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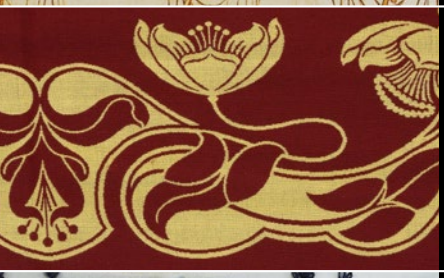

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The 15th International Fungi and Fibre Symposium

Marta Prevosti, Mònica Dòria and Esther de Prades

The calicoes and the origins of industrial Barcelona, 1736-1847

by Alex Sánchez
(Universitat de Barcelona)

Between May 2012 and March 2013, the Saló del Tinell in the Royal Palace of Barcelona hosted an exhibition organized by the History Museum of Barcelona (MUHBA) of which I had the honour of acting as curator. Under the title *"Indianes, 1736-1847. The origins of industrial Barcelona"*, the exhibition bore witness to the contribution of these printed calico fabrics, and that of cotton manufacturing in general, to the economic growth and development of the city.

Although the exhibition was not strictly speaking the first held in Catalonia on the calico prints known as *indianes*, it is certainly the most ambitious, both in terms of its theme and the chronological range. The few precedents that we know of, for instance the exhibition held by the Society for the Decorative Arts in the Spanish Village in Barcelona in 1944[1] or the very interesting display entitled *Indianes, estampats* organized in 2007 by the Museum of History of Sabadell[2], centred above all on the collections of these individual institutions and aimed to provide a historically contextualized explanation of how they were made and used. The focus of the current exhibition was rather different. Its starting point obviously is the *indianes*, but what it sought to explain was why and how the development of their production in Barcelona became the trigger of the process of industrialization in Catalonia and, above all, of its capital city. The aim, then was to show that these calicoes were the fabrics of our industrial revolution.

The origin of this exhibition was a project involving the Museum of History of Barcelona and the Historical Archive of the City of Barcelona, which began with the course entitled *The industry of the* indianes *in Barcelona, 1730-1850*, organized by the Seminar in the History of Barcelona of the Historical Archive of the City between October 2010 and February 2011[3]. This course aimed to publicize the advances in the research into the industry of the calico prints over the last 25 years, thanks to the work of specialists in different fields – history, economics, art, architecture, technology and library science – who have uncovered new documentary sources and have helped to expand our understanding of our industrial past[4]. It was the first time that the history

1 Agustí DURAN I SEMPERE wrote a critique of this exhibition in *Barcelona. Divulgación Histórica*. Vol I, 1945, pp. 164-166.

2 The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue: *Indianes, estampats*, Museum of History of Sabadell, 2007.

3 Alex SÁNCHEZ (Coord.), *La indústria de les indianes a Barcelona, 1730-1850*, Barcelona. Quaderns d'Historia, nº 17, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2011.

4 A chronological list of the most important studies of the industry of the *indianes* in Barcelona published since 1974: Ramon GRAU and Marina LÓPEZ, "Empresari i capitalista a la manufactura catalana del segle XVIII. Introducció a l'estudi de les fàbriques d'indianes", *Recerques*, nº 4, 1974, pp. 19-57, Alex SÁNCHEZ, "La era de la manufactura algodonera en Barcelona, 1736-1839", *Estudios de Historia Social*, nº 48-49, 1989, pp. 65-114, Alex SÁNCHEZ, "L'estructura comercial d'una fàbrica d'indianes barcelonina: Joan Rull i Cia (1790-1821)", *Recerques*, 22, 1989, pp. 9-24, James THOMSON,

Calico print showing Montserrat and the Devil's Bridge Cotton. Catalonia 1840.
CDMT 7416. © Quico Ortega, CDMT.

Handkerchief made at the factory owned by Erasme de Gònima i Passarell in the 1790s (Premià de Mar Textile Printing Museum, 10640). Photo: Esther de Prades. See detail.

of this industry had been explored from such a wide range of perspectives. In view of the success of the course it was decided to organize an exhibition to underline the importance of this industry in the history of Barcelona[5].

The result was an exhibition which, bringing together a total of 124 pieces from a variety of museums, institutions, and public and private entities, constitutes the largest display of its kind ever staged in Catalonia, and probably in Europe. Its uniqueness does not lie so much in the volume of the printed fabrics exhibited as in their variety. Fabrics, dress and furniture were on show, but also books, leaflets, documents, paintings, portraits, engraving, maps, ceramics and machines, all of them duly contextualized and described in written texts and with statistical, graphic and audiovisual support.

"Els orígens de la indústria d'indianes a Barcelona", in *La indústria d'indianes a la Barcelona del segle XVIII*, L'Avenç, Barcelona, 1990, pp. 7-59, Jordi NADAL, "Sobre l'entitat de la indianeria barcelonina del set-cents. Nota suggerida per la lectura d'un article d'Alexandre Sánchez", *Recerques*, 24, 1991, pp. 181-185, Alex SÁNCHEZ, "La indianeria catalana: ¿mito o realidad?", *Revista de Historia Industrial*, nº 1, 1992, pp. 213-232, James THOMSON, *Els origens de la industrialització a Catalunya. El cotó a Barcelona, 1728-1832*. Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1994, pp. 62-129. Alex SÁNCHEZ, "Crisis económica y respuesta empresarial. Los inicios del sistema fabril en la industria algodonera catalana, 1797-1839", *Revista de Historia Económica*, XVIII, nº 3, 2000, p. 485-523, Alex SÁNCHEZ, "Les bergadanes i les primeres màquines de filar", in Jordi MALUQUER DE MOTES (dir.), *Tècnics i tecnología en el desenvolupament de la Catalunya contemporània*, Enciclopedia Catalana, Barcelona, 2000, pp. 161-175, James THOMSON, "Transferencia tecnológica en la industria algodonera catalana: de las indianas a la selfactina", *Revista de Historia Industrial*, nº 24, 2003, p. 13-50, Francesc VALLS, *La Catalunya atlàntica. Aiguardent i teixits a l'arrencada industrial catalana*, Vic, Eumo, 2004, James THOMSON, "Explaining the take-off of the Catalan cotton industry", *Economic History Review*, LVIII, 4, 2005, pp. 701-735, Alex SÁNCHEZ (Coord.), *La indústria de les indianes a Barcelona, 1730-1850*, Barcelona. Quaderns d'Història, nº 17, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat, Ajuntament de Barcelona, Barcelona, 2011, Alex SÁNCHEZ, "Els orígens de la industrialització, 1750-1832, in Jordi NADAL, Josep Mª BENAUL i Carles SUDRIÀ (Dirs.), *Atles de la industrialització de Catalunya, 1750-2010,* Vicens Vives, Barcelona, 2012, pp. 11-53.

5 The project also included an itinerary, designed and directed by Jaume Artigues, which, entitled *The city of the indianes. Barri de Sant Pere*, identifies the evidence existing today of the old printed textile factories in the area of the city that housed most of the production.

Allegory of the industry. Calico print. Cotton. Catalonia, half XIX Century. CDMT, 17004. © Quico Ortega, CDMT. See detail.

The chance to bring together such a large quantity of pieces is in itself proof of the vitality that Catalan calico print production enjoyed in its day. Apart from the prints themselves, the material and documentary evidence conserved in archives and museums can give a fair idea of the importance of an economic activity in a specific location. In this regard Barcelona has one of the finest documentary resources in Europe on the subject of the *indianes*, and Catalonia is also one of the few regions in the continent with a museum devoted to their production, the *Premià de Mar Textile Printing Museum*[6]. The other great printed fabric museum in Europe is the *Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes* in Mulhouse. Barcelona and Mulhouse were among Europe's main cotton manufacturing centres and both cities were important industrial leaders at regional level.

All the material and documentary evidence was organized in four broad areas and 14 subareas, which gave form to the thread of the exhibition. The thematic approach paid close attention to the chronological perspective and to the close interrelation between Barcelona and Catalonia. It also incorporated the international dimension to demonstrate the place that Barcelona occupied at European level.

6 The fact that the Textile Printing Museum is in Premià de Mar and not in Barcelona, which was the real centre of this productive activity, is as much to do with the personal initiative and efforts of its creators as with the industrial relevance of this coastal town. In fact, inside the network of industrial museums in Catalonia, which in many aspects is excellent, a museum that celebrates the close relation between Barcelona and the cotton industry is lacking.

Calico print with flowers. Cotton. Catalonia 1760-1770. MTIB-22.071. See detail.

The first area, entitled *From business emporium to manufacturing city: eighteenth-century Barcelona*, showed when, how and why the production of calicoes began in the Catalan capital. The area identifies the commercial character of the city and the legacy of its artisanal tradition as the key factors in its transformation at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. Barcelona became an important market for the new printed fabrics arriving from Asia along the Mediterranean route that began in Aleppo and Smyrna and ended in the ports of Italy, France and Spain. Between 1736 and 1738 the Catalan capital established itself as a key centre of printed calico production.

The second area focused on the product itself and described the calicoes in detail. Under the title *The art of making* indianes, it showed both the technical process of production and the uses of the printed cotton fabrics in dress and decoration, and also described the firms, factories, entrepreneurs, and workers who were involved in their manufacture. The area stressed the predominantly urban nature of the industry in Catalonia, specifically in Barcelona and paid tribute to its important institutional dimension; in fact, calico production led to the creation of the first Catalan business organizations, the precursors of the modern-day organization known as Foment del Treball Nacional, and some of the schools of the Board of Commerce which launched vocational training in Catalonia.

The third area, *From printing to spinning: technical innovation and industrial modernization*, described the transformation of the manufacture of calicoes in the eighteenth century into the modern cotton industry of the nineteenth, and the factors that made it possible. The huge size of the manufacturing sector of Barcelona at the end of the eighteenth century, due largely to the printing of linen fabrics imported from the north of Europe to be sold in the American market, created the conditions necessary for the process of modernization in the early nineteenth century. This process, based above all on the mechanization of spinning, was carried out at a time of great hardship

Photo: © Andrea Manenti.

in Catalonia due to the crisis caused by the Peninsular War, the loss of Spain's colonies, and the Liberal Revolution.

The fourth area centred on the impact on the city of Barcelona of the development of the cotton industry. *From manufacturing to industry* was the title of the last section of the exhibition which examined the development of the first factory areas, Sant Pere and El Raval, due to the expansion of *indiana* factories, and the controversy surrounding the consequences of this growth in the late eighteenth century. This area continued with an appraisal of the industrial modernization of the first half of the nineteenth century, its transformation of the urban area, the appearance of factory towns on the outskirts of Barcelona, and the demolition of the walls to allow the unlimited expansion of the City.

The exhibition closed with an epilogue entitled *"El nostre enginy, el nostre cor, lanostra llançadora"*, (literally, *Our genius, our heart, our shuttle loom*") a sentence that appeared in an article published in the Barcelona newspaper *El Vapor* in 1834. How did the process of industrial modernization that began at the end of the eighteenth century survive the crisis of the *Ancien Regime* and create the modern city of Barcelona? If we translate "*enginy*" as creativity, "*cor*" as work and "*llançadora*" as manufacturing tradition or legacy, we have the

Trunk. Museum of Pedralbes.
Photo: MUHBA Archive - Pep Parer.
MMP-115.094.

factors that allowed our forefathers to overcome the difficulties of the time and take on the challenges of the future.

So the exhibition at the Saló del Tinell offered a complete overview of the development of the manufacture of calicoes and what it represented for the city of Barcelona. It explains why this production emerged in the Catalan capital, how it fostered the development of the modern cotton industry, and how it contributed to changing the urban space and creating a new kind of city – in spite of extremely difficult conditions which could have put an end to the city's industrial growth at practically any moment. All in all, the exhibition was particularly opportune, not just because printed fabrics are coming back into fashion with the rediscovery of the *Toiles de Jouy*, but above all because it offers a historical perspective on a very topical issue – the difficulties facing an industrial system at a time of crisis. ●

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A textile workshop from Roman times: the *villa dels Antigons*

by Marta Prevosti
Photographs: © Marta Prevosti

Introduction

The Roman *villa dels Antigons*, in Reus, was one of the richest and most important agricultural concerns in the territory of the city of *Tarraco*. The farm was in operation between the second century BC and the seventh century AD. In the Imperial Age a residence was built for the owner which, to judge from the findings of the archaeological excavations – remains of a *nymphaeum* (a monumental fountain), baths, sculptures, marble and mosaics – must have been a Roman country palace. The site has been known since 1849 but it suffered large-scale damage in the 1950s; then, between 1977 and 1979, an animal feed factory was built on top of it, almost destroying it completely.

As is often the case with the finest villas of the Roman provinces, a thorough-going study of the site of Els Antigons reveals the reasons for its splendour. Many major economic activities have been identified[1]. First, four pottery kilns have been found, which would have made amphorae for storing wine[2]. This provides indirect evidence that the agriculture of the villa included wine production, and in fact remains of a cellar have also been found. There are also traces of iron-making, and the bones found in the excavations highlight the presence of significant level of livestock farming, particularly oxen[3]. The bone artefacts found also indicate the presence of a major textile workshop, and the name *Statutus* written repeatedly on pottery vessels has raised the possibility of a connection between the owner of the villa and the rich Tarraco jeweller *Iulius Statutus*, who was active in the third century.[4]

Textile instruments

Among the materials found in the excavations and now deposited at the Salvador Vilaseca Archaeology Museum, Reus[5], there are many instruments made from bone: 443 pin-beaters for weaving (figs. 1, 2 and 3), 82 needles for sewing (figs. 4, 5 and 6), 29 fine needles without a head (fig. 7), 87 pins (fig. 8, 9 and 10), nine spindles (figs. 11, 12 and 13) and a spatula (fig. 14), and many other fragments

1 PREVOSTI 2011.
2 JÁRREGA and PREVOSTI 2011.
3 VALENZUELA 2010.
4 JÁRREGA and PREVOSTI 2013.
5 We thank Jaume Massó i Carballido, director of the Salvador Vilaseca Archaeology Museum in Reus, for providing access to the materials.

Figure 4. Needles for sewing, made of bone.

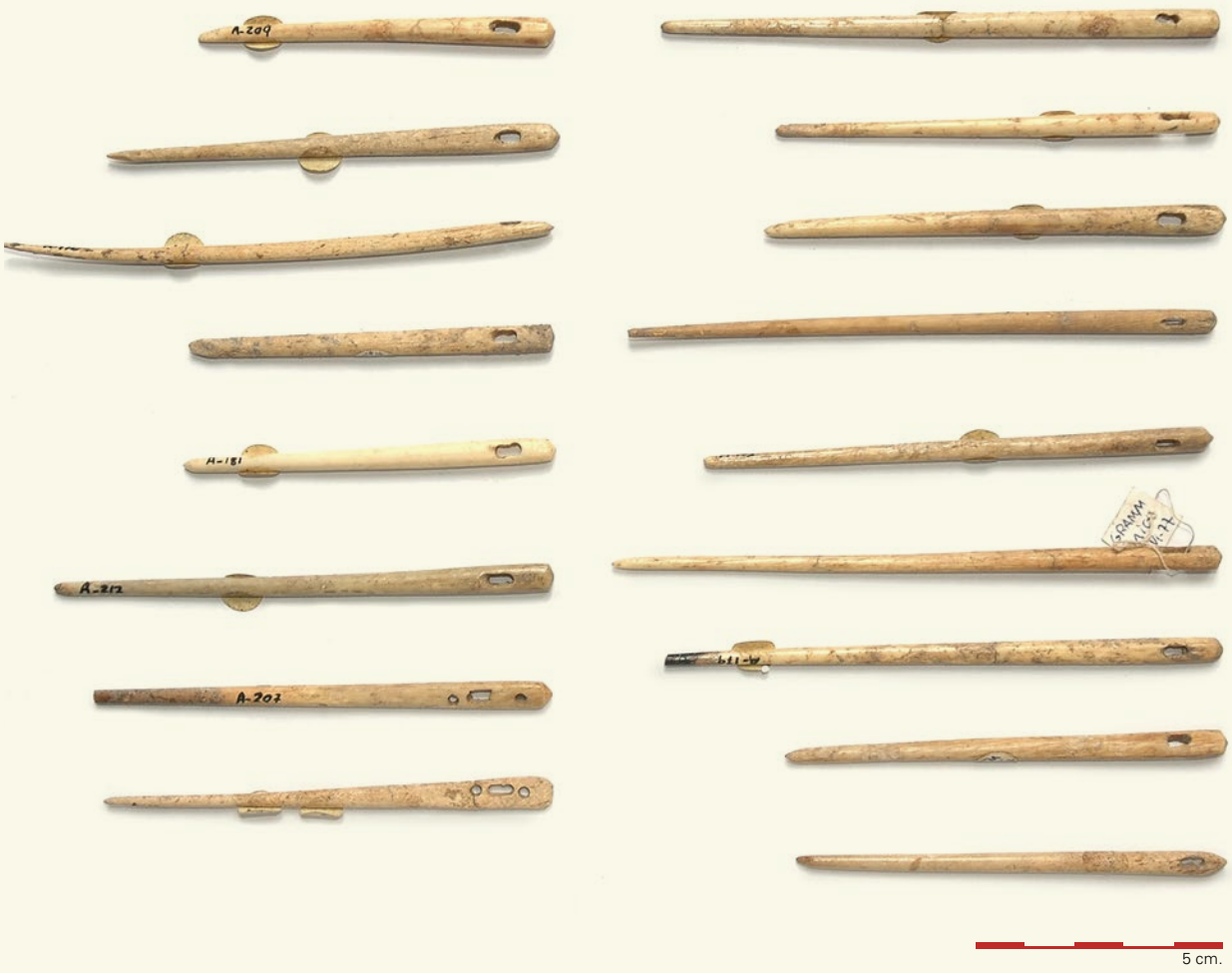

Figure 5. Needles for sewing, one made of bone, the other made of bronze.

Figure 6. Needle for sewing, made of bone, with the holes in the center.

Figure 7. Fine needle, made of bone.

which are difficult to classify. There are also several bronze tools: two spindles (fig. 15), a spinning wheel (fig. 12) and many needles for sewing (fig. 5), and ceramic pieces: five whorls (fig. 16) and 15 *pondera* (fig. 17).

The quantities of pin-beaters and needles found clearly suggest the presence of a significant level of textile production at Els Antigons. The length of the pin-beaters varies between 55 and 113 mm. They have a wide head, a sharp tip and are robustly made. Except for four oval specimens, all are round in section and with a tapered or long conical profile, sharp at one end and wide at the other end. They all appear to have the same function. Many authors classify pieces of this kind as hairpins (*acus crinalis* in Latin) rather than instruments for weaving[6]. However, we believe that these items were too short for use as hairpins and most of them would have been used as pin-beaters in a textile workshop either in vertical warp-weighted looms or double beam looms to untie knots, to order the warp threads when they were compressed, and to pass through the warp threads and push the weft thread up or down. They may even have served as spools for the colour threads of the textile patterns on any kind of loom.

Wild (1970, 65-67) describes the instruments for the beating-up process required in vertical warp-weighted looms. These tools, made out of bone, were classified as textile instruments on the basis of findings made in British and Scandinavian archaeological contexts and on the basis of ethnographic parallels. They comprise bobbins, pin-beaters and weave combs. The tools from pre-Roman Britain described by Wild in fact resemble the pin-beaters found at Els Antigons quite closely. "The pin beaters (famous as 'bone gouges') are cut from the tibia or metatarsal of the sheep or goat; the shaft is cut diagonally to give a point and the butt-end may be roughly trimmed. The point would be inserted instead of the finger directly through the warp to push up the loose weft." An equivalent tool also existed in the Roman period. "A more sophisticated version of the same tool is found after Roman conquest (table K). Both Romans and Saxons were familiar with it. Shaped like a cigar, about 10 cm. long, it is sharp at both ends, polished and round in section (fig. 16). In Scandinavia an identical object was used for pushing home the weft and rearranging the warp-threads when they became displaced. It was thrust directly into the warp from the front beneath the loose weft or drawn lightly across the face of the warp, as if the latter were the strings of a musical instrument." (Wild 1970, 66) Wild thinks that the weavers' pin-beaters might be the *radius* mentioned in the Latin sources[7], and therefore they may also have been made of wood on many occasions; he also believes that they may have been used as bobbins by tapestry weavers (called brooches).

6 For example, AGUADO et al. (2007) offer a wide range of possibilities for *acus crinalis*, although they do not mention that the term might refer to pin-beaters or to instruments for use with leather or cloth. BÉAL (1983), the study used by most archaeologists to classify bonework, categorizes flat-headed pin-beaters with a conical profile as type XX, 2, and the ones with a pyramidal head, circular section and conical profile as type A XX, 3, pins to hold hair or clothing in place. BÉAL (1983, 37) also classifies some similar specimens with flat heads (340), one with a round head (341) and another with a moulded body (342), and a relatively wide diameter as pins, inside type XVI, which he says are usually thought to have been used with leather. He gives a number of parallels found in contexts of leatherwork and dyeing. In our view, these and many of type XX, 2 and 3 should be interpreted as pin-beaters used in textiles, though they may also have been used for leatherwork.

7 OVID, *Met*. VI, 55 ff.; OVID, *Fasti*, III, 819; SILIUS ITALICUS, XIV, 656.

Figure 11. Spindle made of bone.

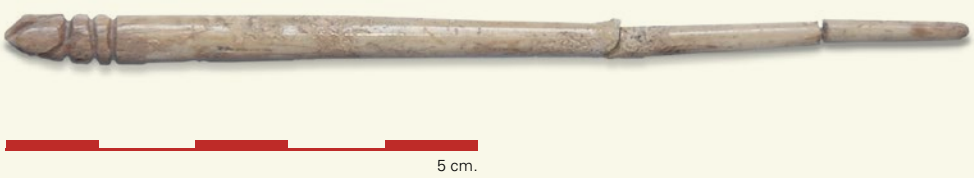

Figure 12. Spinning wheel with ring, made of bronze, and two spindles made of bone.

Figure 13. Spindle made of deer antler.

Figure 14. Spatula made of bone.

Figure 15. Probably spindles, made of bronze.

So this is the *radius* or *pin beater*, or *Schlagnadel* (Wild 1970, 65-67) used for beating-up, that is, to push up the weft thread of a vertical loom. These tools are also described by Hoffmann (1964) and Ciszuk and Hammarlund (2008, 122 and 124). Moutinho *et al.* (1979, 53-54, nºs. 181 to 190) also describe *separadores*, around 100 mm long, very smooth, oval or almost circular, ending in a point, and with the function of compressing the weft thread after being passed inside the warp and to disentangle the knots of the weft thread. We think that it is the same tool, in this case identified on the basis of Portuguese ethnographic descriptions.

Figure 16. Ceramic whorls.

Figure 17. Pondera (weight of loom), ceramic, with mark.

Illustrations: © Marta Prevosti.

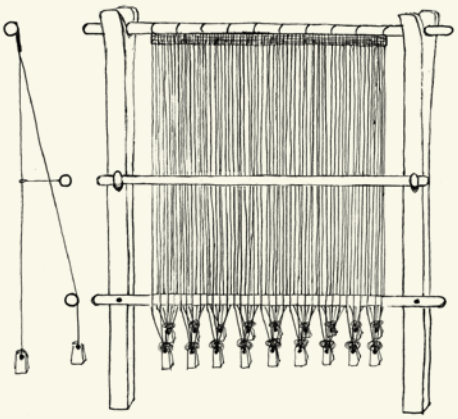

Figure 18. Vertical warp-weighted loom.

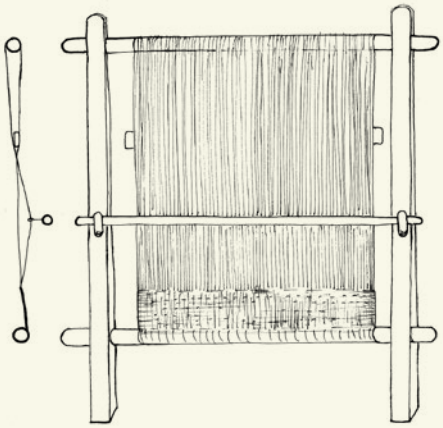

Figure 19. Vertical double-beam loom.

Probably the thickest pins found in Els Antigons would also have served as textile pin-beaters and were not used as hairpins. On the other hand, the longer thinner ones would have been used in the hair, but probably also for other uses as well, among them applications in the processes of textile production. The narrower needles and the sewing needles would also have had their own function in the workshop. The needles made of bone with a hole in the tip to allow the thread to pass through often have quite wide holes, which would not have been practical for sewing. We think that they may have been used in the weaving process, to prepare the warp and the first stage of the weaving in the vertical looms, to finish the woven pieces, and to correct defects. In fact, similar needles made of wood are still used in Scandinavia to make a type of fabric which dates from medieval times using a knotless pulling-through technique called Nalbindning to weave socks, gloves, hats and scarves.

The tools described here are just a sample of all the ones that would have been used in the workshop. As we said above, most of the instruments were made in wood, a material that does not survive over long periods of time. Nor do any traces of the looms remain. So these humble bone tools, the pin-beaters and needles used by the weavers and tailors in their work, are extremely valuable for identifying the textile activity in the Roman era. Unfortunately they have often not been correctly identified in archaeological studies.

The looms

In Roman times, for the most part two types of looms were used: the vertical warp-weighted loom (fig. 18) and the vertical double-beam loom (fig. 19). The first type was already known in Iberian and Greek cultures, and appears depicted on Greek vases[8]. The warp was tensed with weights hanging vertically, tied to the end of groups of threads. In the middle of the loom there was a rod. The loom might be very wide to produce large cloths without having to sew them together. In fact Roman robes required little dressmaking, since they were ready for wear when they came off the loom. The weaver worked standing, walking from one end to the other, passing the weft through small groups of warp threads and pushing it upwards. In this movement the pin beater was used, as well as the comb and the cutter. The cloth rolled around the upper beam.

8 See, for example, the Attic lekythos by the painter Amasis, 550-530 BC, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See also fig. 26, CLELAND *et al*. 2007, 117.

The vertical double-beam loom was a technical improvement introduced in the Roman era. Basically, in this new instrument, the warp was tensed between two wooden beams. This system allowed the weaver to sit in front of the cloth and to begin in the lower part; the cloth rolled around the lower beam. The heddles were introduced once the warp was mounted, and were tied with the aid of cords (Ciszuk and Hammarlund 2008, 124-125). The pin beater was also used.

Wild (1970, 71-72) explains that technical details of the vertical double-beam looms became known through Coptic tapestries. In the introduction of the colour weft to make decorative designs, the weaver separated the warp threads with the fingers to open the shed and passed the weft through it, sometimes selecting some of the warp threads. Then, the weaver pushed the weft with the tip of the bobbin, the *radius*, which is used as a pin-beater. So, in the vertical double-beam looms, although in the plain part of the tapestry or cloth the weft was pushed with a comb, in the decorated areas it was pushed with a pin-beater.

Seneca (*Epistles* 90. 20), in the mid-first century AD, considers that a vertical double-beam loom is a more sophisticated instrument (*subtilus genus*) than a vertical warp-weighted loom. These looms were already known in Italy before the Common Era, and in fact they had been in use even earlier in Egypt and Scandinavia. According to Wild (1970, 67), vertical looms quickly gave way to double-beam looms. Nonetheless, in the second century, Pollux (*Lexicon* 10.124-125)[9] still describes vertical warp-weighted looms, so the classical sources suggest that the two types coexisted over a long period.

There are very few references to the Roman horizontal loom[10]. This instrument can only be studied indirectly, that is, via a dozen silk damasks found in tombs and reliquaries from the late Roman Era. It appears that the horizontal loom with two (and later more) shafts was already in existence before the end of the third century, although it is more frequently found in the fourth and fifth centuries. We know it was in use in the eastern Mediterranean, in Syria and Turkey, where fine materials arrived from China via the Silk Route. But some damasks have been found in the Western Empire, and conceivably this more developed technology also reached the West (Wild 1987). So the textile workshop of Els Antigons, on the strength of the archaeological evidence which can be dated to the third century, may already have had horizontal looms, even though the work was probably carried out on vertical looms.

The classical sources indicate that *Hispania Tarraconensis* had some important precedents in the production of linen during the Iberian Era[11]. Polybius (*Hist.* 3.14.4) and Livy (22.46.6) note that the Iberians in Hannibal's army wore short linen tunics. Strabo (3.4.9) reports the existence of important *linourghia* in *Emporium*, where raw fibre was converted from the plant *linum*

9 Quoted by HUMPHEREY et alii 1998, 364: "The most essential equipment for use on a daily basis has already been discussed. In a few words one can pull together the rest of those items that pertain to the women's quarters: woven baskets and baskets with narrow bottoms and the smaller types of both, the *onos* upon which they spin and the *epinetron*, and the spindle and the circular whorls, the skeins of yarn, the weaver's shuttle and the comb of the loom; and the upright loom as well as the side beams of the loom; and the weaver's rod [to attach the alternate threads of the warp] and the beam along with the vertical beams of the loom [between which the web hangs down] and the long beams of the loom [between which the web is stretched]; and the stone weights [for the warp threads] and the loom weights, and the flat blade [to strike the woof threads home]".

10 WILD (1970, 75-76), in his description of Roman horizontal looms, describes the specimen found in situ at *Herculaneum* (MAIURI 1958, 463, fig. 420), which had four loom weights at the ends, which would have tensed the warp, hanging from the four corners of the loom. However, it was so badly burned that the author does not think its workings can be understood.

11 ALFARO 1984, 53-55; GLEVA 2004.

usitatissimum into yarn and cloth. Analytical tests find traces in the pools where the plants were left to decompose.

In the Roman Era this tradition continued and developed. Pliny (*Nat.* 19.10) describes the linen made in Tarragona as the finest and whitest in the Empire. "But it is the province of *Hispania Citerior* that produces a linen of the greatest lustre, an advantage which it owes to the waters of a stream which washes the city of Tarraco. The fineness, too, of this linen is quite marvellous, and here it is that the first manufactories of cambric were established". This text suggests that along the Francoli there would have been meadows where cloths were whitened, as well as a major textile industry. The looms where these products were made were probably vertical double-beam looms; the weaves required for the linen cloth were straightforward, and horizontal looms would not have been necessary.

The villa of Els Antigons is located precisely in the area mentioned by Pliny. The inscription *RIT* 9 (Alföldy 1975; Panosa 2009), dates from the Late Republican Era and is written in Iberian and Latin. It seems to refer to a Romanized indigenous woman who, to judge from her name, *FVLVIA. LINTEARIA,* would have been a weaver or trader in linen.

This is another example of the thriving linen industry around *Tarraco.* Linen production seems to have derived from an indigenous tradition; it developed during the Republican period[12] and survived and flourished under the Empire, as we read in Pliny the Elder. The classical sources[13] suggest that linen was used for clothing and household articles and also to make sails for boats or *velamina* (or veils) for buildings for public spectacles, and other minor uses, such as filters for food, in medicine, and so on.

The production of hemp and especially of wool is often mentioned in the classical sources, among them Cato, Varro and Columella. In the Roman Era the wool was of excellent quality, perhaps not even surpassed by the best merino wool from Australia and New Zealand today[14]. In the Ancient World[15] it appears that wool was usually dyed and then woven on vertical looms like the ones described here, using the same tools. So these looms may indicate the production of either linen or wool, or hemp, or other fibres as part of a manufacturing industry that must have been one of the villa's most important economic activities. ●

12 Linen production was widespread in the pre-Roman world: see GLEVA (2004).
13 GLEVA 2004.
14 MAIK 2004.
15 WILD 1970, 2003; CARDON 1999, 2003; BORGARD and PUYBARET 2004.

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Popular names for lace

by Neus Ribas San Emeterio
Director of the Arenys de Mar Museum
Photographs: © Museu d'Arenys de Mar

For centuries, the decorative arts were regarded as a rather minor artistic form. Activities such as ceramics, metalwork, glass, textile work, lace and embroidery were undervalued because of their associations with popular crafts and serial production. In the mid-nineteenth century, the decorative arts began to receive the attention they deserved from groups of artists and academics like William Morris's *Arts and Crafts* movement, who were alarmed by the advance of industrialization. Art studies began to be systematized and a terminology was created to describe the technical characteristics of the different crafts. This formal terminology lived side by side with a more creative and suggestive popular language used by the craftspeople themselves. In the case of lace production, as we will see, it has survived thanks to the knowledge passed on by the lace-makers.

From the technical point of view, hand-made lace can be divided into two categories: needle lace, and bobbin lace. Needle lace is made from a single thread woven in a variety of twists and stitches. Bobbin lace is based on braiding multiple threads wound around the bobbins. Beyond these two basic categories, lace terminology tends to be very confused. Many of the terms used today were coined in the nineteenth century by distributors who wanted to define historical styles of lace in order to be able to describe them to their clients. The names are derived mostly from the cities or regions where they originated, such as *valenciennes, malines, binche*, and *burano*. Other names refer to a particular feature: *blonde lace,* for example, takes the name of the colour of the silk with which it was originally made in Normandy.

In 1922, Carlier de Lantsheere published *Trésor de l'art dentellier,* the first exhaustive study to differentiate between the various categories of lace according to the stitches, designs and the form of execution (needle or bobbin). This study is the most comprehensive of its kind and in many respects remains unsurpassed today. However, the author considered the French and Belgian models as his reference point and many local varieties that were emerging elsewhere in Europe do not appear. After Carlier's pioneering work many other specialists tried to revise and organize this complex terminology, considering the stitches used and the different stylistic features that allow us to distinguish between them.

Image 1. Lace-maker from Arenys de Mar. First half XX century. Author unknown. ▲

Creating bobbin lace and basic stitches

In Catalonia, when making bobbin lace, the lace-makers worked with different stitches produced by crossing the threads in different ways. To distinguish between them they created a rich vocabulary which could vary substantially from one town to the next. The lace-makers had terms for all the parts that made up a piece of lace: the foot, the strip of varying width which attached the lace to the dress or fabric, the motifs adorning the piece, and the background, or heart.

In bobbin lace the basic movements are the twist and cross. Four bobbins are used, two in each hand; the twists are always made towards the left, passing the bobbin on the right over the one on the left in the same hand. To make a cross the interior bobbin in the left hand is passed over the interior bobbin of the right hand. Using these two basic movements a range of stitches can be made: their names in Catalan are *punt sencer, mig punt, tul, trenes, creuat de les trenes, empuntillat, aranyes, punt de la verge, punt d'esperit, punt de guipur…* Many of these stitches are well known elsewhere and several studies have attempted to standardize the terminology in Europe[1]. Inevitably, however, the same stitches receive different names in different areas. For example, the stitch known as

1 For example, COENE, Johan: *International Lace Dictionary*. Ghent, Belgium 1994.

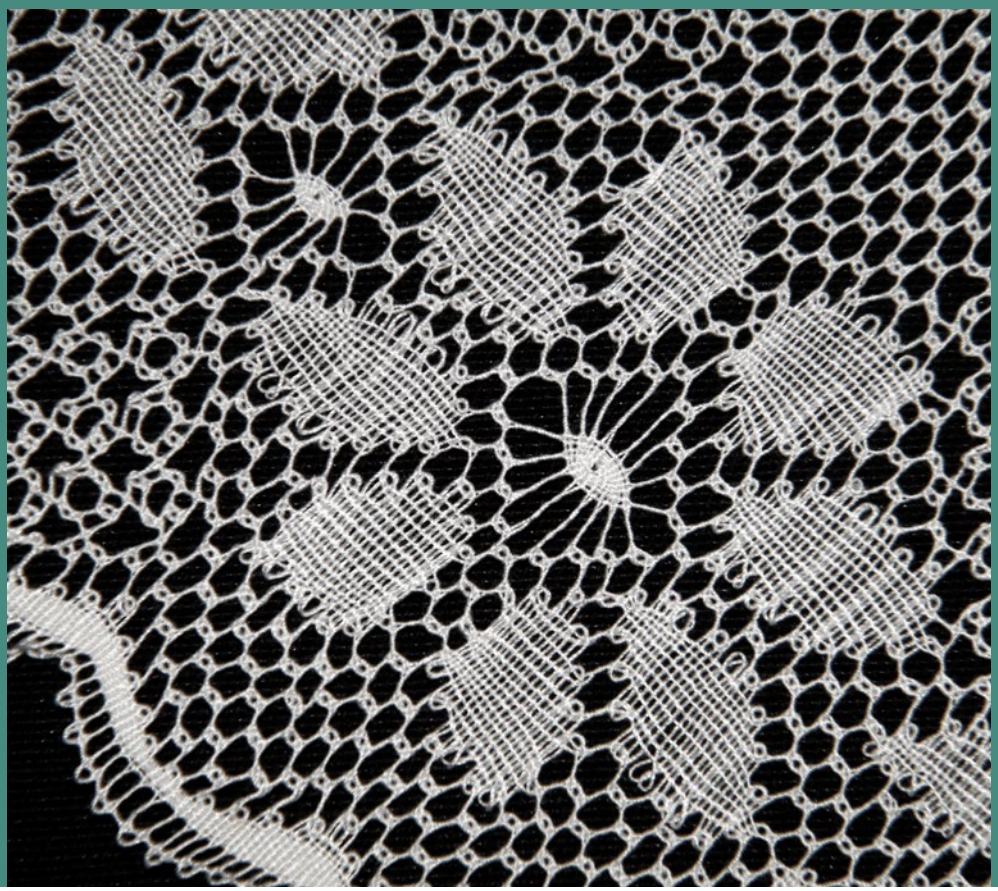

Image 2. Detail of jandkerchief made with "aranya" point. Lace-maker: Pepita Salions, 2012.

aranya in some Catalan towns is known as *pessic* elsewhere (as seen in image 2) the result of a crossing of bobbins with a full stitch. At least eight bobbins are needed to make this stitch, though more can be used if desired. There is a wide variety of models[2].

Among the basic stitches used to create the motifs to adorn the pieces are the *punt sencer*, the full stitch, which is also called *punt de teixit, espès* or *serpeta,* used to make fuller motifs, and the *mig punt* (half stitch), *vol i boixet, punt clar, glasseta,* and *punt de creu* which are used for the lighter motifs. The *mig punt* is characteristic of *chantilly* lace, famous for the lightness of its design. Some lace-makers and some documentary sources in Catalonia used the term *vol i boixet* to refer to *chantilly*. High quality *chantilly* lace is still made in Catalonia, where it is also known as *brusselles* and *punt clar*[3].

There is a wide variety in the background stitches: *filigrana,* also known as *gavatx*, *estrellat* or *cairat*, *punt de la verge, reixeta* or *trena de moda* or *trena de reixeta, triangle, punt de reixa, aranyeta, cinc forats* and *punt de neu*. One of the most characteristic is *trena vella, rengla, malla de tot cloure* (image 3) which forms a net to join the stitches to each other or to the foot. In Arenys de Mar, lace-makers call these stitches *passadetes*, while a few miles away in Malgrat de Mar they are known as *garbeta*. Another stitch that joins motifs is called *trenat* in Arenys de Mar, and *cua* in Arenys de Munt. Finally, tulle is the background stitch used to make *blonda, ret fi, valenciennes,* and *malines,* which all require particular skill on the part of the lace-maker. Large pieces like *mantillas* or

2 PLA ROVIRA, Imma: *Les puntes al coixi a Catalunya: ahir i avui*. Taller Editorial Mateu, Barcelona 1998 (p. 71).
3 FERRER RUIZ DE NARVÁEZ, Adelaida: *Punta al boixet*. In: *Arts i Bells Oficis*. Foment de les Arts Decoratives, May 1928 (p. 116).

Image 3. Lace-maker doing "passadetes", "petxina" and "aranya" point. Associació de Puntaires Flor d'Alba d'Arenys de Mar, 2013.

▼ "Passadetes" detail.

shawls are made with rectangular strips of lace without a foot which must be joined together. The stitch used is the *punt de xiripa,* which gave rise to the name of *xiriperes,* the seamstresses responsible for sewing the lace fragments.

Another basic stitch is *guipure,* shown in image 4 (reference 9996.1.38) which in Catalonia is also known as *gavatx, gramant* or *trena*. It is made on four bobbins which move as if it were being woven, giving it the form of a leaf, and it has the *trena* as its base. *Guipure* has given rise to many different styles and varieties of lace all over Europe: Le Puy, Malta, Cluny, Bedfordshire, Camariñas, and so on. This stitch, with small variations, receives the same name in places as different as France, the UK, Spain and Italy.

4 CARLIER DE LANTSHEERE, A.: *Trésor de l'art dentellier*, Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire. 1922. pag. 83 and 84.

The names of the motifs

Lace production has also created terminology developed by the lace-makers themselves, the intermediaries and the traders to describe the various motifs or designs which lace-makers use as they learn to make lace. Here we will examine the terminology that emerged in Catalonia, but the phenomenon is also found in other countries. Carlier describes the *valenciennes* lace – among the most highly valued in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth – and the variety of its motifs, such as the *May Tree (pl. 46, fig. 1); …; the Ball (pl. 46, fig.2); … the Daisy (pl. 46, fig. 25); the Grape vine; … the Rabbit*"[4].

In Catalonia, these popular names appeared as soon as lace production became a commercial concern. The documentary evidence found in the

Image 4. Guipure, lace sample. Casa Eloi Doy d'Arenys de Mar. First quarter XX century.
Museu d'Arenys de Mar, inv. 9996.1.

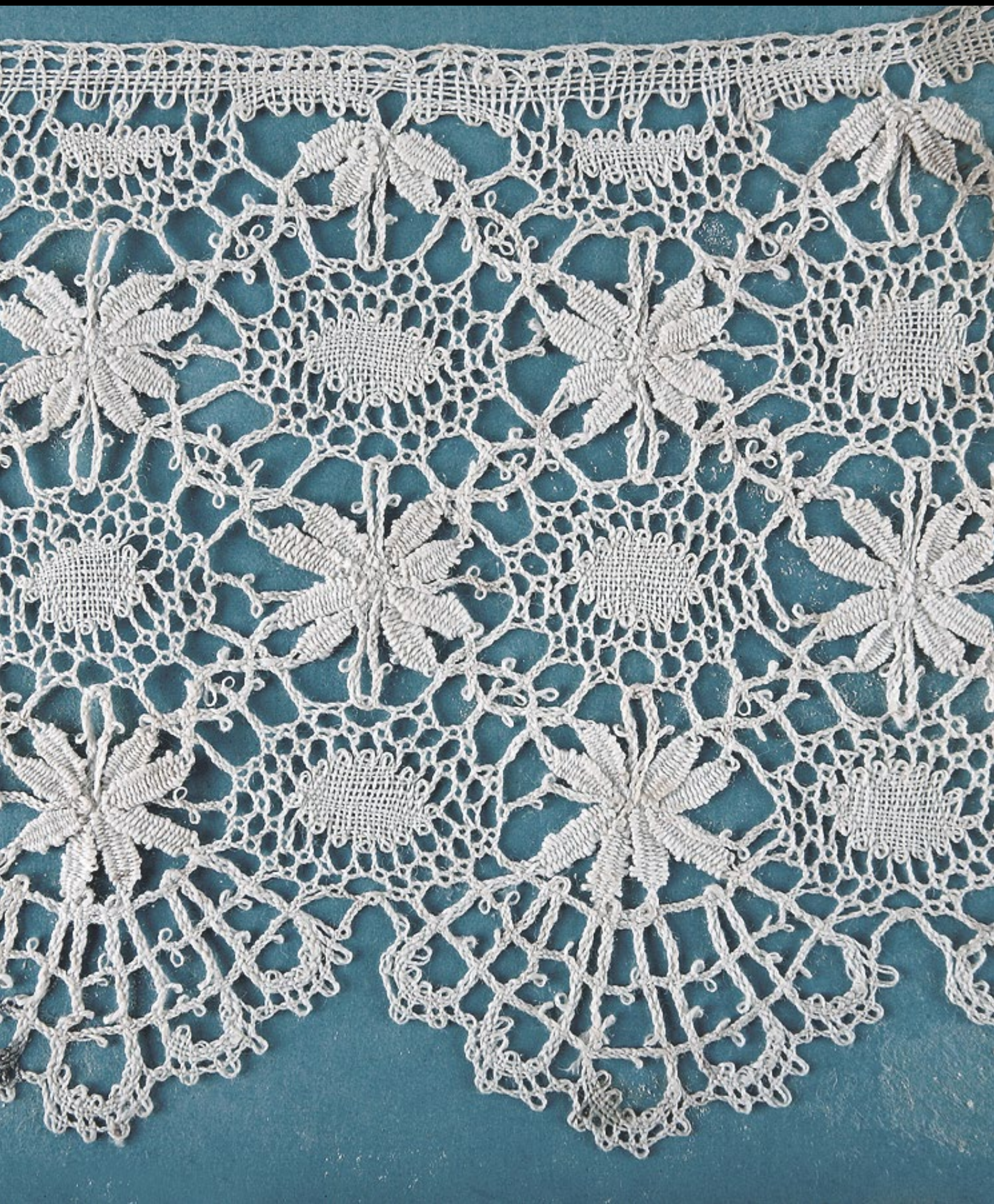

Image 5. The *Casa Castells* label.

archives shows that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was already a vast vocabulary for describing different sorts of lace. The Archive of the Maresme preserves an inventory of a trader, Salvador Visa, dating from 1769. The document lists all the tools, instruments and so on involved in the production of bobbin lace: accounting books, patterns, threads, and bobbins. One of the most striking aspects is the list of the lace contained in the chests of drawers in Salvador Visa's house, showing their names: *onda fonda, roda fina, flor grossa, xiprer gran, feyna de dotze reals, jardinet gran, las tres fulles, pinyol dols, genovesa xica, misericordias, al clavell, clavell flamench, la gran de les quatre, campana, cabrera, Candelero, flor de monja gran, feyna de setse reals, roda xica, feyna a la moda, puntilla flandesa, vehils, olivera, patxineta, caxalet, puntilla de Argentona, jardinet xich, escorpí, sabater de Cabrera, Martina, cama de angel, pujola Ariel ab punt flandès, Arial ab fil, amorosa, puntilla de Premià, ull del amor, puntilleta, Toni Roca, Cua de rata, Patronilla Casas, Feyna de vint y sis, cirereta xicas, Mariangela Mauri, Palmè gran, Mitja armosa, Catharina Paxau, Beatas, Quatre rosas, dos cagarros, ramellets grans, rajola gran, diablons grans, grà de anis gran, anveras grans ab puntilla, cirereta gran sens puntilla, peu de rat, cirereta grans ab puntilla, nouetas, ancora, arpons grans, petxina gran ab caragolet, estelas del Alva, tolipas, Rata ab ret, Mapons xichs, rata ab fil y gra, caragolillo, cavalls, dineret, puntillas de Pineda*[5]. The names we find in this document probably refer to motifs such as the *olivera* or the *patxineta*, which are still created today, and others which owe their names to their origins, such as *puntillas de Pineda or sabater de Cabrera.*

The Fidel Fita Municipal Archive in Arenys de Mar also preserves several documents which were studied by Josep Ma. Pons Guri, and provide insights into the names given to different types of lace and their market value. In notarial documents dated 1736 and 1739, we find references to motifs which have the same or a similar name to the ones we find in Salvador Visa's inventory from 1769. In the documents studied by Josep Ma. Pons Guri we find references to *flor de monja, Anberes, palmeta, rodas, tolipa*, demonstrating the existence of a terminology that was widely accepted among the lace-makers in the area.

The Casa Castells of Arenys de Mar (1862-1962) provides a wealth of information for the study of the production of artisanal lace, in the form of sample-books, photographs, illustrations, projects and inventories. These documents, studied by Jordi Palomer and Joan Miquel Llodrà[6] – reveal how this vocabulary was kept alive by the lace-makers throughout the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. In *Uns randers arenyencs. La família Castells 1862-1962*, Jordi Palomer devotes one of the chapters to the nomenclature used in an inventory dating from 1894 for describing the different

5 *Inventari dels bens que foren de Salvador Viza, comerciant ciutada de Mataró pres per Maria Viza y Cires, viuda del precht Salvador Viza, en los noms de tenutari y usufructuraria. En poder de Bonaventura Catala y Mas Notari publich de Mataro baix differents chalendaris lo primer als 29 de Nohembre 1769.* Arxiu Comarcal del Maresme (p. 22).

6 In 1994 Jordi Palomer, director of the Marès Lace Museum in Arenys de Mar, published *Uns randers arenyencs. La família Castells. 1862-1962*, in which he traced the history of the Casa Castells using the documentation preserved in the Fidel Fita Municipal Archive of Arenys de Mar, while Joan Miquel Llodra focused on the innovations introduced by this lace firm in the early twentieth century in his book *Els Castells, uns randers modernistes.*

▲
Image 6. Guipure and "barruga", lace sample. Casa Castells d'Arenys de Mar, 1862-1920. Museu d'Arenys de Mar, inv. 2980.1.

kinds of lace. The inventory classified the motifs according to the type of lace used: *encajes gruesos, entredosos, entrefines, guipurs, puntes fines i Valenciennes, fines afegir*[7]. Among the names that appear are some that are still in use, such as *arañas* and *barruga gran* (reference nº2980.1.10) in image 6 for the guipures, and *llaset, sepulcra,* and *barca* for the fine laces. At the end of the nineteenth century, for organizational reasons, the Casa Castells began to use a numerical system to arrange its numerous sample-books[8].

Ret fi or *Arenys lace*

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Catalonia was the most important lace-making centre in Spain. Baix Llobregat-Barcelona, l'Arboç del Penedès and the Maresme were the areas in which artisanal lace-making developed the most. Catalan lace-makers specialized in the production of *blondes* which required greater technical knowledge, but also produced more simple bobbin lace: geometrical, numerical patterns, guipures and other laces of French origin such as *lille, valenciennes,* and *chantilly,* introducing slight variations. In the Maresme area a distinctive Catalan lace evolved, known as *ret fi* or *Arenys lace*.

Jordi Palomer, director of the Marès Lace Museum, dates the origins of *ret fi* or *Arenys lace* to the second half of the eighteenth century. This technique is always performed with cotton on a tulle background and has several characteristic stitches: *punt d'esperit, ullet, filigrana, punt sencer,* and *torçal.* The designs in general are geometrical, although there are some that are naturalistic, and a vast vocabulary of a popular origin remains alive today.

7 PALOMER, Jordi. *Uns randers arenyencs. La família Castells. 1862-1962.* Ajuntament d'Arenys de Mar, 1994, pp. 28 - 30.

8 In *Els mostraris de punta artesana. Testimoni d'una indústria extingida, Estudi del fons industrial tèxtil de Catalunya*, Joan Miquel LLODRÀ studies the sample-books of artisanal lace from different lace-making firms in Arenys de Mar which are preserved in the town's museum. See http://ddfitc.cdmt.es/home.htm.

Image 7. "Ret fi" cuff decorated with the "barca" motif. Museu d'Arenys de Mar, inv. 655. See detail.

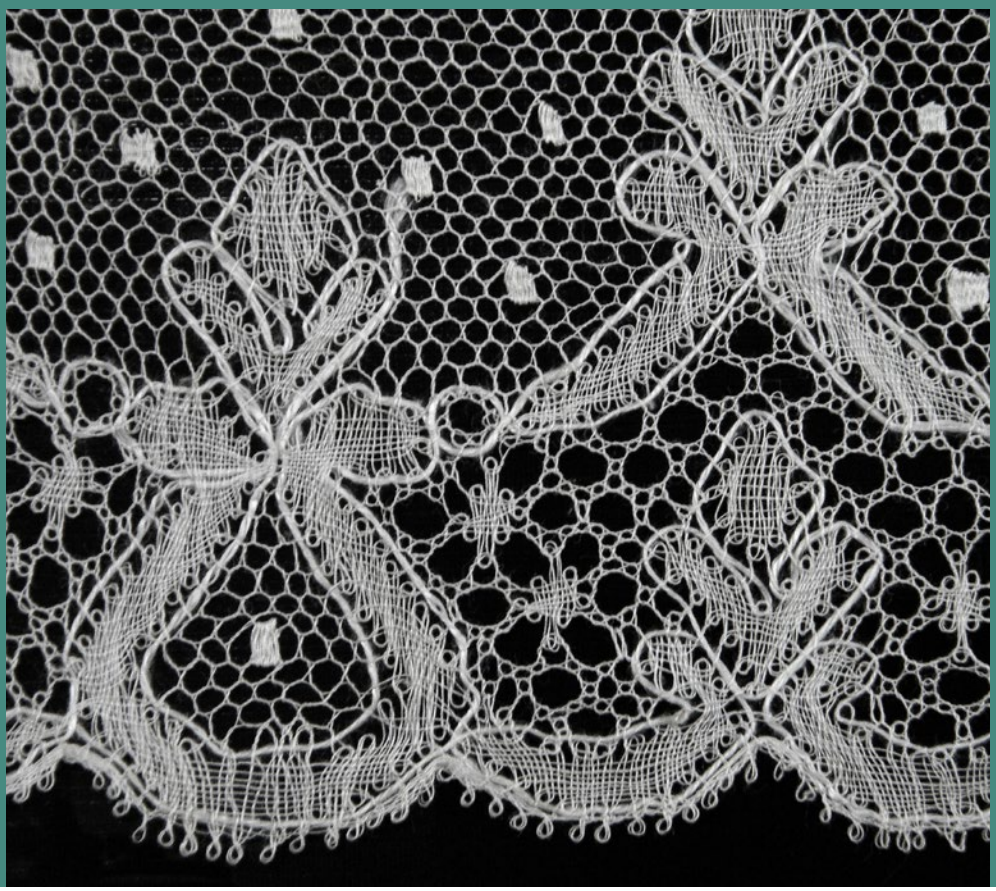

Image 8. Guipure lace sample. Casa Eloi Doy d'Arenys de Mar. First quarter XX century. Museu d'Arenys de Mar, inv. 9998.5.

Lace-makers in Arenys de Mar and Arenys de Munt who still make *ret fi* use different names to describe the same stitch: in Arenys de Mar it is called *punt d'esperit,* and in Arenys de Munt it is known as *mosqueta*.

Probably the name *ret fi* or *Arenys lace* also has its origin in the oral tradition. According to Núria Marot and Lola Simarro, authors of the book *El "ret fi" català o puntes d'Arenys*, the name may derive from the term used by the lace-makers when they received the pattern "ret fina" – literally, a fine net – to create the tulle background. The name *punta d'Arenys* probably does not refer to the origin of the technique, but to the fact that Arenys de Mar was the port from which most of the lace was exported. So this would be another name associated with the geographical origin, as in the case of *valenciennes, binche or malines.*

> Among the ret-fi laces found in the inventories of the Casa Castells prior to the twentieth century, the following terms are used*: barca; enjardinat; ½ barca; animeta; barca pam; pinyó; parra; campanar xic; anell; serp de Sant Pol, ancora petita; ancora gran; fulla de rosa; guitarra; raïm; sepulcre; and gafet, among others.* These names derived from the object depicted in the pattern[9].

The names of some of the motifs of *ret fi* are still in use today and we can find them in some of the exhibits at the Marès Lace Museum. For example the *barca*, a drawing associated with the maritime tradition of the Maresme coast (image 7), depicts a boat in the waves of the sea. Another very popular motif

9 SIMARRO, L. and MAROT, N. *El "ret-fi" català o puntes d'Arenys*. Els llibres del Set-ciències, Arenys de Mar, 1999.

is the *pota* (reference 9998.5.5) in image 8, a triangular form with rounded edges. *Almorratxa, xampinyó, guitarra, sepulcre* or the *llacets*, terms we find in the documentation of Casa Castells, are other names of motifs of the *ret fi* lace that are still used by lace-makers. Finally the *campanar de Sant Iscle* (image 9), a triangular form resembling a church bell-tower, is one of the most frequently repeated motifs in *ret fi*. In the documentation it presents many variations, such as the *campanar xic*.

Maintaining the terminology

All these names and the lace-makers' knowledge of the stitches and designs are in danger of disappearing, just as many of the names recorded in the archives are no longer with us today. The reasons are the gradual extinction of the profession, the lack of studies of the subject, and above all the neglect of this knowledge transmitted by oral tradition. Thankfully, some lace-makers continue to teach the craft and some of this rich vocabulary still survives today. In writing this article we are particularly grateful to the lace-makers whom we interviewed for the information they have provided. We intend to continue exploring this terminology in future studies. ●

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From cape to chasuble: the fabric of St Ermengol

by Silvia Saladrigas Cheng.
(Centre de Documentació i Museu Tèxtil, Terrassa)
Illustrations: © Sílvia Saladrigas

Very few mediaeval textiles are preserved in Catalonia in their original form. For this reason the chasuble of St Ermengol, currently in the possession of the Diocesan Museum of La Seu d'Urgell, is a particularly interesting piece. In 2012, the chasuble was studied and restored at the Textile Museum and Documentation Centre[1].

St Ermengol was bishop of La Seu d'Urgell from 1010 to 1035 and today is the patron saint of the town. For his work as a reforming bishop and his involvement in numerous public acts he is considered one of the leading figures in early eleventh-century Catalonia[2].

When the casket preserving the remains of the saint was opened in 1939, two fragments of fabric were found. Six more cloth fragments came to light in 1971. Together, the eight fragments were identified as part of a single piece which became known as the "cape of St Ermengol". This identification turned out to be mistaken; as this study shows, the piece is in fact a chasuble.

The set of fabrics was restored between 1966 and 1971[3] and was displayed at the Diocesian Museum of La Seu d'Urgell from 1973 to 2000. Believed to be a cape, the piece was placed flat and in a semicircular position.

When and in what circumstances this chasuble reached La Seu are unknown. The research carried out in the Archives of La Seu and in the Bishopric's gazettes have not yielded any results to date; nor are there any oral testimonies that might have helped us to produce a geographical and chronological attribution for the piece, and the only information we have at present is what the piece itself provides us. We therefore carried out an iconographic study of the design of the fabric and a technical study of the fibres, weaves, and dyes used in its creation, and the way it was made. The information we obtained enabled us to associate it with other similar pieces and can thus help us to determine its origin and date.

The design of the fabric comprises a single motif which is repeated along its length and breadth in a continuous, ordered fashion. This design suggests a link with the fabrics known as *pallia rotata*[4], cited in mediaeval inventories, and whose motifs were inserted inside large circles. In our case the motifs are

1 The restoration of the piece was carried out by Rosa Flor Rodríguez and Elisabet Cerdà at the CDMT. An article describing the process will be published in a future issue of *Datatèxtil*.

2 AAVV. *Sant Ermengol, bisbe d'Urgell (1010-1035). Historia, art, culte i devocions.*

3 In 1966 by Pilar Tomás, and in 1971 by Dolors Gendrau and M.Teresa Alberch, of the Museu Tèxtil i de la Indumentària, Barcelona.

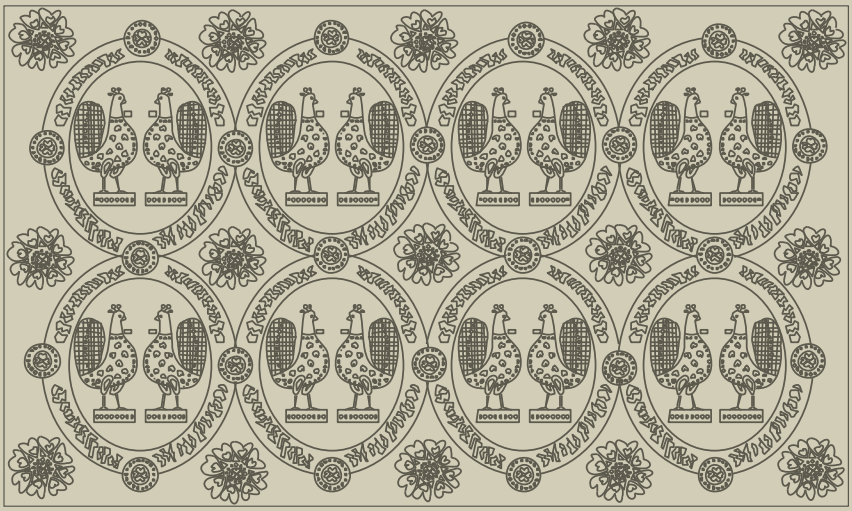
4 GOMEZ MORENO, Manuel. *Iglesias mozárabes: arte español de los siglos IX-XI.* Madrid: Centro de Estudios históricos, 1919.

Chasuble after restoration: Front. Photo: © Quico Ortega, CDMT. See detail.

Chasuble after restoration: Back. Photo: © Quico Ortega, CDMT. See detail.

Principal motif.

Illustration 1. Virtual reconstruction of the pattern.



pairs of birds in profile, standing on a pedestal. The circles around them touch each other and at the points of contact there are medallions with flowers of four heart-shaped petals surrounded by small white spheres resembling pearls.

In the interstice created by four contiguous circles is a rosette formed by eight heart-shaped double petals grouped around a medallion similar to the one seen in the tangents of the main circles. Between the petals there are small triangles, with the vertex pointing outwards and the base pointing towards the centre. Each petal and the one adjacent to it create the line which defines an eight-pointed star.

The bodies of the birds are decorated with small hearts, and a string of pearls traces their profile from the neck to the end of the tail, which has a check decoration. In the head we see the eye and a short beak, and the comb has three points ending in circles. The legs are presented in a very schematic way, in the form of a half-moon. Around the neck each bird has a rectangular shape which may be a kind of ribbon or shawl. In spite of the fantastical elements in the decoration, the birds can be reliably identified as peacocks.

The main circles around the birds have a double border. The motif on this border is highly irregular and does not have a defined pattern. By comparison with similar pieces, we think that this border comprised overlapping hearts, but was not particularly well made.

Motif of the circles.

Illustration 2.

Motif of the stars.

Illustration 3.

Motif of the peacock.

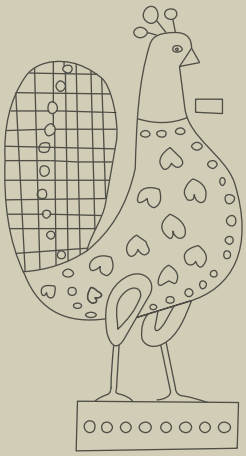


Illustration 4.

Detail of the border.

Detail of the border in a piece belonging to the Abegg Foundation (inv. nº 4866) 6th-7th centuries.

From the stylistic point of view, the ornamental scheme of circles we see in the birds – together or in pairs, either real or fantastical – is often found in fabrics and other artwork from the Middle East and Central Asia. The presence of birds facing each other inside a circular format is a recurrent motif which we find in several variant forms in a set of fabrics which most specialists today date to the seventh to tenth centuries and attribute to this geographical area.[5]

The most frequently represented birds are peacocks and pheasants, associated in Eastern mythologies with cosmic harmony[6]. None of the designs located so far is exactly the same as that of the chasuble of St Ermengol, but many of these pieces share similar features:

- The birds in all these fabrics stand on steps or pedestals which are sometimes represented in the form of a plant, or a tree, and on other times as a simple rectangular pedestal similar to the one in the fabric of St Ermengol
- All the birds present decorative elements on their bodies,
- All the birds bear ribbons or shawls tied around the neck or the legs,
- The birds are placed in profile, facing each other or alone
- The birds are presented inside a circular frame
- They are part of a piece that repeats the same pattern based on circles

5 Authors who have studied these fabrics are VERHECKEN-LAMMENS, Cris; DE MOOR, Antoine; OVERLAET, Bruno.; OTAVSKY, Karel; SCHORTA, Regula.

6 CHEVALIER, J. and GHEERBRANT, A. *Diccionario de los símbolos.* Barcelona: Herder, 1988.

Sixth century stucco. Palace of Ctesiphon (present-day Iraq).

Detail from a tray, Persia, 7th - 8th centuries.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, (num.inv. 1996.2a). Sogdiana, 8th century.

Holy Vatican Museum, 6th-7th centuries.

Holy Vatican Museum, 4th century.

Silk fabric. Persia, 10th-11th century, preserved at the Cathedral of Rueda de Isabena.

The peacock's tail in the fabric of St Ermengol, with its round form and its checked decoration, recalls the tails of another animal from the Persian Sassanid tradition, the *simurgh*: a fantastical cross between a squirrel, bird and dog, with precedents in Assyria and Babylonia.

The pearl decoration and the heart-shaped petals are often found inside the decorative repertoire of the Persian fabrics of the same period. They can also be observed in other contexts: for example, the series of stucco decorations found in Taq-i-Bustan, or on metals.

Two fabrics currently preserved in the Cathedral of Rueda de Isábena, in Huesca, Spain, present several technical and formal similarities to the chasuble of St Ermengol. Rueda was dependent on Urgell until 956[7], when it obtained its own diocese. This historical connection, along with the common technical and stylistic features of the pieces, suggests a possible route of transmission for the fabric; in fact, in Rueda de Isábena a chasuble of the same type is preserved, though it is considered to be a later work than the piece in La Seu d'Urgell.

The decoration of another fabric, also from Rueda and preserved in the Instituto Valencia de Don Juan (Madrid), also bears notable iconographic similarities to all the fabrics we have mentioned so far. Perhaps a detailed study of the pieces from Rueda de Isábena would shed more light on the chasuble at La Seu d'Urgell.

The technical study of the fabric[8] indicates that it is a figured fabric made using a samite

Silk shroud with medallions. Persia, 10th-11th century, preserved at the Cathedral of Rueda de Isabena.

7 In 956, Ramon II of Ribagorça obtained an independent diocese for Rueda de Isábena, which until then had been dependent on La Seu d'Urgell.

8 SALADRIGAS, Silvia. *Informe històric i tècnic de la casulla de sant Ermengol.* Textile Museum and Documentation Centre, 2012.

Fabric (10th century) from Rueda de Isabena, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan. (inv. nº 2071).

technique (2e1), in S direction, with four pattern wefts, one of them interrupted. The binding warp of the decoration and the base warp, in a ratio of 1:2, are of silk (with a slight Z twist), as are the different wefts, which do not have any apparent twists.

Its colours have faded considerably and present two shades of brown, one greenish blue, and one ivory. The analysis of the dyestuffs[9] indicates the presence of indigo, madder, fustic and brazilwood. These technical features and colorants are also found in pieces from Central Asia[10], and in fact the chasuble of St Ermengol bears greater similarities to these Eastern fabrics than to the twelfth century Andalusi pieces with which it had been associated until now[11].

As regards the production of the piece, the study has revealed some interesting findings. We mentioned above that it was originally believed to be a cape. Once removed from its flat support, we noticed marks and cuts indicating the presence of the neck opening of a chasuble. The existence of similar pieces preserved elsewhere[12] and pictorial and sculptural representations from the tenth to twelfth centuries show that during this period the chasuble was a long, wide, sleeveless cloak, often reaching down to the feet like a round cape, fastened at the front and with a single hole through which the head could be passed. This model, known as the "bell-shaped chasuble" because of its conical shape, is totally different from the form that became customary in the fourteenth century and is the model of chasuble that we know today (shorter and open at the sides to allow the priest to move more freely).

After restoration, the chasuble measures 147 cm in height and 303 cm in perimeter. Its three main pieces were all cut from the same piece of cloth.

9 ARTEAGA, Ángela and SANZ, Estrella. *Análisis de los colorantes naturales presentes en la casulla de sant Ermengol procedente del Museu Diocesà de la Seu d'Urgell.* Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, 2012.

10 See note 4.

11 MARTIN i ROS, R.M. *Catalunya Romànica,* vol.XXIII. Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana, 1988.

12 Famous "bell-shaped chasubles" we could mention are the chasuble of Pope St Mark, abbey of St Salvatore (Siena-Italy), tenth century; the chasuble of St Albuin, Diocesan Museum, Brixen (Italy), eleventh century; the chasuble of St Vitale, Abegg-Stiftung Foundation (Riggisberg-Switzerland), eleventh century; the chasuble of St Ramon del Monte, Museum of Rueda de Isabena), twelfth century, among others.

Bishops wearing chasubles: Council of Jaca, 12th century (Archive, Cathedral of Jaca).

Using a life-size paper reproduction we have been able to identify its pattern and have established that the minimum measurements of the fabric used to make the chasuble measured 177 cm wide (in the direction of the weft and without any sewing) and 213 cm long (in the direction of the warp), as shown in illustrations 5, 6 and 7.

An error in the design of the motif, which is found in different places in the finished chasuble, confirms the form in which it was woven and then made.

The width of the cloth in the direction of the weft shows that the loom on which it was woven was at least 177 cm wide, a considerable size for a loom of the times[13].

So from the study of the piece and other similar pieces we can conclude that:

- The "cape of St Ermengol" is not a cape but a chasuble,
- It was made from a woven fabric, probably in a minor workshop given the rather unsophisticated design, somewhere in Central Asia, and not in Al-Andalus as was previously believed,
- Its chronology can be established (in the absence of conclusive evidence) between the eighth and tenth centuries, rather earlier than the date proposed so far (eleventh-twelfth centuries),
- Its original colours were red, green, and ivory; the colours have faded over time,
- Its state of deterioration and the position of the stains observed strongly suggest that it was used as a shroud to wrap a body,
- Perhaps (though this hypothesis requires further study) it is associated with the pieces preserved in the Cathedral of Rueda de Isábena.

We have few pieces of this kind in Catalonia, and so this chasuble is a fabric of great importance inside our textile heritage. ●

13 Although the width of this piece is considerable, it is by no means unique. Others of similar size are the *drap blau* of san Zoilo, Carrión de los Condes (271 cm), BORREGO, P., SALADRIGAS, S, in press; the chasuble of sant Bernat de Claravall, Brauweiler (253 cm), VIAL, G. *Bulletin de liaison du* CIETA, v.17, 1963 ; the chasuble of bishop Ramon d'Escales, Cathedral of Barcelona, (a single piece approximately 200 cm wide) TOMAS, P., VIAL,G. *Bulletin de liaison du* CIETA, v.18, 1963.

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Valuing our textile heritage

by Montserrat Bargalló and Eulàlia Morral
Textile Museum and Documentation Centre, Terrassa
Photographs: © Quico Ortega, CDMT

Why heritage must be valued

In principle, public cultural assets are not for sale. This means that they do not have a price; but they do have a value, which goes beyond their documentary or symbolic importance.

Heritage[1] is something that has a value as an object of potential exchange, although the concept of this exchange may vary. A collector might want to change an *objet d'art* for a better one, and an investor might acquire an item for its economic value and hope to obtain a return on it. Those of us who work in the cultural industries value objects above all as carriers of information, and we only consider their economic value when, for instance, they are sent out on loan to another institution and we have to insure them against damage during transit. This valuation is not always easy, especially if the object does not conform to standard conceptions of ancient or contemporary art.

At the CDMT we think it is very important to have an economic valuation of our heritage assets. In 2006 we embarked on a valuation process, fully aware of the difficulties involved but ready to take on a new challenge in the area of museum administration and public management.

Over the years, museums receive pieces from many different sources and in different conditions. Generally a museum's initial collection comes one or more sources, comprising the movable assets from a monument or historical site, or from a particular territory. Later, other groups of pieces are acquired from public entities, which normally retain the right of ownership, and a steady trickle of private donations. A museum may also preserve objects deposited on a temporary or an indefinite basis, and its own objects may be deposited at other entities.

So a museum must have an idea of the economic value of its assets at all times. It may be that part of its collection is to be sent to another destination, in which case the museum must know the value of the pieces in question. More in general, it needs to be able to provide information for the purposes of accounting. Heritage assets and their economic value are listed in the annual inventories under the heading of public property.

1 According to the definition of the Spanish Royal Academy, "the set of assets belonging to a natural or legal person, whose economic value may be estimated".

Design by Josep Palau Oller CDMT 19458-0016.

Double woven cotton tablecloth, 1900-1905. CDMT 20063.

As far as security is concerned, it is well established that all heritage must be protected. But in an emergency we cannot remove all the pieces from the museum in half an hour. And there are also many different types of display cases available, at a wide range of prices; which kind should we choose for our exhibits? It is all a question of priorities, and to establish these priorities it is important to know the value that the objects would have on the market. Of course, another vital aspect to bear in mind is the representativeness of the piece or pieces in question with respect to a particular theme, geographical area, or chronological era. The same goes for preservation; although all objects must be preserved, we all know that some require and merit greater investments than others in terms of storage and environmental protection. On the long list of pieces in need of conservation, a masterpiece will obviously be given priority over an object of little significance or one that is not unique.

In some cases, we know the value of an object assigned by the seller or donor and accepted by the museum or institution that acquired it. It may be a realistic valuation, agreed on the basis of the market prices of the moment, or it may be a valuation agreed on by both parties that reflects the pride of the donor or the generosity (or lack of it) of the buyer. In any case, given the variability of the market, updating the value of heritage items is no easy task – and there may well be some surprises in store.

Specific issues regarding textile heritage

In art the great reference points are always painting and sculpture. Other creative manifestations tend to be ignored; textiles, whether artisanal or industrial, are a case in point. Art professionals and *aficionados* consider textiles to be prosaic and mass-produced. In the great Art Market textiles hardly exist, except for decorative pieces such as tapestries and rugs. The fact is that textile objects sometimes lack the visual impact of other artistic creations, and the ability to "read" a fabric requires specialized knowledge that few people possess.

Leather slippers embroidered in silk, eighteenth century
CDMT 19065.

Printed kid glove, 1800-1810.
CDMT 14826.

The variety and complexity of textiles is enormous: from an archaeological fragment measuring a few centimetres to a modern-day suit, ranging through all kinds of fabrics designed for interior decoration or for civil or religious rituals, authors' sketches and designs, industrial sample-books and a multitude of accessories and complements linked to fashion. To find the information needed to give us an idea of the economic value of each object we have to search in a variety of sources, since each type of textile has its own public.

The great auctioneers trade basically in textiles from the East (rugs, ornamental fabrics and "traditional" dress), European fashion from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries (silk and fine fabrics, court dress and contemporary brand name pieces) and some industrial archives linked to well-known firms. To find references to more everyday clothing and complements from Europe that do not bear a signature, we have to look at clearance sales and on-line auctions. Obviously, between the prices of these two worlds there are vast differences, because they have very different clienteles: museums and serious collectors in the first case, and customers seeking retro items rather than excellence in the second.

This lack of a market tradition also means that there are no established, accepted criteria available for valuing textile pieces. The parameters applied in painting, furniture and sculpture are based above all on the object's visual impact and are of no use in our case. Textiles are rather unusual in the antique business, giving their intrinsic fragility and because they are reused and recycled until they come to the end of their useful life.

So it was clear from the start that we would have to invent an *ad hoc* methodology which would be objective (taking account of the degree of preservation, technical complexity, information available, and so on) and would allow us to assign accurate values in accordance with published market references.

Another essential requirement for our system was that it should be intelligible and clear for the people who will continue this task after us, and easy to update with regard to the centre's internal management (e.g., the organization of loans, exhibitions, etc.).

Printed umbrella, 1900-1909. CDMT 17269.

Silk sample, Sederías Balcells. CDMT 14177-01.

The valuation process at the CDMT

The Textile Museum and Documentation Centre was established in 1946, when the entrepreneur Josep Biosca opened his private collection to the public. In the 1950s, he donated it to the city. Originally affiliated to the city and then to the province, today the CDMT is a legally-constituted Consortium which now manages a heritage which is actually owned by several proprietors: the Provincial Council of Barcelona, the City Council of Terrassa, the Board of Trustees which oversaw the museum's activities during the 1970s and 1980s, and finally the Consortium itself. The pieces come from two large private collections (the Biosca collection and the one acquired from Ricard Viñas by the Provincial Council of Barcelona) and many smaller ones (Tove Alm, Suqué, Tórtola Valencia, Garcia Capafons, Moragas, and so on) which have been purchased, donated or deposited at the museum at different points in its career. The museum also preserves Catalan industrial heritage in the form of company archives from practically all the subsectors of the textile industry.

In all, the CDMT's heritage comprises more than 100,000 objects, many of which form sets of their own. An example is the industrial archive, which has a single registration number but contains dozens of sample-books, each one with several hundred different samples. A large part of these items are recorded in the Imatex database (comprising more than 27,000 documents, and currently

Painted fan, 1900-1905. CDMT 14147.

available on-line) and another part is stored on traditional index cards which are in the process of being digitized; in late 2012 several hundred objects which were recorded in a very vague manner (for example: "400 cloths in boxes") and did not have index cards or sewn labels were properly classified.

At the start of our valuation process we intended to work on the basis of lists created using the registration number without consulting the index cards and avoiding direct examination of the objects whenever possible. We wanted to find a system able to value groups of pieces that were similar according to era, technical characteristics, and state of preservation. We were aware at all times that the valuation process should not include, duplicate or correct other technical aspects in the documentation.

We soon realized that we would be unable to carry out the plans as we had hoped, for a number of reasons. For example, the documentation contained several ambiguous geographical or cultural attributions, fragments which had been recorded in different collections and had different registration numbers but belonged to the same fabric, and a number of repeated pieces. We had ignored the fact that the documentation, like any other scientific task, is always provisional, and that our knowledge develops through the publication of research, the holding of exhibitions, and the periodical updating of the data. So the economic value that a museum assigns to an object must also incorporate other non-monetary "values", such as its documentary or symbolic value. The symbolic charge of a piece for a particular community or culture is a factor that marks it strongly, and this intangible value complicates the process of valuation.

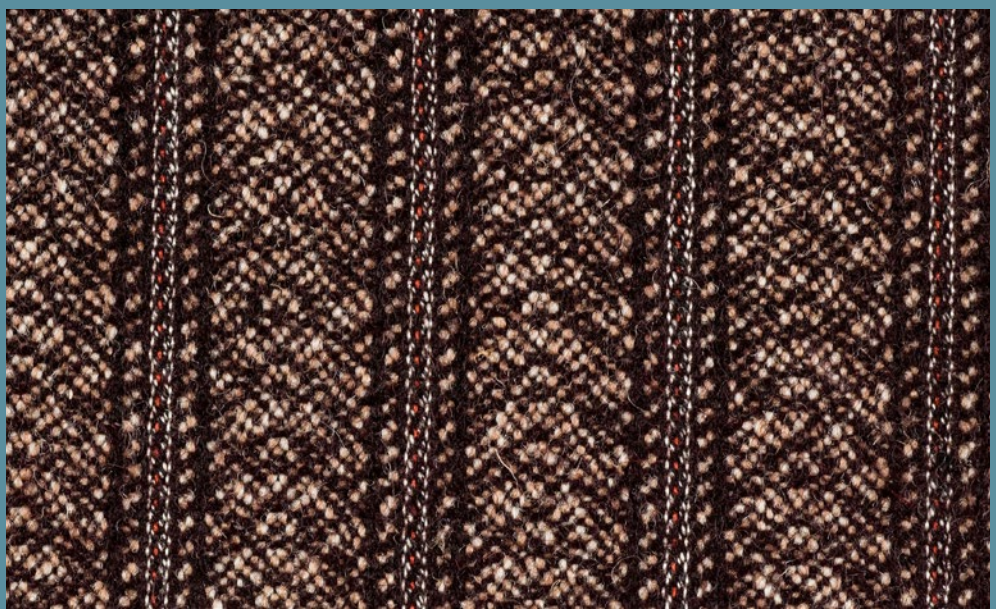
We were also quite surprised to see how fabrics that in our opinion belonged to the same group have very different market prices. The reference values of the market fluctuate depending on fashions, which push prices upwards, or on the "flooding" caused by the clearing of large properties, which causes the prices of objects to fall when they have not found a buyer. The demand for objects varies over time, and with it their valuation prices. The place where the piece is auctioned, the channels of distribution, the presence of collectors, tax policy and the legislation in force in a particular area may all affect an object's value. These factors may distort the valuations, with the result that the value finally attributed to the object may not accurately reflect its historical, aesthetic or cultural importance. Other questions such as the appearance of doubts regarding the authenticity of a work, alterations in the state of preservation or the emergence of new archival documentation may also change its value,

Ladies' headwear in silk mesh, nineteenth century. CDMT 19007.

Printed tablecloth, 1900-1905.
CDMT 18439.

regardless of its useful life and regardless of whether the depositary of the object has complied with the legal requirements with reference to preservation, maintenance and protection.

We approached the valuation with great care and calculated average prices for the items. If there were similar options we chose the lower price, since our aim is to preserve the object, not to sell it. Adopting a systematic approach, we decided to begin with the groups of objects which had been well studied, documented and digitized, and were already established in a particular place in



Wool sample, winter 1928, Textil Vallhonrat. CDMT 15135-030.

the museum. These were the textiles from Egypt, the mediaeval, Andalusi and Maghribi fabrics. This initial study helped us to develop and test our working methods and models which we later applied in more complex cases.

The methodology used was the following.

1. Creation of a preliminary list, with images, of a "lot" of objects in the same cultural style
2. Using this list, the creation of groups of objects that can be distinguished on the basis of their type, chronology, technique, decoration, level of documentation and state of preservation
3. Search for reference documentation (catalogues of auctions or direct on line sales)
4. Revision, if necessary, of the typological groups in view of the references found
5. Creation of a spreadsheet indicating: reference price, assessment criteria adjusted to the parameters affecting the piece's value, registration number of the pieces in each group and the final value of the group incorporating a calculation of the rate of inflation corresponding to the period between the date of the reference price and the date of the valuation; each sheet corresponds to a "lot" or group of objects, numbered according to its type (for example IE24: lot 24 of outer clothing; C12: lot 12 of complements, M2: lot 2 of industrial sample books, etc.)
6. A summary checklist of the groups, indicating the set number and its value
7. Recording of the value of each object in its digital description, indicating the date of valuation
8. Creation of a list with the registration numbers and the lot assigned to objects which have not yet been digitized.

Curtain frieze in silk jacquard, 1900-1909. CDMT 18295.

The spreadsheet

The spreadsheet is designed to allow changes to the data when necessary, and other adjustments or periodical updates that the entity may make. It establishes a mathematical function that presents as clearly as possible the relationship between the market value and the variables (technical criteria) regarding each object. The result of the estimation provides us with a mean or standard value for the pieces.

Whether or not the market value represents the piece's cultural value, this is the price that was paid or estimated at a particular moment: it is the piece's real value at that time. The search for, and the comparison of, the starting prices offered by auctioneers for objects that are similar to the ones held by the museum will allow us to obtain a specific value that we can use as our starting point.

So the market value is our starting point, and it appears at the head of the spreadsheet as the source of the valuation (the reference of the publication, date and description of the piece being auctioned). Following the advice of experts in the art market we add 50% to this value, to reflect the difference between the sale price and the starting price.

The second part of the sheet displays the technical criteria. There are two kinds: fixed criteria, which apply to all the pieces, and variable criteria, which apply to specific kinds. The state of preservation is one of the fixed criteria and the decision not to include restored fabrics here is not arbitrary; some fabrics

Embroidery sample, winter 1935, Casa Rexachs. CDMT 15179-002.

have been well restored, but others have not, and in others no records of the restoration are available. A deficient restoration has a direct effect on the state of preservation, and so in these cases the preservation is classed as *poor*.

In contrast, well-restored textiles deserve special attention. Not only are the processes they have undergone well documented, but there is generally an exhaustive technical description (and often historical and even artistic descriptions as well). In these cases, the piece is well preserved and the level of documentation is high; this is another of the variables that we bear in mind.

The other technical criteria vary depending on the type of piece. The historical period of the piece is an important factor, because the estimation of the technical difficulty must bear in mind the technological resources available in each era; however, chronology as such is not taken into account.

The weighted value of the object is the result of the base value (estimated maximum) plus the technical criteria (estimated technical value). We group together the objects that present similar characteristics on the same sheet. The third part of the spreadsheet shows the registration numbers of the pieces, and the final calculation of the value of the "lot" updated for inflation with respect to the date of the base value.

Some clarifications

Starting price or final sale price?: we are not interested in sales or speculation; our aim is to put a value on a series of assets which we hope to keep for a long time. The final sale price always depends on the (subjective) degree of interest of the buyer, whereas the starting prices, though variable, are (relatively) objective.

In addition, the starting price usually appears in the catalogues, while the final price paid for a piece does not always figure in the auctioneers' records. Using real published data is essential if we are to record the base value used to assess the worth of the pieces.

Passementerie sample, eighteenth century. CDMT 17323.

Searching for references in the market
In the search for references, we rejected the following:

- Lots containing a mixture of types
- Objects in poor state of preservation
- Lots in which the elements cannot be exactly quantified
- Unfinished pieces
- The older specimens if references are available for similar pieces from different sources
- Elements with inexact descriptions or lacking measurements

We gave priority to references with photographs.

Criteria of technical valuation: we used the following criteria:

- state of preservation (optimal, good, fair, poor, restored)
- technical complexity of the "construction" of the object (type of fabric, its weave or finish, the pattern of a piece of clothing or a complement, etc.)
- complexity of the decoration (embroidery, applications, manual or mechanical processes, etc.)
- level of documentation (information on the origin, author, manufacturer, user and the history of the object)

Each of these references allows us to correct the starting value and obtain the final value automatically, using the reference value and the score for each aspect.

Purchase price?: Occasionally – and in fact in all cases in the last 20 years – we have the documentation regarding the purchase of the objects bought by the museum. In these cases we applied this value, updated for inflation, except for pieces considered to be unusual in which the market price was notably higher than the figure resulting from updating the amount paid. The purchase price – a price agreed upon by the two parties – of a particular type of object has also allowed us to value groups of similar objects when references are lacking.

Updating: consumer price index or another indicator?: We were unsure which formula to use to update the values. We wondered whether the CPI was excessively dependent on factors in the environment and whether we could find a more objective measurement. We tested the COICOP (Classification of Individual Consumption according to Purpose), but it turned out to be rather limited for working with heritage, since it uses preset types of spending and in addition, the valuation it provided did not differ greatly from the one obtained with the CPI, an indicator that is much better known and easy to use.

Final considerations: valuation as part of the process of identification and documentation

The process began in 2006, and was completed at the end of 2012. It was by no means an easy task, but it turned out to be an excellent learning experience, not least because it gave us an opportunity to reappraise all our stocks and rediscover their remarkable diversity. Generally speaking, we established three broad groups of objects:

- objects of particular value (179 pieces classified as such because of their rarity or their specific interest), valued individually and all insured for 100% of their value.
- objects which, though not of extraordinary value, are highly representative of the museum. These objects form the main part of the centre's patrimony: industrial archives, the modernist pieces, historical textiles, civil and liturgical apparel and complements, valued individually in homogeneous groups or "lots" and insured for their joint value.
- objects which while interesting are not significant (accessories, small tools, incomplete archives, and fragmented or poorly preserved objects which are only useful for analytical purposes), displayed in lists and insured for an estimated overall value.

Because there is no established methodology for a study of this kind, we made a number of false starts. We had to determine guidelines that were clear but sufficiently versatile to adapt to the different types of objects, but without abandoning the underlying logic of the study. We had to combine all the sources of information: an object with a purchase price could serve as a reference for valuing a similar piece, or a well-referenced object could serve as a guide to value another one that is similar in terms of technique but different in terms of chronology or geography. In any case, however carefully the work is done, it will always be provisional since nothing remains the same: neither our understanding of our heritage, nor the market, nor even the objects themselves.

The concept of value has often been the object of discussion and reflection. Philosophers have seen it as something that is exclusive to the object, or in other words something intrinsic to it; or alternatively as something attributed by a subject (i.e., all value is conferred on an object from outside, since in itself the object has no value at all).[2] These two positions have been the focus of heated debate and have generated a third perspective that brings them together: it is the context, in its role as a meeting point between objects and subjects inside a network of social, cultural and economic relationships, that is the medium that promotes and allows the attribution of value.

Heritage can acquire value only when we contemplate it. In fact some objects only take on value at particular moments in the year (for example, the fabrics used in the Easter processions, with their strong emotional connotations, which then spend the rest of the year forgotten in the sacristy). Therefore, perhaps the factors just mentioned with regard to the apportioning of value – *object*, *subject* and *context* – we should add a fourth factor, *time*.

Obviously, respect for culture must always prevail over economic considerations, but there is nothing wrong in carrying out an economic valuation of our heritage assets provided it is performed correctly. This respect for culture will be much greater if it is a museum entity that takes on the task, because the sole aim of the process is to broaden our knowledge of our stocks and to improve their preservation.

We think it is paradoxical that the code of ethics of the ICOM considers it inappropriate that museums carry out valuations. Museums are non-profit-making entities and have staff who have a profound knowledge of heritage in general and of their institution's stocks in particular. In our view, this norm – like many other concepts linked to a model of "museum" which is rapidly dying out – should be amended. Valuation does not merely involve applying an economic value to an item but also certifies its existence, guarantees its protection and confers on it a legal status and recognition that can enhance its social and cultural recognition. In any case, an object's economic value is important information that forms an essential part of its documentation. It is a mistake to leave the process for "another time". Documentation is one of a museum's most complex and important tasks and must be designed, planned and carried out by a team of experts. ●

2 FRONDIZI, Risieri, ¿Qué son los valores?, 3ª. ed., Mexico, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1972.

OPEN SOURCE LANGUAGE VERSION > ESPAÑOL

Fashion in Cadiz in 1812: male and female dress in the early Romantic period

by María Alicia García Falgueras
Doctor in Psychology
Photographs taken in Cadiz, at the exhibition "Fashion in Cadiz in 1812" held to mark the bicentenary of the Spanish Constitution

Abstract

The Spanish War of Independence was waged between 1808 and 1814, when the Romantic movement was already in full swing in Germany and France. In 1812, Spain's first Constitution was drawn up in the city of Cadiz. At a time of such political and artistic ferment, trends in fashion could be seen as a reflection of this clash between styles, countries and ideologies.

In the later Romanticism of mid-nineteenth century Spain, the differences between men's and women's fashioned reached new extremes. The female waistline became ever narrower as women were relegated to a purely decorative role, and the position of men as the active and productive members of society became firmly established. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the time of the writing of the 1812 Constitution, the dress associated with different professions maintained the delicacy and subtlety of the timid beginnings of Romanticism in Spain and reflected the identity of each of these occupations with pragmatism and elegance.

In this article we examine some of the costumes recreated for the exhibition "Fashion in Cadiz in 1812", held to mark the bicentenary of the Spanish Constitution. We interpret them from the perspective of early European Romanticism and the ideals and social changes of the time.

Introduction

When the word "Romanticism" is used in a discussion involving men and women, it usually provokes a heated debate that reveals the gaps between the sexes which were taken to new extremes in the Romantic period. Is this huge gulf the legacy left to us by this historical period of great poets and indefatigable dreamers? Why is there this contradiction regarding the term "Romanticism", which on the one hand delights in emotion and feeling and on the other exalts the differences between male and female personalities, thus impeding communication between them? What happened between the end of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth in Europe, or more precisely in Germany and France?

In Spain the Romantic movement started slightly later, during the reign of Isabel II, who ascended the throne in 1833. The Spanish word *romanticismo* is a translation from other languages, such as the English *Romantic* or the French *romantique*. It seems to refer to the customs and uses of the Romance languages, a culture and a linguistic community. However, this translation and interpretation has created considerable confusion, since Romantic strands are already palpable in the works of polytheistic Hellenic culture. In fact, there is no agreement on the origin of Romanticism, since in all countries romantic love, passion and emotion have existed, and their inspiration is not solely Latin.

After the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, all social classes felt a certain disenchantment. Romanticism was the vehicle for the expression of this melancholy mood and of the revolt against Rationalism, the Enlightenment, and political and social norms. The exaltation of the emotions and of their importance and relevance for understanding reality and nature eventually became an almost fanatical defence of one's own culture and communicative expression. However, precisely because each country and each person perceives emotions individually and uniquely, Romanticism opened up a gap between countries, accentuating the differences in tiny and perhaps insignificant details between cultures and also between men and women. The effect of this gap was harmful, as it stifled communication and increased the feeling of isolation and suicides.

Figure 1.
Two examples (A and B) of men's apparel from the period: the dress of the *lechuguino*, *pisaverde*, *currutacos* or *petimetre*.
See details.

Explaining feelings with words is sometimes impossible. In the early nineteenth century music took on new importance; in *Allegros*, *Presto Agitatos* and *Largo* and *Lento Assai* it expressed the feelings of the age, the painful awareness of the ephemeral nature of life, its hardships and its fleeting moments of happiness. Among the composers of the day Ludwig van Beethoven, Carl Maria Weber, Frederic Chopin and Felix Mendelssohn expressed and shared the feeling of Romantic passion through their music. Beethoven, in his tireless struggle for life composed in silence, overcoming his physical (but not spiritual) disability and was able to understand and help others in their attempts to transcend their own limitations. Beethoven's Romanticism was based on reason and human knowledge, which heroically tames the destructive passions, overcoming them and creating sublime works. He used the knowledge of the time regarding the transmission of sound waves through metals so that he could feel the music in spite of his deafness. And as Reason was a vital part of his work and of his vision of reality, some people consider that Beethoven was not, strictly speaking, a Romantic.

Fashions in Cadiz in 1812

In 1812, in the middle of the War of Independence against the French, the first draft of the Spanish Constitution was written in Cadiz. This period in Spain was one of constant social change. The talk in the streets was of the social and political issues, which were discussed often in a light-hearted way in the *Cortes Chicas,* as the coffee-house debates were known, and later more rigorously and seriously in the *Cortes Grandes,* the Assembly. These were difficult, contradictory times in which dress played a vital role.

Young dandies, known in the Spanish of the time as *lechuguinos* or *petimetres*, appeared on the street in full array (figure 1), aspiring to be taken as

Figure 2.
High-waisted dresses in Princess or Empire style, embroidered at the front (A); puff sleeves and the bottom of the skirt (B).
See detail A.

1-3 Fragments in italics from the 1812 Constitution of Cadiz.

aristocrats; they hoped to be heard in the *Cortes Chicas* and maybe having an influence on the *Cortes Grandes*. As the 1812 Constitution stated: "*If it should not correspond to the wishes of Your Majesty, nor met the expectations of the public, at least the Commission should have fulfilled the mission entrusted to it by the* Cortes, *which should not be understood so much that it should have presented a perfect work, but that it should show the way along which the wisdom of Congress should guide the discussion so as to reach the term so desired by the entire Nation*".[1] The Constitution went on: "*…all human laws, though drawn up with great wisdom, are subject to the irresistible contradiction of unforeseen circumstances*".[2]

The fabrics used in the Cadiz of 1812 were linen, cotton, silk, wool, velvet, or leather, without mixtures. The women's dresses of the moment, made in fabrics with a gentle drape and a high waist, allowed great freedom of movement; the Princess or Empire style recalled Neoclassical models rather than the styles currently in fashion in France (fig. 2).

This freedom of movement in female apparel was highly valued. Perhaps it is echoed in the liberal Constitution of 1812, where we read: *"Note has been taken of the teachings of history and the experience in our Monarchy to establish the fair balance that there must be between the authority of the Government, as responsible for public order and the security of the State, and the liberty of which the subjects of a Nation may not be deprived to promote for themselves the increase and improvement of their assets and properties."* [3]

Another trend we find in the women's wear of the period rebelled against the two Romantic stereotypes of the woman as an object, or as an ethereal nymph or spirit. This new trend was the figure of the androgynous woman who wore men's clothing to be able to pass unnoticed and to take part in the dialogues and social events reserved only for the men of the period (fig. 3). The prototype of this extravagant style was the French poet and aristocrat George Sand,

Figure 3.
Men's suit comprising a jacket, doublet, and breeches which could have been worn by the androgynous women of the time. See detail.

whose real name was *Amandine Aurore Lucile Dupin*, Baroness of Dudevant. After leaving her husband she began to wear men's clothes, although she wore women's clothes at social meetings; at one of these events she met Chopin, who would become her lover. Her masculine "disguises" gained her entry to places in Paris that were denied to women of her social status, although her flouting of convention lost her some of the privileges she had enjoyed as baroness. Other creative intellectuals who adopted unconventional forms of femininity were Cecilia Böhl de Faber, who wrote under the male pseudonym of Fernán Caballero, and Carolina Coronado, known as "the female Bécquer", and who was the aunt of the writer Ramón Gómez de la Serna.

The Constitution of 1812 stated: "*Of those who are Spaniards, and lawfully considered as such: All free-men, born and bred up in the Spanish dominions, and their sons*". [4]

The stereotypical woman of Romanticism was often fought over by hot-blooded men. Weak, alone, often on the verge of fainting, the woman was assailed by the cacophony of male voices, as if in an opera in which the Tenor and Bass sing to conquer the beloved. The heroine walks on to meet her cruel fate; she loses her mind or her life – or both, like Ophelia in *Hamlet*.

Earlier in history, in Greco-Roman times, the differences between the apparel of the sexes were established subtly, with togas and dresses and with complements such as hairstyles. During the Romantic period the differences between the sexes reached new heights. Men were assigned an active role in society, women a decorative one. Men no longer aspired to beauty. And dress adapted to this view: men's styles lost the adornment and decoration which had been such a feature of earlier periods. Responding to the needs of the social and business worlds men's dress became uniform and sober, and the rigid, hard-

4 Fragment in italics from the 1812 Constitution of Cadiz.

Figure 4.
Examples of sashes in men's dress of the era. Though more surreptitiously than women, men also sought slimness and a narrow waist.

5-8 Fragments in italics from the 1812 Constitution of Cadiz.

wearing fabrics they wore did not distract attention from the earnest tasks in which they were engaged (nor did they cause envy among their peers). At the same time, women's wear became more complex and decorative.

In search of elegance of form and simplicity, the men also wore sashes during the Romantic period to accentuate their figure (fig. 4).

The sash also has its place in history. In the 1812 Constitution we read: *"We therefore direct and command all tribunals, justices, commanders, governors and other authorities, civil, military and ecclesiastical, of every class whatsoever, to preserve, follow, comply with, and obey and cause to be preserved, followed, complied with, and obeyed, this the above law, in all and every of its branches, using their powers and authorities to accomplish the same, and causing it to be printed, published and circulated."* [5] And in Art. 279: *"The magistrates and judges, on taking possession of their posts, swear to uphold the Constitution, to be faithful to the King, to observe the law and to administer justice impartially."* [6]

Occupations and dress

The separation of powers was proposed for the first time in the Constitution of 1812. Perhaps this is reflected in the differences in the apparel worn by professions. To quote the Constitution: "… the *principal reason for the Commission consists in the fact that the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy shall be a complete, well-ordered system, whose parts maintain with each other the most perfect relation and harmony."* [7]

The idea of separating the powers of the monarchic State was based on the novel argument set out in the Constitution that "*the experience of the centuries had demonstrated that there may no liberty or security, and for the same reason no justice nor prosperity, in a State in which the exercise of all authority is concentrated in a sole hand."* [8]

The desire to "*promote the education of the young and to promote industry and commerce by protecting the inventors of new discoveries in any of these*

Figure 5.
Men's wear for trades and professions at the time. A) Butcher; B) Cook; C) Sailor; D) Market gardener. Note the twine elegantly knotted on the shirt (B) and the flies in the trousers to allow the wearer to urinate at sea. See detail.

9-10 Fragments in italics from the 1812 Constitution of Cadiz.

branches" [9] is also explicitly stated in the Constitution of Cadiz. In Art. 367 we read: *"Measures shall also be immediately taken to found a competent number of universities and other establishments, for the promotion of literature and the fine arts."* [10]

In this way, the professions or trades of the time (market gardeners, butchers, sailors, fruit sellers, tobacco sellers, and so on) had their own distinctive dress. They combined the aesthetic taste and elegance of the era with popular common sense, and kept up to date with the fashions and trends of Goya's age (fig. 5).

Men's shirts were usually white, and were used even in professions in which they could easily be stained (for example, by cooks: fig. 5; B). Linen or cotton, strong, resistant fabrics which could be acquired cheaply, were spun on the looms of the time (fig. 5; C). Complements were also very common in men's dress, either for practical purposes such as the aprons worn by butchers and cooks (fig. 5; A and B) or for aesthetic reasons such as the sashes and caps worn by market gardeners (fig. 5; D). In fact, many men's complements combined the two, adapting the practical and useful to the aesthetic – such as the warmers worn by the market gardeners to protect the hems of their trousers from thorns during the harvesting of fruit and vegetables (fig. 5; D) or the flies sewn into the trousers of sailors or fishermen (**detail, fig. 5**).

The fabrics used by women, and the forms and details, indicated their social or marital status. The dress of the apothecary's wife, in fine taffeta fabric with high puff sleeves and diamond-shaped Goyaesque passementerie, was highly fashionable at the time. She wore a shawl of black silk satin over the shoulders of her dress, with bobbles at the end, and the linen petticoats of the dress give the visual sensation of a set of layers ordered harmoniously, like the flounce of a flamenco dress, which are also visible in the shawl around the neck (fig. 6; A) Skirts were the standard dress for women, who still did not wear trousers. They

Figure 6.
Women's clothes for different trades and professions. A) Apothecary; B) Tobacco-seller; C) Seamstress; D) Fruit-seller.

wore scarves of linen or silk cloth to cover their heads and to keep warm (fig. 6; B and C). In the dress of the fruit-seller we see a modest version of the *Spencer*, a short fitted jacket, in this case of burgundy coloured wool, with a clasp at the front (fig. 6; D). Women's complements – aprons or hair nets or hats – also combined the practical and the aesthetic (fig. 6).

And this is how history is written, from the first Constitution drawn up in Cadiz, with its fresh sea breeze, the *piedra ostionera*, its famous rocks, and the light filtering through the branches of the trees that date back a thousand years. The *Cortes Chicas* gave us the *chirigotas*, full of humour and wit but a vehicle for important social comment as well, and the friendly, knowing smile of those who are familiar with the eternal changes of the moon and its tides and the patient permanence of the water, its movements, its sound, and its aroma. ●

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OPEN SOURCE LANGUAGE VERSION > ESPAÑOL

The 15th International Fungi and Fibre Symposium

by Marta Prevosti, Mònica Dòria and Esther de Prades
Photographs: © Esther de Prades Maria

The fifteenth International Fungi and Fibre Symposium was held at the Jaca Summer School from 7 to 14 October 2012. The event dates back to 1980, when Carla Sundström and Miriam C. Rice organized the first meeting in Canada, and ever since then it has been held every other year in different places all over the world. It is organized by the *International Mushroom Dye Institute (IMDI)*, founded in 1985, and its aim is to celebrate the wide range of colours that can be obtained with mushrooms and to promote the research into these pigments and their use. On this occasion the event was run by the Spanish Mushroom Dye Association and we would like to thank Marie-Noëlle Vacher, Anna Homs and Nilia Bañares for taking charge of its organization.

Carla Sundström and Miriam C. Rice were the pioneers in the research into the wide range of possibilities that mushrooms offer for use as a raw material

Anna Homs's workshop: batik cotton printed, Java style.

Olga Reiche's workshop: wool, linen, cotton and hemp dyed with mushroom dyestuff. ▲

in fabric dyeing and printing. Carla and Miriam set out to explore an area which is new and old at the same time, and which allows us to enjoy a range of colours that are closely linked to the earth and do not need chemical treatment. This area is relatively unexplored today; its traditions are lost in the past, and practically all its ancestral techniques have been forgotten. But the scientific names of the mushrooms often point to their ancient use in dyeing – for example, *Pisolithus tinctorius*, a fungus used for this purpose by the Romans.

The symposium comprised seven days of constant dialogue between the 75 participants from 17 different countries[1]. Products were displayed, experiments explained and discussed, a mushroom exhibition was staged, and numerous workshops were held. Speakers were Marie Noëlle Vacher, José de Uña y Villamediana, Pierre-Arthur Moreau, Sergio Pérez Borjou, Massimo Candusso, Miguel Ángel Ribes Ripoll and Luis Parra.

Some of the days' activities began with an interesting field trip to the magnificent Pyrenean woods around Jaca, where participants collected mushrooms of all kinds, in the middle of a lively exchange of information between experts in dyeing with fungi and mycologists. In particular, the participants praised the wood mushrooms for the excellence of the results obtained for textile dyeing.

1 Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, England, Estonia, Finland, France, Guatemala, Iceland, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, and the US.

Liza Johansson's workshop: dyestuff made of mushrooms. Watercolor with mushroom pigments.

The workshops organized in the afternoons gave practical evidence of the possibilities offered by mushroom pigments. A calico print workshop run by Anna Homs reproduced the technique used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Using the characteristic woodblock moulds the cotton fabric is printed with mordants of alum and sodium carbonate, iron or copper; when dry, it is washed and submerged in the dyestuff created with *Inonotus hispidus*. Also under the expert guidance of Anna Homs, participants printed cotton fabrics using the batik technique, making the reserves with wax and then submerging them once again in the dye made from *Inonotus hispidus*.

Another workshop led by Olga Reiche demonstrated the process of dyeing linen, cotton and hemp previously mordanted with pomegranate rind or banana tree and alum, with a dye made from the mushrooms *Phellodon niger*, *Pisolithus arhizus* and *Inonotus hispidus*. The dyestuff is made with 20% of shredded mushroom and 80% of water, brought to the boil three times in a quarter of an hour and collected each time it boils. Carla Sundström also demonstrated her techniques for natural fibres with dyestuffs made from mushrooms.

The workshop led by Andreya von Waldenfels showed how to make plaster masks decorated with *Polyporus* mushrooms, creating attractive, rustic results. Liza Johansson led another workshop on watercolours made with mushroom pigments. She showed how to make the colours from fungi boiled for an hour in water, thickened, and then collected in a pot and used as paint.

Another day was devoted to tourism, with a fascinating visit to the Textile Workshop in Triste, where participants saw the neolithic looms, inkle looms, a backstrap loom from Guatemala, a horizontal heddle loom from Aragon from the sixteenth century, a shuttle loom, a Nordic countermarch loom, and the famous mule loom of Triste which is considered a forerunner of the Jacquard

Andreya von Waldenfels's workshop: making plaster masks.

loom, as well as simple hand looms for beginners. The fibres are dyed with natural dyestuffs, and then hand spun and woven. This is a fine demonstration of the recovery of traditional techniques of textile production, one of most important economic activities in the history of humanity.

There were also discussions of classifications of species with explanations by specialists, and sessions on terminology. Specialist books were on sale throughout the symposium. So these seven days proved an enthralling insight into experimentation with the natural dyestuffs extracted from fungi. ●

Andreya von Waldenfels's workshop: plaster mask decorated with Polyporus mushrooms.

Library novelties and news

OPEN SOURCE LANGUAGE VERSION > CATALÀ

I ELLES ESCABELLADES VORA EL MAR
(With their hair flowing in the sea breeze)

Centre Artesania Catalunya, Banys Nous, 10. Barcelona
16 March – 19 May 2013

With this suggestive title, Guillem Pou presented his collection of women's fashions in a show held on Saturday 28 April 2012 at the port of Arenys de Mar, as part of the 25th Lace-maker's Day. Almost a year later, we have another chance to see the exhibition at the Centre Artesania Catalunya, c. Banys Nous, Barcelona, from 16 March to 19 May. As the creator says, the collection takes its inspiration from the Mediterranean woman: *"a woman epitomized by strength since the beginnings of history and legend, brave, single-minded, hard-working, full-figured, statuesque, sultry"*.

The Town Council of Arenys de Mar made only one condition for Guillem Pou's show: he had to use lace produced by the lace-makers of Arenys de Mar. And it is fair to say that he has put this lace to wonderful use. Pou avoids the classical images of flowers and the material's lightness and transparency. He uses a different language, creating pieces of braided lace, some in the form of a tip, others rounded, others printed on the fabric to adorn colourful casual wear. It is a fresh, innovative approach to a product that has sadly become a little stereotyped.

Guillem Pou's collection is markedly classical, with pure, simple forms and in black and white, inspired by images of women from the 1950s. He uses organic and natural fabrics like cotton and linen to achieve this effect of authenticity and hardiness. Everything is carefully measured: the Mediterranean culture, the image of a strong, resilient woman rather than the languid figures preferred by other designers, and the idea of naturalness. But he also breaks this harmony with a print made from a photograph of laces made by the Arenys lace-makers against a blue background representing the sea, with touches of gold, a flash of colour that contrasts the use of black and white as the principal colours.

The exhibition is an example of this difficult but not impossible dialogue between fashion design and the world of crafts that come together to create dresses, coats, trousers, skirts, bodices. An important part of this dialogue is seeing the processes of creation and realization: the combination of fashion design and the production of lace as a craft. Alongside Guillem's designs and his sources of inspiration are the patterns, the fragments of lace, and the models used by the lace-makers of Arenys de Mar to make the metres of lace needed to adorn the dresses. The exhibition ends with a video of the fashion show organized by Ràdio Arenys and photographs by Àlex Paricio.

I elles escabellades vora the mar is an exhibition and a project which brings together a range of sensibilities. Above all, it is the expression of the joint efforts of the many people who participated in the original project: the designer, lace-makers, pattern makers, and seamstresses, and of their belief in a collection which is a tribute to our Mediterranean culture. ■

OPEN SOURCE LANGUAGE VERSION > ESPAÑOL

TEXTILES. THE ART OF MANKIND

Mary Schoeser
Andrew Bolton, Solve Sundsbo et alii.

Thames & Hudson, London 2012
ISBN: 978-0-500-51645-4

"The knowledge-able consumer is very much a part of today's renaissance in textile arts. My hope is that this book will contribute to this knowledge, for above all its focus is how to look at textiles – or, rather, how to look at and really see them."

The author of "Textiles: the art of mankind" sets herself this ambitious objective in the introduction. And with its fine brocade-like cover and its lavish illustrations, this book is an impressive achievement.

Schoeser divides her evocation of the aesthetic, chronological, geographical and technological aspects of textile creation into six sections: impact, ingredients, structure, surface, added dimensions, imagery. Under these headings the author displays her vast knowledge and offers many reflections on her relationships with artists, scholars, collectors and museums around the world who share her passion for this medium of expression that we call textile. It is impossible in such a brief space to do justice to the contents of this highly unusual work – more a conversation than an academic study, and yet solid and convincing.

Each chapter is preceded by a short text that introduces the concept and then continues with dozens of images of textile creations from different eras and cultural contexts that provide visual confirmation of the author's impressions. In "Impact" she explores context, visual vocabulary and colour, in "Ingredients", the process that transforms raw material into fabrics (i.e., invention, intention and alchemy), in "Surface" the threads, stitches, painting and printing, and in "Added Dimensions" everything that the fabric can communicate, its inheritance, and how it can lead to imaginary worlds. And finally, in "Imagery"– which, in principle, we see in a fabric, even though it is only one of its many aspects – she centres on identity, narrative and references to a time and place.

But don't expect a treatise on fabrics, or a reference book or a story that can be read in one sitting. It is a text that should be dipped into, savoured, and pondered over. In this way, the reader will discover art through philosophy, creation through chemistry, history through technique and an unimaginable repertoire of textile objects from all times confirming that textiles are indeed an art of mankind.

Schoeser says at one point that the artistic value of an object depends, among other things, on the attitude of the possessor, we might say of the beholder, since contemplation is a form of possession. In this magnificent work the author offers the reader her vast, passionate knowledge – or possession – of something that humanity has shared and will probably continue to share for a long time: the intertwining of fibres and dreams. ■

Library novelties and news

OPEN SOURCE LANGUAGE VERSION > CATALÀ

DEL TREBALL ANÒNIM A L'ETIQUETA. MODISTES I CONTEXT SOCIAL A LA CATALUNYA DEL SEGLE XIX

(From anonymity to the designer label: dressmakers and the social context in nineteenth-century Catalonia)

Laura Casal-Valls

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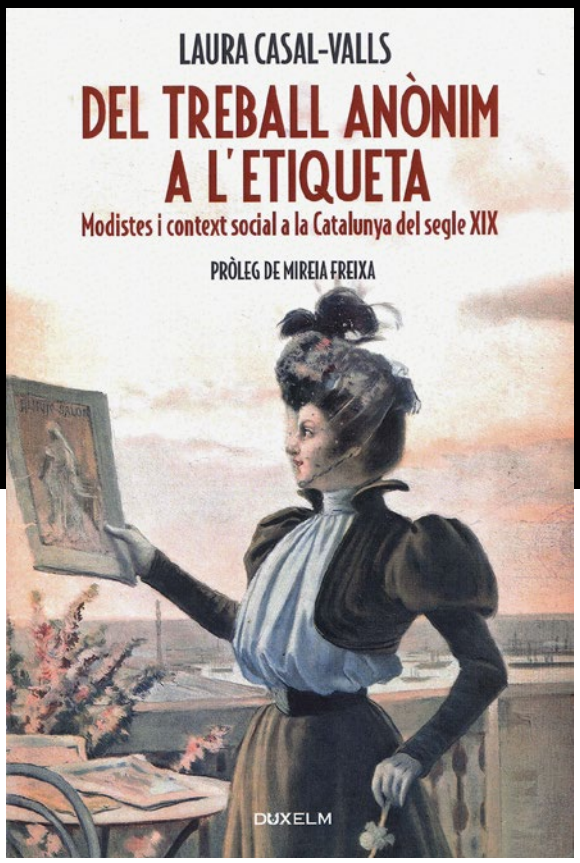
Preface by Mireia Freixa. Barcelona: Duxelm



This book is a version adapted for publication of a research project carried out as part of the Master of Advanced Studies in art history at the University of Barcelona, under the supervision of Mireia Freixa. Initially, Laura Casal-Valls centred her research on the early stages of the development of Catalan haute couture. But as her studies progressed she grew increasingly interested in the more remote origins of dressmaking in Catalonia, and she shifted the focus of her study to the designers of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, a period in which the gradual professionalization and visibility gave rise to the emergence of the great names in this art. In *Del treball anònim…* she explores the production of female dress in Catalonia, which in fact can be said to have set the scene for the emergence of haute couture. This is a little known field which has only recently begun to receive the attention it deserves; while there have been a considerable number of exhibitions and publications on haute couture, the study of popular female dressmaking has been almost completely ignored.

After a presentation of the study outlining its aims, the short first chapter reviews the historiography of Catalan fashion. There follows a 70-page summary of the historical context and the social conditions in which women worked and lived. The third part of the book, around fifty pages, focuses on the dressmakers themselves.

Applying an essentially historicist approach, the author analyses the background to the evolution of haute couture.

Casal-Valls describes the lives of the seamstresses in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in great detail. These women often worked very long hours at home for very little money or recognition, and combined their work with child care and household duties. The author applies a gender studies perspective to the social contexts of women in this era and the legislation covering their activities, stressing the links with the origins of early Catalan feminism through references to Dolors Monserdá[1] and Carme Karr and journals such as *Feminal* and *Or i Grana*.

1 One of the works that refer to the situation of working women is Dolors Monserdá's novel *La Fabricanta*, which describes the conditions of women in the factory world of Barcelona in the mid-nineteenth century, focusing especially on the role of small scale businesswomen. The book was reprinted by the Premià de Mar Print Museum in 2008.

The author explains how dress shops run by women proliferated during the nineteenth century. The use of the sewing machine became widespread, educational levels improved, and academies began to give courses in needlework; new methods appeared, women's magazines and fashion magazines were launched, and gradually the profile of dressmakers gained respectability in the Barcelona of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. New trends arrived from Paris, but the well-trained, well-informed Catalan dress designers boldly took the initiative and introduced their own distinctive touches. During the first decades of the twentieth century, they adopted new, independent approaches to their work, which ultimately culminated in the emergence of a genuinely Catalan haute couture.

There is a well-structured bibliography at the end of the book. The historiography of Catalan fashion of the period in the second chapter is well worth reading, and there are interesting references to textile and fashion museum institutions in Catalonia. Perhaps the author might have mentioned the Premià de Mar Print Museum, which focuses on the theme of calicoes and prints from the eighteenth century to the present, and the Marés Lace Museum in Arenys de Mar, which focuses on another important area of textiles and fashion.

The last chapter, from page 131 to 149, is devoted to the study of fashion itself, to dress, and to the creations of the *modernist* era, as the period of Catalan *art nouveau* is known. The author discusses theories about the movement's social and cultural background and the aesthetic trends in women's dress, its influences and its canons of beauty. She explores the coded language of dress of the time, the increasing democratization of fashion and the need for distinction which eventually led to the emergence of haute couture.

So this work fills a gap, but still we lack a monographic study of the seamstresses working in each of the periods considered, with an evaluation of their work, styles, prices, their popularity, and so on. A study of the economic history is still needed, particularly an in-depth study from an art history perspective of the production of nineteenth and twentieth-century designers outside the world of haute couture.

Laura Casal-Valls leaves us with a promise: to continue her study of Catalan haute couture as the theme of her doctoral thesis. We look forward to her future work and hope that she will become the great historian of Catalan haute couture. ■

Novembre 2013

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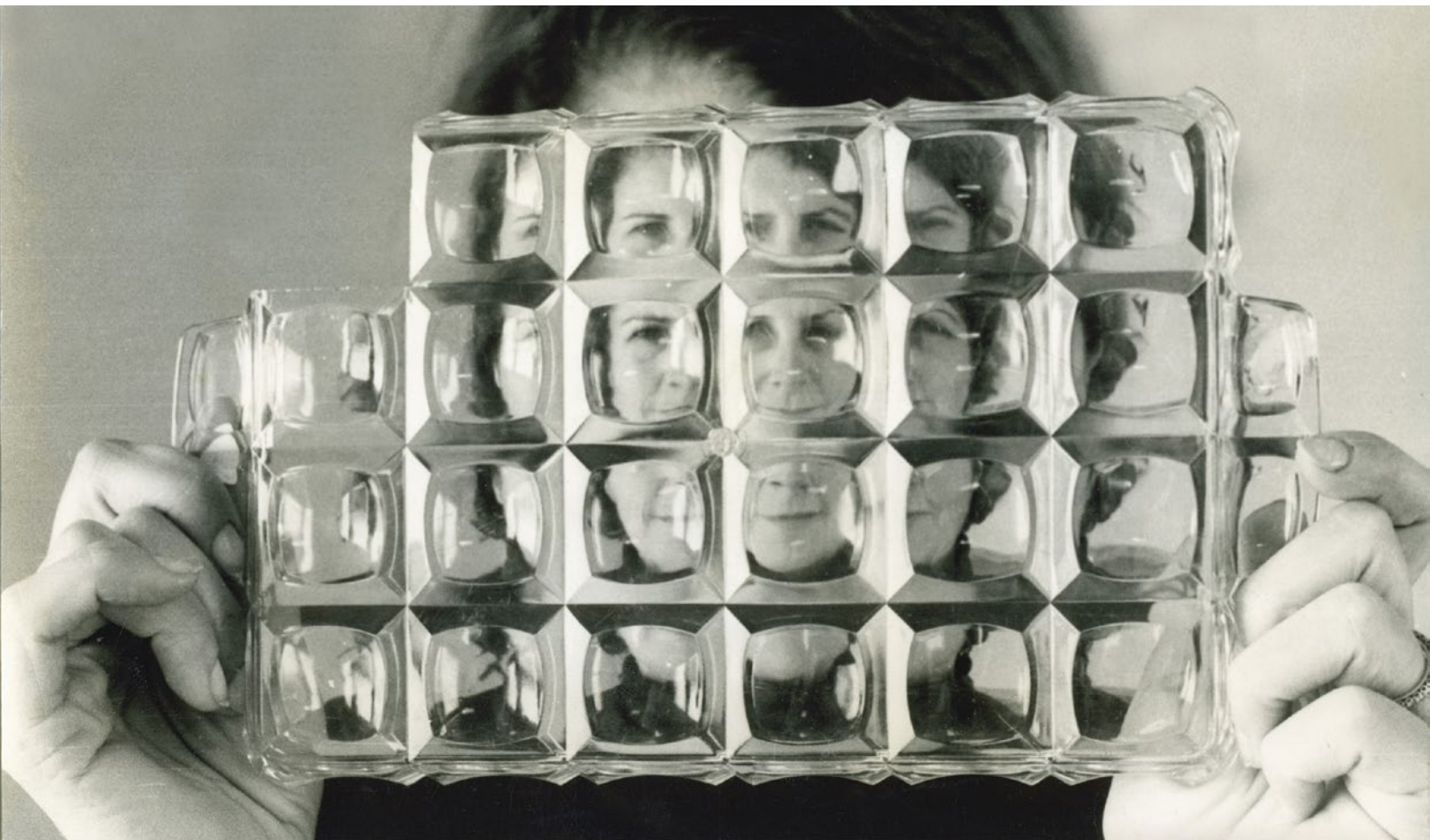

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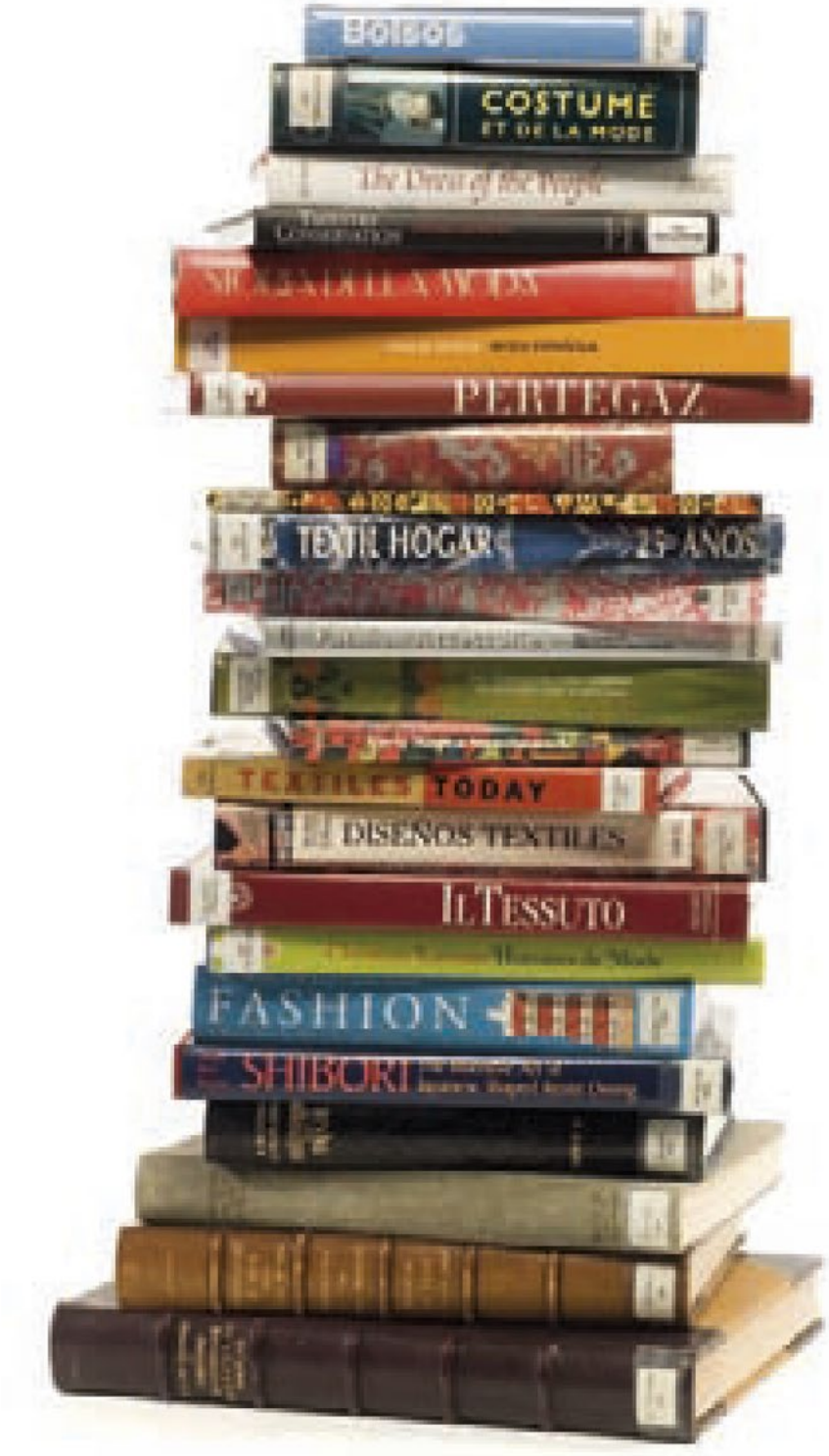

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