Canal from inside the Palazzo Barbaro doors, the intricate ironwork serves as a glass-less window onto the waterscape.[104] Numerous Venetian *palazzi* also feature linear lower-level wrought-iron window grates.

The integration of circular forms into structural frames in Vecellio's patterns recalls the widespread use of bottle glass for windows in Venice. For instance, the jewel-like pattern (Fig. 17), the bird pattern (Fig. 18), and the interlaced circle pattern (Fig. 20) all display roundels framed by lace bands that are intertwined with the rest of the pattern's structure. Similarly, bottle glass windows typically feature circular glass discs set into a wrought iron grid or frame. Frequently, the wrought iron filaments encircle the bottle glass discs. I am further struck by these grid-like substructures and their evocation of the wire rack on which the paper pulp would have dried to form laid paper. Bottle glass windows are also depicted in Venetian paintings such as Vittore Carpaccio's *Dream of St. Ursula* and Lorenzo Lotto's *Annunciation*—in the latter, bottle glass is represented along with the iron structure. Although most original Venetian bottle glass

[103] Rosamond E. Mack, "Introduction," in *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian art, 1300-1600* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 9. The observation of these window grilles is Mack's.

[104] Poli, 140-141.

windows are no longer extant, several remain on structures such as Ca d'Oro and the Palazzo Ducale.

Venice's homegrown filamentary motifs developed thanks to its role as an entrepot, which facilitated the exchange and adoption of material practices that influenced merletti. Doretta Davanzo Poli has observed that the tracery of Venetian architecture immediately evokes the delicate threads of lace.[105] Much of early modern Venetian architecture is in the International Gothic style—a stylistic category that is connected to Venice's mercantile activity. The International Gothic is, by definition, associated with cosmopolitan commerce; thus, Venice's predilection for this architectural language asserts its status as a trade nexus of Europe. Through trade with the Levant, the technology of marbled paper likely entered Europe via Venice.[106] Indeed, this trade is what populated Lotto's canvases with Levantine carpets. The distinctive *fondaco* form of waterfront architecture in Venice also evolved from exposure to the Levantine *funduq* ("trading post").[107] These *fondaci*, such as the Fondaco dei Turchi, feature the aforementioned window grates, ironwork, and bottle glass. As stated in the prior section with Burano lace, I do not suggest that the built environment of Venice is linked causally to an interest in the threadlike motifs that I have observed; rather, I interpret merletti as allowing these diverse influences to cohere visually. Merletti accentuate characteristics shared not only by print and lace, but also forms in the Venetian visual environment.

III. *Merletti* and the Printed Page

[105] Poli, 280. On lace being a Venetian innovation, Poli writes: "Even without knowing anything about Venetian history or art, simply walking around the city and observing its architecture, the pinnacles, and the numerous works of tracery explains the reason behind this claim."

[106] Richard J. Wolfe, *Marbled Paper: Its History, Techniques, and Patterns, with Special Reference to the Relationship of Marbling to Bookbinding in Europe and the Western World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 49.

[107] Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 36.

Process

The function of the lace pattern page is essential to the lacemaking process. The pattern pages themselves were sometimes incised with needles in order to render the lace design they displayed. Hereby, the page becomes an active participant in the lacemaking process.[108] Put another way, the ground (the lace pattern page) literally becomes the ground for the lacework. More often, though, the patterns were traced onto another support, thus conserving the paper pattern. Ann Rosalind Jones provides a comprehensive description of how lace patterns were used:

> The needleworker cut a page out of the book, pinned or stitched the page to a piece of linen or parchment, and perforated— "pricked" or "pounced"—the pattern with pins, following the design. She then used the pinholes as a guide or as a stencil, brushing fine powder over the pattern to mark it onto the parchment or linen below. She pinned or stitched the vellum or fabric onto a sewing cushion, and then, working with needle and thread on top of the parchment or linen, she followed the design from above. When she had finished her piece of lace, she snipped and lifted it off the pattern, which could then be used again—unlike the paper pattern in a book, which would quickly fall apart with use.[109]

Like the woodblocks, the pattern pages and the threads that comprised them were perishable, hence the practice of tracing the design. To bind the pattern pages together as a book, the sheets were stitched together with thread, further reinforcing thread as the connective tissue.

Merletti are also books of images. Natalie Lussey characterizes pattern books as "primarily picture books, even if they do require skills to interpret and use."[110] The pictorial emphasis of merletti means that they were not meant to be read aloud, thereby distinguishing them from a large number of contemporary printed texts. Most important, however, is the fact

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[108] Tim Ingold, "Toward an Ecology of Materials," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 427–42. My idea of the lace pattern page as an active agent is informed by Ingold's emphasis on the agency of materials.

[109] Jones, "Labor and Lace," 405-406.

[110] Lussey, 6.

that merletti depict the actual and future object of creation—they do not represent something that is intended to exist beyond the presence of the merletto itself. In other words, the pattern image was not meant to be read as a window to a world that is represented mimetically, as the majority of early modern pictorial representation was; rather, the pattern image represents the lace itself. The white lines of the pattern correspond to the white threads of the lace, as the black negative space corresponds to the non-lace portion of the future textile. Further, when the merletti sheets were employed as the literal ground for the lace creation—as they often were—the relationship between the pattern and the lace design becomes one-to-one. Given the inherent associations between printmaking and the idea of the multiple or the copy, this one-to-one correspondence is important.

Architectonic Patterns

On each printed folio of *Libro quarto,* the ink disperses across the paper differently. When examining the surface of the paper, there are areas where the black ink has not fully absorbed into the paper, or where the laid lines and felt impressions from the papermaking process have created unique textural zones with which the ink must grapple. In flipping the pages, the viewer is reminded of varying degrees of materiality and immateriality due to the graduated effect of the ink configurations. In other words, the ink and the subsequent patterns appear to be at times dematerializing before one's eyes.

The merletti page emphasizes surface, alluding to its woodcut process of making. Woodcut printing is a relief process: it cannot exist without carving into the surface of the woodblock to generate another surface—the relief surface—of the new design.[111] The

[111] Toward the later seventeenth century, high relief lace became popular. This type of lace was executed by employing thick thread for embellishments on top of the bottom-most layer. As a result, the lace possessed varying degrees of relief, which transformed the surface altogether.

woodblock is inked and pressed onto the paper, which itself always has a unique surface. In fact, it is important to remember that early modern paper was not standardized the way we are familiar with today.[112] As a result, sheets of paper from the same paper mill could display drastically different measurements and material properties.[113] The surface of the paper sits beneath the ink, which is a film that rests on top of the paper. Similarly, the traced lace pattern sits on top of the pattern page while it is being traced, and beneath the lace object as it is stitched.

Libro quarto's marbled cover further displays an attentiveness to surfaces and layers (Fig. 21). At first glance, the marbled ends reveal little about the contents within; yet, this point of entry is important. Marbled paper consists of an aqueous color mixture applied to the support, whether fabric or paper. In order for the aqueous color to saturate the support appropriately, the color cannot seep through the support; rather, the aqueous solution sits on top of the support. Essentially, the plane of color—which is typically produced via oil-based inks that are suspended in the aqueous solution—is applied to the ground plane of the support. The paper or fabric acts as the ground for the marbled color. In turn, the marbled color comprises the figure in the figure-ground relationship. Before opening the lace book, the viewer experiences the object as one with complex relations between surfaces, planes, and layers.

Marbled paper was not unique to Venetian lace pattern books; in fact, its presence on Vecellio's cover is unusual. Nevertheless, the use of this technique carries resonant implications in the Venetian context. In particular, marbled paper offers the viewer her first hint toward the schematic paradigm of the lace pattern book. The marbled cover prefigures the suspension of ink onto paper, and of differing yet melded planes of ink, paper, figure, ground, negative space, and

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[112] Naoko Takahatake, "The Italian Chiaroscuro Woodcut: History and Technique," in *The Chiaroscuro Woodcut in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Naoko Takahatake (Munich, London & New York: Delmonico Books/Prestel, 2018), 16.

[113] Ibid.

positive space that coexist within the merletto. Just as the oil-based inks are suspended in the solution and sit on top of the book cover, constituting their own material layer, so too does the ink disperse across the printed page according to the configuration of the sheet. The black ink sits on top of the page just as the marble ink sits on the front and back covers. The cover appears to offer swirling abstract forms that oscillate between figure and ground; in this way, it announces the spatial configuration of the contents housed within.

Liminality

The in-between status of merletti resonates in the structure of the patterns themselves, as manifested in one of Vecellio's *punto tagliato* ("cutwork") patterns (Fig. 16). The *punto tagliato* is comprised of five horizontal registers. Each register is constituted by square modules that contain geometric and floral designs. The pattern is structured by horizontal and vertical bars. The vertical bars that separate each square module from its adjacent recall Buranelli lacemaking lore. Sciama notes that among the two techniques for connecting lace segments in Burano—*sbari* (bars) and *rete* (net)—the former is "mainly associated with…Venice and [is] compared by the women to the bridges that join the city's islands."[114] A bridge is perhaps the most exemplary liminal structure, and a characteristic form of the Venetian built environment. Elsewhere, I have pointed out the connective stitches within most of Vecellio's *Libro quarto* patterns that invoke the stitches of a fishing net. The *punto tagliato* pattern thus accrues an additional meaning in the context of Burano lace and the built environment of Venice. The association between connective lace stitches and Venetian bridges is important to the merletti and how they operated in liminal spaces in the city.

[114] Sciama, 156.

The spaces and actors of lacemaking further illustrate the liminality of merletti. Lacemaking primarily occurred in an in-between space. [115] In convents, nuns were isolated and had little interaction with the outside world. When nuns did receive visitors, it was only permitted through metal grilles, as depicted in Francesco Guardi's painting, and a fresco at the Derelitti in which two women pull away a red curtain and gaze through a net-like grille onto the scene below. Confined to the convent at Sant'Anna, Arcangela Tarabotti developed such an esteemed reputation as a lace-maker that she took commissions and even acted as a broker.[116] It is possible that she passed one of her creations through the metal grilles, as her renown was so widespread that visitors would travel to the convent just to speak with her.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have expanded upon scholarship concerned with interactions between viewers, makers and material forms. Examining fifteenth-century artistic production and social experience, Michael Baxandall conceives the "period eye" to address how viewers engage with art objects.[117] Baxandall emphasizes ways in which the viewer's interpretation of an art object is as dependent on the viewer as the object itself.[118] The "period eye" is also informed by

[115] Isabella Campagnol, *Forbidden fashions: invisible luxuries in early Venetian convents* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2014), 120. The monastic component of lace is important because it contributed to lace making's incompatibility with formal organizational structures like guilds. This marginal status contributed to the invisible, yet strictly-regulated, role of women in these pre-industrial economies—especially in the lace industry. Female lace-makers at such religious institutions worked to produce lace like their monastic sisters; but they remained in these institutions temporarily in order to get back on their feet. Thus, it is powerfully resonant that a space in which a significant amount of lacemaking occurred in the early modern period was, at its essence, a space of in-betweenness. Isabella Campagnol points out that charitable institutions were never intended to be a permanent residence for a woman.

[116] Ray, "Letters and Lace," 55-58.

[117] Michael Baxandall, "The Period Eye," in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 29-108. My own approach is more aligned with his later development of "period eye" in *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. In this book, Baxandall examines visual forms contemporaneous with the art object such as shapes in mathematics, musical compositions, calligraphy, and the representation of human emotions.

[118] Ibid.

contemporaneous conventions of writing, language and vocal intonation.[119] Thus, an attentiveness to the "period eye" is an attempt to synthesize parallel perceptions and to remain faithful to the context that generated the visual motifs displayed by an art object. Informed by Baxandall, Patricia Fortini Brown introduces the "eyewitness" style in late-fifteenth century Venetian painting.[120] Brown traces the emergence of "eyewitness" painting to Venetian chronicling, especially by merchants traveling abroad, and the importance of documenting at this historical moment.[121] Participating in this recording impulse, Venetian *istoria* paintings were "visual documents" that chronicle a pictorial subject.[122] Since painted *istorie* and textual chronicles are ostensibly different, Brown argues that this documentary practice engendered an experiential mode in which seeing and writing were profoundly connected. For Baxandall and for Brown, mercantile activity is at the heart of the material interactions that contribute to both the period eye and eyewitness style. In this thesis, I have built upon such ideas to highlight merletti as a departure point to trace social, historical, and bodily connections.

In this thesis, I have suggested a material attentiveness related to the social experience of living in Venice which foregrounds the line and, particularly, thread as a form of line. I term this a *filamentary attentiveness*. I have argued that printed lace pattern books in Venice contributed to this filamentary attentiveness, by demonstrating how the thread displays evidence of the relationship between the body and practices of making in the city. It is important to stress that I do not suggest an environmentally deterministic link between living in early modern Venice and

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[119] Ibid.

[120] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venetian Narrative Painting in the Age of Carpaccio* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1988), 79 & 97.

[121] Ibid., 87-89.

[122] Ibid., 7.

producing the visual forms I point out in this paper; rather, I discern a shared investment in the line in Venetian artistic production that is fully expressed in and fostered by merletti. Merletti thematize relations between artisanal practices, quotidian manipulations of materials, and the body in Venice. Like the concepts of the "period eye" or "eyewitness style", filamentary attentiveness is an engagement with visual and material practices that are connected to working with thread.

The 1625 edition of Cesare Vecellio's *Libro quarto* is in close dialogue with Venetian artistic and artisanal practices. *Libro quarto* supersedes the efflorescence of merletti and costume book publications at the end of the Cinquecento, and is contemporaneous with the expansion of female institutional lacemaking in Seicento Venice; thus, it is uniquely connected to clothing. In my investigation of the *Libro quarto*, I have suggested that merletti give rise to a filamentary attentiveness, a shared investment in the line through which artisanal practices, visual forms in the Venetian urban environment, and bodily manipulations of thread interact. Thread is the continuity throughout all material stages of merletti. From the manufacturing of paper out of dissolved clothing, to the formation of that pulp into laid paper, to the use of this laid paper as a support on which to print inked woodblock patterns, the thread allows merletti and lace to exist. Whether formed into paper, woven into canvas or carpet, twisted into rope or net, built into tracery or filigree, or stitched into lace, the interconnectedness of these practices indicates a Venetian filamentary attentiveness. As evidenced by the printed page's figure and ground incongruence, architectonic structures and layers, and liminal assemblages, the merletto page is the site of the aforementioned material encounters. Ultimately, merletti are the centripetal force in the exchange between visual motifs in the built environment and manipulations of thread in Venice.

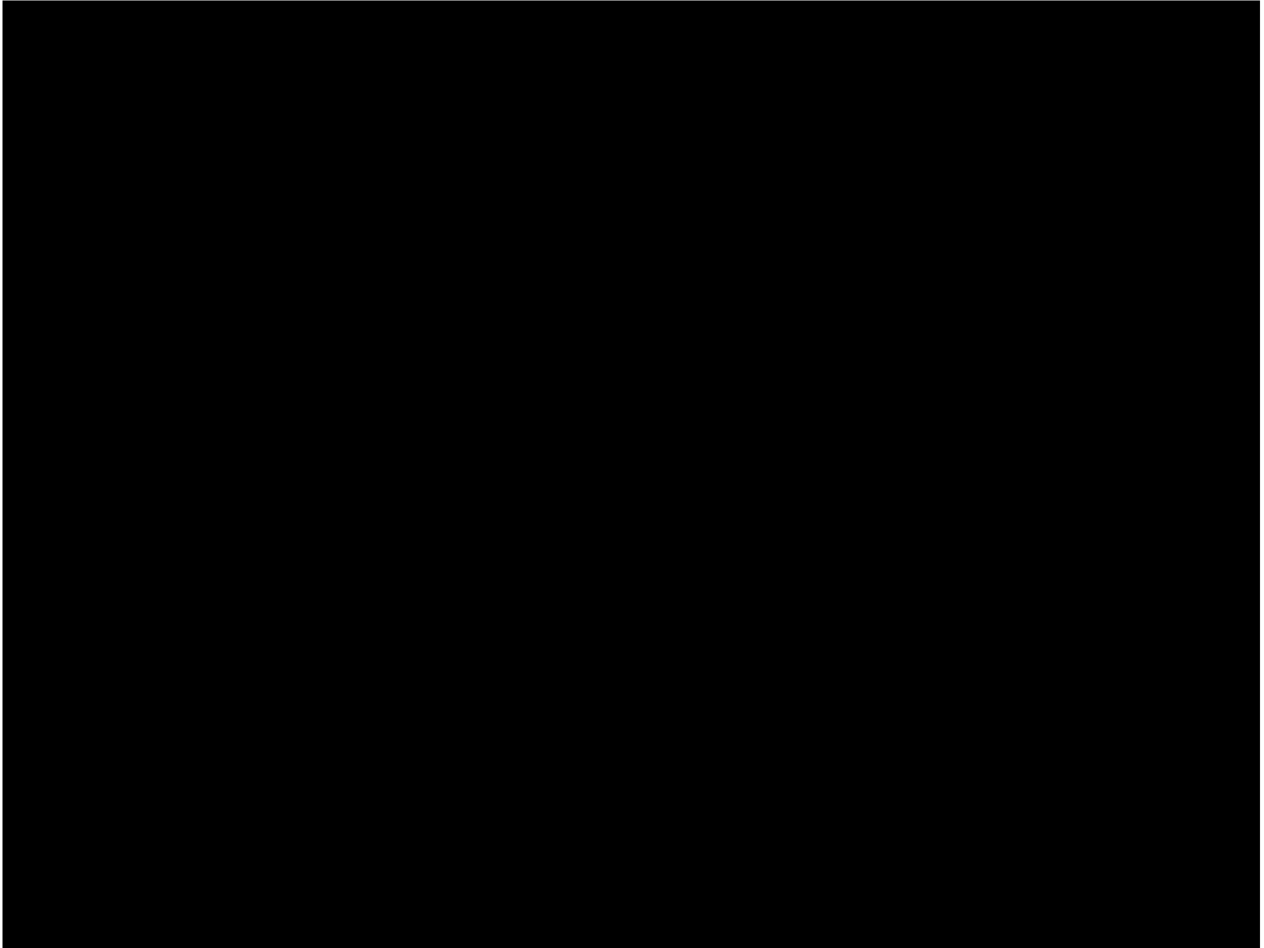

Fig. 1. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di bellisime figure, che ballano,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

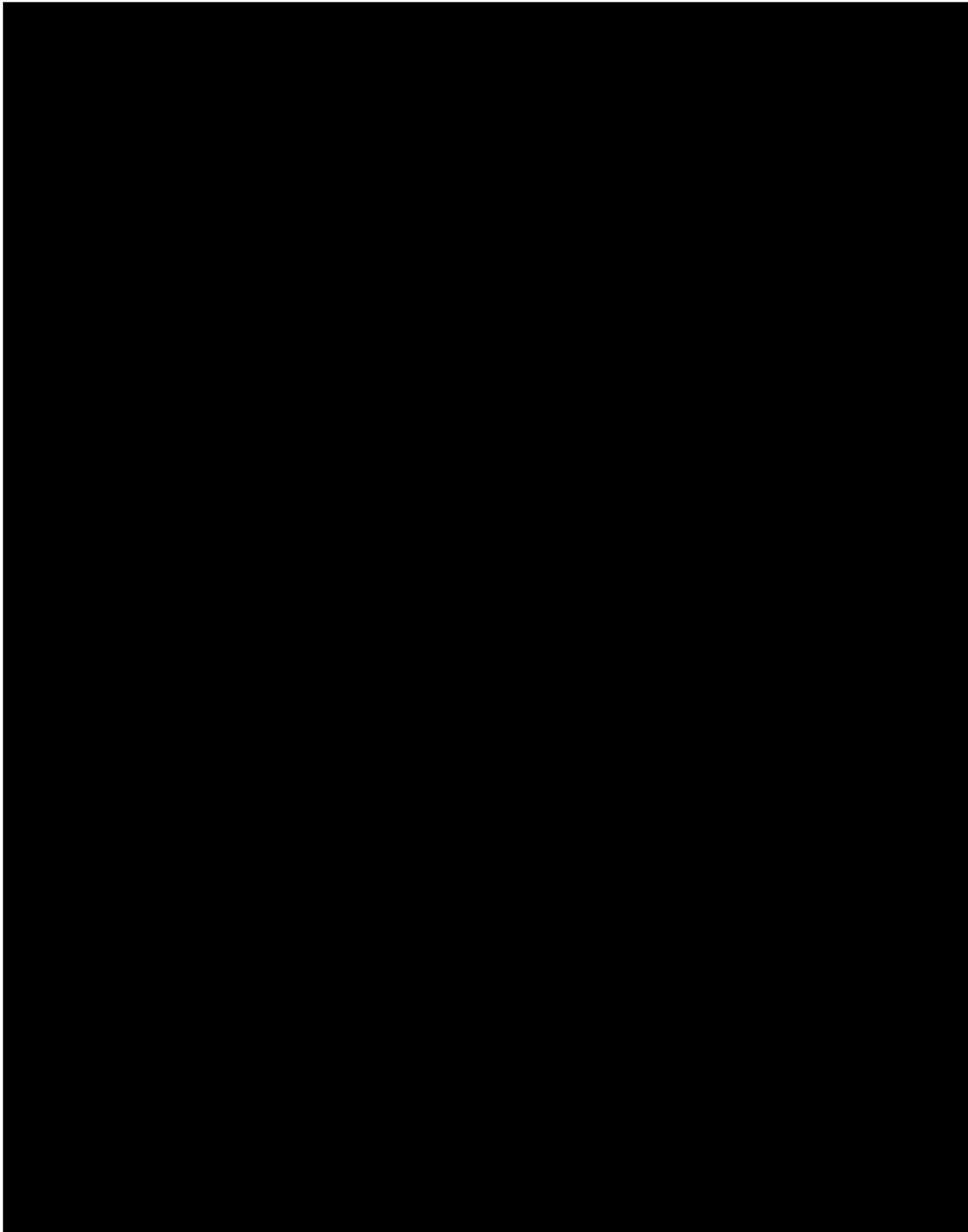

Fig. 2. Anonymous Venetian painter, *Venetian Noblewoman*, c. 1590, oil on canvas, Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Image: from Ann Rosalind Jones, “Labor and Lace: The Crafts of Giacomo Franco’s *Habiti delle donne venetiane*,” *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 17.2 (2014), 413.

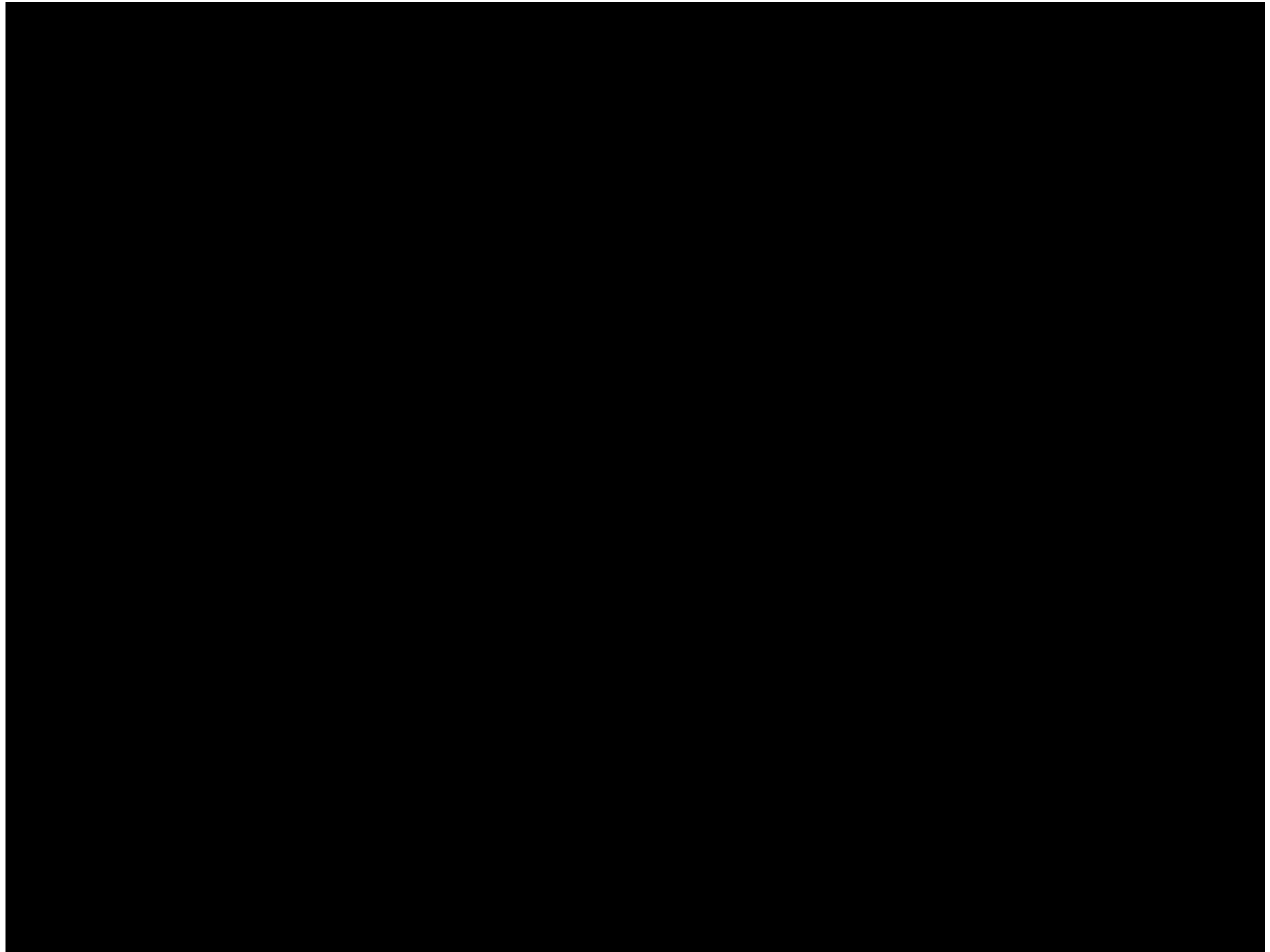

Fig. 3. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di mostre bellissime,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

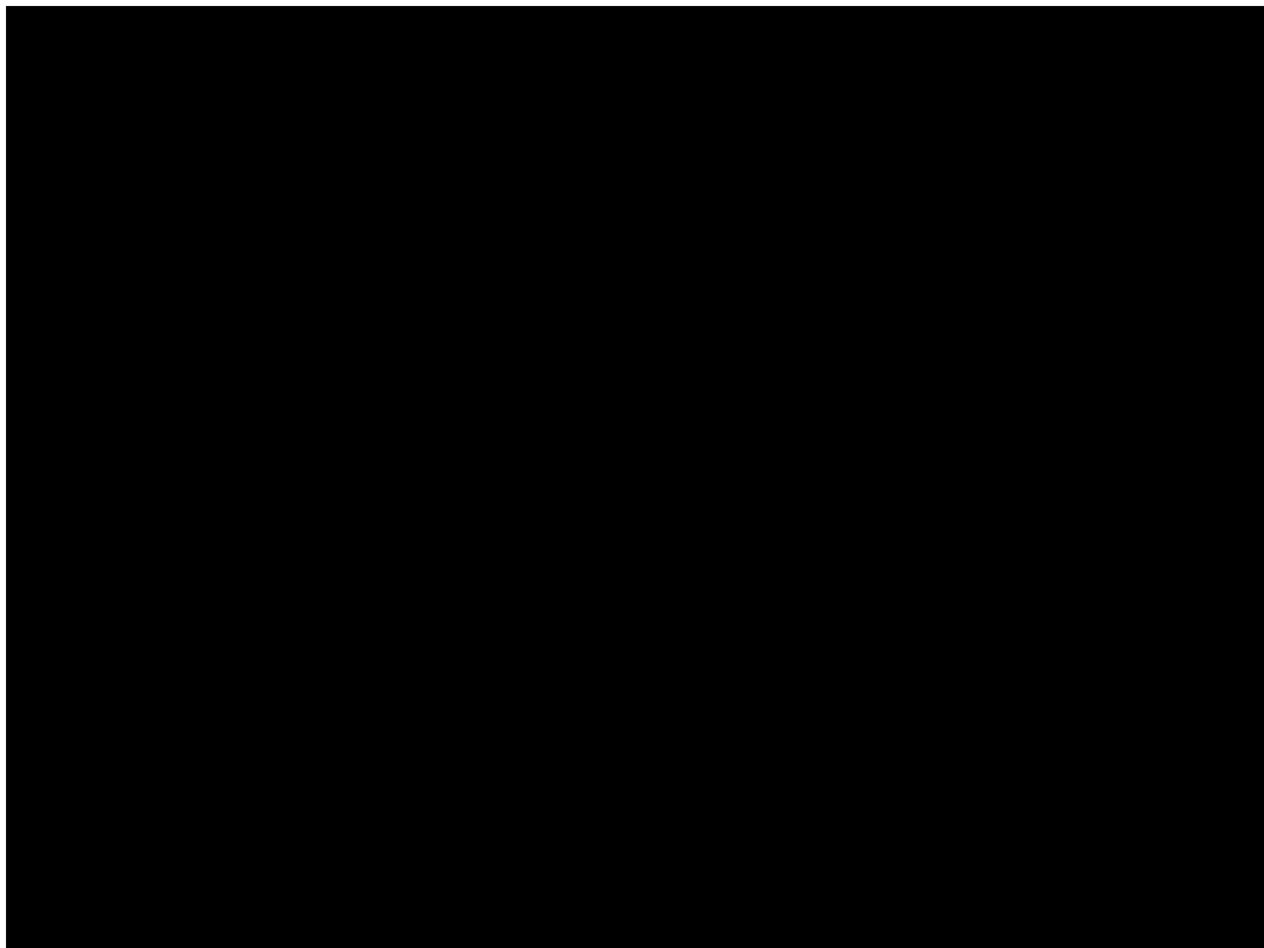

Fig. 4. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di figure d’aiere,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

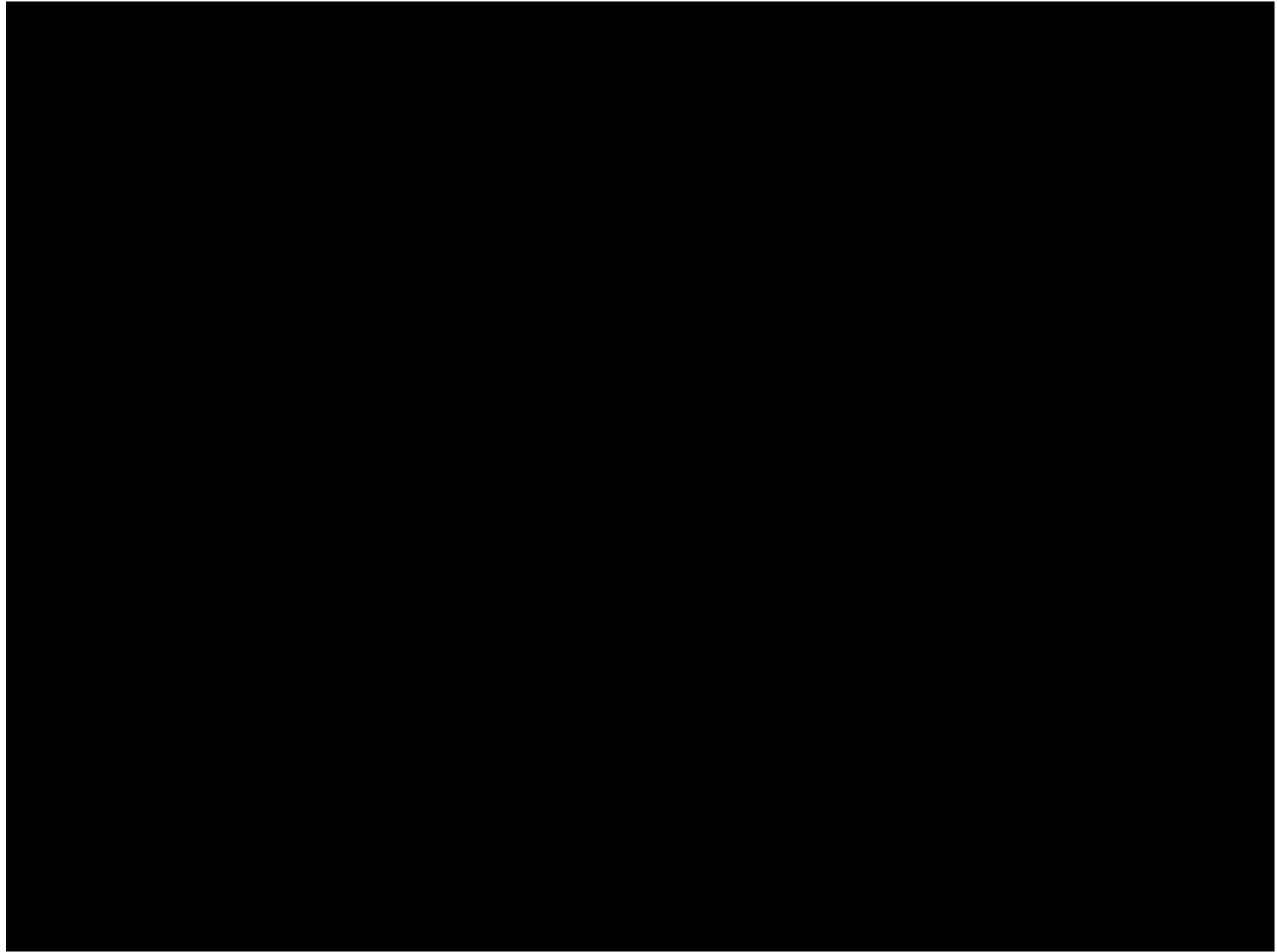

Fig. 5. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di belle mostre da cantoni,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

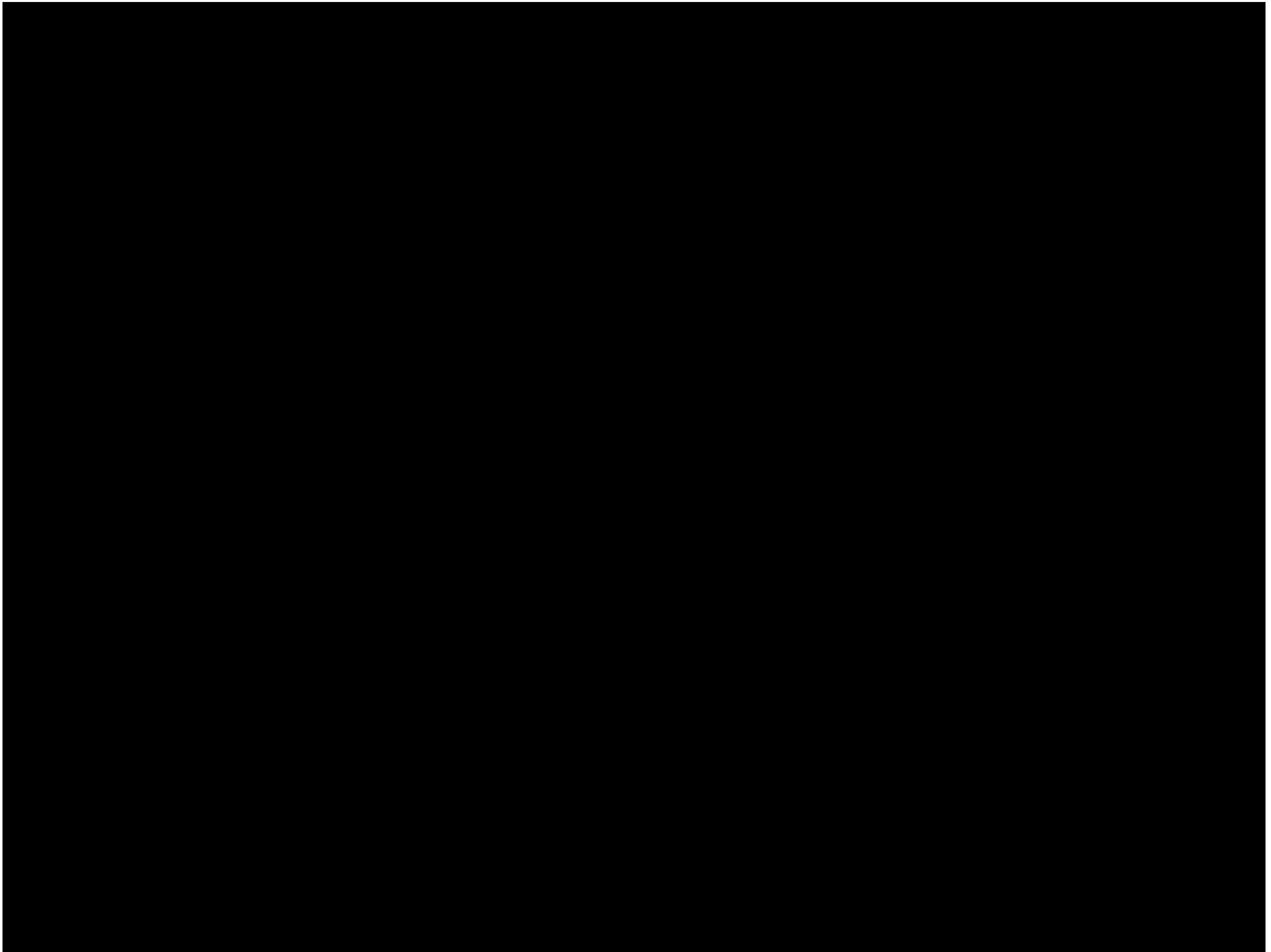

Fig. 6. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di un bellissimo merlo,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

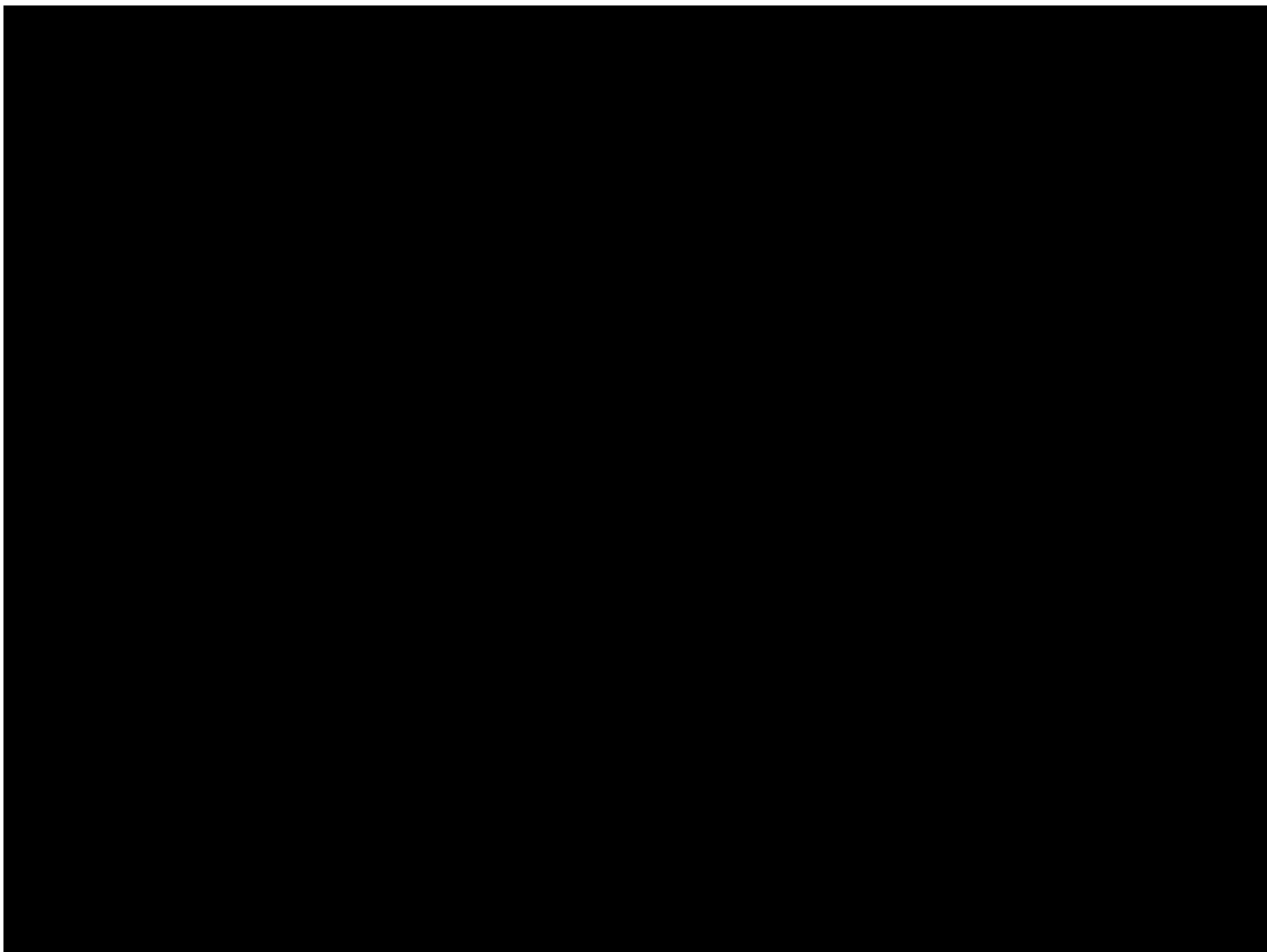

Fig. 7. Cesare Vecellio, Dedication page, folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de' Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

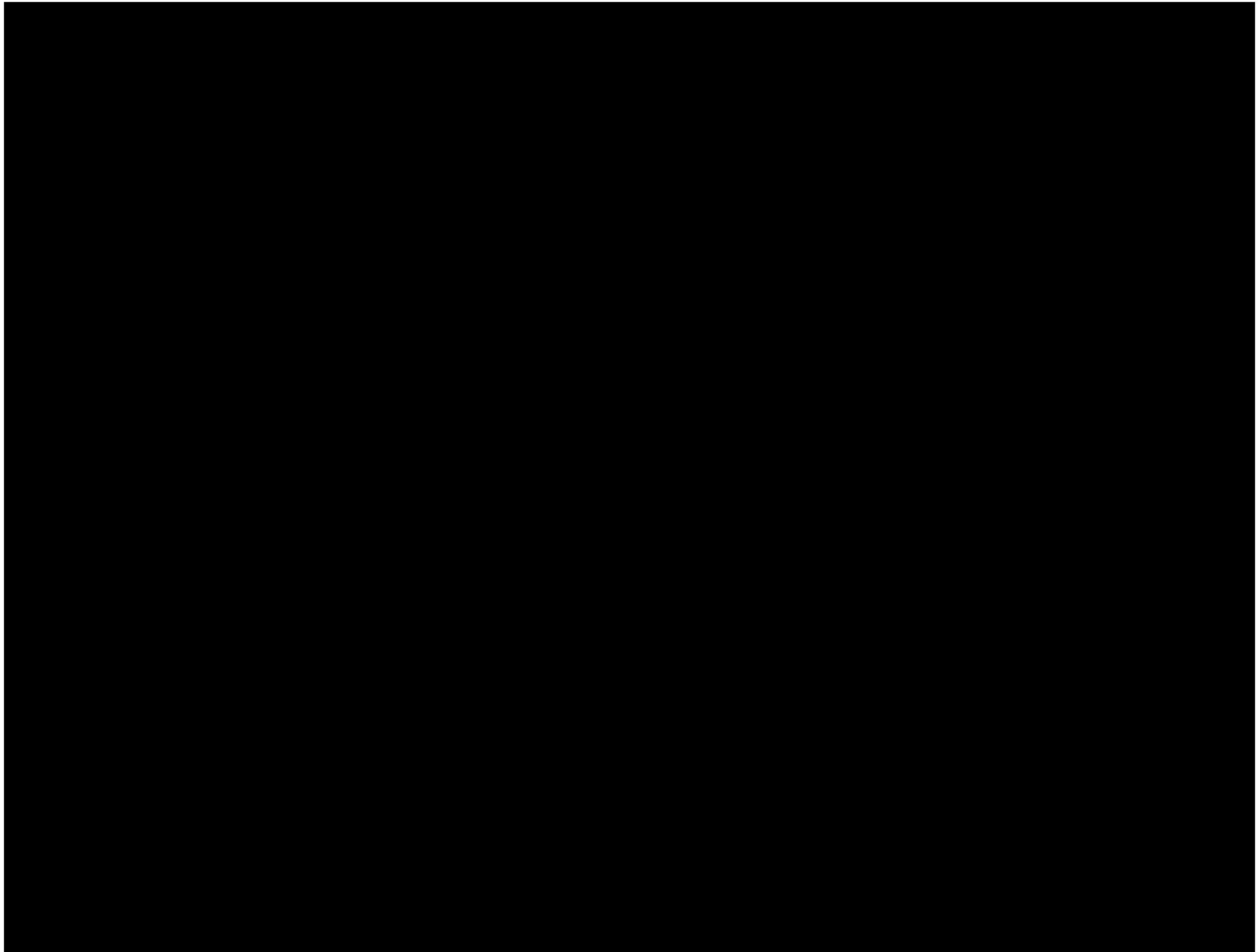

Fig. 8. Cesare Vecellio, Title page, folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de' Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

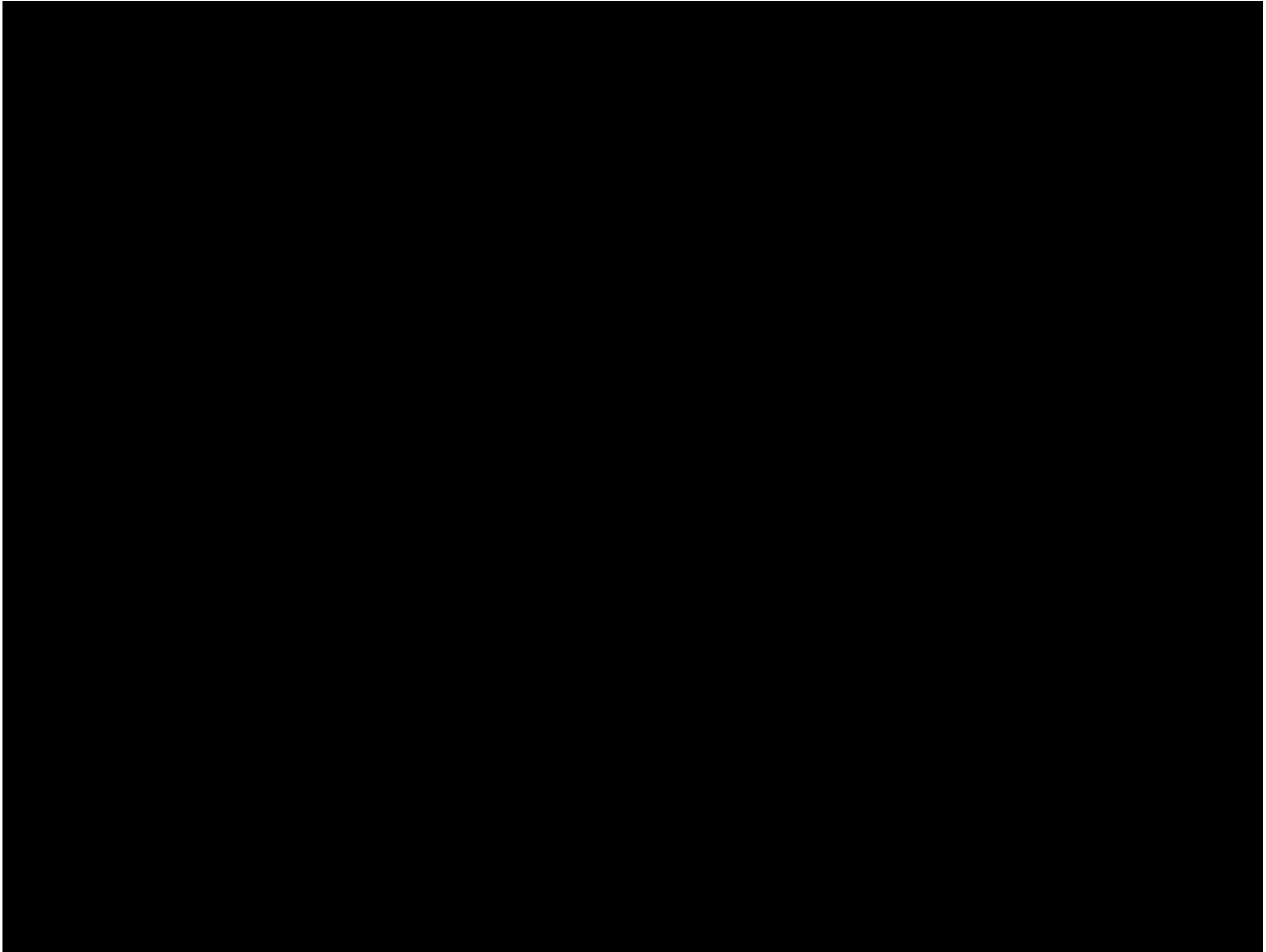

Fig. 9. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di belle mostre da cantoni,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

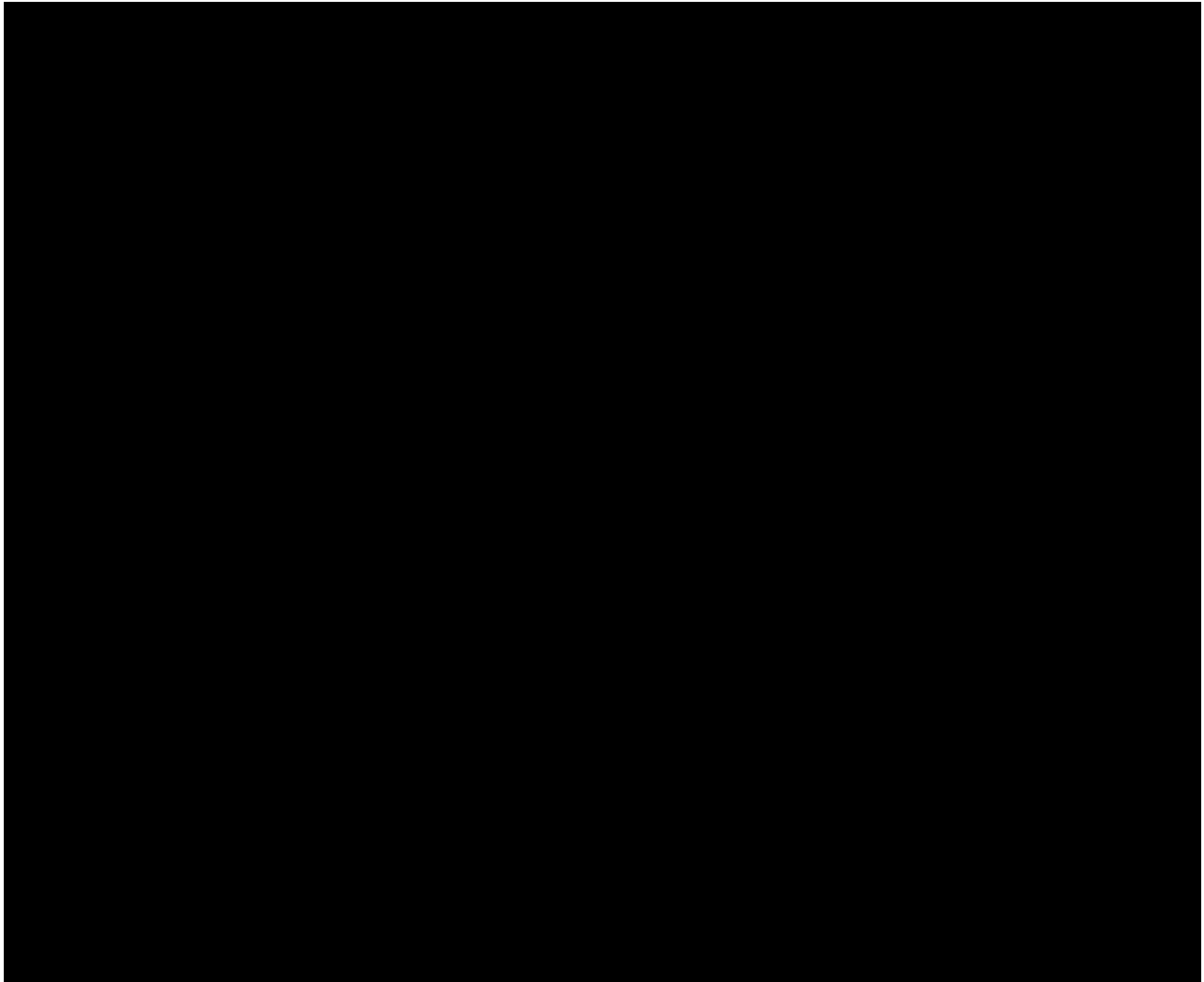

Fig. 10. Lorenzo Lotto, *Family Portrait*, 1523-1524, oil on canvas, 96 x 116 cm, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Image: http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings/32343.

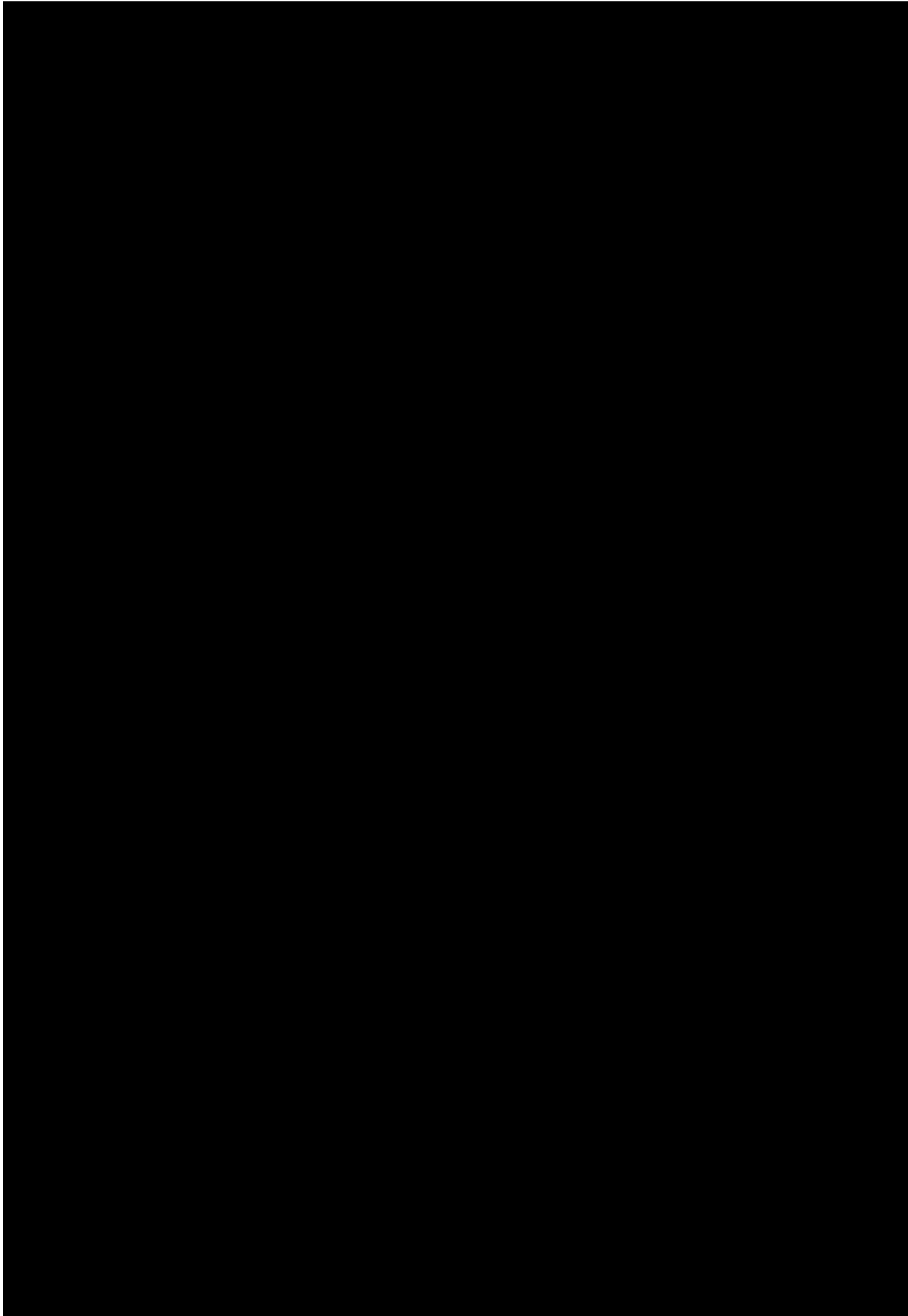

Fig. 11. Lorenzo Lotto, *The Alms of St. Anthony*, 1542, oil on panel, 332 cm x 235 cm, Basilica dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Image: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/71/%27The_Alms_of_St._Anthony%27%2C_oil_on_wood_painting_by_Lorenzo_Lotto%2C_1542._Basilica_dei_Santi_Giovanni_e_Paolo%2C_Venice.jpg

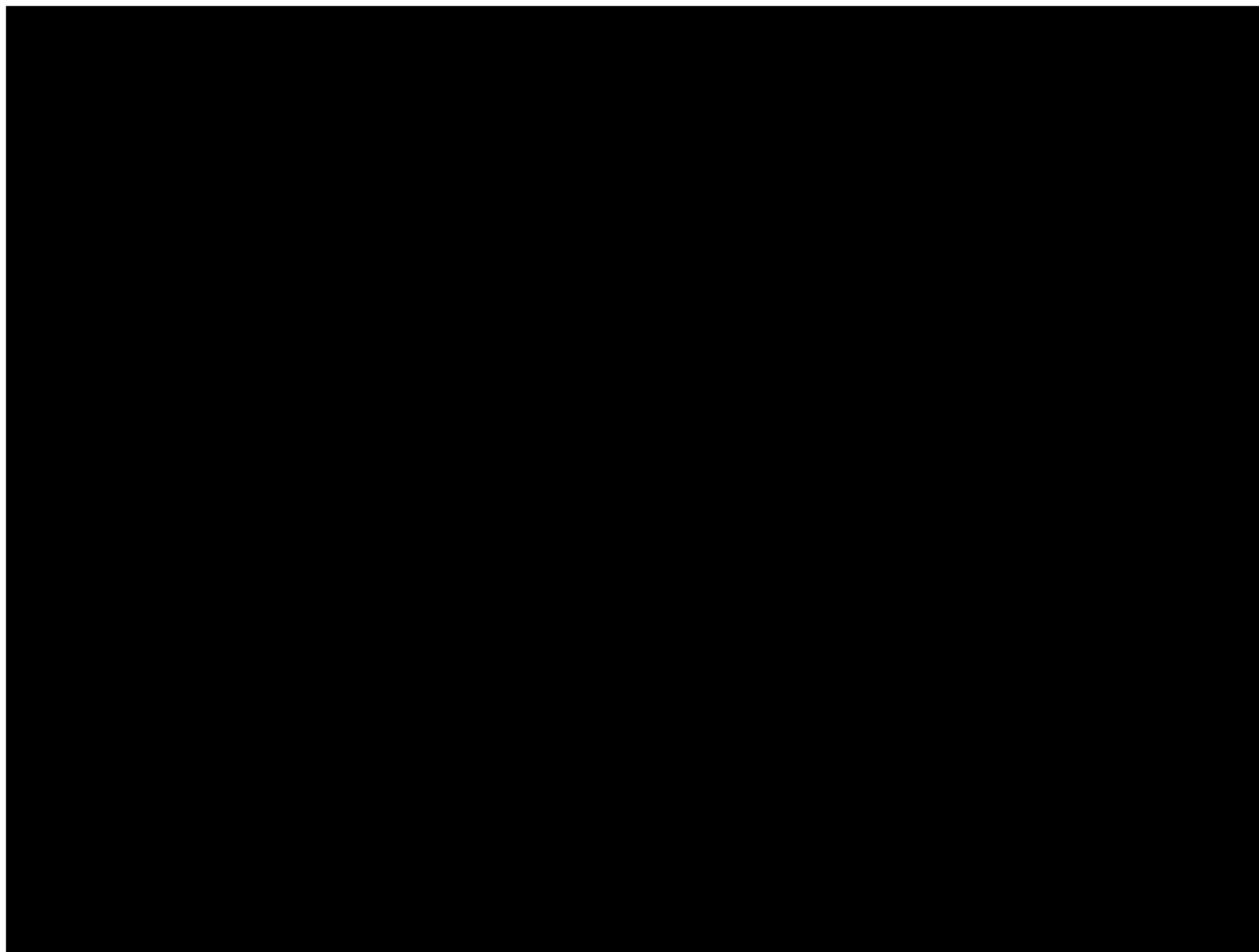

Fig. 12. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di fristi d’aiere,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

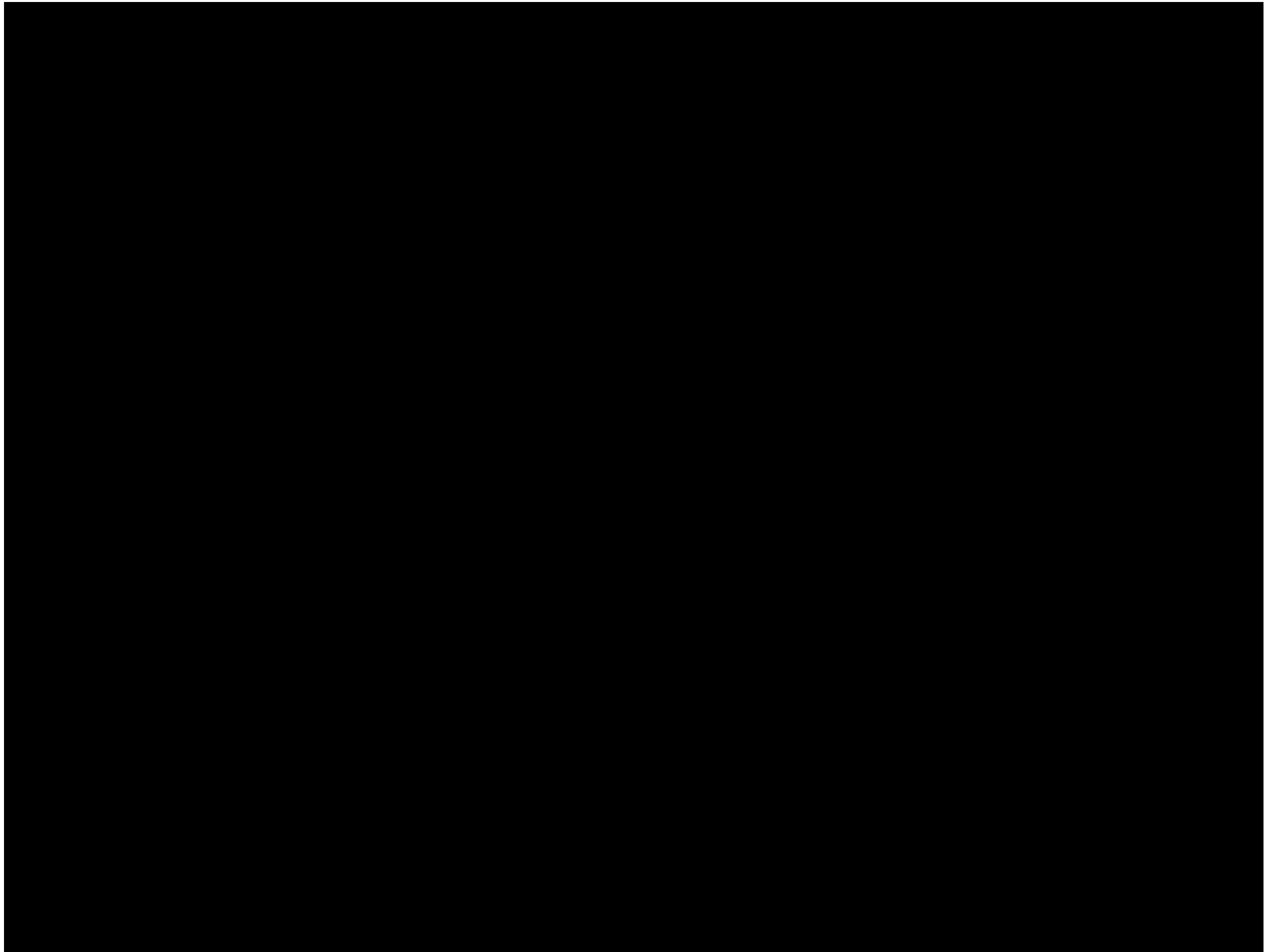

Fig. 13. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di bellissime figure d’aiere,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

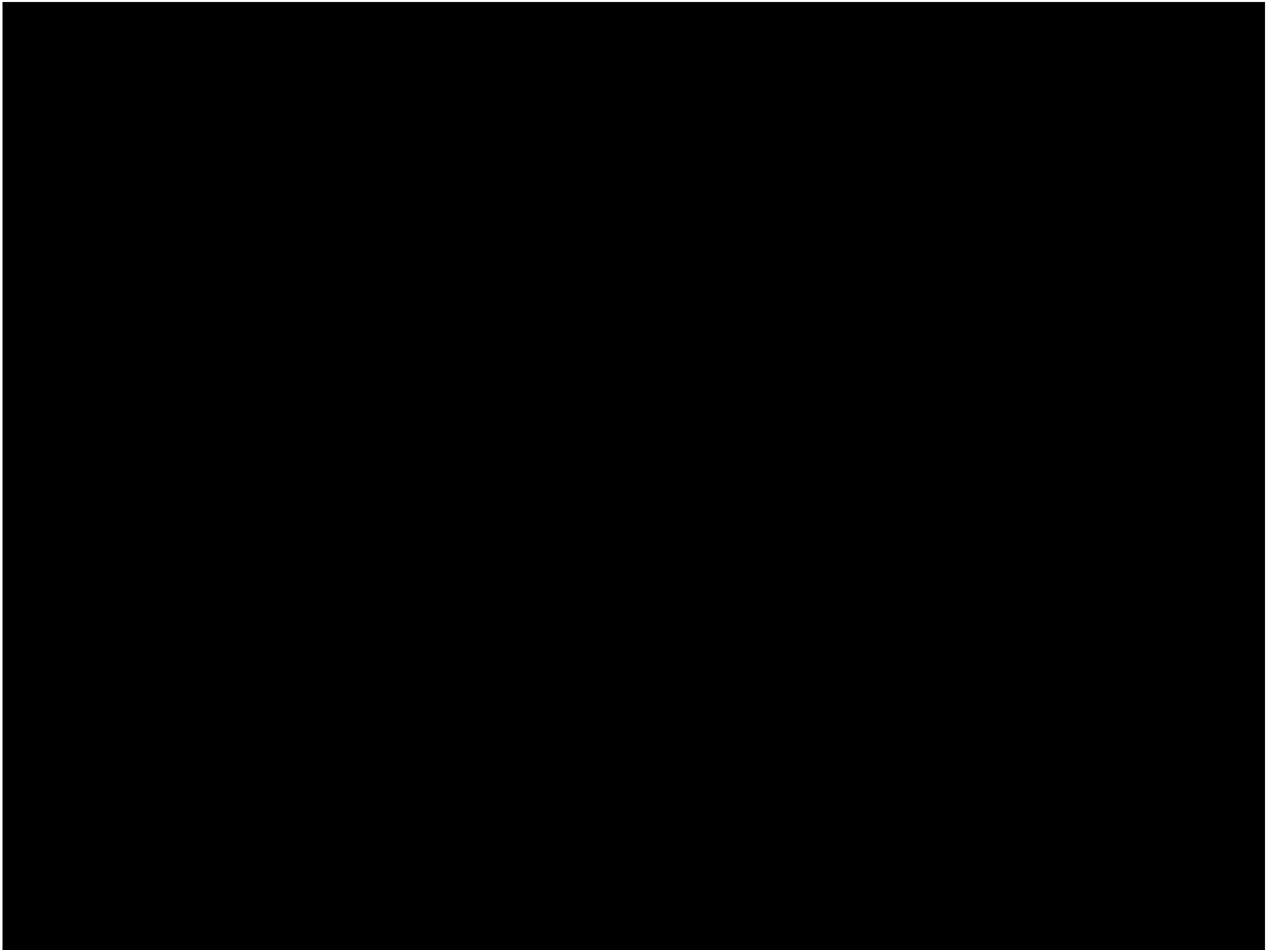

Fig. 14. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di bellissime striche,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

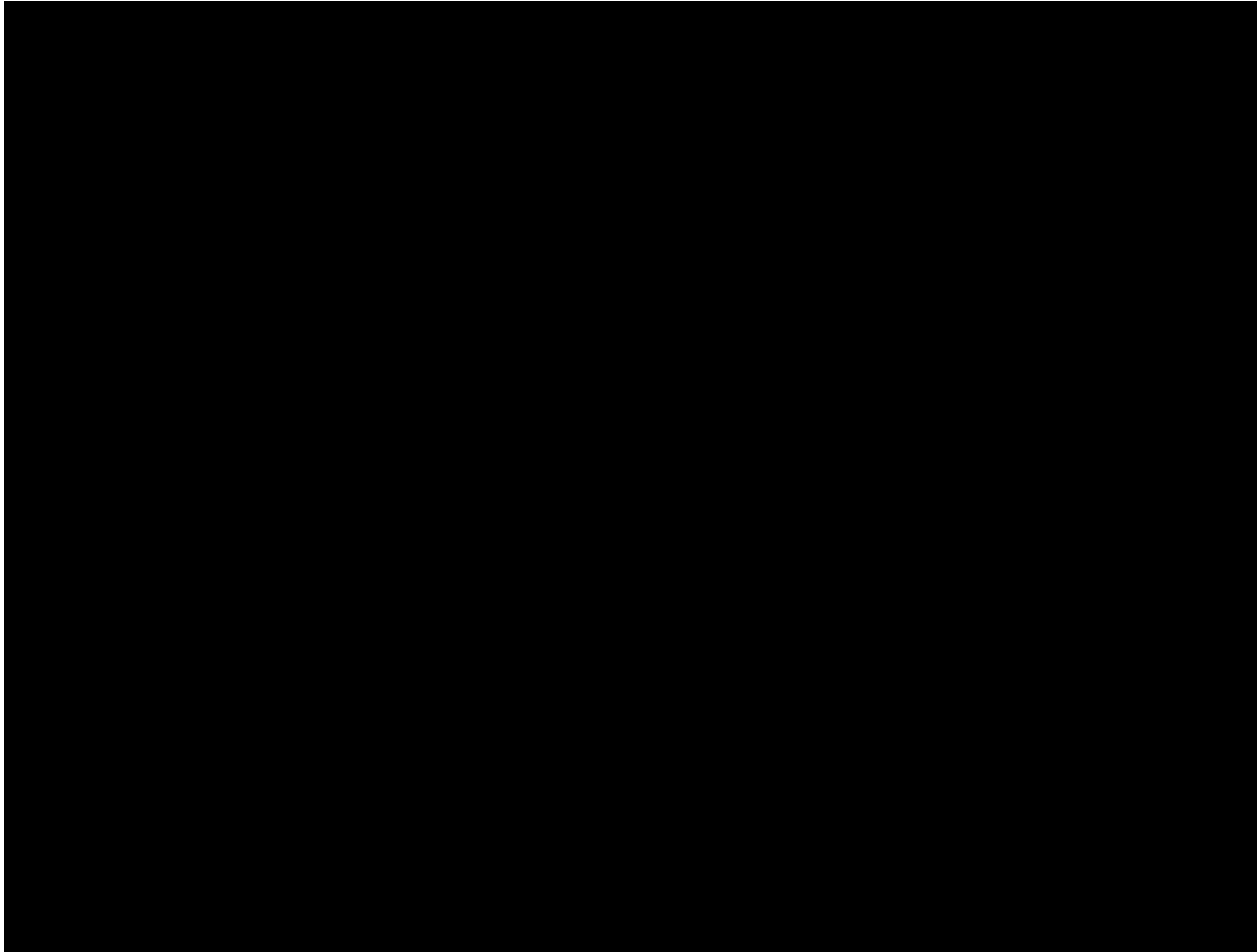

Fig. 15. Watermark, *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de' Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

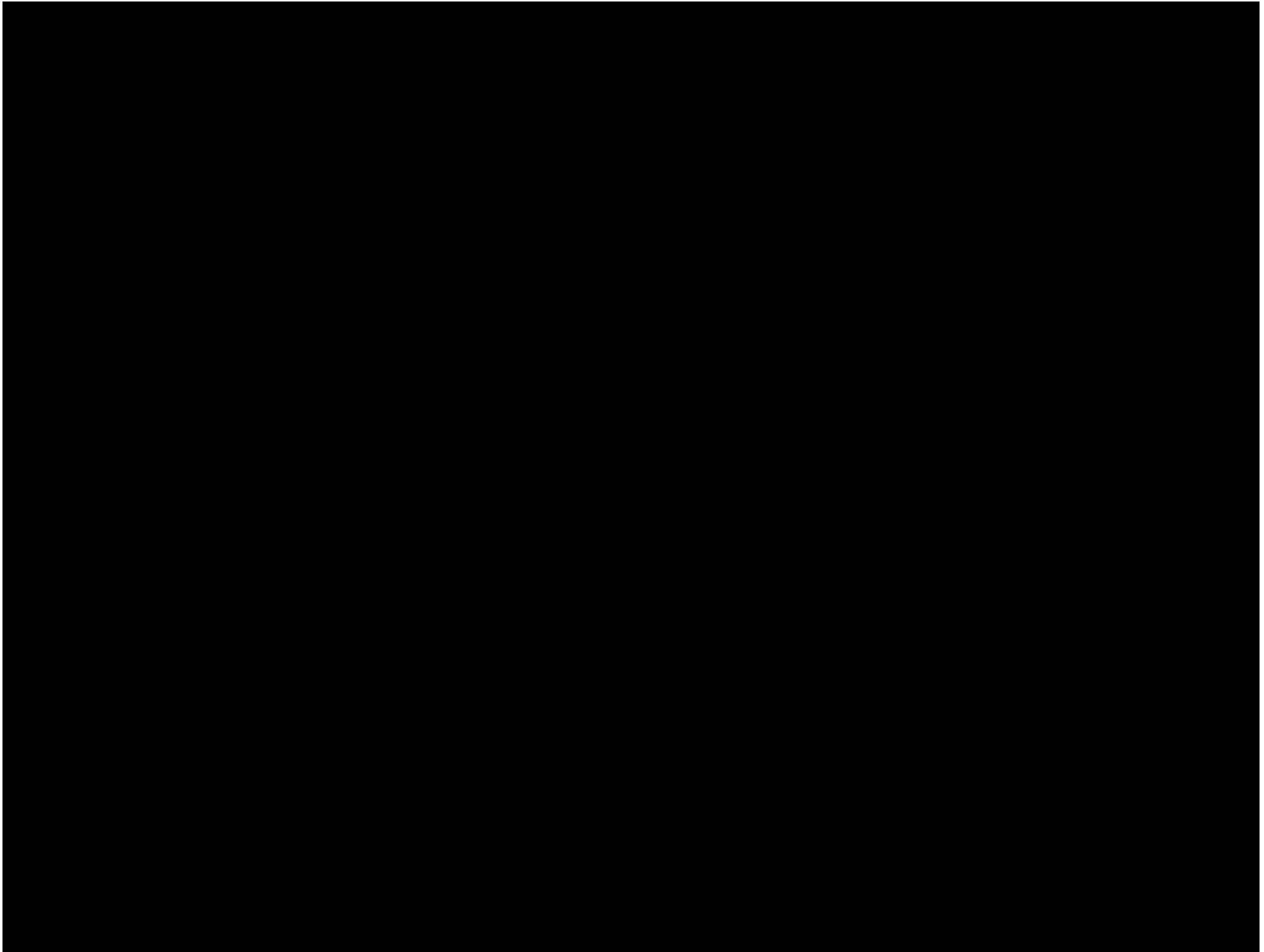

Fig. 16. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di belle mostre,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

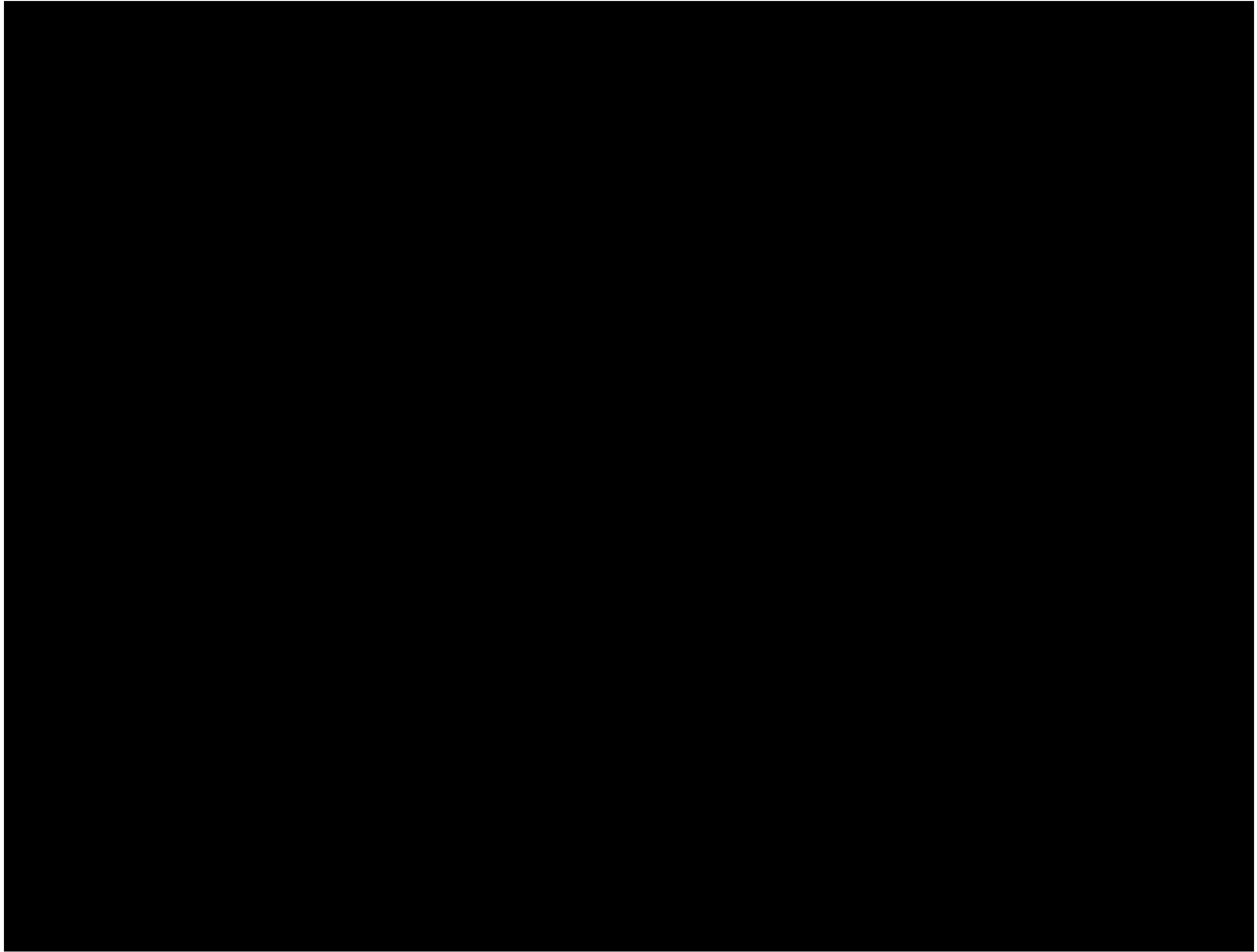

Fig. 17. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di bellissima mostra,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

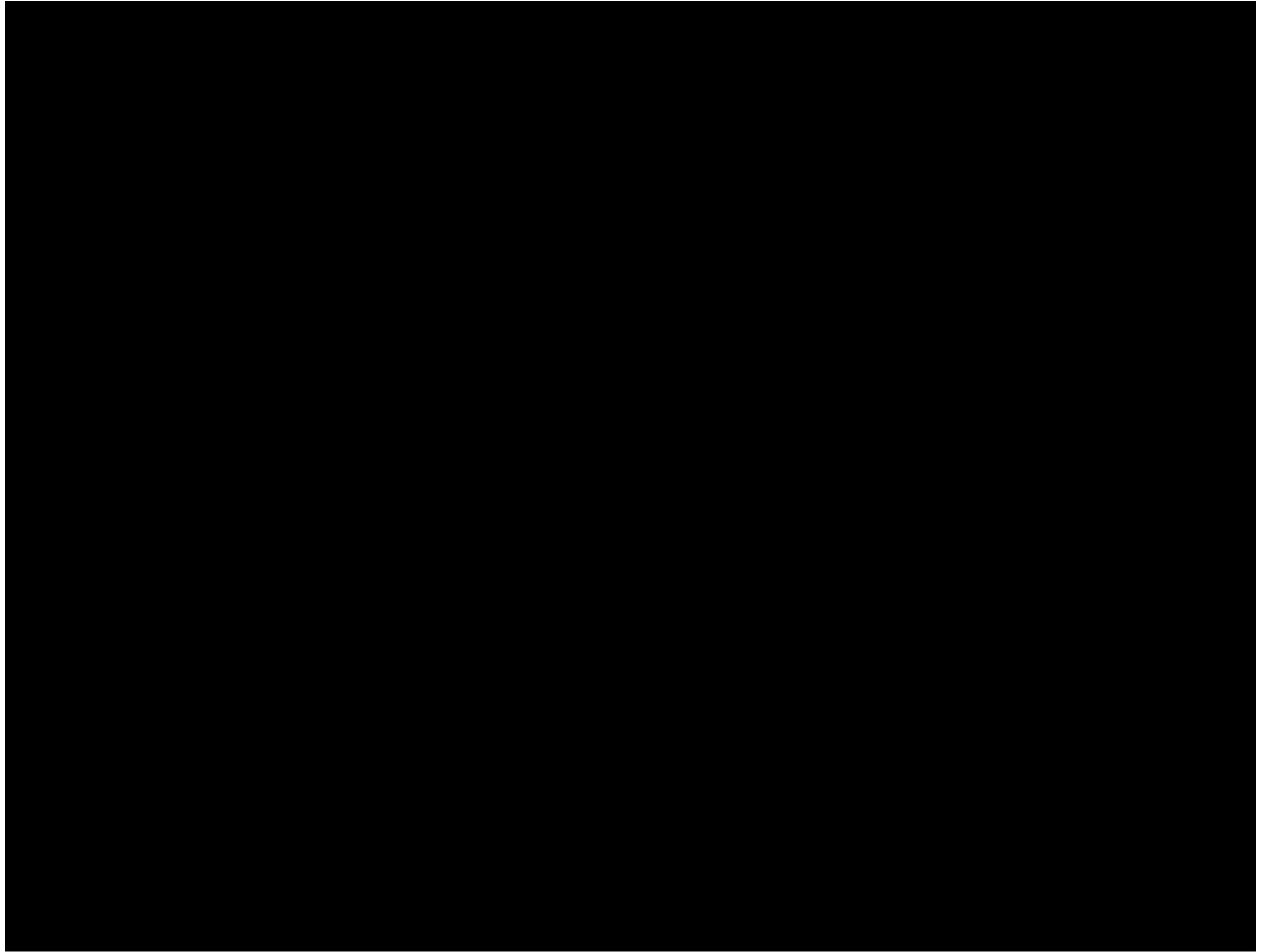

Fig. 18. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di bellissime mostre,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

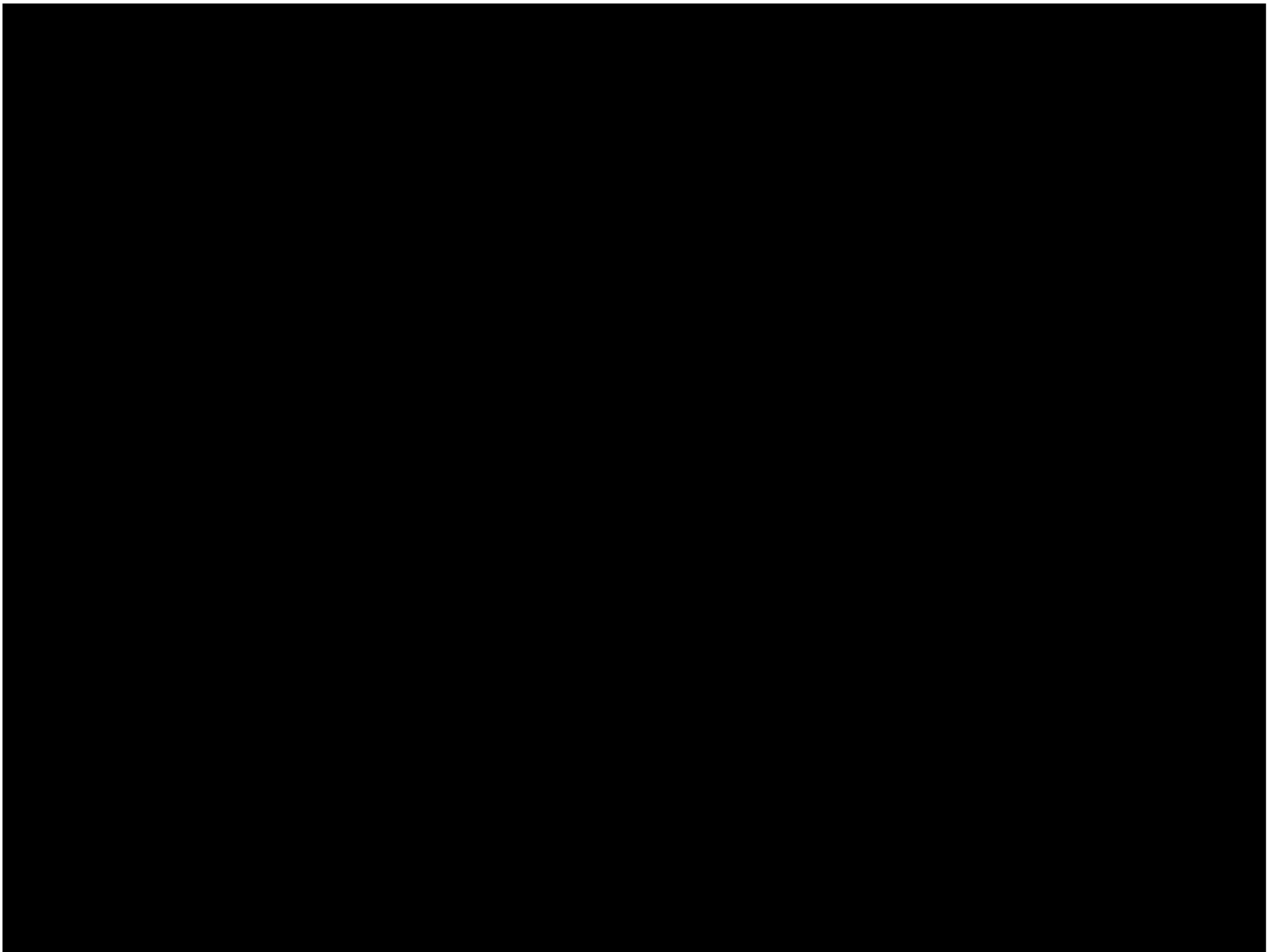

Fig. 19. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di merli, e mostre,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

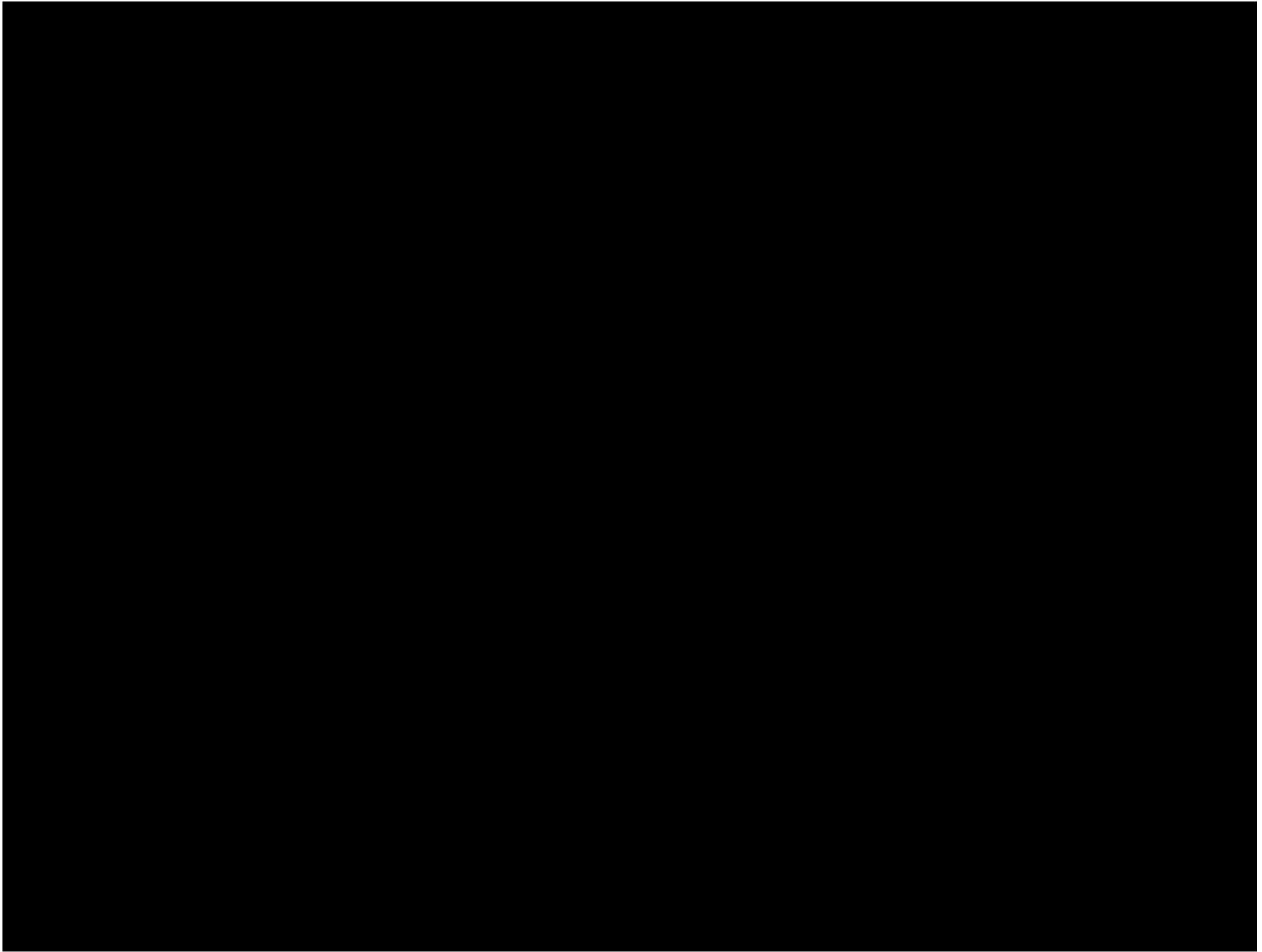

Fig. 20. Cesare Vecellio, “Corona di fristi d’aiere,” folio from *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, woodcut, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de’ Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

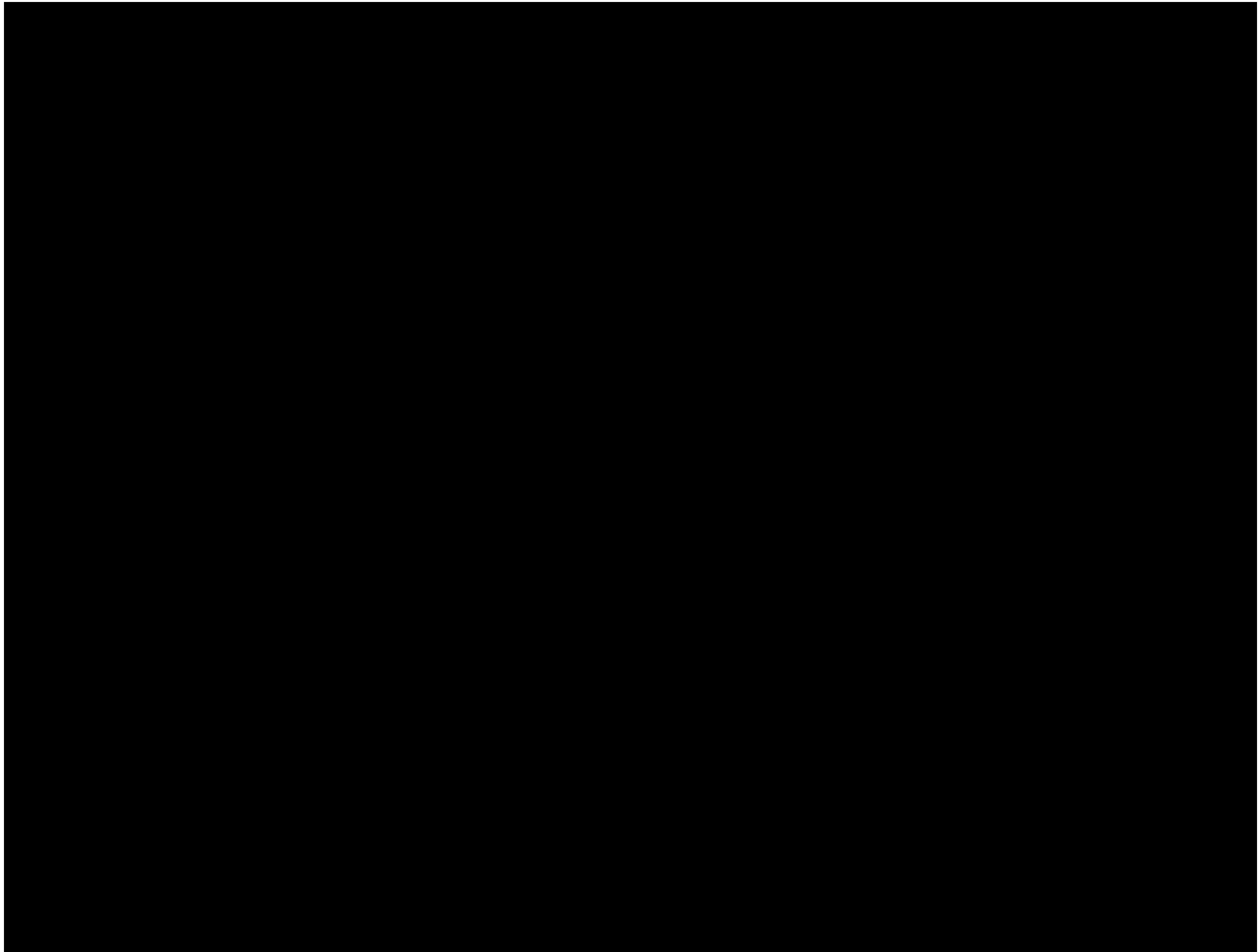

Fig. 21. Front cover, *Gioiello della corona per le nobili et virtuose donne. Libro quarto*, 1625, marbled paper, 12.7 x 17.8 cm, published in Venice by Alessandro de' Vecchi, Grunwald Collection, Hammer Museum, Los Angeles. Photo: Author.

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