

An early Italian textile drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum

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THE ORIGINAL DESIGNERS' drawings, working drawings and copies in the print room of the Victoria and Albert Museum, acquired in the nineteenth century for the education of students of design, were boxed by subject or theme and kept separately from the master drawings, which are mostly arranged by school and alphabetically by artist. In recent years original design drawings have increasingly become a subject of study, particularly when associated with known artists or designers. An exceptionally early unpublished sheet has recently come to light.

The work in question is a fragmentary two-sided pen drawing (inv. no.2328), in brown ink on vellum, depicting on its recto a repeating pattern of plant forms with fantastic creatures copied from, or inspired by, oriental silks (Fig.20), and on its verso, a variety of designs and motifs, including a decorative roundel (trimmed by the margin of the sheet at the top and left edges), three ducks, a stylised wave effect, two hares (from a trio arranged in a triangular configuration also trimmed at the left edge), some vegetation and the Holy Ghost shown as a dove descending (Fig.22). The relevant register of drawings acquired by the South Kensington Museum describes this sheet as 'Silk Brocade. Original designs by a German Artist of the (late) 14th or early 15th century. Pen and bistre, on Vellum. 6¼ x 5¾'.¹ On receipt, it was accompanied by a tracing of the verso (no.2328A), presumably nineteenth century, which completed the truncated edge of the decorative roundel and the group of hares. The provenance, date of acquisition and price of the drawing are not stated, but it is directly preceded in the register by a sixteenth-century Florentine drawing of a cartouche (inv. no.2327), then attributed to Perino del Vaga, from a group of mainly Italian design drawings purchased at the celebrated sale of Samuel Woodburn's old-master drawings at Christie's, held 4th–8th June 1860.² This suggests that the silk design was also acquired that year, possibly as part of an undifferentiated lot in the Woodburn sale, where the dealer Whitehead bid on the Museum's behalf.³ The Superintendent of its Art Collections, J.C. Robinson, also bid heavily on his own account at the sale.⁴ As the Museum's principal curator, he probably authorised the acquisition of this design, which would then have been of slight financial value. It does not appear in the V. & A.'s published catalogue of Italian drawings, which includes numerous designs for monuments, metalwork and ceramics, but omits textile designs.⁵

Drawings of the age and quality of this silk design are extremely rare, and this one is clearly identifiable with a known group, or 'pattern book', attributed by Degenhart and Schmitt on stylistic and



Above: 19. Silk design (recto), Venetian or Lucchese. Second half of the fourteenth century. Brown ink on vellum, 11.6 by 15 cm. (Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York).

Below: 20. Silk design (recto), Venetian or Lucchese. Second half of the fourteenth century. Brown ink on vellum, 17.3 by 14.0/14.3 cm. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

technical grounds to the Venetian school in the late fourteenth century.⁶ It comprises twelve sheets, including two in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, one in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge MA, one formerly in the Schwarz collection, Larchmont, which

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¹ *Register of Drawings*, 2077–4586, MS, Word and Image Department, V. & A. This folio volume of 242 fols. is bound from formerly separate gatherings. Although numbered consecutively from 2077 to 4586, its entries are not in strict date order and include various transfers into the collection as well as acquisitions made between 30th April 1857 (fol.13, nos.2167–68) and 2nd December 1865 (fol.241, no.4577/A).

² V. & A. inv. nos.2254–2315, 2327 and 2404–05. The Museum's *précis minutes* for 21st June 1860 record the purchase of these drawings, for a total of £178 14s; see *Catalogue of the Valuable and Important collection of Drawings. . . the Property of . . . Samuel Woodburn, Esq. . .*, Christie, Manson & Woods, London, 4th–8th June 1860. The copy in the National Art Library at the V. & A. (NAL 23.XX) is

annotated with prices and purchasers' names.

³ Such as lot 11, 'Ornamental designs, by different masters', comprising eleven items, purchased for £2 by Whitehead. He acquired a total of eighteen lots, of which at least six (36, 245, 619, 995, 1053 and 1054) are identifiable as Museum purchases; P. Ward-Jackson: *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue: Italian Drawings, Volume One: 14th–16th century*, London 1979, nos.18, 28, 247–48, 250 and 362.

⁴ Robinson acquired fifty-two lots, of which three (7, 250 and 977) have been identified as Museum purchases; *ibid.*, nos.286, 407 and 476.

⁵ With the exception of tapestry designs; *ibid.*, nos.151 and 415.

⁶ B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt: *Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450*, II.1, Berlin 1980, nos.652–63; see also R.W. Scheller: *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (c.900–c.1450)*, Amsterdam 1995, pp.265–75.



Above: 21. Silk design, verso of Fig.19.
Below: 22. Silk design, verso of Fig.20.

was acquired in 1993 by the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, and eight in the Louvre. They are all clearly pattern or textile designs in pen on vellum, together with some studies of animals and animal motifs. They have links to other late fourteenth-century pattern books or drawings, as well as to Venetian or Lucchese woven silks of the period, which were heavily influenced by oriental models.

The drawings in the Louvre form part of Jacopo Bellini's Paris album. That he was principally interested in the old vellum leaves for reuse is apparent from the fact that they were bound in upside down, mainly coated with chalk or bone dust, and variously effaced, reinforced, adapted or drawn over so that most of the earlier images are now barely visible. The contents of Jacopo's studio were bequeathed to his son Gentile, who evidently took the Paris album with him on his visit to Constantinople in 1479, as it was subsequently rediscovered at Smyrna in 1728.⁷ Probably soon after that date, the album arrived in France, where at least seven folios were removed from it.⁸ Four of these came into the possession of the founder of the Musée des Monuments Français, Alexandre Lenoir, three of which were given to the Louvre in 1878, where they were reunited with the rest of the album in 1884.⁹ It is likely that the fragments of the earlier pattern book, now distributed between Berlin, Cambridge MA, New York and the V. & A., also parted company with their host volume some time between 1728 and 1835, the year in which the Berlin leaves were acquired for the Prussian state as part of the cabinet of the widely travelled diplomat and Postmaster General Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Nagler (1770–1846).¹⁰

The V. & A. leaf in fact forms the lower half of the sheet now in the Cooper-Hewitt (inv. no.1993-119-1). The recto of the latter (Fig.19) shows designs of a lion attacking a doe and another doe in foliage, while on its verso appear the upper part of a roundel, a praying woman (St Margaret?) swallowed by a dragon and the head of God the Father surrounded by a mandorla composed of winged angels' heads (Fig.21). When the designs of the two versos are aligned (Figs.21 and 22), it can be seen that the roundel of the V. & A. drawing is continued on the Cooper-Hewitt design, while the dove on the former descends from the lowered hands of God the Father on the latter. On the recto of the V. & A. leaf, the plant motif of the repeat design continues slightly into the lower edge of the Cooper-Hewitt design, which is otherwise a self-contained composition.

The V. & A. leaf measures 17.3 by 14.0/14.3 cm., while that in the Cooper-Hewitt is 11.6 by 15 cm., giving a combined total size of 28.9 by 15 cm. This is close to those of the drawings in Berlin (29.5 by 20/20.4 cm. and 29.3 by 20.2 cm.) and Cambridge (c.26.5 by 19.5 cm.), but under half those of the leaves in Bellini's Paris album (42.9 by 29.5 cm.). This admits the possibility that the designs not in the Louvre were drawn along the length of vellum leaves that were subsequently divided in half (and in the case of the V. & A./Cooper-Hewitt sheet, into quarters), rather than heavily cropped on all sides.

The V. & A. sheet contains a variety of motifs linking them to designs of the second half of the fourteenth century. Its recto (Fig.20) contains an almost complete design of fantastic hybrid beasts amid undulating foliate stems. Although the drawing is bordered by an original ink frame, one of the animals, split into two by the repeat, is incomplete. This is therefore a record of a pattern, rather than a working design. Several other textile designs from the same group are complete, but all would have required squaring and

⁷ C. Eisler: *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini*, New York 1984, pp.78–97.

⁸ A.J. Elen: 'A Codicological Analysis and Reconstruction of Jacopo Bellini's Drawing Books', in Eisler, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp.472–74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.96 and 472–74.

¹⁰ H.-T. Schulze Altcapenberg: *Die italienischen Zeichnungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett*, Berlin 1995, pp.34 and 277–79; F. Lugt: *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins & d'Estampes*, Amsterdam 1921, p.474.

¹¹ For the special requirements of designs for drawloom weaving, see L. Monnas: 'The Artists and the Weavers: The Design of Woven Silks in Italy 1350–1550', *Apollo* 125 (June 1987), pp.416–24, esp. p.417; see also Scheller, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.271.

¹² For the definition of a basilisk, see J. Cherry, ed.: *Mythical Beasts*, London 1995, p.169; see also M. Sammer: *Der Basilisk: zur Natur und Bedeutungsgeschichte eines Fabeltieres im Abendland*, Munich 1998.

¹³ It resembles the bird on the famous pair of blue-and-white vases dated 1351 in the Percival David Foundation, London; see M. Medley: *Illustrated Catalogue of*

Underglaze Blue and Copper Red Decorated Porcelains, London 1976, pp.55–56, nos.B613–B614, and pls.X–XI.

¹⁴ See, for example, in the V. & A. (currently displayed in the Islamic Gallery), a lustre bowl with a phoenix motif, Iran (probably Kashan), 1260–1350, inv. no.C.723-1909; tile with phoenix and Qu'ranic text, Iran, 1275–1326, inv. no.546-1905.

¹⁵ A lampas silk is a figured textile, with one set of warps and wefts for the ground and another for the pattern, producing a contrast in texture between the (warp-faced) ground and (weft-faced) pattern.

¹⁶ O. von Falke: *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913, II, p.85, fig.448, ascribed to 'Lucca second half of the fourteenth century'; M. Lemburg and B. Schmedding: *Abegg-Stiftung Bern in Riggisberg II, Textilien*, Bern 1973, pl.29, as 'Italian, fourteenth century'.

¹⁷ Lampas fragment in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, inv. nos.78 and 748; see L. von Wilckens: *Mittelalterliche Seidenstoffe*, Berlin 1992, p.117, cat. no.240.

¹⁸ See Falke, *op. cit.* (note 16), II, fig.385 (Halberstadt), with thanks to Moira



23. Fragment of lampas silk. (Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg; from O. von Falke: *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913).



24. Detail of the lampas silk of a dalmatic. (Cathedral, Halberstadt; from O. von Falke: *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913).



25. Fragment of lampas silk, mounted on card, with a watercolour reconstruction of 1892. 21.7 by 37 cm. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

annotation for the tie-up of the pattern onto the loom enabling the weaver to reproduce the design accurately.¹¹

Three of the hybrid animals are birds with serpents' or dragons' tails, recalling the strange composite beasts found in the borders of contemporary manuscripts. In common with other designs in the group, those on the V. & A. folio reveal a strong oriental influence. The central motif, in particular, is an exotic take on the basilisk, traditionally a combination of a cock and a serpent.¹² Here, the cock has been replaced by a Chinese phoenix (*fenghuang*), with a typically fierce expression, crested head and outstretched wings. Although the wings are slightly truncated, the drawing of the phoenix suggests a direct knowledge of oriental models.¹³ The style of the foliage is also orientalising, but not particularly Chinese, and closer to the art of Ilkhanid Iran. Chinese-style phoenixes were also represented in Greater Iran, and both elements could have derived from textiles or other artefacts imported from there, rather than from China itself.¹⁴

The design can be compared with fourteenth-century lampas silks.¹⁵ The leaping animal with a scaly back at bottom right recalls the dog with a dorsal fin on a fragment of Italian silk in the Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg (Fig.23), identified as Lucchese by Otto von Falke.¹⁶ The combination of phoenix and serpent is seen drawn from another angle in a fragment of lampas silk preserved in Berlin, ascribed by Leonie von Wilckens to fourteenth-century Near Eastern, Mamluk or Italian manufacture.¹⁷ The design may be compared to a dalmatic woven with dragons and parrots in Halberstadt Cathedral (Fig.24) and to a fragment of silk with the Chinese unicorns known as *qilins* and fantastic beasts in the V. & A. (no.1291-1864; Fig.25), both ascribed by Falke to the same Venetian workshop in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁸

The verso of the drawing (Fig.22) contains a mixture of motifs, including ducks, hares and a dove. The ducks may, at first glance, resemble the naturalistic creatures in fourteenth-century Lombard model books, but their stylisation and that of the scrolling water are typically Chinese, seen on Jin and Song dynasty porcelain of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁹ A lotus pond motif with swimming waterfowl features on Yuan dynasty (1279-1368) porcelain decorated in underglaze blue, and the motif evidently travelled West with the Mongols, as comparable motifs recur in fifteenth-century Iranian albums.²⁰ The duck motif could have reached Europe on imported porcelain or textiles or by means of (lost) oriental model drawings. Swimming waterfowl can be found on fourteenth-century Italian silks.²¹ A simplified version of this motif, reversed, with only two ducks, appears on an early fifteenth-century lampas silk woven with a continuous pattern weft of gold, preserved as fragments in the Deutsches Textilmuseum, Krefeld, and elsewhere, and described by Brigitte Tietzel as of Venetian manufacture (Fig.26).²²

To the left of the ducks is a motif of three hares. This originated in the Buddhist tradition of 'animal wheels', and later appeared in Islamic and Christian art.²³ At least sixteen examples of three hares set within a lotus blossom are represented on ceiling paintings dating from the Sui (589-618) and Tang (618-907) periods in the Buddhist cave shrines outside Dunhuang, an important staging post on the Silk Road in north-west China, on the edge of the Gobi and Taklamakan deserts.²⁴ The three-hares motif appears on Islamic metalwork, glass and ceramics, and recurs in both metalwork and church decoration in late medieval Europe, both on roof bosses and in floor tiles: Devon alone boasts seventeen churches with a total of twenty-nine 'hare' bosses.²⁵

Thunder for this comparison, and fig.387 (illustrating a fragment of the same silk as V. & A. inv. no.1291-1864, in Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, inv. no.K6125); this attribution is accepted by Von Wilckens, *op. cit.* (note 17), p.118-19, cat. no.242; another fragment in the Keir Collection has been attributed to 'Italy, middle or second half 14th century' by M. and D. King: *European Textiles in the Keir Collection, 400 BC to 1800 AD*, London 1990, pp.52-53, cat. no.30; however, because of its putative early date and satin ground weave, another fragment in the Deutsches Textilmuseum, Krefeld, inv. no.02175, has been ascribed to Iran by B. Tietzel: *Italianische Seidengewebe des 13. 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Kataloge des Deutschen Textilmuseums Krefeld*, I, Cologne 1984, pp.52 and 455-57, cat. no.158.

¹⁹ See examples of Northern celadon and *ding* ware discussed by J.C. Wirgin: *Sung Ceramic Designs*, Göteborg 1970, pp.201-03, ills.10d and f, 64a and 89b; see also the Jin dynasty (1115-1234) *ding*-ware dish in the V. & A., illustrated in J. Rawson: *exh. cat. Chinese Ornament, the Lotus and the Dragon*, London (British Library) 1984, p.116, fig.101.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.180, fig.157; Diez Album (number unspecified), Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

²¹ See, for example, Deutsches Textilmuseum, Krefeld, inv. no.02170; Tietzel, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp.392-93, cat. no.129.

²² Reconstructed by Falke, *op. cit.* (note 16), II, fig.507, ascribed to 'Venice, second quarter of the fifteenth century'; the fragments, Musée Historique des Tissus, Lyon, inv. no.22.788/B.162, have a pattern repeat of 57 cm. by 19-19.1 cm.; see also fragments, Deutsches Textilmuseum, Krefeld, inv. no.02180; Tietzel, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp.422-24, cat. nos.144 and 144a, catalogued as 'Italian, beginning of the fifteenth century'.

²³ For the 'three-hares' motif, see www.three-hares.net; for Buddhist animal wheels, see A. Roes: 'Tierwirbel', *IPEK: Jahrbuch für prähistorische und ethnographische Kunst* 11 (1936-37), pp.85-105.

²⁴ For an example painted on the ceiling of cave 407 at Dunhuang, see S. Whitfield: *exh. cat. The Silk Road, Travel, War and Faith*, London (British Museum) 2004, fig.37.

²⁵ For examples in both Islamic and Christian art, see the Three Hares Project website cited at note 23, with photographs by Chris Chapman; see also Whitfield, *op. cit.* (note 24), p.290.



26. Detail of a reconstruction of fragments of lampas silk (from O. von Falke: *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913).



27. Detail of a vestment of lampas silk woven with the penitent Magdalene (from O. von Falke: *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913).

It is generally thought that the motif might have arrived in the West on oriental textiles or other artefacts imported along the Silk Road, and the three hares have been found on an Ilkhanid copper coin dated 1281–82.²⁶ An example of hare-wheels on an oriental textile can be seen on a thirteenth-century lampas silk woven with circles containing four hares ascribed to Eastern Iran and now in the Cleveland Museum of Art.²⁷ The inclusion of the three-hares motif on the V. & A. folio offers proof of its transmission in Europe by means of model drawings which in turn were used for textile designs.

Above these motifs on the verso is a roundel motif that may have been intended to form part of another, more elaborate design, but the geometric inserts suggest a possible arrangement of repeated contiguous or interlocking circles.²⁸ The central fountain and running animals around the periphery fuse Western and oriental styles. The small dog and cheetah recall contemporary Italian studies of hunting animals, but their arrangement, confined in geometric compartments, derives from Ilkhanid textiles and metalwork, on which pairs of animals in movement are frequently represented within compartments.²⁹ Similar animals can be seen in other designs in Jacopo Bellini's Louvre album.³⁰ Fountains appear in both Iranian and Italian textiles of the fourteenth century. There are fragments of lampas cloth of gold in New York and elsewhere, ascribed to Western Iran, woven with birds drinking from fountains, amid stylised foliage interpolated with grotesque masks.³¹ In Italian silks, the fountain motif is incorporated into imaginative figurative designs, such as the example in Krefeld with women drawing water

from a fountain holding hares suspended from a stick with paired hunting dogs on a leash, dateable to before 1387.³²

As discussed above, the isolated dove at the top right of the verso of the V. & A. leaf completes a design on the Cooper-Hewitt fragment showing God the Father in a mandorla of angels from which the Holy Ghost descends. This need not have been intended exclusively as an embroidery design: it could also have served as part of a woven silk pattern.³³ There are surviving contemporary silks woven with elaborate figurative designs, such as the Annunciation or angels censuring or holding attributes of the Passion, or, as shown here, with the penitent Magdalene (Fig. 27).³⁴

The motifs on the V. & A. fragment, in keeping with other folios from the group, are typical of a fourteenth-century Italian silk designer's repertory, influenced by the so-called *panni Tartarici* (silks imported from Mongol territories), with discernible influences from both China and Ilkhanid Iran, but overlaid with the kind of whimsical fantasy found in the marginalia of contemporary European manuscript illumination. The inclusion of what appear to be direct references to oriental sources in the half-phoenix on the recto or the ducks on the verso suggests that its designer was at the forefront of the stylistic revolution that would transform Italian silk design, and that this single leaf contains the seeds of change.

Through comparison of the figurative motifs in the group with two manuscripts of c.1372–73 and c.1380, and noting connections between their ornamental details and Venetian architecture, Degenhart and Schmitt proposed that the designs were Venetian dating from the late fourteenth century.³⁵ But can we certainly identify the designer as Venetian? During this period there was significant emigration from Lucca to Venice, including silk merchants and artisans.³⁶ Although research has thus far revealed the name of only one silk designer among the Lucchese community in Venice, Bartolomeo di Tassignano,³⁷ the artist responsible for the V. & A. leaf and its related drawings may also have been an immigrant to Venice from Lucca.³⁸ In this context, it is highly suggestive that Jacopo Bellini's wife, Anna Rinversi, belonged to a Lucchese family resident in Venice and connected with the silk trade, raising the possibility that the artist acquired the old textile designs from her family.³⁹ The group of drawings includes designs that relate to surviving silks ascribed both to Lucca and Venice in the earlier and later fourteenth century,⁴⁰ perhaps indicating that it records work produced over an extended period.

No less than the peregrinations of Jacopo Bellini's Paris album, the variety of motifs in this group of silk designs epitomises the workings of the luxury goods' market in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at a time when Europeans imitated Eastern techniques in textiles, ceramics, metalwork and glass and combined them with established Christian themes and resurgent Classical traditions.

²⁶ Private collection; see *ibid.*, p.290, cat. no.245.

²⁷ Inv. no.1993.140; see J.C.Y. Watt and A.E. Wardwell: exh. cat. *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 1997, pp.158–59, cat. no.45.

²⁸ For a silk showing a variant of the scheme with intersecting roundels (with wavy rather than straight edges), including leaping dogs in pointed oval compartments (Deutsches Textilmuseum, Krefeld, inv. no.02072), ascribed to Venice, fourteenth century, see Tietzel, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp.368–69, cat. no.118.

²⁹ Pairs of running animals can be seen, for example, in fourteenth-century Mongol silk vestments at Regensburg, and in fragments from them in the V. & A., inv. nos.8288–1863 and 8639–1863; see P. Marini *et al.*: exh. cat. *Cangrande della Scala: la morte e il corredo di un principe nel medioevo europeo*, Verona (Museo di Castelvecchio) 2004, pp.130–31, cat. nos.46 and 48; see also examples formerly in Gdansk, now in Lübeck, illustrated in W. Mannowsky: *Der Danziger Paramentschatz, Kirchliche Gewänder und Stickereien aus der Marienkirche*, 1931–38, I.2, pp.03–04, cat. nos.30–32, pls.46–48.

³⁰ Paris, Musée du Louvre, R.F. 1556v, fol.88v; Degenhart and Schmitt, *op. cit.* (note 6), II.3, cat. no.663, pl.69.

³¹ Fragment of lampas silk, with a continuous pattern weft of gold thread, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, inv. no.1902-1-272; see A.E. Wardwell: "Panni Tartarici": Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th

Centuries), *Islamic Art* 3 (1988–89), pp.112–15, esp. p.113, fig.65.

³² Deutsches Textilmuseum, Krefeld, inv. no.00848; the dating is taken from a Prague inventory description; see Tietzel, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp.356–58, cat. no.113.

³³ See Scheller, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.273, note 7.

³⁴ Falke, *op. cit.* (note 16), II, figs.462–64; For the 'penitent Magdalene' silk, formerly in Gdansk, and now in Lübeck, see *ibid.*, p.89, and pl.463, 'Lucca, end of the fourteenth century; see also Mannowsky, *op. cit.* (note 29), I.2, cat. no.13, pl.19.

³⁵ See Degenhart and Schmitt, *op. cit.* (note 6), II.1, pp.152–54.

³⁶ Scheller, *op. cit.* (note 6), p.275; L. Molà: *La comunità dei Lucchesi a Venezia: immigrazione e industria della seta nel tardo medioevo*, Venice 1994, *passim*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.188.

³⁸ See a similar idea concerning the 'dog, falcon and gondola' silk (Deutsches Textilmuseum, Krefeld, inv. no.01981), hailed by Falke as archetypally Venetian, but thought by Tietzel, *op. cit.* (note 18), pp.76ff and 359–61, no.114, to be by a Lucchese in Venice.

³⁹ For Anna Rinversi's family, see Molà, *op. cit.* (note 36), p.188, note 145; for the suggestion that Bellini acquired his folios through his wife's family, see L. Monnas: *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300–1550*, New Haven and London 2008 (forthcoming).

⁴⁰ See, for example, Tietzel, *op. cit.* (note 18), cat. nos.76 (Lucca), 79 (Lucca), 87 (Lucca), 88 (Lucca), 103 (Lucca) and 118 (Venice).