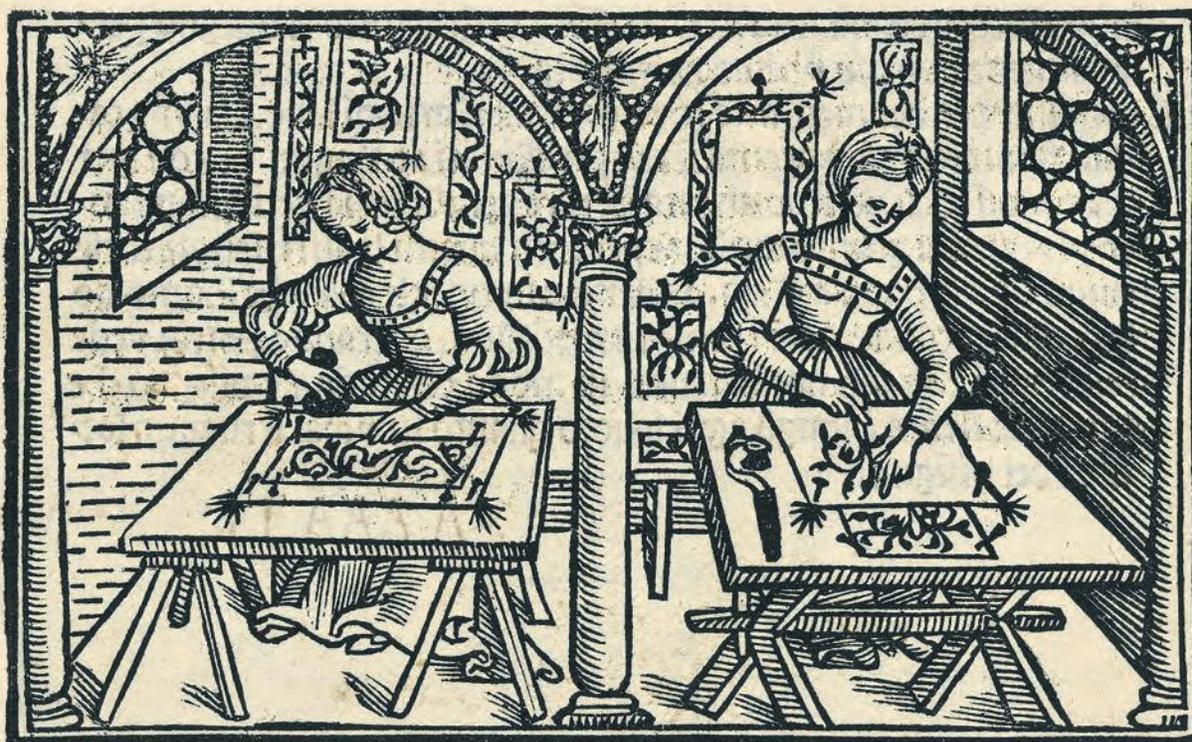




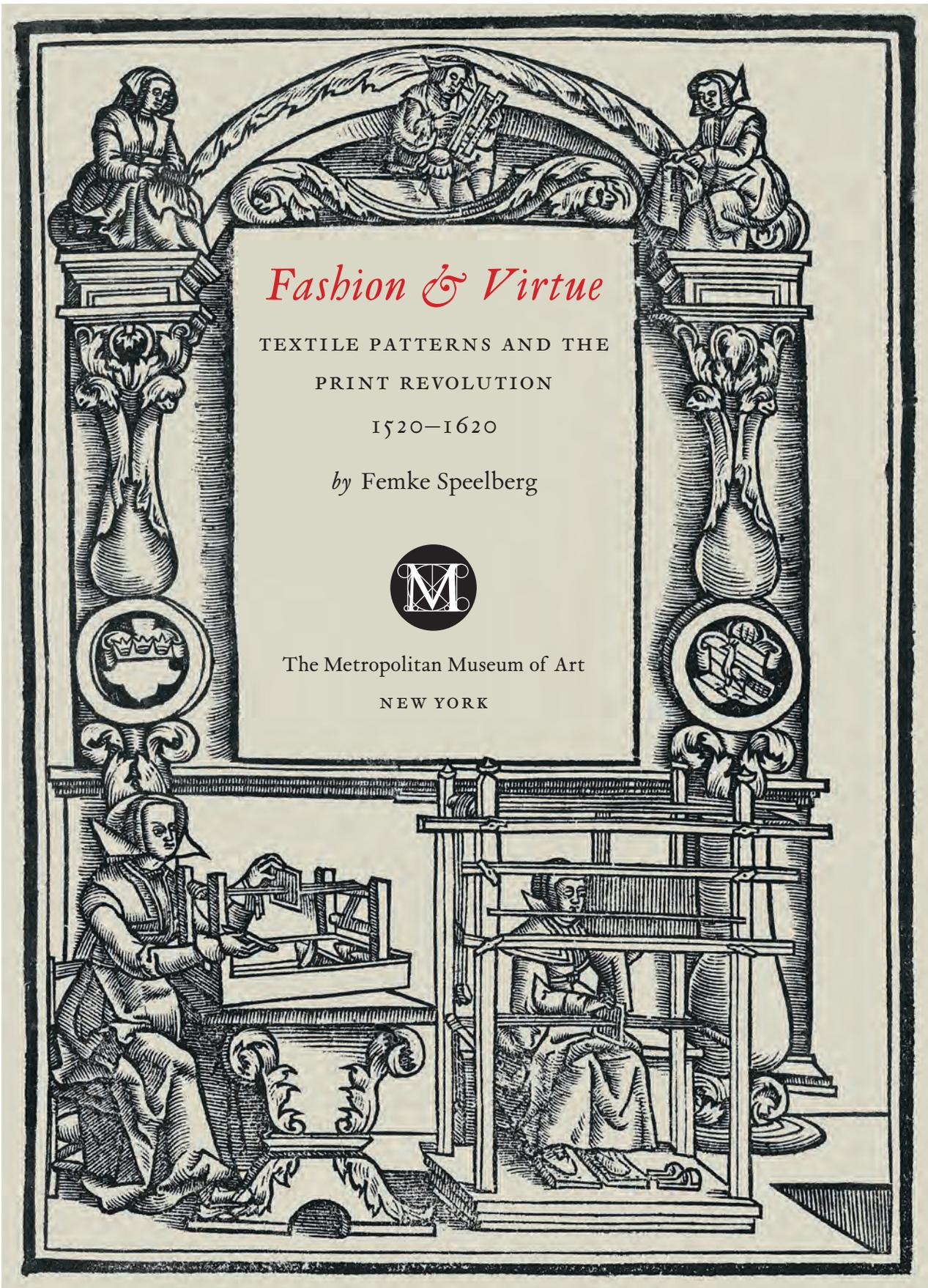
Fashion & Virtue

TEXTILE PATTERNS AND THE PRINT REVOLUTION, 1520–1620



The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Fall 2015





Fashion & Virtue

TEXTILE PATTERNS AND THE
PRINT REVOLUTION

1520–1620

by Femke Speelberg



The Metropolitan Museum of Art
NEW YORK

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DIRECTOR'S NOTE

THE significance of prints and printed books within the Metropolitan Museum's collections is twofold: most important, they are exquisite works of art in their own right, but in many cases they also relate to the making, collecting, and thinking about art in a wide variety of disciplines, from painting, sculpture, and architecture to carpentry, dancing, and cooking. Often acquired in dialogue with works in other areas of the Museum's collection, many represent fruitful collaborations among curators, connoisseurs, and passionate volunteers.

The Met's extraordinary group of Renaissance textile pattern books, largely collected under the auspices of former curators William M. Ivins Jr. and A. Hyatt Mayor, is an example par excellence of this cross-disciplinary approach to collecting. To acquire these rare and, to him, rather puzzling books, Ivins early on found an accomplice in the Needle and Bobbin Club, a coterie of lace collectors and connoisseurs serendipitously formed just one month after the founding of the Museum's Print Department, in 1916, by lace expert Gertrude Whiting and Frances Morris, assistant curator in what was then the Museum's Textile Department. On several occasions, members of the club silently helped to acquire textile pattern books for the Museum and sometimes even donated specimens from their own collections. They also offered insights into the complex relationship between these

prints and Renaissance needlework and lace. To elucidate the latter, Marian Hague, an active member and former president of the club, created a "lexicon" of patterns: a collection of cardboard cards onto which she mounted fragments of Renaissance textiles alongside photoreproductions of corresponding prints from the pattern books. The concept was so appealing that in 1938 the Print Department decided to organize an exhibition—the first of its kind—highlighting the Museum's extensive holdings of pattern books; these were shown together with related textiles, many of which were on loan from private collections.

The relationship between the printed patterns and extant textiles is only one of the many stories these books tell about their invention, production, use, and afterlife. In this *Bulletin* and the exhibition it accompanies, Femke Speelberg, associate curator in the Department of Drawings and Prints, sheds light on this new book genre, which emerged at a time when the concept of fashion as a means of distinguishing individual identity became fixed in Western society, and the art of needlework was believed to imbue Renaissance women with an aura of virtue.

We would like to extend our deepest thanks to longtime Met Trustee Plácido Arango and the William Randolph Hearst Foundation for their generous support of the exhibition, making possible the rediscovery of these rich design resources.

THOMAS P. CAMPBELL

Director

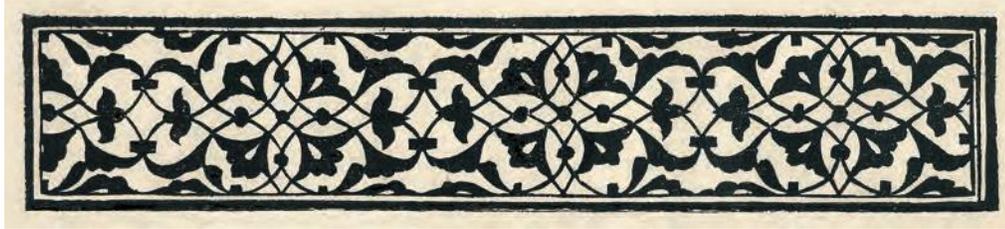
The Metropolitan Museum of Art



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“*Things of Small Price, and Great Value*”

ON APRIL 12, 1532, the second book of textile patterns by Domenico da Sera, who was born in Toulouse but resided in Italy, was published in the city of Lyon (fig. 1). With a title page in Italian and a preface and poem addressed to the reader in French, the book is a beautiful example of the cosmopolitan nature of the printing and textile trades in sixteenth-century Europe. In his introduction, Da Sera wrote that during his extensive travels he had come to recognize that the French “loved the opulence and abundance of textiles” more than any other people, and therefore he had set himself the task of creating a second, augmented and improved book of textile patterns. The relevance of his new *Libbretto*, Da Sera claimed, would be felt “now more than ever” by all who busied themselves with needlework, and upon viewing his designs, the keen and virtuous mind would understand that while the printed patterns were “things of small price,” they were, in fact, of “great value.”

To modern ears, the terms *pattern* and *pattern book* often have a slightly different ring. When understood predominantly as models to be imitated, printed patterns seem to inhabit a world on the outskirts of what is now considered art or artistic. That is a relatively young notion, however, predicated largely on the modernist condemnation of the nineteenth-century practice of using historical prints and design portfolios as “templates” in the re-creation of various period styles. A similar way of thinking, however, also inspired the first scholarship in the field of early-modern textile pattern books, as the enthusiasts who initially studied these books were often also textile collectors and/or active embroiderers or lace makers. Their interest in the books was thus either historical or current but, in either case, aimed principally at establishing a one-to-one model-textile relationship: to identify the printed patterns that served as models for extant textiles, or to select models for new textiles made in the Renaissance manner.¹

Although this first surge of research yielded significant results, especially for the understanding of long-term developments and the dating of specific patterns, styles, and tastes, it created the misconception that there was nothing more to be gleaned from pattern books. After Arthur Lotz, the director of the Berlin Kunstbibliothek, published a comprehensive bibliography of the surviving pattern books in 1933, much of the academic interest waned.²

1 (*opposite*). Domenico da Sera (French, active Italy, 16th century), title page from *Libbretto nouel-lame[n]te co[m]posto p[er] maestro Domenico da Sera* (Lyon: Jehan Coste[?], 1532). Woodcut; overall, 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (20.5 × 16 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935 (35.79 [1])

Yet Lotz himself readily acknowledged that no one-sided approach, whether bibliographical or textile-oriented, could reveal all that the pattern books have to tell us about the colorful, bustling environment in which they were first created, used, and admired.³ Indeed, we are still learning about the novel and exciting ways in which this rare genre of book oscillated between the domestic sphere and the worlds of fashion, pattern design, and book publishing and thus became entwined with ideas about the virtue and virtuosity of their largely female audience.



When *Da Sera*'s publication came out in 1532, the pattern-book genre was still very much in its infancy, having emerged in Central Europe in the early 1520s. Surviving examples from this period suggest that the new category of book found instant success all over Western Europe. Yet its initial "invention" was not necessarily preordained; rather, the pattern book grew out of significant developments in different trades and through experimentation by some of the era's most resourceful entrepreneurs in design, block cutting, printing, and publishing. The illustrated title pages and introductions in the books bear witness to a vast network of international exchange and intimate relationships with a direct circle of clients. They boast, too, of bringing together from across Europe the latest in patterns for embroidery, weaving, and, later, lace, all in a pocket-size, easy-to-use format. In a sense, they were the earliest fashion publications, and during the first hundred years of their production, they helped establish—through trial and error—most of the conventions still used for textile patterns today.

The nucleus of the Metropolitan's holdings of textile pattern books was formed under the auspices of William M. Ivins Jr., the Museum's illustrious first curator of prints and an avid book collector. In a short article printed in the Museum's *Bulletin* in 1929, he revealed that the Metropolitan had quietly started collecting in this particular area and that, though still small, the group of books now formed a collection "that may properly be called interesting."⁴ Ivins's comments otherwise remained intentionally brief, and he confessed to a struggle with the genre owing to the rarity of the books and their complex publication histories. Speaking about himself in the third person, Ivins stated that "nothing in his experience, has ever so baffled him, or made him feel more like an idiot, than the lace books.... One of the rarest and most difficult groups of books in all the world," and—as he concluded like a moth drawn to a flame—"one of the most charming."⁵ Ignoring his frustration with the genre, or perhaps in an attempt to overcome it, Ivins and, from 1946 on, his successor, A. Hyatt Mayor, continued to collect early pattern books. Between 1929 and 1960, they effectively doubled the Museum's holdings in these rarefied works, and the collection graduated from being one of interest to being one of absolute distinction.

A special exhibition of the Met’s collection of pattern books was organized in 1938,⁶ but in the decades that followed, the books experienced a period of relative dormancy. That ended in 2012, when the Museum’s textile pattern books were selected to undergo conservation treatment and an art-historical survey of the books brought to light once more just how important the efforts of Ivins and Mayor had been. Encompassing many unique editions, including the only complete version of the earliest dated pattern book, the Museum’s holdings are surpassed only by those of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris and the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin. Complemented by a large group of facsimiles and photostatic reproductions from other institutions, the collection offers an almost complete overview of the first publications of patterns for textile decoration.⁷ The simultaneous formation of an equally important collection of Renaissance textiles at the Museum—largely inspired and supported by the same people who took an interest in the early pattern books⁸—has provided an unparalleled opportunity to learn about the discipline in its full breadth and richness.

The Print Revolution

The study of pattern books is inherently interdisciplinary, and to fully do it justice, an understanding of the history of three fields—textiles, patterns, and books—is essential. All three were, in their own way and in their own time, affected by the emergence of printing technology, which, through a series of parallel and interrelated advancements, caused them to interact and created the climate in which the first textile pattern books emerged.

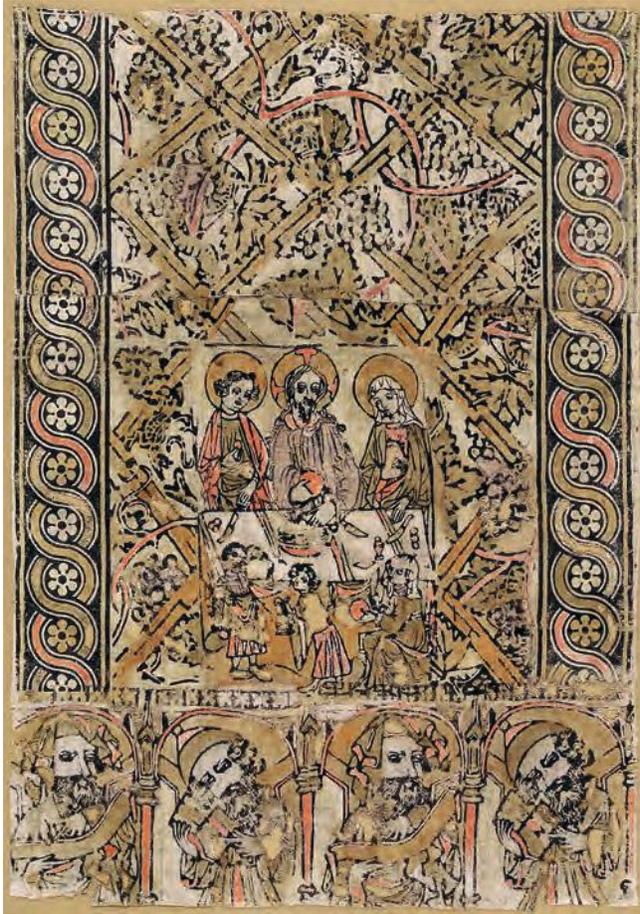
The relationship between printing and textile decoration dates back to long before the modern practice of printing on paper evolved in Europe during the late Middle Ages. Stamping and printing patterns and colors on textiles had been customary in Asia since antiquity, and the presence of Indian specimens in the West had been documented by the Greek scholar and philosopher Strabo (63 B.C. – A.D. 20).⁹ On account of the fragile nature of textiles and wood printing blocks—both made of organic materials and thus perishable—no examples survive from this early period.¹⁰

The earliest extant printed textile and printing block both date to the fourth century A.D. and were found in the ancient city of Panopolis (present-day Akhmim), in Upper Egypt. They illustrate how, through trade and travel, knowledge of Indian printing and dyeing techniques moved west over sea and land to the Persian Gulf, the Levant, North Africa, and, eventually, the whole of the Mediterranean.¹¹ While these early examples are relatively simple, an extremely well-preserved *mulham* (fabric woven from silk and cotton) in the Museum’s collection shows how textile printing in the Near East rapidly progressed over the following centuries into a sophisticated craft (fig. 2).¹²

At what time the art of textile printing was adopted on the European continent is still unclear. A group of German textiles from the Rhine Valley



2. Textile fragment (detail), probably Iranian, 10th–11th century. Cotton and other fibers; plain weave, printed and painted. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of George D. Pratt, 1931 (31.106.64)



3. Fragment of an altar cloth with the Marriage at Cana, South German or Austrian, 1420–30. Colored woodcut on linen; overall, 47½ × 33½ in. (120.7 × 85.1 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Rosenwald Collection (1949.5.81)

was long thought to date to the twelfth century, but scientific analysis has recently exposed these textiles to be skillfully crafted nineteenth-century imitations made by applying archaic printing techniques to surviving medieval fabrics.¹³ The earliest physical proof of the manufacture of printed textiles in Europe is the so-called Sion tapestry, an impressively large linen wall hanging with scenes from the myth of Oedipus.¹⁴ Discovered at Saint-Maurice in the Valais and thought to have previously decorated the episcopal palace at Sion, Switzerland, the textile was almost certainly made in Venice and dates to the second half of the fourteenth century.¹⁵ The quality of the imprint, achieved by no fewer than seventeen woodblocks, and the rendering of the figures speak to an established workshop tradition. Other references also point to the emergence of a professional textile printing trade in Italy during the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The 1411 regulations of the Florentine silk guild, for example, addressed “all printers of cloth... and doublets and hoods”; about the same time, the Tuscan painter Cennino Cennini included a detailed

description of the method of textile printing in his treatise on art, mentioning that printed linen was useful, in particular, for children’s robes and lectern covers in churches.¹⁶ By the early fifteenth century, the technique had also been adopted north of the Alps, as is illustrated by various extant textiles from the German lands, principal among them a sophisticated altar cloth dated to about 1420–30 and now split, one part at the Abegg Stiftung in Riggisberg, Switzerland, and the other at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 3).¹⁷

In technique, European printed textiles differed from their Eastern predecessors. Asian methods were generally aimed at fully penetrating the textiles with color, thus dyeing the fabrics with the help of printing blocks to form patterns. European textile printers, in contrast, were satisfied with the imprint of a pattern on one side of the textile. This surface-oriented approach is in keeping with other fourteenth-century European applications of the woodblock, such as the tooling of leather and the molding of butter and baked goods for banquets.¹⁸ Closer still is the process of printing on paper, which emerged, if not simultaneously, then only a few decades after the textile-printing trade.¹⁹

In his 1931 study of the invention of printing, Thomas Carter argued in favor of maintaining a clear distinction between the different printing trades on the basis of their divergent subject matter. The printer on textiles, he noted, produced designs for ornamentation, while the early printer on paper dealt predominantly in religious subjects, which were meant for contemplation and edification and catered to a completely different market.²⁰ However, surviving objects such as the Sion tapestry and the altar cloth in Washington and Riggisberg, which combine religious imagery with decorative patterns, provide reason to doubt this strict division. Striking connections can also be noted, moreover, between the figurative scenes on textiles and early prints on paper. Similarly, the decorative patterns were often made to resemble more luxurious contemporary textiles such as velvets, woven silks, and brocades. A mid-fifteenth-century book of printers' recipes from the Convent of Saint Catherine, Nuremberg, describes the copying of "golden clothes" (brocades) and gives instructions on how to trace the flowers and animal motifs for transfer onto a printing block. To enhance the imitative effect, colors could be added with a brush or by stenciling, and gold or silver dust could be scattered over the printed pigments to add luster.²¹ These embellishments were used less frequently in the sixteenth century, when the printing blocks themselves became more sophisticated (figs. 4, 5).

In addition to the subject matter of prints on textiles and paper, the practical matters of production and material resources argue even more compellingly that there was a fruitful cross-pollination or an integral working relationship between these industries. During the late Middle Ages, the relatively new medium of paper was predominantly made from the fibers of old rags of linen and cloth, the two fabrics most often used for textile printing. The printing process was very similar, and the woodblocks for both would have been ordered from the same block carvers. The combination of

4. Textile fragment (detail), Italian or Spanish, ca. 1530. Block-printed woven linen and cotton. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.50.1096)

5. Textile fragment (detail), Italian or Spanish, 16th century. Silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1909 (09.50.2117)



enterprises therefore seems to have been both practical and efficient, a fact that was keenly observed by the well-known Schönsperger dynasty of printer-publishers, discussed in greater detail below.

The development of the commercial book trade over the course of the fifteenth century seems to have further solidified these connections. The relatively large quantity of early printed textiles used for the binding of manuscripts and incunabula (books printed before 1501) and examples of leather bindings stamped with woodblocks meant for textile printing point to these ongoing relationships.²² The additional step from printing on textiles and book bindings to printing and binding multiple textile patterns on paper, to be sold as an autonomous product, was, however, not yet contemplated.

Book Printing & the Age of Entrepreneurship

By the end of the fifteenth century, people across Europe had grown accustomed to the presence of prints and printed books, but they had only just started to explore the multifarious possibilities of these media, and many of the now-traditional book genres were still uncharted territory. The following century would be a time of exuberant experimentation and entrepreneurship in this respect (fig. 6).

Initially, the production of incunabula had been firmly rooted in the medieval manuscript tradition, and printer-publishers tended to reproduce religious and scholarly texts that had been in circulation for centuries. Because book printing was a laborious and costly enterprise, they chose to start with books for which they knew an audience could be found. As the medium became more popular, however, and as printing presses, professional typesetters, block cutters, authors, and artists willing to supply materials for printing became more plentiful, various enterprising printer-publishers and *cartolai* (stationers) began to stretch their legs and experiment with new types of books and other printed materials. This was a matter not just of availability of labor and clientele but also of commercial necessity, as the growing number of printers quickly turned the field into a highly competitive industry.²³ Printer-publishers, whose role would eventually be divided into two distinct professions, sought out connections with professionals in other trades, and vice versa, forming the nucleus in a web of intellectual and, often, international exchange.²⁴ Slowly, a range of new genres started to emerge, and prints and printed books became vehicles for the dissemination of news and knowledge in almost every field imaginable.

Ornament as Subject

One of the new genres that arose in printmaking toward the end of the fifteenth century is now generally referred to as “ornament” but includes a larger group of subjects concerned principally with ideas for design and archi-



tecture. A particularly enigmatic group of six ornament prints depicting interlaced roundels was produced in Milan in the 1490s. These interlaces, which were the height of fashion at the Milanese court, were used across Italy on a great variety of objects, from miniatures and printed title pages to earthenware, corded belts and belt buckles, compasses, sword hilts, gun barrels, chains, even whole armors and birdcages (fig. 7).²⁵ The engraved roundels do not relate directly to any of these types of objects; rather, they represent a kind of artistic or intellectual exercise. Their intricacy increases sequentially, with ever more complicated combinations of knots spiraling endlessly across the page (figs. 8, 9). Incorporated into each of the designs is the inscription *Ac[b]ademia Leonardi Vinci*, which is generally translated as “Academy [or School] of Leonardo da Vinci.” While it is unclear what type of academy this inscription refers to, or whether such an academy ever actually existed, the association with the great Italian Renaissance artist and inventor is universally accepted. Both Leonardo’s notebooks and his paintings reveal his fascination with interlaces, which he studied profusely and applied in his painted works, from the monumental *Sala delle Asse* (ca. 1498) in the Castello Sforzesco in

6. Theodoor Galle (Netherlandish, 1571–1633) after Jan van der Straet, called Stradanus (Netherlandish, 1523–1605), detail of “*Impressio Librorum*” (Book Printer’s Shop), plate 4 from *Nova Reperta* (Amsterdam: Philips Galle, ca. 1600). Engraving; plate, 8 × 10½ in. (20.1 × 26.5 cm); sheet, 10 × 13 in. (25.4 × 32.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1934 (34.30 [5])



7. Dish (*coppa umbonata*), Italian (Gubbio), ca. 1530. Maiolica (tin-glazed earthenware), Diam. 7³/₄ in. (19.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.1072)

Milan to the subtlest incorporation of finely embroidered decorations on the gowns of the female sitters in his portraits. While certainly not exclusive to Leonardo, this type of ornament must have presented an almost irresistible challenge to him, perhaps not just because of its complexity but also because, in Milan, the interlaces had come to be known as *fantasie dei vinci*. Although not expressly referring to his name—*vinci* is variously interpreted as denoting bonds or knots²⁶—the term seemed to beckon to him to prove his mastery. In their intricacy and sequential nature, the six engravings do just that, forming their very own “school of Leonardo’s interlaces,” and one that would soon attract a very avid student.

It was likely on his second trip to Italy, undertaken between 1505 and 1507, that the German artist Albrecht Dürer was able to acquire or see all six of the Milanese engravings. As Leonardo’s most direct counterpart north of the Alps, Dürer immediately recognized their ingenuity and appeal not just as designs but also as unparalleled feats of printmaking. His admiration and interest were such that he did something that otherwise seems to have been against his artistic nature: he began the painstaking task of copying each design and translating them into a set of woodcuts, ensuring their availability on the other side of the Alps (fig. 10).²⁷

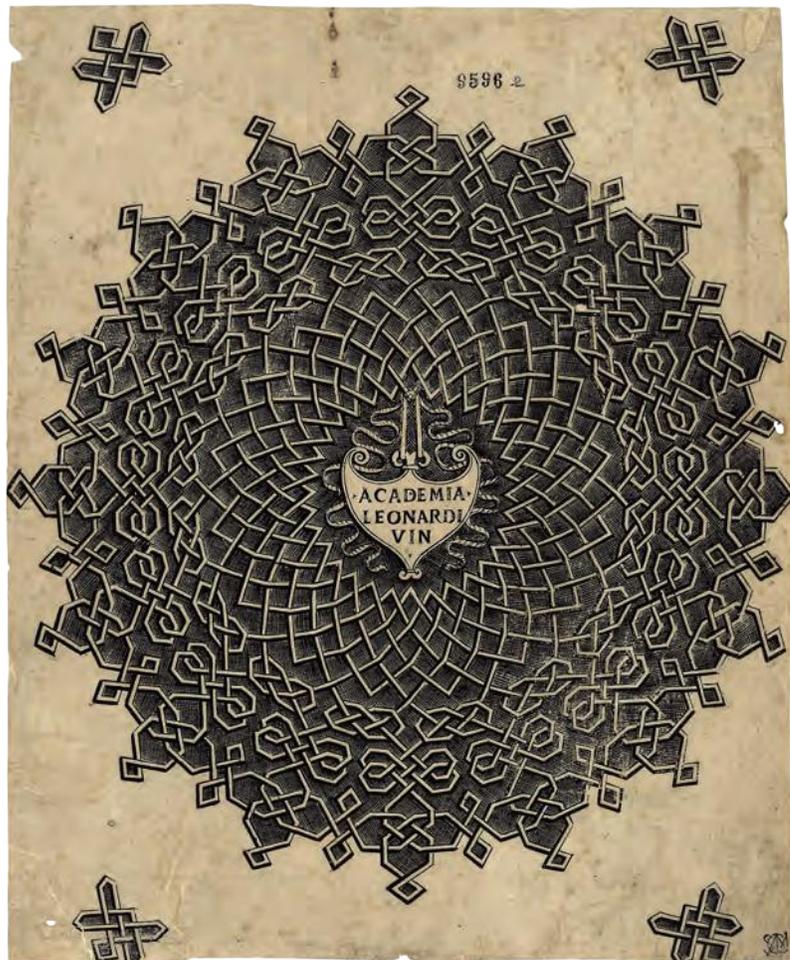
It can reasonably be argued that Dürer made the decision to copy the Milanese prints because they were not easy to come by. Had they been available in large quantities, he no doubt would have tried to obtain one or more sets by trading some of his own prints for them, as he did during his famous, well-documented trip to the Netherlands in 1520–21.²⁸ The fact that only one full set of the Italian engravings survives, in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, with a further handful of sheets in other European and American collections, could suggest that only a limited number were originally printed. The great variance of the paper on which the surviving examples were printed gives rise to the idea that their printing may not have been organized in campaigns or editions but happened more haphazardly, or “on demand.”²⁹

Beyond this practical motivation, Dürer’s act of copying Leonardo’s interlaces reveals something about how ornament designs had come to be

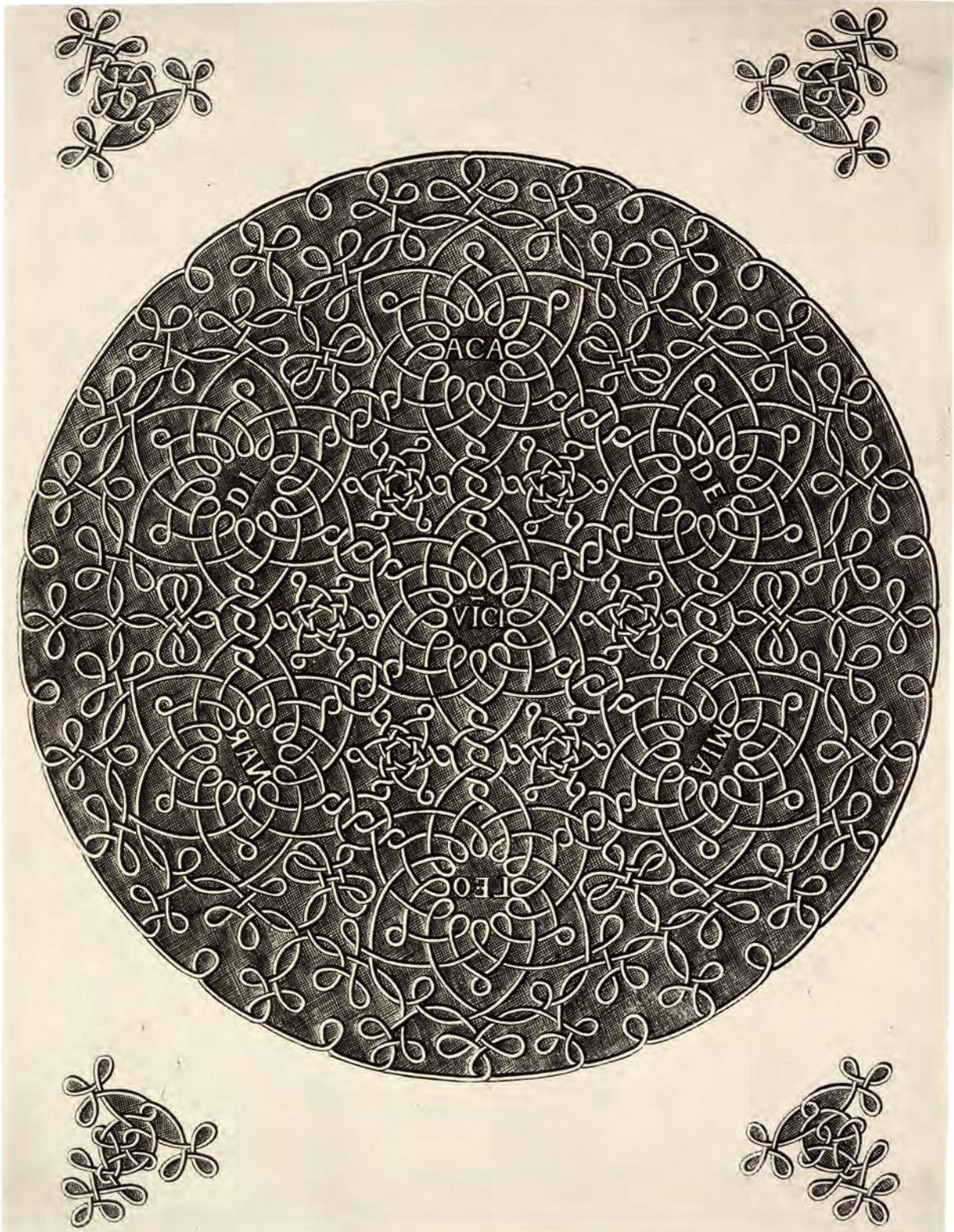
perceived by their early-modern audience. In the act of transferring the designs into prints, and into prints again, Leonardo and Dürer effectively acknowledged ornament as an artistic feat deserving of attention. Throughout the Renaissance, ornament fascinated and occupied some of the most famous and talented artists known to us today. Giorgio Vasari even mentioned this as one of the distinguishing features of artists of the sixteenth century.³⁰ In the case of the interlaced knots, it is not difficult to imagine how both Leonardo and Dürer must have reveled in the intellectual, controlled exercise of their making—an aspect that would also have delighted early print collectors.³¹

An additional element that suggests these prints were the direct precursors to textile pattern books, which would emerge not long after, is their serial nature. They appear to be among the earliest ornament prints to be conceived as a series rather than as single-sheet prints.³² While we cannot be entirely sure that the Milanese engravings were distributed as a set, we do know that Dürer perceived his woodcuts in this manner, as he described giving the full group of six to the Antwerp glass painter and printmaker Dirck Vellert.³³ The idea of a series of prints was certainly not foreign to Dürer, as his mind had been geared toward the creation of prints in a narrative sequence during his training and early work as a book illustrator. Between 1495 and 1511, moreover, Dürer created some of his most famous print series of biblical subjects, which anticipated developments in the print market over the course of the sixteenth century.

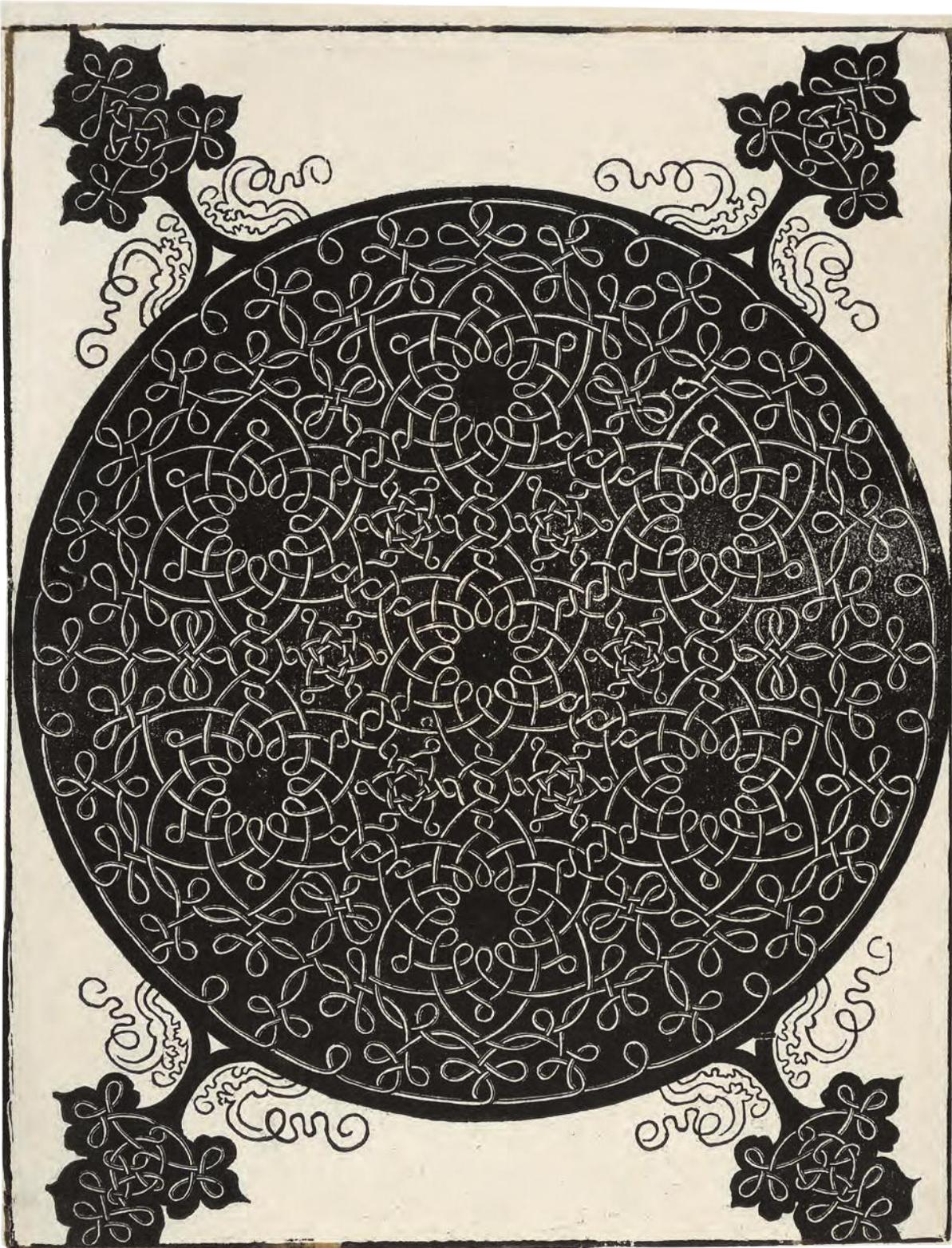
While a narrative of ornament may seem less obvious, this was the direction in which the ornament-print market, too, would develop. Presenting variations on a theme, on one or several sheets, became an important means of stimulating artists and patrons to make comparisons, to select preferred designs, and, in the case of artists, to decide how they themselves would respond to the challenge of inspiration and variation. This aspect would often be stressed on the title pages of ornament-print series.³⁴



8. Unidentified engraver after Leonardo da Vinci (Italian, 1452–1519), *The First Knot*, ca. 1495–98. Engraving. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan (9596e)



9. Unidentified engraver after Leonardo da Vinci, *The Fifth Knot*, ca. 1495–98. Engraving; plate, $10\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in. (26.4 × 19.8 cm). Rhode Island School of Design, Providence; Museum Works of Art Fund (47.666)



10. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528), *The Fifth Knot*, ca. 1507. Woodcut; sheet, 10³/₄ × 8¹/₄ in. (27.3 × 20.8 cm); image, 10⁵/₈ × 8¹/₄ in. (26.9 × 20.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; George Khuner Collection, Bequest of Marianne Khuner, 1984 (1984.1201.35)

Introducing the Textile Pattern Book

In 1523, shortly after Dürer returned from his trip to the Netherlands, the earliest known book devoted to textile patterns was published in the Augsburg print shop of Johann Schönsperger the Younger.³⁵ Schönsperger's father, Johann Schönsperger the Elder, a fascinating figure in early book printing who had died just two years before, had achieved commercial success by producing popular, smaller editions of luxury books such as Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle* (better known as *The Nuremberg Chronicle*) and Peter Schöffer's herbal *Garden of Health*. Later, he became the official printer to Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), in which capacity he printed *Maximilian's Book of Hours* (1513) and *The Adventures of the Knight Theuerdank* (1517).³⁶ It appears that Schönsperger the Younger, who was active as a printer alongside his father from the 1510s, had every intention of prolonging the entrepreneurial success of the family business. This ambition manifested itself in his decision to establish a second print shop, which he combined with a paper factory, in the town of Zwickau. Schönsperger managed the dual operation for several years, but the straddled responsibility eventually led to the bankruptcy of his entire enterprise.³⁷

The fact that Schönsperger the Younger, like his father, was also active as a cloth printer, in both Augsburg and Zwickau, is usually considered to support the idea that the concept of a textile pattern book was born in his print shop.³⁸ Indeed, it seems as if the idea would have emerged organically from the different branches of the industry in which Schönsperger was active, and yet these industries appear to have already been closely linked during the fifteenth century without yielding the new product. Instead, it required the entrepreneurial mind of a clever businessman to bring together the right mixture of ingredients into a successful new formula.

Some art historians have suggested that the printed books may have been preceded by paper sketchbooks in which embroiderers and weavers recorded their own and borrowed inventions.³⁹ Although examples of this practice are known from later periods, there is little evidence of it that predates Schönsperger's first book. The beautiful mid-sixteenth-century book of hand-drawn patterns made by Lunardo Fero for Elena Foscaro (née Grimani), for example, appears to be a response to the printed books rather than an offshoot of a practice that preceded them (fig. 11).

Hand-drawn textile patterns can sometimes be found on early sheets of parchment and paper (fig. 12), but in most cases it is unclear who made them or for what purpose. Most extant examples, whether loose or part of model books, are attributed to well-known painters. This is not surprising as, especially in Italy, the silk industry had gained such importance that many artists became involved in it at some point in their careers. Celebrated painters were asked to supply designs for embroideries (fig. 13) and, in cer-



tain cases, even for woven silks, although the latter were technically complicated and often left to professional textile designers. Pointing to this fact, the textile historian Lisa Monnas has suggested that where we do find such designs, as in the well-known model books of painters such as Pisanello and Jacopo Bellini, they should, more often than not, be regarded as so-called *simili* drawings, which served as inspiration for the depiction of luxurious silks, velvets, and brocades in paintings rather than for the production of actual textiles.⁴⁰

Hardly any drawings made by professional embroiderers and weavers seem to have survived from this period, possibly because they would often have been destroyed during the manufacturing process. Embroidery designs, for example, were pricked and pounced for transfer, as is still visible in the Museum's embroidery designs by Raffaellino del Garbo (figs. 13, 14), while cartoons for woven textiles were often damaged or cut into smaller strips during the weaving process.⁴¹ Given this low survival rate of hand-drawn textile designs related to the industry, it is difficult to establish whether Johann Schönsperger's printed pattern books were a complete innovation or whether they followed in a tradition. It is safe to assume, however, that through the turn toward the print medium, the custom of collecting and recording patterns was quickly adopted on a much larger scale and by a new and more varied demographic.

11. Lunardo Fero (Italian, active ca. 1559), embroidery designs, with a dedication to Elena Foscarina, 1559. Pen and ink and watercolor on paper, 7⁵/₈ × 5³/₄ in. (19.3 × 14.5 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (E.1940:11-1909)

12. Unknown artist (Italian, active 14th century), designs for woven silk and/or embroidery, 14th century. Pen and brown ink, traces of leadpoint (recto only) on vellum; sheet, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in. (11.6 × 15 cm). Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York (1993-119-1)



13 (right). Raffaellino del Garbo (also known as Raffaele de' Capponi and Raffaele de' Carli; Italian, 1466?–1524), *The Angel of the Annunciation* (cartoon for an embroidery), 1466–1524. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, highlighted with gouache, over black chalk on paper washed brown, Diam. $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. (9.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1912 (12.56.5a)



14 (above). Still from a Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) of fig. 13

The introduction of printed textile pattern books happened at a time when the demand for such models reached an unprecedented high. Socioeconomic changes and fashion trends as well as innovations in the European textile industry had accorded the art of textile decoration a more central role in the middle- and upper-class household and in the everyday lives of women. Although women are known to have taken on distinguished commissions as professional embroiderers during the Middle Ages, their exclusion from guild membership now curtailed their involvement in commercial and artisanal activities. Instead, the official decorum placed emphasis on the important role women played in the domestic sphere as wives, mothers, and general managers of the household. Aside from arranging daily meals for family, staff, and occasional visitors, their most important responsibilities included producing, maintaining, and decorating textiles for clothing and the soft furnishings of the interior.⁴² These textiles, ranging from the extremely functional to the highly ornamental, were omnipresent in the household, and in their adornment and the inclusion of personal details such as names, initials, and family mottos and crests in silk, silver, or gold, women found a means of self-expression. The transformation of the home that could be achieved through tapestries, richly embroidered wall hangings, and linen goods gave women the opportunity to participate in the formal representation of the family to the outside world.⁴³

Thanks to the booming silk industry, silk-thread embroidery became especially popular in the first half of the sixteenth century, as can be seen, for example, in the sleeves and collars of linen undershirts worn by both men and women (figs. 15, 16).⁴⁴ On account of this increased popularity, the supplies needed for needlework became more readily available. Moreover, because embroidery, in general, required relatively inexpensive tools, it allowed people in different social spheres to follow and imitate the fashions of the higher classes by lavishly decorating their interiors and clothing.⁴⁵

Finding Form

With people across all levels of society interested and invested in textile decoration, it is not surprising that Schönsperger's concept of a textile pattern book was well received. Between about 1523 and 1527, he pioneered the market, giving shape to the genre as he issued various pattern books from his Augsburg and Zwickau print shops. For what is believed to be his first publication, Schönsperger adopted a dual function. Opening with a title page illustrating men and women engaged in needlework and weaving, the booklet combines seven pages of slim decorative friezes with five times as many pages on which a grid is printed. Some of these pages, perhaps the first iteration of prefabricated point (graph) paper, contain printed patterns but leave ample space for owners to draw in other motifs and patterns they might invent or find in other sources. One of two surviving copies of the first edition shows



15. Hans Mielich (German, 1516–1573), *Pankraz von Freyberg zu Hohenaschau*, 1545. Oil on wood, 25³/₈ × 18⁷/₈ in. (64.4 × 48.1 cm). Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (2477)

16. Mielich, *Maria Kitscher, Frau von Freyberg*, 1545. Oil on wood, 24¹/₈ × 18¹/₈ in. (61.4 × 46 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art; The Elisabeth Severance Prentiss Collection (1944.88)

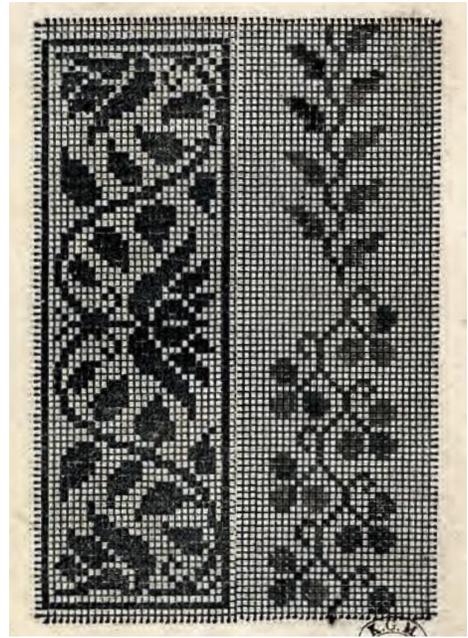
how the squared paper was used in this manner to create a customized pattern book (fig. 17). Although this format appears to be both functional and attractive, it was repeated only occasionally in subsequent books. A late sixteenth-century volume in the Museum's collection, consisting entirely of the empty point paper filled with hand-drawn patterns (fig. 18), may indicate that two separate products were developed from Schönsperger's format, both of which could be acquired at the printer's shop: small composition books with grids for drawings, and prefabricated textile pattern books that were updated and reissued on a regular basis.

The success of the latter formula was such that many of Europe's leading book publishers soon felt compelled to include textile pattern books in their inventories. From 1527 on, books for needlework and weaving were issued in various cities across Germany, Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Over the next two decades, printer-publishers experimented with the format in a process that was marked by an intense international exchange of designs and ideas. Judging from the high concentration of publications issued in this period, the books seem to have been in great demand from the outset. To meet the expectations of the market, printer-publishers had to be creative in the content they offered and in how they presented it. Many of the books

are therefore marked by a mix of old and new, collected from both local and exotic sources.

The first printer-publisher to follow in Schönsperger's footsteps was Peter Quentel, who was active in Cologne and, like Schönsperger, had taken over a successful print shop from his father, Heinrich Quentel. In his first book, Peter Quentel made a particularly bold statement of competition by adopting and "improving" the format of one of Schönsperger's title pages. His draftsman, Anton Woensam von Worms,⁴⁶ made small and larger changes to the composition, most notably the "unveiling" of the woman who, in Schönsperger's original, had been awkwardly hidden behind the threads of her loom (figs. 19, 20). Quentel's title page was soon copied, in turn, by Willem Vorsterman, who published a book of textile patterns, available with French and English title pages, in Antwerp in or shortly after 1527. The same title page also surfaced in Italy, prefacing the textile patterns published by Nicolò Zoppino in Venice in 1529 (fig. 21) and by Alessandro Paganino in his *Libro quarto de rechami* (Fourth Book of Needlework), published in Toscolano about 1532 (see fig. 23).

Whereas Quentel's title page can be considered an interpretation of Schönsperger's, both Vorsterman and Zoppino produced faithful copies of the Cologne edition. They went to some effort to reproduce the title page in the same orientation and followed the model so closely that they did not even alter the coats of arms on the pillars, which carry the blazon of the city



17. Johann Schönsperger the Younger (German, active 1510–30), page 88 (recto) from *Furm oder Modelbu[e]chlein* (Augsburg, ca. 1523), with a printed pattern and additional motifs drawn by hand. Woodcut and pen and ink. Kunstgewerbemuseum Leipzig



18. Pages from a gridded composition book with designs for lace and embroidery, German or French, 1596. Woodcut and pen and ink; overall, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (20 x 14 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mary M. Greenwood, in memory of Eliza Rudd Greenwood, 1953 (53.566.7[6v, 7r])



19. Schönsperger the Younger, title page from *Ein new Modelbu[e]ch* (Zwickau, 1524 [1st ed.]). Woodcut, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ in. (18.5 × 13.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Herbert N. Straus, 1929 (29.71 [1])

20. Attributed to Anton Woensam von Worms (German, died 1538), title page from *Eyn new kunstlich Boich* (Cologne: Peter Quentel, 1529 [5th ed.]). Woodcut, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (20 × 14 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.50.2 [2r])



of Cologne. Paganino did remove the reference to the German city by replacing the coats of arms with portraits of two Roman emperors, but like his colleagues, he did not shy away from mining the books of his northern peers for patterns to complement the other designs in his *Libro quarto de rechami*.

Remarkably, none of these cases of reproduction seems to have been inspired by the exchange or passing down of woodblocks. A new block was cut for each of these title pages and each repetition of patterns, which meant that, in certain cases, at least five fairly similar blocks must have been in use across Europe at about the same time, alongside other iterations of the same, or similar, patterns. Over time, as more and more textile pattern books were published throughout Europe, this web of exchange would become increasingly entangled, making it very difficult to establish where the patterns had originated, and it is therefore easy to understand why, to someone like William Ivins, the pattern books represented a bibliographic nightmare.

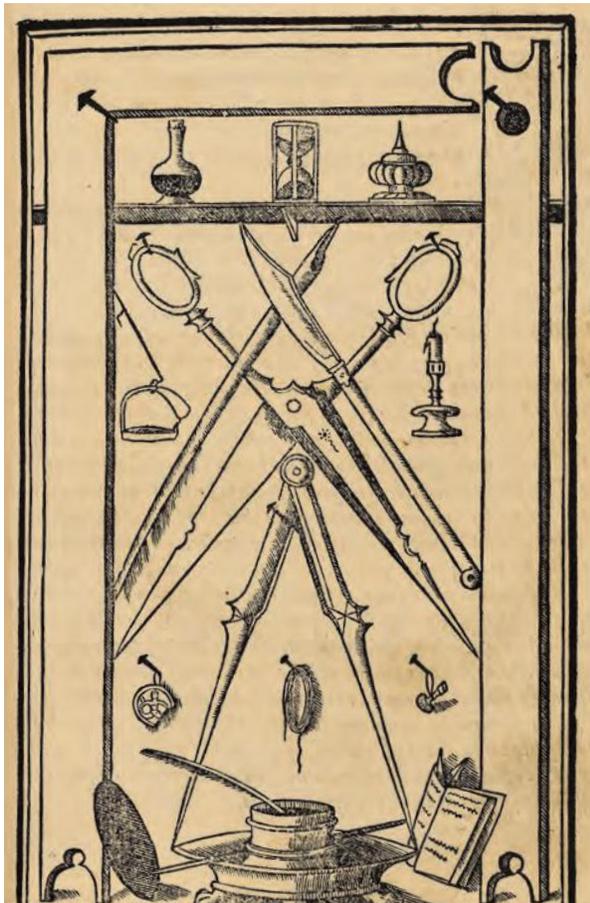
To art historians focusing on original inventions, this practice of seemingly blatant copying has made for a difficult subject of study as well. In only one other book genre, the herbal, is this type of replication seen with the same regularity. There, however, it has traditionally been accepted because of



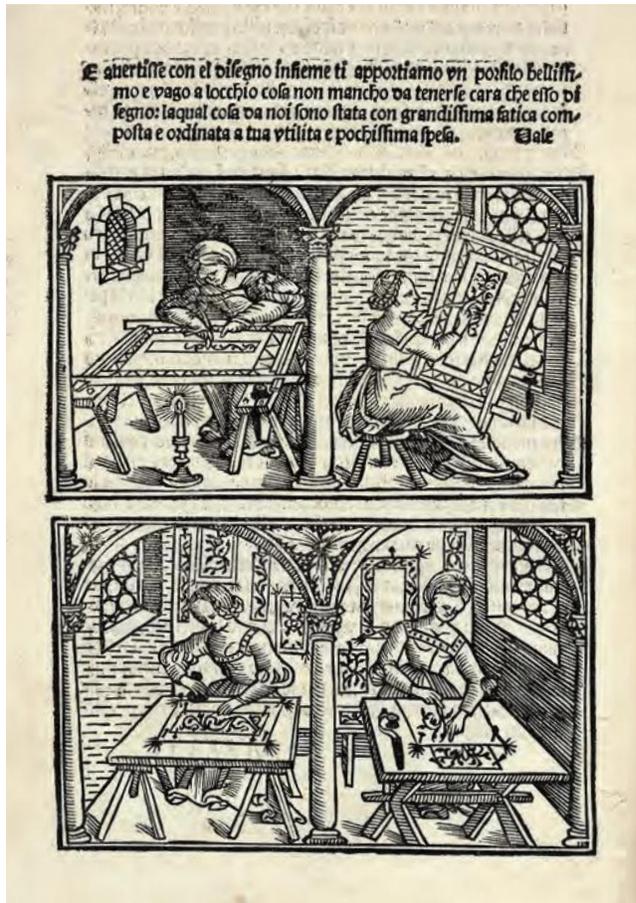
the books' didactic function, in which the necessity of conveying the general conventions of a plant type as clearly as possible naturally called for identical reproduction. Approaching the textile pattern books from the same viewpoint—one of function—helps us to place the “problem” in a different light. Arthur Lotz, tellingly, opened the introduction to his *Bibliographie* with the statement that these books were not created to spend their lives on the shelves of notable libraries. Instead, they were meant for “the sewing room of women, who treated the books in a manner that was neither bibliophilic nor delicate.”⁴⁷ This was meant not as a criticism but as a very practical explanation of the rarity of this type of book and of the conditions in which

21. Nicolò Zoppino (Italian, 1478/80–1544), title page from *Esemplario di lavori* (Venice, 1529 [1st ed.]). Woodcut, 9³/₈ × 7¹/₄ in. (23.7 × 18.4). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.98 [1])

examples were often found. As Metropolitan Museum curator Janet S. Byrne fittingly wrote, the pattern books are “apt to be incomplete and in poor condition because their sixteenth-century owners tore out pages, pasted or nailed them to workroom walls, fingered, folded, cut, scribbled on them, chalked and pricked them for transfer.”⁴⁸ The impetus to do all this was supplied by the printer-publishers themselves, who, in their prefaces and epilogues, elucidated the many ways in which the books could be used and how the patterns could be transferred onto textiles and other substrates. Giovanni Antonio Tagliente was the first to address these topics extensively, in his pattern book of 1527, and he included an illustration of the tools necessary to draw and transfer designs, in which a pair of scissors features prominently (fig. 22).⁴⁹ Suitable techniques of transfer were also addressed by Paganino, who illustrated his explanation with images of four methods of transmission: tracing by the light of a candle, tracing by the light of day, pricking and pouncing, or, for the more skilled draftsman, copying freehand (fig. 23). Three of Paganino’s methods called for the removal of pages from the books, and in the case of pricking and pouncing, an even further interference with the paper. In addition, a parchment or paper pattern often literally served



22 (above, left). Giovanni Antonio Tagliente (Italian, ca. 1465–1527), page 25 (recto) from *Opera nuova che insegna a le donne a cucire* (Venice: Giovanni Antonio e i fratelli da Sabbio, 1530 [2nd or 3rd ed.]). Woodcut by Piron da Carpe (Italian, active 16th century); overall, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (19.8 × 15.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1935 (35.75.3 [49])



as the ground on which a textile was produced; this could be the case with small weavings but was especially common for the various types of lace that developed and became highly popular in the second half of the sixteenth century. It is no wonder, therefore, that the demand for new pattern books was ongoing and that customers did not necessarily mind encountering the same or similar patterns a second time.

The printer-publishers did not hide their “borrowing” of patterns but often proudly advertised that they had labored to collect new and interesting models from abroad. The textile trade was, by definition, internationally oriented, as individual cities and centers of industry had their own specializations, and their products were exported all over Europe. While Italian brocades were coveted in the North, for example, Italians purchased linen tablecloths and sheets from Flanders and Holland in return.⁵⁰ As textiles traveled, so did patterns. In his *Livre de moresques* (Book of Moresques) of 1546, Hiérosme de Gormont stated that he endeavored to present his clients with the best patterns that could be found and that, to this effect, he had looked to both the antique and the modern, to Italy, France, Germany, and the countries of the Levant.⁵¹ The first Italian printer-publishers did not hesitate to include patterns from German sources in their books, either.

The German art historian Alfred Lichtwark, later director of the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, triumphantly emphasized this fact in an 1885 article on Peter Quentel, in which he proved that there had not been, as had previously been suggested, an Italian pattern book that preceded the German publications and served as their model.⁵² Instead, the Italians eagerly looked toward the northern print market for examples.

Exchange in the opposite direction also occurred. In 1535, the Frankfurt printer Christian Egenolff proudly advertised that he had collected examples of “Venetian stars” and “Italian whitework” in his pattern book, while Quentel described his patterns, most of them based on Schönsperger, as examples of *Spansche stiche*. This “Spanish stitch” referred to a technique for making a double running pattern that was based on Arabic traditions that dated back centuries but, by the sixteenth century, was popular all over Europe.⁵³ Especially in small-scale embroidery and weaving, aesthetics were closely tied to tradition, which was perceived not as old-fashioned but as timeless. That we still see many of the early-modern patterns in present-day textiles and fashion underlines this fact (figs. 24, 25). Indeed, when the textile pattern books were introduced, they fell right into these traditions, and many of the designs they recorded had already been passed down by generations of women and professional embroiderers. Beautiful embroidered patterns such as the ones on the headdress and garment worn by Bernhard Strigel’s sitter

23 (*opposite, right*). Alessandro Paganino (Italian, active 1511–38), page 2 (verso) from *Libro quarto de rebami* (Toscolano: Paganino, ca. 1532). Woodcut; overall, 8³/₈ × 5⁷/₈ in. (21.2 × 14.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1948 (48.40 [4])



24. Ensemble. Russian, 20th century. Cotton, L. 131 in. (332.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Administration Fund, 1924 (24.101a–d)

25. Giorgio di Sant’ Angelo (American, born Italy, 1933–1989). Ensemble, 1970. Wool, cotton, and glass; L. overall, 35¹/₂ in. (90.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Martin F. Price, 1998 (1998.493.178a–d)



26. Bernhard Strigel (German, 1460–1528), *Portrait of a Woman*, ca. 1510–15. Oil on wood, 15½ × 10½ in. (38.4 × 26.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, 1871 (71.34)

27. Johann Sibmacher (German, active 1590–1611), detail of page 8 (recto) from *Schön Neues Modelbüch* (Nuremberg: Balthasar Caimox, 1597 [2nd ed.]). Etching; overall, 6¼ × 7⅞ in. (15.5 × 19.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.16 [13r])

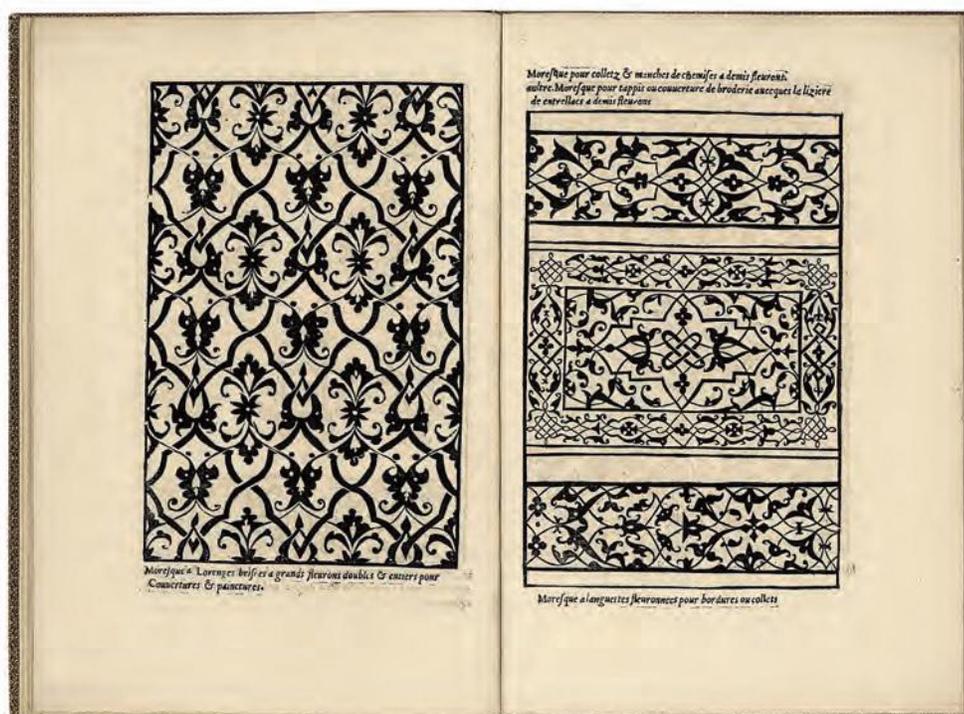
in a portrait of about 1510–15 (fig. 26) predated the introduction of the textile pattern books but resonated in them until the very end of the sixteenth century (fig. 27).⁵⁴

Textile pattern books also became instrumental in the introduction and dissemination of ornaments from non-Western cultures. So-called moresque ornaments were first published in Tagliente's textile pattern book of 1527. This particular type of ornament, which is characterized by heavily stylized, interlaced vegetal tendrils, was found across the Islamic world. During the Middle Ages, objects decorated with moresques occasionally found their way to Europe, but it was not until the third quarter of the fifteenth century, when increased trade connections with the Middle East resulted in regular shipments of goods from Cairo and Damascus to Venice, that they started to flood the Italian market and that moresques were adopted in the native arts as well.⁵⁵

Prints, and textile pattern books in particular, were instrumental in this process of naturalization. They helped to disseminate through Europe examples of surface-covering patterns (fig. 28) and isolated central motifs and suggested modes of application for moresque ornament on objects such as

tooled and gilded book bindings, damascened metal and wood objects, and textiles, from large embroidered velvets meant for furnishing (fig. 29) to clothing and accessories such as purses and hats.

Other exotic designs also found their way into the pattern books. In his *Esemplario di lavori* (Example Book of Needlework), Nicolò Zoppino added a plate with a ceiling design after a print by the German artist Daniel Hopper. That it was not considered out of place in this context is proved by its reuse in Matteo Pagano's *Trionfo di virtu* (Triumph of Virtue) of 1563.⁵⁶ Similarly, Christian Egenolff found multiple purposes for the woodblocks in his own stock by using plates with animal illustrations for both his textile pattern book of 1535 and the herbal he published in 1546.⁵⁷



28. After Francesco di Pellegrino (Italian, died 1552), pages 9 (verso) and 10 (recto) from *Livre de moresques* (Paris: Hiérosme de Gormont, 1546). Woodcuts; each overall, 12 × 8³/₈ in. (30.5 × 21.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (26.71.8 [18])

29. Valance (bed hanging), English (?), ca. 1550–80. Embroidered velvet and silk with gold, 20¹/₈ × 55⁷/₈ in. (51 × 142 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London (4513-1858)



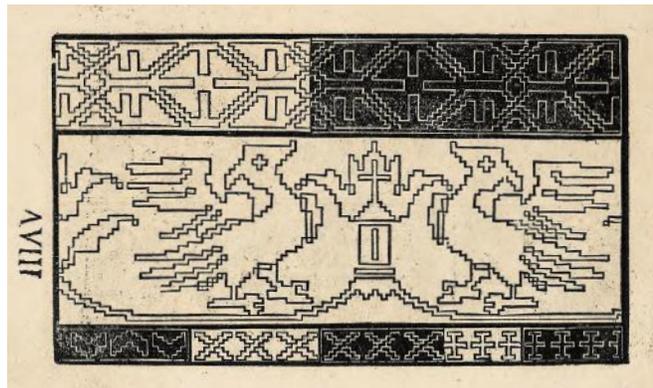
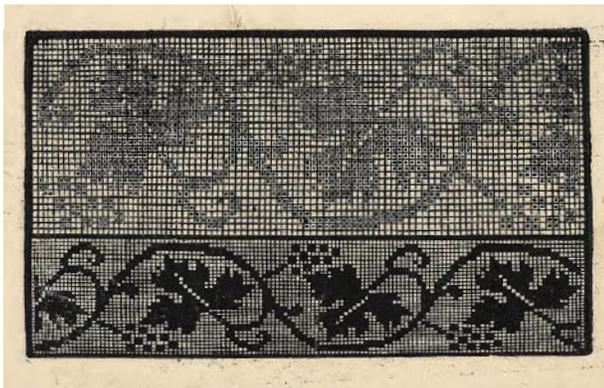
Techniques of Representation

Focusing on one particular publication gives us an overview of the different types of designs that could be found in the earliest pattern books. The ambitiously titled *Corona di racammi* (Crown of Embroidery), Giovanni Andrea Vavassore's first pattern book, was published in 1530 and is one of the most diverse of its kind. Vavassore presented his customers with designs for borders, all-over patterns, alphabets "to write with the needle," individual motifs both figurative and ornamental, and several scenes that could be described as narrative.

One of the aspects of the book that is most striking when leafing through it is the many different formats in which the patterns are presented. Some designs are drawn freehand on a blank or hatched background (fig. 30a), while others are worked out on a grid (figs. 30b, c); still others are made up of stepped lines as though they were conceived on a grid that is no longer visible (fig. 30d). Whether these different types of representation relate to specific techniques of execution is unclear. Some indication of this possibility is given by a group of sixteen dotted patterns in Vavassore's book. Although they do not make for particularly strong images in printed form, the quantity of them and the frequency with which they appear—even on the title page—suggest that Vavassore found them useful. The fact that he chose to portray the same pattern twice, in two different representational techniques, supports this idea (see fig. 30c). Perhaps the semitranslucent appearance was meant to mimic the effect of Italian whitework (white embroidery on a white ground) or embroidery on netting, but further research is needed to fully understand the connections between the representations on paper and the translation into textiles. At the same time, the early pattern books make clear that these modes of representation were neither universal nor necessarily restrictive. A skillful weaver or embroiderer could adopt most of the patterns for execution in various techniques. In this vein, Vavassore encouraged his readers first to imitate his patterns in one type of stitch, then to try them in another, because "variety is very amusing, and pleasing to human nature."⁵⁸

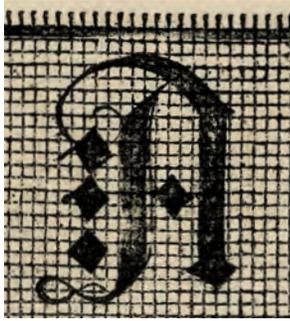
Regardless of Vavassore's original intent, he must have soon realized that the dotted patterns were not a success because they disappeared altogether in his second and best-known textile pattern book, *Esemplario di lavori*.⁵⁹ That he listened closely and responded to the wishes of his clients is evident in the elaborate introduction to this second book. He explains, among other things, that it had come to his attention that many ladies found it difficult to transfer the patterns when they were not presented on a grid, and, wanting to accommodate them in any way, he had gone to great pains to remedy the problem.⁶⁰

The representation of patterns on a grid, recalling the use of squaring for transfer in other art forms, was particularly useful for textile decoration

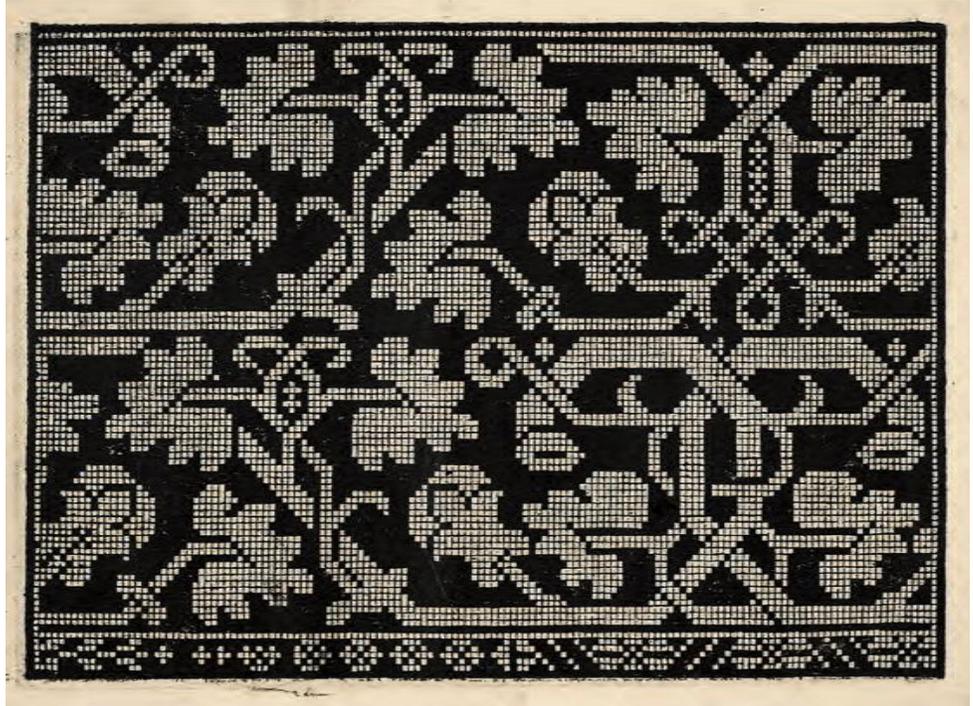


because the horizontal and vertical lines resemble the warp and weft of the woven fabric onto or into which a pattern would be applied. From the perspective of the production of the woodblock, however, the inclusion of a grid was not so straightforward. As opposed to the intaglio techniques of engraving and etching, in which straight lines could easily be cut out of the plate with the help of a ruler, in relief printing the grid had to be created by cutting out not the lines but the minuscule cavities around them. Producing straight lines in this manner is a challenge in itself, and the web of thin raised edges left over would have been fragile and difficult to use for repeated printing without damage. Adding a textile pattern to this equation would have complicated the process further. Either the pattern had to be created first and the exposed grid shaped within and around it, or the pattern had to be superimposed onto the grid in some manner. The former technique, which seems to have been used on occasion for smaller patterns, was very laborious, and the latter was thus, presumably, considered better suited for appropriation. Several printer-publishers across Europe adopted it, although it is not always possible to ascertain how the superimposition was achieved, nor does there appear to have been a universal standard. The uneven division of printing ink in one of Schönsperger's earliest books

30a-d (left to right, top to bottom). Giovanni Andrea Vavassore (Italian, 1530–1573), four pages from *Opera Nova Universal intitulata Corona di vacammi* (Venice, 1530). Woodcuts; overall, 6⁷/₈ × 8⁷/₈ in. (17.5 × 22.5 cm) each page. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932 (32.54.1 [37v, 23r, 7v, 8r])



31. Schönsperger the Younger, detail of page 10 (recto) from *Ein neu Furmbu[er]chlein* (Augsburg, ca. 1525–29 [single ed.]). Woodcut, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20×15.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.66.1 [10r])

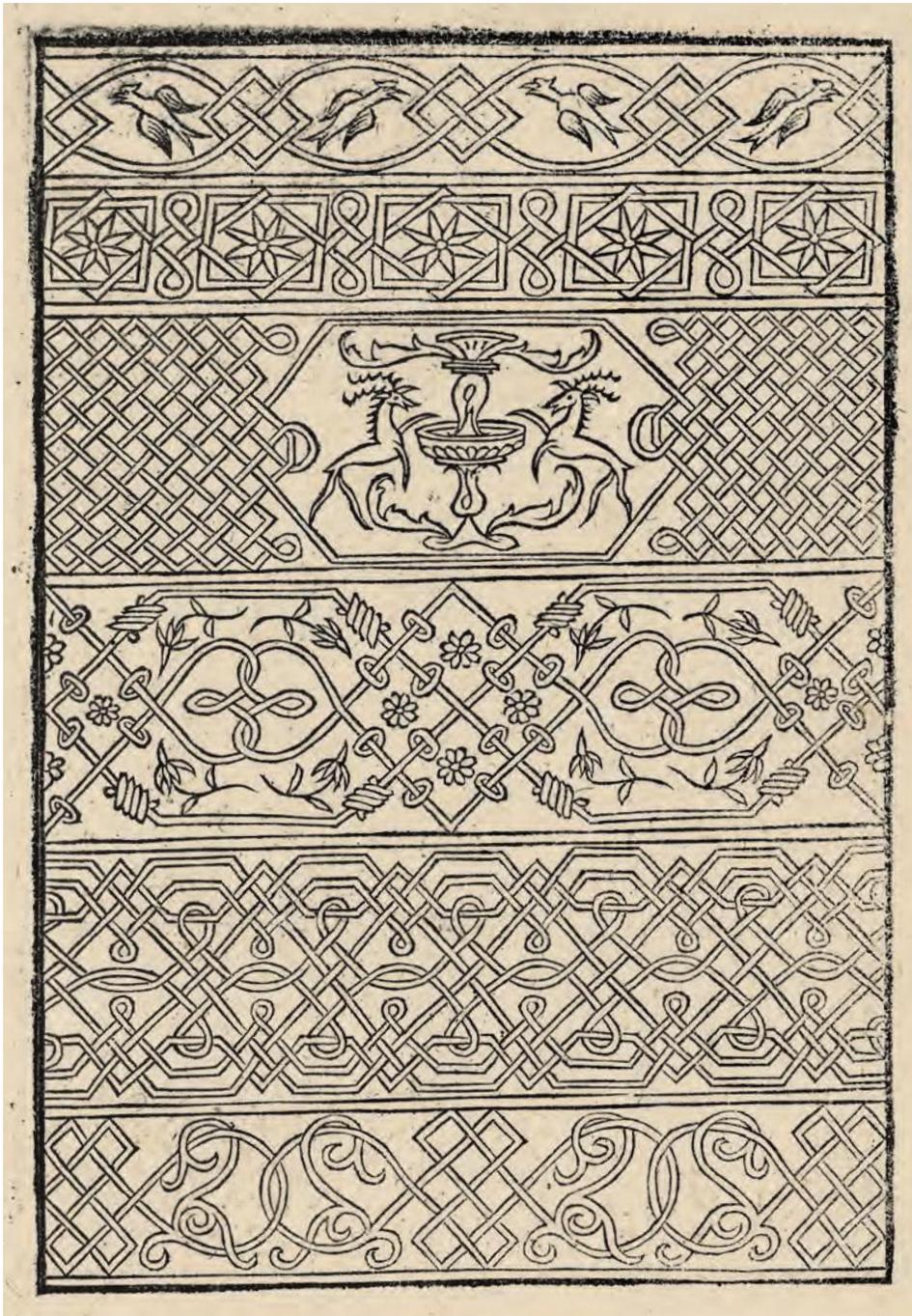


32. Da Sera, page 6 (verso) from *Libbretto nouellame[n]te co[m]posto* (see fig. 1; 35.79 [12])

reveals that his grid was continuous, proving that he printed the grids and the patterns separately, one on top of the other (fig. 31). In other cases, however, such as in Domenico da Sera's second pattern book, with its extremely high quality of printing (fig. 32), this two-step process is more difficult to establish. The lines of the patterns and the squares of the grid are so seamlessly aligned that it seems likely that a special technique was devised to print the two elements simultaneously. This might have been achieved through the use of some kind of filler material or a masking technique in combination with a lattice structure, possibly made out of a soft metal, which would have been mounted onto a woodblock or set in a frame for printing.⁶¹ No such contemporary printing tools have survived, but surely the daily routine of typesetting and creating matrices for book printing helped sixteenth-century printer-publishers to develop clever solutions to expedite the production of gridded patterns in their books.

While Vavassore felt obliged to accommodate his clients by the addition of grids, the printing of freehand patterns was also continued by others. As late as 1556, Jacob Frölich published a pattern book filled from front to back with frieze designs that meander freely across the page (fig. 33). The patterns were designed by Hans Hoffman, who by trade was a *Formschneider* (professional block cutter) and, as such, was likely less concerned with the practicalities of executing needlework.

The absence of grids in pattern books did not necessarily mean that their printer-publishers did not use other representational devices to assist their readers. Paganino, for example, printed every pattern in the fourth book of



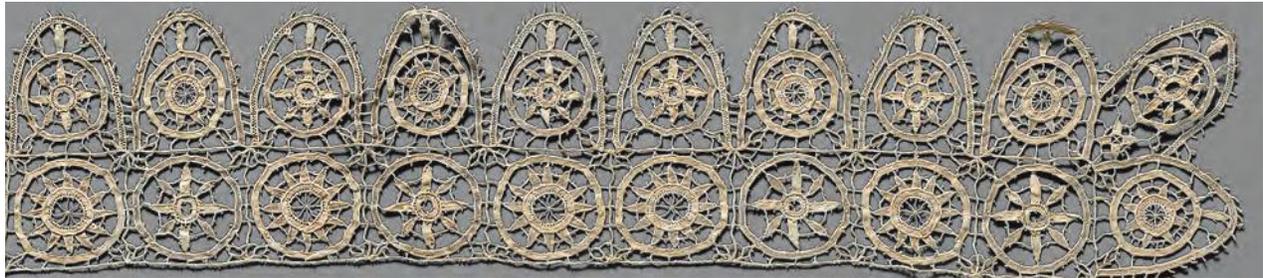
33. Hans Hoffman (German, active ca. 1554), page 3 (recto) from *New Modelbüch allen Na[e]gerin unnd Sydenstickern* (Strasbourg: Jacob Frölich, 1556 [1st ed.]). Woodcut, 7³/₈ × 5³/₈ in. (18.5 × 13.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1930 (30.59.2 [3r])

his *Libro quarto de rechami* twice: once in outline and once with the pattern completely filled in black against a white ground, which indicated that either the entire area outside or the area within the outline should be filled with stitches to create the pattern (figs. 34a, b). Similarly, in his *New Modelbüch* of 1615, Andreas Bretschneider used pattern repeats made by counterproof impressions of his woodcuts and etchings to illustrate which colors could be used for the execution of his designs (fig. 35).

34a, b. Paganino, *Libro quarto de rechami*, details of pages 6 (recto) and 8 (recto) (see fig. 23; 48.40 [8, 10])

35. Andreas Bretschneider (German, ca. 1578–ca. 1640), counterproof and etching with color from *New Modelbüch* (Leipzig: Henning Gross the Younger, 1615). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1936 (36.19 [3v, 4r])





Patterns for Openwork & Lace

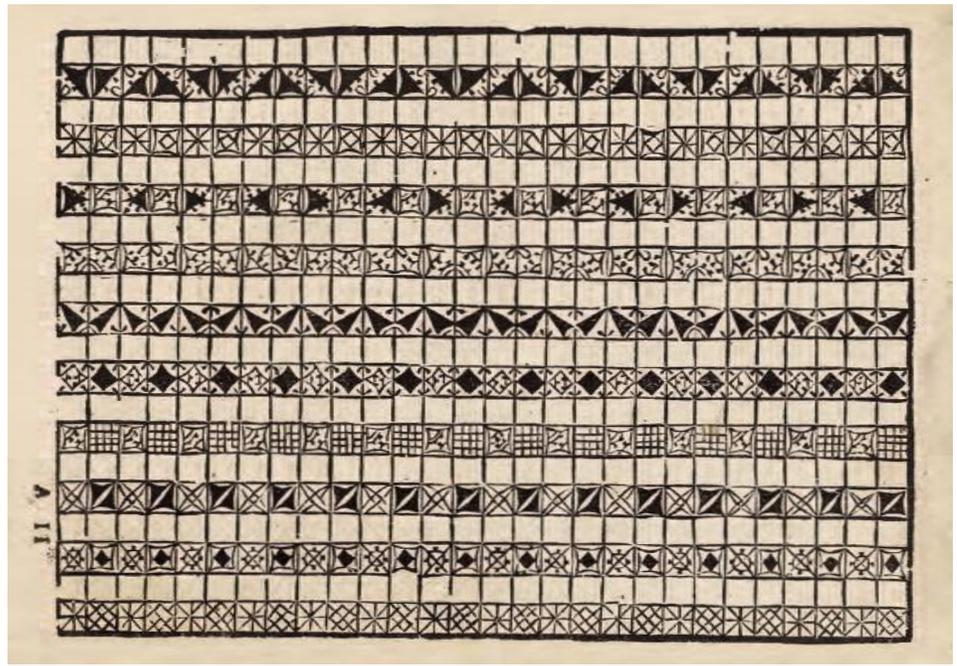
Although the earliest textile pattern books purposely upheld a certain level of ambiguity (or license) in how patterns were to be translated into textiles, from the 1540s on, the books slowly came to focus more on the latest trends in textile decoration. Weaving and colored silk-thread embroidery, while still practiced, moved to the background and made way for patterns in so-called openwork techniques, which added translucency to the manipulation of the textile ground. Effects such as cutwork (fig. 36), drawnwork, pulled fabric, needle-made loops, and braids became increasingly popular and paved the way for needle (fig. 37) and bobbin lace. Some of these techniques had originated in previous centuries, but their development gained momentum in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Surprisingly, there seems to have been some delay between their application in clothing and soft furnishings and the circulation of related printed patterns. Former Victoria and Albert Museum curator Santina M. Levey has suggested that the printer-publishers may not have felt comfortable investing in avant-garde styles and techniques, choosing instead to wait until they were certain that their clientele would be fully receptive.⁶² Another explanation may be that it took some time and, more important, the right person to come up with effective representational devices to portray patterns using these new techniques.

Matteo Pagano, a Venetian printer-publisher who had worked as a block carver for Nicolò Zoppino's pattern books, seems to have had a particular affinity for textile patterns,⁶³ issuing no fewer than four pattern books over a period of two years early in his career. One of those was a copy of Domenico da Sera's highly influential *Libbretto* of 1532, but three others were either wholly or largely original and focused on completely new types of textile decoration. Pagano was keenly aware of this novelty, as can be gleaned from his first book, *Giardineto novo di punti tagliati et gropposi* (New Garden of [Designs

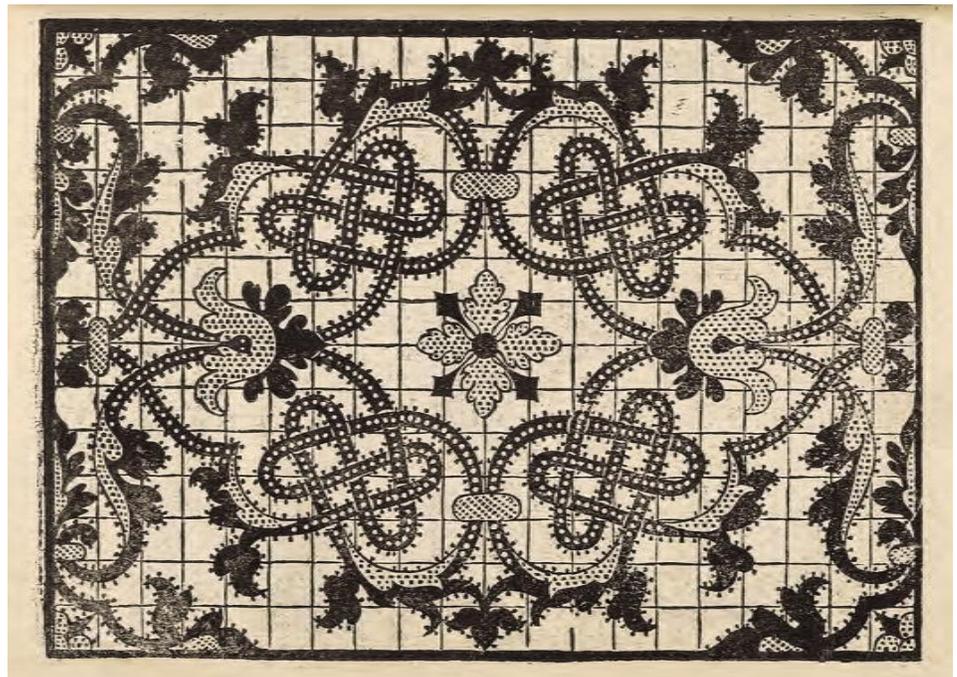
36. Border (detail), Italian, 16th century. Linen cutwork and needle lace, 48 × 4 in. (121.9 × 10.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Anonymous Gift, 1879 (79.1.90)

37. Handkerchief border (detail), Italian, late 16th century. Linen needle lace; L. of each side, 19½ in. (49.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mrs. Cole Porter, 1951 (51.96.13)

38. Matteo Pagano (Italian, 1515–1588), page 2 (recto) from *Giardineto novo di ponti tagliati et gruppi per exercitio & ornamento delle donne* (Venice, 1554 [6th ed.]). Woodcut, $6\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{5}{8}$ in. (16.2 × 19.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.15.1bis [21])



39. Pagano, page 12 (verso) from *La Gloria et l'Honore di ponti tagliati, e ponti in aere* (Venice, 1556 [2nd ed.]). Woodcut; overall, $6\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (15.5 × 21 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1929 (29.59.1 [24])



for] Drawn- and Knotwork), in which he built up the complexity of the patterns as if they were a grammar. On the first page, he started with single lines of simple patterns (fig. 38), then reused them throughout the book to compose wider borders and more complex, overall patterns that combine openwork with embroidery and needle lace.

An even greater sense of transparency was achieved with *punti in aere* (“stitches in the air”), which consist of free-flowing patterns on a cutwork ground. Pagano explored patterns for this type of needlework

in the 1550 *Honesto Esempio* (Honest Example) and *La Gloria et l'Honore di ponti tagliati, e ponti in aere* (Glory and Honor of Raised Embroidery and Cutwork) from 1556 (fig. 39). The textile ground plays only a minimal role in these techniques, resulting in a significant widening of the grids on which the patterns are presented. The lines now seem to correspond literally to the threads (or groups of threads) that would be visible underneath the running pattern.

Although unrelated in terms of production technique, openwork, with its appealing translucence, no doubt paved the way for the surge in popularity of needle and bobbin lace in the second half of the sixteenth century. Used as insertions and trimmings in various textiles and prominent in veils, towels, and tablecloths, Renaissance lace is most often associated with collars, cuffs, and *bavari* (the upper part of a dress, covering the shoulders and bosom),

as seen in contemporary portraits (fig. 40). Best known in white, lace was made in various colors and was even more luminescent when executed in silver or gold thread (fig. 41).

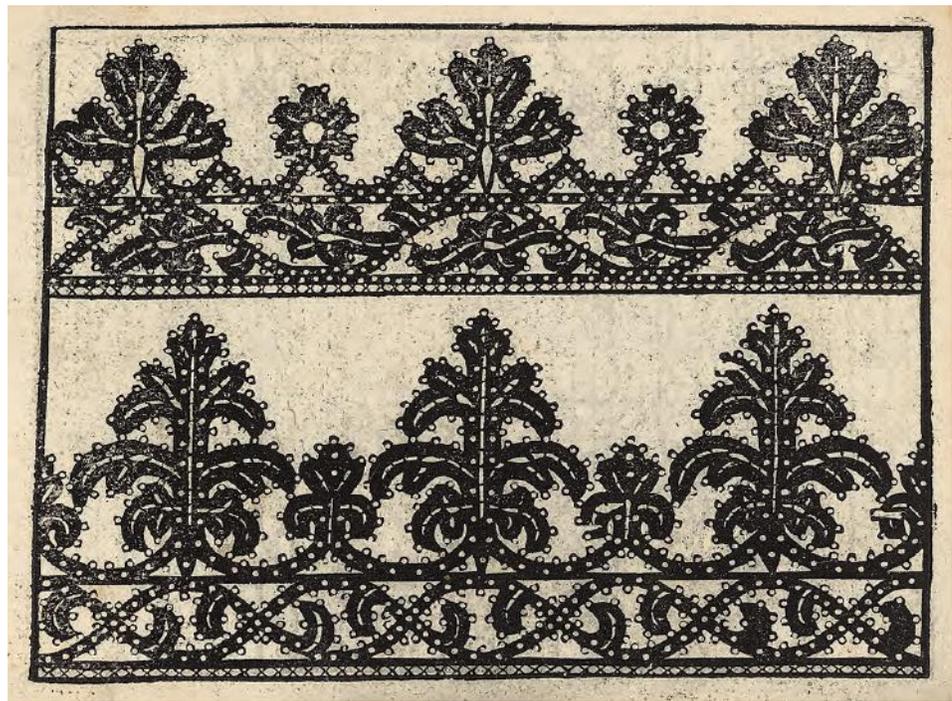
The first pattern book to feature bobbin lace (made by twisting and entwining thread with the help of wood bobbins) was published in Venice in 1557 by the brothers

40. Robert Peake the Elder (British, ca. 1551–1619), *Princess Elizabeth (1596–1662), Later Queen of Bohemia*, ca. 1606. Oil on canvas, 60¾ × 31¼ in. (154.3 × 79.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Kate T. Davison, in memory of her husband, Henry Pomeroy Davison, 1951 (51.194.1)

41. Rebato (collar), French, early 17th century. Metal wire, metal thread bobbin lace, and cotton plain weave, 15¾ × 18 in. (40 × 45.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of Mrs. Edward S. Harkness, 1930 (30.135.156)

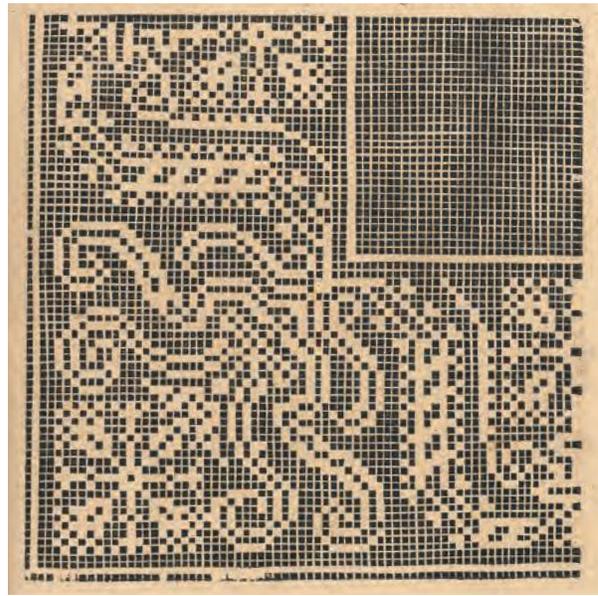


42. Attributed to Pagano, detail of page 3 from *Le Pompe: Opera Nova* (Venice: Giovanni Battista and Marchio Sessa, 1557 [1st ed.]). Woodcut; overall, $8\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20.5 × 15 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1937 (37.74 [5])



Giovanni Battista and Marchio (Melchiorre) Sessa. Although without precedent, the patterns are highly refined (fig. 42), which has raised questions about the identity of their author. The mark on the title page, which contains the letters “M. F” in combination with the name “IESUS,” led Lotz to suggest that *Le Pompe*, as the book was called, was perhaps another work by Matteo Pagano, who sometimes signed his work “MATHEUS F,” in which the “F” is interpreted as meaning not *fecit* (“made this”) but Fede (“Faith”), the nickname of Pagano’s workshop in Venice. The fact that the representational devices in some of the patterns are similar to Pagano’s previous publications but differ quite strongly from other contemporary textile pattern books devoted to openwork techniques contributed to Lotz’s conclusion.⁶⁴ Interestingly, the Sessa brothers’ firm issued at least eight different textile pattern books, often without identifying the author of the designs. While this anonymity had been customary during the previous three decades, the case of the Sessa books stood out for Lotz because the third quarter of the sixteenth century represented a moment of change in this respect. Many of the later lace books were no longer identified solely by their printer-publishers but also by the pattern designers, who, over the course of their careers, often published books with several publishers in various cities.

One of the first designers to be thus credited and celebrated was Federico de Vinciolo, a Venetian who was purportedly brought to France by Queen Catherine de’ Medici herself. The admiration for his skill as a maker of *reticella* (cutwork), *lacis* (darned netting), and lace was so great that he was given the exclusive right in France to fashion *reticella* collars, which were immensely popular at the time. Similarly, the pattern books with his de-



signs, first published by Jean Leclerc in 1587, sold like hotcakes. Three editions were issued in the first year alone, reprints were made uninterrupted in Paris until 1612, and copies were produced in Turin, Lyon, Strasbourg, Basel, and Montbéliard. The publication of Vinciolo's book followed shortly after a new edition of Domenico da Sera's pattern designs, and the popularity of the two works is illustrated by the incorporation of motifs from both books in a French altar cloth of the late sixteenth century (figs. 43–45).



As individual artists and printmakers contributed more and more to pattern books, the genre increasingly became a vehicle for experimentation. Vinciolo was one of the first to represent his patterns in white on a dark ground, printing a silhouette of the pattern instead of the pattern itself. For that reason, some of his more freely drawn patterns for *lacis* seem to resemble cut-paper work more than textile patterns. Another, more significant contribution made by individual printmakers was to work with etchings rather than woodcuts for the illustrations. Experiments with the new medium happened almost simultaneously in Italy and Germany, although in both cases it was by no means pervasive, as the woodcut remained an efficient and frequently used

43. Altar cloth (detail), French, late 15th or 16th century. Embroidered net, 66 × 40 in. (167.6 × 101.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.578)

44. Federico Vinciolo (Italian, active ca. 1587–99), page from *Les Singuliers et Nouveaux Pourtraicts* (Paris: Jean Le Clerc, 1588). Woodcut; overall, 8¹/₈ × 6³/₈ in. (20.5 × 16 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1918 (18.68 [221])

45. Da Sera, page 10 (recto) from *Libretto nouellame[n]te* (see fig. 1; 35.79 [9v])

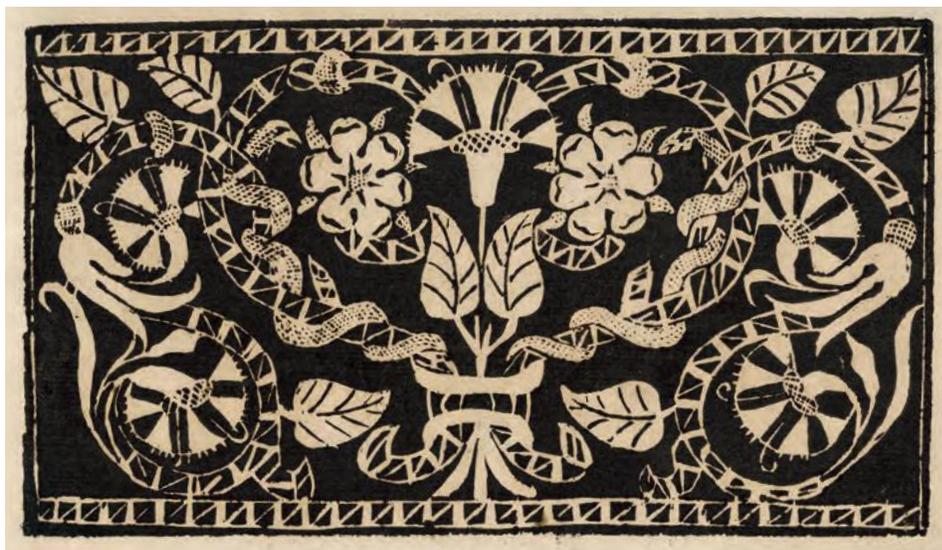
arresting are the tonal differences he was able to achieve in his patterns by applying a clever system of hatchings, consisting not just of lines but also of geometric shapes that are strikingly similar to Pagano's representation of *punti tagliati* (cutwork).

Of unrivaled beauty are the etched lace books of the Bolognese artist Bartolomeo Danieli (fig. 47). By taking up the etching needle, Danieli—a lace-maker by profession—was able to promote his work in the print medium and thereby skillfully placed himself within the small group of his fellow countrymen who had achieved and prolonged their fame by making their lace patterns available through pattern books.⁶⁶

“Painting with the Needle”: An Art of Virtue & Virtuosity

By the time Bartolomeo Danieli started etching his lace patterns, the pantheon of famous designers of textile patterns no longer consisted solely of men. In 1595, the first of four lace books by Isabella Catanea Parasole was published in Rome by Antonio Fachetti (fig. 48, showing the second of those volumes). Although modest both in its title page and in the design of the patterns, the book stands out as the first pattern book to acknowledge a woman as its designer.

Only one earlier pattern book may, with some certainty, be attributed to a woman: the *Nüw Modelbuch*, a volume of bobbin-lace designs published in Zurich by Christoph Froschauer in 1561. Unfortunately, the title page does not include the full name of the artist but modestly attributes the work to “R. M.” Whether contemporaries would have known to whom this referred is uncertain, and Lotz suggested that Froschauer may not have felt comfortable openly advertising his collaboration with a woman. Female pronouns in the introduction indirectly reveal, however, that the author was indeed a woman, and one who had more than twelve years of experience teaching the



48. Isabella Catanea Parasole (Italian, ca. 1565–ca. 1625), page 8 (recto) from *Studio delle virtuose Dame* (Rome: Antonio Fachetti, 1597 [1st ed.]). Woodcut; overall, 5½ × 8⅞ in. (14 × 20.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1918 (18.67.1 [8])

49. Work bag, British, 1669. Linen worked with wool thread; overall, excluding tasseled cords, 18½ × 24 in. (47 × 61 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Purchase, Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Gifts and Rogers Fund, 2006 (2006.263)



art of lace making to girls in Zurich. The book does not appear to have had a wide circulation, but it is an important source for the early history of bobbin lace, revealing that as early as 1536 Venetians had introduced the art form to Switzerland, where it was received enthusiastically and quickly improved upon by Swiss women, who were thus able to earn their own incomes.⁶⁷

Some thirty years later, in Fachetti's lace book, Isabella Parasole's role was announced more prominently. Whether she already had a reputation as a lace maker at the time of publication is unclear. Little is known of her youth and upbringing, although her name indicates that she may have been born in Sicily. This possibility is substantiated by the dedications in her lace books, in which she invariably named aristocratic women with connections to the Spanish crown. Among them was the young princess Elizabeth of France, whom she addressed as "princess of Spain" even before Elizabeth's marriage to Philip IV of Spain had been officiated. The princess was only eight years old in 1610, when Parasole's chef d'œuvre, the *Fiore d'ogni virtu* (Flowers of Every Virtue), was first published. This would have been the exact age at which girls were instructed in the arts of embroidery and lace making and could already be quite accomplished, as seen in an embroidered work bag in the Museum's collection signed "I. S.," "AGE 10" (fig. 49). While the French princess undoubtedly practiced these arts principally for leisure, girls of lower rank learned needlework as a vital component of their adult life, either to make their own living or, if they were lucky enough to marry well, to perform the duties expected of a good housewife. Both as a symbolic token

and as practical preparation for a young bride's future responsibilities, a sewing basket, shears, and a needle case were typically included in her trousseau.⁶⁸

In the chapter "On the Honor of Women" in his 1568 book *Dialoghi piacevoli* (Pleasant Dialogues), the Italian writer and court diplomat Stefano Guazzo underlined that a woman could reach the peak of virtue through industry in her household responsibilities, which included "textile for the use and ornament of the household[,] needlework, ... and the breeding of silk worms."⁶⁹ This connection between needlework and virtue was a topos that already resonated in ancient mythology through such characters as Penelope, who patiently awaited her husband's return and kept her suitors at bay by weaving. More strongly, however, it was connected to the Virgin Mary herself, who, according to the Protoevangelium of James and subsequent medieval sources, turned to needlework as part of her daily routine (figs. 50, 51). During the



50. Francisco de Zurbarán (Spanish, 1598–1664), *The Young Virgin*, ca. 1632–33. Oil on canvas, 46 × 37 in. (116.8 × 94 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Fletcher Fund, 1927 (27.137)

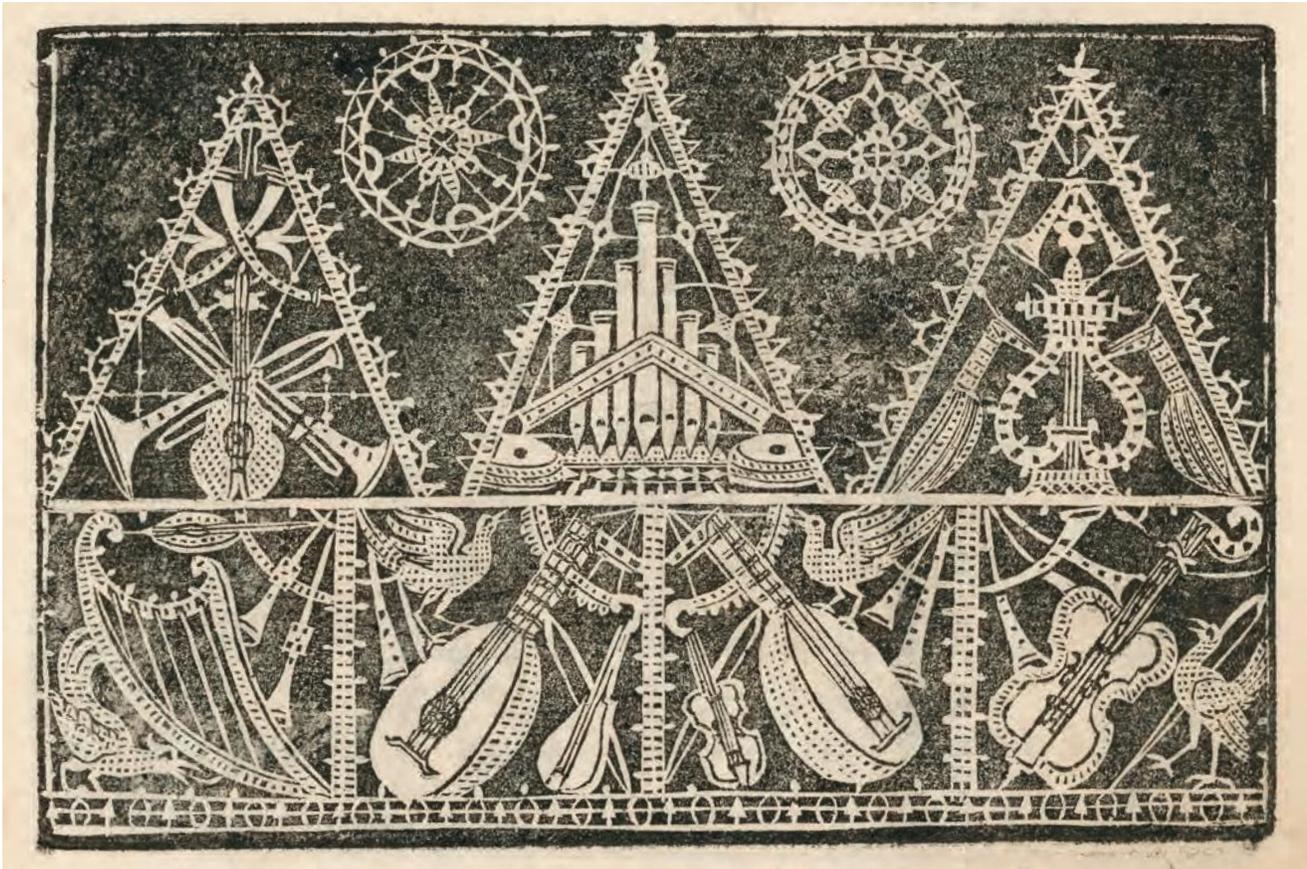
51. Luis Borrassá (Spanish, active 1383, died 1424/25), *Altarpiece of the Virgin and Saint George* (detail), ca. 1390–1400. Church of San Francisco, Vilafranca del Penedés



52. Sibmacher, title page from *Schön Neues Modelbuch* (see fig. 27; 20.16 [1])

late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Mary's example was followed in convents as well as in the girls' schools that were established over the course of the sixteenth century, both of which, as a result, often became important centers of textile production and lace making in particular.⁷⁰

Textile pattern books often addressed a woman's virtue as well. Although the earliest examples were intended for a diverse audience of artists, craftsmen, and art enthusiasts, over the course of the sixteenth century the titles, illustrations, and printers' introductions were aimed more and more at their core constituency, which consisted of girls and women. Domestic industry and the passing down of virtue and skill are celebrated in title pages (fig. 52) and, especially in Italy, in flowery titles such as *Il specchio di pensieri delle belle et virtuose donne* (The Mirror of the Thoughts of Beautiful and Virtuous Women) and *Trionfo di virtu* (Triumph of Virtue), reiterating the message that these arts and, by extension, these books should be pursued by all women of honor. In a poem directed to "beautiful and virtuous women" at the end of



his *Ornamento* (1554), Matteo Pagano wrote, “If beauty and honesty make you shine like the stars in heaven, virtue will make you even more beautiful.”⁷¹ In post-Reformation Europe, spending time on needlework was to be preferred over lascivious activities such as singing, dancing, and playing music or table games as a pastime for virtuous girls and women.⁷² In practice, however, this did not mean that the needlework produced was necessarily highly devout or could not allude to playful and fun activities (fig. 53).

Through a play on words, the Italian printer-publishers added another, more exalted meaning to the virtue obtained by practicing needlework on a regular basis. By turning *virtue* into *virtuosity*, they implied that women could measure themselves with the best poets, painters, and sculptors. Thus, Pagano continued his poem with the observation that “if you work well with the needle, and make pretty works after my designs, you will be admired wherever you go.”⁷³ In his *Giardineto*, Pagano even described the art as “painting with the needle, just like Apelles,” referring to the celebrated Greek painter of the fourth century BC. His colleague Giovanni Ostaus, in a dedication to the Venetian noblewoman Lucretia Contarini, similarly urged his dedicatee to “apply yourself to make with the needle that which has never been expressed by poets nor painters.”⁷⁴

Not many women succeeded in achieving the promised fame with their

53. Cesare Vecellio (Italian, 1521–1601), page 17 (recto) from *Corona delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne*, *Libro Terzo* (Venice: Alessandro de’ Vecchi, 1620 [11th ed.]). Woodcut; overall, 5½ × 7¾ in. (14 × 19.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Gift of the Guild of Book Workers, 1960 (60.718.1 [18])

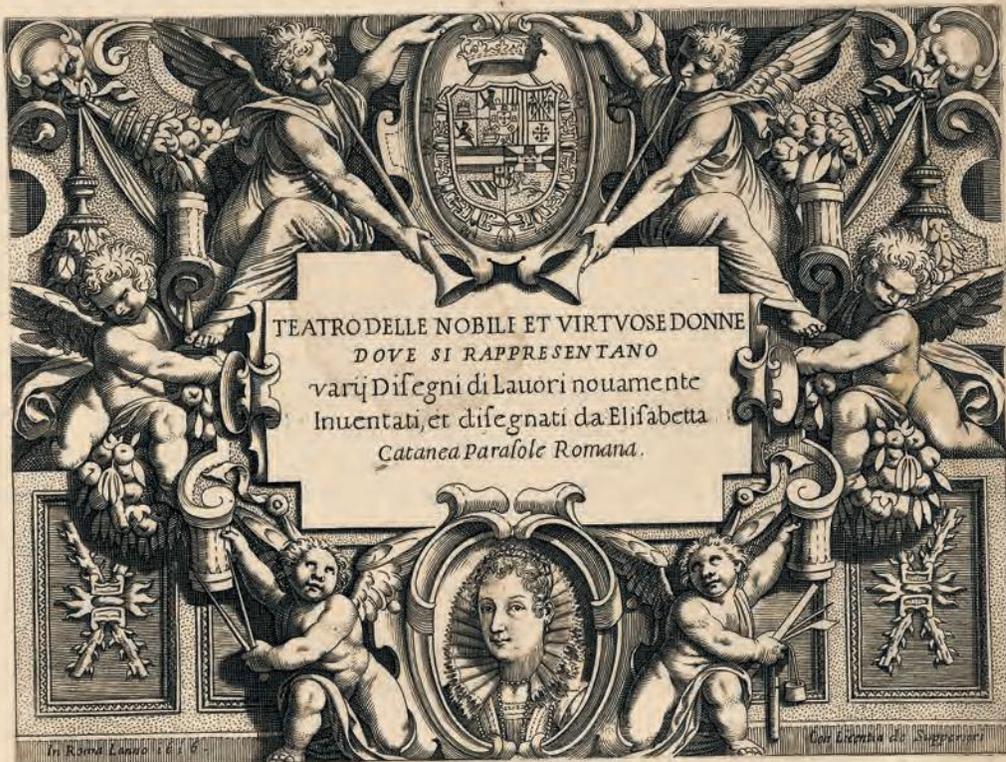
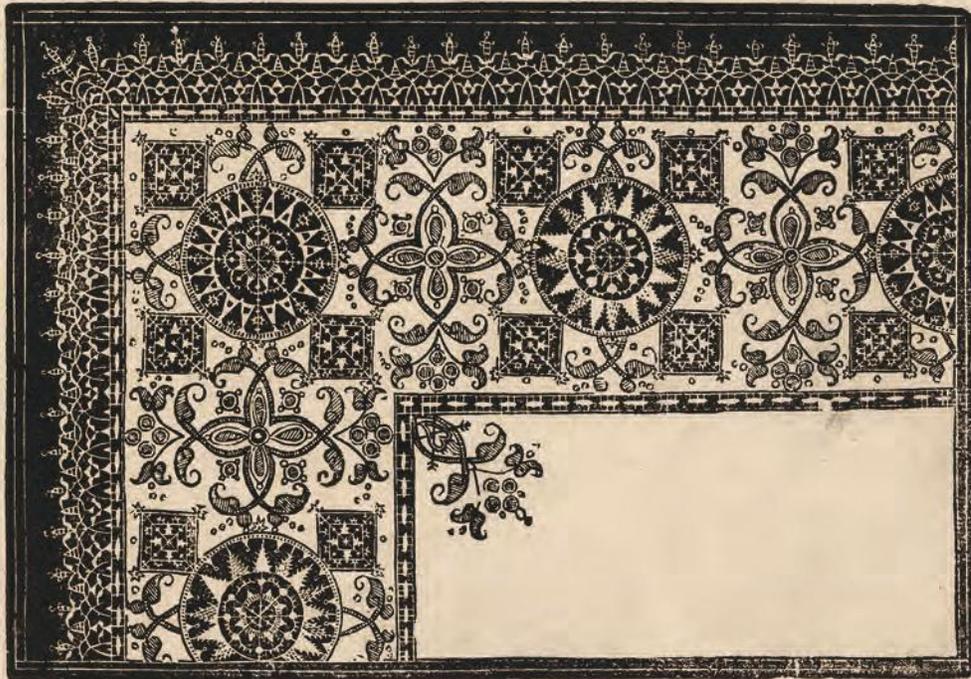
54 (*opposite*). Parasole, page 25 (recto) from *Teatro delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne* (Rome: Mauritio Bona, 1616 [2nd ed.]). Woodcut; overall, 7½ × 10½ in. (19 × 26.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund, 1919 (19.51 [25])

55 (*opposite*). Attributed to Francesco Villamena (Italian, ca. 1565–1624), title page from *Teatro delle Nobili et Virtuose Donne*. Engraving (see fig. 54; 19.51 [1])

needlework, but Isabella Parasole seemed to personify the ideal propagated by the pattern books. Her lasting renown came not through her laces, however, of which we know nothing, but through the patterns she shared with the world in her printed books. Prior to her first lace book, she was already actively involved in the print industry, working alongside her husband, Leonardo, and his brothers to supply drawings and possibly even woodblocks for the *Herbario nuovo*, written by Castor Durante, the chief physician to Pope Sixtus V. Christopher Witcombe's study of print privileges in Rome makes clear that Leonardo became particularly active in the Roman print world after his father's death and the subsequent breakup of the family business in 1585. He provided woodcuts for other printers and publishers but undertook some of his own projects as well, most likely working closely with his wife in all his endeavors. By 1594, when *Specchio delle Virtuose Donne* was in preparation, the couple must have been well known and established within the circle of Roman printers and publishers—well enough for Antonio Fachetti to engage in a long-standing business relationship with Isabella, publishing all three of the books that came out in Rome during her lifetime. Whether Isabella cut the woodblocks herself or whether her husband contributed to the project is unclear.⁷⁵

What is clear is that Isabella was not just the draftsman, as she had been for Durante's herbal, but truly the designer of the patterns, as their rendering betrays a thorough understanding of lace and how it is constructed.⁷⁶ Like Pagano before her, she slowly built up the vocabulary of forms in which her patterns for cutwork and drawnwork were represented. Parasole's masterpiece, which contained designs for almost all the needlepoint techniques that had been popular during the past century, from embroidery to bobbin lace, was published by Fachetti in 1610. It was most likely the second edition of the book, however, published in Rome by Mauritio Bona in 1616 (fig. 54), that caused Parasole's name to become forever synonymous with Italian lace books.⁷⁷ Bona added a lavishly engraved title page to the series on which he cleverly changed Parasole's first name from Isabella to Elisabetta to match that of the princess to whom the book was dedicated (fig. 55). In the first edition, Parasole had done so herself, in her dedication to the princess, but the comparison was brought to the forefront by Bona's title page. In a similarly alluring but ambiguous manner, the likenesses of the two women seem to have been conflated in the portrait that adorns the title page. The woman wears a costume and jewelry befitting a princess but is closer in age to the artist, and it is thus left to viewers to decide on the identity of the person who greets them.⁷⁸

Parasole herself was careful not to take this association too far, stating that in presenting this book to the princess, she was well aware of her own humble position. She also distanced herself from the mythological Arachne, who had challenged the goddess Athena to a weaving contest and claimed that her



talent could outshine that of all the gods. In thus insisting on her own humility, Parasole followed the instructions given by the German printer-publisher Bernard Jobin in his textile pattern book of 1579 “to use the gifts bestowed upon you, however great or small, but to never become vainglorious.”⁷⁹

Skilled, celebrated, and humble, Parasole embodied all that the textile pattern books had promoted over the past century. With her published work, the process had come full circle. Although the pattern books had emerged during an era in which female participation in the arts of needlework and textile decoration shifted from the professional to the domestic sphere, the subsequent development of the genre and of the market around it made it possible for a woman once again to achieve artistic recognition and lasting fame through her designs for textile patterns.

NOTES

1. The first extensive surveys of early pattern books were Mrs. Bury Palliser, *History of Lace*, rev. ed. (1865; London, 1910), and Gertrude Whiting, *A Lace Guide for Makers and Collectors* (New York, 1920). The latter, in particular, is largely concerned with the making of various types of lace and has many diagrams to help readers recognize and re-create patterns and techniques.
2. Arthur Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stick- und Spitzenmusterbücher des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (1933; Stuttgart, 1963).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
4. William M. Ivins, Jr., “Schoensperger’s Lace Book of 1524,” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 24, no. 8 (August 1929), pp. 205–8.
5. The term “lace book” was used at the time for all textile pattern books, and although Ivins himself acknowledges that the term is misleading, he persists in its use for the sake of general clarity. See *ibid.*, p. 206.
6. “Club Notes,” *Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club* 3, no. 1 (April 1919), p. 38; Margaret Harrington Daniels, “Early Pattern Books, Lace, Embroidery, and Woven Textiles: A Special Exhibition,” *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 33, no. 3 (March 1938), pp. 70, 72.
7. Daniels, “Early Pattern Books,” p. 70.
8. The first pattern books were acquired for the Department of Prints with the help of members of the Needle and Bobbin Club. See Daniels, “Early Pattern Books,” p. 70.
9. Stuart Robinson, *A History of Printed Textiles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), p. 7.
10. [Gerard Brett], *European Printed Textiles*, Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1949), p. 1.
11. It is thought that the art of textile printing originated in India and from there traveled both east and west to other countries in Asia, such as China and Japan. Simultaneously, rudimentary printing techniques emerged in several South American countries, possibly through contact with the Far East, although a completely independent development cannot be excluded.
12. Robinson, *History of Printed Textiles*, pp. 7, 8; Leonie von Wilckens, “Der spätmittelalterliche Zeugdruck nördlich der Alpen,” *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, 1983, p. 7.
13. Donald King, “Textiles and the Origins of Printing in Europe [1962],” in *Collected Textile Studies*, by Donald King, edited by A[nna] Muthesius and M[onique] King (London, 2004), pp. 192–211.
14. Historisches Museum, Basel (1897.48); two additional fragments can be found in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich (AG 2380), and the Historisches Museum, Bern.
15. Teresa Nevins, “The Sion Textile (Legend of Oedipus),” in *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Washington, D.C., 2005), pp. 62–68, no. 2.
16. Quoted in King, “Textiles and the Origins of Printing,” p. 210; Richard S. Field, “Early Woodcuts: The Known and the Unknown,” in *Origins of European Printmaking*, p. 21.
17. The textile was split sometime after 1880–90; see Richard S. Field, “Altar Cloth with the Marriage at Cana,” in *Origins of European Printmaking*, pp. 118–21, no. 24; Wilckens, “Der spätmittelalterliche Zeugdruck,” p. 8; Field, “Early Woodcuts,” p. 21; King, “Textiles and the Origins of Printing,” p. 210.
18. Thomas Francis Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*, rev. ed. (1925; New York, 1931), pp. 145–46; Field, “Early Woodcuts,” p. 21.
19. Wilckens, “Der spätmittelalterliche Zeugdruck,” p. 7.
20. Carter, *Invention of Printing in China*, p. 149.
21. [Brett], *European Printed Textiles*, pp. 3, 4; Robinson, *History of Printed Textiles*, p. 11; King, “Textiles and the Origins of Printing,” p. 200; Melinda Watt, “‘Whims and Fancies’: Europeans Respond to Textiles from the East,” in *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500–1800*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 2013), p. 99.
22. Wilckens, “Der spätmittelalterliche Zeugdruck,” pp. 13–15. Paper and textile seem to have been used interchangeably for some of

- the same purposes, such as bookbinding and wall coverings. See Max Müller, "Der älteste bisher bekannte Buchumschlag," in *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger zum 60. Geburtstag am 30. Dezember 1930* (Munich, 1930), pp. 195–97, pl. 25; Horst Appuhn and Christian von Heusinger, *Riesenholzschnitte und Papiertapeten der Renaissance* (Unterschneidheim, 1976), pp. 8–10, figs. 2–4.
23. Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, London, New York, and Melbourne, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 51, 52.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 56.
25. Carmen Bambach Cappel, "Leonardo, Tagliente, and Dürer: 'La scienza del far di groppi,'" *Achademia Leonardi Vinci: Journal of Leonardo Studies and Bibliography of Vinciana* 4 (1991), p. 74; Carmen Bambach Cappel and Lucy Whitaker, "The Lost Knots," *Achademia Leonardi Vinci* 4 (1991), p. 108.
26. Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, vol. 5 (London, 1948), p. 93; Carlo Pedretti, "'Nec ense,'" *Achademia Leonardi Vinci* 3 (1990), p. 83.
27. Achim Riether, "Albrecht Dürer, Nodi [*sic*] con disco bianco, dalla serie 'I sei nodi,' 1506–1520," in *Dürer e l'Italia*, exh. cat., Scuderie del Quirinale, Rome (Milan, 2007), p. 263.
28. J.-A. Goris and Georges Marlier, eds., *Albrecht Dürer: Diary of His Journey to the Netherlands, 1520–1521* (Greenwich, Conn., 1971).
29. Based on a preliminary study of the engravings at the British Museum, London; Rhode Island School of Design, Providence; and National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
30. Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, edited by Rosana Bettarini; annotated by Paola Barocchi, 7 vols. (Florence, 1966–94), vol. 3, pp. 4, 5.
31. Several of the prints, either the Italian or German versions, appear to have entered the print collection of Ferdinand Columbus soon after they were produced. See Peter Fuhring, "'Colligite fragmenta, ne pereant': The Ornament Prints in the Columbus Collection," in *The Print Collection of Ferdinand Columbus (1488–1539): A Renaissance Collector in Seville*, vol. 1, *History and Commentary*, by Mark P. McDonald et al. (London, 2004), pp. 208, 209.
32. See Peter Fuhring, "Hieronymus Cock and the Impact of His Published Architectural and Ornamental Prints," in *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*, exh. cat., M—Museum Leuven, and Institut Néerlandais, Paris (Brussels, 2013), pp. 36–41.
33. Riether, "Dürer, Nodi [*sic*] con disco bianco, dalla serie 'I sei nodi,'" p. 263; Goris and Marlier, eds., *Albrecht Dürer: Diary*, p. 81.
34. Femke Speelberg, "'Ordine con piu ornamento': Reconsidering the Origins of Strapwork Ornament in Relation to the Emancipation of the Ornamental Frame," in *Questions d'ornements, XV^e–XVIII^e siècles*, edited by Ralph Dekoninck, Caroline Heering, and Michel Lefttz (Turnhout, 2013), p. 164. For a characterization of the function of ornament prints by the seventeenth-century artist Willem Goeree, see also Peter Fuhring, *Ornament Prints in the Rijksmuseum II: The Seventeenth Century*, 3 vols. (Rotterdam, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 17–20.
35. [Johann Schönsperger the Younger], *Furm- oder Modelbuchlein* (Augsburg, [ca. 1523]); see Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher*, pp. 35–37, nos. 1a–b.
36. Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton, N.J., 2008), pp. 5, 38, 121. See also Carl Wehmer, "Hans Schönsperger, der Drucker Kaiser Maximilians," in *Altmeister der Druckschrift* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1940), pp. 61–79.
37. Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher*, p. 11.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Brigitta Schmedding, *Mittelalterliche Textilien in Kirchen und Klöstern der Schweiz: Katalog, Schriften der Abegg-Stiftung*, Bern, 3 (Bern, 1978), p. 15; Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher*, p. 10.
40. Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300–1550* (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 39–52.
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43. Elizabeth Currie, "Textiles and Clothing," in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, p. 342; Katherine A. McIver, *Women, Art, and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520–1580: Negotiating Power* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 2006), p. 139; Sara F. Matthews-Grieco, "Marriage and Sexuality," in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 104–19, 374–75; Ajmar-Wollheim, "Housework," pp. 152–63, 377.
44. Sandra Cavallo, "Health, Beauty and Hygiene," in *At Home in Renaissance Italy*, p. 182.
45. Currie, "Textiles and Clothing," p. 342; Milton Sunday and Gillian Moss, *Western European Embroidery in the Collection of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum* ([Washington, D.C.], 1978).
46. Alfred Lichtwark, "Das Modelbuch des Peter Quentel," in *Gesammelte Studien zur Kunstgeschichte: Eine Festgabe zum 4. Mai 1885 für Anton Springer* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 148.
47. Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher*, p. 1.
48. Janet S. Byrne, "Patterns by Master f," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 14 (1979), p. 106.
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50. Currie, "Textiles and Clothing," p. 342.
51. Hiérosme de Gormont, *Livre de moresques* (Paris, 1546). In reality, most of Gormont's patterns were copied from another French publication called *La fleur de la science de pourtraicture et patrons de broderie, façon arabique et ytalique* by Francesco di Pellegrino, published in Paris in 1530.
52. Lichtwark, "Das Modelbuch des Peter Quentel," pp. 143–50.
53. Kathleen [A.] Epstein, *German Renaissance Patterns for Embroidery: A Facsimile Copy of Nicolas Bassée's New Modelbuch of 1568* (Austin, Tex., 1994), pp. 8, 10.
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56. Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher*, pp. 126–28, nos. 68a–b.
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58. Transcription from [Giovanni Andrea Vavassore], *Esemplario di lavori ...* (Venice, 1532) [Lotz 67d].
59. Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher*, p. 125, no. 67h.
60. Transcription from [Vavassore], *Esemplario di lavori ...*
61. I thank Angela Campbell and Rachel Mustalish, conservators in the Department of Paper Conservation, Sherman Fairchild Center for Works on Paper and Photographic Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for sharing their insights with me regarding the possible manufacturing techniques of these prints.
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63. Lotz, *Bibliographie der Modelbücher*, pp. 126–28, no. 68b.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 169–72, nos. 95a–d.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 229, no. 130; pp. 238–40, nos. 139a–c.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 246, 249–52, nos. 144, 148–51.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 74–76, no. 23.
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70. Stephen Mossman, *Marquard von Lindau and the Challenges of Religious Life in Late Medieval Germany: The Passion, the Eucharist, the Virgin Mary* (Oxford and New York, 2010), pp. 248–50; Beth Kreitzer, *Re-forming Mary: Changing Images of the Virgin Mary in Lutheran Sermons of the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford and New York, 2004), p. 48.
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