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The spread across Europe of the modes of dress adopted at the Spanish court was a major cultural phenomenon that reached its height between 1550 and 1650 as a result of the world hegemony enjoyed by the Habsburgs. This unique book is the first interdisciplinary study to examine the distinguishing features of Spanish fashion, as well as the various political, ceremonial and protocol factors that exported this model to the rest of the continent.

Some thirty international experts guide readers through the history of costume and textiles during the period Spanish fashion enjoyed influence within and beyond the boundaries of the Spanish Monarchy. This profusely illustrated collection of essays makes a highly significant contribution to the study of the history of fashion in the West, as it analyses modes of dress at the Spanish court and the spread of the Spanish model to the European courts through historical and literary sources, pieces preserved in different countries' museums and depictions of costume in portraits of the period.

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# SPANISH FASHION at the Courts of Early Modern Europe

## VOLUME I



Edited by JOSÉ LUIS COLOMER and AMALIA DESCALZO



Studies on international relations in the field of Spanish Golden Age art, literature and thought. Monographs, doctoral theses and conference papers focusing on aspects of mutual influence, parallels and exchanges between Spain and other countries; ideas, forms, agents and episodes relating to the Spanish presence in Europe, and that of Europe in Spain.

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Spanish  
Court Dress



4. Alonso Sánchez Coello,  
*Archduke Ernest of Austria*, 1568,  
oil on canvas, 99 x 81 cm,  
London, The Royal Collection

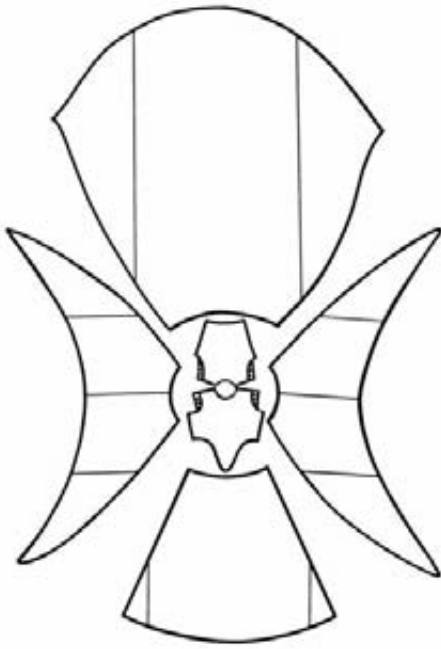
A short cassock with sleeves (*ropilla*) or a sleeveless jerkin (*cuera* or *coletto*) could be worn over the doublet. The *coletto* was a type of waistcoat and ended below the waist. According to Carmen Bernis, the earliest reference to the term *coletto* is in 1508, while *cuera*, a new type of *coletto*, appears around 1530 – so named after the leather (*cuero*) first used to make it.<sup>16</sup> Both the *cuera* and the *coletto*, names which became interchangeable, originated from military dress. The prestige and power associated with arms explain the popularity of such military-style costume. Indeed, the influence of military dress has been constant in the history of men's fashion, and one might even say that it has been the main driving force behind changes in fashion since the Middle Ages.

The cassock (*ropilla*) was the most widely worn men's garment from the mid sixteenth century onwards. Unlike the

*coletto* or *cuera* – which was the exclusive preserve of those who dressed fashionably – the cassock was worn by everyone. It covered the torso and had skirts, and the sleeves could be worn attached, covering the arms or hanging loose from the shoulders.<sup>17</sup>

Men wore hose, and stockings up to their waist. Of these garments it was the hose that underwent the greatest number of transformations, and throughout their history – they remained in vogue for nearly eighty years – they varied in both length and volume. The most striking feature of the hose was the prominent codpiece, which, as we have seen, had become fashionable at the beginning of the sixteenth century and spread immediately across the whole of Europe (fig. 4). By the 1590s the codpiece had practically disappeared and, although hose continued to be very bulky, they were no longer rounded or short but almost reached the knees. At the very end of the century breeches gathered at the knee and, known as *valones* and *gregüescos*, were taken from military costume.

The collar par excellence worn with this clothing was the ruff (*lechuguilla*), which, according to Covarrubias, was so called because “the collars or neck openings, made of many widths of Holland, or another fabric, when gathered make waves, resembling crinkled lettuce [*lechuga*] leaves”.<sup>18</sup> Although not a Spanish invention –



2. Pattern of a saya entera with pointed sleeves, after Juan de Alcega, *Libro de geometría, práctica y traça* (Madrid, Guillermo Druoy, 1580, in-8°)

than eighty years. Before the middle of the century, the upper edges of the pointed hanging sleeves were stitched together at several points – as seen in those worn by Empress Isabella of Portugal in her portraits. During the reign of Philip II it was fashionable for them to be joined in just one place next to the wrist opening; that way much of the lining and the undersleeves (*manguillas*) that covered the arms were visible. A novel feature that emerged at the beginning of the sixteenth century was to wear these sleeves with the cuffs turned back. Round sleeves were slit lengthways or, more commonly, crosswise; the arms could be totally covered by the sleeves or, more usually, emerge from the opening. A very particular kind, which did not become widespread, consisted of round sleeves with several horizontal slits. These are worn by Elisabeth de Valois in the portrait by Mor and, a few years earlier, by the Duchess of Alba in a portrait in the Finat collection (Toledo)

showing her with the duke; it may possibly be a wedding portrait.

A typically Spanish fashion accessory which became popular for *sayas*, both on the sleeves and on the fastenings of bodices and skirts, were aiglets or ‘points’ (*puntas*), pieces of metal affixed to ribbons or ties. Royal inventories mention enamelled gold aiglets which were genuine jewels (*puntas*, like ‘points’ in English, was also the name given to a type of lace). Another sumptuous accessory of court costume was the jewelled girdle (*cinto*) worn over the join between the V-shape of the lower bodice and skirt of the dress.

Low-necked dresses, the so-called *sayas bajas*, were still in fashion in the 1550s and were worn with a stiff high-necked partlet (*gorguera alta*) which entirely covered the bosom and neck (fig. 3). Later on they were replaced completely by high-necked dresses (*sayas de cuerplos altos*) in court fashion. From the 1560s onwards *sayas* were cut to longer than floor length also at the front. A pleat (*alforza*) was made in these *sayas* near the hem. In some cases the pleat was used to store an object; in *La pícara Justina*, a novel published in 1604, a woman keeps a needle and small skein of coloured thread in the pleat of her *saya*.



10. Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Gentleman in Black*,  
c. 1567, oil on canvas, 190 x 101.5 cm,  
Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli

sional specialization of attire to which Vecellio bears witness in his celebrated repertoire *Degli abiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, 1590).<sup>15</sup> The widespread use of this colour is also documented in Milan and Lombardy by the attractive figures of Gian Giacomo del Conte (c. 1525–92) for the miscellaneous album known as the *Libro del sarto*<sup>16</sup> (fig. 9) in which physicians, jurists and men of letters are portrayed dressed in black. There is perhaps no point in discussing whether the colour was genuinely Italian or the result of Spanish influence; whatever the case, the formal and chronological parallels in the development of Lombard and Spanish fashion during the period of Habsburg rule are splendidly confirmed by the large gallery of male portraits by Giovanni Battista Moroni, prominent among which is the refined *Cavaliere in nero* in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli (fig. 10).<sup>17</sup>

### The black king

Philip II is usually held chiefly responsible for the identification of black with the Spanish crown, and John Harvey confirms this opinion in his book on the history of the colour in western fashion, albeit without managing to shake off the monarch's gloomy image created by his contemporary detractors and later fuelled by a long literary tradition which, until only recently, has portrayed him as a fanatical and sinister monster whose almost only source of delight was the spectacle of autos-da-fé and who was capable of ordering the murder of his own brother, among others.<sup>18</sup> Without launching into a vindication of the man and his reign, which are generally viewed more justly by modern historians,<sup>19</sup> we shall retrieve from the 'Black Legend' the prominence of the colour in the monarch's attire and how it became a power symbol of a whole dynasty.

### *Button makers*

Buttons were luxury items and subject to sumptuary legislation along with furs, silks and embroidery.

Joaquín Claudio<sup>102</sup> (1677). Court button maker.

Carlos Vilardaga<sup>103</sup> (n.d.). Button and cord maker of the Royal Household.

### *Glove makers (fig. 9) and perfumers*

Santiago de Despilla<sup>104</sup> (1561). Glove and cord maker to the king.

Antonio de Casanova<sup>105</sup> (1645–70).

Glove maker and jeweller to the king.

Gabriel Fernández<sup>106</sup> (1678). Glove maker of Fowling.

Juan López Gabaldón<sup>107</sup> (1688). Glove maker of Fowling.

José de Lora<sup>108</sup> (1699). Glove maker.

Noberto Arizam<sup>109</sup> (n.d.). Court glove maker and perfumer.

Alonso Carrasco<sup>110</sup> (n.d.). Court glove maker and perfumer.



9. Spanish workshop, woman's glove, second half of 16th century, kid leather, silk and gold thread, 25 x 10 cm, Barcelona, Museu Tèxtil i d'Indumentària, Rocamora collection

### *Seamstresses<sup>111</sup>*

The seamstress was also under the supervision of the *sumiller de corps* when admitted to the post, and her work consisted in sewing whatever was needed. She served as a supplier or purchaser of bed and table linen for members of royalty. She brought purchased linen to the palace Wardrobe and the *sumiller de corps* paid her with money from the Chamber. Similarly, the *sumiller* paid the seamstress separately, on top of her wage, for everything she sewed for the Wardrobe.



# Where Clothing Was Kept

SOFÍA RODRÍGUEZ BERNIS

During the Renaissance and the Baroque the pace of development of Spanish furniture was very fast, as in the rest of Europe. The transition from medieval types of furniture – this period saw the emergence and spread of cabinets, desks and arm-chairs – also affected the traditional storage furniture in which clothing was kept.

## *Cámara, recámara and retrete. The guardarropa*

Depending on social status and how many or how few household items and garments were owned, clothing was located in rooms used for other purposes or in specific rooms: *recámaras*, *retretes* and *guardarropas*. The first two were usually adjacent to the bed-chamber, which would also be furnished – with some particularly decorative receptacle – whereas pieces of furniture for classifying their contents were placed in the adjoining room. It is therefore no coincidence that the expression ‘*ser librado en la recámara*’ (to be paid in the *recámara*) referred to payment in used clothing that might be made to certain servants.<sup>1</sup> On other occasions the *recámara* was located next to the dais. This is apparent, for example, from the inventory of the possessions left at his death in 1497 by Galcerán Ferrer, a jurist of Saragossa whose wife kept clothing in a chest in the *retrete* of an ‘upper chamber overlooking the street’ (“*canbra alta que salle a la carrera*”), where the dais was; in this case, as also occurs in other patrician dwellings of the late Middle Ages and early modern era, the master’s clothing was kept in the main hall, in a “large chest” (*caxón grande*).<sup>2</sup>

As long as they continued to be the principal item of furniture, chests contributed not only to the decoration but also to the spatial organization of the bed-chamber, where by the last quarter of the fourteenth century – earlier in Catalonia than



3. Taffeta embroidered with plant motifs in ochre, blue, gold and green, c. 1676–1700, cotton and silk, Madrid, Museo del Traje

the Renaissance Castile was the region which exported the finest woollen cloths and merino sheep were therefore always protected by the Spanish rulers dating back to the Catholic Monarchs; a ban was even placed on exporting live animals and infringement was punishable with the death penalty. In addition to merinos, there were other breeds of sheep in Spain such as the manchega, the aragonesa, the ibérica and the churra, all of which were also highly valued. Wool was widespread among the lower classes, although it was also used in rich fabrics for outer garments, sometimes mixed with silk or linen.





1. Anthonis Mor, *Anne of Austria*, 1570,  
oil on canvas, 161 x 110 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



## Dress and its Codes



1. Titian, *Empress Isabella of Portugal*, 1548,  
oil on canvas, 117 x 98 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

it appears that neither during Charles V's lifetime nor after his death were the people of Spain willing to comply with them. They were therefore reissued during Philip II's reign. Indeed, two town criers, one positioned outside the royal palace and another at the entrance to the University of Guadalajara, informed the people of the *pragmática* issued by Philip II at the Cortes of Monzón on 25 October 1563. On this occasion the king enacted a law





2a–b. *Young men of the city of Venice*, engravings from *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, by Cesare Vecellio (Venice, Gio. Bernardo Sessa, 1598, in-8°)

of the Italian nobility are clearly found in the celebrated book by the contemporary Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Antique and modern costumes of the world), in which nobles not only of Naples and Venice but also of Lombardy wear almost identical clothing (figs. 2a–b and 3). The same may be said of black, the colour that remained in vogue throughout the rest of the sixteenth century. The success of the farthingale is evident throughout almost all of Spanish Italy, even in Genoa and Venice, though not in Rome (figs. 4a–b, 5 and 6).<sup>18</sup> The ruff became fashionable for both sexes throughout the entire peninsula except in Venice, where women continued to wear low necklines, adopting a style that was completely different and independent from that of the period (fig. 6). Cesare Vecellio, comparing Neapolitan maidens with those of Venice, emphasizes the difference in moral standards. Whereas the former “generally ... go about with their breasts well compacted and covered”, the Venetians wear necklines so low “that it is almost possible to see their breasts completely”.<sup>19</sup> Apparently, the Neapolitans also cover their legs, which the Neapolitan marquis Giovan Battista del

# The Making and Meaning of the Monastic Habit at Spanish Habsburg Courts

CORDULA VAN WYHE

In life and death, the monastic habit was an integral part of the attire of male and female members of the Habsburg dynasty. Women, spurred on by a fervent and genuine piety as much as by political strategies, joined reformed orders either as young girls or widows. Moreover, Habsburg princes and princesses were traditionally buried in a monastic habit. This tradition was by no means specific to the Habsburgs, but had been a widespread practice among the burgher and aristocratic elites since the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the adoption of the monastic habit by members of the house of Habsburg was widely publicized in contemporary chronicles, funeral accounts and biographies, as well as state portraits and engravings. As such it has to be regarded as an important topos of the *Pietas Austriaca*. The radical change of appearance from magnificent court fashions to the sombre habit of a nun or a Franciscan friar was vital for the desired conflation of the courtly and monastic sphere and by extension the idea of sacralized Habsburg rule. Surprisingly, the making and meaning of the monastic habit has generally not been investigated in any detail by historians of early modern court culture. For example, the term 'Franciscan habit' often used in the literature is merely an umbrella term for a variety of Franciscan habits worn by members of the many individual congregations. The specificity of a religious habit as defined by its cut and fabric was essential for the institutional and spiritual identity of its wearer. The present-day historian often faces great difficulty in identifying or in reconstructing the appearances of individual religious habits from visual or written sources. Regulations and constitutions rarely define the material and tailoring of the monastic garments in detail.



4a–b. *Spanish girl* and *Unmarried Spanish girl*, engravings from *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo, libri due* (Venice, Gio. Bernardo Sessa, 1598, in-8°), by Cesare Vecellio, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España

a *tapada* were different – less subjected, we could say – than those of an uncovered woman of the same quality: “The uncovered woman, because she openly displays her virtue and duties *answers to what is asked of her*”.<sup>27</sup>

The sources – from pictorial representations and fictional writing to accounts of public celebrations and texts by moralists – make it clear that the *tapado* was a phenomenon of the big city. León Pinelo articulated several advantages of the *tapado* deriving from the anonymity afforded by urban space. For instance, in front of a *tapada* whose social condition was unknown – as happened frequently in the city – one would inevitably assume that in fact it was high. Because it was not possible to elucidate with certainty the status of the covered woman, the *tapado* brought in practice greater respect than going out uncovered, the assumption being that only a woman of high social standing would have a reputation to protect. To cover oneself was thus



# Representations of Spanish Fashion



fashion of her dress became obsolete, and it is therefore worthwhile rescuing these images as a fundamental source for understanding sixteenth-century Spanish women's fashion.

Translated by Jenny Dodman

- 1 For example, an outfit belonging to Elisabeth de Valois and garments of the Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia for a likeness in the convent of San Clemente in Toledo: *El Escorial: Biografía de una época*, exh. cat., Madrid, 1986, p. 81. These dresses would have been made *ex profeso* for these images, rather than reused, by the royal family's own tailors.
- 2 Charles V to Prince Felipe, by the secretary Eraso, no date [late November 1553], Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Estado (hereafter E), leg. 90, f. 144: "*El retrato de v. al.[tez]a, q tenía la ser.ma Reina [María de Hungría], vestido con un sayo y aforrado con los lobos blancos, que stava muy bivo y al propósito hecho por titiano q parece muy bien sea embiado secretamente a la ser.ma Reina de Inglaterra / y [deleted: pienso] soy cierto le satisfará mucho / aunque no hoviera declarado su voluntad*". This note most likely accompanied a letter from Brussels, 12 December 1553, completed on 24 December, ff. 147–8. In another letter of 16 December he advises him also to send a ring or a jewel of high quality, E 98, ff. 373–74. This is the portrait of Philip II by Titian, which is known through replicas such as that in the Museo del Prado (P-452). See also Ch. HOPE, 'El retrato de Felipe II de Tiziano y su contexto', in J. ÁLVAREZ LOPERA (coord.), *Tiziano y el legado veneciano*, Barcelona, 2005, p. 138.
- 3 When Anthonis Mor was painting the portrait of Philip II's nephew Alessandro Farnese as a prince of the House of Austria in Brussels in 1557, Philip often visited the painter's studio to give instructions about the likeness. See G. BERTINI, 'Felipe II y el retrato de Alejandro Farnesio por Antonio Moro', *Reales Sitios*, 161 (2004), pp. 71–73.
- 4 C. BERNIS, 'La moda en la España de Felipe II a través del retrato de corte', in J.M. SERRERA (ed.), *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la corte de Felipe II*, exh. cat., Madrid, 1990, pp. 66–111, partly reproduced in this volume.
- 5 On describing to his lordship the christening of the crown prince, Don Fernando, the Mantuan ambassador to Madrid, refers to the brightly coloured clothing worn by the grandees of Spain, although advanced in years, as it was interpreted as a sign of joy. Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua, Madrid, 18 December 1571, Archivio di Stato of Mantua (hereafter ASMn), Gonzaga, b. 596: "*grandi in habiti pomposi et di diversi colori benche molti, et li più di loro siano di matura età il che si costuma per segno di maggiore allegrezza*".
- 6 When his uncle the Emperor Ferdinand I died, he had a gown and cap made of unhemmed extra fine woollen cloth of Cuenca lined in taffeta, Archivo General de Palacio (hereafter AGP), Sección Administrativa (hereafter Adm.), Cuentas Particulares (hereafter CP), leg. 5272 (I), 1564. A black velvet suit and cloak, which were too short for Philip II, were given to Jerónimo de Algora, *alcaide* of the Casa de Campo. The king also wore a blackened sword as part of his mourning dress in 1564, which was different from the one he usually carried (1567); AGP, Adm., leg. 5231, caja 1, expediente 1.
- 7 AGP, Adm., leg. 5272, 1564. At special events such as his wedding to Anne of Austria he would wear a short cape of black Florentine satin with gold lacing; AGP, Adm., CP, leg. 5247 (I), Francisco de Briones, first third of 1572.
- 8 The 1564 account of his cap maker, AGP., Adm., leg. 5236, describes a black velvet cap, a flat taffeta hat and even a straw hat for Philip II. Later, in the 1580s, he wore the tall-brimmed cap in which he is depicted in his last portraits.
- 9 AGP, Adm., leg. 5260, plumajeros, exp. 1, 1564.
- 10 AGP, Adm., leg. 5278 (I), zapateros, 1566. The shoes would have had cordovan leather soles. For



3. Madrid school, *View of the Plaza Mayor, Madrid, c. 1634*, oil on canvas, 108 x 166 cm, Madrid, Museo de Historia

located in its very centre, drawing a wide cross-section of the population to plays performed daily between Easter and Lent.<sup>6</sup> One of the major attractions of the theatre, whose set decorations were notably spartan, was the sumptuous costuming of the actors; indeed, costumes were the most valuable assets that theatre companies owned.<sup>7</sup>

Like Spanish stage sets, the streets of Madrid – a newcomer among European capitals – were relatively unadorned by architectural monuments. Yet painted scenes of urban life give a sense that the city streets themselves were dramatic spaces where many different social types played out the mundanities, coquetteries, entertainments and necessities of urban life.<sup>8</sup> These paintings depict the most frequented and fashionable centres of the Spanish capital, places to see and be seen, and, perhaps, to catch a glimpse of the king and the royal family: the Paseo del Prado and Carrera de San Jerónimo, the banks of the Manzanares river, and the Plaza de la Provincia and the Plaza Mayor (fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> Whereas other works, such as a series commissioned by Philip IV of royal palaces and recreation spaces (*Reales Sitios*), focus mostly on the authority of Habsburg architecture (fig. 4), these paintings are, in contrast, crowded with people from all levels of society – veiled ladies and courtly gentlemen, water-sellers and servants, clerics and





12. Francisco Pacheco, *Juan de Mal Lara*, drawing in his *Libro de retratos* (1599–1644), pencil and colour wash on paper, 370 x 240 mm, Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano

The same amorous disquiets appear in the sonnet of Lope de Vega that begins: “These imaginings – of whether she’s at home, / went out, was spoken to, was seen; / fearing she should attire, adorn herself and dress”.<sup>60</sup>

Some of the references are indirect and the vocabulary of fashion is extended to the natural characteristics of some ladies, like the raddled old lady of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza who paints herself, makes herself up and makes efforts at

giving fine leather’s gloss  
to that which is mutton-skin  
and making a window-dressing  
of what’s better well shut up,  
*that is not to be borne.*

The impact of age upon the skin is also suffered by the lady of “three times thirty years” – i.e. ninety – whom, in imitation of Martial’s epigram 51, Juan de Mal Lara (fig. 12) ridicules: “Your skirts, your head-covering, and your clothes at large / show not so many wrinkles as your face”.<sup>61</sup>

And Quevedo – with a clothing simile – takes aim at a facial treatment in the poem that is the ‘Segunda parte de “Marica en el hospital” y primera en lo ingenioso’ (Second part of ‘Marica in the hospital’ and first in wit): “Your forehead alone uses more garters / than do the breeches”. Quevedo also employs items of clothing to ridicule the effort of an “old woman returned to girl’s age” (“*Vieja vuelta a la edad de las niñas*”)<sup>62</sup> when he taxes her: “you call your petticoat a diaper,” the diaper (*metedor*) being the linen cloth that was inserted under babies’ nappies. Or when in another sonnet in which “he praises the years of an elderly girl” (“*Encarece los años de una vieja niña*”)<sup>63</sup> he says that his subject belongs to a long-lost time in which “The nail was to the picket not preferred / nor dames wore garters”. These (*cenojiles*) are garters for fastening stockings below the knee, which one would suppose an immemorial article of clothing. Other feminine shortcomings are illustrated by Quevedo with terms of dress, as when in his song ‘A una mujer pequeña’ (To a little woman)<sup>64</sup> he calls her “a pouch- or bag-lady”.



4. Diego Velázquez, *Silver Philip*, c. 1631–32,  
oil on canvas, 195 x 110 cm,  
London, The National Gallery

exclaims that Philip had never seemed to him so great as now, whereupon Philip replies “*con ánimo español*” (with Spanish spirit): “I am king or man, as the occasion requires”.<sup>17</sup> Philip’s expertise at royal banter is shown off again when he first meets Charles and tells him that he is envious of the prince’s “*finezas*” (courtious words), but would get his own back if ever *he* turned up unexpectedly in London.

Almansa’s approach to the spectacles he reports is, generally, to begin by setting the scene (often starting by describing the preparations) and then to recount the events chronologically, foregrounding the main participants and highlighting their attire. Surprisingly, however, the outfits of royalty are described in no more detail than those of the nobility – in fact, often a good deal less. Clearly, this has mainly to do with the simple fact that the characteristic feature of formal Spanish court dress had been established as the antithesis of showiness in the course of Philip II’s long reign.

Regal clothing is first noted by Almansa in his first *relación* when, on his second day in Madrid, Charles is introduced to the queen and to his prospective bride. Whereas the ladies-in-waiting (presumably taken together) are described as displaying more colours than the rainbow,<sup>18</sup> the clothing worn by Queen Elisabeth and the Infanta Maria is summed up in each case by a single hue – the former described as “*de leonado*” (in tawny colour), the latter as “*de morado*” (in purple) – without any other detail whatsoever. Later, in his account of the prince’s ceremonial entry, whereas all he says about the queen is that she was “dressed in red cloth”, Almansa offers quite detailed depictions of the clothes worn on this same grand state occasion by Philip and Charles, describing the former’s as “walnut-coloured, the entire field covered in gold embroidery, with his horse’s trappings to match, and a simple collar with pointed ends and a great plume”, and Charles’s as “faded rose colour, in line



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The spread across Europe of the modes of dress adopted at the Spanish court was a major cultural phenomenon that reached its height between 1550 and 1650 as a result of the world hegemony enjoyed by the Habsburgs. This unique book is the first interdisciplinary study to examine the distinguishing features of Spanish fashion, as well as the various political, ceremonial and protocol factors that exported this model to the rest of the continent.

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## II

SPANISH FASHION

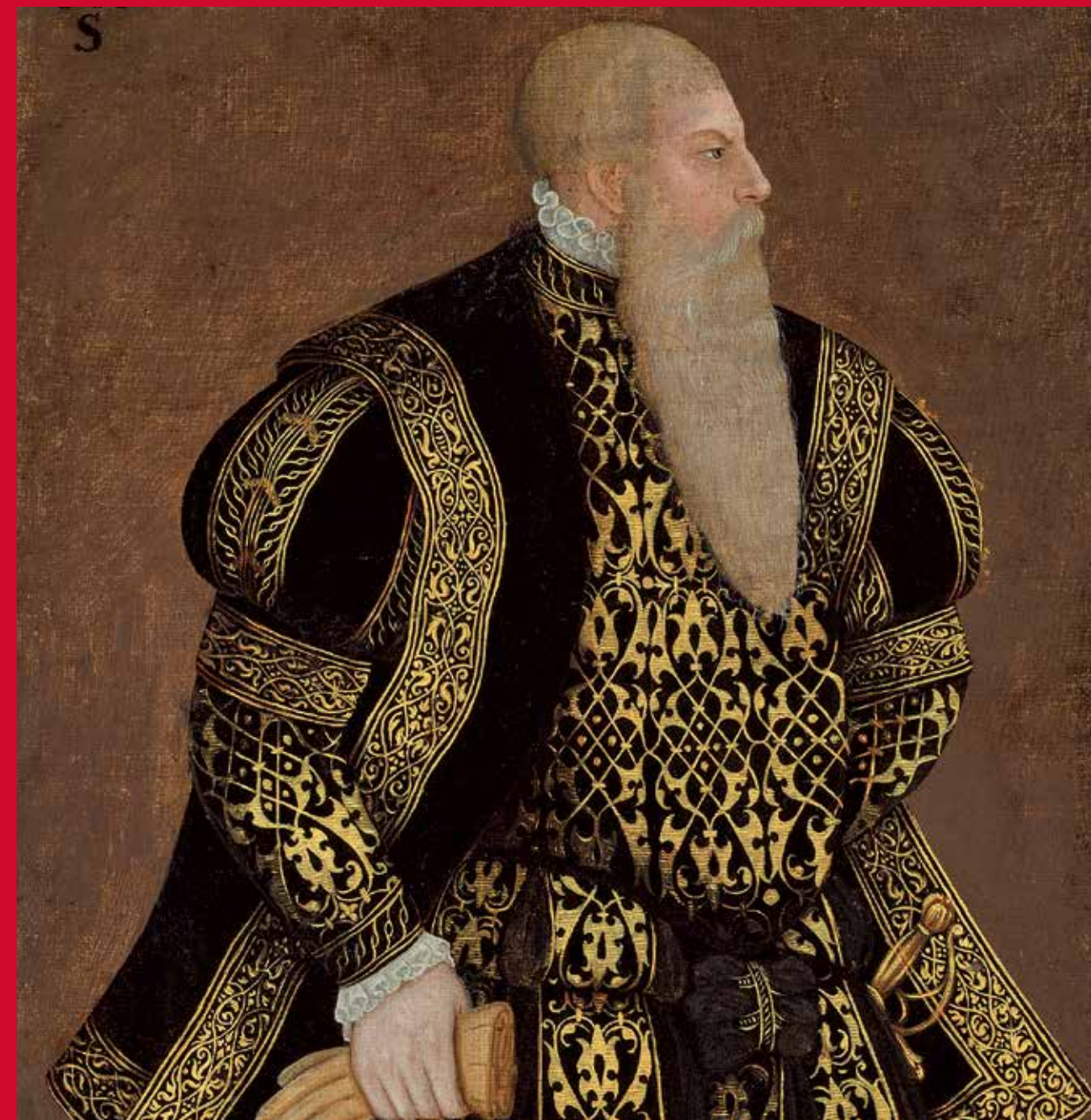
• JOSÉ LUIS COLOMER and AMALIA DESCALZO (EDS.)

# SPANISH FASHION at the Courts of Early Modern Europe

## VOLUME II

• • •

Edited by JOSÉ LUIS COLOMER and AMALIA DESCALZO



Studies on international relations in the field of Spanish Golden Age art, literature and thought. Monographs, doctoral theses and conference papers focusing on aspects of mutual influence, parallels and exchanges between Spain and other countries; ideas, forms, agents and episodes relating to the Spanish presence in Europe, and that of Europe in Spain.

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## Dissemination of the Spanish Model



2. Michael Sittow, *Catherine of Aragon or Mary Rose Tudor?*, c. 1514,  
oil on panel, 29 x 20.5 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

coupled with gold embroidery, of Spanish Renaissance taste. The choice of black for the public appearance of a young woman may perhaps, however, be explained by the recent bereavement suffered by the Habsburgs, namely the death of Empress Isabella of Portugal – an event that had forced Cosimo to reconsider the appropriate tone for the celebrations.<sup>5</sup>

For her second day in Pisa, the seventeen-year-old Eleonora chose a velvet ensemble in an original purplish violet (*pavonazo*) hue, enhanced with embroidered gold motifs; during each of her public appearances, her hair was gathered into a splendid and elaborate coiffure made from the same gold thread. The bridal procession continued from Pisa to Florence, escorted in spectacular fashion by a procession of pages in sumptuous liveries and by members of the international aristocracy wearing magnificent garments. At the villa of Poggio a Caiano, the obligatory stop in the ceremonial of the grand entrances of the Medici, Eleonora was welcomed and “escorted by Ladies of the highest nobility”.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, after this stop, on 29 June came the triumphal entrance into Florence, with the highest-ranking citizens following the procession. The solemn entrance ceremony, inspired by the kind of pomp that Florence had been lavishing upon its most esteemed guests during visits by sovereigns, popes and important diplomats since the fifteenth century, was, however, adapted using a new format based on the recent imperial entrance by the Spanish emperor Charles V in 1536.<sup>7</sup>

Eleonora’s choice of dress “on that day” was again a “crimson satin richly covered with embroidery in gold thread”.<sup>8</sup> The eye-witness who wrote about the celebrations gives an exhaustive description of a scene designed to impress the onlookers, for the benefit of the newly arrived duchess but also for that of all those present. The recipient of this detailed chronicle was Giovanni Bandini, Florentine ambassador at the court of Charles V; he was quick to provide the Habsburg court with a report on the event, which, as we know, took place with the blessing of the emperor himself. The citizenry were thus given an assurance



2. Red velvet dress, c. 1560,  
satin, velvet and golden thread,  
Pisa, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Reale





12. Unknown artist, *A Lady* (probably Isabella of Savoy; detail), c. 1602–04, oil on canvas, 67 x 54 cm, Piedmont, Racconigi Castle



13. Unknown artist, *Maria of Savoy* (detail), c. 1615, oil on canvas, 67 x 55 cm, Piedmont, Racconigi Castle

how it evolved. The full skirt – which could be voided velvet – is made of a different fabric to the bodice, which is longer at the front ending in a U-shape. The elegant wide sleeves are made of the same fabric as the skirt and are lined in satin. The cuffs of the tight under-sleeves are made of lace and the impressive ruff is made of scalloped lace. On her copper brown curly hair the young woman wears a round, fairly tall hat decorated with flowers in the form of a star, small roses and a plume. The spectacular drapery behind her and the iridescent colours of the fabrics are fully consonant with Baroque iconography.

Catalina Micaela left a prominent and long-lasting mark on Turin, as proven by some portraits in Racconigi Castle, among them a half-length painting of a girl who could be the aforementioned Infanta Isabella at the age of eleven or twelve (fig. 12), the half-bust likeness of the Infanta Maria, the seventh of the couple's nine children (fig. 13), and a full-length picture of a lady (possibly the Infanta Margaret after going back to live with her father) by an unknown painter (fig. 14).

During the first years of the seventeenth century the Savoyard court reached its height of splendour and attracted artists and writers; the city had been developed and the duke had allowed new buildings to be erected such as the Grande Galleria, a work designed to glorify the dynasty and for the decoration of which Charles Emmanuel I sent for Federico Zuccari, among others. It was precisely the elderly painter who left the most effective testimony of Turinese fashion and taste in his *Passaggio per Italia*, which was published in 1608.<sup>43</sup>



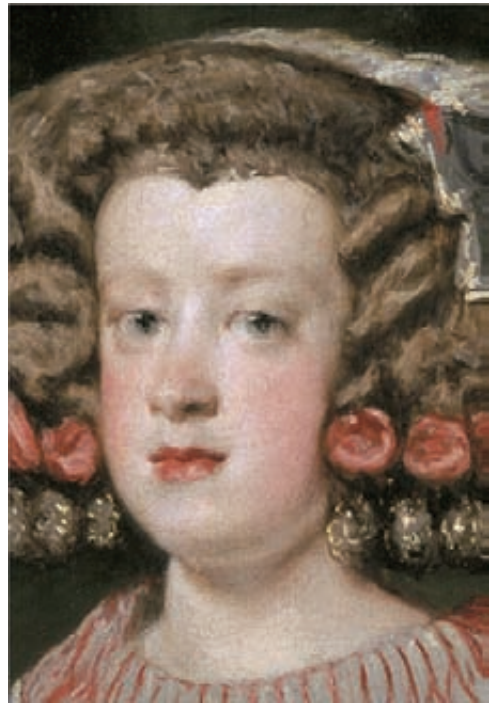
4a–b. Fashion illustrations from the manuscript *Libro del Sarto*, by Gian Giacomo del Conte *et al*, f. 94r, c. 1548, and f. 152r, c. 1570, 295 x 210 mm, Venice, Biblioteca Querini Stampalia

he was received with great pomp by Ferrante Gonzaga, ‘governor’ of the city.<sup>28</sup> The plate shows a lady wearing a dress of heavy brocade (with a geometrical pattern that has the effect of concealing the naturally soft lines of the female body), distinguished by the square ‘Milanese’ neckline from which emerges her thin chemise with its small collar. The structure of the bodice penetrates like a wedge the stiff ‘cone-shaped’ skirt, and is emphasized by the ‘V’ line of a jewelled belt. It is clearly a natural development of the conventions exemplified by the cut of the dress worn by Beatrice d’Este in the *Pala Sforza*.

As the century progresses, styles of dress evolve into those shown in f. 102r of the same Venetian volume (fig. 4b), which can be dated to the end of the 1500s, and by the third decade of the seventeenth century they take forms that mix Spanish styles (with the use of the farthingale in the lower part of the garment, though in the dukedom of Milan it never reached the exaggerated width it had in Spain) with a French-style cut in the upper part, with necklines decorated with a little lace cape covering the shoulders, sleeves where lace reveals the forearm, as, for example, in the portrait of Lucia



19. Diego Velázquez, *Mariana of Austria* (detail), 1652, oil on canvas, 234 x 131 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



20. Diego Velázquez, *Infanta Maria Teresa* (detail), 1653, oil on canvas, 127 x 98 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Some historians have regarded the emperor's tolerance of these dress habits as a calculated strategy with which Leopold sought to highlight his wife's foreign status as a constant reminder to the court of her rights to the Spanish throne.<sup>42</sup> Although the political connotations of the empress's costume are undeniable, it should be pointed out that there is no explicit testimony of Leopold's intentions anywhere, whereas there are several complaints about the determination of Margarita and her entourage to distinguish themselves from the rest of the court. In any case, we know that the most particular trait of Spanish costume disappeared from the empress's wardrobe whenever she wished to indicate to those around her that she was newly pregnant. The emperor informed the Count of Pötting of this in Madrid, with a rich mixture of languages: "después de cumplidas dos faltas mein Gemahlin dies 25. den Guardinfante [*sic*] abgelegt und sich in der silla in die kirche tragen lassen. Confirmet itaque Deus, quod operatus est in nobis" (28 March 1667), and again: "die Kaiserin hat den Guardainfante abgelegt", as she was pregnant again (16 July 1668).<sup>43</sup>





3. Dress worn by Svante Sture  
on 24 May 1567, Uppsala Cathedral



4. Travelling dress worn by Nils Sture  
on 24 May 1567, Uppsala Cathedral

same dress. These historically interesting garments were once worn by three members of the Sture family, one of the oldest and most exalted families of the Swedish nobility. They have been preserved because the three wearers – Privy Councillor Svante Sture and both his sons, Nils and Erik – were murdered at Uppsala Castle on Trinity Sunday Eve, 24 May 1567. Erik XIV suspected that a conspiracy was afoot to depose him. Although their guilt had not been proven and no judgement passed on them, the king anticipated events. In a fit of rage he personally attacked Nils Sture with a dagger, whereupon his guards finished him off, before going on to murder Nils's father and brother. Märta Leijonhufvud, Svante Sture's widow, took charge of her husband's and sons' bloodstained garments, which she kept in an iron chest positioned over their tomb in the Sture Chantry of Uppsala Cathedral. Today they are on display in a museum in the cathedral. There is no doubt as to which of the three owned which costume. Svante Sture's costume (fig. 3) features a black Spanish doublet of velvet with appliqué decoration of bias-cut strips of velvet. The

Spanish fashion was popular with the wives of the aristocracy in Transylvania too, as documented in the archival registers of the Haller family.<sup>12</sup> The family originated from Nuremberg and lived in Hungary from the fifteenth century onwards. After the Battle of Mohács they moved their residence to the town of Nagyszeben (Sibiu) in Transylvania. It was still in Nuremberg that they started to compile a register of family history, decorated with watercolours. It contained the names and coat of arms of the family members. Each member of the family was portrayed together with their spouses on one page, while their children were listed on the opposite page. Donations, privileges, testaments and personal, financial and social positions in particular were also recorded. The rise to a higher rank is reflected by the change in clothing representing their social status. By means of royal and palatinal grants and suitable marriages with members of old Hungarian noble families, men in the Haller family gained higher and higher positions, thus gradually becoming members of the elite, and eventually receiving the title of count.

Early members of the family are shown wearing Saxon garments. Later, in the portrait of Zsigmond Haller and his wife Krisztina Kendy (about 1670),<sup>13</sup> the husband, of Saxon origin, wears a Hungarian overcoat, while his wife is wearing a dress with long sleeves and a standing lace collar, a simpler version of Spanish fashion (fig. 6a).

Zsuzsanna Tarnóczy, the wife of Péter Haller (about 1670), is wearing a dress with 'lute-shaped' sleeves, also in accordance with the Spanish fashion (fig. 6b).<sup>14</sup> Her skirt is round, wide, red and pleated, laced with gold in three parallel rows, and the



5. Unknown artist, *Engagement Portrait of Count Pál Esterházy and Countess Orsolya Esterházy*, 1650, oil on canvas, 185 x 115.5 cm, Esterházy Privatstiftung, Eisenstadt, Esterházy-Ahnengalerie, Burg Forchtenstein

of wearing it much resembles Philip II's in Spanish depictions, for, as we know, Rudolf II was kept informed by Khevenhüller of the kind of chains for the Fleece used by the King of Spain and how he wore them, and he always asked him to get similar ones for him.<sup>17</sup> Rudolf is represented in a similar way in the official portraits made by another painter of his court, the German Hans von Aachen (fig. 2),<sup>18</sup> and in various engravings kept in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.<sup>19</sup>

The people accepted the person of the emperor as the highest living symbol of power and the social order. His image and his public conduct served as propaganda, and had a wide influence on public opinion. In fact, descriptions of Rudolf II and his wardrobe, together with the apparel he chose for his public appearances, formed an important part of the despatches of foreign ambassadors, travellers' diaries and the correspondence of the nobility. For example the French traveller Pierre Bergeron noted in 1600, "And thus we saw this sovereign, of middle height, in the forty-ninth year of his age and of somewhat strong build. He is red in the face and has brown hair, his beard and his hair are not well groomed. He was dressed in grey satin, with the Golden Fleece at the neck and with a hat of black velvet on his head, adorned with grey plumes."<sup>20</sup> The Englishman Fynes Moryson described the sovereign in the following terms: "He seldom wore a very costly suit and the scabbard of his sword was made of leather, and not of velvet, as is the custom in our country".<sup>21</sup> Daniel Eremita, whose task it was to carry messages from Florence, and who visited Prague in 1609 – at a time of personal, governmental and health crisis for Rudolf II – described him as a man who seemed at first sight to have lost his powers and who wished to hide himself in the world of the customs and clothing of the past, which represented for him happier times.<sup>22</sup> Rudolf II died in Prague in January 1612, but the Spanish fashion did not die with him, for in its different forms it remained official wear in the court of the Central European Habsburgs until nearly half a century later.



2. Hans von Aachen, *Rudolf II*, 1606–08,  
oil on canvas, 59.9 x 47.5 cm,  
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum





# The Foreign Perception



11. After Joris van der Straeten, *Elisabeth de Valois*,  
c. 1570, oil on canvas, 104 x 84 cm, Madrid, Várez Fisa collection

white, left only the hands and face visible, since the collar covered the neck right up to the ears, where it met a coiffe that completely covered the hair. Garments are the raw materials of history; they have meaning as elements in a language of appearance and being, at once signifier and signified. They show what the person wishes to make manifest, such as their high moral nature. The morality of a woman in mourning was displayed through the severity of her dress, in the same way that clothing signified the beauty of the Christian soul, particularly in the court of Spain with its strong attachment to Catholic rigour.



12. Francisco Rizi, *Marie Louise d'Orléans on Horseback*, 1680, oil on canvas, 344 x 312.5 cm, Toledo, Ayuntamiento

Her beauty was useful to her; she looked good in Spanish dress with her hair in the Spanish style. And the novelty of her Spanish clothes on her arrival in her new kingdom added to her beauty: “Her hair dressed very well, across her forehead, the rest spread over her shoulders. She has an admirable complexion, fine eyes, a very pleasant mouth when she laughs .... In the novelty and beauty of her clothes with an infinity of diamonds, the young Queen was delightful.”<sup>62</sup>

Afterwards, at the palace, she was still praised for her beauty and her resignation, and also for her ability to seem truly Spanish: “She was as beautiful as an angel yesterday, weighed down, uncomplaining, a parure of emeralds and diamonds on her head, in other words a thousand sharp points. Marvellous earrings, and draped over her, a mass of rings and bracelets. You thought that emeralds did not sit well with dark hair. You are wrong; hers is one of the most beautiful dark complexions one can





12. Diego Velázquez,  
*Philip IV dressed for the Hunt* (detail),  
c. 1633. oil on canvas, 189 x 124 cm,  
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado



13. Anthony Van Dyck,  
*Charles I dressed for the Hunt* (detail),  
c. 1635, oil on canvas, 266 x 207 cm,  
Paris, Musée du Louvre

minister, collector and art patron, Luis de Haro for £200. Haro returned the painting to his king Philip IV – a reminder of the significant role of the Habsburgs as defenders of the Catholic faith.<sup>68</sup>



12. Diego Velázquez, *Don Pedro de Barberana y Aparregui*, 1631–32, oil on canvas, 198.1 x 111.4 cm, Fort Worth (Texas), Kimbell Art Museum

Dignity and sobriety were the key features of formal Spanish dress, and black the most favoured colour. Baldassare Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier* (first published in 1528) defines sobriety as “solemnitie”, a characteristic of dress and deportment “which the Spanish nation much observeth”.<sup>48</sup> Derived from fifteenth-century Burgundy, and introduced into Spain by Charles V, formal black costume became *de rigueur* at the Spanish court; “a blacke colour hath a better grace in garments than any other”, claimed Castiglione,<sup>49</sup> and it was an expensive dye. Thus, an example of restrained and understated Spanish style in dress might be Velázquez’s portrait of *Don Pedro de Barberana y Aparregui* (fig. 12), in his black doublet, *ropilla*, narrow knee-breeches, cloak and flat shoes – apart from the white linen of the *golilla* and of the shirt cuffs, the only mitigation of the prevailing black is the embroidered red insignia of the Order of Calatrava. According to the *Character of Spain* (1671), many Spaniards liked to wear “long Cloaks of black London Serge” and, compared to the high-heeled shoes and

boots in vogue in the rest of Europe, “their shooes for the most part have no heele, or a very little one”.<sup>50</sup>

By the time of Don Pedro’s portrait in the early 1630s, French fashions had begun to prevail, signalling the triumph of French diplomatic initiatives over their Habsburg rivals in Europe. Van Dyck’s double portrait of *Lords John and Bernard Stuart* (fig. 13) shows the antithesis of Don Pedro’s costume, the unstructured, shining, throw-away elegance – what the masque *Raquaillo d’Oceano* (1640) describes as the “unbuttoned and untruss’d” French fashion – in vogue. In James Shirley’s play *The Lady of Pleasure* (performed 1635) a gentleman of fashion rebukes a student for his old-fashioned dress: “Your doublet and your breeches must be allowed / No private meeting



6. Unknown artist, *Le Duel*, c. 1643,  
engraving, 405 x 267 mm, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

sleeveless garment split on the sides into four tails and closed by a large belt tied at the back. On his boots there are the large spurs which appeared in the 1641 engraving by Richer. In an anonymous print of the first half of the 1640s, showing *Un duel* (A duel; fig. 6), the Spaniard also wears a long sleeveless doublet or jerkin with large buttons, a round patch on the elbows, hanging sleeves, a lace-edged scarf, and the neck and wrist ruffs that Bosse's Spaniard wore in 1635. There is also a long coat hanging from the branch of the tree, a hat that is no longer as tall as it was and with a wider brim, and the use of a dagger, the dread of his enemies. His hair remains short-cropped, and he has a handlebar moustache. Then, in two engravings by Gabriel Ladame (c. 1613 – after 1679),<sup>25</sup> the Spanish wear a jerkin which reveals their doublet; unlike that of the French, the cut is simple, barely flares at the bottom, and has no ribbons or aglets. Like the standard bearer exclaiming *J'ay perdu la Catalogne en l'année 1639* (I lost Catalonia in the year 1639), some Spaniards preferred the collar or the ruff-like<sup>26</sup> *golilla*;<sup>27</sup> the *golilla* is what edges the shirt of the Governor of Gravelines, who has come to submit to Gaston d'Orléans following the siege of the city on 29 July 1644 (fig. 7). The plate published by Michel van Lochom (1601–1647), in all likelihood for an almanac, shows a soldier dressed in a velvet suit sporting a sash with a chain tied on the shoulder. This fairly