

# Jewels in Spain

1500 – 1800



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# Foreword

*Joy*, and *jewel* as well as the Spanish *joya*, are cognate nouns having among their antecedents the Latin *gaudium*, meaning joy, gladness and delight, and *jocus*, a plaything, toy or trinket. But *jewel*, a product of the intervention of the Middle English and Old French *juel*, no longer conveys, as might *joya* for English readers aware of its cognate *joy*, the sense of pleasurable response expressed by its Spanish equivalent. Thus the more evocative “*Joyas in Spain*,” rather than “*Jewels in Spain*,” would, if practicable, have been my preference in titling this work.

*Jewels in* and not *of* Spain, or simply “Spanish jewels,” is a delimitation which could not be obviated, for, as many realize, jewels encountered within national borders are not necessarily of that nation in origin or style. A second delimitation, that of the three-century time span considered, while unfortunately eliminating such treasures as Spain’s Visigothic crowns or the works of Barcelona’s Art Nouveau jewelers, permits concentration on those years in which goldsmiths in Spain as elsewhere realized their fullest triumph as individual artist-craftsmen. Indeed, I can only hope to have treated fairly by synthesization the vast quantity of source material available encompassing these three centuries.

Limits other than those indicated in the title have also been drawn. Crown jewels, jewels decorating religious images, jeweled chivalric order pendants, are not per se the subject of this study; they have been introduced, however, within

the context of historical and stylistic developments.

This new edition of my *Jewels in Spain 1500–1800*, first published some forty years ago, presents major enhancements. New color illustrations replace most black-and-white reproductions. Changes in classification and/or location of objects are incorporated in revised illustration captions. And a greatly enlarged bibliography acknowledges the proliferation of interest in the study of jewels during more than a quarter century.

The many significant developments that have come forth to expand our knowledge of jewels in the Peninsula (and elsewhere) encompass scholarly researches and publications, increased access to archival resources, discoveries of pieces long hidden from view, and new scientific technologies. The last, for example, can confirm that some prized jewels thought to date from 1500–1800 are in fact of much later date, and therefore to be identified as “Renaissance-style” or “Renaissance-Revival” jewels.

The heightened publication of inventories recording jewels once in royal collections, church treasuries, and in private collections alerts us to their kinds. Yet, descriptive details are uncommon. Fortunately, a visual complement exists in guild examination drawings submitted by young Barcelona goldsmiths through more than three centuries. Chronologically arranged in the *Llibres de Passanties* preserved in the city’s Arxiu Històric, the earliest designs are of around 1500, while

subsequent drawings are signed and dated. Similar, though less complete *libros de exámenes* in Seville, Pamplona and Valencia archives have also become known. But although the drawings endure (and could thereafter be copied), few of the corresponding pieces created during the proficiency examinations survive.

Other evidences of jewels have come forth, however. Even as preparation of *Jewels in Spain 1500–1800* progressed, reports began to emerge of underwater explorations whose discoveries included jewels lost in disasters at sea. Thus were revealed items (now in the Ulster Museum, Belfast) from the *Girona*, the Spanish Armada ship destroyed off the Irish coast in 1588 (fig. 1). Wrecksites of “treasure” galleons that foundered in Atlantic waters on returning to the Peninsula from the Americas also bared jewels; as did those of ships wrecked in the Pacific while carrying principally Asian cargoes from Manila to Acapulco. Despite the often battered or fragmentary condition of artifacts

long submerged, they illustrate the many dimensions of trade and tastes then current. More importantly, they allow a view of modest as well as costly jewels which otherwise rarely elude smelting to satiate demands for gold, while gems met reuse in jewels designed to gratify ever-changing fashion. Absent a knowledge of the diversity represented among such pieces now retrieved from the past, *Jewels in Spain 1500–1800* admittedly essentially reflects Peninsular wealth and power.

Quintessential among underwater excavations, are those begun in 1985 of the scattered wreckage of *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, destroyed during a storm near the Florida keys while en route to Spain in 1611. A prodigious wealth of gold was uncovered—ingots, ornamented objects, devotional and secular jewels, and lengthy chains—as well as a plethora of Latin American emeralds (selected artifacts remain in the Mel Fisher Maritime Museum, Key West, Florida). Notably, forms, motifs, and craftsmanship soon recog-

nized as southeast Asian and native American surfaced alongside pieces familiar within a European tradition. Similarly, two earrings reportedly from the wreck site of the *San Antonio*, a Portuguese merchant ship demolished on Bermuda’s treacherous reefs in 1621 while carrying some 5,000 pounds of gold and silver from Cartagena to Cádiz, merge Old and New World motifs (fig. 2). The cartouche-framed faces crowned with plumes recall the faces/masks enclosed in cartouches topped with scallop-shell ornament familiar in 16th and 17th-century European Mannerist design. The adaption is suggestive of a New World origin. Also, the earrings differ from one another in color of gold, the faceted stones, and casting of their uppermost sections; where and when they were made (and copied) may only be determinable through scientific analyses.

An intuitive impression that a curious pendant with chain found on an east coast Florida beach in 1962 was Asian could be corroborated. When seen in

FIG. 1  
Cameo from the *Girona*. Belfast, Ulster Museum



FIG. 2  
Earrings from the *San Antonio*. Bermuda, National Museum of Bermuda (Incorporating Bermuda Maritime Museum)



FIG. 3  
Battered cross from *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*





FIG. 6  
Fray Diego de Ocaña, *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (Our Lady of Guadalupe) (detail), 1601. Sucre, Cathedral



FIG. 7  
Tomás Yepes, *Virgen de los Desamparados* (Our Lady of the Forsaken), 1644. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, Convent of Las Descalzas Reales

a master craftsman and restorer known to both Vasters and Spitzer, could enter distinguished public and private collections as Renaissance jewels. As his casts (reproduced in Kugel 2000) demonstrate, André's source materials included Renaissance (or Renaissance-style) jewels as well as damaged and fragmented pieces presumably to be restored or created anew in his workshop.

A contemporary affinity for Spanish decorative arts, attested to by the pursuits in Spain of baron Jean-Charles Davillier, perhaps gave impetus to André's production of pendants replicating those of Spain. For Davillier's collections, exhibited museum-like in his Paris home, were known to collectors, including Spitzer. Davillier was an active participant in the

Pilar auction at Zaragoza in 1870, and among the illustrations in his *Recherches sur l'orfèvrerie en Espagne au moyen âge et à la renaissance*, published in Paris in 1879, are a number reproducing draw-

ings in the *Llibres de Passanties* that he had examined in Barcelona. Although it cannot now be verified that André himself traveled to Spain, where he might have gathered jewels that he cast, his work

was respected by Spain's king Alfonso XII, who in 1885, entrusted him with the restoration—masterfully carried out in André's studio—of the venerated reliquary casket revered in the Escorial monastery since the late sixteenth century.

With André's plaster casts known, doubts I experienced in 1988 on reexamining a splendid jeweled and enameled pendant shaped as a ferocious and ugly fish (illustrated in *Jewels in Spain 1500-1800* as "late XVI century") were validated. Casts and jewel differ only insignificantly (figs. 8 and 9). Clearly, the pendant is of "Renaissance-style," if André's model was perhaps a Renaissance example. (Several other fish pendants, including one in London's British Museum, closely resemble another of André's casts, evidently made from an imperfect model perhaps in his studio for restoration or replication.)

André's casts for a pendant presenting a cock upon a curving cornucopian base, however, can seem to rely upon a design drawn in Barcelona in 1620 (fig. 174), which also shows the pendant as with cut stones to be set in its base (fig. 11). And a similar though less costly enameled pendant in the Barcelona Cathedral treasury, without gems although with



FIG. 8  
Fish pendant, Renaissance style, enameled gold with emeralds and pendent pearls. Formerly New York, private collection; present location unknown

FIG. 9  
Cast for fish pendant. Paris, Maison André

FIG. 10  
Cock pendant, ca. 1620, enameled gold. Barcelona, Cathedral Treasury

FIG. 11  
Cast for cock pendant. Paris, Maison André

suspension chains like those in André's model, is logically believed to have been made in Barcelona in the early seventeenth-century (fig. 10). But even as some propose that all pendants corresponding to those shown in the Barcelona *Llibres de Passanties* were produced in the city (as may have been André's model), the casts from André's workshop demonstrate that he, at least, could generate copies that might credibly deceive. Still, his recreations made from conceivably antique pieces he had at hand could preserve forms otherwise no longer recoverable.

Restoration also affects identification of paintings. Thus, the caption of the portrait titled "Francisco Rizi (?), *Countess of Fuenrubia*," which signaled my disinclination to associate the work with Francisco Rizi (1608–1685), now reads, "Unknown Spanish artist, *Countess of Fuenrubia* (?)" (fig. 195). For, conservation work that followed donation of the painting to the Hispanic Society in 1990 revealed that the inscription lettered on its surface, which led to its publication in 1919 as a portrait of the Countess by Rizi, was an easily removed later addition.

With newly accessible evidences and technical resources, questions involving origins and dating increasingly find resolution—though visual scrutiny first alerts.

Just as the forty-year interval preceding this edition of *Jewels in Spain 1500-1800* dictates inclusion of this Preface, so does this Preface afford an opportunity to express my indebtedness to the many who have shared their knowledge and enthusiasms. Far more numerous than the years themselves, I can now only universally extend to all my deepest appreciation.

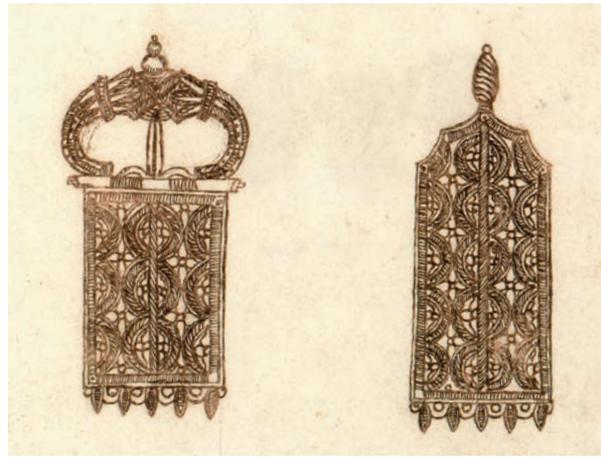
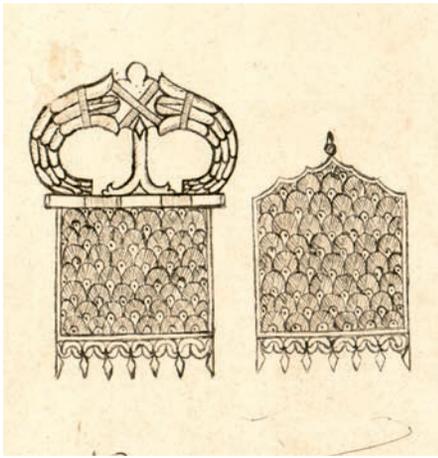


FIG. 26  
Buckle and mordant design, ca. 1500, brown ink on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 7. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

FIG. 27  
Buckle and mordant design, ca. 1500, brown ink over black chalk on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 29. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

Isabella to Catherine's sister, Maria of Portugal, in 1500.

Buckles (*hebillas*), as well as chain and belt clasps, were often enameled or jeweled and frequently carried pendants. Patterned buckles and belt ends shown in two drawings from Barcelona reflect one type, perhaps intended to be worked in metal alone (figs. 26, 27).<sup>40</sup> One belt set made by Hans of Ulm for Isabella's

father, Juan II, in Valladolid in 1453 included terminal, buckle and six bosses, all of gold enameled brownish-gray, green and vermilion; pendant was an enameled heart.<sup>41</sup> By 1499 however, a *hebillas* given by Isabella to Margarita was itself considered an important jewel (*joyel*). Of gold with two large pearls, a ruby and pointed octagonal diamond, it was designed in the form of two serpents.<sup>42</sup>

The design of the pendants which hung from chains or silken ribbons and cords, as of such other jewels as hat ornaments, continued until late in the fifteenth century within the basically geometric composition of late medieval jewel design. Squared, diamonded, triangular, circular, trefoiled and quatrefoiled, such pendants held but a limited number of gems and occasional mounted or pendent pearls.

FIG. 28  
Pendant, late XV century, jeweled and enameled gold. Formely Barcelona, Cathedral Treasury



FIG. 29  
Pendant design, ca. 1515, brown ink over black chalk on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 53. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

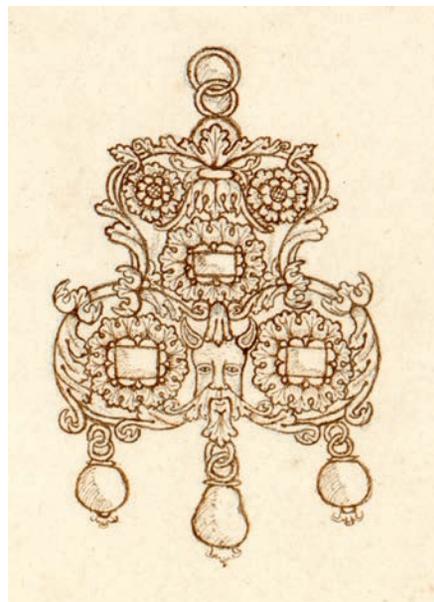
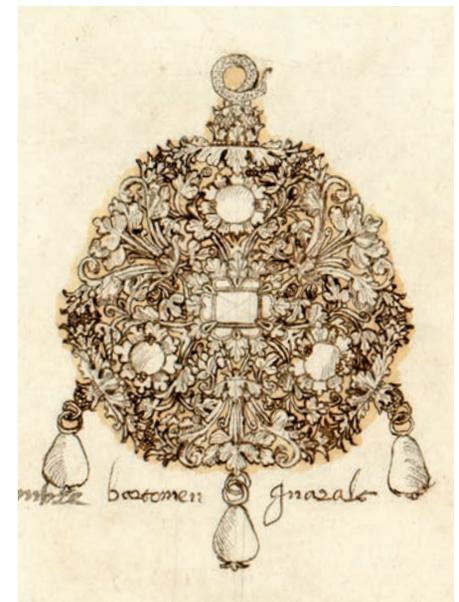


FIG. 30  
Bartomeu Guaralt, pendant design, 1518, brown ink and ocher wash on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 63. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona



One formerly in the Barcelona Cathedral treasury (fig. 28), or another in a Hispano-Flemish border illumination (fig. 23, lower right, second from the lower edge), illustrate some modification in framework which had existed earlier almost solely to support display of gems and pearls, as in the well-known, non-Hispanic “Three Brethren” pendant taken by Charles the Bold at Basel.<sup>43</sup> In the years around 1500, with emphasis to a large extent shifting from gems to less costly ingredients, the artistic skills of jewelers were drawn to the fore as their attention was directed to exploitation of the adornment potential of the metal itself and the need or wish to apply to it all their resources of design and craftsmanship. Two Barcelona drawings of the second decade of the sixteenth century (figs. 29, 30) exemplify this focus on intricate design in the metal.

Crosses, worn pendent at the neck or suspended from rosaries, were often gemmed although less valuable materials, with a marked preference for coral and enamels, were widely used. During the 1480’s, Isabella ordered from her jewelers several enameled gold crosses, some of gold with diamonds and rubies and two of gold-mounted coral.<sup>44</sup> In 1483, Vegil made for her a cross with the device of the crusade, and four years later the *platero* Fernando was assigned the gold necessary for another cross of the crusade which was to have on it a *venera*, most probably in this instance the scallop-shell emblem.<sup>45</sup> This emblematic cross with *venera* is seen in existing portraits of the queen (fig. 31).<sup>46</sup> In 1499, six diamonds, one pointed and five table-cut, were set in a gold cross suspended from a single-turn thin gold mesh



FIG. 31  
 Juan de Flandes (?), *Queen Isabella* (detail),  
 ca. 1500, oil on wood. Patrimonio Nacional,  
 Madrid, Royal Palace [inv. 10072266]

chain given to Margarita by Ferdinand and Isabella; in a second were twenty diamonds; a third had four large, heart-shaped diamonds and a large pendent pearl.<sup>47</sup> A diamond and pearl cross also hung, as noted previously, from a pearl necklace owned by Isabel of Aragon. A sizable *sapia* (sapphire) was centered in

a tubular gold cross of *troncos* design described in 1503; another in the same inventory held nine large corals.<sup>48</sup> Relatively simple crosses with table-cut stones and pearls were pictured in contemporary manuscript border illuminations (fig. 23); reverses displayed champlevé enamels, or niello (fig. 22).



FIG. 38  
Moorish necklace from Mondújar (Granada),  
xv century, gold. Madrid, Museo Arqueológico  
Nacional [inv. 51033]



FIG. 39  
Hispano-Moresque cassolette, early  
xvi century, enameled gold with emeralds  
and rubies. New York, Hispanic Society  
of America [R3402]



FIG. 40  
Moorish ring from Granada, early xvi century,  
silver. Paris, Musée du Louvre [OA 3000]

for her coifs, eighty enameled pieces. One set of 102 enameled units was intended for both coif and cap trimming. Sixty small and fifty-one large, double-faced Saint Catherine's wheels, seventy-two wheel-like pieces decorated with fleurs-de-lis and twenty-four enameled fleurs-de-lis ordered in the same years from Barcelona were perhaps for similar use; *cinta* pendants (*jocallos*) with small flowers and counter-enameled hearts in sets of twenty were also in the Barcelona order, as were seven dozen *cinta* terminals (*cabos*).<sup>78</sup> The pea-pod and scallop-shell units ornamenting Catherine of Aragon's coif and collar (fig. 25) demonstrate application of the quantities of identical pieces mentioned in contemporary lists.

Ornaments designated in Isabella's accounts as for the coiffure included gold and enameled gold pendants (*pinjantes*), bugle beads (*cañutos*) of drawn gold (*oro tyrado*) and *alfileres*, or hairpins, designed "para jugar y para tocar," or to gambol about and give finish to the coiffure. Jeweled and enameled headbands (cf. fig. 15) were also commissioned from Isabella's jewelers. In 1487, Alzedo created a model for a headband of enameled gold and made for the infanta a band with matching *tocadillo*, or head covering; two years later, Vallesteros received payment for a gold headband (*tira de cabeza*).<sup>79</sup>

Bracelets, listed as *ajorcas*, *manillas* and *brazaletes*, were worn in pairs for

they were consistently recorded in even-numbered sets. Isabella bought pairs of gold *manillas*, occasionally enameled, and in one instance, a single bracelet set with diamonds; separately, she ordered enameled hinges for *manillas* that were to be given to her daughter.<sup>80</sup> Also in Isabella's accounts were four enameled filigree gold *axorcas*, a *brazalete* with gold *aldabas* (knockers, probably bulky charms), *manillas* of glass (*vidrio*) for the infanta and a bracelet with enameled clasps and terminals on which Vegil was to place "certain" pearls.<sup>81</sup> Precious stones from a pax and a piece of gold chain were assigned to her *plateros* Vegil and Velasco for use in bracelets.<sup>82</sup> In November, 1500, she

FIG. 41  
Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Infanta Maria Ana* [detail], 1607, oil on canvas. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum [GG-3268]



FIG. 42  
Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, *Infanta Ana Mauricia* [detail] 1602. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, Convent of Las Descalzas Reales





FIG. 49  
Pendant (obverse and reverse), XVI century,  
enameled gold with rubies and emeralds.  
Paris, Musée du Louvre [OA 2321]

may have alerted Europeans to such creatures as jewels, though again amuletic and symbolic implications cannot be entirely dismissed,<sup>140</sup> the Peninsular designs are totally within the European mode, their surface patterns dependent upon European tradition. Aboriginal stylizations of the natural conformations of, for example,

the turtle shell (fig. 45) were foregone and may indeed have been imperceptible to eyes and minds of Conquest-period chroniclers who rendered unqualified praise to naturalism in native jewels. In terms of the regard in which early sixteenth-century minds, re-awakened to naturalism in art, held it estimable (though one might

now see it as nullified to varying degrees by stylization), it would appear that reports of Indian achievements in rendering the natural rather than actual verity of interpretation provided the impulse. Reflecting criteria of the time in art, those reports saw lifelikeness, together with ingenuity and virtuosity, as most desirable qualities. Understandably, and with excitement, these qualities were read into aboriginal art. Emphasis on lifelikeness—as attained in antiquity or by the aborigine—stimulated the Renaissance craftsman to emulation. But realizing that he must demonstrate ingenuity and virtuosity as well, the artist-craftsman, having recourse for the most part solely within his own framework of artistic experience, availed himself, as did Barcelona’s turtle pendant designer, of patterns developed within an Old World heritage. Thus the sixteenth-century Spanish designer who produced the frog or turtle pendants (figs. 49, 51) sought not merely to exhibit knowledge of, and ability to faithfully convey, the natural, but simultaneously to satisfy demands for ingenuity and virtuosity in creating a work of art. He would have seen in his work not discrepancy between actuality and jewel but praiseworthy enhancement of nature, in itself and without the artist’s intervention and modification then rarely considered a thing of sufficient beauty. Critical analysis of standards of lifelikeness during the Renaissance has examined the dichotomy between present-day understanding of naturalism and that of the sixteenth-century,<sup>141</sup> but a novelist’s lines so well present the matter of changing standards that it does not seem out of place to quote them here:



FIG. 50  
Coclé pendant (Panama), gold and ivory. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979 [1979.206.1072]

Four hundred and fifty years ago some entrepreneur or ship's captain brought a rhinoceros to the great city of Nuremberg and exhibited it at a fair, where the artist Dürer pushed his way through the crowd of onlookers, opened his album and started to draw. His drawing was very precise. There can be no mistake: it is a rhinoceros. You can tell everything about the animal—its exact sub-species and even its age. And yet I repeat (although I cannot fully explain it) that this is not only a real rhinoceros—it is also a monstrous, fantastic, apocalyptic beast. His armour plating is curved like the wings of a dragon or a gigantic bat. Drawings of pterodactyls in science fiction novels have wings exactly like that. All the joints are clearly visible, as are the horny claw-like toes. The whole creature seems to have

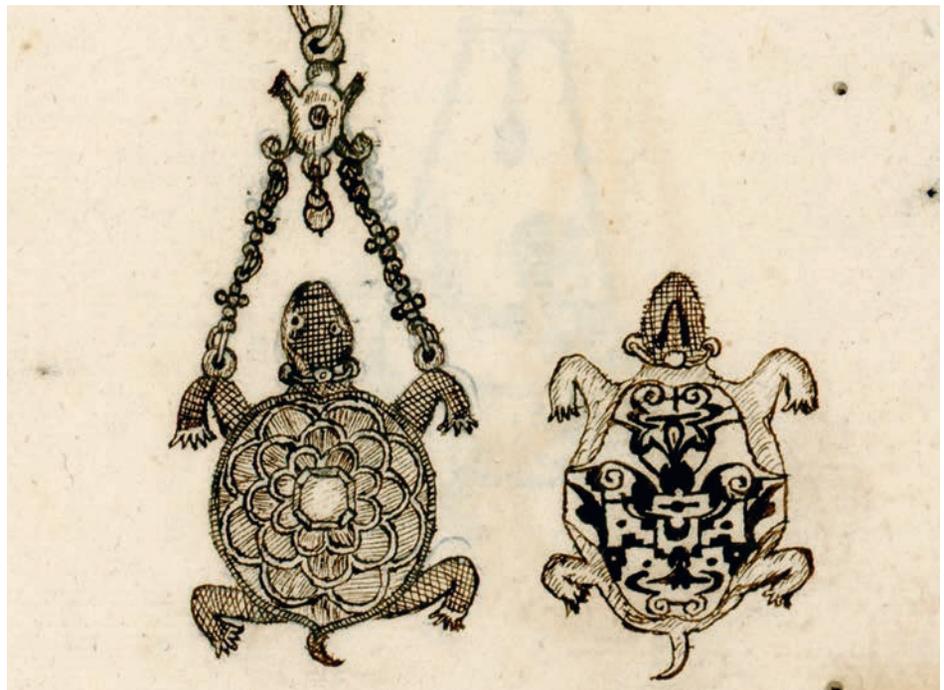


FIG. 51  
Grabiel Sagui, pendant design, 1596, brown ink over black chalk on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 327. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

been forged by an armourer, as if as a change from forging swords, shields, helmets and breastplates he had turned his hand to forging this beast as an ornament to the arsenal. It is exactly the monster described in the Book of Job: "Behold now Behemoth, which I made with thee; he eateth grass as an ox. Lo now, his strength is in his loins, and his force is in the navel of his belly. He moveth his tail like a cedar: the sinews of his stones [*sic*] are wrapped together. His bones are as strong pieces of brass; his bones are like bars of iron." That is how Dürer saw him and drew him. But we, since our childhood, have come to know a completely different rhinoceros: ours is just a cumbersome, unwieldy brute, thick-skinned and dirty, with narrow pig-like eyes and a huge rump. It lumbers clumsily

around its cage, puffing and snorting, wallowing in the straw and throwing up lumps of dung.<sup>142</sup>

One sixteenth-century pendant (fig. 52) appearing to unite New and Old World motifs might be thought to illustrate a somewhat different attitude toward New World subject-matter. Hardly the mythological trident-bearing Neptune astride a hippocampus, the bare-breasted, long-haired, fully bosomed and skirted female riding sidesaddle might be regarded, principally on the basis of what is possibly a feather headdress, as an American nereid, and the jewel consequently to evidence relationship with Spanish maritime activities. Yet the circlet closely recalls one worn by Neptune in a Barcelona silversmith's drawing of 1556, its artist relying upon a Cornelis Floris design published by Hieronymous



82

years exhibits the cartouche ornamentation characteristic of the second half of the century (fig. 79).<sup>239</sup> The extent to which ingenuity of design in a Mannerist vein could alter a basically cruciform pendant is apparent in a design of but four years later (fig. 80); the Juan Ximénez who executed the drawing was unquestionably acquainted with northern European developments as comparison of his design with a Matthias Zuendt engraving demonstrates.<sup>240</sup> Most pendent crosses in mid-century portraits of members of the Span-

ish court are less profusely ornamented. That worn by Maria of Austria, daughter of Charles V, when she was portrayed in 1551 (fig. 84)<sup>241</sup> shows ornament subordinate to cruciform outline and the stones forming it, though the combination of gems, pearls and enameled cartouches is characteristic of period inventories. Another worn by Isabel of Valois approximately a decade later (fig. 71) has the form of the cross similarly underlined with shaped stones. More than several basically similar crosses survive (figs. 81

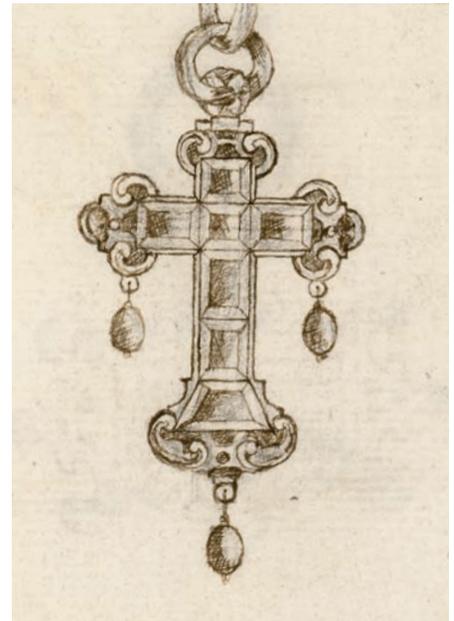


FIG. 83

Ramon Carbo, cross design, 1612, brown ink over black chalk on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 395. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

FIG. 82

Cross, XVI century, enameled gold with emeralds and pendent pearls. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum [57.1745]

FIG. 84

Antonio Moro, *Maria of Austria* (detail), 1551, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado [P-2110]

and 82)<sup>242</sup> and with little variation the type continued into the seventeenth century (fig. 83). Reverses of the gemmed crosses, and obverses of those without stones, exhibited enameled or nielloed religious symbols, or decorative designs (figs. 81, 85, 86).

The functions of cross and reliquary were combined in the reliquary cross pendant which contained and exhibited diminutive relics. Those made for royalty were costly in materials and craftsmanship, as was a tau cross ordered by





FIG. 110  
Higa, XVI century, rock crystal, enameled gold and rubies. Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano [inv. 3265]



FIG. 111  
Pendant, XVI century, ivory and enameled gold. London, The British Museum [1941, 1007.1]



FIG. 112  
Pera Estivill, pendant design, 1580, brown ink over black chalk on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 289. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona



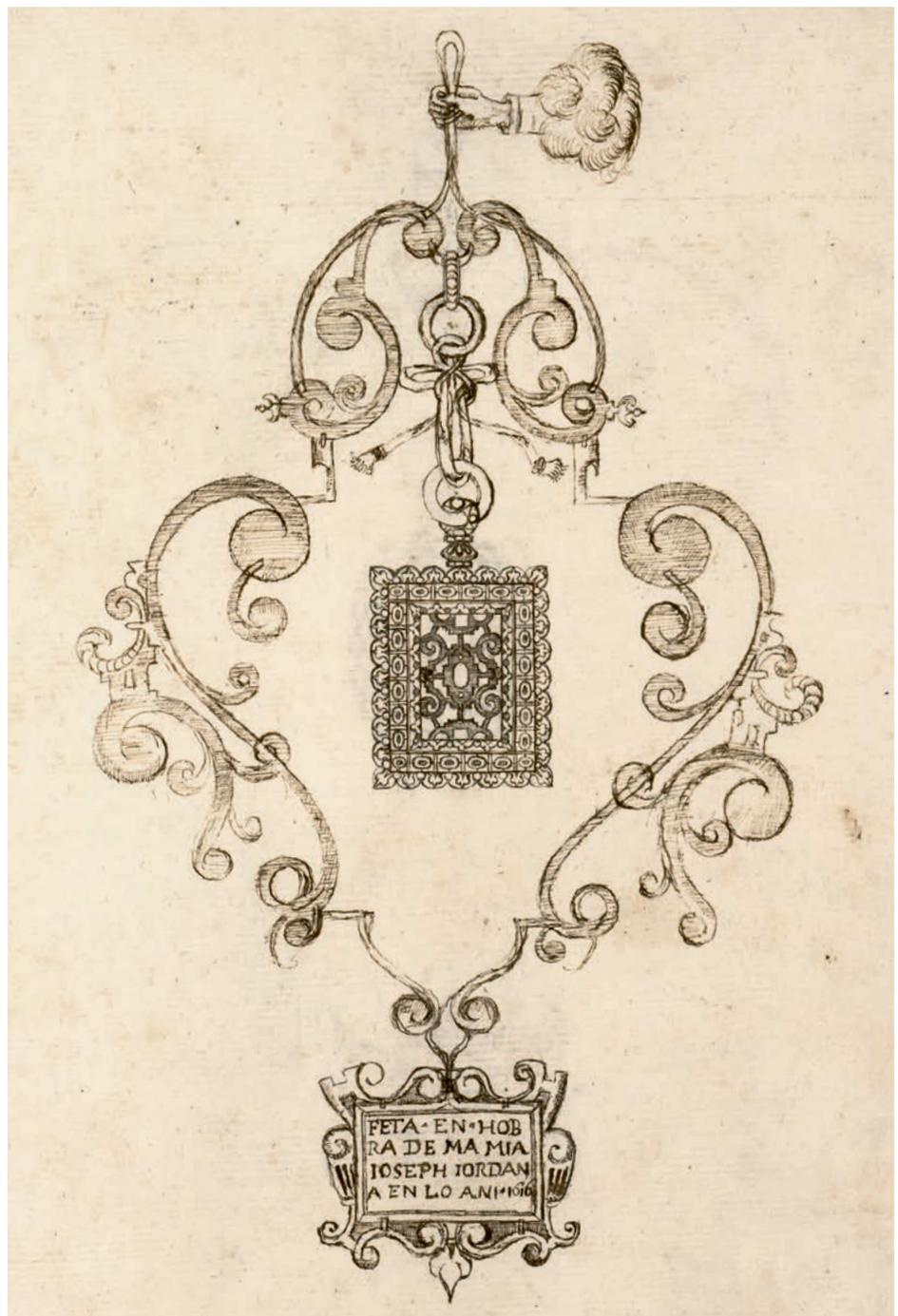
FIG. 113  
Magi Sunier, pendant design, 1594, brown ink on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 319. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

the “architectural” style of later sixteenth-century jewels.<sup>257</sup>

Unceasing faith in charms such as those owned by Juana was shared by all; Badajoz jewelers in 1589 traded in *higas* of ivory and jet.<sup>258</sup> The enameled gold garniture of one rock crystal *higa* (fig. 110) may be compared to that in a Barcelona design of 1580 (fig. 112). Naturalism comparable to that of the hand in the design is best seen, however, in another ivory and enameled, jeweled gold pendant (fig. 111), its lightly touching thumb and index finger elegantly grasping a flower, as in the drawing, or some other valued offering.<sup>259</sup>

Also of semi-precious stones—predominantly green, but also carnelian—were miniature ship and gourd pendants with pendent pearls or pearl clusters, some garnished with plain and with filigree gold inventoried in 1560.<sup>260</sup> Cortés reportedly carried two ship pendants wholly of emeralds in a cloth (*servilleta*) at his belt, while a ship upon a leafy gold branch ornamented a presiding official’s helmet during tournaments celebrating the marriage of the duke of Savoy and Catalina Micaela in 1585.<sup>261</sup> That worn upon the helmet perhaps functioned, as had the *enseña*, as an emblematic device suggesting restraint and wise judgment as in Covarrubias Orozco’s *Emblemas morales*, or virtue and hoped-for security as in Alciati.<sup>262</sup> Though surviving ship pendants are most often considered to be of Italian (particularly Venetian) or German origin, many were documented in sixteenth-century Spain; one relatively simple in design was drawn in Barcelona in 1594 (fig. 113).<sup>263</sup>

Larger, more important individual pendant jewels were of shapes found also among the diminutive *brincos*. Book-shaped pendants hung not only from rosaries and strings of *olivetos* but were worn suspended at the neck; a gold *gargantilla* in 1589 had as its pendant a twenty-piece gold *librito*.<sup>264</sup> During the eighties, the miniature volumes were awarded as tournament prizes.<sup>265</sup> They occasionally enclosed portraits, Isabel of Valois giving one of black-enameled gold with portraits of her parents, the king and queen of France, to her daughter, the infanta Catalina.<sup>266</sup> As with most jewels long in favor, enameled gold book pendants exhibited contemporary ornamentation. One of them (fig. 55) incorporates strapwork decoration possibly of mid-century though its central cartouche offers an element repeated in the design of a *librito* pendant drawn in 1616 (fig. 114). Another design of the early sixteenth century displayed a surface of botanical motifs (fig. 116) while one of 1613 employed cord-like Moresque ornamentation (fig. 115).

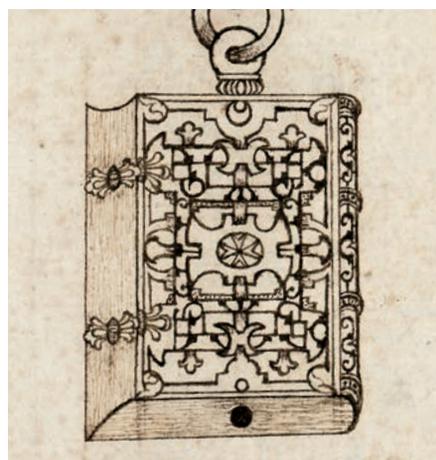


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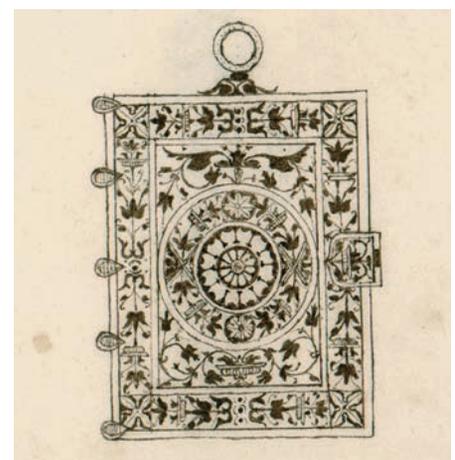
FIG. 114  
Joseph Jordan, pendant design, 1616, brown ink on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 410. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

FIG. 115  
Mateu Torent, pendant design, 1613, brown ink on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 401. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

FIG. 116  
Pendant design, ca. 1520, brown ink on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 69. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona



115

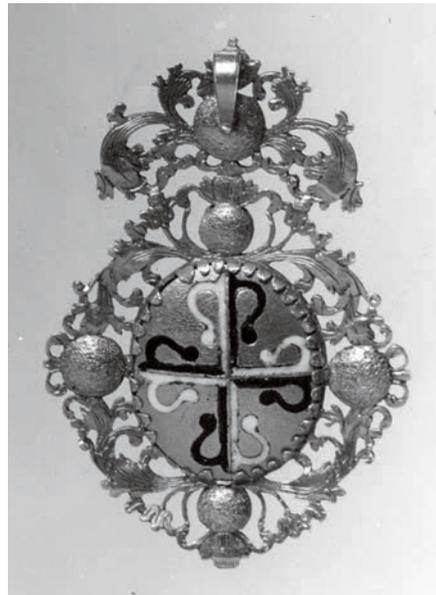


116



FIG. 200  
Badge of the Holy Order of the Inquisition (obverse and reverse), ca. 1700, enameled gold with rubies and emeralds. Formerly London, Cameo Corner; present location unknown

In the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan is a small oval pendant somewhat like that seen in the Pastrana portrait with superimposed enameled floriated cross of the reverse of Inquisition *veneras* fitted to the rounded oval surface. A somewhat later pendant bears the insignia



of the Holy Office of the Inquisition (fig. 200), the central green cross on its obverse representing the hope of repentance before punishment and the salvation granted on recognition of Christ, the olive branch at the left symbolizing peace and clemency offered to the repentant,

and the sword at the right—that of Justice—the severity of punishment meted out to the unrepentant; on the reverse is the cross of Saint Dominic in black and white enamels.<sup>445</sup> The unadorned form of the cross of Saint Dominic, the insignia of the Order of the Militia of Christ, as drawn for example in 1630 (fig. 201), was inalterable, though ornament was otherwise modified, as has been noted, to satisfy contemporary tastes. Thus an order designed in 1575 was bordered with cartouche and vegetal forms (fig. 202) while that of circa 1700 was enclosed in gem-studded, curving leaves of carved gold (fig. 200).

Indispensable to members of religious orders, congregations and confraternities, *veneras* (or *hábitos* and *encomiendas* in seventeenth-century documents),<sup>446</sup> were widely used, thus offering a view of changing attitudes toward jewel design. Multiplication of the confraternities, necessitating enactment of governing canonical law under Clement VIII in 1604, coincided

FIG. 201  
Pere Aguilera the Younger, design for Order of the Militia of Christ, 1630, brown ink on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 464. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona



FIG. 202  
Geronim Jener, design for an order, 1575, brown ink on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 241. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona



FIG. 203  
Ramon Daura, design for Order of the Knights of St. John, 1641, brown ink over black chalk on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 502. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona





FIG. 204  
Pera Pau Garba, pendant design, 1617, brown ink on paper, *Llibres de Passanties*, fol. 413. Barcelona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona

FIG. 205  
Pendant (reverse), XVII century, enameled gold with gems. Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan

FIG. 206  
Pendant, XVII century, enameled gold with diamonds. Greenwich, London, Ranger's House



chronologically in Spain with the years in which restrictions severely limited permissible jewel types. The jewel designer therefore turned much of his attention to the *veneras* required by all members of truly organic *cofradías*, who during all confraternity-related functions wore the scapulary, *medalla*, *hábito* and *cordón* bestowed on admission. From shortly after 1600 until the late twenties, pendants religious in association were a primary consideration, as is shown by reference to the designs submitted by Barcelona's guild examinees. Maltese cross pendants appear among the drawings intermittently from 1602 until the mid-forties (fig 203).<sup>447</sup> Two of the four jewel designs of 1617 introduce a pendant of inverted triangle outline

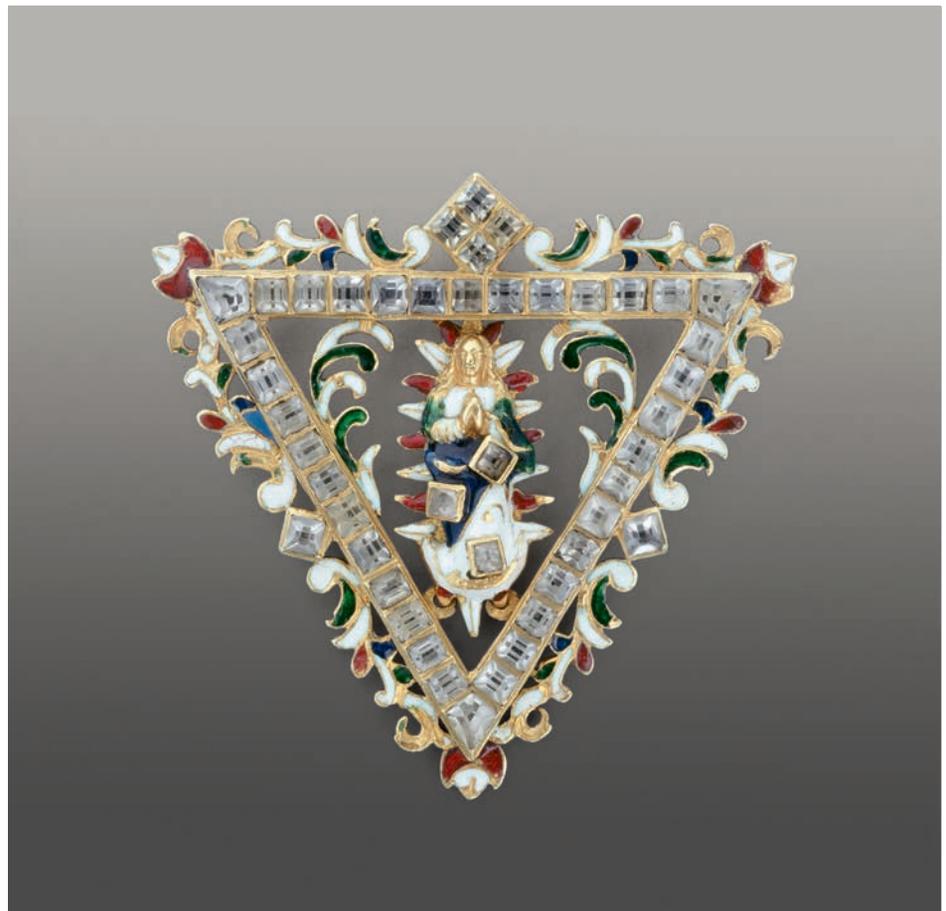




FIG. 261  
Giuseppe Gricci, porcelain wall panel (detail),  
ca. 1760–65. Patrimonio Nacional, Aranjuez,  
Royal Palace, Porcelain Cabinet

FIG. 260  
Francisco de Goya, *Francisca Vicenta Chollet  
y Caballero* (detail), 1806, oil on canvas.  
Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum  
[M.1981.7.P]

set upon flowered branches was by the mid-seventies a customary gift among the nobility, often given to a bride by her relatives,<sup>555</sup> and the hair ornament increased in size, value and importance. In 1777, the duchess of Alba inherited a large *piocha* of brilliants with a butterfly of rose-colored diamonds, a sapphire and a ruby; another of diamonds, including three yellow in hue, went to her mother.<sup>556</sup> A decorative extreme to which the floral hair ornament of brilliants could be carried is seen in Goya's portrait of Francisca Vicenta Chollet y Caballero (fig. 260). In general outline and manner of placement on the coiffure, the spray seen in the portrait is not entirely unlike that adorning an

Oriental figure familiar to the court since the mid-sixties in chinoiserie porcelain decorations in the Aranjuez Palace (fig. 261). A large and magnificent branch (*ramo*) of brilliants and emeralds given to Maria Luisa of Parma by Charles IV was perhaps similarly worn, though the best known of her hair ornaments is the arrow of brilliants with which she was most often portrayed, or caricatured (figs. 262 and 264); one was given to her by her lover, the prime minister Godoy, in October 1800.<sup>557</sup> The motif was hardly unique, for her daughter wore a similar jewel (fig. 264) and the queen's rival, the duchess of Alba, owned enameled gold arrow-shaped *alfileres*, some designated as for the hair.<sup>558</sup> A con-

temporary jeweler's drawing offers a detailed rendering of the arrow-shaped ornaments (fig. 263), the unadorned center section to receive a securing jeweled comb as shown in the portraits of Maria Luisa and her daughter. In 1802, as Maria Luisa quickly took possession of the recently deceased duchess of Alba's jewels, it was perhaps for such use that she selected a tortoiseshell *peineta*, or ornamental comb, with teeth of gold and central ornament executed in brilliant-trimmed blue enamel.<sup>559</sup>

Brooches (*alfileres*) were not always specified in inventories as for the hair or for the dress and may have been worn interchangeably.<sup>560</sup> Thus a delicate floral spray shown by a Barcelona examinee



262



263

FIG. 262  
Francisco de Goya, *Time and the Old Women* (detail), ca. 1810–12, oil on canvas. Lille, Musée des Beaux Arts [P 50]

FIG. 263  
Coiffure ornament designs, ca. 1800, watercolor and black ink on paper. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional [DIB/14/29/2]

FIG. 264  
Francisco de Goya, *The Family of Charles IV* (detail), 1800, oil on canvas. Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado [P-723]



264