Ragged and Unravelling

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Ragged remnants of clothing have immense importance to historians. Witness the Deliberately Concealed Garments Project in which can be found extraordinary items revealed generally by building restoration, including a seventeenth-century doublet discovered in 1990 concealed between the ground and first floors in a shop belonging to an undertaker in Reigate, Surrey. 1 At the same time raggedness lays bare human agency and its limitations. It is this that lies behind the attraction of so many contemporary artists to apparently discarded garments: examples are Christian Boltanski's fifty ton mountain of clothes at the Grand Palais in Paris in 2010 and Anselm Kiefer in his installation Walhalla in 2016. ² Arte Povera artists, including Michelangelo Pistoletto, have also worked with actual rags and with the idea of raggedness. ³ These works involve distressed garments on the road to rags but not yet 'shoddy' ready for recycling. Somewhere between what is perfect and what is fit only for the rag bag lies the unravelling garment, the holes and fraying of which seem to enact a punishment, distressing emotionally as well as materially, representing a break-down of the relationship between body and covering that allows the two to hang in together come what may. Accordingly this has intrigued French post-structuralist Michel Serres who elides artists' canvases, tattooed skins, writers parchments and papers with 'Bits of rag, marked, tattered and torn, heavily embossed, on display for all to see, feeble confessions or occupational stigmata', asking 'are we really anything but these rags? Are we anything more than these ghosts?' 5

To be sure, some unravelling is intentional and managed; in 'drizzling' (or *parsiflage*) metal threads were removed from worn out clothes to be re-used in new, and in the Renaissance 'dagging' and 'slashing' for decorative ends was a feature of fashionable dress.⁶

However, when it is a case of *accidental* loss of substance, the unravelling of threads may expose the inadequacy of human defences in a hostile world while simultaneously offering the bare hope of survival. It is precisely this ambiguity that endows with pathos the tattered regimental flag hanging ceremonially in the nave of a parish church and what enriches language with metaphor.

(fig 1) A dark-skinned, black-haired man of powerful build, with an expression that might be either angry or perplexed or both, stands right hand on hip, left gesturing outward, index finger pointing. At the same time he grasps the frayed end of a cord tied round his waist and knotted in a particular way so that the other end (also frayed) falls vertically between his legs. Apart from the rope, the only thing holding his garment together is one fastening, leaving exposed his chest, his neck and part of his shoulders. His tunic and anklelength hose are cream with grey areas in the shadows. His shoes are remarkably sound given the rest of his garb. The work of which this is a part was completed in 1469 and it is hard to say what the original colour might have been but, against a background that would have been uniformly blue, he must always have been a visually arresting figure. The remnants of his clothes correspond to no recognised male fashion of the period: his tunic seems too long for a doublet. What remains is frayed and tattered (with ribbons of cloth hanging below his knees). His hose has large holes at the knee, the right leg is rolled up and at the crotch barely sufficient cloth remains for decency. However, there is nothing abject about this ragged man and, while the unwholeness of his fraying holeyness might invoke the sought-after raggedness of a pair of fashionable jeans, the hem of his tunic with its ragged appendages flickers and flutters as though charged with cosmic energy in a way quite different from chic cool of the 21st century.

This 'stern and pensive man' ⁷ stands alone but he has company nearby. He is part of a fresco depicting the astrological period March/April under the sign of Aries, a section of the murals in the room of the months at Palazzo Schifanoia. In this complicated programme

of imagery each compartment is divided horizontally: the upper section shows Olympian divinities in triumphal carriages, the middle section shows sign of the zodiac accompanied by mysterious emblematic personages of which the ragged man is one, and the lower section famously shows scenes from life at the Ferrara court with imaginary architecture, labours of the months and courtiers in their fashionable finery. ⁸ The artist responsible for this marvel was Francesco Cossa (1430-1477).

Cossa's ragged man (fig. 1) has a special position in the historiography of Art History: He was the subject of Aby Warburg's first major presentation (in Rome in 1912), an event considered as marking the birth of Iconology as a hermeneutic methodology. 9 Warburg traced this figure to an Indian source transmitted through a ninth century Arabic scholar and ultimately back to classical Antiquity and the figure of the mythological adventurer Perseus in disguise. For him it was proof of the survival of Greek tradition across diverse migrations and of its presence re-born in Renaissance culture. ¹⁰ The ragged man, he argued, emblematised the oscillating movement between demoniac Medieval forces and the Renaissance revival of Antique rationality. Others have remarked that the crucial central sections of the murals present not merely a problem in the history of ideas but constitute a means of accessing the mentality that still in this period held in union logic in the form of astronomy and magic in the form of astrology. ¹¹ Despite the centrality of this figure in historiography I have been unable to find in the extensive literature any discussion of raggedness as a visual trope. The figure's mysterious and assumed mythological status has, at the same time, excluded it from the secondary literature on European imagery of beggars.12

I have dwelt on this image as a way of highlighting the complexity of clothing in a state of disintegration in relation to the body that it (however partially) covers, a state of exposures and occlusions, hints of flesh, partial veilings. Historians have been noticeably poor at recognising raggedness as a visual idiom, often seizing on an image to illustrate

actual poverty. ¹³ Caution is needed, not least since we know that impersonating and dressing up as a beggar was not so uncommon. As Tom Nichol points out, the fluidity of the beggar identity allowed it to operate as a means of facilitating cultural communication. A prominent example of this was when a group of leading Dutch noblemen styled themselves 'Les Gueux' in their petition to Margaret of Austria, governor of the Netherlands, requesting the repeal of religious ordinances against Protestants. ¹⁴ Jacques Callot's ironic use of 'Baroni' for his 1622 suite of twenty-five etchings of ragged beggars is part of the same sophisticated take on mendicants as free spirits, street actors and manipulators of identity.

The Schifanoia ragged man and other images are not in my account part of any social history but are rather a means to try to disentangle the 'textility' of ragged and unravelling textiles. By 'textile' I refer to fabric resulting from weaving, knitting or similar and by 'text' I mean an act of communication registered in some medium that can thereby be semantically analysed. One simple proposition might be that because ragged is almost invariably associated with poverty it serves as a moral prompt, an ethical reminder of a world where fashion and its exigencies have no sway. But that would be grossly to simplify. Just think how the very word catches us out. A rag might be used for cleaning but 'clad in rags' indicates a plurality, a layering perhaps, a cumulative abundance of probably smelly and dirty textiles. Nineteenth-century observers in particular were fascinated by the visual relationship between bodies and their ragged coverings: Hippolyte Taine in *Italy* comments, for example, on 'droll characters' at the Colosseum, their bare knees shining through their rags. ¹⁵ From the end of the Napoleonic wars through the nineteenth century raggedness was an aesthetic category as well as a sociological description: artists including Gustav Courbet and Edouard Manet painted ragged subjects, Henry Mayhew recorded the ragged appearance of subjects on London's streets, and 'ragged schools' was the name given to educational establishments set up to educate the poor. ¹⁶ Ragged as a prefix to beggar became in this period so habitual that it has normalised the relationship between body and covering and

made it harder to deconstruct raggedness as a condition *or* as an image. It has also made it harder to recognise historical contingencies. As Ellen Harlizius-Klück has pointed out, textiles in Antiquity commenced with a woven border (a pre-text) that in the end frames the whole piece that might be draped as a body-covering but might equally well be a wall hanging or a tent. These textiles do not 'rag out' the way constructed garments do. She has suggested therefore that Cossa's ragged man might be a critique of the 'scaffolding' architectural function of Renaissance clothing.¹⁷ Moreover, it has been pointed out that from the very beginning of textile representation in antiquity, rags, old, used, shredded cloths were included in the history of visual symbols, hierarchies and social stigmata, not least in the theatre. Moreover rags were, and still are, used in cult practices of Jewish, Christian and Muslim populations of the Near East. ¹⁸ In The Book of Isaiah rags are 'filthy' meaning dirty 'menstrual cloths' - and the phrase 'on the rag' was at least until recently a commonplace euphemism for menstruation.

With the process of modern industrialisation rags came to designate social failure and were often, though not always, specific to the urban beggar. I am not attempting here to contribute to these narratives nor to address either the many images of charity invoking social relations or the widespread nineteenth-century interest in rag pickers and recycling. Instead I want to focus on the theoretical problem of where ragged stands conceptually in relation to notions of the clothing and textiles in which such material originates. My overdetermined image of ragged as a formless, undifferentiated mass is based less on observation of life than on the encoded forms of representation in which the shapeless ragged beggar has a special place - particularly in the etchings of Rembrandt (1606-1669) and Jacques Callot (1592-1635). One way of measuring the pared-down distinctive rags of the Ferrara ragged man (fig. 1) is in relation to the undifferentiated mass of raggedness that characterises the work of these two masters of the ragged albeit a hundred and fifty yeas later.

The angry man' depicted by Cossa (fig. 1) is the antithesis of his garments. While his physique is coherently powerful, his dress tells us that ragged is the unmaking of something previously put together. Unravelling decomposes textiles, draws attention to threads, confuses boundaries (hems and seams) that were the markers of successful construction and generates holes on the one hand and patches (or superimpositions) on the other that challenge the coherence of both material and style - which is perhaps why Rembrandt, as an artist who explored boundaries of medium and material his entire life, found them so interesting (fig.2). Ragged is a counterpoint to the positive of human creativity and a reminder that textility is a means of managing flux. The ur example would be Penelope awaiting the return of Ulysses, weaving in the day and then unravelling her work at night in order to control the persistence of her suitors. What Penelope engages in, as Derrida points out, is an undoing that is not the diminution he observed as his aunts cast off stitches in their knitting. Undoing leaves uncertainty in its wake 'without knowing if what remains to come will still deserve the name of text, especially in the figure of a textile'. ¹⁹

Deleuze and Guattari draw attention to the important relationship between what is planar and what is woven: the latter they term 'striated space' pointing out that a woven (striated) fabric can be infinite in length but not in width which is determined by the frame of the warp. They go on to discuss 'anti-fabric' and its relations of variables and constants: felt, embroidery, and patchwork which they describe as 'an amorphous collection of juxtaposed pieces that can be joined together in an infinite number of ways.' ²⁰ Although extrapolating from such generalisations is problematic, I find this helpful in trying to work out how we might define the textility of raggedness. Only the body endows rags with form, serving to remind the viewer of drapery as a pre-constructed (and perhaps even pre-discursive) textile. On their own, rags are a shapeless mass, a pathetic heap. The controlling elements of weft and warp evidenced in the selvedge (self-edge), the 'closed space' ²¹ implied by the back and forth motion of the loom, are therefore annihilated in ragged cloth.

The most eloquent signifier of this conflict between making and undoing is the frayed edge exposing the technological origins of stuff. The frayed borders of the ragged man's rags remind us of the weft and warp that are fundamental to spatial relations (fig 1). Fraying is, along with holeyness, the most dynamic aspect of unravelling textile. It is striking that the disintegrating clothing of the angry man is held together with a rope, the ends of which fray but which in its entirety looks remarkably robust. A very distinctive knot joins the end; this slip knot invites speculation as to who is being asked to pull it. It centres the image like an umbilical trace. Knots are intrinsic to weaving as well as to other ways of producing textiles like knitting and crocheting. Semper believed that string was 'probably the oldest artistic product', reminding us that thread is the pre-requisite of textile and the knot perhaps the oldest technical symbol. ²² More recently Michel Serres has proposed the knot or tangle as a central figure in our understanding of relations between things that appear separate.²³ So our ragged man exhibits, we might say, in and on his person, both the process of unravelling and the means of re-making. Moreover, since the textility of the knot is fundamental to ideas of travel by water, might we not conclude Cossa's angry man is, or has been a sailor rather than a traveller by magic steed as posited by Warburg? And what better candidate than Odysseus himself, the man of powerful physique but dressed in rags. Here he is as he prepares unrecognised to fight the beggar Irus at the threshold of his occupied palace:

They all shouted approval of the prince [ie Telemachus who had assured him of fair play] as Odysseus belted up, roping his rags around his loins,

baring his big rippling thighs - his boxer's broad shoulders,

his massive chest and burly arms on full display

as Athena stood beside him

fleshing out the limbs of the great commander...²⁴

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The holes in garments that are a characteristic of Odysseus on his return and of Cossa's ragged man are, like holes in houses, symptomatic of a return to nature, a decivilising. No one describes this de-civilising more movingly than Shakespeare's King Lear when he stands on the heath aged, alone and abandoned by all but his Fool and addresses all poverty-stricken people, describing their raggedness as 'looped' and 'windowed', that is as unravelling and full of holes, or windows:

Poor naked wretches, whereso'er you are,

That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,

How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,

Your looped and windowed raggedness, defend you? ²⁵

Tim Ingold's assertion that 'makers have to work in a world that does not stand still until the job is completed, and with materials that have properties of their own and are not necessarily predisposed to fall into the shapes required of them, let alone stay in them indefinitely' ²⁶ is, I suggest, illuminating for a consideration of ragged which is, if you like, the return of the repressed of 'civilisation'. But his rejection of what he terms the hylomorphic leaves little space for the wearer. The consonance between skin and rags is present in the fascination in western culture with the flayed body. ²⁷ Thinking about Ingold's reversal of the established model of invention and the imposition of form on matter I find myself wondering whether part of the aesthetic fascination with raggedness (of which designers like Martin Margiela are examples), might be identified as material that repudiates a call to order, that breaks free and animates itself. Alberti in 1435 advised artists on the movement of the inanimate and reminded them that if draperies were blowing it was a good idea to add an indication that there was a wind. ²⁸ Cloth is heavy he points out, and falls to

earth. But the rags of the angry man in Ferrara (fig. 1) have a vitality all their own, as indeed do all the mythological personages in the Palazzo Schifanoia murals who appear animated by invisible forces by contrast with the courtiers constrained in their structured clothing.

Writing about this figure Warburg does not allude to this self-animating textility though it was he who, later, inspired by observations made by Hippolyte Taine on his Italian journey in 1866 ²⁹ became deeply preoccupied with the figure now known (after Warburg) as the *nympha* from Ghirlandaio's fresco in the Tornabuoni chapel (1486-90) in Sta Maria Novella in Firenze. ³⁰The flickering hemlines of the fruit-bearing nymph were not entirely without precedent since they are notable features of certain schools of Medieval manuscript illumination (as for example with the Winchester Bible) but they animate this figure with an energy seemingly generated from within. According to Semper, the hem is a frame, 'it satisfies the principle of planimetric regularity in that its units or members arrange themselves around what is framed as the only center of reference.' ³¹ Like fraying, this wild disregard for stasis is, then, a further disruption to the striated ordering function of textiles.

The tension between material creativity and the elemental (a return to cosmogonic chaos) that I have identified in the ragged man at Ferrara (fig.1) inspired Rembrandt and Callot in the seventeenth century to study raggedness not as in subsequent centuries as part of a debate about poverty, and not as in the sixteenth century as part of religious or mythological iconography but seemingly for its own sake and above all through the graphic medium of etching. In conclusion therefore I want to bring together two ideas - Ingold's vexed relationship of maker and material and Semper's idea of the hem as a frame serving as a centring device - in order to try to understand what is going on in Rembrandt's etchings of beggars (fig.2; fig 3).

Etching - neither painting nor drawing - offers the potential for erasure, scraping, burnishing, altering, re-coating with ground, re-drawing and re-etching. Looked at closely Rembrandt's etchings often seem like a rehearsal for the definitive gesture. ³² At the same

time etching might be said to be a medium in which maker yields control since the grooves in the plate, which are ultimately going to produce the ink lines on paper, depend on the agency of acid eating away the metal plate. The medium offers the artist freedom as he or she draws directly with a needle onto a wax surface that has been laid on a metal plate. When this is placed in an acid bath the acid eats lines into the plate where the wax has been penetrated by the etching needle. When the rest of the wax ground is cleaned off the plate is ready to be inked and placed in the printing press. What emerges is, of course, in reverse. It is a print. The artist exploits the unpredictable element that is part also of raggedness and unravelling. The medium therefore replicates the natural processes whereby time eats away at fabric until what was terminated or framed by hems and seams transforms into rags. It shares the accidental quality of raggedness in which 'foul bites' are left to stand in their expressiveness. ³³Just as the weft and warp of fabric is made up of so many threads or strings so line in these etchings is the animating force that renders what is - qua subject - incoherent into its own state of equilibrium.

It is a characteristic of Rembrandt's etchings of beggars that generally faces and hands - and to an extent also feet - are obscured in shadow, subsumed within the ragged mass. Once we set aside the instinctive desire to locate a human subject we recognise this old woman with her flask slung from a cord over her back (fig. 2) is a mass of remarkably closely observed and disintegrating textiles. While her back and her shadowy profile are marked out by a defining contour, her front, her arm and the lower edge of her garments are jagged approximations. The etching needle has strayed (especially down the left side) creating uncertainty about where material margins should be understood to be. There is something not only assertive but also incipiently aggressive about the layerings of textile and meandering lower edges. This unevenness of hem, or shall we call it border, is what above all defines raggedness as a visual trope in graphic art. In an era when dress was constructed in an almost architectural way the disintegration of textiles becomes an arena of visual

poetics to be represented by scratchy lines and harshly jagged contours. And in case we were in any doubt that Rembrandt is engaging with textiles there is a large patch on her back with the stitches readily discernible even when little else is.

If we consider Cossa's ragged man (fig. 1) alongside another of Rembrandt's beggar etchings (fig. 3) it becomes clear that ragged can never be a single category. Francesco Cossa's figure, standing at ease on muscular legs, is an image of inner vitality, his ragged coat and unravelling sleeves so dynamic he almost seems to steady or steer the whole ensemble like a boatswain with a rudder. By contrast Rembrandt's beggar with a stick and a patch on his elbow is a bundle of rags that cover him all over leaving only his face exposed. Bristles of hair and beard echo the jagged edges of his rags and the scratching of etching tool. Although, like the Ferrarese figure (fig. 1), there are strings dangling from his clothes, here they fall sadly earthwards without the least suggestion of vitality. Art historians might argue that these differences can be explained by reference to the development of naturalism and an interest in low life subjects in the seventeenth century whereas Cossa was working with a visual vocabulary rooted in astrology and mythology and fostered in the d'Este court. And of course there is truth in that but it is not the full story. In both images the viewer is drawn into an engagement with something in process, an organic undoing of the artifice that constitutes a garment. And, furthermore, what both images have in common is a sense of how fundamental that process is to being in the world upon which our ideas of what it is to be an individual rest.

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Stockholm University where this paper was first aired in 2017 and to those attending the Association for Art History conference in London in 2018 who offered me all sorts of helpful leads.

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¹ http://www.concealedgarments.org/

² The Kiefer show was at White Cube, Bermondsey, London. The garments may of course be made for the purpose and subsequently distressed.

³ This is discussed by Mateusz Kapustka in his far-reaching paper 'Rags' in Anika Reineke, Anne Röhl and Tristan Weddigen, Textile Terms: A Glossary, *Textile Studies*, March 2017 p. 14

⁴ On 'shoddy' see Madeleine Ginsburg, 'Rags to Riches: The Second-Hand Clothes Trade 1700-1978, *Costume*, 14, 1980, 121-135, p. 128. Hanna Rose Shell has announced (2018) a forthcoming book on contract to Chicago University Press, *Shoddy: Textiles, Technology and Identity in Rags* that is likely to be of interest in relation to my topic, https://www.colorado.edu/filmstudies/hanna-rose-shell.

⁵ Michel Serres, *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies* (1985), London and NY 2008, transl Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley, p. 76.

⁶ Edwina Ehrman kindly informed me that 'drizzling' was a respectable occupation for ladies.

⁷ Paolo D'Ancona, *The Schifanoia Months at Ferrara*, trans. Lucia Karsnik, Milan: Ed del Milione, 1954, p. 17.

According to Ranieri di Varese, the costumes shown are faithful to contemporary life and the head gear and clothing of the symbolic personages in the central sections are so realistic and precise as to suggest familiarity with old inventions perhaps through designs for theatre or spectacle, Ranieri di Varese, *Atlante di Schifanoia*, Modena: Ed. Panini, 1989, p. 229. This book contains an essay by Stella Mary Newton, dress historian, 'Gli Abiti negli affreschi di Palazzo Schifanoia', pp. 229-233 in which no mention is made of Cossa's ragged man.

⁹ Cinzia Fratucello and Christina Knorr, eds., *Il Cosmo incantato di Schifanoia: Aby Warburg e la storia delle immagini astrologiche*, Ferrara: Palazzo Schifanoia 1998, pp. 11-12, 15-21, 54, 64; E.H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, London: The

Warburg Institute, 1970. See also Frank Kermode, *Forms of Attention*, Chicago and London, 1985: University of Chicago Press, 1985, ch. 1 'Botticelli Rediscovered'.

Warburg argued that the strange symbolic figurations accompanying in groups of three the signs of the zodiac are very remote echoes of symbols belonging to Greco-Alexandrine astrology, allusive to Virtues and influences of planets on men. Alexandria learned from Egypt the ancient system of dividing astronomical years not according to 12 signs and zones of the zodiac but according to 36 decani corresponding to various constellations and they blended this system with the Greek one. See Paolo D'Ancona, op. cit., p. 16.

- For a full explanation see Cinzia Fratucello and Christina Knorr, op. cit., pp. 11-12; p. 64. It is now generally regarded that Warburg's conclusions were 'unsustainable', see Kristen Lippincott, 'Between Text and Image: Incident and Accident in the History of Astronomical and Astrological Illustration' in Philippe Morel, ed., *L'Art de la Renaissance entre Science et Magie*, Rome: Académie de France, 2006, 3-34. Lippincott discusses Perseus figures and their sources pp. 3-5.
- Marco Bertozzi, 'Schifanoia: Il Salone dei dipinti perduti con un appendice su Aby Warburg: lo stile del paganesimo antico', in Maurizio Bonora ed., *Lo Zodiaco del Principe*, Ferrara:Maurizio Tosi, 1992, pp. 23-33, p. 24.On the relevance of the iconographical scheme to the intellectual interests of the court of Ferrara see Kristen Lippincott, The Iconography of the Salone dei mesi and the Study of Latin Grammar in Fifteenth-century Ferrara' in La Corte di Ferrara e il Suo Mercantismo 1441-1598, *Atti del Convegno Internazionale*, Copenhagen. 1987, 93-110.
- Tom Nichol, *The Art of Poverty: Irony and ideal in sixteenth-century beggar imagery*, Manchester:MUP 2007 also focuses on the century prior to the Schifanoia figure.
- Pace John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007. In ch. 3 of his book Styles offers evidence for the use the term 'ragged' in relation to the administration of the poor law. However, the images with which he illustrates this chapter are assumed unproblematically to represent raggedness as a condition.
- ¹⁴ Tom Nichol, op. cit. p. 239.
- ¹⁵ Hippolyte Taine *Italy: Rome and Naples, Florence and Venice*, trans. John Durand, 3rd ed. 1 vol. London: Williams and Norgate, 1871, p. 129 "Types of Real Life'.
- ¹⁶ Edouard Manet, *The Old Beggar*, 1865-70, Norton Simon Museum; Gustav Courbet, *The Charity of a Beggar at Ornans*, 1868, The Burrell Collection, Glasgow'; Henry Mayhew,

London Labour and the London Poor, published in serial form in the 1840s and in three volumes in London in 1851 by George Woodfall and Sons.

- Personal communication 10 April 2018. http://www.deutschesmuseum.de/forschung/wissenschaftl-mitarbeiter/dr-ellen-harlizius-klueck/.
- ¹⁸ I am indebted much in this paragraph to Mateusz Kapustka, op. cit., p. 191. I thank Victoria Mitchell for drawing it to my attention.
- ¹⁹ Hélene Cixous Jacques Derrida, *Veils*, trans. Geoffrey Bennington, Stanford: Stanford UP 2002, pp. 21-2, p. 24.
- ²⁰ Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, 'The Smooth and the Striated' in *A Thousand Plateaus*, trans. Brian Massumi (1988), London: Bloomsbury, 2013, pp. 553-4.
- ²¹ Ibid p. 553.
- Gottfried Semper, *Der Stil in der technischen und tektonischen Kunsten* (1860-62) *Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts, Or, Practical Aesthetics*, trans. xxxx, Getty Publications, 2004, p. 113, p. 219. My observation on knots has been informed by the plates in P. R. Hodge [pseudonym Tom Bowling] *The Book of Knots*, London: Robert Hardwicke, 1866.
- Michel Serres, *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies* (1985), trans. Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley, London and New York: Continuum, 2008. p. 78.
- Homer, *The Odyssey* Book 18, 76-79, trans. Robert Fagles, New York: Viking Books, 1996.
- William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act 3, scene 4.
- ²⁶ Tim Ingold, 'The Textility of Making', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 34: 2010, p.
- 93, downloaded from http://cje.oxfordjournals.org/ advance access July 2009.
- See Serres op. cit.
- ²⁸ Leon Battista Alberti, Della Pittura *On Painting*, Book II, trans. John R. Spencer, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp. 80-1.
- Hippolyte Taine, op. cit.
- ³⁰ This is discussed also by Mateusz Kapustka, op. cit., p. 192
- Gottfried Semper, op. cit. p. 161.
- ³² I owe this phrase to print-maker Carl Rowe.
- ³³ A 'foul bite' occurs when acid attacks the plate indiscriminately.