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## TOOLS TO STUDY GLASS: INVENTORIES, PAINTINGS AND GRAPHIC WORKS OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

### *Introduction*

There are different tools that may contribute significantly to the story of Venetian glass from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Amongst them inventories and figurative sources have an important role. Fundamental are the Muranese documents – among them many inventories – published by Luigi Zecchin and in more recent years by his son Paolo Zecchin. New research on these documents is fundamental, particularly in reference to the types of glasses reported in old Venetian language or dialect, which is sometimes very difficult to interpret even by Venetians themselves. Other archival documents used in this study are inventories belonging to European nobility and upper middle class. Figurative sources, from paintings to frescoes, from graphic works to sculpture reliefs, will give an important contribution for dating, for attribution to Venetian or to *façon de Venise* glassworks and for the function of glass objects. Our paper will focus on some Italian archive documents and on figurative sources of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century.

The first document discussed is the *Memoria di vetrerie che si cava di Murano*. It's a report, undated and unsigned, found among the correspondence of the Medici's secretary, Lorenzo Usinbardi, in a file with letters dated 1592, so the same dating may be attributed to it<sup>1</sup>. The written language reveals the origin of the author: a Tuscan

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<sup>1</sup> Corti 1971: 649-654.

resident in Venice. This *Memoria* is particularly interesting in showing the products of Murano's glassworks, which encountered the taste of foreign markets with different shapes for each country. The writer explains that Murano is going through a crisis: its glassworks, which were forty more or less before, now are twenty four and they are selling half quantity compared to past years. The total production of Murano brings in 142,000 ducats only 25,000 of which is income from glass sold in Venice. Indeed glass is very rare in the inventories of rich Venetian families of that time.

*Memoria di vetrerie che si cava di Murano 1592:*

*Per la Sicilia, Napoli, Roma e Puglia... alcuni bicchieri e ampolle dipinte, secondo l'uso di quel paese di nepitella, maiorana e fiori e simili...*

*To Sicily, Naples, Rome and Apulia... some beakers and bottles painted, according to the customs of that nation, with calamint, sweet marjoram, flowers and similar patterns...*

It's difficult to connect such items with painted vessels of late sixteenth century, belonging to known glass collections. Generally scrolls and green vines are typical patterns of Venetian vessels dated early sixteenth century on the basis of their shape. In the Museo Duca di Martina in Naples a vase blown in a late Renaissance shape is decorated in rich green, yellow and dark blue enameled foliage but any connection with the items recorded in the *Memoria* is groundless today<sup>2</sup>.

A very important Murano inventory has nevertheless some connection with vegetal patterns. It is an inventory, dated November 1569, of goods confiscated by the Venetian Republic in the glassworks of Bortolo d'Alvise, a glassmaker expatriated illegally to Florence some months before to work in the Medici's glassfurnace. There are three very significant items: *Gotti a fोगiame recoti*, Beakers

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<sup>2</sup> Giusti 1994: 70.

with foliage fired, *Gotto a pimpinella*, Beaker with burnet saxifrage, and *Vasi a pimpinella recoti*, Vases with burnet saxifrage fired<sup>3</sup>. *Recoti* or fired means that the enameled decoration was already fixed by fire. The inventory, dated January 1578, of Giovanni Antonio Zanchi dal Castello lists *Franzosini con arme et altri goti con arme smaltade*, French beakers with coat-of-arms and other beakers with enameled coat-of-arms, and *Item altri doi a pimpinella*, Also two others with burnet saxifrage<sup>4</sup>. The *pimpinella* or burnet saxifrage has the same leaves which are enameled on vessels belonging to a well-known group, which has been alternately attributed to Innsbruck and Barcellona or to Venice<sup>5</sup>. Such vessels always have Venetian shapes and their enamels are bright and of good quality, different from other similar pieces, undoubtedly Catalanian (Fig.1) On the basis of the inventories of Bortolo d'Alvise and Giovanni Antonio Zanchi we can suppose that the *pimpinella* group was produced in Venice, probably for foreign markets. The chemical analysis of glass and enamels will be conclusive.

*Per Costantinopoli... Guastade con il collo lungho con laticino bianco... In Alessandria d'Egitto vetreria simile a quella di Costantinopoli... Alcune guastade pichole con il collo sottile e lungho*

*To Constantinople... Long neck bottles with lattimo threads... To Alexandria of Egypt glasses similar to the ones sent to Constantinople... and some small bottles with thin and long neck.*

Amongst the glasses usually sent to Constantinople there are some «guastade con il collo lungho con laticino bianco», bottles with long neck in filigrane or with lattimo threads. Glasses with similar shapes, «guastade pichole con il collo sottile e lungho»,

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<sup>3</sup> Zecchin 2009: 33.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.: 2009: 34.

<sup>5</sup> Dreier 1998: 190-191, 289, 291. Baumgartner 2003: 90-91. Page 2004: 56-58, f. 28.

bottles with thin and long necks, are sent to Alexandria of Egypt. *Guastada* is a Tuscan word for bottle. Those quoted in the above document, with long neck, are probably *acanini*, mentioned in some sixteenth century Muranese documents. The shape of these glasses was inspired by the Islamic *qumqum*, which was in production, in glass and metalware, in Syria, since the Medieval period. They were used for scented waters. The word *acanino* came from the Arab word *al-qinnina*, which means bottle, phial. The production of *acanini* in Murano is supported by archival documents, by objects in public collections and by fragments found both in excavations, dated to the XVI century, and scattered in the sand of the Venetian lagoon.

In an inventory of Dragan's Muranese glasshouse (1508), amongst the top quality glasses quoted, are some «acchanini grandi et mezzani lavoradi a la damaschina n.XII», twelve bottles of large and medium size with damascene decoration<sup>6</sup>. These are bottles with long necks painted with Islamic ornamentation. The same decoration is present on two objects, one in the Victoria & Albert Museum and the other in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Wien. Both of these are also painted with the coat of arms of two important Nuremberg families and were probably commissioned for the wedding of Endres I Hirschvogel and Katharina Höltzel, celebrated on 14 July 1511<sup>7</sup>. An *acanino* fragment in cristallo decorated with blue enamel similar to the previous ones has been found in the excavations of S.Chiera's convent in Padua with other glasses and ceramics that have been dated to the second half of fifteenth century till the first half of sixteenth century.

Sprinklers for scented water were particularly appreciated by Isabella Gonzaga. At the beginning of the XVI century in Gonzaga's correspondence with her envoy in Venice, Lorenzo da Pavia, is recorded that an «acanino pieno d'acqua moscheta» was sent to her on 22 May 1502<sup>8</sup>. This is a bottle with a long neck holding a

<sup>6</sup> Zecchin 1989: 59.

<sup>7</sup> Barovier Mentasti and Tonini 2013: no. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Archivio di Stato di Mantova, *Carteggio Isabella d'Este - Lorenzo da Pavia*, Busta 1440, c.38.

special kind of rose water, «moscheta». Lorenzo da Pavia, during the same year, sent to the Gonzaga's marquise «2 cuche d'aqua rosa damaschina», two big pumpkin-shaped bottles with rose water of Levant origin. These scented waters were particularly expensive in Damascus and very difficult to find in that period on the Venetian market, as he reported in his letter<sup>9</sup>. In the same paper he also mentioned that two other bottles, containing «acqua di nanfa», orange scented water, will be sent to her.

In another sixteenth century archive document, the inventory of the Palazzo Magno, a wing of Buonconsiglio Castle in Trent (1536), quoted to be amongst the glasses, are eight «Angsterlin gleserin zu Rosenwasser», which can be identified with long neck sprinklers<sup>10</sup>. The words «angsterlin» and *angster* come from the Venetian term *angastara* (derived from the Greek words *ἀγγος*=vessel and *γαστήρ*=belly). The word *angastara* or *inghistera* was used in Murano during the Medieval and Renaissance period for bottles with long necks and large bodies. The «Cinque Achatine de vetro» quoted in another inventory, belonging to Girolamo Scopulo (1537), jurisconsult and auditor at the Gonzaga's court, were probably the *acanini* mentioned in Murano's documents. The *achatine* were part of his wide collection of Venetian glass, numbering more than one hundred pieces, some enamelled, some cold-painted and others in filigree (*vetro a retorti*), displayed in the *studiolo* of his house in Mantua<sup>11</sup>.

Mention of this kind of sprinklers is found in one of the *Lettere in Sei Libri* of the Tuscan writer Pietro Aretino (1492-1556) who lived in Venice. He was an *habitué* of some glasshouses in Murano, particularly that of Serena, where they produced a type of glass called the *aretini*, still unidentified<sup>12</sup>. In the letter which Aretino sent to Francesco Priscianese (26 February 1540) he compares the high quality of good teachers and the insolence of pedagogues, the

<sup>9</sup> Archivio di Stato di Mantova, *Carteggio Isabella d'Este - Lorenzo da Pavia*, Busta 1890, c. 329 e c. 345.

<sup>10</sup> Archivio di Stato di Trento, *Archivio Principesco Vescovile*, sez. tedesca caps 53 lett 3 e bis; Castelnovo 1995: 162; Barovier Mentasti, Tonini 2013: 215.

<sup>11</sup> Barovier Mentasti and Tonini 2013: 214-215; Rebecchini 2011: 87-89.

<sup>12</sup> Zecchin 1989: 182, 189.

latter are similar to «vasi strozzati nel collo, i quali ne lo sforzarsi di volere empire i strumenti simili di ciò che mandan fuora a gocciola a gocciola ne versano più che ce ne mescano», vases with strangled necks that pour the liquid drop by drop ; in the attempt to fill them the majority of the liquid is spilled outside rather than inside<sup>13</sup>.

The Muranese origin of these sprinklers is documented also by sixteenth century archeological findings in the lagoon and in the territories of the Venetian Republic<sup>14</sup>. Another contemporary archive source to the *Memoria di vetrerie che si cava da Murano* confirms the exportation of these kinds of vessels to the Levant. There were a significant number of glasses that the glassmaker Pietro Ballarin has prepared to send to Constantinople in 1590. Amongst them are some «Acanini indoradi», bottles decorated with gold decoration and «Acanini chiari indoradi», clear glass gilt bottles<sup>15</sup>. The glasses found in the wreck of a Venetian ship, the *Gagiana*, sunk near a small island, Gnalić, not far from the city of Zadar, in 1583 ca., were probably destined to the Levant. Several of them are *crystallo* sprinklers without decoration and others are decorated with lattimo threads (*vetro a fili*). In the *Memoria di vetrerie che si cava da Murano* bottles with «laticinio bianco» were listed; these might be very similar to the ones in the *Gagiana's* wreck or to some glasses in public collections like the one in the British Museum<sup>16</sup>. These examples find a perfect correspondence with a drawing by Giovanni Maggi in the *Bichierografia* (1604), dedicated to the cardinal Del Monte (Fig. 2).

These kinds of vessels were not made only for export to the Levant, but also for the western markets, as confirmed by the two sprinklers with two German coats of arms, mentioned above (V&A and MAK collections), and also by some Venetian iconographic sources, too. Two bottles with long neck in red and black are painted by Vittore Carpaccio in *S. Agostino in his study* (1502), in the School of San Giorgio degli Schiavoni (Venice). In this case the

<sup>13</sup> Aretino [1542]1998-2002: vol. 2, 181.

<sup>14</sup> Minini 2009: 173.

<sup>15</sup> Zecchin 1989: 166.

<sup>16</sup> Tait 1979: 66-67, no. 84.

artist has reproduced either Levantine or local products<sup>17</sup>. Also of possible Venetian origin, are some *cristallo* bottles with long necks, depicted in the fresco *S. Anthony rise a child fallen ih hot water* (1524) painted by Girolamo Tessari (Padova 1480-1561), in the School of the Saint in Padue, a town under the political control of the Venetian Republic. The miracle of the young child takes place in a domestic setting with a bed with a *padiglione*, a table in a white linen tablecloth on which there is a bottle and some glasses in *cristallo*. On a wall shelf are displayed three *acanini*, sprinklers in *cristallo*. The fresco is also very interesting in regards to the history of Venetian glass because also a *cesendello*, an oil lamp, is depicted in front of a holy image, *The Virgin with a child*. This custom is mentioned in Venetian inventories and in sixteenth century documents<sup>18</sup>.

Another iconographic source of the Venetian area is insightful showing the sprinklers for scented waters as part of the beauty trousseau of Italian Renaissance ladies. In one of the wooden tarsia by Lorenzo Lotto and Giovanni Francesco Capoferri in Bergamo's cathedral, *Suzanne and the Elderly* (1524), an *acanino* is amongst other toilette objects<sup>19</sup>.

*Per Costantinopoli... Bochali di vetro coperti ,detti mastrapani*

*To Constantinople... glass lidded tankards [or jugs], called mastrapani*

The words *mastrapà* and *mastrapani* (plural form of *mastrapàn*) isn't inusual in ancient Murano papers and is also used in Venetian documents. These terms have been reported in published inventories of Murano glassworks dated from 1483 to 1590. These *mastrapani* are made of different varieties of glass and are decorated by different techniques. We know that the decorator, Valentino Ungaro, fired *mastrapà doradi*, gilt, in the oven of Jacobo d'Angelo in 1483, to

<sup>17</sup> Auld: 2007: 233.

<sup>18</sup> Palumbo Fossati 1984: 124, 132.

<sup>19</sup> Barovier Mentasti and Tonini 2013: 46.

fix the gold leaf. While the inventory of the goods belonging to glass entrepreneurs Giovanni Barovier and Marieta Barovier (1496) lists 18 *mastrapà de marmoro, azuro d'oro et azuro bianchi, mastrapà* made of marble glass, of gilt blue glass and of blue and white glass<sup>20</sup>. *Marmoro* or *marmorin* was a kind of translucent glass, similar to alabaster, whose semi-opacity was obtained through creating close and tiny air bubbles containing saline crystals (sodium chloride and sodium sulphate). Such glass is also quoted in an inventory of pieces produced by Giovanni Ballarin in 1511, which lists 100 *poti de marmorin cum figure, marmorin* beakers decorated with figures, and in two inventories of Dragan glassworks. The latter lists contain several *mastrapà de calzedonia et marmorini, mastrapà* made of chalcedony glass and of marble glass, as well as of crystal and of gilt blue glass (1508) and sixteen *mastrapà de calzedonia et marmorin* (1532) that's of chalcedony glass and marble glass<sup>21</sup>. A beautiful standing bowl in the Civici Musei di Arte e Storia of Brescia and a ribbed jug kept in the Musée du Verre in Liège are rare examples of *marmoro* or *marmorino* glass vessels, produced in early XVI century<sup>22</sup>.

About forty years after the later Dragan's inventory list, thirty three *mastrapà* are mentioned in the inventory of goods found in the glassworks of Bortolo d'Alvise in 1569. Only six of them are without decoration, five are *tutti d'oro*, wholly gilt, the others *intagiadi*, diamond-point engraved. In the inventory of Giovanni Antonio Zanchi dal Castello, dated January 1578, there are recorded five *mastrapà de latimo doradi*, gilt lattimo *mastrapà*, and four without any detail<sup>23</sup>. Meanwhile, exactly in 1549, in Murano, Vincenzo d'Angelo had gotten a patent for diamond-point engraving, which expired ten years later, so that this technique spread in the workshops of Murano and became fashionable among the most up-to-date purchasers.

Unquestionably significant is the rich list of glass vessels, lamps

<sup>20</sup> Zecchin 1989: 212, 214, 348, 338. Zecchin 1990: 120.

<sup>21</sup> Zecchin 1989: 164. Zecchin 1990: 59, 61.

<sup>22</sup> Clarke 1974: 56. Barovier Mentasti and Tonini 2012: vol. 1/1.

<sup>23</sup> Zecchin 2009: 33-34.



and sheets, which were produced by Pietro Ballarin in 1590. They were ready for shipping to Constantinople, therefore they document what Islamic market required from Venetian glassworks<sup>24</sup>. Listed are ninety-six *mastrapà*, some made of blue glass or generally of coloured glass. Only two are diamond-point engraved. Twelve are rare and interesting because they are listed as *inarzentadi*, silvered, and eleven are gilt, two of which are *miniadi d'oro*, illuminated with gold, which may mean decorated with dense and delicate gilt patterns. Two *mastrapà* are *a pigna indoradi*, which literally means pine-cone-shaped or with pine-cone decoration, and gilt. Other types of the inventory are *a pigna indoradi* or *indoradi a pigna*. The «pine-cone» might be a pattern obtained by gold-leaf engraving or by gilt painting, but it might be also a mould-blown pattern, highlighted by gold.

The word *mastrapà* comes from the Arabic term *mašraba*, meaning «tankard»<sup>25</sup>. Of course, the Venetian glass, called *mastrapà*, comes from an Eastern type of tankard. We believe that both the Venetian vessel and its Eastern model had a globular body, a slightly flattened, a large straight cylindrical neck with round mouth without any spout, a handle and a ring foot or flared pedestal foot. In the Islamic world such vessel was made of inlaid brass in XV and early XVI century<sup>26</sup> and of Iznik pottery in the XVI century<sup>27</sup>. Iznik tankards of this kind, documented by several pieces in the British Museum and in the Gulbenkian collection, were probably lidded (British Museum, no. 1878, 1230.514), but the lids are generally lost. Vessels of this shape were made also of glass, such as the outstanding Mamluk gilded and enameled jug belonging to the collection of Baroness Batsheva de Rothschild, auctioned off in 2000, and the blue one in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford<sup>28</sup>. Regarding shape, such works made of metal, pottery or glass resemble some Timurid stone works, like the famous white

<sup>24</sup> Zecchin 1989: 166.

<sup>25</sup> Pellegrini 1972: 68.

<sup>26</sup> Curatola and Spallanzani 1981: 13, no. 3. Komaroff 1991: 257, cat. 5.

<sup>27</sup> *Pur Décors?* 2007: 336, cat. 136; Queiroz Ribero 2009: 36-37.

<sup>28</sup> Newby 1998: 37-38, Figs. 10.12, 10.13. *The collection of the Late Baroness Batsheva de Rothschild*: 58-65. Carboni 2006: 122, 340, no. 154.

jade jug, dated 1417-1449, in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian in Lisbon (inv. no. 328), which reveals the influence of Chinese art and is correctly called *mashraba*<sup>29</sup>. Indeed some Chinese jugs of the Ming Dynasty, produced in the first half of the XV century, have the same shape<sup>30</sup>.

Venetian glassblowers produced many types of tankards, jugs and ewers in the Renaissance period. Among them were the *mastrapani*. While some *mastrapani* are variations with a narrower and flared neck, others are more similar to their Islamic models. Several rigorous *mastrapani* with straight cylindrical neck can be found in international museums. For instance two pieces decorated with enameled scrolls of leaves and flowers are shown in the Museo del Vetro at Murano<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 3). Two tankards in the Hermitage are completely decorated with rows of scales, enameled and gilt. A piece in the State Museum of History in Moscow is decorated with a geometrical pattern, another made of unusual purple glass has a ribbed body, like the *marmorino* tankard in Liège<sup>32</sup>. The date of these pieces is between the late XV century and the early XVI century. The well-known unique *mastrapà* made of *lattimo* glass, kept in the Toledo Museum of Art (Ohio) has a complex enameled decoration: a battle of sea-gods. Two figures are taken from *The Battle of Sea-Gods*, an engraving by Andrea Mantegna of the late 1480s. The other figures are taken from an unknown drawing or painting, which was also the model for the *Frieze of Tritons and Nymphs*, an engraving by Girolamo Mocetto<sup>33</sup>. Two dogs emerging from seashells, connected by a chain, are painted around the neck of the vessel. They could be a symbol of fidelity rather than a coat-of-arms, as it was supposed. It can be dated to 1500-1510.

Very late lidded *mastrapani* have been found among the

<sup>29</sup> *Calouste Gulbenkian Museum Guide* 2013: 45.

<sup>30</sup> Catalogue of the Special Exhibition 1998: 75-79. Harrison-Hall 2001: 3, 14.

<sup>31</sup> *Mille anni* 1982: 96, no. 96.

<sup>32</sup> Barovier Mentasti 1982: 58, f. 38. Kramarowsky 1998: 98, 100, ff. 22.3, 22.4, 22.5.

<sup>33</sup> Clarke 1974: 29, 41-43, 53. Page 2006: 83-85.

remains of a shipwreck at Gnalić, near Zadar, in Dalmatia. The wreck belonged to the Venetian ship *Gagiana*, which left Venice in November 1583. Thousands of glass fragments were recovered during several underwater campaigns. The *mastrapani* found are made of undecorated glass, with opaque white trailing, with a decoration in *filigrana a retortoli* and with diamond-point engraving<sup>34</sup>. The engraved pieces can be related to the *mastrapà intagiadi* noted in the inventories of Bortolo d'Alvise (1569) and of Pietro Ballarin (1590).

This type of vessel survived until the early XVIII century, at least. We can see these tankards at Rosenborg castle in Copenhagen where the glass collection, donated by Venetian Republic to the King Frederick IV in the winter of 1708-1709, is kept. There are lidded *mastrapani* made of red glass and of opaque yellow glass. In the same years the painter Cristoforo Munari reproduced a similar piece, diamond point engraved, in three still-life paintings dated 1706-1714<sup>35</sup>. Then the term *mastrapà* was no more quoted in the inventories of Murano glassworks. Perhaps it had been substituted by the term *bocale* (Italian *boccale*=tankard) or *bocaleto/bocaleta* (Italian *boccaletto*=small tankard), which are listed, for instance, in the inventory of the glassworks of Giacomo Darduin and his brothers in 1689<sup>36</sup>.

Two well-known English tankards, made of *filigrana a retortoli* and of clear glass with white vertical bands, with flattened globular body are kept in the British Museum. They were blown by Venetian craftsmen working in London in 1549<sup>37</sup>. Their shape probably derived from the Murano *mastrapà* rather than from the Flemish tankards, called «Malling jugs», which instead had a bulbous shape, as it was proposed. Nevertheless their silver-gilt mounts with hinged covers did not belong to the Venetian tradition.

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<sup>34</sup> Lazar and Willmott 2006: 40-42, 75-76, 114-115.

<sup>35</sup> Boesen 1969: nos. 80-82. Baldassari 1998: 46, 88, 94, 152-153, 188-189, 195. *Trasparenze e riflessi* 2006: 191-193.

<sup>36</sup> Trivellato 2000: 285-286.

<sup>37</sup> Tait 1991: 172, f. 215.

*Per Costantinopoli... lampane di moschee al modo delli ebrei e altre foggie, secondo l'ordine e le bizzarrie di tal gente...*

*To Constantinople... mosque lamps in the fashion of Jews and of other shapes, according with costumes and with eccentricities of such nations...*

The export of mosque lamps, produced in Murano, to Costantinople and generally to Islamic countries since XV century is supported by documentary evidence and several scholars dedicated articles and essays to this subject. Such hanging lamps had already been in use also in Italy for centuries, as well as cone-shaped and cylindrical lamps in the European style. The author of the *Memoria* proves to be well-informed about this export so that we can believe that his whole report is based on reliable investigations.

*Per Alemagnia... bichieri grandi, alti, di più sorte*

*To Germany... big, tall glasses, of different shapes*

The majority of glass historians are keen to consider that some glasses with specific shapes, produced in Murano, were only for export. For the German market were blown 'Stangengläser' and probably also 'Wilkommen' as confirmed by a muranese inventory (1578) of the glassmaker Giovanni Antonio Zanchi dal Castello<sup>38</sup>. Some glasses listed in this document are named *goti da cil* or *de acil*, expression of unintelligible etymology. Some of them are enamelled also *cum arme*, with coat of arms; others have a *friso d'oro*, a gilt frieze, and a lid. An item in the inventory: *Goti da cil overo canonicini*, helps to identify them as small cannon-shaped glasses. Some years before Zanchi's inventory, the *goti d'acil* are mentioned in another Muranese document concerning the glassworks of Bortolo d'Alvise expatriated to Florence. In the list, dated 1569, of his goods confiscated by the Venetian Republic 51 *goti d'acil*

<sup>38</sup> Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Podestà di Murano*, busta 94; Zecchin 2009: 33-34.

are reported. Four are gilt and engraved, of course diamond-point engraved, (*indoradi et intagiadi*) and two others only engraved. In another of Bortolo's inventories, concerning his goods found in his glasshouse and sold by public authorities in September 1570, there are mentioned 41 *goti de acil*<sup>39</sup>. The glasses of this type were exported not only to Germany but also to Spain as confirmed by an inventory of the Palacio de El Pardo of Charles V in Madrid. In this inventory (1564), amongst the *Vidrios de Venecia* are mentioned: *seis cañones lisos con sus tapadores, otros quatro elados de la misma manera e otro cañon de vidrio abollado*<sup>40</sup>. These *cañones* were cannon-shaped glasses with a lid, some undecorated, some made of 'ice-glass' and others, are «indented». The decorations of the last ones were probably obtained with a mould. Some *canoni di cristallo* were produced in the year 1573, in Murano, by commission of the duke William Gonzague<sup>41</sup>.

Some of the 'Stangengläser', kept in museums, are enamelled, like one object with *Commedia dell'Arte* characters in the Kestner Museum Hannover (Figs. 4-5). In Giovanni Antonio Zanchi dal Castello's inventory (1578), mentioned above, is reported a *Goto de acil smaltado a magnifichi*, that is possible to identify with a *canoncino*, a cannon-shaped glass, called in German 'Stangenglas', enamelled with 'Magnifico' characters which signify Pantaloon characters. This glass quoted in the inventory matches the Hannover's 'Stangenglas' whose decoration depicts two similar 'Magnifico' characters and a 'Zanni'. Another glass, in the British museum, with a gilt scale pattern and enamelled with 'Commedia dell'Arte' characters, two 'Magnifico' and a 'Zanni', has a conical bowl on a low trumpet-shaped foot, a type fashionable in Germany, also depicted in Italian paintings of the end of the XV and XVI centuries. This goblet has been attributed by Gasparetto and Tait to Venice and dated to the second half of the XVI century<sup>42</sup>.

The two glasses of the London and Hannover museums are related

<sup>39</sup> Zecchin 1989: 174. Zecchin 2009: 33.

<sup>40</sup> Sanchez Canton 1934: 746.

<sup>41</sup> Sogliani 2002: 186-187.

<sup>42</sup> Gasparetto 1958: 91; Tait 1979: 42 no. 38, tav. 13.

to the beginnings of 'Commedia dell'Arte' (named in this way only from the eighteenth century) based on a skeleton draft, used by the actors who, with their long experience in acting, improvised during every play in a different way. For this reason during the sixteenth century it was named 'commedia all'improvviso' or 'improvvisa'. It was based on stories similar to erudite plays but distinguished by a parodistic representation of the characters of contemporary society. The 'Magnifico', named later on Pantaloon, personifies the Venetian merchant with his typical dress, old, very mean, fussy, grumbler, who sometimes falls in love but is not reciprocated and for this reason is ridiculed. In opposition there is 'Zanni', an urbanized farmer from Bergamo's area, awkward, ignorant, always hungry, sometimes naively slick. He was mocked for his poor dresses with patches and for his dialect, he was keen to do the most humile, lowly paid jobs. Often these jobs were done in Muranese glassfurnaces by immigrants from Bergamo and the surrounding area. His character changed during the sixteenth century, becoming the dumb and ignorant servant, as 'Brighella' or the stupid and headless servant, as the famous 'Arlecchino'<sup>43</sup>. In the 'commedia all'improvviso' the character of Zanni and Arlecchino were both acting in the play, as documented by a series of xylographies of *Recueil Fossard*, dated recently around the last two decades of the sixteenth century<sup>44</sup>. The 'Commedia dell'Arte' originated in Veneto around the mid-sixteenth century and from the beginning was based on the two characters of Magnifico and Zanni<sup>45</sup>. It was fashionable at the Gonzague court so Mantua became a place of attraction for actors, this is documented also by some frescoes, of modest artistic quality, with the characters Magnifico and Zanni<sup>46</sup>. The success of the two masks of the 'Commedia dell'Arte' is documented by engravings and drawings, made in Venice or in Padua<sup>47</sup>. Very soon the 'Commedia dell'Arte' was exported, first in Bavaria, due to the very strong economic and cultural relations

<sup>43</sup> Pandolfi 1969: 169-176; Jonard 1982: 36-54; Bourqui 1999: 49-50.

<sup>44</sup> Katritzky 2006: 108.

<sup>45</sup> Del Cerro 1914: 123.

<sup>46</sup> Artioli 1999: 20-25; Morselli 2002: 179, 182.

<sup>47</sup> Padoan Urban 1986: 22-23; *Costume book* of Nicolaus Kippell with drawings, 1588 ca., The Walters Art Gallery Baltimore, no. W.477.

between this area and Venice. In occasion of the wedding of Bavaria's crown prince, the future William V, with Renate of Lorraine (1568), a play took place at the court in Munich. The *scenario*, produced by the Neapolitan musician and court comic, Massimo Troiano, in the same year of the wedding, had as main character *Magnifico Messer Pantalone* with his *Zanni*<sup>48</sup>. This play was followed by others in the following years, but the first one was so memorable to be frescoed on the walls of the *Narrentreppe*, the comics' stairs, in the Trausnitz fortress in Landshut, near Munich, where duke William V lived. The frescoes were painted by Alessandro Scalsi, named Padovanino, of Florentine origin, based on drawings by Federico Sustris, art director of the Bavarian court<sup>49</sup>. It's not surprising that Venetian glasses were enamelled with characters of the 'commedia all'improvvisa' and were exported, particularly to Bavaria.

The Hannover "Stangenglas" has been dated to the end of the sixteenth century<sup>50</sup>. A similar dating is proposed by Gasparetto for the British Museum's goblet, on the other hand Tait dated it to the second half of the sixteenth century<sup>51</sup>. On the base of Zanchi's inventory we definitely attribute these two glasses to Venice and date them to 1570-1580. These are the same years in which the frescoes of Trausnitz's fortress were executed, a period of extraordinary success of the Italian 'commedia all'improvvisa' in Bavaria.

*Per Alemagnia... Altri [vetri] in modo di Tabernacoli, alcuni messi a oro*

*To Germany... Some other [glasses] Reliquary-shaped, some of them gilt*

Glasses «in modo di tabernacoli, alcuni messi a oro», in reliquary-shape, some gilt, were exported to Germany. These are lidded bulb-

<sup>48</sup> Pandolfi: 1957: 79-83.

<sup>49</sup> Rauhut 1971: 241-271; Corrain 1986: 159-170.

<sup>50</sup> Mosel 1979: 53, no. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Gasparetto 1958: 91; Tait 1979: 42 no. 38 tav. 13.

shaped reliquaries, gilt and diamond-point engraved, like one piece in the Museo del Vetro in Murano. Its provenance is known: it comes from St. Martin's church in Burano. This confirms its attribution to Venice and not to Hall or to Innsbruck in Tyrol, as argued in the past by Egg<sup>52</sup>. To this object are related two cylindrical-shaped reliquaries with lion stem, in San Damiano's convent in Assisi, with similar diamond – point engravings including a heart pattern, with the same gilt frieze and with a painted portrait of an armiger (Figs. 6-7). A Venetian provenance is plausible also for them and it underlines that San Damiano is a Franciscan convent as S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, where is preserved a similar cylindrical reliquary with a lion stem, a diamond-point engraving and a gilt, cold-painted decoration. The painted friezes on the two reliquaries of Assisi is similar to a glass in the Kunstsammlungen in Veste Coburg, which has been ascribed to the glasshouse of Sebastian Hochstetter in Hall<sup>53</sup>. It's possible that this piece is a Venetian product or that it was made by a glassmaker and painted by a decorator coming from Murano. Commercial relations between Austria and the Venetian Republic were frequent during the sixteenth century; Venetian glasses were imported to Tyrol for the Austrian archduke Ferdinand II (1525-1595), because he was unsatisfied of the poor quality of the glasses blown in Hall and in the court's glasshouse in Innsbruck. Muranese glassblowers went to work at the Austrian court's glasshouse and Venetian raw materials for glass were exported to Innsbruck<sup>54</sup>.

Similarly a diamond-point engraved glass, a vase with three spouts in the Bargello's museum in Florence, is attributable to Venice, based on a comparison with two fragmentary glasses from Gnalčić, similar for decoration and shape, while in the past this type was ascribed to Hall<sup>55</sup>. The dating of the Bargello's vase to the last decade of sixteenth century is sustained thanks to a Muranese inventory (1590) where, amongst the blown glasses that the glassmaker, Pietro Ballarin, has to

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<sup>52</sup> Egg 1962: ff.27-48; Barovier Mentasti and Tonini 2013: no. 41

<sup>53</sup> Theuerkauff-Liederwald 1994: no. 224.

<sup>54</sup> Zecchin 2009: 29; Egg 1962: 43-44.

<sup>55</sup> Petricioli 1974: 88, Figs. 14, 90, Fig. 20; Lazar and Willmott 2006: 120, pl. 15 pl. 12.



send to Constantinople are mentioned fourteen «Vasi da fiori con pipii inquantadi», bouquétieres *inquantadi* with small spouts and also eight «Vasi detti con pipii et maneghi inquantadi», vases *inquantadi* with spouts and handles<sup>56</sup>. The first item quoted is an equivalent to Bargello's vase and the latter one to a type found in contemporary figurative sources. The Venetian word «pipio» means, like in nineteenth century Italian, spout. We don't know the meaning of the word *inquantado*, or *inquantato*, in this case referred to the vases, often found in Murano's Renaissance documents. This kind of vase has been associated to the Catalan almorratxa used as a sprinkler, but the Venetian vase is clearly a bouquétiere as seen in an engraving by Francesco Villamena (Fig. 8). The first edition of the engraving dated 1603 is derived from the *Annunciation* by Ippolito Andreasi in the church of S. Maria Assunta e S. Cristoforo in Castello in Viadana (Mantua); the vase reproduced in the engraving is not depicted in the painting (1602). The bouquétiere shows flowers in the mouth and in the spouts. The Muranese inventory and the Roman engraving are useful to date the design of this vase between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The dating is confirmed also by other figurative sources of the period<sup>57</sup>. Another painting of unknown location by Tiberio Titi (1578-1637), *Ritratto della famiglia di Giovanni Battista Strozzi*, shows a similar silver bouquétiere with spouts. A vase with three spouts in silver is in the museum of Tesoro di S. Maria, Impruneta (Firenze), with three coats of arm, Strozzi, Corsini and Nicolini. It was made for the procession of the 2 October 1633<sup>58</sup>.

*Per Lisbona... foggie di lione, ... Per Spagna vetraria come sopra...*

*To Lisbon... Lion shapes... to Spain glass products as above...*

This information cannot be ignored as the late Renaissance type of the lion-shaped ewer is generally considered to be of

<sup>56</sup> Zecchin 1989 : 166.

<sup>57</sup> Barovier Mentasti and Tonini 2013: 46, no. 53; Gregori 2003: 46.

<sup>58</sup> Benporad 1992: 178-179, no.112.

Catalonian origin. Lion-shaped ewers were blown in a two-part mould, are crowned and their tubular tail forms the spout of the ewer. Some are winged lions, as the lion of Saint Mark, symbol of Venice. Several of them lost their glass stem, which was replaced by a metal one. Few examples have an original glass stem and foot, which have nothing specifically Spanish as in the glass lion depicted in a drawing of the *Bichierografia* by Giovanni Maggi, dated 1604. Such lions are sometimes made of coloured glass or are gilt or decorated with coloured flecks or slices of millefiori canes, embedded in the wall. The *Memoria* supports the attribution of the lion in the Waddesdon Manor collection to Venice by Robert J. Charleston, who considered the high technical quality<sup>59</sup>. The problem is still open.

The *Memoria* of 1592 concerns general exports but inventories of royal or noble families list Venetian glass vessels, commissioned by eminent purchasers eager to get rare novelties, which could not be found in the local market. Among these particular inventories *El primero inventario de el Pardo 1564* is very important for glass history. The inventory of el Pardo Palace (1564), related to Charles V (1500-1558) and Philip II (1527-1598), where 300 *Vidrios de Venecia* are mentioned, is very useful, if compared with Venetian documents. It gives an interesting overview of the glasses exported from Murano to Spain, twenty-eight years earlier than the Tuscan document, *Memoria di vetrerie che si cava di Murano*. As stated previously, the *cañones* quoted in the Spanish inventory have been identified with the *bicchieri grandi, alti*, the Stägenglaser, sent to Germany. Particularly interesting are also the quotations of some glasses, jugs and bowls, diamond-point engraved (*garafas pequenās ...labradas; copas pequenās ...labradas*). The request of further diamond – point engraved Venetian vessels by Philip II in the following years (1585) is well documented in the correspondence of the Spanish ambassador in Venice, D. Cristobál de Salazar<sup>60</sup>.

There are other documents which confirm the export of Venetian glass to the Spanish court. These are preserved in the

<sup>59</sup> Charleston 1977: 21, 96-99.

<sup>60</sup> Rodríguez García 1995: 51.

Archivo General de Simancas and are dated 1559-1570. They report the shipment of several boxes with glasses along with Titian's paintings to Philipp II by the Spanish ambassador in Venice, Garcíá Hernández<sup>61</sup>.

*Once calderas de vidrio elado por dorar*

*Eleven ice-glass bucket gilt or to be gilt*

The above Spanish inventory is particularly interesting because ice-glass objects are quoted in the consistent number of sixty-five. It is an early documentary source in relation to the well-known Muranese Bortolo d'Alvise's inventory (1569) and it anticipates the Venetian production of ice-glass at the beginning of 1560s. In Bortolo's document *un sechielo a giazo con fil d'oro*, an ice-glass bucket with a gilt thread, is reported<sup>62</sup>. In another inventory of the same Muranese glassmaker, recently published, *sechieli a giacio cornisadi d'oro*, ice-glass buckets with gilt frames are listed. These may find a parallel with a glass in Brescia's Musei Civici<sup>63</sup> (Fig. 9). The holy dimension of these kind of objects is quoted in Venetian and Italian documents of the sixteenth century. Amongst the glasses in *cristallo* stolen to the chaplain of S. Maria degli Angeli in Murano (1458) there was a *sechielo ad aqua santa*, a bucket for holy water<sup>64</sup>. In the inventory of the Dragans' important Murano glasshouse, dated 1508, are reported *tre sechii grandi cum certi spergoli*, three big buckets with some aspersories, all of them made of glass<sup>65</sup>. In Venetian language *spergolo* means aspersory, used for holy water. A holy use of buckets, made also of other materials, was conceived also when these objects were part of Renaissance ladies' trousseaus. It was suggested to young brides to place them in their

<sup>61</sup> Mancini 1998: 252, 255, 258-260, 265-266, 273, 281, 294-295, 326, 358, 362.

<sup>62</sup> Zecchin 1989: 174.

<sup>63</sup> Zecchin 2009: 33; Barovier Mentasti and Tonini 2012: I/21.

<sup>64</sup> Zecchin 1990: 60.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

bedroom and to bless every day their bedroom, the bed itself and themselves<sup>66</sup>. In the important and rich inventory *post mortem* of Eleanor of Aragon, wife of Ferrara's duke, Ercole I d'Este, dated 1493, there are several Venetian glasses and among them there are three glass buckets. For two of them, with their aspersory, their holy destination is clearly quoted, instead the third one's specific use is unknown: *uno sechio de acqua sancta de vedro calcedonio col suo asperges*, a chalcedony glass bucket for holy water with its aspersory, *un altro sechielo de vedro azuro de aqua sancta col suo asperges*, another blue glass bucket for holy water with its aspersory, and *un sechielo de vedro biancho dorato*, a gilt *cristallo* bucket<sup>67</sup>. The chalcedony glass bucket quoted above might be particularly precious; until now any existing ones are unheard of. Such an object is also reported in the inventory *post mortem* of the Venetian noble lady Elena Capello, dated 24 May 1503: «uno secchietto de vero di calcedonio fornito di rame dorado con el suo spergolo da aqua sancta cum una cusilier di buovolo», a chalcedony glass bucket with gilt copper finishings with its aspersory for holy water with a spoon shell-shaped or made of shell (?)<sup>68</sup>. As to Murano inventories, *uno sechiello de calzedonia*, a small chalcedony glass bucket, is listed in Giovanni and Marietta Barovier's inventory in 1496, while there are some small ones also in a group of enameled and gilt vessel in the Dragan's inventory (1508) quoted above<sup>69</sup>.

A secular, non religious, destination is hypothesised for «due secchielli di christallo, lavorati a giaccio et oro», two gilt *cristallo* ice-glass buckets, set with *dodici gotti et quattro ampolle da aqua tutti con oro*, twelve goblets and four ewers for water, all of them gilt. They were sent to the duke of Mantua, Guglielmo Gonzaga, by his envoy in Venice, who was in charge of buying commodities for the court. These pieces bought in July 1572 would be probably used as *rinfrescatoï*, cooling bowls<sup>70</sup>. The use of another bucket is unknown:

<sup>66</sup> Musacchio 2008: 175-176.

<sup>67</sup> Archivio di Stato di Modena, *Amministrazione Guardaroba*, b. 114, 107; Barovier Mentasti and Tonini 2013:213.

<sup>68</sup> ASV, *Giudici del Proprio, Mobili 2*, fol. '223-225 or 5'-7; Jestaz 1998: 711-712.

<sup>69</sup> Zecchin 1989: 212. Zecchin 1990: 59.

<sup>70</sup> Sogliani 2002: 176-177.

*un calderon de vidrio de Venecia, cincelado, con su asa y unas medallas dorada*, a glass bucket from Venice, engraved, with its handle and with some gilt prunts, quoted in a Spanish inventory, belonging to the third duke of Albuquerque, D. Beltrán de la Cueva, dated 1560<sup>71</sup>. The mention of such a piece in these years is interesting, revealing the appreciation for Venetian blown glass decorated by diamond-point engraving, which was recently fashionable. This technique had been developed by the muranese Vincenzo d'Angelo who obtained a patent for its application on blown glass in 1549.

## APPENDIX

The inventories discussed are listed chronologically

### *El primero inventario de el Pardo 1564*

In Sánchez, Cantón. 1934. *El primero inventario de el Pardo*(1564). In *Archivo Espanol de Arte y arqueologia*, Vol. 10. Madrid, 1934: 70-75.

*Inventario de las cosas que al presente estan en la Casa del Pardo...*

### VIDRIOS DE VENECIA

*diez y ocho copas imperiales con sus sobre copas de vidrio elado  
tres copas grandes imperiales con sus sobrecopas de vidrio elado  
otras nueve copas con las armas imperiales en las sobre copas de diferentes hechuras y algunas doradas y otras no  
otraz diez copas con sus sobrecopas sin armas  
veinte garafas pequeñas con vnos botoncillos dorados y otras sin ellos y algunas dellas labradas  
una garafa grande elada con dos botones dorados  
trece copas con sus sobre copas abolladas  
otras doce piezas de la misma hechura lisas  
veinte y cinco de vidrio con sus sobrecopas abolladas con sus asas y sobrecopas  
otras veinticinco piezas de vidrio raso con sus asas y sobrecopas  
mas veinte piezas de vidrio elado con sus sobrecopas  
otras catorce piezas de la misma manera de vidrio por elar abolladas  
más veintiseis copas de dos piezas que sirven para agua y vino*

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<sup>71</sup> Inventario [1560] 1883: 102.

*doce vidrios altos con sus sobre copas lisos*  
*otros tres vidrios mayores de la misma hechura abollados del medio abajo*  
*más quatro flascos almarraxados con sus tapadores*  
*más seis cañones lisos con sus tapadores*  
*otros quatro elados de la misma manera*  
*otro cañon de vidrio abollado*  
*diez y ocho vidrios con sus sobrecopas lisos*  
*ocho toneles elados con sus sobrecopas*  
*once copas labradas con sus sobrecopas entre grandes y chicas*  
*ocho grandes de vna hechura sin sobrecopas*  
*veinte y tre copas pequeñas todas de vna hechura algunas labradas y otras no y otras doradas y*  
*otras no*  
*cinco calderas grandes doradas*  
*otras tres medianas doradas*  
*otras dos pequeñas por dorar*  
*otras once calderas de vidrio elado por dorar*  
*cinco copas largas ahusada y lisas*

*Inventario di Bortolo d'Alvise, 17 novembre 1569*

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Podestà di Murano*, b. 207

In Zecchin, Paolo. 2009. Due importanti inventari muranesi del Cinquecento.

*Rivista della Stazione Sperimentale del Vetro* 39/5 settembre-ottobre: 27-34

*Tanti vasi non specificati e tanti rui...*

*Bacileti schieti n.5*

*Bacili de più sorte n.8*

*Bacili schieti n.9*

*Basole spesse n.3*

*Basole n.16*

*Bembi grandi de più sorte n.13*

*Benbeti n.11*

*Boccali schietti n.5*

*Botaci da dui calti n.22*

*Botesella cornisada de oro n.1*

*Boteselle azure dorade n.6*

*Boteselle verde n.13*

*Cadene de vedro dorade*

*Campane n.17*

*Campanelle piccole n.3*

*Candellieri n.2*

*Carafina con il manegho n.1*

*Catelane a gamba parte dorade n.28*

*Catelane squarade meze d'oro n.7*  
*Catramessi grandi n.4*  
*Cesendelli a zogia alla ceciliana n.4*  
*Cesendelli alla romana da coeta n.9*  
*Cesendelli alla turchesca n.6*  
*Cestelle e basole de diverse sorte n.119*  
*Cheba de lastrelle granda n.1*  
*Coverchi doradi n.5*  
*Ferali grandi n.5*  
*Fiasco schieto con pé soto n.1*  
*Filli de diversi colori n.12*  
*Francioso intagiado n.1*  
*Franzosi schietti n.6*  
*Franzosini bufadi d'oro n.28*  
*Franzosini schietti coverti n.3*  
*Franzoso verde grandano n.1*  
*Gotti thodeschi con Armi recoti de più sorte n.71*  
*Gotti d'Acil indoradi et intagiadi n.4*  
*Gotti d'Acil intagiadi n.2*  
*Gotti d'Acil schietti n.42*  
*Gotti d'Acil spessi grandi n.2*  
*Gotti da cordes n.20*  
*Gotti da tre gropi n.3*  
*Gotti del duca con loro [orlo]d'oro n.17*  
*Gotti grossi da thodesco da morise n.94*  
*Gotti mesani da thodesco da morise n.60*  
*Gotti recoti a fogiame n.10*  
*Gotto a pimpinella n.1*  
*Gotto d'Acil grande e schietto n.1*  
*Impole da relgio grande per Costantinopoli n.47*  
*Impoletine da chiesa schiete n.9*  
*Inghistere da fresco n.3*  
*Lavori cioè poci (?) et ducalini con loro de oro n.53*  
*Lavori con maneghi a fil d'oro n.15*  
*Lavori da gamba de più sorte n.144*  
*Lavori d'azuro doradi n.125*  
*Lavori schietti con maneghi n.52*  
*Lavori todeschi intangiadi n.4*  
*Malmoreti schietti d'oro n.7*  
*Mastellete da mortar n.48*  
*Mastelli coverti intagiadi n.4*  
*Mastelli n.7*  
*Mastrapa intagiadi n.18*

- Mastrapa intagiadi n.3*  
*Mastrapa intagiado n.1*  
*Mastrapa tutti d'oro n.5*  
*Mastrapani spessi n.6*  
*Morteri grandi di lastrelle indoradi con coverchio n.2*  
*Mostranza granda n.1*  
*Oche turchesche n.7*  
*Orinaleti de retortoli n.3*  
*Orinali a zogia n.15*  
*Orinali per Costantinopoli n.10*  
*Orinali n. 7*  
*Ornete depente n.8*  
*Parlatine con fil de oro n.5*  
*Piati con li Armi recoti n.3*  
*Piati de vedro con un retortolo in bocca n.24*  
*Pignatelle con il manegho n.12*  
*Pomaci a scartozzo n.17*  
*Pomaci con la orneta depoza (?) con fil d'oro n.15*  
*Quadretto de lastrelle con uno Christo n.1*  
*Quadri grandi con lastrelle figuradi n.3*  
*Quadri grandi con lastrelle n.4*  
*Saltanie grande con gropo schiete n.4*  
*Saltanie intagiade n.5*  
*Saltanie lavorade n.2*  
*Scatolete et mastelleti alla fiorentina de cristallo n.72*  
*Sechi mantoani con il fil d'oro et cornise n.9*  
*Sechi mantoani schieti n.3*  
*Sechieli a giacio cornisadi d'oro n.10*  
*Sechieli schieti n.7*  
*Cancellare sechieli*  
*Sechieli n.20*  
*Sechieli azuri doradi n.25*  
*Sechieli bassi schieti con 2 maneghi n.7*  
*Tabernacoli n.15*  
*Tapsi intagiadi n.12*  
*Tapsi n.7*  
*Tondi con arme recote n.7*  
*Tronchoni de retortoli Libbre 10*  
*Vaseti a redeselo vechio n.2*  
*Vaseti schieti stampadi n.93*  
*Vaseti spessi stampadi n.5*  
*Vasi a pimpinella recoti n.9*  
*Vasi cornisadi d'oro n.9*



*Vasi grandi indoradi con aquile dentro n.4*  
*Vieri chiari grandi n.4*  
*Ziati lavoradi n.9*  
*Zotole azure dorade n.40*  
*Zotole e basolete spesse pizole n.18*  
*Zotoli schieti con li maneghi n.86*

*Inventario G. Antonio Zanchi dal Castello, 22 gennaio 1577 (more Veneto, quindi 1578)*

Archivio di Stato di Venezia, *Podestà di Murano*, b. 207, cc. 525-527

In Zecchin, Paolo. 2009. Due importanti inventari muranesi del Cinquecento.

*Rivista della Stazione Sperimentale del Vetro* 29/5 settembre - ottobre:27-34.

*Artelarie de vedro n.7*  
*Bacil de redeseello con el fondi de lastrele n.1*  
*Bacil de retortoli spesso n.1*  
*Bacili grandi figuradi n.4*  
*Bacileti et piateli diversi n.15*  
*Bacili grandi n.2*  
*Bacili mezani chiari e spessi n.4*  
*Basole a figure n.2*  
*Bembi doradi n.3*  
*Bembi lavoradi de redeseello n.14*  
*Bembo spesso de color n.1*  
*Botesella indorà n.1*  
*Boteselle schiette et a onde e a schachi n.50*  
*Cadelela de vero fata a lume biancha granda n.1*  
*Caenele [catenelle] fatte a lume nuove, mazeti*  
*Caineli [catini piccoli] a giazio e sechii mantoani in tutto n.14*  
*Candelier all'antiga spesso piccolo n.1*  
*Candelieri a giazio n.2*  
*Candelieri de vero n.8*  
*Catelanete spesse chiare et schiete in tutto n.62*  
*Cestele doi a figure, tonde n.2*  
*Cestelle con figure n.3*  
*Cestelle spesse squaræ n.30*  
*Credenziera verde dorade et intagiade, una con coverchio e l'altra senza n.2*  
*Feral grandio storto n.1*  
*Feraleti piccoli schieti n.2*  
*Ferali n.7*  
*Fontana n.1*  
*Franzosini con arme et altri goti con arme smaltade n.33*

*Item altri doi a pimpinela n.2*  
*Goti da cil smaltadi n.2*  
*Goti con morisa verde n.2*  
*Goti da cil chiari n.27*  
*Goti da cil con arme et altre sorte con arme ,in tutto n.18*  
*Goti da cil con arme smaltadi n.9*  
*Goti da cil grandi e schieti n.5*  
*Goti da cil overo canoncini chiari, diversi piccoli et grandi n.34*  
*Goti da cil piccoli a friso d'oro coverchiadi n.16*  
*Goti da cil schieti informadi n.10*  
*Goti da cil smaltadi n.2*  
*Goti da cordes verdi intagiadi n.6*  
*Goti intagiadi con aquile n.6*  
*Goti intagiadi e inquartadi d'oro et uno con friso,in tutto n.4*  
*Goto da spander n.1*  
*Goto de acil smaltado a magnifichi n.1*  
*Goto granda da spander n.1*  
*Hora de vero n.1*  
*Impolete con pipio n.2*  
*Lavoreti diversi azuri et negri n.44*  
*Lavoreti piccoli azuri n.8*  
*Lavoreti diversi piccoli schieti n.13*  
*Lavori diversi n.44*  
*Mastelli grandi doradi doi et uno de redesello in tutto n.3*  
*Mastelli mezani con coverchio con aquila doradi n.4*  
*Mastrapà nuovo e un tapsi n.2*  
*Mastrapani de latimo doradi n.5*  
*Mastrapani lavoradi n.3*  
*Meza nosa con coverchio a schachi n.1*  
*Morisete verde n.2*  
*Paternostri de vero biancho, mazo n.1*  
*Paternostri verdi filze n.4, in tutto sono n.46*  
*Piati mezani e piccoli schieti e chiari e a giazio n.72*  
*Quadreto lustrado a figure con la cassa d'bebano n.1*  
*Quari de lastrelle figuradi (doi piccoli e tre grandi ) n.3*  
*Quare spese longhe n.7*  
*Quare ditte schiete n.12*  
*Saliere a zate [zampe] n.2*  
*Saliere spese a medusa n.6*  
*Sechie mantoane con un lion biancho drento n.2*  
*Sechieli a giazio con zate de lion n.2*  
*Sechieli diversi n.7*  
*Sechieli doradi n.12*

*Sechieli pizoli et grandi schietti, azuri et spessi, in tutto n.25*  
*Spechio de cristal mezan con la cassetta d'bevano lustrado n.1*  
*Tabernaculi schietti e a schachi e a onde et morteri con coverchii n.50*  
*Tabernaculo grandio con zate d'oro n.1*  
*Terace senza coverchio spesse chiare et a zogia et schiete in tutto n.116*  
*Vasi schietti n.2*  
*Vasi chiari n.11*  
*Vasi de redesello grandi con coverchio e senza rotti e boni n.6*  
*Vasi diversi doradi n.26*  
*Vasi diversi lavoradi, parte mezani, parte grandi, parte piccoli n.290*  
*Vasi doradi a fuogo a giazi et schietti con aquila e senza n.32*  
*Vasi doradi a fuogo con li maneghi a foza de lion doradi a fuogo n. 8*  
*Vasi doradi nuovi doradi a putini [puntini] n.3*  
*Vasi grandi a giaso cornisadi d'oro con li coverchi con aquila e senza n.6*  
*Vasi in stampa n.5*  
*Vasi mezani et piccoli, schietti et a giazo et in stampa et no in tutto n.50*  
*Vasi spessi n.6*  
*Vaso nuovo dorado a figure n.1*

*Memoria di vetrerie che si cava di Murano 1592*

Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Mediceo, 1240, c. 110.

In Corti, Gino. 1971. L'industria del vetro di Murano alla fine del secolo XVI in una relazione al Granduca di Toscana. *Studi Veneziani* 13:649-654.

*Venetia si consuma vetri di più sorte, e sono delle fazzioni sotto scritte, per circa*

*duc. 25.000*

*Guastade ordinarie in grosso lire 7 ½ il cento*

*Dette larghe di boccha lire 8 il cento*

*Dette di cristallo bollito lire 40 il cento*

*Bicchieri ordinarii lire 3 in 3 ½ il cento*

*Detti di cristallo ordinarii lire 7 in 7 ½ il cento*

*Detti con oro lire 20 in 21 il cento*

*Detti di cristallo bollito schietti lire 40 il cento*

*Detti lavorati lire 45 cento*

*Occhi da finestre di cristallo ordinario lire 8 fino a 10 il cento*

*Detti piccholi comuni lire 30 in 35 il cento delle libbre;*

*tutti gli altri vanno a numero*

*Per tutta la terraferma del dominio e la Lombardia per e va della sorte sopra detta*

*duc. 15.000*

*Per la Sicilia, Napoli e Roma e Puglia per*

*duc. 12.000*

*nel qual luogo va alcune guastade picchole e bicchieri di cristallo ordinario e de' bolliti la maggior parte, per li prezzi detti di sopra, con alcuni bicchieri e ampolle dipinte, secondo l'uso di quel paese, di niepitella, maiorana, fiori e simili.*

*Per Costantinopoli vetreria di più sorte, per Guastade con il collo lungo con laticino bianco, che vagliano lire 30 fino a 35 il cento* duc. 10.000

*Bochali di vetro coperti, detti mastrapani, simili, lire 50 e 60 e 70, secondo la grandezza  
Lampane di moschee al modo delli ebrei e altre foggie, secondo l'ordine e le bizzarrie di tal gente.*

*In Alessandria d'Egitto vetreria simile a quella di Costantinopoli, per Nel qual luogo vanno cose come in Costantinopoli e Alcune guastade picchole con il collo sottile e lungo* duc. 5.000

*Per Alemagnia ne va pochi, potria esser per Nel qual luogo va bichieri grandi, alti, di più sorte, ma tutti passono lire 25 fino a 30, 35 il cento. Altri coperti e lavorati con laticino et altri colori, che Costano fino a 80 e 90 il cento. Altri in modo di Tabernacoli, alcuni messi a oro, di prezzo di lire 1 ½, lire 2 e 3 e 3 ½ il pezo* duc. 3.000

*Per Lisbona vetraria fina e cristalli assai per* duc. 10.000  
*Cristalli bolliti, grandi, di lire 40 fino a 50 cento, foggie di liono, nave, sporte, fontane, tal pezo lire 1, 1 ½, lire 2, 2 ½ e lire 3 il pezo, e specchio fornite.*

*Per Spagna vetraria come sopra e specchi Margherite, smalti, contarie, paternostrami* duc. 12.000

*Per Soria e Aleppo questi mercanti mandano per* duc. 20.000

*Per Spagna e per l'Indie, per* duc. 30.000

*Specchiami grezzi di più sorte, da lavorare, che vanno per tutto il mondo, per* duc. 40.000

*Avvertendo che questi dua anni non si è venduto per la metà per le penurie passate; e di fornace 40 in circha, che lavorano giorno e notte continuamente, son ridotte al numero di 24 in circha, con apparizione di scemare, se la stagione non restaura, e questi haverne gran quantità adosso.*

*Consuma Murano in vetrerie e paternostrani per meglio di un milione e dugentomila migliaia di sode l'anno.*

*Questo è quanto si è potuto ritrarre, e ci pare che siano tutti li capi che avete domandato. Se bisogna qualche cosa di più, replicate.*

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Fig. 1 - Small vase, Venice, second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century. Brescia, Musei Civici di Arte e Storia, Dono Alessandro Sala, *ante* 1841, inv. VT 93.

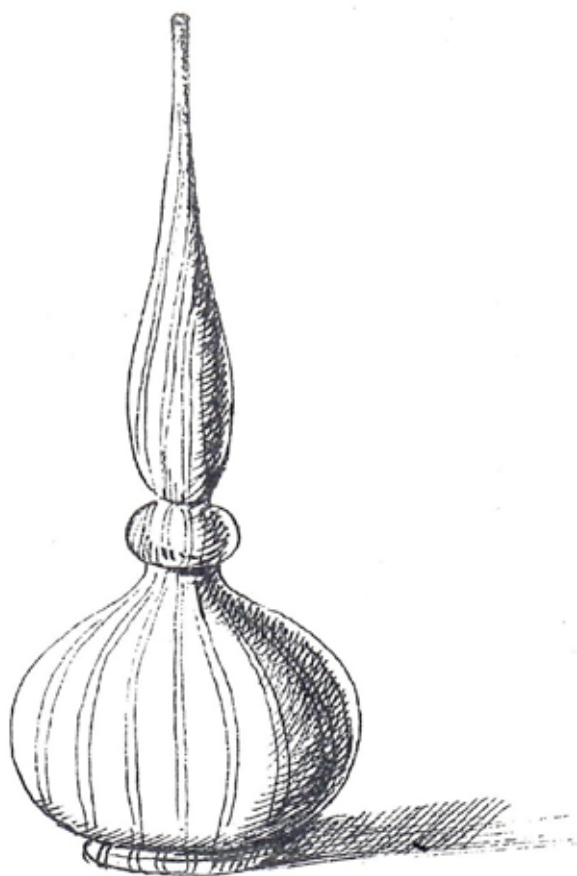


Fig. 2 - Giovanni Maggi, *Bichierografia*, 1604.



Fig. 3 - Enameled *mastrapà*, Venice, early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Murano, Museo del Vetro, inv. classe VI, n. 1004.



Figs. 4-5 - Stangenglas with 'Commedia dell'Arte' characters, Venice, 1570-1580. Hannover, Kestner Museum, inv. R 1906, 61.



Figs. 6-7 - Two Reliquaries, Venice, second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century. Assisi, Convento di San Damiano.





Fig. 8 - Francesco Villamena, *Annunciation*, print, 1603. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, inv. 52358.



Fig. 9 - Bucket, Venice, second half of 16<sup>th</sup> century. Brescia, Musei Civici di Arte e Storia, Legato Camillo Brozzoni, 1963, inv. VT 66.

