

Fur Dress, Art, and Class Identity
in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England and Holland

By

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Abstract

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My dissertation examines painted representations of fur clothing in early modern England and the Netherlands. Looking at portraits of elites and urban professionals from 1509 to 1670, I argue that fur dress played a fundamentally important role in actively remaking the image of middle-class and noble subjects. While demonstrating that fur was important to establishing male authority in court culture, my project shows that, by the late sixteenth century, the iconographic status and fashionability of fur garments were changing, rendering furs less central to elite displays of magnificence and more apt to bourgeois demonstrations of virtue and *gravitas*. This project explores the changing meanings of fur dress as it moved over the bodies of different social groups, male and female, European and non-European. My project deploys methods from several disciplines to discuss how fur's shifting status was related to emerging technologies in art and fashion, new concepts of luxury, and contemporary knowledge in medicine and health.

Dedication

To my mother, Mina, the strongest woman I know, and to my grandparents, Park Sang Ki and Park Chong Ja. Thank you for believing in me. I love you.

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Preface

When we look at a portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger in an art museum today, some of the first thoughts to cross our minds are likely to focus on the sitter's clothing and what it must have felt like to wear dress that to the modern-day viewer may seem excessively elaborate, outdated, strange, and uncomfortable. There is something about clothing that gives it a transhistorical appeal and makes it relevant today since everyone can imagine what it must feel like physically, socially, and psychologically to wear an item of clothing. Clothing is so intrinsically tied to basic human needs, to an individual's identity, and to our desires for transformation that "clothes are the shorthand for being human," as stated by Claire Wilcox, the senior curator of fashion at the Victoria and Albert Museum. People can engage with historical images and experiences wherein clothing is a central mode of identity and display without extensive knowledge of intellectual disciplines because the corporeal understanding of clothes that links us with individuals from the past is always there. For example, we frequently "place ourselves in a portrait sitter's shoes" to better sympathize and connect with someone separated by what may seem like eons of time and space. We wonder if the sitter actually owned such clothing or if it was a figment of the artist's imagination. We wonder why figures chose to be portrayed wearing what they are and what it signified for them, the artist, and their contemporaries. Did the sitter wear such clothing regularly or only for the portrait? Was their attire highly personal or did it allow them to conform to a specific social group? How expensive or cheap were their clothes? How were they designed and made?

When confronted with portraits of early modern men and women dressed in furs, I found myself asking questions about their attire that were reflective of my own relationship to clothes and animal products. How and what did the sitter feel wearing such a heavy, plush fur gown? Were they warm? Comfortable? Where did these pelts come from? Did he or she ever think about the living animal from whence the pelt was taken? Answering these questions has informed me of my own expectations about clothing and how they are analogous to or incongruous with those of men and women living in early modern Europe. I became more attuned to clothing's historical functions, its changing cultural significance, and the ceaseless controversy it inspires as a material object so closely intertwined with who we are and hope to be.

Because this project discusses fur, a sartorial material that has been the subject of polemical discourse since ancient times, it has been met with either curiosity or opposition from people with a wide range of perspectives and ideologies, be they consumers of luxury animal-skin products, pet-owners and advocates of animal rights, furriers, fashionistas, or vegans. At times this project has been misunderstood as a celebration of fur dress or as a peculiar and inconsequential account of the foibles of our fur-adoring predecessors, who we believe, in our age of burgeoning consciousness, lacked moral insight. During my first year of research for this project, I assisted with a seminar at Blythe House in London where a group of students, designers, and industry employees from the fashion sector were invited to look at and comment upon historical and modern fur garments.¹ The purpose of the workshop was to think about the qualities of real fur that were appealing to consumers and how contemporary designers could find technologically innovative solutions to replace those desired qualities with new non-animal

¹ This seminar was led by designer and PhD researcher Naomi Bailey-Cooper and organized by Edwina Ehrman, senior curator at the V&A, who at the time was working on the award-winning "Fashioned from Nature" exhibition for the museum.

materials. When asked for their reactions, several of the seminarians expressed their visceral repulsion towards the fur objects on display, even those created long ago. I listened in surprise as the objects that I had valued as important because of their centrality to my own personal interests were described as contemptible and “tasteless” symbols of animal cruelty. If anyone has ever googled wildlife photography stills of ermine weasels, Baltic squirrels, and other fur-bearing animals once prized for their pelts, their hearts are surely to melt upon seeing just how adorable and small these creatures usually are. To think that thousands of white ermines were trapped and slaughtered to produce a single parliamentary mantle in the early modern period would surely shock. As an individual who has cared for and loves domestic animals, I could sympathize with those outraged at seeing hundreds of little pelts sewn together to construct a coat. However, the seminarians most vocal in their abhorrence of fur clothing also stated that they were avid consumers of fast fashion brands, some of which sold real fur goods and had been consistently implicated in the violation of human rights.² One individual of European descent discussed their small percentage of Native American heritage and compared Westerners’ lack of spirituality and ties to the natural world with those stereotypically prescribed to indigenous peoples. They found it reprehensible that early modern people had killed animals for fashion.

It was a revelatory and eye-opening experience that rendered me more conscious of the pitfalls of projecting present-day assumptions and ideologies onto historical clothing. Our need to “place ourselves in the shoes” of the past by putting our own longings, tastes, and creeds above those of a different culture and society can lead to misunderstanding if not provided with critical historical context. Scholars writing on the fur trade now argue that Native Americans in North America aided in the over-trapping of fur-bearing animals and that their traditional religious belief systems and reciprocal relationship with nature had already been undermined by a number of devastating circumstances.³ Both Europeans and native peoples relied upon the trapping, sale, and consumption of animal skin products in order to have access to goods considered more important to their needs and as a means of profiting financially in a period when global access and demand opened up new opportunities. Furthermore, human-animal relations in the early modern period are incomparable to our own and projecting our understanding of animal rights onto historical peoples is both anachronistic and unjust. People frequently lived with and slept in the same room as a variety of animals and interacted with them on a daily basis in a way completely unparalleled on a widescale today.⁴ At the same time, they reconciled this spatial intimacy with what would now be considered animal cruelty. Call it what you will, practicality or pelt envy, Europeans relied upon fur as clothing because they viewed fur-bearing animals as self-sufficient and physically integral whereas humans needed to borrow the coats of animals in order to compensate for our lack of integral bodily provision.

In *The Psychology of Clothes* J. C. Flügel states modesty, adornment, protection, sexual attraction, the physical environment and social conditions (costume, caste, class, and religious relations) as principle motives for why humans wear clothing.⁵ When contemplating the use of furs in contemporary society, its association with wealth, luxury, and adornment normally comes

² Fast fashion retailers such as Zara and H&M produce and sell inexpensive clothing at a rapid turnover rate. They replicate runway trends and looks for the mass-market.

³ See Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978) and Shepard Krech III, ed., *Indians, Animals, and the Fur Trade: A Critique of Keepers of the Game* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981).

⁴ Constance Classen, “Animal Skins” in *The Deepest Sense: A Cultural History of Touch* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2012), 93-122.

⁵ J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (New York: International Universities Press, 1971; 1930).

to mind first. One of fur's primary and original uses, however, was as thermoregulatory protection against extreme temperatures. When prehistoric man first appeared in a cold climate, the first stimulus to clothing was the need for protection against cold.⁶ In the same way, many animals, especially those prized for their fur, "put on" fur coats for the winter, as a result of the change of temperature, while in the spring, under the influence of the approaching summer warmth, they "put on" their robes of sexual enticement—i.e. adornment.⁷ A fur-bearing animal's skin is designed to keep its body at an even temperature and ensure its survival whatever the climate in which it lives. The length and number of its hairs, the proportion of the long guard hairs (usually removed in processing) which protect it from moisture to the shorter fur fibers which keep out the cold air, the arrangement of scales, and the quantity of color pigment, vary not only between different species of animals but also within the same species.⁸ These traits are closely influenced by seasonal climatic changes and demonstrate how animals protect themselves and "adorn" themselves in accordance with environmental conditions. Fur served a very utilitarian function among humans but its beauty and repeated representation in iconography of elite men and women also rendered it aesthetic.

Many museums are now reluctant to display fur garments because they may offend animal lovers, even though fur has been an integral element of dress for thousands of years.⁹ It is unproductive to want to erase this history of sartorial practice, or to undervalue it because it gives the impression of opposing our own tastes and beliefs. In fact, we are the inheritors of the commercial, globalizing, and sartorial practices that were just beginning to emerge in the early modern period. It is important to address our current discomfort with animal bodies. We should not see fur garments as empty signifiers of fashion. Telling the stories of these garments resists, I argue, the gratuitous consumption of material stuffs that is a phenomenon of modern-day culture. Today we live in an age where fashion is ubiquitous in popular culture and has become more accessible than ever before. The accelerated growth of the fashion industry and increasing demand for animal products has distanced consumers from the production, true value, and living origins of fur and leather, impacting humans, animals, and the environment.

I strongly believe that understanding the cultural significations of early modern fur clothing can open up further discussion and awareness in current debates about the controversies of fur, human dominion over the animal world, geopolitical usurpation, and why this material continues to allure yet repulse. The study of fur is especially important in contemporary fashion where visual differences in real and synthetic furs have become very difficult to distinguish, creating ambiguity about what our actual ethical allegiances are. Faux furs in the early modern period existed as well, though not as synthetic materials but as cheaper furs trying to disguise themselves as more precious varieties.¹⁰ Early modern "counterfeit" fashion demonstrates how,

⁶ Ernst Harms, "The Psychology of Clothes Review", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Sept, 1938) pp. 239- 250; 247

⁷ Harms, "The Psychology of Clothes Review", 239- 250; 247

⁸ Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 23. Also see M. Bachrach, *Fur: A Practical Treatise* (New York, 1953), third ed.

⁹ Kimberly Chrisman-Campell, *Confessions of a Costume Curator*, *The Atlantic*, Aug. 18, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2017/08/confessions-of-a-costume-curator/536961/>. Accessed 12 Nov. 2019. Catherine Thompson, *Fur, feathers and controversy*, *The Record.com*, Nov. 13, 2016 <https://www.therecord.com/news-story/6963914-fur-feathers-and-controversy/>. Accessed 12 Nov. 2019.

¹⁰ Squirrel skins, pine marten, and cat skins were sometimes dyed to imitate sable. Fake ermine furs were also constructed in the early modern period out of cheaper fur pelts.

then as now, the wearing of faux animal products was motivated by the desire to attain the aesthetic and haptic characteristics that only “real” furs could accomplish.

This project seeks to investigate what made furs so important and central to displays of identity in early modern Europe within the specific cultural contexts of Tudor England and the golden age of the Dutch Republic. Which leads me to my central question: Why was fur frequently portrayed in art? Why was fur so important as a sartorial material for elite and middle-class men and women that they wanted to be depicted wearing it in art and what did these individuals hope to convey by wearing furs? Fur garments were deemed so precious that they were memorialized in art by some of our most recognized and respected painters. There are several important reasons why many portrait sitters wanted to be painted wearing fur and why artists relished portraying this material as a demonstration of their virtuosity and technical skill. Thinking about what social, cultural, and economic values early moderns placed onto fur dress will help us to reflect upon our own sartorial values in a period of new luxury, fluid identity, the popularization of fashion, and mass production.

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Introduction

In the 1760 novel, *The Adventures of a Black Coat*, the narrator, an old sable coat that is about to be retired or thrown out, relates its history of ownership to a younger replacement, a new fur coat, who has just arrived inside the closet.¹ The fur coat begins its life when it is consigned to a merchant in Monmouth Street and because the merchant is the owner of a rental house, the existence of the coat is aligned with trade and exchange. As an object that has been circulated around the city of London, literally touching its inhabitants and spaces, the sable coat is engraved with the imprint of its owners' bodies. The status of objects, and the power of objects to endow status, are frequently commented on in the novel. The old sable coat's circulation brings to light the agency of material objects and in particular, that of a commodity of great value, fur.²

This dissertation examines the social implications and semantic properties of fur clothing in early modern England and the Netherlands, exploring the changing role of fur in pictorial representations of elites and asking how the mercantile classes of London and Amsterdam utilized fur as a material symbol of their internationalism and connections to a global market. Fundamental to my thesis that furs were central to constructing individual and social identity through their ability to physically and socially mold their wearers, is Ann Rosalind Jones's and Peter Stallybrass's theories on the mnemonic meanings and agency of dress.³ The primary focus of this text is on the evidence relating to the artistic portrayal of fur clothing, its consumption outside of art, and the desires and anxieties that fur clothing produced in early modern people. Painted portraits, documentary evidence, and popular literary sources will be analyzed in order to explore how and why individuals and social groups such as royalty, the hereditary elites, and professional and mercantile classes used furs to create a sense of identity and community. This project is not about the cut or construction of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dress although each chapter does discuss at length the production and construction of specific fur garments such as the fur gown, beaver hat, and the fur-lined *jak*. Due to a scarcity of surviving early modern garments, this project discusses fashionable dress largely through portraits. Early modern garments, and in particular fur garments, rarely survive due to their historical value as currency and because they tended to be reused and repurposed until worn out. Wherever possible comparable three-dimensional objects are included to reveal more about those items portrayed in paint.

There is no comprehensive historical account of fur clothing in early modern practice and representation even though a wealth of European paintings and prints portray people wearing furs. Fur has been an element of dress for longer than any other but has the shortest history and amount of literature. Only two books before 1981, *The Book of Fur*, by J.G. Links, published in

¹ Edward Phillips, *The adventures of a black coat : Containing a series of remarkable occurrences and entertaining incidents, that it was a witness to in its peregrinations thro' the cities of London and Westminster ... As related by itself* (London, 1760).

² Arjun Appadurai proposes a new model of looking at the circulation of commodities in social life. Whereas previous literature had seen objects as mute and inert, Appadurai argues that objects have the same agency and power as subjects. I use the theories and methodologies proposed in this anthology to think about the cultural agency of material objects like fur and how early modern clothing, like persons, underwent social transformation. Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

³ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

1956, and *The Mode in Furs* (1951), by Ruth Turner Wilcox, discussed at length fur clothing.⁴ The neglect stems in part from the longstanding view that the relationship between fur dress and power remained relatively stable in artistic practice. That fur has the potential to conjure strong meanings of economic value and social affluence in the collective imagination is exemplified by Gustav Flaubert's succinct definition of fur as a "Sign of Wealth."⁵ I go beyond this traditional and simplistic statement to think about how fur's representative and iconic status was changing in the early modern period and how it fit under emerging concepts of middle-class luxury and comfort.

Elspeth Veale's exhaustive study of the English medieval fur trade discusses the origins and development of the London Skinners Company.⁶ Using portraiture and inventories as evidence, she argues that fur grew out of fashion by the early 1500s and that brocaded silks and gems were a more essential means of displaying magnificence during the reign of Henry VIII. I expand upon Veale's work by discussing the consumption of fur not just among nobles but also among the urban elite whose fur-clad dress in portraiture contradicts Veale's claim that fur clothing began to disappear from visual culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Both Veale and historian of dress Elizabeth Ewing have already noted changing attitudes towards fur fashions in the sixteenth century, but both conflate pictorial representations of dress with actual consumption practices.⁷ Central to the philosophy of the present project is the understanding that portraits are not truthful reflections of people as they were but are instead constructions of how they wished to have themselves portrayed. A comparison between visual and textual evidence (inventories, wardrobe accounts, eye-witness reports, and contemporary manuals on Elizabethan life) will reveal whether the prominence of and, later, absence of furs in elite English portraiture is reflective or counter-reflective of actual consumption and sartorial practices. This reading will put into question the functions of elite portraiture during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I and explore how the depiction of fur dress intensified or alleviated the problems of portraiture.

Although fur dress plays an important role in representations of royalty and hereditary elites there has not been a focused investigation of the shifting iconographic status of fur in Northern European art. Furs are often given a cursory mention in larger discussions on early modern fashion. Janet Arnold and Maria Hayward briefly inventory various kinds of fur garments worn by different social classes in Tudor England with relevant historical commentary about their social usage and morality.⁸ Those few studies that focus exclusively on early modern fur dress (Ewing, Wilcox, Links, and Aileen Ribeiro) are framed as chronological and evolutionary surveys of fashion.⁹ These studies, with the exception of Marieke de Winkel's cultural analysis of the fur-trimmed *tabaard*, mainly consider the depiction of fur garments as a means of dating painting within a narrow time frame.¹⁰ My project rejects this documentary

⁴ J.G. Links, *The Book of Fur* (London: James Barrie, 1956); Ruth Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Furs* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951).

⁵ Gustav Flaubert, *Dictionary of Received Ideas*, trans. Gregory Norminton (Richmond: Oneworld Classics: 2010).

⁶ Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

⁷ Elizabeth Ewing, *Fur in Dress* (London: Batsford, 1981).

⁸ Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney, 1988); Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁹ Ewing, *Fur in Dress*; Wilcox, *The Mode in Furs*; Links, *The Book of Fur*; Aileen Ribeiro, "Furs in Fashion. The Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries" in *Connoisseur*, December 1979.

¹⁰ Marieke de Winkel, "'Ene der deftigsten dragten": The Iconography of the *Tabbaard* and the Sense of Tradition in Dutch Seventeenth-century Portraiture." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, Vol 46 (1995): 145-167.

approach and instead considers the essential role furs played in communicating elite and urban elite masculine and female ideals and how the presence and absence of fur in painting highlight the ways in which the fictive, constructed space represented in elite portraiture was changing. Jones and Stallybrass and Marcia Pointon are the only scholars writing on portraiture to discuss at length the importance of clothing as a codified form of visual rhetoric through which a society theatricalizes and displays itself.¹¹ Pointon urges historians to look less at the faces of subjects and to attend to other parts of the body and to the ways in which those body parts are covered and adorned because subjectivity is mediated and realized through material objects. Like Pointon, I emphasize the central role dress played in the self-fashioning process and fur's potential to articulate and shape identity. I also discuss how customizing and ordering clothing was akin to the commissioning of art and how both art and fashion are linked by artistry and artifice.

An art historical analysis of clothing in portraiture provides an additional and crucial layer of meaning to our understanding of early modern dress. It permits us to consider the use of fashion in constructing social identities. It also permits us to visualize the psyche of the individuals represented and how they wanted to be viewed through clothing. Dress, as it is represented in Tudor art and text, also opens a door into the "imaginary" of sixteenth-century England. When I speak of the "imaginary," I refer to the cultural and personal desires of both the subject and the author/portrait painter, subliminal desires that are reflected in the work of art. I consider the use of fantasy and artistic license in the portrayal of fur garments as artists sometimes invented or recycled fur dress to enhance the aesthetic and signifying components of their work. Like Anne Hollander, Joseph Monteyne, and Julia Emberley, I also explore how the visual representation of fur in painting acted as an allusion to the artist's craft and reiterated the actual production of fur dress whose animal material was processed into a commodity of more value than its raw components.¹²

By centering each chapter on a single item of clothing, my project is not limited to visual and textual representations of fur but also addresses the materiality and chemical make-up of these garments themselves and how the material characteristics of beaver, ermine, cat, lynx, or sable determined their social constructions and the mythologies surrounding them. Thinking about the varied material qualities of different kinds of fur is also crucial to our understanding of how fur garments provided their wearers with an embodied experience that was politically and socially coded. I argue that fur was a material imbued with performativity since its weight and texture literally altered its wearer's carriage, rendering them more mindful of their posture and movement. Sociologist Norbert Elias's work will frame my discussion of fur as a civilizing form of body sculpture that affected its wearer's physiognomy and psychology.¹³ The works of Margaret Pelling, Tessa Storey and Sandra Cavallo, historians of Renaissance practices of healthy living, and early modern authors of preventive literature, such as Stephen Bradwell,

¹¹ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*; Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion, 2013).

¹² Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York: Viking Press, 1978); Julia V. Emberley, *The Cultural Politics of Fur* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997); Joseph Monteyne, "Enveloping Objects: Allegory and Commodity Fetish in Wenceslaus Hollar's Personifications of the Seasons and Fashion Still Lifes," in *Art History*, Vol. 29 (2006): 414-443.

¹³ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1982).

inform my discussion of how furs allowed or disallowed elite and middle-class subjects to take an active part in protecting themselves from illness and biological invasion.¹⁴

The first half of this project engages mainly with portraiture to illuminate the cultural value of fur as a signifier of authority and identity in Tudor England and what happens to these traditional associations with changing fashions in dress and art.¹⁵ Chapters One and Two analyze the ways in which the sartorial construction of the elite English body was changing and how the relationship between fur and power, of longstanding importance, was being reconfigured in Tudor portraiture. Although Chapters Two and Three discuss the use and portrayal of furs among the English peerage (a term that refers specifically to the titled nobility) during the *long* sixteenth century, they focus primarily on the reigns of Henry VIII (r. 1509—1547) and Elizabeth I (r. 1558—1603), monarchs who ruled for extensive periods of time and whose courts had a definitive impact on English fashion, art, and culture.¹⁶ In the periods under study, fur clothing articulated clear economic and social significations when worn and these meanings were in turn transferred to elite portraiture. As this is primarily a material culture study of fur dress, attention will be given to its usage, consumption, production, and trade, as well as to the rituals, norms, and behaviors fur clothing created and took part in. This project also examines how the multiple significations of fur dress operated differently when worn versus when painted.

During the reign of Henry VIII, German artist Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) and other Continental artists influenced by him and working for the Henrician court employed a style of painting that conveyed a credible illusion of the elite subject's physical presence. In particular, the portraits of Holbein utilized sartorial elements like fur to bring home the immediacy of a portrait's realism and, in turn, the corporal dimensionality of a figure's likeness. These portraits were produced in a period of insecurity and reform, when a concrete image of strong kingship and English masculinity was becoming ever more imperative. Through the social act of commissioning, consuming, and viewing portraiture, furs, first codified in actual sartorial practice, were repeatedly portrayed and associated with elite male identities in Tudor visual culture. Because furs were strictly regulated in sumptuary legislation, the donning and visual representation of furs also solidified hierarchies of masculine power by tying male subjects to land and to other men within the same social class. This facilitated elite homosociability, a concept referring to social bonds between men, in which where women are subsidiary and function primarily for dynastic linking and reproductive purposes.

While furs in elite Henrician portraiture created an illusion of emphatic physical presence, this same illusion was considered inappropriate for an effective expression of his daughter Elizabeth's sovereign dignity. The sartorial and artistic constructions of the elite male body that developed with such precision under Henry VIII needed to be recalibrated under Elizabeth I, whose court culture operated on completely different aesthetic terms. Furs were too material, physical, animal. The materiality of furs was problematic in a culture that equated the

¹⁴ Margaret Pelling, "Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body and Disease," in *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, ed. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986); Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey, "Excretions as Excrements: The Hygiene of the Body" in *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Stephen Bradwell, *A watch-man for the pest Teaching the true rules of preservation from the pestilent contagion, at this time fearefully over-flowing this famous cittie of London* (London: 1625).

¹⁵ For a discussion of conventions of elite Tudor portraiture see Karen Hearn, ed., *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630* (London: Tate Publishing, 1995) and Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Pimlico, 2003).

¹⁶ Portraiture produced during the brief reigns of Edward VI (r. 1547—1553) and Mary I (r. 1553—1558) are also discussed when pertinent.

menstruating and lactating female body with a grotesque corporeality in need of discipline.¹⁷ To underline her sexual self-containment, the Virgin Queen relied upon a pictorial program that schematized her body and its sartorial elements into a legible visual code of monarchic power. The articulation of different kinds of fur dress in Henrician art and the ability of elite viewers to recognize and identify them had meant that furs were equally inscribed with a “legible” code of authority. However this legibility was mainly concerned with the sartorial codification of social rank within a collective identity whereas Elizabeth and her courtiers relied on decorative surfaces inscribed with symbols that expressed individual subjectivity and alterity. The realism of Holbein’s furs was not for the queen because she was not “nature brought to perfection” but something nature could never fathom. Elizabethan nobles experimented with new fashion technologies and established an alternative culture of visibility and aesthetics that privileged the unnatural, the allegorical, and the displacement of all signs of corporeality from the body onto the body’s ornamental and artificial prostheses—dress, jewelry, embroidery, lace, and wigs.¹⁸

At the same time, both queen and nobles gradually relinquished fur dress in their self-representation in favor of other textiles that better impressed upon the viewer an image akin to that of Castiglione’s ideal courtier and conveyed urbanism and cosmopolitanism. Chapter Two posits that understanding this marked visual shift is crucial to shedding light on how the aristocratic body was being reconfigured in late sixteenth-century painting. Within the fabricated and imaginary space of elite portraiture, visual conceits that underscored Elizabethan advances in fashion, architecture, and medicine were employed by artists to help elites maintain their alterity from other social groups, mainly wealthy gentry landowners and urban elites, as the economic gap between these classes was reduced.

This is not to say that fur trimmings or linings completely disappear from elite Elizabethan portraiture. Chapters Three to Five demonstrate that furs enjoyed continued utilization within the artist’s repertoire of costumes for portraits of urban elites (merchants and retailers, tradesmen, and bourgeois matrons), humanists, aged courtiers, and government officials. Tarnya Cooper has charted the expansion and interest in portraiture outside of the English court and among London’s urban elites.¹⁹ Cooper’s study explores the ways in which these middle-class patrons created a new visual language in their portraiture. I argue that a crucial element of this new visual language was the construction of a collective sartorial body. As non-hereditary elites who could not justify their right to representation, merchant subjects celebrated their virtue either by portraying themselves as moral figures with *memento mori*, by displaying their trade emblems, or by assimilating more courtly modes of representation. I use Cooper’s theories as the basis for my discussion of fur as a material in middle-class portraiture that could reconcile prestige, tradition, and modesty. Revising the trickle-down theory to explain the consumption of luxury goods among the middling classes, I discuss the autonomous role of merchant groups in determining what furs and fur-making technologies to introduce within urban centers in Chapter Three.²⁰ Mercantile enterprise was not only the impetus for exploration but

¹⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1968).

¹⁸ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 31.

¹⁹ Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

²⁰ Past discussions of early modern dress accept sociologist Veblen’s top-down theory to explain the consumption of luxury goods such as fur among the middling and lower classes. I revise Veblen’s theories of conspicuous consumption and dress as an expression of pecuniary strength. Certain fur garments, such as the *jak*, were an example of upward appropriation and emulation. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford:

also the driving force that brought new technologies in fashion-making and oil painting from other parts of the world to England and London's urban elite demonstrated their access to both through their portraits. I then consider the tradition of depicting fur dress in English urban elite portraiture and argue that these professional middleclass subjects employed a mode of dress that was distinct from, and not emulative of, that employed by hereditary elites, allowing them to situate themselves within a specific social group while acting as new models of virtue and dignity. Furs exemplified a more moderate and virtuous mode of consumption that fulfilled an urban elite's desire for comfort rather than for grandeur while simultaneously drawing the recognition of others.

In the fourth chapter, I assess the essential role the beaver felt hat played in facilitating the negotiation of the middle class to the broader global landscape. The circulation of beaver skins, including their raw production in continents beyond Europe, speaks to the geopolitical significance of furs trapped and prepared in North America, processed and sold in Northern Europe, and finally given as gifts to Native Americans or slave traders in Africa and the Americas. The emergence of new status objects such as the beaver hat among the urban elite also provoked class conflict. In group portraiture the beaver hat helped forge a new Dutch identity and became a means of unifying Dutch men into a cooperative entity while acting as a marker of symbolic, if not actual, social equality. Whereas the Dutch beaver hat fostered inclusion and cooperation, in early modern English ballads and pictorial representations, the expensive beaver hat evoked separation and exclusivity, rendering social differences and tensions highly visible. When women were depicted wearing beaver hats, such as in Rubens' portrait of Suzanne Lunden and in the portrait of Pocahontas, traditional hierarchies, played out by hat honor, were destabilized.

The final chapter focuses specifically on the *jak*, a loose-fitting silk and fur-trimmed jacket worn by women, that figures prominently in Dutch portraiture and in genre paintings by Vermeer, de Hooch, Jan Steen, and others from the 1650s and 60s. Originally a form of servant's dress, the *jak* was appropriated and rendered more luxurious by middle-class and elite housewives who wanted to act as paragons of industry and virtue. Historians have yet to discuss the garment's close associations with bourgeois ideals of domesticity during the period of prosperity that followed the Thirty Years' War. The vibrant fabrics of the *jak* demonstrated Dutch pride in both their artistic tradition and in their flourishing textile industries. I explore how the visual representation of fur in painting acted as an allusion to the artist's craft and reiterated the actual production of fur dress whose animal material was processed into a commodity of more value than its raw components.

At a time when many scholars are thinking in terms of the movement of objects and considering geographic expanses ignored by a canonical art history, there needs also to be a discussion of the geopolitical and social narratives evoked by early modern dress and, in particular, by fur as it moved over the bodies of different social groups. By focusing not only on the economic and functional importance of fur but also on its signification of class and gender ideals, I shed light on the important role this material played in altering elite and upper-middle class identities.

Oxford University Press, 2007; 1899). See Chandra Mukerij, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

Chapter One

Furs, Magnificence, and Masculinity at the Henrician Court (1509—1547)

1. 1 Introduction

During the reign of Henry VIII (1491—1547), German artist Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) and other Continental artists influenced by him and working for the Henrician court employed a style of painting that carefully rendered fur dress and other sartorial elements. The depiction of fur dress allowed artists like Holbein to convey a credible illusion of the elite subject's physical presence while depicting their social rank and status legible. The portraits discussed in this chapter were produced in a period of insecurity and reform, when a concrete image of strong kingship and English manliness was becoming ever more imperative. Manliness in early modern England depended on strict adherence to codes of honor. The honor codes which defined elite manliness or masculinity involved the qualities a man was expected to embody, namely reason, strength, and sexual prowess.¹ This chapter will discuss why fur dress was central to Tudor manifestations of magnificence, male authority, and virility by looking specifically at sumptuary legislation, land rights, male court culture, and artistic practice. Particular emphasis will be given to how furs affected the carriage and bodily extension of the elite masculine figure and why the materiality of furs, whether worn or painted, made them especially apt to displaying homosocial virtues of strength and power.

1. 2 Henry VIII's Painted Fur Gown

The imposing full-length figure of Henry VIII by Hans Holbein the Younger is accepted as the quintessential depiction of the Tudor king. First memorably realized in Holbein's Whitehall Mural cartoon (fig. 1; 1537), this rendering of Henry's powerful and sumptuously clad body, his legs astride and feet firmly planted on the ground, was to be copied extensively by other artists working for the English court (figs. 2 to 7) and manufactured in all sizes throughout the sixteenth century. The original fresco² for which the cartoon was made was displayed in a public space, most likely the Presence Chamber of Whitehall palace.³ Henry's portrait acted as both a surveilling presence and a substitute for the body of the king in an area where diplomats and dignitaries, courtiers, and common servants conducted business.

The rich textiles that clothe and surround the monarch's body are crucial to the indexical formula that constructs Henry VIII's image, and are reiterated, with slight variations, in subsequent portraiture (both full-length and half-length) modeled after the Whitehall mural: his velvet gown embroidered with gold and trimmed with fur, the king's cloth of gold (or silver) doublet and skirted undercoat, the pearls and impressive jewels that stud his hat, collar and knuckles, the gold and ivory-white curtains, and the Middle Eastern Star Ushak rug under his feet.⁴ These material objects in the king's portraiture strategically express magnificence, a "noble

¹ Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex, and Marriage* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 31.

² The original fresco was destroyed in 1698 in a fire at Whitehall and we are left with a seventeenth-century copy on canvas by Remigius Leemput.

³ Kevin Sharpe, *Selling Tudor Monarchy: Authority and the Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

⁴ Xanthe Brooke and David Crombie, *Henry VIII Revealed: The Legacy of Holbein's Portraits* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2003), 40.

virtue”.⁵ Magnificence through textiles and clothing was an essential facet of kingship in the sixteenth century as they performed specific functions within the *domus magnificencia* or king’s home. Many were intended to address basic human needs such as warmth and comfort and they had a particular part to play in key events carried out within the domestic context, such as dining and private worship. For example, one of fur’s primary and original uses was as a thermoregulatory protection primarily in winter and against extreme temperatures. In a text from 1528, a personification of winter states that “I make riche men were furred gownes & spend som of their golde.”⁶ Today furs are primarily worn outdoors, but in medieval and Tudor England, furs were worn both indoors and out for alternative methods of keeping warm. The noble living in his stone castle or manor house would have felt the cold more than the peasant huddled close to his family and animals. With the building boom ushered in by the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536-1541), Tudor architecture began to incorporate warmth-inducing luxuries such as brick, smaller apartments, lower ceilings, wall fire-places and chimneys, and tapestries into its design. In spite of these luxuries and architectural innovations, there is evidence that the homes of the peerage were still cold enough to encourage the wearing of warm clothing like furs indoors.⁷

Notwithstanding their practicality, fur dress, tapestries, and other sumptuous textiles functioned more as symbols of power and privilege. These material objects were all intended to reflect Henry’s rightful place at the apex of Tudor society and this view was reinforced by sumptuary legislation enacted under Henry’s reign which distinguished the king and his immediate family as those with the right to wear specific colors, textiles, and furs.⁸ Henry VIII had his own personal “army” of professional men and women to supply the royal wardrobe with silks, furs, jewelry, and linen. The Tudor Great Wardrobe (*magna garderoba*), was based in the City of London and played an important role in the city’s textile and fur trades. Many of its employees and suppliers were Londoners. As Henry VIII’s garments and textiles were made by skilled craftsmen and women, they required specialist care to clean, display, pack, and transport, further demonstrating the social and economic strength of the royal household.⁹

Expensive dress and furs took precedence in early modern displays of princely splendor. In his text *The Governance of England*, polemicist Sir John Fortescue defined the *accoutrements* of royal grandeur, in order of importance, as

riche clothes, *riche furrres*, [emphasis added] other than be wonned
to fall vndre the yerely charges off his warderobber, rich stones ...

⁵ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (1537), 133.

⁶ Anonymous, *The debate and stryfe betwene somer and wynter with the estate present of man* (1528). On 4 June 1529, Cardinal Campeggio, papal legate to the Tudor court wrote to the bishop of Verona, “Here we are still wearing our winter clothing, and use fire as if it were January. Never did I witness more inconstant weather.” J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509—1547*, 21 vols. and addenda (1862—1932), IV. iii, 5636.

⁷ Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966). Before and during the reign of Henry VIII, the main room in an elite structure was the great hall. The great hall could measure anywhere from forty to a hundred feet long with a high vaulted roof of stone or timber and was “heated” only from a central hearth.

⁸ Maria Hayward and P. Ward, eds., *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012), 4.

⁹ The portability of textiles was very important for a peripatetic monarch like Henry VIII who never stayed at a residence for more than a few weeks. When Henry VIII traveled abroad to the northern shore of France to participate in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he brought with him hundreds of yards of luxury textiles as a feasible way to display the magnificence of his court.

and other juels and ornamentes conuenient to his estate roiall. And often tymes he woll bie riche hangynges and other apparell ffor his howses ...¹⁰

As Chief Justice of the King's Bench during the reign of Henry VI, Fortescue was keenly aware of material (and visually distinguishing) symbols of power. According to his list, fur is the second most essential sartorial element in displaying princely magnificence it is the only material specified besides jewels. Looking back at fur fashions in the first half of the sixteenth century, English writers described furs as "princely ancient ornament," "grave and comely" and as "expressing dignity."¹¹ In Tudor texts figures wielding political authority, such as rulers, judges, and government officials, are often described as wearing "a furred cote" or "furryd gownes" to convey their high status.¹²

Fur dress figures prominently in a broad range of elite and royal portraiture from the 1500s to the 1550s, and mainly among male subjects. This is because fur garments were central to the image of elite male authority as opposed to images of the vast majority of men (artisans, laborers, shopkeepers, and farmers whose masculinity certainly had markers but different visible and important markers of position). In Tudor England, the term "authority," signifying a corporate body that wielded political and social power, was seen as specifically masculine, as in this phrase, "manlye authoritie".¹³ When looking at the textual evidence of the kinds of garments members of the elite and middling classes wore, the gendering of fur dress is clear. In the wills of Elizabethan Essex, which contain some 10,000 documents and over 2,000 references to clothing, an overwhelming number of men's gowns sport fur lining and trimmings but women's clothes have very little.¹⁴ Of the garment types recorded in the wills which were described as being either lined or trimmed with fur (coats, gowns for men and women, jackets and jerkins), all were outer garments and the figures clearly show that the male gown (a long, loose outer garment, usually with long wide sleeves and almost always trimmed and lined with fur) was the chief vehicle in England for displaying furs as a sign of status and wealth. Sometimes known as a "surcoat" or "night-gown," this garment had been the staple of the fifteenth-century male wardrobe and the majority of Henrician portraiture depicts male subjects wearing it. The gown retained its social significance in the first half of the sixteenth century because it was the principal outer garment and so the most visible. It was also iconographically linked with dignitaries and humanists and therefore evoked *gravitas*, *dignitas*, and scholarly attributes.¹⁵

¹⁰ Sir John Fortescue (1394?-1476?), *The governance of England: otherwise called The difference between absolute and a limited monarchy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 124. Originally published in 1469-1471 as *De laudibus legum Angliæ* and published later as *The Governance of England* in 1885.

¹¹ In 1589 the London merchant Henry Lane wrote to Richard Hakluyt about the fur pelts presented to Elizabeth I as gifts by a Russian embassy representing Emperor Ivan IV in 1567. He complained that furs were no longer fashionable in spite of their many qualities. E. G. R. Taylor, *Original Writings & Correspondence of the two R. Hakluyts* (Hakluyt Society, Second Series, lxxvii, 1935), ii, 410.

¹² Anonymous, *A, C, mery talys*, (1526), 17: "...chefe iustyce sonne in a furred cote." William Caxton, *This is the table of the historye of reynart the fox* (1481): Chapter 24, "She sayd my lord the king ye ought not to be angry whan ye sytte in Iugement ffor that becometh not your noblesse... .I knowe better the poyntes of the lawe than some that were furryd gownes ffor I haue lerned many of them."

¹³ Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus the schole of shootinge contayned in tvwo bookes. To all gentlemen and yomen of Englande, pleasaunte for theyr pastyme to rede, and profitable for theyr use to folow, both in war and peace* (1545), 35.

¹⁴ Ninya Mikhaila and Jane Malcom-Davies, *The Tudor Tailor: Reconstructing 16th-century Dress* (London: B. T. Batsford, 2006), 39.

¹⁵ See **Chapter Three** for a discussion of fur's associations with scholars and humanists.

An undoubtedly commanding element of Henry VIII's dress in his visual imagery is his fur-trimmed and knee-length gown. Representations of Henry VIII's gown show it as trimmed and lined either with dark sable (most frequent) or with ermine or pale lynx, "the furre of whom Princes weare."¹⁶ Sable, trapped in Siberia, and lynx, found in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, were the two kinds of furs specifically reserved for the royal family and highest nobility (dukes, marquises, earls, and barons) in 1533 under Henrician sumptuary legislation.¹⁷ Henry's fur gown was later to be utilized as a prototypical costume of kingship by Henry's son Edward VI (r. 1547—1553), who linked himself pictorially to the regal image of his deceased father (fig. 8; 1546) through the emulative use of fur. During the medieval period and in the early sixteenth century fur had played a key role in the visual configuration of royalty. In his treatise on drawing, Henry Peacham states that a king should be depicted "with their proper fures and linings".¹⁸ Portrayals of English male rulers, such as Henry VII (fig. 9; 1505), during and before the sixteenth century almost always incorporate fur into the king's sartorial anatomy. The earliest confirmed portraits of Henry VIII, dating from the 1520s, depict him continuing his father's sartorial legacy by wearing fur and situate him within the iconographic tradition of English kingship.

At stake in the borrowing and emulation of traditional sartorial symbols of power and rule such as a king's fur robe or gown was the estimation of Henry VIII's virtue and whether it fell short or exceeded that of his predecessors. In *The boke named the Gouvernour* (1537), a manual on noble comportment, Thomas Elyot describes the pitfalls of taking up noble apparel that one is unworthy of wearing:

If he have an auncient robe, lefte by his auncetour, let hym consider, that if the first owner were of more virtue than he is, that succeedeth, the robe beyng worne, mynsheth [diminish] his prayse, to them whiche knowe or haue harde of the vertue of hym that first owed it. If he that weareth it be vyclouse, it more detecteth howe moch he is vnworthy to weare it, the remembraunce of his noble auncetour makynge men to abhorre the reproche gyuen by an yuell [evil] successour. If the fyrst owner were not vertuose, it condemneth him that weareth it of moche folyshenesse, to glorie in a thyng of so base estimation, which lacking beautie or glosse, can be none ornament to hym that weareth it, nor honorable remembrance to hym that fyrste owed it.¹⁹

Henry VIII was under enormous pressure to strategically choose a mode of princely dress that both spoke to his father's reputation and virtue but also situated him positively in comparison as

¹⁶ Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The third volume of the French academie contayning a notable description of the whole world, and of all the principall parts and contents thereof: as namely, of angels both good and euill: of the celestially spheres, their order and number: of the fixed stars and planets; their light, motion, and influence: of the fower elements, and all things in them, or of them consisting: and first of furie, airie, and watrie meteors or impressions of comets, thunders, lightnings, raines, snow, haile, rainebowes, windes, dewes, frosts, earthquakes, &c. ingendered aboue, in, and vnder the middle or cloudie region of the aire. And likewise of fowles, fishes, beasts, serpents, trees with their fruits and gum; shrubs, herbes, spices, drugs, minerals, precious stones, and other particulars most worthie of all men to be known and considered. Written in French by that famous and learned gentleman Peter de la Primaudaye Esquier, Lord of the same place, and of Barree: and Englished by R. Dolman* (1601), 388.

¹⁷ 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430-2. Curiously, there is no mention of ermine in sumptuary legislation from the reigns of Henry VIII, Mary I, or Elizabeth I. See Section 1. 3 for possible reasons why.

¹⁸ Henry Peacham, *The Gentleman's Exercise* (London 1634), 56.

¹⁹ Elyot, *The boke named the Gouvernour*, 104.

the true inheritor of his family's excellence. In the Whitehall Mural both Henry and his father wear fur gowns, linking them sartorially. Henry VII's gown is trimmed and lined with ermine, a fur iconographically and metaphorically linked to the English monarchy, demonstrating the purity of the Tudor lineage. Henry VII's fur gown drapes down his shoulders in the medieval fashion, creating a lithe silhouette and Henry VIII's clothing emphasizes his shoulders and cod piece.

Whereas the fur gown in Henry VII's portraiture conveys princely elegance and wealth, the fur gown in Henry VIII's portraits, while also conveying royal magnificence, expresses an elite masculinity that is more imposing and intimidating. Henry VIII and Holbein collaborated to construct a sartorial costume that would push beyond the traditional symbolic significations of fur dress and draw attention to the monarch's physical qualities. The qualities of fur as a protective, weighty, and luxurious material that gave both structure and a padded extension to the king's already monumental body was especially crucial at a time when the king's health and physique were declining in the midst of domestic rebellion and competition abroad with external Catholic powers. At the time that the Whitehall Mural was completed, Henry would have been forty-six years old. Throughout his life, Henry had a deep-seated inferiority complex and spent most of his reign demonstrating his military prowess.²⁰ When newly crowned, he spent vast sums of money fighting against France for more than a decade and set his ambitions upon dominating Catholic-sympathetic Wales, all while countering rebellions in both Ireland and Scotland.²¹ Upon proclaiming himself the supreme head of the Church of England in 1534 and thereby severing the Crown's ties with Rome, he immediately doubled royal revenue with the sale of Church land and used this money to finance the purchase of war ships and to construct forts along the troublesome border of Scotland and the Channel coast. England saw the first deliberately orchestrated propaganda program through the dissemination of Henry VIII's image in the 1530s with the advent of the Reformation.²² Holbein's Whitehall Mural and full-length portrait pattern of Henry was designed to "build up the crown in the face of the break with the Universal Church."²³

During a period of significant social, economic, and religious change, Henry exploited the structural materiality of fur dress to achieve the illusion of a hulking and powerfully martial body. Measured dimensions of Henry VIII's body from the Whitehall cartoon match the king's actual dimensions in life, confirming that Holbein's portrait was meant to portray a life-sized version of the monarch. In the cartoon, Henry's height, from hat line to his left foot, is approximately 1.88 meters or 6 feet 2 inches tall, his height in life. The average width of Henry VIII's clothed shoulders and hips taken from the Whitehall cartoon and the six versions derived from it (all depicting the king's full-length body) is approximately 92 centimeters or 36 inches.²⁴ Seen in person, the English king's portraits would have presented its viewers with an imposing

²⁰ John Guy argues that Henry VIII's known "egoism, self-righteousness, and capacity to brood sprang from the fusion of an able but second-rate mind with what looks suspiciously like an inferiority complex." "Chapter Three" in *The Tudors: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

²¹ Steven Gunn, *The English People at War in the Age of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

²² Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Pimlico, 1987), 12.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ The width of Henry VIII's body in the Holbein cartoon is 94.5 cm. The measurements of Henry VIII's body width as depicted in the six versions derived from the Whitehall cartoon are as follows: The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (90.6 cm); the Egremont collection, Petworth House (93.5 cm); the Devonshire collection, Chatsworth House (90.7 cm); Trinity College, Cambridge (90.5 cm); the collection of the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, Belvoir castle (91.3 cm); and Parham house (92.3 cm).

figure whose size was well beyond that of the average man. There is no doubt that his fur trimming and collar accentuate his size by adding extra padding.

Indeed, Henry's fur gown acts as a princely and more sensual substitute for the metal armor traditionally seen in heroic *imperator* or *chevalier* types from which the king's pose directly stems (figs. 10 and 11).²⁵ The fur-trimmed garment also recalls the lion skin attribute of the ancient Roman hero Hercules whose iconography traditionally depicted the mythical figure with legs planted firmly apart. Hercules wore his animal skin as a sign of victory in blood sport. The standing and frontal representation of Henry's body was in fact very aggressive for contemporaries who would have viewed it as a "disturbing breach of etiquette".²⁶ The Frankfurt scholar Jodochim Willich (1501—1522) explained in a treatise on gestures that straddling legs were improper and "blameworthy," though such a stance was acceptable when depicting legendary knights or heroes.²⁷ Added to this, the furs adorning Henry's body must have rendered the constructed power and manliness of his body even more overt and, perhaps, dangerous—even sexual.

As a material linked with the animal, fur enhanced the English king's primal energy and "as yet unleashed passion."²⁸ Christine Hille notes that Henry's erect pose and prominent codpiece "provides a vision of absolute masculinity whose phallic dimension is further emphasized by Henry's wide shoulder pads."²⁹ Henry's massive swath of fur trimming, its individual hairs carefully rendered, injects a bristling and rejuvenating sensuality into the king's aging and ailing corpus. The painted representation of the king's now virile, fur-clad body is promoted as constitutive of the power of the English monarchy, which is here displayed as potently masculine.

The success of the portrait's illusionism in constructing a believable counterfeit of Henry's body in the round was recounted by Netherlandish painter and art theorist Karel van Mander. Van Mander was the first to publish a biography of Hans Holbein the Younger and his description of the Whitehall Mural most likely came from his master, Lucas de Heere, who was in England c. 1567—1576 and would have seen the image in the king's Privy Chamber.³⁰ Deriving his description of Holbein's portrait from hearsay, Van Mander says that the full-length portrait of the English king is

²⁵ Roy Strong, *Holbein and Henry VIII* (London: Routledge, 1975), 42. Roy shows that Holbein's representation of Henry VIII's pose stems directly from a Renaissance formula for the heroic conqueror or knight figure that evolved in fifteenth-century Florence and is demonstrated in Donatello's St. George sculpture at the Or San Michele and Andrea del Castagno's Pippo Spano in S. Apollonia.

²⁶ Brooke and Crombie, *Henry VIII Revealed*, 34. Brooke and Crombie also note that the Portuguese court painter Francisco de Holanda (1516/17—1584) wrote that a full-face portrait was innately "graceless". The historians argue that the breach of pictorial and gestural etiquette in Henry's Whitehall portrait was either ignored or deliberate, considering that Henry VIII had an aggressive pose.

²⁷ Brooke and Crombie, *Henry VIII Revealed*, 34.

²⁸ Constance Classen argues that putting on animal skins allowed humans to symbolically take on something of their identity. See *The Deepest Sense* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 105. Anthropologists have deduced that by wearing the pelts of the beasts they had killed, many early tribes and races believed that they themselves became endowed with the strength of these animals. There is an echo of this in Shakespeare's *King John* when Constance reproaches the Archbishop of Austria for cowardice and bragging: "Thou wear a lion's hide! Doff it for shame / And hang a calf's skin on these recreant limbs." The lion's hide refers to Hercules. Strong, *Holbein and Henry VIII*, 39 and Elizabeth Ewing, *Fur in Dress* (London: Batsford, 1981), 71.

²⁹ Christine Hille, *Visions of the Courtly Body: The Patronage of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, and the Trimupj of Painting at the Stuart Court* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 4.

³⁰ Karel van Mander, "Het Leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandtse en Hooghduytsche schilders", in *Het schilder-boeck* published in 1603-04.

life-sized and so lifelike that anyone who sees it gets a fright
[*vershrickt*]; for it seems as if it is alive [*het schijnt dat het leeft*]
and that one might see the head and all the limbs moving and
functioning naturally.³¹

By the time Lucas de Heere presumably saw Holbein's portrait, Henry had been dead for at least two decades. His portrait nevertheless had the power to make the spectator believe that they were in the presence of the king. I would emphasize that Henry's fur garment performs a fundamental function in enlarging the representation of the monarch into a life-sized stand-in for the flesh and blood man.

Henry's costume in the Whitehall cartoon acted as a visual exemplar of how the king wished to have himself sartorially and physically configured so it is especially important that the king chose to have himself represented wearing a fur-trimmed gown. Historian Maria Hayward notes that the clothes depicted in Henry's portraits do not reflect fully the diversity of the king's wardrobe in terms of color or type of garment.³² This observation is compounded by the parallels between the king's clothes in the Thyssen portrait, the Antica portrait, the Whitehall cartoon, and the six versions of the king's full-length portrait derived from the cartoon, all of which employ versions of the same dress.³³ For example, Henry VIII possessed a variety of furs (ermine, lamb, belly of leopard, lynx, and squirrel); however, of the portraits mentioned above, all except the Petworth and Parham House portraits, which depict the king in ermine, portray Henry wearing dark brown fur and approximately 80% of his known portraits depict him wearing his fur of choice, sable. Although he owned a variety of outer garments (the cassock, the frock, the glaudekin, and the gown) in a number of different colors, fabrics, and finishes, Henry is almost always depicted wearing a red velvet gown embroidered with bands of couched rabask work, trimmed and lined with fur, worn over a high-necked doublet and a low-cut jerkin of cloth of silver, the skirts of which cover the upperstocks of his hose but are parted to reveal his codpiece. Gowns, doublets, and hose of the types depicted in the king's portraits can be traced in the great wardrobe accounts and warrants, so they do depict garments typical of what he would have worn.³⁴ As sittings from life for portraits of the royalty were rarely granted, most surviving Tudor royal portraits are versions of existing types, which were then copied from approved

³¹ Original quote in Karel van Mander, "Het Leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandtse en Hooghduytsche schilders", in *Het schilder-boeck* fol. 222r: "... soo gheheel levendigh, dat een yeder wie't siet verschrickt: want het schijnt dat het leeft," Karel van Mander: *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603-1604) preceded by The Lineage, Circumstances and Place of Birth, Life and Works of Karel van Mander, Painter and Poet and likewise his Death and Burial, from the second edition of the Schilder-boeck (1616-1618)*, with an Introduction and Translation, edited by Hessel Miedema, Vol. I: Text (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994). This story is quoted in French in Henri Hymans [1584-1606]: *Le Livre des Peintres de Carel van Mander* (Amsterdam: Hissink, 1979), 218. The language used to describe Holbein's image of the king has been altered and exaggerated in the French version. For an in-depth discussion of van Mander's text on the Whitehall Mural see Tatiana C. String, "Henry VIII and Holbein: Patterns and Conventions in Early Modern Writing about Artists", ed. Thomas Betteridge and Suzannah Lipscomb, *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance* (Routledge 2013), 131-141.

³² Maria Hayward and P. Ward, eds., *The Inventory of King Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2012), Vol. 1, 5.

³³ Hayward, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, Vol. 1, 5. See the portraits of Henry VIII now at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool; in the Egremont collection, Petworth House; in the Devonshire collection, Chatsworth House; at Trinity College, Cambridge; in the collection of the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, Belvoir castle; and at Parham house.

³⁴ Primary sources as cited by Hayward, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, Vol. 1.

patterns.³⁵ The production of royal portraiture was manufactured on what could be understood as “factory lines.”³⁶ The English monarch would have worked carefully with artists and with Holbein in particular in choosing a costume that best conveyed his political image for public dissemination.

The Portuguese painter Francisco de Holanda (1516/17—1584) reported that several princes during the Renaissance dressed in such a way that they might be recognized by their clothes alone.³⁷ Courtesy tract author Thomas Elyot praised princes who showed stability and “constaunce in vesture.”³⁸ Henry VIII himself relied upon a fixed regal costume in his representation. His fur gown, one of the most recognizable elements of his costume today, plays a crucial role in giving Henry’s iconic body its shape and outline. The fact that Henry’s image became heavily associated with a fixed type of ensemble in spite of the diversity of his wardrobe meant that his clothes, and especially his fur gown, reflected the king’s own belief in and understanding of magnificence.

1. 3 Furs in Henrician Portraiture and Elite Aesthetic Culture

Influenced by European fashions and an obsession with resuming his father’s assertion of dynasty, Henry VIII patronized the arts and utilized portraiture to promote the magnificence and authority of the English court. The Dissolution of the Monasteries, beginning in 1536, allowed the English king and his nobles to reap profits from monastic spoils that were then poured into military defenses and into the development of artistic and architectural programs throughout the country. Although marked by domestic resistance, the Reformation in England was relatively peaceful in contrast to the political turmoil that befell other parts of Northern Europe, which were ravaged by religious wars. England held off all invasion attempts when threatened by Spain and France and any armed conflicts the nation participated in took place on foreign soil. This long period of relative domestic peace, maintained until the outbreak of the Civil Wars in the 1640s, contributed to the artistic renaissance that began under Henry VIII’s rule. Upon appropriating Cardinal Wolsey’s building projects following the latter’s untimely demise in 1529, Henry built some of the country’s first picture galleries, a new architectural feature that would change how English portraiture was to be displayed and consumed. The original function of galleries was as broad windowed corridors used as weather-proof connections between buildings. During the artistic program of Henry VIII, they began to function as a space for indoor recreation and were the chief setting in palaces and country houses for the display of pictures, namely portraits.³⁹

After architecture, portraiture was central to English noble culture and the currency *par excellence* of Tudor politics. Statistically the portrait genre survives in a vastly larger number than any other type of English painting (history, religious landscape, vanity, decorative) from the 1500s.⁴⁰ Hereditary elites were concerned with memorializing their house’s lineage, personal

³⁵A sitting was not necessary for an artist to portray clothing, which could be altered/updated without the model’s presence. Tarnya Cooper, *A Guide to Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2012), 26.

³⁶Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Pimlico, 1987), 12.

³⁷Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 124. For Francisco de Holanda: see F. J. Sánchez Cantón, ed., *De la Pintura Antigua por Francisco de Holanda* (1548), *Versión castellana de Manuel Denis* (1563) (Madrid, 1921), 277-8.

³⁸Elyot, *The boke named the Governour*, 102.

³⁹Karen Hearn, ed., *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630* (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), 14.

⁴⁰Cooper, *A Guide*, 5.

qualities, policies, and religious stance and they did so most prominently through the commissioning of portraits. They commissioned portraits of deceased and living family members to display their lineage. They also demonstrated their loyalty and political affiliations by commissioning portraits of the monarch. Images of the reigning monarch and of his predecessors made up a large percentage of portraits produced in Tudor England.⁴¹ Portraiture, as a form of mimesis, had the specific function of celebrating virtue inherent in royalty and upper class individuals.⁴² The ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle was the first to establish the idea that portraiture should represent only elites and, in particular, political leaders who, through portrayal, offer various paradigms of virtue.⁴³ Writing in 1537, Thomas Elyot extolled portraiture as an exemplary tool “to the imitation of vertue” and he argued that painting “perswadeth and stereth the beholder, and soner instructeth hym, than the declaration in wryngge or speaking doth the reder or hercer.”⁴⁴

Important to developments in portraiture during Henry VIII’s reign was the introduction of new painting techniques by artists imported from Continental Europe who, for the first time in English portraiture, emphasized the meticulous and illusionistic rendering of sartorial detail as crucial to the construction of the sitter’s identity. Hans Holbein, in particular, was instrumental in establishing the traditions of portraiture, in both full-length and miniature formats, and in introducing the Northern European style of painting to England during the late 1520s and 1530s. Holbein used a neat and exact method of painting that enabled the artist to record jewels, textiles, furs, and colors in most precise detail. These sartorial details emphasized a sitter’s social status and in turn his or her right to representation. Painters devoted much attention to the elite subject’s dress because the majority of an image’s space was devoted to a sitter’s body and because a sitter wanted emphasis to be given to their clothing. When a person sat for a portrait, they generally wanted to convey their station. Therefore sitters are often shown wearing their best clothes and posed to reveal their most virtuous characteristics, so they are not necessarily wearing what they would have worn in everyday life.⁴⁵ Nonetheless most English male courtiers had themselves portrayed in expensive fur gowns, a garment that they would have worn regularly and for official functions. In addition to their political function, portraits were frequently painted to commemorate an occasion, such as a wedding, a new title or position, for which new and costly clothing had been bought.⁴⁶

When portraiture occurs as a cultural genre of production, it indicates the centrality of being seen within politics and society, and suggests the invention of codes and forms of visual rhetoric through which a society theatricalizes itself.⁴⁷ Clothing and fashion were key components to this emerging language of social identity and performativity, and an elite viewer from sixteenth-century England would have been conditioned to interpret what clothing in aristocratic portraiture represented. Clothes in portraiture were used to symbolize a wearer’s underlying character, social identity, and state of mind. The depiction of clothes could even represent a sitter’s social relationships with other people.⁴⁸ As Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter

⁴¹ Cooper, *A Guide*, 26.

⁴² Édouard Pommier, *Théories du Portrait: De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1998), 105.

⁴³ Pommier, *Théories du Portrait*, 120.

⁴⁴ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (1537), 24-25.

⁴⁵ Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 124.

⁴⁶ Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits*, 197, 209 and Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11.

⁴⁷ Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012).

⁴⁸ Anna Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion* (Royal Collection Trust, 2013), 21.

Stallybrass explain in their seminal discussion of Renaissance clothing, it was investiture (the putting on of clothes) that literally constituted a person as a monarch, a courtier, or a household servant.⁴⁹ Clothing in the early modern period acted as the material means by which a person was given a form, a shape, a social function, a “depth.”

The function of dress in early Tudor society and art was less about understanding oneself and expressing one’s individuality, than about knowing one’s place and where one fit within the social hierarchy.⁵⁰ Rather than acting as declarations of personal taste, dress among male elites, old and young, bespoke inclusion and conformity within a noble collectivity. This explains why Henrician portraiture of both mature and younger sitters makes little distinction in the subjects’ costumes based on their ages and why the fur garments worn by royal and elite portrait sitters in the first half of the sixteenth century vary little in style and cut. Holbein’s portrait study of Sir Thomas More and his family (fig. 12) drawn c. 1527 (the original painting is now lost) demonstrates how the female members of a Tudor household, both senior and young and belonging to the same social rank, would have worn dress similar in cut, style, and color, and constructed from the same kinds of fabrics. The parallels in the women’s dress confer genuine social identity and affirm the community to which they belong.⁵¹ Although the men in More’s household display more variety in their garb, the layered and bulky silhouette remains the same for each. At the center of the composition Sir Thomas More marks his authority and scholarly status with his official robe and wide fur collar overlaid with a chain of office. All the men in the household minus Henry Patenson, the fool, wear fur. Judge Sir John More’s robes are lined with fur and John More, Thomas’s son, wears a short gown trimmed with fur. In spite of clear professional differences in their dress and their difference in age, fur marks out these three men as belonging to high social status. Among the women, only the most senior of the family, More’s second wife Alice, wears fur oversleeves. Fur trimmings, as seen in the case of Thomas More and his wife Alice, drew attention to specific figures, acting as distinguishing features within the family hierarchy while also tying its wearers to the family’s social standing in general.

The practice of consuming elite portraiture within the picture gallery and circulating these images within and on the peripheries of the court helped foster a distinct iconographical and sartorial language among a socially and intellectually homogenous group.⁵² This may explain the similarity between fur dress shown in portraiture of the nobility, suggesting that a type or pattern for fur garments was utilized by artists to represent a costume befitting the status of the subject. Tarnya Cooper’s edited anthology on Tudor and Jacobean painting (*Painting in Britain*, 2015) acknowledges that certain formulas appear to have existed for the representation of costume and specific body parts. A comparison of Holbein’s portraits also shows that he occasionally repeated the same textile design on different outfits.⁵³ The handling of the fur trimming and lining themselves, however, must have warranted the study of actual fur pelts. The precision with which Holbein portrayed furs to enhance the physical presence of his subjects indicates that he

⁴⁹ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, 2.

⁵⁰ Mikhaila and Malcom-Davies, *Tudor Tailor*, 11.

⁵¹ Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, 5.

⁵² Angela Benza discusses this in more depth in her analysis of late Elizabethan court portraiture. “Vaulting ambition: Allégorie et appareil dans les portraits des favoris d’Élisabeth Ière d’Angleterre” in *Péristyle*, 26 May, 2013, 1-15.

⁵³ Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 197.

had access to real fur garments. It is possible that officers of the wardrobe of the robes lent items to Holbein, but there is no direct evidence of this.⁵⁴

In a visual culture where the right to representation was traditionally tied to political and moral exemplarity, fur dress functioned as an overt visual cue or attribute of this justification because of its longstanding associations with elite status and political authority. The most common furs displayed by the peerage and statesmen in their portraiture are sable, ermine, and lynx (see **Appendix A**), furs that would have proudly asserted their social rank.⁵⁵ The pelts of these animals were protected by sumptuary legislation and were usually rarer, smaller, and unrivaled in texture. Sables are recognized for their dark brown fur and long, silky fine hairs. Sables were either very dark brown or black in the early modern period as Shakespeare makes reference to “sable night.”⁵⁶ Peacham noted that sables were “esteemed for the perfectness of the colour of the hairs, which are very black.”⁵⁷ Sable fur is extremely silky to the touch and very light in terms of weight.⁵⁸ Its long hairs would ruffle with the slightest breeze. Ermine, trapped in the Northern regions of Europe, was harvested in the winter when its coat was white and its tail black. When processed into a garment, the white pelts were “powdered” with a highly regular pattern of black tails. Lynx is white or cream in color and is naturally dotted with irregular black spots. The coat of ermine fur is shorter than the longer lynx fur. Pine and stone marten, found in the forests of Northern Europe and seen in several portraits of the clergy and members of the royal household, was light brown in color, lighter than sables, and detectable by its stiff, short hairs. The fur in Holbein’s portrait of Archbishop of Canterbury Warham (fig. 13) is identifiable as stone marten because of its light color and the texture of its hair. When mentioned in Tudor texts, leopard fur coat almost always refers to the animal’s underside or belly (“womb”) where the fur was longer and softer. Leopard pelts came from the Guinea coast in West Africa by way of the Portuguese. Curiously, the leopard’s plain underbelly and not the animal’s characteristic spotted fur was the favored part of the pelt and was used as fur trimming and lining in Tudor clothing. Because the fur from this region of the body was not spotted, leopard fur, usually gray with short fluffy hairs, is difficult to identify and differentiate from other lighter colored furs. The furs mentioned above were favored in portraiture precisely because of their “legibility.”⁵⁹ Their color, pattern, texture, and hair length rendered them instantly recognizable in painting and when worn on the body. Like a text or symbolic attributes, furs that were highly “legible” and codified in sumptuary legislation rendered a subject’s social rank and identity discernable and worthy of discernment. This was of particular importance to portrait sitters and painters.

X-radiograph studies and magnified technical analyses of the depiction of fur costume in Tudor portraiture shed light on how furs were drawn and visualized on panel or canvas. English artists untrained in the Holbein style and working in the 1530s used a precise technique to delineate the individual strands of hair of Henry’s head hair, beard, and fur clothing (figs. 14 to 16). The minute depiction of fur in one portrait (fig. 15), now in the National Portrait Gallery,

⁵⁴ Those commissioning the work may have lent clothing or even jewelry in order for it to be incorporated into the final painted image. Susan Foister “The Production and Reproduction of Holbein’s Portraits” in Karen Hearn, ed., *Dynasties*, 22. Equally likely is that Holbein produced heavily annotated drawings of the king recording details of his clothes and jewelry, just as he did for other sitters such as William Parr, first marquis of Northampton. Hayward, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, Vol. 1, 5.

⁵⁵ Squirrel (the prestige fur for centuries) and mink rarely appear in Henrician royal accounts or in elite portraiture.

⁵⁶ William Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594), 118.

⁵⁷ Henry Peacham, *The Gentleman’s Exercise* (London, 1634), 137.

⁵⁸ Sable was also used by painters in their brushes.

⁵⁹ See **Appendix E** for a list of furs worn in early modern Europe, their material qualities, and geographical origins.

suggests that the artist worked with a magnifying tool. Some of the brushstrokes are so precise that they are only visible under a microscope. In spite of these portraits' precise brushwork there is difficulty identifying the furs depicted as more currency was placed in creating a credible depiction of hair and less in articulating kinds of fur or their actual material construction. Because the legibility of furs in portraiture was important to subjects wishing to display rank and status, and because Continental artists were capable of portraying and indeed emphasized different kinds of furs in their portraits, this microscopic style of depicting fur as neat strands of hair is due more to technical inability than to aesthetic deliberateness.

By contrast, more illusionistic portrayals of fur by Holbein and Continental artists like Joos van Cleve (fig. 17) place less emphasis on capturing individual hair strands and more on shading and coloristic layering to convey fur texture, movement, and shine. In Holbein's sketches (fig. 18 to 24), furs are usually simple, yet expressive, delineated outlines with zigzag lines used to connote texture, implying that he was concerned with capturing fur's qualities of structure, volume, and density and not with precisifying individual hairs. In the portrait of William Warham, the artist made an extensive underdrawing (fig. 18) of the subject's costume and the texture of the clergyman's stone marten trimming is drawn with zig-zags and marks to show the direction of how the fur lies. Another study by Holbein of George Neville (fig. 22) uses colored chalks to describe the hue and thick density of the fur trimming. In a costume study of an Englishwoman (fig. 21), Holbein's drawing notes the plush density of fur oversleeves with short, zagged strokes. A study of an unknown lady (fig. 23) delicately outlines the fuzzy softness and fluffy volume of her fur trimming. The study for Lady Margaret Butt's portrait (fig. 24) emphasizes the long silky strands of her sable *zibellino* where the fur almost touches her cheek. These sketches demonstrate Holbein's concern with the overall effect of fur's texture and materiality and his mastery in capturing them with expressive strokes.

It was really with paint that Holbein paid careful attention to all material components of specific furs. The Petworth portrait of Henry VIII by Holbein's studio replaces the precise brushwork used in Henry's earlier portraiture with a more naturalistically downy and fuzzy depiction of ermine fur (fig. 3). Pale blue overpaint is used to add shadow and soft texture to the white of the ermine. In the Walker portrait (fig. 1), also directly linked to the original Whitehall Mural, an initial layer of warm transparent brown paint is followed by more opaque, lighter and darker brown layers that depict the grain of the pelts. As a finishing touch, fine single wisps of lighter gray are painted haphazardly as highlights to further enhance the lustrous, silky sheen of sable and the way its hairs would have looked in light. Attention is paid to the undulating structure of the light-weight sable pelts, which fold easily into cascading pleats around Henry's torso. In this instance painting exceeds the symbolic and is completely embedded in sartorial culture.

In Holbein's portrait of Sir Thomas More (fig. 25), the painter captures the soft rippling pelts of sable furs, which bunch and crease around the humanist's shoulders. Holbein also used black brushstrokes to soften the edge of the brown fur collar, pulling paint from the black velvet gown up to blend with the brown paint of the sable. This contrast between fur and gown enhanced the textural edge of the collar and effectively conveyed the length and density of the fur pelt. It also demonstrates that Holbein creatively utilized the black paint of the velvet gown to render the outline of the sable hairs, a technique counterintuitive to other English painters working in the 1520s who were more inclined to painting individual brown hairs over the black gown. The technique of pulling dark paint upwards with a paintbrush into the already painted fur collar became more common during Edward VI's reign. The Anglo-Netherlandish artist of

the portrait of Thomas Wentworth (fig. 26) used a stiff brush to make black jagged strokes along the white fur collar in order to create the edge of fine hairs. The paint used to fill in a subject's costume was frequently used to define the outline of fur trimmings. This technique is similar to that used in the painting of beards among Flemish artists. Other times, as in the depiction of Wentworth's slashed sleeves and aglets, long white strokes are painted over black paint to create the illusion of fur lining. An x-ray analysis of an unknown man in a black cap by John Bettes the Elder (fig. 27; 1545) demonstrates that red, yellow and brown ochres were mixed with white lead and applied wet-in-wet with broad, streaky strokes to create the fur collar. The painting style is most expressive (unusual for the time) on his right shoulder where emphasis is placed on the movement of the long, soft fur strands.⁶⁰

Because of fur's longstanding association with elites in English sartorial and visual cultures, fur dress was rendered even more precious through its repeated representation in fine art and in portrayals of elite fashion.⁶¹ In turn, the historical association of fur with elite consumption meant that its depiction in art heightened the exclusivity and aesthetic value of the painted image through the representation of an object that was highly valued as a material.⁶² The depiction of Tudor fashion simultaneously underscored the skill of the artist as manufacturer of desirable and processed commodities. Holbein's reproduction of Anne Lovell's ermine lettrice bonnet (fig. 28) testifies to his own technique and skill as an artist who, like the furrier, carefully transforms raw material into an object of more aesthetic value. During Henry VIII's reign, a lettrice bonnet cost 8s 4d.⁶³ Holbein carefully describes the diminutive size and slender width of the twelve white ermine pelts that form the right side of Anne's cap.⁶⁴ The materiality of the hood's processed skins are given as much attention as the fluffy tail of the squirrel on Anne's arm. By clearly delineating the seams of each panel, Holbein places value in the legibility of the cap's cost, the kind of fur used, and its workmanship in an otherwise modest portrayal of costume and demeanor. The economic value so carefully legible in the number of panels of ermine pelts used to construct this painted cap intensifies worth and value in the artist's pictorial representation.

These legible characteristics of fur type and value are sometimes lost in copies of Holbein's portraits. In a reproduction portrait of Thomas Cromwell (fig. 29) after Holbein at Petworth House (fig. 30), the copy successfully depicts fur as a material but fails to specify the lustrous and ultra-dense thickness of beaver or otter fur realized in the original. The fur in the Holbein copy could be read as another fur, namely sable, if the length of the hair strands is anything to go by. In Holbein's portrait the dipping folds of the fur pelt and the rippled edge of the collar at Cromwell's left shoulder, which conforms with the thickness of beaver or otter hide, are also lost in the copy. More astoundingly, the copy disregards altogether the very evidence of construction seen in the original's fur collar which delineates the seams of the different fur pelts

⁶⁰ Hearn, ed., *Dynasties*, 232.

⁶¹ Julia Emberley, *The Cultural Politics of Fur* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 130.

⁶² Emberley, *Cultural Politics*, 108.

⁶³ On November 22, 1533 Leonard Smith told Lady Lisle that he had "spoken for a lettrice bonnet for Mrs. Frances, which will cost xiij*s* iij*d*. As the skinner saith, you shall have it within vj days." Quoted in Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII* (Leeds: Maney Main Publications, 2007), 173. Lisle Letters, I, 81: J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, eds., *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509—1547*; Vol. VII, 1461.

⁶⁴ The fur in the portrait has been identified as Russian ermine. Susan Foister, Martin Wyld, and Ashok Roy "Hans Holbein's *A Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling*," in *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, Vol. 15, 1994, p. 17. J.G. Links, *The Times*, 8 May 1992.

pieced together. The copy portrays the collar as consisting of a single pelt, which was highly unlikely in actual sartorial practice. Cromwell's face is carefully and poignantly rendered, suggesting that the manner in which the fur collar is represented is not due to a lack of technical skill. Lack of access to and knowledge of actual fur garments, particularly rare luxury furs like beaver and otter, may provide an explanation for such disregard for the subject's costume. Beaver and otter furs were precious furs reserved in sumptuary legislation for members of the clergy and higher. In Edward Topsell's *The History of Four-footed Beasts* (1607) otter furs are described as beautiful and impermeable to rain: "the hair of the skin is most soft, neither doth it leese his beauty by age; for which cause as also for that no rain can hurt it, when it is well dressed it is of great price and estimation, and is sold for seven or eight shillings: thereof also they make fringes in hems of garments, and face about the collars of men and womens garments, and the skin of the Otter is far more precious then the skin of the Beaver."⁶⁵

As a painter conscientious of his own role as artificer, Holbein renders legible the construction of the fur garment as a valuable commodity in order to speak to his own technical expertise as a counterfeiter of the human world and to his knowledge of how luxury goods appear and are made. Holbein's portraits and portraiture by Anglo-Netherlandish artists working for Henrician courtiers delicately balance illusionism (a necessary quality of portraiture whose function is to act as a substitute for the subject) with human intervention, *i.e.*, the mark of the artist himself. The depiction of furs always speaks to this dilemma or contradiction. As constructed garments, furs usually disguise their highly-skilled production and labor because they are made to look "natural" or like animal pelts would in nature. Consider the mimetic technicality required to paint artifacts such as lace versus found or natural patterns such as those seen in fur. Holbein's talent as an artist lay in his ability to create an illusion of realism, painting fabrics not as they truly were, but as they appeared to the eye, what Ernst Gombrich dubs "the etc. principle."⁶⁵ Similarly, certain objects in painting, such as hair, were particularly appropriate to displaying artistic virtuosity since they could not be represented directly from life but required the invention of the painter who gives an impression of representing reality. Karel van Mander singled out certain types of subject matter like air, grass, and hair as too fleeting or multifarious to be captured *naer t'leven* (exactly from life). He then makes a clear distinction between paintings that are drawn from life and are verisimilitudes of nature (*eyghentlijck*), and those that are done from memory of things seen yet appear as if done after life (*uyt zijn selven / uyt den gheest*), which style he recommends for hair.⁶⁶ According to van Mander, hair is the ultimate challenge to an artist's technical skill for it was imbued with *gheest* (spirit) and therefore required *gheest* (virtuosity) to convincingly portray it.⁶⁷ The challenges of rendering fur collars to look as natural as possible required painters to use their mnemonic faculty to give an aesthetic impression of fur instead of painstakingly portraying it after nature. Rather than meticulously painting each strand of hair, artists were encouraged to portray the movement or capture the essence of furs. Holbein successfully demonstrates his knowledge of and familiarity with the materiality of luxury fur garments and this understanding allowed him to expressively convey the texture, density, volume, and movement of different kinds of fur. By contrast, artists

⁶⁵ Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-footed Beasts* (1607), 446.

⁶⁶ Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 65.

⁶⁷ Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 66: "Though one might try to master the painting of leaves, working assiduously after nature or after pleasing rendering...: Yet this studious pursuit of art would be like a delusion bodied forth: for leaves, hair, air, and fabric all are *gheest* and *gheest* alone teaches how to fashion them."

untrained in Holbein's or the Netherlandish style, treat furs as exercises in verisimilitude, charging each hair strand with a finality, rather than conveying its overall materiality.

The expertise Holbein demonstrates in his mnemonic knowledge of different kinds of luxury furs elevates his status as an artist who has direct contact with the elite men he portrays and the clothing they wore. When fur is emphatically depicted by artists like Holbein, they are not only exercising their skill but also working to inscribe the fur depicted with that particularity and singularity onto the social power of the upper classes and aristocracy who are trained to judge and measure such complexity. Thomas Elyot discusses the benefit of filling a nobleman's home with "mooste cunnyngely wrought" paintings, "whereby other men in beholdynge, maye be instructed, or at the least wayes to vertue perswaded."⁶⁸ Carefully rendered images and portraits therefore held instructional value for beholders who were given exemplary models of virtue inherent in their subjects and of virtuosity displayed in the execution and technique.⁶⁹ Moreover, Elyot urged Henrician noblemen to learn drawing and painting from an early age as part of their gentlemanly education.⁷⁰ By learning to draw and paint, talking to artists, and consulting manuals on how to be a discriminating connoisseur, the elite amateur gained the vocabulary necessary to comment on and discuss art. The meticulous representation of materials like fur, in particular, imparted prestige to those who judged and assessed them, that is, spectators trained to understand the visual language of art and the materiality of real furs.⁷¹ In analyzing the fractural production of painted fur in the still-lives of Joannes Fyt, Thomas Balfe examines how the painter's tactile depiction of animal pelts (note that pelt in this instance refers to the hide of a dead animal and not furs processed for wear) emerged at a time when such handcraft and displays of handcraft were valued as "curiosities".⁷² Netherlandish and Northern European artists were famed for compositions that offered viewers "taxonomic pleasures" that allowed collectors an occasion to display their own skill in identifying fauna and exotica.⁷³ Elite beholders of these images are more equipped to enjoy images of fur because their education and rank render them more capable of identifying certain furs and their textures—they have exclusive access to these furs through sumptuary legislation, hunting, and consumption and can therefore use their trained eye and judgment to engage with these painted depictions of "fake fur".⁷⁴

The illusionistic portrayal of luxury furs was important for both portrait artists and sitters because it signified conformity within a specific social group as well as an aesthetic appreciation

⁶⁸ Elyot, *The boke named the Governour*, 102.

⁶⁹ See Andreas Hellerstedt, ed., *Virtue Ethics and Education from Late Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018) for a discussion about the different meanings of "virtue" in premodern usage.

⁷⁰ Elyot, *The boke named the Governour*, 24-25.

⁷¹ Thomas Balfe, "The Animal and the Edible in the Work of Joannes Fyt (1611—61)" (PhD diss., The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2014), 58.

⁷² Balfe, "The Animal and the Edible in the Work of Joannes Fyt (1611—61)" (PhD diss., The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2014), 56.

⁷³ Margaret D. Carroll, "The Nature of Violence: Animal Combat in the Seventeenth Century" in *Painting and Politics in Northern Europe: Van Eyck, Bruegel, Rubens and their Contemporaries* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 162.

⁷⁴ Elizabeth Honig has discussed at length the delight connoisseurs in Antwerp took in collaborative works of art, for example paintings by both Rubens and Jan Brueghel, that invited them to exercise their knowledge in a setting of learned conversation, discerning one painter's hand from another. Elizabeth Honig, "The Beholder as Work of Art: A Study in the Location of Value in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting," *Nederlands Kunst-historisch Jaarboek* 46 (1995): 253-97.

of real and painted furs, goods that a small percentage of the population had access to at the same time. For sitters, painted furs acted as a socially stabilizing costume or attribute that justified their right to representation since portraiture was traditionally reserved for elites. Whereas Holbein and other Continental artists working in the same style were successful in rendering the symbolism of furs legible and clear, other artists, in spite of recognizing fur dress as an important component to elite portraiture, were less successful because they ignored the impressionistic material qualities of fur (texture, density, volume) that rendered certain kinds so valuable and in need of distinction. The presence of expensive fur garments in Tudor portraits enhanced the aesthetic and economic value of paintings themselves since both were viewed as luxury commodities that transformed raw materials into objects of more value. Holbein managed to render legible the economic and aesthetic value of fur garments while also emphasizing the presence of his hand in their creation, unlike lesser skilled artists who meticulously tried to reproduce each strand of hair. Painted furs always presented a dilemma or contradiction between illusionism and human intervention. But because of its close ties with artifice and preciousness, it also heightened the exclusivity and prestige of both the portrait and the artist's work and the subject of the portrait.

1.4 “Your exteriorl apparayll vse according to your honour”⁷⁵: Fur Dress in Henrician Sumptuary Legislation and Defining Elite Male Authority

Unlike on the Continent where the category of “noble” was much looser and included the lesser gentry, in England, “nobility” proper was restricted to a tiny elite known as the peerage.⁷⁶ During the sixteenth century, there were about 40 to 50 peers at any given time, since only the head of each house held the title, in descending rank, of duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron.⁷⁷ Access to the peerage was controlled by the monarch and Henry VIII made relatively few new creations with the exception of the period between 1529 and 1540, when he elevated three existing peers and created seven new barons.⁷⁸ Members of the peerage were expected to participate in parliament and they sat in the House of Lords along with the ecclesiastical peers. They led the king's armies, attended court, participated in and observed court ceremonial (protocols and etiquette that regulated court ritual), and held office in the royal household and on the king's council. In addition to the peerage, there were approximately 350 knightly families and 10,000 esquires or gentlemen. These figures made up the larger landed gentry. At the time of Henry VIII's reign, England had a population of about 2.5 million inhabitants and out of this number there were approximately three thousand gentry families.⁷⁹ The gentry was defined by their lineage, which gave them the right to bear a coat of arms, and by their ability to live wholly at leisure on their landed rents (meaning they could live entirely from their rental income) with a substantial seat or country house.⁸⁰ The higher ranks of the merchant class were also included in

⁷⁵ Andrew Boorde, *The boke for to learne a man to be wyse in buyldyng of his howse for the helth of body [and] to holde quyettes for the helth of his soule, and body The boke for a good husbände to lerne* (1550), 16.

⁷⁶ Hearn, ed., *Dynasties*, 15.

⁷⁷ Lawrence Stone, “The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy” in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1/2 (1948), 1. “Lord” is a generic term used to denote members of the peerage. Marquises, earls, and viscounts were commonly addressed as “Lord.”

⁷⁸ John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 46; H. Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 7; M. Condon, “Ruling elites in the reign of Henry VII”, in C. Ross ed., *Patronage, Pedigree and Power* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1979), 109-42.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ See Joan Butler, *Landed Gentry* (London: S. Paul, 1954).

the gentry. The gentry shared out amongst themselves both the local government of the shires as justices of the peace and the vast majority of seats in the House of Commons.⁸¹ These positions were drawn largely from the most prosperous landed families. Henry depended on the unfailing loyalty of the peerage and gentry to keep order within the country and they were given specific fur-bearing privileges in Henrician sumptuary legislation.

In England, the belief that the furs worn by an individual should bear some relation to his social standing and identity had been codified in sumptuary legislation since the reign of Edward III in the fourteenth century.⁸² Sumptuary laws in late medieval and early modern Europe were attempts by the ruling class to regulate any kind of consumption, especially conspicuous consumption. Similar legislation in other contemporary European societies, notably Italian city-states, was more extensive than that found in England and sought to police expenditure not only on personal items, such as dress, but also on diet, conduct at funerals, wedding festivities, and gift-giving.⁸³ However, the sheer economic cost of luxury garments detailed in sumptuary legislation is indicative of the immense semiotic weight that clothes carried throughout Europe. Clothing was most important to sumptuary legislation because it was the most publicly visible sign of social standing and of which man should yield deference in public even if the personages were unknown to one another. Clothing, therefore, was a tool to avoid social conflict.

During the reign of Henry VIII, sumptuary statutes placed particular emphasis on dress and on what furs might be worn by whom. The vast diversity of furs available for consumption in England, whether local or imported, meant that a hierarchization of different kinds of furs, based on their rarity, accessibility, economic value, and fashionability, was necessary for maintaining deference to superiors and a visual stratification of different social orders. Each ranking, from the king and royal family at the apex of society to yeomen at the very bottom, had specific fur-wearing privileges. While the rhetoric of sumptuary legislation from Henry VIII's reign specifies what "none should weare in his apparell," it does not rule out what one may purchase and own, receive as a gift, or inherit. For example, exceptions were made for those who had received gifts from the King, queen, prince or princess, and French queen.⁸⁴ The sumptuary legislation of 1510 stated that no-one under the rank of gentleman was to "use or wear any furs whereof there is no kind growing in this land of England, Ireland or Wales," thereby limiting the majority of the populace to lamb, rabbit (coney), fox and red or gray squirrel.⁸⁵ Certain professions (those below husbandmen, such as traveling craftsmen and cowherd apprentices) precluded the right to wear furs altogether. A person's annual income also determined what furs could be used for certain parts of their clothing. If an individual could legitimately afford such excess then it was theirs to flaunt. Although the right to don a specific kind of fur was unique to a particular social rank, each rank could in turn wear any of the cheaper, lesser furs permitted to those below them.

Four Acts of Apparel were proclaimed during the reign of Henry VIII: in 1510 (the 1st year of his reign), 1514 (the 6th year of his reign), 1515 (the 7th year of his reign), and 1532 (the

⁸¹ See Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (1986) and Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (1994). The population rose from 2.5 million in 1500 to 4 million in 1600. Uniquely in England, the English peerage and gentry had no fiscal exemptions, and even peers enjoyed only minor, personal legal privileges.

⁸² Emberley, *Cultural Politics of Fur*, 43.

⁸³ Kim M. Philips "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws" in *Gender & History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 April 2007, p. 22-42, 23.

⁸⁴ 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430-2.

⁸⁵ 1 Hen. VIII, c. 14; *Stats. Realm*, iii, pp. 8-9.

24th year of his reign).⁸⁶ Over the years, changes in fur-bearing privileges reflected in these statutes were relatively small except when a pelt became exceedingly rare, as was the case with beaver fur.⁸⁷ As beaver became virtually extinct in Europe due to over-trapping, its fur was elevated from the prerogative of those spending “£10 a year or yeoman grooms and pages of royalty or graduates of the university or gentlemen” in the statute of 1515 to those spending “£40 a year, or heirs to those who spend £100 as well as esquires and knight's heirs. And any clerks at university, or with a Master of Arts of Bachelor of Law degree, or any ecclesiastic” in the statute of 1533.⁸⁸ Another major change in sumptuary legislation from 1515 to 1533 is the demotion of black civet cat. The civet cat, known in the Tudor period by its medieval name “genette” and trapped mainly in Spain, bears a mottled fur that is black or gray in hue.⁸⁹ Before 1533, wearing black civet cat fur was the exclusive right of the king and royal family whereas sables could be worn by anyone above an earl. In his last sumptuary legislation, Henry permitted even barons and viscounts black civet cat while boosting the status of sables to peers ranked above baron. Because the 1533 Act of Apparel was enacted at the height of Henry VIII’s reign and at the same general time that Holbein’s iconic portrait of the king’s fur-clad body became the currency of magnificence in English visual culture, I will focus on this statute as the exemplar of Henrician sartorial regulation in sixteenth-century England. See **Table 1. 1**.

The Acts of Apparel passed from 1510 to 1533 clearly define what comprised royal dress, the color purple and cloth of gold being the most important markers of royalty.⁹⁰ The Acts of 1515 and 1533 included black civet cat and sables in the repertoire of regal dress.⁹¹ The inclusion of furs under the royal category in later sumptuary legislation demonstrates how crucial this material became to English displays of princely magnificence. Henry VIII so prized the dark sable, brought to Western Europe from Russia and beyond the Ural Mountains, that in 1533 he declared that the privilege of wearing them was restricted to the royal family, those nobles above the rank of earl, and Knights of the Order of the Garter. Before this, sables were permitted to the peerage at large, including barons. Viscounts (ranked below earls and above barons), barons, and the Prior of Saint John of Jerusalem were permitted black civet cat and lynx whereas the sons of barons and knights had to be content with leopard bellies, which unlike lynx, were unspotted.⁹²

The strict hierarchization of what furs might have been worn by whom in the Acts of Apparel are corroborated by representations of fur in Tudor texts and imagery. In a how-to-manual for men from 1550, the author urges its readers, “Your exteriorll apparayll vse accordyng

⁸⁶ 1 Hen. VIII, c. 14; *Stats. Realm*, iii, pp. 8-9; 6 Henry VIII, c. 1: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 121-3; 7 Henry VIII, c. 6: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 179-82; 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430-; C. H. Williams, ed., *English Historical Documents, V, 1485-1558* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1967), 249-52.

⁸⁷ Swiss naturalist, Conrad Gesner, writing in mid sixteenth century, discovered that apart from Germany and Eastern Europe, beavers were only to be found in the rivers of Spain, the river of Marne in France, the river Padus in Italy, and Savoy. Elspeth Veale argues that by the late fifteenth century, few beaver pelts reached England from Spain, their usual source. By the sixteenth century, beaver was virtually extinct in Southern Europe. It wasn't until the seventeenth century with the opening of trade with and the colonization of North America that beaver became the staple product of English, French, and Dutch colonies. During this period, beaver pelts were used almost entirely for the manufacture of felt hats. Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 175.

⁸⁸ 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430

⁸⁹ The musk produced by the civet cat and extracted from its glands was an important ingredient to early modern perfumery.

⁹⁰ 1 Hen. VIII, c. 14; *Stats. Realm*, iii, pp. 8-9; 6 Henry VIII, c. 1: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 121-3; 7 Henry VIII, c. 6: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 179-82; 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430-2.

⁹¹ 7 Henry VIII, c. 6: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 179-82; 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430-2.

⁹² This title was later dissolved by Henry VIII in 1540. 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430-2.

to your honour,” while listing several fur garments suitable for different seasons and ranks.⁹³ An analysis of what a figure is wearing in their portraiture can facilitate their identification since individuals seldom wore clothing outside their rank. Similar to a symbolic attribute, furs that were highly “legible” and codified in sumptuary legislation rendered a subject’s social rank and identity discernable and worthy of discernment.

The dark sables that Henry proudly sports in his portraits affirm his role at the top of English society. Of the 24 portraits of Henry VIII collected in **Appendix A**, 19 of them (approximately 80%) most likely depict sable trimming. It is clear in his Whitehall cartoon that Holbein intended the king to be portrayed wearing sable in contrast to his father, Henry VII, whose fur trimming carefully delineates the black tails of ermine fur. Flemish painter Remigius van Leemput’s seventeenth-century copy (fig. 31) of the now destroyed mural portrays Henry VIII in brown fur, confirming Henry’s original decision to be portrayed in sable. Henry’s fondness for sable fur in his portraiture is confirmed by his actual wardrobe. Of the 42 furred garments listed in his inventory, twenty (about half) were faced with sables. A group of furs kept at the palace of Whitehall in 1547 all use sable fur: “tenne tymbre of sables bought of Christofer haller merchaunte” (1533), “one paier of Sables for the Necke” (1538), “twoo paier of Sables for the necke with blacke vellat” (1539) and “Tenne Sable Skynnes” (1540). Henry clothed himself in sable furs as a visual reminder to those who saw both his real and painted bodies that he alone was invested with the authority to determine sartorial regulation to subordinates.

The king did not wear sable exclusively. While sable was the most popular fur for lining and trimming the king’s gowns, cassocks, and mantles mentioned in the great wardrobe accounts for 1535-6 and 1538-9, other garments were furred with budge (lambskin from North Africa or Spain), ermine, English lamb, the belly fur of leopard, lynx and squirrels. Several of these fur types were regularly used in combination. While leopard bellies, lynx, ermine, and certain kinds of squirrels (gray and white) were highly valued, budge and lamb were less expensive and permitted to lower social ranks. Henry had no qualms about mixing expensive and precious furs with cheaper ones. His wardrobe accounts also suggest that he was not an admirer of black civet cat in spite of its high sartorial status.

Curiously, there is no mention of ermine in sumptuary legislation (see **Table 1. 1**) from the reigns of Henry VIII, Mary I, or Elizabeth I. In early modern England the monarch traditionally donned an ermine-lined cape or mantle known as the Robe of State during his or her coronation and when sitting in Parliament. This is a tradition that had its beginnings in the late medieval period. A symbol of moral purity and of errorless judgment, ermine fur was heavily identified with the ordained right to rule.⁹⁴ Since ermine is not specifically mentioned in sumptuary legislation, its use was most likely not subject to abuse. That may be a function of both availability and affordability. Ermine fur is produced by a species of stoat related to minks and lives in regions where there is snow on the ground for a minimum of 40 days per year.⁹⁵ The animal has white fur (normally reddish brown) only for the duration of the snowy season. White ermine fur can only be harvested seasonally, whereas sables, for example, remain the same color year-round. White ermine was therefore less common than most other furs. Even though a timber

⁹³ Andrew Boorde (1490?-1549), *The boke for to learne a man to be wyse in buyldyng of his howse for the helth of body [and] to holde quyetes for the helth of his soule, and body The boke for a good husbande to lerne* (1550).

⁹⁴ Legend had it that the ermine would rather give itself up to the hunter and be killed than soil its white coat in the mud while attempting to flee. An illustration in Henry Peacham’s book of emblems (1612) depicts an ermine with the motto “Malo mori quam foedari,” associating the weasel’s self-sacrifice with impeccable morality.

⁹⁵ Alina Bradford, “Facts About Weasels.” LiveScience. 12 January 2017. <https://www.livescience.com/57475-weasel-facts.html> (accessed Nov. 25, 2019).

(containing 40 skins) of ermines was valued at £1 versus a timber of the worst sables valued at £13 6s 8d, hundreds of ermine skins were required to construct a mantle because they were significantly smaller than sable skins.⁹⁶ Holbein's portrait of Anne Lovell (fig. 28) a relation of Thomas Lovell, Knight of the Garter and Chancellor of the Exchequer under Henry VIII, carefully describes the diminutive size and slender width of white ermine pelts. Compare this to the long, larger panels of sable skins lining the gown of Knight of the Garter Baron William Paget (fig. 32). Holbein shows us that no less than twelve slender panels of Russian ermine were required to construct one portion of Anne's lettuce cap visible in the portrait.

Scarcity rendered ermine sufficiently rare, even if its cost was significantly less than that of sable, so that even the most audacious "posers" were unable to access this fur. Only the truly wealthy and titled nobility had the resources to purchase ermine furs, explaining its absence in Tudor Acts of Apparel. Surviving warrants from Henry VII's reign ordering a set of formal robes for Henry VIII when he was Prince demonstrate the sheer volume (and expense) of ermine skins needed to fully line a garment. In 1498 a long ermine gown with 2,800 powderings (black tails inserted into the "pinked" white skins) was made for Prince Henry upon the king's decree.⁹⁷ In permitting his son such expenditure, Henry VII used clothing, and especially fur, as a means to promote Prince Henry as the heir apparent and future king. The finer details of how ermine trimming was meant to be worn by different degrees were recorded in an unpublished manuscript titled "Memorandum that all manner of Estates shall ware there Apparell Powdred As ys Abouesade."⁹⁸ This memorandum (MS M16, ff. 14r—15r), written by a sixteenth-century hand and most likely dating from Henry VIII's reign, includes two pages of diagrams recording the placement of ermine tails, the number of tails used in a row, and their distance permitted each rank. For example, the queen was allowed to place her ermine tails at ¼ inch intervals on her bonnet and at ½ inch intervals on her sleeves and gown.⁹⁹ A baronette's wife could wear 2 rows an inch apart on her sleeve whereas a knight's wife could wear but one row of ermine tails.¹⁰⁰ It is unclear whether the handwritten memorandum was legally implemented or acted merely as an unpublished guide to sartorial etiquette at court.

Clergy were permitted white squirrel, beaver, otter, fox, polecat, and other fine furs. The highest members of the clergy, namely Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, could wear foreign furs. In Holbein's portrait of William Warham, light brown stone marten trims the Archbishop of Canterbury's ecclesiastical garb (fig. 13). Archbishop Thomas Cranmer is clad in densely thick and lustrous beaver fur, the pelts of which are much larger (fig. 33). For the non-ecclesiastical middling classes there was a variety of affordable furs: fox, foynes (stone marten), gray civet cat, budge or bogey (lamb), shanks (from the legs of sheep) and coney (rabbit). These furs were for the most part of native (local) origin. Yeomen and craftsmen were permitted English lamb or

⁹⁶ Edited by T.S. Willan, *A Tudor Book of Rates* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers, 1962).

⁹⁷ Hayward, *Dress at the Court*, 90.

⁹⁸ College of Arms, London. MS M16 bis, ff. 14r—15r. "The queenes Bonnette ¼ inch, the queenes sleues Inch 1/2., the gounes of the quene Inch ½, the Princes Bonnett Inch, the Princes gowne ij Inch, the Princes sleues Inch ½, the duchis bonnette Inch 4 by Suffrounce, a duches sleues ij Inch ¼, the duches goune 3 inch fulle, the Marques sleues 2 Inch, for a Marques goune 3 Inch ½, a Countesse Sleues 3 Inches Full, a Vice Contes sleues 4 Inch Full, a Vice Countes goune 5 Full And the laste that alter, a Baronnes by Suffrounce alter in her sleues a question to be knowen she shall were in her goune vij full. Memo A Baunerette wyfe shall were ij Rowis in hir sleve inch thinch And A knighte wyfe shall were But j rowe in lykewyse, a Baunerettes wyfes bonnet 3 full, a knightes wyfe in her bonnette 3 & ¼."

⁹⁹ College of Arms, London. MS M16 bis, ff. 14r—15r.

¹⁰⁰ College of Arms, London. MS M16 bis, ff. 14r—15r.

rabbit. In contrast to previous sumptuary legislation, the 1533 Act of Apparel denied fur to all agricultural workers, persons who most needed its warmth, implying that even the most basic furs were jealously guarded as the prerogative of landowners. In Maria Hayward's analysis of the contents of 19 wills left by husbandmen made between 1520 and 1552, there is no mention of fur of any type, whether constituting clothing or its decoration.¹⁰¹ The very poor, such as carters, shepherds, keepers of beasts, threshers of corn, and servants not in the service of the king were also prohibited from wearing furs entirely. Interestingly, the Acts of Apparel stipulate that these restrictions only applied to the *wearing* of furs in public. They do not specifically forbid the possession of protected furs through inheritance or the receipt of gifts. The mention of fur garments in sixteenth-century wills indicates that they were passed from one generation to the next. John of Gaunt bequeathed to his wife fur robes that he had acquired from his cousin the Duchess of Norfolk.¹⁰²

Certain positions and rankings were exempt from Tudor sumptuary legislation. High-ranking officers of the king's household and council, as well as diplomats and foreigners (i.e., those exempt from local law and cultural norms) were permitted all furs, including sables, except black civet cat. Exceptions for "all such apparaille in and upon their bodies, horses, mules and other bestes" were also made for Justices of one bench or the other, Barons of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, sergeants at law, the masters of the Chancery, the councils of the queen or princesses, apprentices at law, physicians in royal service, mayors, recorders, aldermen, sheriffs, bailiffs, all other head officers of cities, towns, and incorporated boroughs, wardens of occupations, and Barons of the Cinque ports.¹⁰³ Other individuals granted sartorial leeway were persons sent to the king "from outewarde Princes," such as henchmen, heralds, *pursuivants*, minstrels, players in "interludes, revels, jousts, tournaments, solemn watches or other disguisings."¹⁰⁴ Attendants of the king, queen, prince, or princess were also exempt.

Notable exemptions from sumptuary legislation were servants of the royal household. Outfitting liveries of a household was a sign of power and prestige and several noblemen and women invested their servants with luxurious fabrics as a reflection of their masters' authority. In the king's household, humble forms of royal service such as the queen's nurse and laundress and the king's carpenter and mason carried with them the right to a furred livery.¹⁰⁵ In a miniature couple portrait by Holbein (figs. 34 and 35; 1534) of an unknown royal servant, who wears the scarlet livery of the king with the lettering "HR" on the tunic, his wife is shown wearing a bodice and sleeves lined and trimmed with brown squirrel. She also wears a white wool felt hat.

Unlike other European societies such as those in France and Italian city-states, English society focused its sumptuary legislation exclusively on male dress. When mentioned in English sumptuary statutes and petitions, women are referred to as an afterthought. The statutes state that they should be bound to similar regulations as their husbands and the men of their rank. Women are not even mentioned in the last three Acts of Apparel of Henry's reign. The exclusion of women from the Henrician sumptuary legislation reflects their secondary social standing. The comparative leniency of these documents towards women is surprising given the condemnation

¹⁰¹ Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England* (London: Routledge, 2009), 218.

¹⁰² N. H. Nicholas, ed., *Testamenta Vetusta* (London, 1826), 141.

¹⁰³ 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430-2

¹⁰⁴ 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430-2.

¹⁰⁵ Veale, *Fur Trade*, 7.

of women's fashion and women's revealing dress in many contemporary English clerical texts and polemical discourse.¹⁰⁶

Inventories and pictorial evidence demonstrate that women were less likely than their male counterparts to own and wear furs. Their expense and rarity rendered fur items the prerogative of male family members who had legal ownership over these articles of clothing. For example, the lack of fur dress among women's garments in inventories is not completely indicative of female consumption as more often than not inventories of men included fur items that would have belonged to female family members or women in the subject's household. Henry VIII possessed a fur muff and *zibellini*, items of fur clothing that are usually associated with women.¹⁰⁷ These were most likely items of clothing used by the female members of his household but belonging to the king due to their preciousness.

In contrast to the abundance of furs seen in male portraiture, only a few noble female sitters were shown wearing fur, suggesting that it did not play a key role in defining female status. In portraiture of noblewomen from the 1500s up to the 1550s fur is discreetly rendered as barely visible lining or trimming. For instance, in the *Portrait of Katherine Parr* (fig. 36; c.1545), the artist has meticulously and delicately painted the long strands of gray lynx fur at the edge of her silver skirt extending over the red underskirt. Barely perceptible hairs are also visible along the bottom edge of Catherine's jeweled neckline, implying that her bodice is also lined with fur.¹⁰⁸

In general, paler, softer furs, like white rabbit and squirrel, appear to have been favored by women for bonnets and gown trimmings whereas darker and more exotic furs are more often associated with men.¹⁰⁹ Elite women are often depicted wearing fur accessories, such as letice bonnets and *zibellini*. White winter pelts of the snow weasel were used to make the letice bonnet in Holbein's portrait of Anne Lovell (fig. 28). A *zibellino* was constructed from the pelt of sable or marten, its head and paws left intact. The head was often replaced or fitted with a gold and bejeweled one. It was worn draped around the neck, hung from the waist, or carried in the hand. A miniature of Thomas More's daughter Margaret Roper (fig. 37) and a drawing and painted portrait of Lady Margaret Butts (figs. 24 and 38), lady-in-waiting to Mary I, by Holbein depict the subjects wearing a sable *zibellino* with its paws attached. A *zibellino* made up of several weasels is portrayed in the portrait of Mary Fiennes (née Neville), Baroness Dacre (fig. 39).

The lack of fur items among women as suggested by inventories and portraits does not, however, necessarily equal a lack of agency. Instead, it suggests that fur dress was less crucial than other sartorial materials or material objects to visualizing female authority and social status. Women courtiers jostled for power as much as their male counterparts but they utilized other fashion materials and not furs to articulate this power. The story of the maiden in *The Book of the Knight of Tours* who refused to wear a bulky fur coat because it failed to accentuate the lines of

¹⁰⁶ Kim M. Philips "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws" in *Gender & History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 April 2007, p. 22-42, 23.

¹⁰⁷ The king had a *muflyer* (muff) made of black velvet, embroidered with jewels and lined with sable. Women wore these *muflyers* as separate skins, over the shoulder or fastened at the girdle. Listed in Henry's wardrobe inventory is also a *zibellino*: "One Sable skynne wt a hedd of golde conteyning in yt a clocke wt a roller of gold enamled blacke sett wt iiij diamountes and foure rubies and wt twoo perles hanging at the eares and twoo rubies in the yees, the same skynne having allso feete of golde, the clawes thereof being saphyres...wt a dyamount uppon the clocke" (11535).

¹⁰⁸ Mikhaila and Malcom-Davies, *Tudor Tailor*, 23.

¹⁰⁹ Although the style and cut of fur garments did not differ according to a woman's age, younger women are more likely to be depicted wearing lighter color furs like rabbit rather than darker furs like sable.

her shapely figure provides insight into the problematic fashionability of furs among women.¹¹⁰ While the heavy bulk of fur dress enhanced a male courtier's physique into a picture of strength and manliness, it added unwanted width to a female courtier's body in a period when the ideal woman's figure was constrained by a bodice that rendered the torso perfectly flat and smooth with a tapered waist. Whenever furs make a prominent appearance in portraiture of elite women, it is usually as oversleeves, as seen in the portrait of Katherine Parr. Fur oversleeves added a triangular and tapering bulk to the forearms, where such bulkiness was fashionable, while highlighting the slenderness of the upper-arms and waist. When incorporated into women's dress, fur intensifies the geometric planarity of the ideal or "normalized" female body. It is for this reason that fur trimmings are mostly found at the edges of female dress, i.e. at the bodice, hem, or forearms, where it emphasizes the structural outline of the fashionable female figure.

In men's dress, however, the social and legal codification and legibility of fur trimmings rendered it critical to the visibility of important male courtiers, hence the use of wide fur collars framing the head. Men relied upon the overt visibility of fur trimmings and lining because what was at stake was their highly public social positions; but because the social positions of women were mainly determined by male members of their family, the same sartorial visibility that defined masculine authority functioned differently for women. Thomas Elyot emphasized the pressure placed specifically upon elite men to adhere to and negotiate clothing codes: "So is there apparayle comely to euery astate and degree, and that whiche excedeth or lacketh, procureth reproche, in a noble man specially."¹¹¹ The relationship between the king and his male peers was highly variable and Henry VIII controlled the nobility with both confrontational and subtle means, including the use of attainder, entry fines, and treason trials. He could also grant membership of the order of the garter (which allowed members to wear sables) or create new peers. As their social positions were constantly susceptible to change and based in public activity, elite men depended upon fur dress as a stabilizing tool with which to navigate social systems that were always in flux. In focusing on the regulation of men's apparel, with particular emphasis on furs, cloth woven with gold and silver, and silks, Tudor sumptuary laws were primarily concerned with constructions of power, which was equivalent to elite masculinity in this period.

Historian Kim M. Philips states that medieval English sumptuary legislation aided in constructions of masculinity and the formation of homosocial cartels of power.¹¹² The same theory can be applied to Henrician sumptuary legislation. The English social structure was organized homosocially and in this patriarchal system, wherein hierarchy was already institutionalized between men and women, hierarchy was also institutionalized within each gender. Because furs were strictly regulated in sumptuary legislation, the donning of specific kinds of furs and their visual representation solidified hierarchies of masculine power by tying male subjects to other men within the same social class. This facilitated elite homosociability, a concept referring to social bonds between men. The polemical discourse used in Henrician sumptuary legislation demonstrates how important clothing was to maintaining social order. The

¹¹⁰ Geoffrey de la Tour Landry (1370), related by F.W. Fairholt. A fifteenth-century translation of *The Book of the Knight of Tour* recounts the moralizing story of a maiden who, due to vanity, fails to utilize the protective properties of fur clothing and in consequence loses a husband. We are told that the maiden refused to wear a fur-lined coat in spite of the extreme cold because she wished to have a slim and "fair-shapen" body for the knight who was courting her. Her complexion turned pale and black. The knight chose to marry her younger sister instead, who did wear a heavy fur coat and was therefore marked by a fresh and rosy glow.

¹¹¹ Elyot, *The boke named the Governour*, 102.

¹¹² Philips "Masculinities," 22-42, 24.

Act of Apparel from 1533 warned that the wearing of sumptuous and expensive apparel beyond one's rank will lead to

the great, manifest and notorious detriment of the common weal,
the subversion of good and politic order in knowledge and
distinction of people according to their estates, pre-eminences,
dignitaries and degrees, and to the utter impoverishment and
undoing of many inexpert and light persons inclined to pride,
mother of all vices.¹¹³

In Tudor England it was also not uncommon for male courtiers to seek the transformative powers of new clothes in order to distinguish themselves in the eyes of their ruler and among their peers.¹¹⁴ Royal limits on the expenditure of fur dress demonstrate how ruling class men sought to control and police personal finery among other men. Henry took a personal interest in sumptuary legislation and insisted on “exmanyn[ing], reforme[ing], and correct[ing] such poyntes [that were] not mete to passe.”¹¹⁵ The king and peerage were mainly motivated by tensions and risks inherent in maintaining patriarchy at the top echelons of society. This became ever more imperative as the economic gap between the peerage and members of the minor gentry (knights, gentlemen, and rich landowning merchants and urban elites) became smaller in sixteenth-century England.¹¹⁶ Penalties for violating sumptuary legislation, mainly levied against men, were harsh: hefty fines, the forfeiture of the offending goods, the loss of property and/or title, and even death.¹¹⁷

During the later years of Henry VIII's reign, the lack of prosecution brought against sumptuary legislation implies that it was difficult to enforce. A proclamation of 1542 noted that the Act of 1533 had not been “observed and kept but neglected and contemned.”¹¹⁸ A reason for lack of enforcement was the frequency with which Henry granted individuals exemption. In 1517 wealthy middle-class William Bedell and Richard Rokeby, who possessed an annual income of £200, were given license to wear any garments they chose, or chains, and the right to carry handguns and crossbows.¹¹⁹ Demonstrations of the king's favor through the granting of licenses exacerbated competition among noblemen, who were consistently called upon to prove themselves superior to other men or “posers.” Furs, however, seem to be one of the few materials strictly reserved for the nobility. While Henry Conway of Bermondsey was permitted to wear clothing made from camlet, velvet, sarsenet, satin, and damask of green, black, or russet color, he was strictly forbidden from wearing a cloak furred with civet cat, sable, or marten.¹²⁰ Unless in an allegorical image (rare in England) it is unusual for a portrait to depict a sitter wearing furs not permitted their rank. Portrait sitters were keen to observe sumptuary legislation because it

¹¹³ From Acts of Apparel, 1533: 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii, p. 430. Harte and Kenneth G. Pointing, *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe* (London: Heinemann, 1983), 139.

¹¹⁴ Philips “Masculinities,” 22-42, 23.

¹¹⁵ J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. H. Brodie, eds, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII*, 21 vols. and addenda (London: HMSO, 1862-1910), I.ii, p. 321; Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, p. 151; Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters*, 2.

¹¹⁶ Lawrence Stone, “The Elizabethan Aristocracy-A Restatement” in *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1952): 302-321.

¹¹⁷ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 24.

¹¹⁸ Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation*, 164-5; Harte, “State control”, 147-8.

¹¹⁹ Brewer, Gairdner, and Brodie, eds., *Letters and Papers*, II.ii, 3239.

¹²⁰ Brewer, Gairdner, and Brodie, eds., *Letters and Papers*, II.ii, 3755.

gave irrefutable proof of a subject's identity and whether they were a virtuous subject of the king or breaking the law.

English acts of apparel ultimately expressed the peerage's legitimate claims to a place in the hierarchy of men. Although less crucial to elite female displays of power, furs helped male courtiers to establish homosocial networks wherein the donning and representation of dress bespoke each member's relationship to other men within the same political and social cultures. Sartorial hierarchization was in turn reflected in portraiture, which visually compounded a subject's proper place within the social order. Furs were a useful means of regulating sartorial appearance and identifying rank because of the facility in identifying their type based on color, texture, and hair length. Because furs were commonly used as trimming in Tudor clothing, they were also one of the most visually prominent features of early modern dress. Fur trimming was frequently reserved for areas framing the head (collar, shoulders, hat brims) due to its expense and preciousness. In taking in a person's head and face, their identity had the potential to be intimately intertwined with the social indicators of their fur dress.

1.5 Elite Expenditure on Fur Dress: Did Furs Truly Lose Their Status of Magnificence?

In her text on the English fur trade, historian Elspeth Veale suggests that Henry VIII, anxious to maintain his standing among his Continental rivals, was primarily responsible for the decline in fur fashions, which had important consequences for the trade in furs and textiles. Veale posits that changing attitudes towards fur were already taking place in the early years of Henry's reign as "luxurious fabrics, sparkling with embroidery and jewels" became a more essential means of displaying magnificence.¹²¹ The 1547 inventory of Henry VIII refers to "plain cloth of gold" or "plain cloth of silver," a type of silk shot through with continuous pattern wefts of drawn-wire threads, corresponding to the Florentine *telette*. These items indicate that the English king was indeed consuming luxury textiles imported from Italy.¹²² Veale argues that fur linings and trimmings, while appreciated and a comfort against the cold, were not considered an indispensable part of an elegant wardrobe. Another explanation given for fur's fall from fashion during Henry's reign was the very nature of new Continental fashion which, beginning in the sixteenth century, was padded, restrictive, and already added warmth. Linings made of light yet strong material such as chamois leather were preferred to fur for heavy embroidered velvet garments. Veale also suggests that linings of different colored fabrics were more appropriate for slashed garments.¹²³ Inventories, however, demonstrate that fur-lined garments were still common and a number of sixteenth-century portraits depict slashed garments with fur lining, showing that this combination was actually fashionable. The Petworth House portrait of Henry VIII (fig. 3), the portrait of Thomas Wentworth by an Anglo-Netherlandish artist (fig. 26), and Holbein's portraits of Jean de Dinteville, Charles de Solier (fig. 40), and Thomas Howard (fig. 41) depict examples of slashed garments with fur lining.

Purchases made by the Great Wardrobe (the section of the royal household that supplied the king and his household with clothing and furnishings) issued to a variety of individuals in the king's service as well as to the monarch and his immediate family demonstrate that fur was still an important indicator of status within the royal household. When looking at the inventories of Henry VIII, Veale claims that the number of fur-lined garments is small, but of the gowns that

¹²¹ Elspeth Veale, "From Sable to Mink," in *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress*, edited by Maria Hayward and Philip Ward, Vol. II (Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2012), 335.

¹²² Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 210.

¹²³ Veale, *Fur Trade*, 145-6.

Henry owned, almost 40% were lined with fur. It would be wrong to expect all or the majority of his gowns to be lined with fur. Perhaps this is more telling of the development of seasonal wear.¹²⁴ England's temperate climate required clothing to be adapted to reflect seasonal changes in temperature and in the great wardrobe accounts the king's tailor and skinner were paid to remove or lay in fur linings for winter and silk linings for summer. For example, a group of one coat and three jackets belonging to the king were lined with coney and budge for the winter while in the summer his garments were lined with sarsenet and satin.¹²⁵

Veale also suggests that nobles were more willing to spend money on patterned and colored fabrics (that is, conspicuous craft and artifice) rather than on furs, whose costs made them prohibitive. For many English noble families, however, expenditure on expensive clothing and furs was not taken for granted but an essential means of conveying power and status.¹²⁶ Annual expenditure in the average noble household in Europe between 1350 and 1530 on items not including food has been estimated at an average of £486, of which the amount on cloth, including clothing for the family, liveries for servants, and linen and furnishings would have been £210, or 43.5% of this total.¹²⁷ In the Tudor period, an elite household included all the individuals, from the patriarch and his family to the lowliest servant, involved in maintaining an estate and keeping it running. The average annual income of a noble English household consisting of over fifty members between the period 1350 and 1530 has been calculated as £2462, meaning that their purchasing power for clothes would have been extraordinary in comparison to nobles in other European countries.¹²⁸ The cost of furs then was not an issue.

It seems unlikely that changing attitudes towards fur dress truly shifted among the peerage during the reign of Henry VIII for imported silk brocades and velvets were rare and, for the most part, inaccessible, since they depended entirely upon Italian imports. Merchants were granted under royal license the permission to import cloth of gold and cloth of silver from Italy on the condition that the king should have "first sight and choice of them."¹²⁹ Lisa Monnas notes that even leading merchants carried only a limited selection of such fabrics for sale implying that both its price and inaccessibility rendered cloth of gold difficult to obtain for persons outside the

¹²⁴ See Brian Fagan *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300-1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2002) and H. H. Lamb *Climate History and the Modern World* (London: Methuen, 1982).

¹²⁵ Hayward, *Dress at Court*, 97 [B143].

¹²⁶ Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney, 1988). The number of garments owned by English individuals varied enormously according to rank. At the top of society, Elizabeth I was estimated to have left 6,000 gowns upon her death. This number may not be representative of reality for an inventory from 1600, three years before her death, listed 1,900 items. At the other end of society, ten laborers' inventories in Oxfordshire between 1550 and 1596 suggested that the average man owned clothes worth a couple of shillings to a pound. A commoner's wardrobe would be generally comprised of a pair of leather breeches, a coat, a waistcoat, a couple of shirts, stockings, shoes and a hat. Mikhaila, *Tudor Tailor*, 46.

¹²⁷ Susan Foister, *Holbein in England* (London: Tate Publishing, 2006), 97.

¹²⁸ Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (1986); Foister, *Holbein in England*, 97; Many nobles benefited significantly from the monastic spoils in the 1530s: John Russell, later Earl of Bedford, more than doubled his income in 1539 in the wake of the English Reformation. Others, such as William Parr and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, made similar profits. The Earl of Northumberland had an income of £3900 in 1523, while in 1521 the Duke of Buckingham, undoubtedly one of the richest men in the kingdom, had an income of £4906. The 1523 subsidy assessment revealed that a third of the peerage had incomes of over £1,000, while the average assessment was closer to £800. W. G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder: King Henry VIII's England 1500—1547* (London: Longman, 1976), 54. F. Heal, *Of Prelates and Princes: A Study of the Economic and Social Position of the Tudor Episcopate* (1980), 72.

¹²⁹ Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 210.

royal household.¹³⁰ In his discussion of the socio-economic structure of the English aristocracy, Lawrence Stone argues that by the early 1500s, there had been a deliberate attempt by the monarchy to liquidate the greatest of the old medieval peerage and though certain nobles, such as the Duke of Norfolk, were still very powerful, in terms of economic resources, the Crown was by the 1530s separated by a great chasm from the bulk of the old aristocracy.¹³¹

The market for luxury fabrics, made of silks and precious metals, and imported from Italy by foreign merchants, was confined to the royal family and to a nucleus of the wealthiest households. In the early 1500s a bolt of red silk “pouderd wt gold of venyse” was valued at “xvid a yerd”; this amounted to a total value of £7 17s 4d a yard.¹³² Approximately four yards were needed to construct a doublet, two yards to make trunks, and a yard for straps.¹³³ One to five yards of fabric were needed to make sleeves. A silk doublet therefore cost a minimum of £35. In addition to this, at least 20 yards of trimming were required for a doublet; this and other embellishments significantly increased the cost of a garment. By contrast, the revival of English trade in the Baltic region and the establishment of direct contact with Moscow by English merchants in 1555 gave London skinnners the chance to import skins and pelts for themselves, thereby lowering the cost of fur.¹³⁴

It was not until Elizabeth’s reign that sumptuous textiles such as jewel encrusted fabrics, brightly colored brocades, and metallic laces were made more accessible to the English aristocracy and not, as argued by Veale, earlier during the reign of Henry VIII. During the sixteenth century and even as late as the mid-seventeenth century, while England had traditionally been the European outpost for the raw material of cloth production (wool and unfinished cloth), the necessary but more sophisticated processes that transformed unfinished stuff into dyed and finished textiles had been carried out in the Low Countries and Italy.¹³⁵ The Italians bought English woollen stuffs, such as worsteds and kerseys, and sold cloth of gold and silver, velvets and damasks woven in Luca, Florence and Milan.¹³⁶ It was only with the steady immigration of dyers and cloth finishers from the Low Countries and France in the early seventeenth century that the English textile industry began to acquire technical knowledge of dyeing and finishing. In terms of fur-processing technologies, many finished skins were imported from the Low Countries.¹³⁷ However, with the religious persecution during Spanish Hapsburg period, already in the middle of the sixteenth century hundreds of skilled furriers and skinnners immigrated to the newly protestant England, bringing with them new technologies for making fur garments.¹³⁸ Many leading families of Henry’s reign therefore contented themselves with and indeed relied upon more available, traditional sartorial markers of social and economic status such as furs, for silk brocades and cloths interwoven with metals were still too novel for widespread use among the aristocracy. As we have seen, furs were also rooted in medieval

¹³⁰ Monnas, *Merchants, Princes, and Painters*, 212.

¹³¹ Stone, “The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy,” 2.

¹³² Foister, *Holbein in England*, 97. This is what John Clement, a goldsmith had in his London shop in 1499.

¹³³ See Susan North, *Seventeenth-Century Men’s Dress Patterns* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2016).

¹³⁴ Veale, *Fur Trade*, 170-1.

¹³⁵ Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, 76.

¹³⁶ Maria Hayward, ed., *Great Wardrobes Accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London: Boydell Press, 2012), xxxviii-ix.

¹³⁷ Many processed skins came from the Low Countries and Germany, where local craftsmen may have proven more skilled in handling fashionable skins. Elspeth Veale, “From Sable to Mink,” in *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress*, edited by Maria Hayward and Philip Ward, Vol. II (Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2012), 342.

¹³⁸ Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, 76.

iconographical images of nobility and were therefore a more familiar and visible marker of elite status.

When added to garments, fur was a secure investment since it increased the cost of the overall article of clothing; its value meant that it was a potent signifier of magnificence. In 1543 a lining of black budge for a dressing-gown cost £42. A pelt of sable cost 33s 4d and lynx skins £4 each.¹³⁹ The exclusivity and pricing of different kinds of fur were linked to rarity and whether the pelts were imported from distant places. It was common for the nobility to select and purchase raw pelts or to have skins processed directly from merchants. Henry VIII's personal skinner, Thomas Jenyn, went directly to Calais and purchased £54 8s worth of furs for the king in 1514.¹⁴⁰ With the amount of furs he bought, Jenyn furred three gowns: a gown of russet velvet with black ermine at £5 6s 8d for the fur, a gown of yellow velvet with leopard bellies at £17 13s 4d for the fur, and a gown of white velvet with powdered ermine (white fur with black tails) costing £31 8s for the fur.¹⁴¹

Despite its supposed fall from fashion, Tudor Books of Rates from 1558, 1562, and 1582 demonstrate that fur remained in demand.¹⁴² Books of Rates from the Henrician and Elizabethan periods applied valuations on goods imported into and exported out of England in the sixteenth century. They were used mainly in London but also in provincial ports to determine the value of goods and their duties. Before 1536 there was no uniform system of valuation and the application of valuations on a national basis was a significant move in the achievement of administrative uniformity.¹⁴³ Tudor Books of Rates are helpful in that they give official valuations of different types of fur, allowing for a comparative study that reveals those furs that were deemed more fashionable and precious. The valuations or ratings of goods recorded in the Books of Rates from 1536, 1558, 1562, and 1582 did not change, implying that the pricing of fur goods remained relatively stable throughout the Tudor period. See **Table 1. 2.**

The cost of certain kinds of furs did indeed render them prohibitive and their high valuation is reflected in sumptuary legislation. A lining of black budge (reserved for the clergy and those ranking above) for a dressing-gown of black damask cost £42 in 1543-4. Lynx skins, limited to the royal family and the peerage, were valued at £2 a piece and could cost up to £4 each. Sixteenth-century writer Peter Martyr d'Anghiera blamed overtrapping and deforestation in areas of Scandinavia, in particular Sweden, for the inflated pricing in furs¹⁴⁴:

the iniurie of nature is recompensed with abundaunce of rich
fures, whose price by the wanton nisenesse of men is growne to
such excesse that the fures perteynyng to one sort of apparell, are
nowe sould for a thousande crownes.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ Veale, "From Sable to Mink," 340.

¹⁴⁰ Hayward, *Dress at Court*, 324.

¹⁴¹ Hayward, *Dress at Court*, 324.

¹⁴² T.S. Willan, ed., *A Tudor Book of Rates* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers, 1962).

¹⁴³ Willan, *Tudor Book of Rates*, xxi.

¹⁴⁴ Deforestation in England and abroad in regions such as Russia led to changes in wild life, limiting food supplies for woodland creatures. By the sixteenth century many governments in Western Europe were facing timber shortage and were making attempts to preserve what forestland they had. The rabbit was the only fur-bearing animal to benefit from these changes as the spread of tillage increased its food supplies and forest clearance reduced the number of beasts of prey. Veale, *The English Fur Trade*, 174.

¹⁴⁵ Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The decades of the new worlde or west India conteynyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean pertynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne* (1555), 286.

In a poem where allegories of the seasons winter and summer debate, Winter brags, “I make rich men were furred gownes / & spend som of their golde.”¹⁴⁶

Clothing did circulate like currency during the sixteenth century, a time when there were no banks for the deposit of private wealth. People of all classes translated excess cash into material possessions. Clothing, jewelry, furnishings, textiles, paintings, and books were among the luxuries most often purchased as investments and cash currency.¹⁴⁷ Furs were valuable security for those temporarily short of ready money.¹⁴⁸ The trade in furs allowed Russians to exchange animal pelts for European goods that they lacked, such as lead, tin, precious metals, textiles, firearms, and sulphur.¹⁴⁹ Both Russians and Europeans traded furs for textiles, spices, and dried fruits from the Ottoman Empire, and for silks, tea, and porcelain from China.¹⁵⁰ The sheer economic value of furs meant that they as well as other luxurious textiles and materials functioned as social and monetary currency.

The most prized fur during Henry VIII’s reign was undoubtedly sable. Although the rarity and cost of furs determined their desirability, the whims of fashion also determined which colors were more *au courant*. Color was an important factor in determining the value and fashionability of furs. For instance, as the color black became more fashionable in the sixteenth-century, dark furs such as sable, black lamb, black genet, and black rabbit were used to give an elegant finish to gowns of darker hue, such as purple, crimson velvet or to cloths of gold and gold-embroidered velvets. The portraits of Holbein, Bronzino, and Titian all indicate the frequency with which their sitters opted to be painted dressed in black. Good or true black was expensive and it made an excellent foil for jewelry and fur. Black jenet, budge and coney were rarer and valued above the grey and white versions. Its preference by royalty and the fashionable peerage inflated its valuation. A timber (consisting of 40 skins) containing the highest quality of sable skins (£60) was significantly more costly than timbers of other furs such as polecat (6s 8d), badger (6s 8d), snow-weasel (6s 8d), mink (13s 4d), ermine (£1), black civet cat (£5), and marten (£10). Different grades of sable also determined its valuation, a timber of the “best” skins costing more than “sables of the seconde sorte” (£30 a timber) and “sables of the wurst” (£13 a timber). The finest sable skins cost as much as 33s 4d each in 1542.¹⁵¹ In 1543-4 Henry VIII spent £166 on eighty sables for a gown of damask with panels of velvet embroidered in gold.¹⁵²

The excessive cost of sables led Peter Martyr to compare them to gold: “Sables whose price is growne to great excesse nexte vnto gold and precious stones, and are esteemed princely ornamentes.”¹⁵³ The high cost of luxury furs like sable was due not only to their beauty but to their rarity, an inevitable result of overtrapping, long lines of transport and the difficulties following the defeat of Novgorod, the chief outlet for furs from the Far East, by the Principality

¹⁴⁶ Anonymous, *The debate and stryfe between somer and wynter with the estate present of man* (1528), 2.

¹⁴⁷ Susan North, “‘An Instrument of profit, pleasure, and of ornament’: Embroidered Tudor and Jacobean Dress Accessories,” in Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt, eds., *English Embroidery from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700: Twixt Art and Nature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 39.

¹⁴⁸ In the fifteenth-century, Dame Alianor Hilton pawned velvet and damask gowns furred with marten worth over £64 for £12 rather than admit some indiscretion to Lord Hilton, her husband. P.R.O. Early Chancery Proceedings 10/1. Quoted in Veale, *The English Fur Trade*, 16.

¹⁴⁹ James Forsyth, *A History of the Peoples of Siberia: Russia’s North Asian Colony, 1581—1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 38-40.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ Veal, “From Sable to Mink,” 340.

¹⁵² Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 136.

¹⁵³ Pietro Martire d’Anghiera, *The decades of the new worlde*, 266.

of Moscow in the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁴ Because the most precious fur skins were relatively small (the usable section of a sable skin measures 12 x 3 ½ inches), large numbers were required to fur a full garment, making fur linings very labor intensive.¹⁵⁵ In 1517 a black silk gown that was furred with sable for the king had 110 skins for the front, 130 for the back, 64 for the upperstocks and breeches, 32 for the fore-sleeves and 14 for the cape and collar.¹⁵⁶ In the same year eighty budge (lamb) skins were needed in “for a mantell or purpull tylsent for the king.”¹⁵⁷ Male skins were almost double the size of female skins. Female skins were preferred for garments as they were silkier and lighter in weight but since consumption of skins is higher when using the smaller female, the garment cost more. Male skins offered better protection against cold because of their longer guard hairs and heavier weight and were therefore preferred for trimmings and hats.¹⁵⁸

Sable, ermine, and civet cat were too valuable to be used for linings and were therefore used as facings or trimmings. Flatter and less valuable skins, usually of the same color, were used for the rest of a garment’s lining.¹⁵⁹ *Purfling* was a technique that used more expensive choices in areas where they showed and cheaper alternatives where they were hidden.¹⁶⁰ In Holbein’s portrait of the king’s chief minister and advisor, Thomas Cromwell (fig. 30), the statesman’s collar is made of four large panels of sable skins while the lining of his gown is most likely made of smaller pelts of a cheaper brown fur, a glimpse of which is seen trimming the edge of his sleeve. Even Henry, who was able to select any type of fur, often wore garments with a combination of expensive and cheaper furs. The royal wardrobe accounts have regular references to garments that are “lined with,” “turned up with,” “let down with,” “faced with,” and edged with” a variety of furs.¹⁶¹ The inventory of the king’s wardrobe of the robes taken in 1547 included a frock and jacket with linings made “of Squirrelles and Sables” (14533 and 14534), as well as two coats with linings and facings “of white lambe & face of lizarns (lynx)” (14531 and 14532).

Individuals also preferred to have skins mounted separately so that if desired, they could be worn with several gowns. Fur collars and mufflers and sleeves were detachable so that they could be worn with different outfits. Because of their value, furs were also readily salvaged and reused. After Henry VIII’s death, the Duke of Somerset seized some of the king’s furs and by February 20, 1547 he had arranged for the transfer of furs from some of Henry’s gowns to his own robes to wear during the celebrations of the coronation of the new king, Edward VI.¹⁶² The king’s skinner took lynx furs from a gown of russet damask embroidered with Venice gold and used them for a gown of black cloth and for a velvet cape for the Duke.¹⁶³ Henry, Earl of Derby,

¹⁵⁴ Veal, “From Sable to Mink,” 341.

¹⁵⁵ Hayward, *Dress at Court*, 324.

¹⁵⁶ The skins were usually stitched together using silk thread, and they were sometimes stitched onto canvas to give them extra strength. The edges of large sections of fur could be bound with strips of fine leather. Hayward, *Dress at Court*, 324; Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 20.

¹⁵⁷ Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 20.

¹⁵⁸ Oral conversation with Frank Zilberkweit, V&A Clothworkers’ Centre at Blythe House, October 23, 2016. The author is extremely grateful to Mr. Zilberkweit, owner and director of British fur label Hockley, for his expertise on different kinds of fur pelts and to Curator Edwina Ehrman for organizing a workshop and leading a stimulating discussion on outstanding fur garments within the V&A’s collections.

¹⁵⁹ Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 148.

¹⁶⁰ Laura Hodges, “A Reconsideration of the Monk’s Costume,” in *Chaucer Review* 26.2 (1991): 137.

¹⁶¹ Mikhaila and Malcom-Davies, *Tudor Tailor*, 42.

¹⁶² Veale “From Sable to Mink,” 335.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

bought a used fur for one of his gowns from a London skinner, and his wardrobe accounts specify whether the furs to be set with a particular gown were new or old.¹⁶⁴ Skinners were sometimes employed to bring new life to old furs. For example, lambskins could be sheared again and cleaned (and sometimes sold as new) and more expensive furs were cleaned, its worn skins replaced with new ones or stitched with canvas for extra strength.¹⁶⁵ When furs became too shabby for reuse among their noble wearers they were sold through the second-hand market.¹⁶⁶ This was frequently the case for fur liveries, which were discarded after a year of use. Second-hand furs were sold by upholders, dealers in small wears, and fripperers, dealers in second-hand clothes. Furs could also be purchased through the black market if stolen.¹⁶⁷

Contrary to Elspeth Veale's theory that fur garments lost their fashionability and association with magnificence during the reign of Henry VIII and that their gradual disappearance in elite Tudor portraiture is reflective of actual consumption practices, fur dress continued to play an important, prevalent role in the wardrobes of the royal family and hereditary elites throughout the sixteenth century. The iconographic tradition of depicting fur dress and its economic value further cemented its symbolic power among the royalty and peerage. Though certain furs were rare and expensive, the pricing of fur goods remained relatively stable throughout the Tudor period, rendering fur goods in some respects more accessible to elite displays of magnificence than imported brocades and silks woven with gold or silver. Although elite Tudors readily invested large sums of money in their clothing, and especially in the purchase and donning of expensive furs to display their wealth and social status, a sense of practicality also determined how furs were utilized in constructing garments and what furs were visible to the eye. The clever usage of fur trimmings in Tudor dress demonstrates the importance of clothing's visibility, and hence, "legibility" of social status among the peerage.

1. 6 Hunting, Animal Skins, and the Performativity of Elite Masculinity

Although the economic and social value of furs is clear, their cultural values were less discussed, particularly in connection to the function they played in constructing elite masculine identities. These cultural values were closely intertwined with land rights, the metaphorical properties of animal skins, and masculine performativity.

During the reign of Henry VIII, approximately ten percent of the nation's land rested in the hands of the 40 to 50 peers that formed the upper layer of English society.¹⁶⁸ The peerage demonstrated their privilege and rights through the highly ritualized and symbolic activity of the hunt. Since ancient times, the act of hunting had been linked to ownership and authority over a particular land and regarded as a vital part of any noble's education.¹⁶⁹ Hunting animals on one's property was not only a marker of self-sufficiency and taming one's surrounding environment but also an exclusive privilege jealously guarded by the nobility. During the sixteenth century, the great estates of English nobility remained largely intact, and many wealthy landowners aggressively increased the size of their holdings with enclosure beginning under the reign of

¹⁶⁴ Duchy of Lancaster, Accts. Various, 1/3.

¹⁶⁵ Calendar of Early Mayors' Court Rolls (London), 154.

¹⁶⁶ Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 13.

¹⁶⁷ Beverly Lemire, "The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England" in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Winter, 1990): 255-276.

¹⁶⁸ H. Miller, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 7.

¹⁶⁹ See Catherine Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt: Wyatt to Spenser* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2013).

Henry VIII.¹⁷⁰ This spelled the end of the common rights of villagers to use the land for trapping rabbits or other local animals. Those caught trespassing or illegally trapping animals were severely punished. Already in 1516, Thomas Moore's *Utopia* (1516) blamed England's economic inequalities on enclosure.¹⁷¹ Furs and animal skins worn in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England could act as a synecdoche of legal power and display the immense privilege of the land-owning gentry and the resources afforded by their estate. Animals trapped by professionals or hunted by elites on noble land legally belonged to the landowner as property. In a late seventeenth-century poem praising the products of the furrier and skinner, the author emphasizes the important uses of animal skins like parchment, which, "Men by Manufacture of [their] Hands, / The Rights maintain, and Titles of their lands."¹⁷² Animal materials were literally tied to and acted as the very surfaces onto which land rights were sanctioned.

Early modern natural history texts and emblem books also frequently drew the connection between animal skins and self-completeness or natural sufficiency. Fur-bearing animals and creatures with special skins like crocodiles were seen as physically integral because they came equipped with a "good-enough coat already on its back" unlike man who needed to borrow his "coat" in order to protect and imbue his body with non-human properties, thereby rendering him complete.¹⁷³ In his 1532 book of sermons, the Bishop of Rochester, John Fisher argues that "the fyne & costely fures" and "All the glory whiche is shewed in this world & of worldly prynces, be borrowed of other creatures / it is nat theyr owne natural glory."¹⁷⁴ In the early modern period, the wearing of furs was seen as an essential means of ameliorating an imperfect human body, giving it a layer of protection, albeit one that was borrowed, and making it self-sufficient and more whole. Human reliance on and fear of animals, leads to desires of domination. Walter Benjamin explains in *One-Way Street* that since man cannot deny his bestial relationship with animals, the invocation of which revolts him, he must make himself its master.¹⁷⁵ By their right to fur-bearing animals hunted on their land, the peerage proudly flaunted and stressed their sovereign and self-sufficient bodies which were metaphorically superior to their "naked" contemporaries. The dominion humans enacted over the natural world through the systematic exploitation of animals and animal products compensated for their vulnerability and lack of integral bodily provision, a phenomenon of "pelt envy", as Laurie Shannon calls it.¹⁷⁶ Writing in 1558, William Bullein justified man's use of fur dress by explaining that as nature's most superior species, humans use their ingenuity to fashion animal skins into protection: "Mankinde was borne naked to this ende, that he mighte clothe him selfe with other creatures: whiche he brought not in to this world with him, as cloth, lether, harnes made of iron, for his defence, because he is the ye chief creature."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁰ See John Barrell, *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730-1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

¹⁷¹ Sir Thomas Moore, *Utopia* (1516: Latin; 1551: English).

¹⁷² P.D., *The antiquity and honours of the skinner and furrier crafts : arms, skimmers, ermine on a chief gu. 3 imperial crowns, or furriers, parted per fess. gu. and ar. a pale countercharged of the same on the 1st, 3 goats of the 2d* (1690[?]), 2.

¹⁷³ Laurie Shannon, "Poor, Bare, Forked: Animal Sovereignty, Human Negative Exceptionalism, and the Natural History of King Lear," *Shakespeare Quarterly* Vol. 60, No. 2 (2009):168-196; 186.

¹⁷⁴ Saint John Fisher (1469-1535), *Here after ensueth two fruytfull sermons, made [and] compyled by the ryght Reuerende father in god Iohn Fysshher, Doctour of Dyuyntyte and Bysshop of Rochester* (1532).

¹⁷⁵ Walter Benjamin, *One-Way Street and Other Writings* (London: New Left Books, 1979), 50-51.

¹⁷⁶ Laurie Shannon, "Poor, Bare, Forked": 194.

¹⁷⁷ William Bullein, *A new booke entituled the governement of healthe wherein is uttered manye notable rules for mannes preservacion* (1558), xix.

Eye-witness accounts from foreigners on English dress frequently express surprise at the popularity of furs among British natives, even in warm weather, implying that furs were a common national characteristic of Tudor dress. In 1513 a Venetian envoy wrote, “In England it is always windy, and however warm the weather the natives invariably wear furs.”¹⁷⁸ A diversity of fur-bearing animals could be found throughout the British Isles in the early modern period before over-hunting forced many of these creatures into extinction. In his *Description of England* (1587), William Harrison notes that the “polecat, the miniver, the weasel, stoat, fulmart [polecat], squirrel, fitchew [polecat],” are “plentiful in every wood and hedgerow” in the country. He goes on to explain that even beavers can be found in Wales and that the marten was the favorite beast of chase.¹⁷⁹ Although deer were the main hunted quarry of royalty and the peerage, some veneries or instructional hunting texts enumerated the value of the pelts of different kinds of fur-bearing animals and how they could be utilized as textiles and for medicinal purposes.¹⁸⁰ In the English edition of George Gascoigne’s *The Noble Arte of Venerie* (1575), the text discusses the benefits and uses of the furs of several commonly hunted animals.¹⁸¹ The “skinne of a Conie [rabbit] (if it be blacke) [is] a very good furre, where as the Hares skin is little or nothing worth.”¹⁸² On fox, the text reveals that, “The skynne of the Foxe is a very good furre and a warme, but it is not verie faire, and it stinketh alwayes, vnlesse it be verie excedingly well drest.”¹⁸³ The textural qualities of pelts determined their suitability for specific uses in the home. We learn that the coarseness of bear fur is better suited as a bed covering and not as clothing: “Their skynne is a furre, but very course: meeter [sic] to laye vpon a bed, than to weare otherwise.”¹⁸⁴ Gascoigne’s text encourages its readers to profit from the spoils of the hunt and to make good use of local fur-bearing animals. Note that the furs mentioned above are fairly common furs. More luxurious furs, such as sable, lynx, civet cat, and ermine, necessitated highly trained trappers, not amateurs, and were for the most part imported.

Early modern texts also placed emphasis on how nobles should conduct themselves bodily while hunting. In demonstrating a gentleman’s “courage and strength” and competence in horse riding, hunting was key to performing culturally approved codes of elite manliness.¹⁸⁵ In his manual on a gentleman’s education, Thomas Elyot linked horse riding with social superiority and military skill: “the most honorable exercise in mine opynion, and that besemeth the astate of euery noble persone, is to ryde surely and cleane, on a great horse and a roughe, whiche

¹⁷⁸ R. Brown, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 9 Vols. (1864-98), 1509-19, 219.

¹⁷⁹ William Harrison, edited by Georges Edelen, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life* (New York: Folger Shakespeare Library and Dover, 1994), 326. Originally published in 1587.

¹⁸⁰ Veneries explained the different animals one might hunt, the different types of hounds that chase and catch game, how to care for them when they are stricken with disease and illness, how the accomplished hunter should act and behave, and the various ways to trap and capture beasts. Gaston Phébus, *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus: manuscript français 616, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale* (London: Harvey Miller, 1998).

¹⁸¹ George Gascoigne (1542?-1577), *The noble arte of venerie or hunting Wherein is handled and set out the vertues, nature, and properties of futene sundrie chaces together, with the order and maner how to hunte and kill euery one of them. Translated and collected for the pleasure of all noblemen and gentlemen, out of the best approued authors, which haue written any thing concerning the same: and reduced into such order and proper termes as are vsed here, in this noble realme of England. The contentes vwhereof shall more playnely appeare in the page next following* (London, 1575).

¹⁸² Gascoigne, *Noble arte of venerie*, 189.

¹⁸³ Gascoigne, *Noble arte of venerie*, 189.

¹⁸⁴ Gascoigne, *Noble arte of venerie*, 217.

¹⁸⁵ Colin Eisler, *The Master of the Unicorn: The Life and Work of Jean Duvet*, (New York: Abaris Books, 1979), 111.

undoubtedly not only importeth a maiestie and drede to inferiour persones, beholding hym about the common course of other men, daunting a fierce and cruel beast, but also is no lyttell socour, as well in pursuete of enemyes and confounding them, as in escapyng imminent daunger, whan wysedome therto exhorteth.”¹⁸⁶ He continues that hunting in particular teaches noblemen “agilitie and quicknesse” and endurance since “by continuance therin, they shall easily susteyne trauayle in warres, hunger & thirst, colde and heate.”¹⁸⁷ The influential Italian humanist Baldassare Castiglione noted that hunting was one of the sports that “demand a great deal of manly exertion.” Elyot stated that exercise was crucial to maintaining a noble man’s health, strength, and “hardynesse of body” qualities important to conveying manliness.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, exercise “maketh the spyrytes of a man more stronge and valiant.”¹⁸⁹ In ancient literature hunting prowess was closely linked with heroic masculinity, as when Odysseus, in *The Odyssey*, successfully hunts down and kills his enemies upon his return home.¹⁹⁰ Because the English peerage was closely linked to military activity since the medieval period, hunting became a kind of practice for military prowess. The ideal elite male was therefore militant and physically powerful. Fur was also linked to military costume. It was common for the armor of soldiers, particularly shields and helmets, to be lined with fur.¹⁹¹

Catherine Bates argues that in the West, hunting is not only the exclusive preserve of the male (due to its demonstration of brute strength) but also symbolically associated with elite culture since its expense and lack of necessity allowed it to carry greater status and prestige than other means of procuring food more imperative to survival such as foraging and gathering.¹⁹² In Tudor England the activity of the hunt was elaborated with expensive objects, costumes, and fanfare, leading to a self-conscious theatricality that Bates calls “political pageantry of the most obvious kind”, designed to carry messages and meanings about social status and elite manliness.¹⁹³ Fur, a prized trophy of the hunt that imbued its wearers with animalistic qualities, was the quintessential representation of masculine dress in that it was symbolically linked to a manly activity, expressed hierarchical status among men, and enhanced the shape of the ideal male body. The connection between virility, the hunt, and furriness was already in common parlance with the iconography of the wild man (fig. 42), a mythical creature who had a thick coat of hair leaving only his face, hands, and feet bare. The wild man was prevalent in Tudor visual culture and had multiple associations of manly aggression and sexual lust.¹⁹⁴ His hairy body, acting as a thick furry covering, would have charged fur garments in Tudor England with symbolic meanings of primal masculinity. Under humanistic influences in the sixteenth century, a revitalized and archaicized representation of the wild man and his forest habitat lent a new, heroic ideal to images of wildness.¹⁹⁵ Northern barbarism was seen as a virtue and as the

¹⁸⁶ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (1537), 61.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁸⁸ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (1537), 59.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁹⁰ J. K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Berkeley: University of California, 1985), 2.

¹⁹¹ Because the Color or “tincture” terminology in heraldry were actually fur terms, it suggests that fur skins were originally used for shields. Ewing, *Fur in Dress*, 77. “You join to fit the Soldier for the Field: / The Furrier Lines the Head-piece and the Shield.” P.D., *The antiquity and honours of the skinner and furrier crafts*, 2.

¹⁹² Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, 5-6.

¹⁹³ Bates, *Masculinity and the Hunt*, 10.

¹⁹⁴ Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 170.

¹⁹⁵ Timothy Husband and Gloria Gilmore-House, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art), 16.

embodiment of strength and endurance. Dressed in furs, elite men would have evoked excitingly risky and erotically fraught messages of primitive power.

When Anne Boleyn was tried for adultery and incest in 1536, Henry VIII and Holbein worked together to create a potent image of the king's virility because in Henry's own words, his inability to sexually control his wife had the effect of "touching our honour, which as you know, we will have hitherto guarded."¹⁹⁶ Charges of adultery against the queen were of enormous personal insult to Henry VIII in a period when masculine honor was synonymous with conforming to ideals of one's gender. In Tudor times, it was thought that the governance of a state was akin to the governance of a household and Henry VIII's marriage problems dangerously challenged his ability to command. As clergymen Jon Dod and Robert Cleaver wrote, "it is impossible for a man to understand how to govern the commonwealth, that doth not know how to govern his own house."¹⁹⁷ In a bid to re-establish Henry VIII's "masculinity" and honor, Holbein's Whitehall portrait depicts the English king with a comically large codpiece, wide fur-clad shoulders, and a beard, embodiments of manliness. Henry's full beard, unusual in portrait of elite men before the 1530s, was, as John Bulwer wrote a century later, "a signe of virility."¹⁹⁸ As Thomas Hall wrote in 1610, "A decent growth of the Beard is a signe of Manhood, and given by God to distinguish the Male from the Female sex, this is a badge of Virility".¹⁹⁹

Fur was a material that had the potential to encourage elite, manly performativity, since its weight and materiality literally altered its wearer's carriage, rendering him more mindful of his posture and movement. It affected both physiognomy and psychology.²⁰⁰ Performativity is defined as speech acts or non-verbal communication such as actions, gestures, and behaviors that contribute to the formation of a person's identity, which in turn is maintained or redefined through symbolic communication.²⁰¹ The Tudor man relied upon specific social practices and gendered clothing to construct masculine identities.²⁰² It is no coincidence that male dress during this period was emphatically "masculine" with a bulky profile and emphasis on the shoulders and the codpiece.

The ability to "fashion" oneself through gesture and clothing into an elegant and noble individual was a Renaissance innovation but in the Tudor period, emphasis on excessive masculinity among elite men was imperative to signifying codes of power.²⁰³ By the fifteenth century onwards, manly deportment and movement came to be considered qualities to be cultivated rather than simply observed. Early modern nobles strove to master the ideal courtly deportment as it was seen as an expression of the moral and social self.²⁰⁴ Herman Roodenberg explains that early modern individuals viewed the body not simply as a passive thing to be molded and socially constructed by disciplinary regimes but as an active participant in bodily

¹⁹⁶ Suzannah Lipscomb, "The Fall of Anne Boleyn: A Crisis in Gender Relations?" in T. Betteridge, ed., *Henry VIII and the Court: Art, Politics and Performance* (Burlington and Surrey: Ashgate), 300.

¹⁹⁷ Lipscomb, "The Fall of Anne Boleyn," 300.

¹⁹⁸ William Fisher, "The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England" in *Renaissance Quarterly* Vol. 54, No.1 (2001): 155-187, 178.

¹⁹⁹ Thomas Hall, *Comarum akosmia the loathsomeness of long haire* (1610), 48.

²⁰⁰ J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (1930; repr., New York: International University Press, 1966).

²⁰¹ See John L Austin, *How to do things with words* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962).

²⁰² See Judith Butler, *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990). Butler, *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"* (London: Routledge, 1993).

²⁰³ Herman Roodenberg, *The Eloquence of the Body: Perspectives on Gesture in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2004), 11.

²⁰⁴ Roodenberg, *Eloquence of Body*, 11.

memory which allowed it to remember as part of its daily practices a wide variety of skills or habits.²⁰⁵ Activities like dancing, fencing and horse-riding, which taught children at an early age to have an upright position, would have taught elites gestures and movements that became habitual.²⁰⁶ Henry VIII was intensely aware of public scrutiny of his body and its ability to perform. As a young man he excelled in tennis, horsemanship and the full range of martial skills that he honed through hunting. The king continued to be complimented on his sporting prowess late into the 1520s.²⁰⁷ As Henry's health and physique began to decline and his military campaigns continued, it was crucial for him to devise a pictorial program and personal costume that would maintain his authority and masculinity.

Beyond modifying the elite body symbolically, fur clothing altered the movements and posture of the body since its materiality rendered its wearer more conscious of how they moved their bodies. Unlike active, hunting wear, which was closer fitting to the body and shorter, fur dress emphasized purpose of movement and stateliness, slow gestures that nevertheless exuded a gracefulness based in anticipated and planned movement. The habit of wearing heavy fur robes would have taught and instilled into the memory of its male wearers the necessity of keeping a straight back. Fur gowns evoked *gravitas* or a dignified appearance because their expense and their physical size and weight forced the body of the wearer supporting it to move slowly and with deliberation. Holbein's Whitehall portrait of Henry represents the powerful stance of a man who can gracefully bear the weight of his princely *accoutrements* with deliberation. There are very few references in the great wardrobe accounts of Henry VIII to materials being used to pad garments to create a specific shape or for warmth. This suggests that the bulky male images of the first half of the sixteenth century were created by wearing a number of fur layers rather than by wearing padded clothes.²⁰⁸

The reason why fur in elite dress was predominantly localized at the upper half of the body to draw focus to its top-heaviness may lie in tensions between ideals of the male body and the actual physiognomy of early moderns. Excavated finds of garments from sixteenth-century London suggest that the average Tudor body was of a slighter build, perhaps explaining why furs were so necessary for creating a more ideal, wide-shouldered frame that exuded strength and health.²⁰⁹ Henry's own consciousness of his body's performativity must have served as actual model for Holbein. His silhouette in the Whitehall Mural is markedly different from the soft sloping shoulders of his father, Henry VII (fig. 9), who also wears a fur-lined robe but does not cut as imposing a figure as his son. Henry's portraiture from the 1520s depict him with sloped and softened shoulders fashionable in the medieval period and similar to those depicted in the portraits of his father and brother, Prince Arthur (figs. 43 and 44). By the 1530s, however, a dramatic transformation in the breadth of Henry's shoulders, which now extend horizontally beyond the picture frame, is evident (figs. 45 and 14 to 17).

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 12-13.

²⁰⁷ Hayward, *Inventory of King Henry VIII*, Vol. I, 2.

²⁰⁸ Hayward, *Dress at Court*, 249.

²⁰⁹ Kay Staniland, "Tailored Bodies: Medieval and Tudor Clothing," in Alex Werner, ed., *London Bodies: The Changing Shape of Londoners from Prehistoric Times to the Present Day* (London: Museum of London, 1998), 75. Obesity was not a problem in Tudor England as seen in garment samples that have been excavated. Work at the Museum of London has shown that residents of the city, though on the thin side, grew near enough to today's average height from the Roman era. "There were tall and small people in all periods of London's history, although in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the average height of the inhabitants was at its lowest."

It is likely that Henry VIII became keenly aware of Holbein's empathically illusionistic portraits of Sir Thomas More (fig. 25), Henry Guildford (fig. 46), Thomas Cromwell (fig. 30), Brian Tuke (fig. 47), and Jean de Dinteville in *The Ambassadors* (fig. 40), all created some years before the Whitehall Mural. As Holbein's portraits were copied and fur dress used as formulas in elite portraiture by other artists in England, the circulation and replication of fur and male portraiture established homosocial networks that bespoke a collective elite manliness. Henry wholeheartedly adopted the Northern European painting style and its strikingly large silhouette of the male bust. Hayward argues that, "the emphasis that male dress placed on the shoulders, and the bulky image created by wearing layered clothing turned Henry's increasing size into a virtue, ensuring that he presented an even more impressive and imposing figure at court."²¹⁰ Holbein's artistic formula for representing elite masculinity offered an ideal solution to Henry's own problems with his growing physique and packaged it into a model of masculine virtue. However, Henry daringly chose to portray himself frontally and in full-length in order to drive home the impact of his massive body.

In *The Psychology of Clothes*, J. C. Flügel argues that in physically enlarging an individual's physique, clothes could also augment their bodily presence: "Clothing, by adding to the apparent size of the body in one way or another, gives us an increased sense of power, a sense of extension of our bodily [selves]—ultimately enabling us to fill more space."²¹¹ In the Whitehall mural cartoon, Henry's family portrait with Prince Edward VI and Jane Seymour, and in the group portrait of the Barber Surgeons, the English king metaphorically extends his authority and power through the occupation of space (figs. 48 and 49). His large fur gown demonstrates both his assertion of space and his ability to afford large swathes of fabric.²¹² Not only did fur communicate Henry VIII's manly strength to the public but it also acted as a "shorthand" for authority that was already seen in Tudor portraiture from the 1520s.

Henry VIII provided a model for the nation but also a model for his male subjects.²¹³ Because the *en masse* production of Henry's royal portraiture reached a scale of dissemination unprecedented in English visual culture, the possession and display of the monarch's image in the homes of the peerage was a declaration of political loyalty or allegiance.²¹⁴ This practice set into motion a visual network wherein the painted bodies of the English king and of other important courtiers acted as exemplary models of masculine authority which was to be imitated by other men moving within the same social sphere. Thomas Elyot encouraged the display of images of virtuous men "whereby other men in beholdynge, maye be instructed."²¹⁵ In an English translation of Isidore of Seville from 1534, advice on good rule urges sovereigns to "be suche to other men, as thou desirest other men to be to thee" and to, above all, "kepe

²¹⁰ Hayward, *Inventory of Henry VIII*, Vol. I, 3.

²¹¹ Flügel, *Psychology of Clothes*, 34.

²¹² Susan Vincent, *The Anatomy of Fashion: Dressing the Body from the Renaissance to Today* (New York: Berg, 2009), 83.

²¹³ Within England, the sense of belonging to a nationality was more advanced than anywhere on the continent, even in France. During Henry VIII's reign, new administrative officials were appointed and new revenue courts, which handled rents and taxes, were established. The emergence of a national market economy centered in London played an important part in the nationalization of English political institutions in England, Ireland, and Wales. The Statute of Proclamations of 1539 permitted the king to legislate by decree and bypass parliamentary legislature. General acceptance of the "king's law"—common law—among the gentry gradually helped to generate a sense of national unity in England.

²¹⁴ Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Pimlico, 1987), 12.

²¹⁵ Elyot, *The boke named the Governour*, 102.

manliness.”²¹⁶ Conformity to standard concepts of manliness was seen as a virtue among elite men. If we view masculinity as having a relational value, we could say that in the Tudor period men established and confirmed their manhood through comparison with other men. The emulation of Henry VIII’s portraiture as a pattern for portraits of other elite men, confirmed Henry’s role as a princely model of power while reinforcing visual symbols of English manliness and authority in the court. Holbein’s portraits had an after-life of their own in sixteenth-century England because they were continuously copied by painters active in fulfilling demand for reproduction.²¹⁷ Dress itself functions as a kind of mimicry through which man expresses many of his subjective social sentiments.²¹⁸ As the central figure of English society, Henry acted as the paragon for the ideal masculine and sartorial body and as his substantial silhouette was copied among male courtiers and the lesser gentry, broad shoulders became symbolic of male strength. The majority of portraits of Henrician noblemen made after the Whitehall mural depict them with beards and wearing a version of the fur gown seen in Holbein’s prototypical image of Henry VIII, which lent weight and grandeur to its male wearer. Thomas Howard (fig. 41), William Paget (fig. 32), William Sharrington (fig. 50), and William Cavendish (fig. 51), and other courtiers effectively used fur dress in their portraits to emulate the physical silhouette, and by extension, social rank, set by their king and other high-ranking officials in the Privy Council. Portraits of merchants also relied on fur dress to exude authority but the silhouette of the shoulders is more subdued, usually always contained within the picture frame. William Fisher notes that after 1540, for every English portrait of a man over the age of 21 in England without a beard, there were 10 portraits of bearded men.²¹⁹ Indeed, the date Fisher sets for the emergence of beards in portraiture is the same date at which the portrait of King Henry VIII by Hans Holbein was painted. Just as Henry was dressed in a manly manner in Holbein’s portrait, all men were expected to conform to certain appearances in order to convey elite masculinity.

With the exception of Holbein’s French ambassadors, almost all of Henry’s nobles are cut off at the waist or knees, reserving the full-length portrait for the king, demonstrating that even in representation, Henry’s body outsizes those of his courtiers. Commissioning a full-length portrait was the height of luxury because in comparison to a bust-length portrait, it cost extra to add your limbs in a painting, giving way to the idiom “It cost an arm and a leg.”²²⁰ Within the imaginary space of Henrician portraiture, Henry VIII is larger than life and sometimes even aggressively pushes out of the picture plane to exert his presence into the space of the spectator. The rectangle of the fur-clad body in portraiture reflected the actual space that the ideal courtier’s body was meant to fill in a courtly environment. In his portraiture, Holbein utilizes the geometry of fur clothes and the performance they aim to articulate, and translates them into a painterly geometry, so that elite bodies occupy the rectangle of the picture in the way that they aim to occupy representational space at court. In viewing portraits of other elite men, spectators could gauge how to place themselves spatially and symbolically within an established order of men by comparing the amount of space given to the sitter’s dress. Bulky fur clothing also invited a sense of connection or community with their noble viewers who, through a visual

²¹⁶ Isidore of Seville, *Here be the gathered counsailes of saynct Isodorie to informe man, howe he shuld flee vices and folowe vertues* (1534), xiii.

²¹⁷ Susan Foister, “The Production and Reproduction of Holbein’s Portraits” in Hearn, *Dynasties*, 26.

²¹⁸ Flügel, *Psychology of Clothes*.

²¹⁹ Fisher, *Renaissance Beard*, 178.

²²⁰ Reynolds, *In Fine Style*.

comprehension of such extended occupation through the experience of their own spatial geography, could relate themselves socially to the portrait subject.

Fur dress is what gave Henrician Tudor men a means to convey their manliness while differentiating their social ranks since the sables, lynx, and otter furs depicted in their portraits signify their specific place in the chain of command. The width of a sitter's fur collar and of their shoulders was an indicator of the degree of manliness their social positions were permitted as well as an indicator of the amount of power they could actually exert. In portraits of lesser members of the Henrician court such as that of the royal falconer, Robert Cheseman (fig. 52), a stone marten collar of relatively narrow width modestly indicates his courtier status, however the breadth of his shoulders is small compared to those seen in portraits of Knights of the Garters or members of the King's Privy Council. Portraits of men of the Church, such as George de Selve (fig. 40) and William Warham (fig. 13), demonstrate their high status through their respective otter and stone marten trimmings, but the outline of their upper bodies follows the normal angles of the male physique in order to exude a sense of humility that contrasts with the less modest worldliness of their more fashionable and aggressively charged contemporaries like Jean de Dinteville.

1. 7 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the importance of fur dress to elite male identity in the Henrician court and its relation to networks of power, authority, and magnificence. Homosocial virtues such as strength were constantly put on display in elite Henrician male portraiture in an effort to create a strong image of English kingship, and furs were almost always a standard expression of this virtue because of its symbolic connotations and performativity. Fur dress affected the carriage and bodily extension of the masculine corpus while charging it with virility, thereby functioning as the manifestation *par excellence* of manly prowess. Henry's decision to incorporate a fur-trimmed gown, today one of the most recognizable elements of his costume, into the official lexicon of his royal portraiture and imagery demonstrates how central fur dress was to sixteenth-century constructions of male power and authority. Elite men of the Tudor period made active sartorial decisions about the construction of their sartorial bodies in life and in paint. Of particular importance to Holbein and his followers was the legibility of different kinds of furs, which conveyed a subject's rank and place within a homosocial collectivity. Fur clothing was most important because it dictated appropriate social response among men even when they did not recognize one another. Failure to yield deference resulted in class conflict and was easily avoided with sartorial indicators like fur trimming. Deference was central to all social interactions just as the assertion of one's social rank was and individuals wished to be portrayed at exactly their station. While artists untrained in Holbein's style of painting had the tendency to depict fur as meticulously rendered, individual strands of hair, Holbein and painters informed by Northern European artistic practices and art theory, distinguished the varying material characteristics of different furs, working mainly from memory in order to portray the lifelike quality and movement of fur. Holbein created an illusion of realism, painting furs not as they truly were, but as they appeared to the eye. The articulation of different kinds of fur dress in Henrician portraiture and the ability of elite viewers to recognize and identify them was important for both sitters and painters and challenged artists into employing a style of painting that was naturalistic yet legible, thereby conveying a credible illusion of the elite subject's physical presence and social rank. Holbein's portrayals of fur did just that in pushing the limit of fur's symbolic and performative functions in order to evoke their haptic appeal.

Chapter Two

The Changing Representative Status of Fur Dress in Elizabethan Court Portraiture and Three Visual Conceits (1558—1603)

2. 1 Introduction

In 1589 the London merchant Henry Lane wrote to Richard Hakluyt, author of *Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America* (1582) and *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589–1600). The letter discussed the fur pelts presented to Elizabeth I in 1567 by a Russian embassy representing Ivan the Terrible. Elizabeth was given “sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars¹, to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns [lynx] and other rich fures.”² Although Lane notes that in the late 1560s the “princely ancient ornament of furs was yet in use,” at the time of his letter, written some twenty years later, furs were no longer being worn by courtiers or magistrates.³ Instead, the nation’s wealth was being spent on costly foreign “silks” which were less practical and durable.⁴ In reflecting upon fur’s fall from fashion, he lamented,

And great pitie but that [fur] might be renewed, especiall in Court and among magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an old worshipful Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave and comely: expressing dignity, comforting age and of longer continuance and better with small cost to be preserved than those new silks, shagges and rages, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.⁵

During the mid-sixteenth century the cultural and visual significations of fur dress began to change as furs became less central to displays of the nobility in portraiture. This chapter identifies changes in the iconographic status of fur dress in elite Elizabethan portraiture and places it within the context of the English court’s transition from a reign marked by princely magnificence and assertive masculinity under Henry VIII (r. 1509—1547) to one marked by a completely new ethos of majesty defined by elaborate symbolism under Elizabeth I (r. 1558—1603). I re-examine a major argument in literature on the fur trade that states that the gradual disappearance of fur garments in late elite Tudor portraiture is reflective of actual consumption practices.⁶ Wardrobe accounts and inventories belonging to Elizabethan hereditary elites

¹ A “timber” was a group of 40 skins and the standard unit of measurement for animal pelts in the early modern period.

² E. G. R. Taylor, *Original Writings & Correspondence of the two R. Hakluyts* (Hakluyt Society, Second Series, lxxvii, 1935), 410.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966) and Elizabeth Ewing, *Fur in Dress* (London: Batsford, 1981). Both authors argue that fur dress grew out of fashion among all levels of European society in the sixteenth century and that the art from the period is reflective of actual sartorial practice. Veale goes further to argue that furs had already lost their prestigious standing during the reign of Henry VIII. **Chapter One** clarifies that fur dress continued to play a crucial role in elite Henrician displays of masculine authority and was a standard mode of dress among male courtiers. This chapter explains why fur dress was less apt to the artistic and sartorial aesthetics of Elizabeth I’s court and that it was only in the mid-sixteenth century and not

demonstrate that nobles possessed a significant number of fur garments well into the early seventeenth century. However, Elizabethan elites were portraying themselves wearing fur dress less frequently than their Henrician predecessors. Why would a sartorial material traditionally associated with high social status and economic power no longer have visual currency in Elizabethan court art? What other sartorial materials were being worn in portraiture and how did the particularities of Elizabethan aesthetic culture impact portrait-making, painting techniques, and demands for new fashions? Answering these questions requires an investigation into what portraiture was attempting to accomplish for elite Elizabethans and how this was different from the functions of portraiture among Henrician courtiers. I explore three visual “conceits” or metaphors visible in Elizabethan portraiture that may illuminate some of the reasons why furs became less apt to exhibiting magnificence. These conceits are real and imaginary manifestations of social and material changes that were just beginning to emerge in court culture. The first conceit emphasized new technologies in making fashionable clothing that were becoming more available to nobles vying for royal recognition and hoping to express their subjectivity. The second conceit underscored new practices in painting and art-making that put pressure on surface embellishment and the geometry of the body. The third conceit relied on contemporary ideas about hygiene to visually construct a courtly body that, by wearing silks and not furs, communicated containment, impermeability, and health. This conceit is also related to fantasies about new luxury features in the elite interior, which, ideally, would have rendered warm textiles like furs no longer necessary within the comforts of the noble home. These visual conceits within Elizabethan portraiture demonstrate an iconographic shift away from furs, so crucial to displays of power and elite collective male identity in the court of Henry VIII, and towards newer sartorial features that better evoked elite alterity, style, and personal choice.

2. 2 Elizabeth I’s Portraiture: A New Royal Program and Court Aesthetic

Upon her accession to the throne in 1558, Elizabeth I relinquished the services of Flemish artist Hans Eworth (or Hans Ewouts), who had created a series of royal portraits for her half-sister, Mary I, dressed in sumptuous attire and standing against an unfolded curtain (figs. 1-2). The consequence of Elizabeth’s dismissal of a master court painter trained in Netherlandish artistic practice was the production of a series of unremarkable portraits in the early years of her reign depicting the new monarch frontally, in either half or three-quarter length, and wearing a black hood and coronet and a black surcoat trimmed with a fur collar. The Clopton Portrait (fig. 3) and two other surviving portraits (figs. 4-5) utilizing the same formula and costume are the earliest known portraits of Elizabeth as queen. In these images, an ermine collar encases her body, framing her face and adding bulk to her silhouette. A microscopic analysis of a three-quarter length copy of the Clopton Portrait now at the National Portrait Gallery (fig. 5) demonstrates that the British painter(s) charged with the production of these portraits added thicker paint in the background while employing thin layers of paint for the queen’s face and clothing. The fur collar was painted with fine brushstrokes that demarcate each strand of hair, creating a sense of volume and fluffiness. The fullness and soft texture evoked by Elizabeth’s

earlier, as posited by Veale, that English nobles had wide-spread access to the new fashion-making technologies that came to replace furs. **Chapter Three** discusses the prominent and wide-spread use of fur dress in urban elite/mercantile portraits. Merchants had themselves portrayed in furs unlike their hereditary elite counterparts. **Chapters Two and Three** demonstrate that fur dress lost its fashionability among courtiers but not among all social classes.

collar help to mitigate the severity of her sharp facial features and metal wire ruff. Of particular importance in the portrayal of Elizabeth's dress was the legibility of the kind of fur used to trim her gown. Although the painter has successfully rendered the characteristic white and spotted black color scheme of ermine fur legible, he has failed to note the hair length of real ermine fur, which was short and fairly dense and not long and fluffy as suggested in the portrait. The artist seems less concerned with depicting the actual materiality of ermine than with conveying the visual cues of its coloring so recognizable in art.

The very materiality of ermine fur (soft white coat, diminutive size) underscored the mythos of its preciousness. Ermine skins were harvested during the winter, when the coats (save the tips of the tail) changed from reddish brown to a dazzling white.⁷ Actual ermine tails mixed with black lamb's wool were integrated into the slit or "pinked" white pelts in a technique called "powdering."⁸ Because a pelt of ermine skin was no larger than the palm of a hand, thousands of pelts and tails were required to construct a single mantle, resulting in an article of clothing of immense expense and rarity. In the Coronation Portrait of Elizabeth I (fig. 6), copied from a lost miniature from 1559, the painter emphasizes the vast quantity of ermine pelts needed to construct Elizabeth's mantle by condensing the spacing between the black tails. The number of ermine tails used in the queen's mantle also signaled her royal status as only the monarch and royal family could wear ermine trimmings with tails spaced every square inch of the fur.⁹ In early modern England the monarch traditionally donned the Robe of State, an ermine cape or mantle, during his or her coronation and when sitting in Parliament. This is a tradition that had beginnings in the late medieval period and confirmed ermine's role as a material of ritual and ceremonial significance. Indeed, Elizabeth wore the same ermine trimmed robe at her 1559 coronation that Mary Tudor wore in 1553 for her own coronation as a way of continuing the family legacy while also divesting her dead sister of her queenly powers.¹⁰ The white hue of ermine fur, in particular, was associated with the moral purity of the English royal family. Legend had it that the ermine would rather give itself up to the hunter and be killed than soil its white coat in the mud while attempting to flee. An illustration in Henry Peacham's book of emblems (1612) depicts an ermine with the motto "Cui candor morte redemptus" ("Purity

⁷ In winter the very tip of the ermine tail remains white and therefore needs to be dyed to create a uniform black appearance.

⁸ See "Glossary" in Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds: Maney, 1988). Elspeth Veale, "From Sable to Mink," in *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress*, ed. Maria Hayward (Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2012), 337, notes that faux ermine tails were made from the legs or shanks of lambskins.

⁹ Although there is no mention of ermine fur in sumptuary legislation from the reign of Elizabeth I, the finer details of how ermine trimming was meant to be worn by different degrees were recorded in an unpublished manuscript titled "Memorandum that all manner of Estates shall ware there Apparell Powdred As ys Abouesade" (College of Arms, London. MS M16 bis, ff. 14r—15r.). This manual shows that the way in which ermine fur trimming was employed on state occasions was highly regulated according to whether it was worn by the sovereign, by peers, peeresses, or judges, etc. Peeresses wore capes of ermine in which the spots were arranged in rows, the number of rows denoting their degrees of rank. Peers wore robes of scarlet cloth, trimmed with pure white ermine without any spots. The number of rows or bars of pure ermine also denoted rank. Since ermine is not specifically mentioned in sumptuary legislation, its use was most likely not subject to abuse. That may be a function of both availability and affordability. S. William Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary: A manual of textile fabrics* (1886), 116-117.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Mazzola, "Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed, Something Ermine: Elizabeth I's Coronation Robes and Mothers' Legacies in Early Modern England" in *Early Modern Women* Vol. 1 (Fall 2006): 118.

brought with his own death”), associating the weasel’s self-sacrifice with impeccable morality (fig. 7).¹¹

Several scholars have discussed Elizabeth I’s appropriation of her sister Mary’s gendered iconography and regal attire, especially in relation to her coronation robes.¹² However, in her early portraiture as queen, Elizabeth was also attempting to emulate the iconography of her father, Henry VIII, and she did so by utilizing a sartorial element heavily associated with his regal costume: his fur gown. Elizabeth’s large ermine collar in “The Clopton Portrait” recalls the wide fur gown worn by Henry VIII in his portraiture (fig. 8). Whereas her sister Mary I portrayed herself wearing a slim fur collar or large sable oversleeves, gendered fur accessories, Elizabeth chose to have herself represented wearing a full fur-collared gown, an article of clothing traditionally associated with male rulers. As discussed in **Chapter One**, Henry VIII’s fur trimmed gown conveyed his regality and strength and it was highly appropriate that Elizabeth wished to imitate these virtues. The early portraits of Elizabeth I demonstrate the young queen’s tentative flux between 1) employing fur clothing to devise a visual program of power and rule and 2) imitating the iconography of Henry VIII and thereby connecting herself to the popular reign of her father and to the legitimacy of the Tudor dynasty.

In spite of the acute symbolism of moral purity and dynastic legitimacy conveyed by her ermine costume, fur as a sartorial material in Elizabeth’s early portraits poses several problems when compared to its utilization in images of Henry VIII. In Hans Holbein the Younger’s portraits of Henry VIII, the naturalistic rendering of the Tudor king’s fur dress added dimension to his figure and helped achieve the appearance of a robust, life-sized body whose presence was both commanding and very corporeal. Henry VIII’s success in conveying power and masculinity through his clothed body was a result of the highly illusionistic portrayal of his massive fur collar, which is the most striking and iconic element of his image besides his cod-piece. As argued in **Chapter One**, during Henry VIII’s reign, fur dress was crucial to constructions and displays of elite masculinity.¹³ Because furs were codified in sumptuary legislation, the wearing of restricted and expensive furs thereby tied elite men to other high-ranking nobles. Furthermore, fur dress conveyed manly virtues of strength (in adding bulk to the body), authority (since it was always worn by governing officials), and virility (since hairiness was linked to manliness and to animal-like prowess). The prevalence of fur collars in portraiture of ruling men perpetuated fur’s status as an iconographic attribute of elite male culture. By contrast, the ermine collar in Elizabeth’s early portraits does little to flatter her physicality or enhance the particularities of her gender. Instead, it acts as a generic accoutrement of English sovereignty.

Elizabeth’s appropriation of her father’s fur-collared gown fell short in conveying the dynamic and imposing corporeality of King Henry VIII for two reasons. First, the artists of her portraits failed to convey the illusionistic material qualities of fur so crucial to rendering the presence of the royal body more palpable. The lack of technical skill among Elizabeth’s portraitists became all too apparent among her contemporaries as well. Upon seeing Elizabeth’s early portraits, Catherine de’ Medici, queen regent of France, commented, “After what everyone tells me of her beauty, and after the paintings that I have seen, I must declare that she did not

¹¹ Henry Peacham, “Emblem 75: Cui candor morte redemptus” in *Minerua Britannia or A garden of heroical deuises* (1612).

¹² See Judith M. Richards, “Mary Tudor as ‘Sole Quene’?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy,” in *Historical Journal* 40, no. 4 (1997): 895, 897, 900-901. Mazzola, “Elizabeth I’s Coronation Robes”: 115-136.

¹³ See **Chapter One** for a thorough discussion of fur dress and displays of masculinity at Henry VIII’s court.

have good painters.”¹⁴ The queen regent even offered to send over her own court painter in 1564. Second, Elizabeth’s silhouette could never surpass or evoke the hulking military prowess of her father’s. Indeed, her lack of a biologically male body meant that she could never fully exploit the associations of fur dress and masculine authority central to Henry’s iconography. Whereas the emphasis in early male Tudor dress placed on the shoulders turned Henry’s increasing body size into a manly virtue, the effect given by Elizabeth’s costume is of a young and slender woman attempting to wear attire that was both unflattering and much too large for her delicate frame. Catherine de’ Medici believed that fur clothing was more fitting for older men when she said, “Leave furs to those old foxes, the men.”¹⁵

The ineffectiveness of Elizabeth’s adoptive visual program prompted several comments of disapproval from not only the French court, but also from the Burgundian court.¹⁶ When Margaret of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands, described an early portrait of Elizabeth “drawn in blacke with a hoode and a coronet,” she expressed her disappointment in seeing what “she perceived was not the attire Your Majestie now used to weare.”¹⁷ The Earl of Sussex, relaying this information to his queen in 1567, confirmed that the picture of her in a black hood and fur gown “did nothingse resemble Your Majestie.”¹⁸ These comments imply that the clothing depicted in these portraits were deemed outdated and unreflective of what Elizabeth I actually wore. The emphasis placed upon the queen’s attire by commentators demonstrate the central role clothing played in communicating a royal figure’s physical appearance and identity.

Although these “mechanical workshop productions” must presumably have stemmed from a sitting, they failed to appropriately convey the queen’s regal status, particular character, and beauty through dress.¹⁹ They were therefore dismissed as unreliable portrayals of the English queen. Elizabeth sent out *ad vivum* portraits of herself to the courts of Europe in order to replace and correct the earlier, unflattering ones with “a true record of the features and attire of the young Queen.”²⁰ Elizabeth’s own desire to revise her sartorially portrayed body demonstrates how imperative fashion was to and would later become in articulating the new queen’s agency and the distinctive magnificence of her court.

Roy Strong surmises that negative reactions to the queen’s early portraiture prompted her to set in order the draft proclamation of 1563, which expressed her desire to establish a new royal image. Following the proclamation of 1563 was the production of officially sanctioned portraits of the queen demonstrating a higher level of technical skill and rejected the unflattering, manly, and imitative costume of her earlier portraiture. In *Queen Elizabeth and the Three Goddesses* (fig. 9) and *The Allegory of Tudor Succession* (fig. 10), gowns resplendent with multi-colored jewels, gold metal braids, embroidery, and elaborate ruffs replace the somber and plain black gown of the Clopton Portrait and its copies. Portraits of Henry VIII also portray the king attired in metallic thread and jewelry but a large component of his sartorial composition is reserved for the large swaths of fur enveloping his body. In *Three Goddesses* Elizabeth’s full-length surcoat is lined with brown fur and hints of it can be seen where her collar stands up against her left

¹⁴ G. Lebel, “British-French Artistic Relations in the XVI Century,” in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXII, 1948, p. 278. Quoted in Roy Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 23, 59.

¹⁵ Quoted in J.C. Sachs, *Furs and the Fur Trade* (London, 1933), 9.

¹⁶ Lebel, “British-French Artistic Relations,” 278; Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques de Pays-Bas et de l’Angleterre* (Brussels, 1890), iv. 470; *CSP Foreign*, 1566-8, 272.

¹⁷ Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques*, iv. 470; *CSP Foreign*, 1566-8, 272.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Strong, *Gloriana*, 59

²⁰ Strong, *Gloriana*, 23.

shoulder and at the edge of her puff sleeve. However, the emphasis placed on and haptic allure of furs in Henry's portraiture is not present in Elizabeth's portrait. In Henry VIII's portraiture the color and texture of his fur collar is always in striking contrast to the rest of his costume, drawing the eye. In *Three Goddesses* the fur lining is barely perceptible and functions more as an extraneous element of sumptuous material added to a costume already subsumed by metallic ornamentation. Instead, visual emphasis is placed on the rich surface embellishments and the geometric patterns they form that are painted onto Elizabeth's clothed body. This sudden change in the sartorial display of magnificence comes a year after merchant Henry Lane, recounting the Russian embassy's visit to England in 1567, pinpointed a gradual shift away from fur dress towards other fashions.²¹ The transformation seen in Elizabeth's sartorially constructed body also suggests a new aesthetic orientation towards the privileging of ornament and the decorative.

English artist Nicholas Hilliard was first employed by Elizabeth I in the 1570s, at exactly the moment when Kevin Sharpe argues that English visual culture, which had lagged far behind Continental art, developed its own aesthetic language at court.²² Hilliard's iconic portraits of Elizabeth such as the *Pelican Portrait* (fig. 11) solidified the iconography of the Virgin Queen and helped to promote the distinctive ethos of her regime, which emphasized female qualities like mothering instead of the aggressive masculinity of her father's court.²³ Elizabeth's dress, like her father's, places emphasis on the angularity of her shoulders, but the outline of her body is neatly delineated and geometric, even hard, emphasizing her highly feminine, tapered waist. Her body is laden with pearls and jewels of varying color. Her delicately wrought lace ruff, intricately embroidered blackwork shift, and slashed stomacher are more painstakingly rendered than her ageless face which is mask-like, flat and without contour, revealing no signs of human character. The visual shift and emphasis on shimmering surfaces and artifice happens at a crucial moment when the metaphor of the body politic was beginning to emerge and at a time when the body of the ruler, flattered as beautiful in both poetry and visual culture, acted as a metaphor for the virtue of the monarchy. Devising a program of loyalist propaganda in the form of royal portraiture was especially crucial in the midst of political and religious pressure. In the aftermath of her mother's divorce from and execution by Henry VIII, the legitimacy of Elizabeth's birth was perpetually challenged by Catholic powers hoping to usurp the Protestant queen's throne. Portraiture now had to play a vital ideological role in assimilating the real to the ideal and enabling a mortal, female body to personify the majesty of the kingdom.²⁴ Much like the portraits of Henry VIII, Elizabeth's portraiture utilizes sartorial elements to express self-confidence and power while highly wrought surfaces redirect the eye from the imperfect body beneath. Her regal costume acts as a glittering and more linear but nonetheless armor-like substitute for the bulky fur gown worn by Henry VIII and his male courtiers. However, the startling difference lies in Elizabeth's rejection of the materiality of furs in favor of elaborate optical surfaces that distance the viewer instead of leading them to believe themselves in the presence of the flesh and blood royal as was the case with Holbein's representation of Henry VIII in the Whitehall Mural.

²¹ Taylor, *Original Writings & Correspondence*, 410.

²² Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

²³ Xanthe Brooke and David Crombie, *Henry VIII Revealed: The Legacy of Holbein's Portraits* (London: Paul Holberton Publishing, 2003), 60.

²⁴ Joanna Woodall, *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 3.

Some forty years after the Whitehall Mural was painted and in a new era of courtly magnificence, Elizabeth I's *Ermine Portrait* (fig.12; 1585), attributed to William Segar, relinquishes actual fur fashion in its portrayal of English majesty and instead depicts a crowned ermine perched on the queen's sleeve. The ermine and its coat are collapsed into both a Petrarchan conceit and heraldic symbol of the Virgin Queen's royal lineage and purity. The ermine's metaphoric immaculacy was especially apt for an unmarried female ruler whose virginal status was of national concern. In Elizabeth's portrait the ermine's coat is curiously specked with black dots, an artistic license that conflates living ermine with manufactured "ermine fur" that has already been "powdered". The artist seems to know what real ermine (native to Northern Europe) looks like for he carefully renders the very tip of the creature's tail, which wraps around the queen's lace cuff, black. Segar is less concerned with an accurate depiction of an ermine from the natural world than with ermine as a processed and consumable object that through aesthetic visualization can be transformed into a codified and abstracted symbol of power. The coat of the ermine in Henry Peacham's emblem book is also "powdered" in a similar manner suggesting that either the engraver of the illustration looked to Segar's portrait of Elizabeth as the ultimate symbolic representation of moral purity.

Like the highly processed "powdered" weasel on her arm, Elizabeth's own clothed body is decorated with gold beads that, at first glance, appear to be organically arranged when they are in fact organized into a regular pattern on the surface of the picture. The stunning contrast between her deep black gown, slashed and pinked to allow glimpses of the crisp white satin lining beneath, and the transparency yet dazzling whiteness of her lace cuffs, ruff, and veil, all of which play a visual game of hide and seek with the black cloth, mimic, albeit in reverse, the ermine's patterned coat which has been slit so that its black tails can peep out. The schematically paned window to the right also suggests layers of transparency and of "seeing through" one material in order to glimpse another. However, this window, like Elizabeth's gown, is opaque and does not reveal what is truly beyond / beneath. Elizabeth's fashioned body is literally transmuted into a patterned surface that ambiguously invites the gaze to attempt deconstruction of the royal corpus with its sheer layers and openings while simultaneously stymieing penetration with its heavy opacity. The only surfaces that are legible, like with the ermine, are the symbolic outer layers of the body.

Rather than simply depicting Elizabeth as an idealized queen, her portraiture translated her likeness into a visual code that symbolically confirmed her claim to sovereign power, and it achieved this by foregrounding form over the material.²⁵ Roy Strong notes that the effects of *The Ermine Portrait* are achieved entirely through flat pattern.²⁶ The portrait places visual stress on the intricate motifs created by the jewels and gold decorative braids, known as "laces," adorning the front of Elizabeth's bodice and skirt.²⁷ Repetitive lines and shapes are realized in the delicate pattern work of the queen's lace ruff and cuffs and in the wavy slashing and pinking of her padded sleeves and gown. Similarly, *The Ditchley Portrait* (fig.13) translates Elizabeth's corporeality into a sublime and codified geometry. In place of illusion the picture offers a complex composition of circles and semi-circles, and this contributes to the impression that we

²⁵ Christine Hille, *Visions of the Courtly Body: The Patronage of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, and the Triumph of Painting at the Stuart Court* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 8.

²⁶ Strong, *Gloriana*, 113.

²⁷ "Laces" were decorative braids made with metal thread that were often laid atop of garment seams. Ninya Mikhaila and Jane Malcom-Davies, *The Tudor Tailor: Reconstructing 16th-century Dress* (London: B. T. Batsford, 2006), 44.

are presented with a figure abstracted from any kind of immediacy or materiality. The portrait is a design more than it is a representation of the human figure. Pattern takes the place of substance to construct the image of a disembodied queen who is beyond human.²⁸ In Elizabethan visual culture, the Tudor queen was placed in a realm that was not bounded by the laws of nature and that transcended those of the human sphere. The realism of Holbein's furs was not for the queen because she was not nature brought to perfection but something nature could never fathom.

This new visual emphasis on surface is evidence that the naturalism of furs was not an important aesthetic component to Elizabethan court art as it had been to Henry VIII's. While Holbein's realistic painting style of furs in elite Henrician portraiture created an illusion of the subject's emphatic physical presence, this same illusion was considered inappropriate for an effective expression of Elizabeth's sovereign dignity. Furs were material, physical, animal, and this was problematic in a culture that equated the menstruating and lactating female body with a grotesque corporeality in need of discipline.²⁹ Whereas Holbein's representation of Henry's monarchic role relied on the exaggeration of his virility and manliness, portraits of his daughter depended on the display of her sexually subdued self-containment.³⁰ To underline her sexual self-containment, the Virgin Queen relied upon a pictorial program that schematized her body and its sartorial elements into a legible code of monarchic power that could be optically engaged with but not touched.

Fur evoked physical touch because its texture activated sensorial memory and invited comparisons between smooth, skin-like surfaces and furry ones.³¹ In a portrait of John Donne from c. 1595 (fig. 14), the poet's fur lined glove is highly eroticized through the activation of its use and physical properties. Donne's hand is made softer and warmer by the protective fur lining and the sensation of touching the fur may be a fetishistic substitute for the skin of his female lover. Tarnya Cooper believes that this portrait was designed as a personal message to an unknown paramour and that Donne was closely involved in its composition.³² The Latin inscription around the edge of the oval can be translated as "O Lady lighten our darkness" and might be read as a plea to a reluctant lover. In the late Elizabethan period, fur garments like the fur muff became an erotic and moralizing symbol of female sexuality which was unheard of in the Henrician period, since fur collars were linked with virility, a positive quality in men. In a text from 1602, the author eroticizes the placement of a woman's hand inside a muff and alludes to the act of coitus itself, wherein the fur muff acts as a metaphor for the woman's sexually-available genitals: "Your Imbrodered Muffe before you, on your rauishing hands; but take heede who thrustes his fingers into your Furre."³³ The dangerous sensuality of fur clothes *au courant* in Elizabethan poetic and visual cultures meant that the immaculacy of Elizabeth's alternative female body had to be separated from tactile senses so provoked by depictions of animal pelts.

²⁸ Andrew Belsey and Catherine Belsey, "Icons of Divinity: Portraits of Elizabeth I" in ed., Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn, *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c. 1540-1660* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), 17-18.

²⁹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1968), 93.

³⁰ Hille, *Visions of the Courty Body*, 5.

³¹ Animals, in general, and their skins had an association with touch. See Constance Classen, *The Deepest Sense* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 93.

³² Donne described the portrait in his will as "the picture of myne which is taken in the shaddowes" when he bequeathed it to a friend before his death, demonstrating his personal attachment to it. Tarnya Cooper, *A Guide to Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2012), 25.

³³ Thomas Dekker, *Blurt master-constable. Or The Spaniards night-walke As it hath bin sundry times priuately acted by the Children of Paules* (1602).

While Henry VIII could master the erotics of the haptic, Elizabeth is at risk. It is no coincidence that optics and visuality, fields of interest since Aristotle, were elevated above the senses of touch and smell.³⁴ This explains why Elizabeth and her courtiers put pressure on decorative surfaces inscribed with symbols and why furs, when portrayed in Elizabethan portraiture, lose their physical materiality and become flat patterns.

When furs are depicted in late Elizabethan or early Jacobean portraiture, it is usually as a heraldic code. Color or “tincture” terminology in heraldry were actually fur terms, suggesting that fur skins were originally used for shields.³⁵ For example, heraldry black is known as “sable” and black spots on white is called “ermine”.³⁶ A portrait of Elizabeth or possibly of an English noblewoman purchased by the Dover District Council Chamber in 1591 (fig.15), depicts the sitter wearing a bodice and padded sleeves embroidered with flat triangular shapes imitating ermine tails. The motif consists of three dots forming a pyramid placed above several longer strands, a common design used in coat of arms. In the portrait the very materiality and plushness of the ermine tail is not articulated; instead fur matter is realized as a different sartorial material, schematized heraldic embroidery, whose craftsmanship and increasing illusionism in the late Elizabethan period rendered it just as precious and costly as other luxury materials like fur.

The artist of a confirmed portrait of Elizabeth I (fig.16; c. 1598), also in the possession of the Dover District Council, convincingly captures the plush velvet of the monarch’s gown, however he does not render the furry texture of the ermine lining. Again, the ermine tails are painted as a triangular motif with thin wisps of black hairs hanging down. Real ermine tails powdered throughout a mantle would not have resembled this but would have appeared much thicker and fuller and with an organic tip. It seems unlikely that the painter was trying to portray fur but silk for the highlights of the mantle and the manner in which it pleats like a lighter and thinner material is more expressive of satin. This was clearly an artist who took the time to distinguish and successfully describe different kinds of luxury fabrics such as velvet and sarsenet and we can assume that he would have been capable of portraying fur as well. Why then would he depict silk satin in the guise of ermine fur?

Records from Elizabeth I’s Wardrobe Accounts from 1571 reveal that the Queen found the ermine lining of her Parliamentary Robe too hot and heavy for use and in the following year, she requested her tailor to remove the fur lining and replace it with white taffeta, a lighter weight silk.³⁷ Elizabeth thought that fur garments too uncomfortable and burdensome. She was also keenly aware of what materials would better suit the sartorial configuration of her body. The switching out of the queen’s ermine lining, a material long associated with English sovereignty, with silks is reflective of how lighter, more comfortable, and hygienic materials would gradually come to completely replace fur dress in fashion.³⁸ Could Elizabeth’s tailor have replaced the queen’s fur lining with white satin embroidered with black tails as suggested in the Dover

³⁴ See Mark Paterson, *The Sense of Touch: Haptic, Affects and Technologies* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007).

³⁵ Ewing, *Fur in Dress*, 77.

³⁶ See J. B. Bullokar, *An English expositor: teaching the interpretation of the hardest words vsed in our language. With sundry explications, descriptions, and discourses* (London: Printed by Iohn Legatt, 1621).

³⁷ In 1571 tailor Walter Fyshe had the job of “alteringe and takinge out the furre in the shoulders of our parliament Mantell and perfourmyng it with white taphata.” This order was apparently renewed in the following year: “for lyninge of our parliament Robe from the waste upwarde with white taphata of our great guarderobe.” The weight of the fur attached to the taffeta may have torn it in places. BL, Egerton 2806, ff. 34 warrant dated 24 Sept 1571; f. 44, warrant dated 28 September 1572. Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth’s Wardrobe Unlock’d* (Leeds: Maney, 1988), 59.

³⁸ See **Section 2. 6**

District Council portrait in order to retain the symbolic and ritual signification of the ermine mantle while satisfying the queen's need for a lighter, more comfortable fabric?

In another portrait of an unidentified elite woman (fig. 17) from the 1590s and attributed to John de Critz, the embroidered ermine tails covering the surface of the woman's cartwheel skirt function as a two-dimensional sartorial and heraldic text. This portrait demonstrates more clearly that the ermine motif is indeed embroidery for the sheen of the noblewoman's skirt and the manner in which the light falls on its folds suggests that the material depicted is satin. Compare the texture of the woman's skirt with that of the *zibellino*, a fur accessory she holds in her right hand. These portrait examples interestingly conflate multiple aesthetics and luxury materials—heraldry, embroidery, ermine fur, and silk—into one. While ermine fur was physically transmuted into materials considered more aesthetic and luxurious, its visual code of power was still retained. Painting and fashion themselves, as media that have the potential to transform raw pigment and materials into something else and into a product of more value than its material components, seemed especially apt to playing with these ideas of metamorphosis.

Even in late Elizabethan portraits where some attempt has been made by the artist to represent actual ermine fur, the effect of the powdered pattern still reads as flat and schematic. In the portrait from 1603 of Lucy Russell, daughter of Lord John Harington and patroness of poets (fig. 18), the Countess of Bedford wears an ermine lined mantle, wide ermine cuffs, an ermine stomacher elongated to lie over the front of the wheel farthingale, and a wide band of ermine at the hem of her forepart. Although this portrait represents ermine fur and not embroidery on silk, the tails are powdered in a highly regular and schematized pattern. In portraits from before and earlier in Elizabeth's reign, such as those of Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex from the 1570s (fig. 19); Lady Margaret Gray, Marchioness of Dorset after Holbein (fig. 20); Edward VI after William Scrots from c. 1546 (fig. 21); and the double portrait of King James V and Mary of Guise by the British School (fig. 22; 1538), each ermine tail was painted as unique and with a form different from its neighbor. In her portrait Lucy Harrington wears not a gown typical of court fashion but a costume that symbolizes her sheer wealth and high social rank, making this a heraldic portrait of her pretensions to royalty.³⁹ This painting most likely depicts the Countess in the robes and coronet she ordered for the coronation of James I and Anne of Denmark in 1603.⁴⁰ A portrait of the same sitter wearing the same garments altered to a new style was painted around 1615 (fig. 23) and shows an even deeper band of ermine at the hem and long hanging sleeves lined with ermine.

Elizabethan elites (peerage, gentry, and royal officers) were a mainly homogenous community because of their similar educations and shared aesthetic culture.⁴¹ This homogeneity expressed itself in elite visual culture and dress. New patterns for constructing the elite body were spread by display practices whereby portraits were sent around and shown in picture galleries and then copied repeatedly and circulated again, thereby forming a socially and intellectually homogenous audience for these images.⁴² When images of Elizabeth in magnificent

³⁹ Lucy Russell was a member of the Sidney/Essex circle since birth. The Bedford clan had more than doubled their fortunes during the Reformation and dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII.

⁴⁰ Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock'd*, 64

⁴¹ Lawrence Stone, "The Anatomy of the Elizabethan Aristocracy" in *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1/2 (1948), 3-4.

⁴² Angela Benza explains in her paper on depictions of Elizabeth's favorites that portraits of courtiers were commissioned by and destined to be viewed by others within the royal court and by the Queen herself. Benza, "Vaulting ambition: Allégorie et apparat dans les portraits des favoris d'Élisabeth Ière d'Angleterre" in *Péristyle*, 26 May, 2013, 4.

apparel were disseminated or commissioned by other courtiers and displayed in their homes, they functioned as exemplary models of English sovereignty and splendor for other courtiers hoping to connect themselves visually and sartorially to their monarch. As furs no longer became apt to displaying Elizabeth's unique sovereignty and gendered body, other aristocratic women emulated the sartorial magnificence of the queen in their portraiture and dress. However, the important symbolism of the ermine among English royalty rendered it an indispensable attribute in the pictorial program of the monarchy. Although ermine fur symbolized moral purity, in general, fur dress was evocative of animal matter and physical touch, presenting cultural and iconographical problems to the representation of a female ruler whose biological body required containment and abstraction. It therefore needed to be depicted in a style that would evade its material and erotic associations while retaining its traditional connotations of power and privilege. The particular aesthetics of Elizabeth's reign resolved the dilemma of fur's materiality by stylizing it into an ornamental motif. The pressure Elizabethan portraiture and fashion placed upon sophisticated symbolism and surfaces was different from the artistic naturalism and illusionism crucial to conveying masculine authority and power decades earlier when Henry VIII was king. Of particular importance in portraiture of Elizabeth I and her courtiers was the emphasis on the fashioned body's physical inaccessibility and its transmutation into a visual code of authority.

2.3 Elizabethan Consumption of Fur Clothing and Alternative Fashion Preferences

In her seminal history on the English medieval fur trade, Elspeth Veale argues that "the custom, which we may consider characteristically medieval, whereby the rich and nobly born demonstrated their wealth and social superiority by the lavish use of furs, died slowly during the middle decades of the sixteenth century."⁴³ Both Veale and dress historian Elizabeth Ewing, however, conflate pictorial representations of dress with actual consumption practices, mistaking the absence or rarity of fur garments in elite portraiture during the early modern period as evidence that fur fashion was rare among English courtiers.⁴⁴ Central to the philosophy of the present project is the understanding that portraits are not truthful reflections of people as they were but are instead constructions of how they wished to have themselves portrayed. Textual evidence (inventories, wardrobe accounts, eye-witness reports, and contemporary manuals on Elizabethan life) reveals that the absence of furs in elite Elizabethan portraiture is counter-reflective of actual consumption practices.

Wardrobe accounts and inventories of the royalty and peerage demonstrate that elites possessed, ordered, passed on, and wore a large number of fur garments well into the late sixteenth century. The livery account from 1569 states that Ippolyta the Tartarian, who was most likely a dwarf within the Queen's household, was given five dozen black coney skins. Upon his arrival at court in 1569, the Italian jester Monarcho had his gown and jerkin furred by Adam Bland, the queen's skinner, with 12 fox skins and 151 lamb skins. Five years later, Monarcho's new gown was furred "with twelve white fox and forty-six hare skins, powdered with sixty black genet tails."⁴⁵ Adam Bland also made fur tippets for the Queen that were worn around the neck and shoulders and he worked on several muffs for her from 1583 to 1586. In addition to these examples, a variety of furs were used to line Elizabeth's gowns: lettice, ermine, sable, minks,

⁴³ Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 141-43.

⁴⁴ Veale, *English Fur Trade*, and Ewing, *Fur in Dress*.

⁴⁵ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 19.

squirrels, spotted coney skins, minever, lamb, and wolf skins.⁴⁶ In 1585 the Earl of Leceister presented the Queen with a zibellino, “a Sable Skynne the hed and fourre featte of gold fully furnyshed with Dyamondes and Rubyes of sundary sorttes” as a New Year’s gift.⁴⁷ In February of 1579, Elizabeth’s spymaster and personal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, thoughtfully ordered a fur muff for the Queen, “thinking it better to send this as it is while is some cold stirring”.⁴⁸ This is understandable considering that the summers of the 1570s were particularly cold and the coldest decade during the “Little Ice Age” was the 1590s.⁴⁹ Studies of climate history suggest that sixteenth-century people needed more garments than we do today. From around 1560, temperatures dropped significantly as the weather became stormier.⁵⁰ In 1604 a Venetian observer in London wrote, “The weather is bitterly cold and everyone is in furs although we are almost in July.”⁵¹

That Elizabeth I was in possession of an extraordinary quantity of fur garments is evidenced by documents stating that during the summer months of 1590 her furrier and eight men worked for a full day beating fur garments to clean them of vermin and dust and spent another day traveling to Windsor to work on the furs there.⁵² Contrary to Veale’s claims that fur clothing was virtually nonexistent among elites by the dawn of the seventeenth century, in 1610 the Earl of Rutland spent £53 15s, an extraordinary amount, on crimson velvet and ermine.⁵³ Several of the bags used for the storage of the Queen’s furs were as rich as the garments they protected. Two bags in particular are recorded in the Queen’s wardrobe accounts: one in purple velvet and another in shot taffeta, which were enriched with gold and pearl embroidery worked by the royal embroiderer.⁵⁴ Such sumptuous storage indicates that even during Elizabeth I’s reign fur was treated and valued as a precious material. Interestingly it is the sumptuous materials of the protective textile—imported silk encrusted with pearls and metallic embroidery—that enhanced and rendered the economic value of fur more palpable and visible.

Elites were still purchasing and wearing furs for everyday circumstances, but they portrayed themselves less and less with fur dress and more with other textiles to signify their noble status. With the exception of her coronation portrait (fig. 6), the Clopton Portrait and its copies (figs. 3-5), and the Dover District Council portrait depicting her in a silk-embroidered, faux ermine parliamentary mantle (fig. 16), Elizabeth did not choose to have herself portrayed wearing fur. Of the surviving portraits of Elizabethan elites known today, only approximately

⁴⁶ Sable, ermine, coney, and rabbit were used more frequently than lettuce, lamb, and wolf, which appear only a few times in the warrants. Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock’d*, 192.

⁴⁷ Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock’d*, 192.

⁴⁸ Letter 548. Poulet to Walsingham Feb. 6 1579: “Mr. Floudd tells me that you wished him to request me to provide a ‘countenance’ [*sic.* a muff] (so they call it here) for her Majesty, which I have sent by this bearer, and is the best I can find at this time, thinking it better to send this as it is while is some cold stirring, than to wait for a better till the cold be clean gone. I have caused this countenance [muff] to be furred as well as it can be done in this town, but have not perfumed it because I do not know what perfume will be most agreeable to her Majesty.” *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1578–1579*, ed., Arthur John Butler (London: Mackie and Co. Ltd., 1903), 409. Preserved in the Public Record Office.

⁴⁹ See Brian Fagan *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300-1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2002) and H. H. Lamb *Climate History and the Modern World* (London: Methuen, 1982), 201-202.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Cal. S.P. Ven.*, 1603–7, 164. Quoted in Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 141.

⁵² To air out and beat the queen’s *entire* wardrobe in 1586, it took Bland and five men the space of five days, implying that fur garments must have taken up a large percentage of the royal wardrobe at if an entire day was required just for their treatment. Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock’d*, 194.

⁵³ Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, 21.

⁵⁴ Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock’d*, 194.

twenty-five depict courtiers wearing fur clothing.⁵⁵ This number is astounding considering that over a hundred portraits of Henrician elites depict their subjects dressed in furs. Elizabethan portraiture also neglects to demonstrate the variety of furs available to nobles in the mid to late sixteenth century and mainly show their subjects wearing ermine, sables, or lynx.

A portrait of Sir Thomas More's family, painted by Rowland Lockey in 1593 (fig. 24) and partly based on an earlier group portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger from c. 1527 (fig. 25), is a telling testimonial of fur's shifting sartorial and iconographic status from the reign of Henry VIII to Elizabeth I. The portrait shows five generations of the family of the humanist and statesman, Sir Thomas More, who had been executed by Henry VIII in 1535 and later beatified by the Catholic Church. More's grandson, Thomas More II, commissioned the picture long after the Lord Chancellor's death and it presents a fiction by showing living and dead family members together in the same room. In the portrait, Sir Thomas More and his father, Judge John More, are depicted wearing fur-lined and -trimmed robes typical of elite Henrician dress. A hanging portrait of Thomas More's second wife, Anne More, based on an actual portrait from c.1560, also depicts her wearing a brown fur collar. As the most senior members of the More clan, Thomas, his father, and his second wife act as authoritative and conservatively dressed figures overlooking the later generations of their extended family. The next generation of Mores, positioned to the right of the portrait, do not wear fur collars but elaborate and fashionable ruffs. Thomas More II dons a rare and expensive beaver felt hat, a garment that marks him as the patriarch within his immediate family. Like his father and grandfather, More II wears a long gown but its collar and trimming are made of a gleaming black silk satin and not fur. The youngest family member, Christopher Cresacre More, wears a slashed, white satin peascod belly doublet, an extremely *à la mode* article of clothing worn by fashionable courtiers. His mother, Maria, wears a velvet brocade stomacher, a jeweled brooch, and gold banded gloves.

In Lockey's image fur garments are associated with older generations and do not configure into the fashionable and more highly personal dress employed by Elizabethan elite. By the late sixteenth century, the practice of wearing fur garments in one's portraiture appears to have been outmoded. The Elizabethan family members turn their gaze outward towards the spectator, demonstrating an awareness of being looked at not shown by the Henrician Mores. The striking difference in silhouette and attire between Thomas More II and his son, Christopher, also demonstrates a rapid shift in fashion between father and son unseen in Henrician portraiture wherein both senior and younger members of the same social rank would have worn dress similar in cut, style, and color to affirm collectivity. The overt self-awareness of the Elizabethan family members suggests a keen appreciation for fashion and clothing in displaying their personal subjectivity and in distinguishing themselves from older generations of their family. Louis Guyon, a French doctor writing at the turn of the century, states that long fur gowns similar to those worn by the senior Mores were common in the 1500s but were archaic by the 1600s: "I have heard it said by elderly ladies of good family who lived at that time that they had seen people almost smothered in these full-length gowns with their trains. And, moreover, whether winter or summer it was a matter of honour to wear them furred with ermine or marten."⁵⁶ Guyon's surprise that individuals actually wore fur gowns in both warm and cold weather suggests that these garments were no longer seen in public.

⁵⁵ This does not include portraits depicting embroidery imitating fur or portraits depicting fur-bearing pets such as weasels. See **Appendix B**.

⁵⁶ Quoted by Jules Quicherat, *Histoire du costume en France I* (Paris, 1875), op. cit., 406.

This is not to say that fur trimming or linings completely disappear from elite Elizabethan portraiture (see **Appendix B**). There were other reasons, apart from fashion, for representing oneself wearing furs, such as status, tradition, and having the right to do so. Furs enjoyed continued utilization within the artist's repertoire of costumes for scholars. Certain subjects, such as urban elites (merchants and retailers, tradesmen, and bourgeois matrons), aged courtiers, and government officials, such as Sir William Cecil (fig. 25) conscientiously had themselves depicted in fur dress as an indicator of their social status within their respective communities. However, a noticeable visual shift in fur's representative function within aristocratic portraiture occurs from the 1560s to 1590s. By the 1590s fur rarely appears in portraiture of the peerage. The only fur garments to appear regularly in court portraiture from the 1590s to the early seventeenth century are accessories framing the head, i.e. the beaver fur hat⁵⁷ and the fur tippet (the latter almost always portrayed as a feature of allegorical costume).

The visual shift away from fur dress in representations of English nobles seems to have eventually affected elite consumption practices in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. Accounts from the 1560s up to the early seventeenth century confirm that elite consumption of furs was indeed dwindling by the middle of the sixteenth century and not earlier during Henry VIII's reign as suggested by Veale.⁵⁸ In 1560 the Muscovy Company sent instructions to its agents in Russia to send to England only a few of the best sable or lynx skins "for they will not be so commonly worn here as they have been with noblemen."⁵⁹ By the seventeenth century fur dress was associated with the lower classes in Continental Europe. In a diary entry from 1644, John Evelyn described the French town of Honfleur as "a poor fishertowne, observable for nothing so much as the odd, yet usefull habites which the good-Women weare, of beares and other skinnis, as of ruggs &c at Diepe and all along those maritime Coasts."⁶⁰ The fur cap (known in Dutch as *moffe-muts*) was associated with vagabonds, thieves, and beggars and was frequently portrayed on German peasants.⁶¹ Already in 1560 fur gowns were viewed as antithetical to luxury and a pitiful attempt to hide poverty: "Thicke fur'd gownes worne in sommer, shew bare worne threedes."⁶²

Textiles that demonstrated magnificence and luxury in the Elizabethan court were imported silks and heavily padded, armor-like garments that were embroidered or woven with gold or silver thread in order to create a glittering surface. Portraits of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (fig. 34; c. 1575); Elizabeth Brydges, Lady Kennedy (fig. 26; 1589); Margaret Audley, Duchess of Norfolk (fig. 27; 1562); and Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton (fig. 28; c. 1598) offer clear examples of how ubiquitous and flagrant metalwork, silks, embroidery, lace, and jewels were to the sartorial construction of the Elizabethan noble. These materials became more available with the rise of luxury trades and the introduction in the late sixteenth century of new textile-making technologies.⁶³ The number of mercers (dealers in textile fabrics, especially silks, velvets, and other fine materials) in London had risen from 30 to 300 between the time of

⁵⁷ The cultural significance of the beaver hat is discussed extensively in **Chapter Four**.

⁵⁸ Elspeth Veale, "From Sable to Mink," in *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress*, edited by Maria Hayward and Philip Ward, Vol. II (Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2012), 335.

⁵⁹ Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, ii, 403, 405.

⁶⁰ Ewing, *Fur in Dress*, 63

⁶¹ Frans Grijzenhout and Nicolaas van Sas, *The Burgher of Delft: A Painting by Jan Steen* (Amsterdam, 2008), 334-35.

⁶² John Heywood, *A fourth hundred of epygrams, newly invented and made by Iohn Heywood* (London, 1560).

⁶³ Ewing, *Fur in Dress*, 49.

Queen Mary and the year 1600.⁶⁴ In a petition to the queen in 1591, the London skimmers described themselves as “poor, miserable, decayed people” unable to exercise their trade because “the usual wearing of furs, (especially of the breed of this realm) is utterly neglected and eaten out by the too ordinary lavish and unnecessary use of velvets and silks.”⁶⁵

In the aftermath of negative commentary and complaints among her peers concerning the dowdiness of her appearance in her early portraiture, it was important for Elizabeth to demonstrate the magnificence and cosmopolitan fashionability of her court through the careful presentation of her attire. The fact that portraits of Elizabeth found their way into numerous collections abroad attests to the care with which the English queen wished to have her image disseminated. Portraits of the queen reached the Continent as diplomatic gifts, or in connection with her numerous marriage negotiations which spanned more than twenty years of her reign. An amazed Fynes Moryson records seeing Elizabeth’s picture in the Palazzo Signoria in Florence in 1594.⁶⁶ Portrayals of her sumptuous dress, constructed with expensive jewels and in the latest European fashions successfully impressed rival courts. In January 1582 a full-length portrait of Elizabeth painted for Catherine de’ Medici was displayed at the Valois court and it was reported that the French ladies marveled at the size of the pearls on her dress.⁶⁷

In order to place herself and her kingdom among the grand courts of Continental Europe, Elizabeth enthusiastically adopted foreign textiles and cuts. Entries in the warrants for the Queen’s wardrobes show a correlation between the Queen’s avid interest in foreign dress during 1560s and 1570s and the decreasing appearance of furs in elite portraiture. The Scottish Ambassador, Sir James Melville, reported in 1564 that the Queen paraded herself in French, Italian, and other national costumes.⁶⁸ In 1577 Dr. Wilson, Elizabeth’s agent at the court of Don John of Austria, said that the Queen used “diverse attires, Italian, spanyshe and frenshe, as occasion served.”⁶⁹ That same year William Harrison lamented that “we do seem to imitate all nations round about us, wherein we be like to the polypus or chameleon; and thereunto bestow most cost upon our arses.”⁷⁰

The sudden extraordinary quantity of luxury textile imports into England upset the balance of English trade. The number of silk imports in 1564-5 amounted to the value of £8000, taffeta £3500 and satin the same. In the year 1592-3 110,000 yards of taffeta were imported into England and this number rose to about 210,000 yards in 1600-01.⁷¹ Even though many luxury furs (such as sables, ermine, lynx, civet cat, and leopard, to name a few) were mainly imported from regions outside of England, polemical writers or moralists rarely attacked them as harmful to domestic economy—in fact, furs were viewed as natural materials and as a distinctly English fashion. Manufactured textiles, by contrast, were seen by Philip Stubbes to impoverish the

⁶⁴ Between 1550 to 1600 London’s population grew from about 80,000 to about 200,000. Stone, *English Aristocracy*, 5.

⁶⁵ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Salisbury MSS. at Hatfield House*, iv, 91–92, 94.

⁶⁶ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary, Glasglow* (1907), i, 322. Quoted in Strong, *Gloriana*, 22.

⁶⁷ W. B. Rye, *England as seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I* (London, 1865), 104.

⁶⁸ Elizabeth also possessed Venetian costumes, gowns from Flanders, Holland and Poland. Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock’d*, 112.

⁶⁹ Lettenhove, *Relations Politiques*, ix. 336; *CSP Foreign, 1575-7*, p. 596. Quoted in Strong, *Gloriana*, 21.

⁷⁰ William Harrison, “Chapter VII: Of Our Apparel and Attire” [1577, Book III., Chapter 2; 1587, Book II., Chapter 7], edited by Georges Edelen, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life* (New York: Folger Shakespeare Library and Dover, 1994).

⁷¹ In addition to this, a prosperous smuggling trade in luxury cloths emerged. In 1597 it was reported that from Stade alone there were illegally imported 250 chests containing no less than 97,500 yards of velvet. Stone, *English Aristocracy*, 6.

English, who love spending money on every “new fangled fashion”, to the detriment of *Ailgna* and to the benefice of other nations, namely France and Italy.⁷² In his text Stubbes rarely mentions fur but instead repeatedly mentions “silks, veluets, Satens, damasks, sarcenet, taffetie, [and] chamlet” as materials of inquietude since they are shamelessly flaunted by the nobility in their dress.⁷³ Written in 1583 at the height of Elizabeth I’s reign, *The Anatomie of Abuses* reveals that silks and other “sumptuous” materials, and not furs, were targeted as sources of concern in examples of prideful dress, suggesting that fur played a minor role in displays of excess and luxury by the late sixteenth century. Indeed, in 1577 William Harrison waxed nostalgic for the merry days when “an Englishman was known abroad by his own cloath... his coat, gown, and cloak of brown, blue, or puke [shade of brown], with some pretty furniture of velvet or fur.”⁷⁴ In polemical discourse, fur trimming is viewed as a virtuous mode of ornamentation that opposes the garish luxury of “jags and change of colours” worn by courtiers during Elizabeth’s reign.⁷⁵

Whereas the cost of fabrics interwoven with metallic threads made them prohibitive during Henry VIII’s reign, by the 1540s technologies for producing gold and silver wire were slowly making their way to northern Europe. Andrew Schultz brought the art of metal wire to Augsburg in the mid-sixteenth century and in 1592 Frederick Hagelscheimer began to prepare spinnable gold and silver thread in Nuremberg. From Germany the art spread to France and England. By 1596 several women trained in the art of making gold and silver thread were apprenticed to Jean Rosineall, a Frenchman residing in London. In 1611 a Frenchwoman was brought to London to teach apprentices to make gold and silver thread under the patronage of Lucy Harrington, the Countess of Bedford, an aristocrat who fully exploited the theatricality of dress in masques and court performances.⁷⁶ In this instance we see that an aristocratic woman was directly involved in the importation of luxury textile techniques to enhance spectacular and visualizing properties of elite court clothing. The importation of these technologies also demonstrates that it was only in the latter half of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century that there was a wide demand for metallic textiles and shimmering surfaces and not earlier during the reign of Henry VIII as argued by Veale.⁷⁷ In her history of lace, Santana M. Levey argues that it wasn’t until the 1560s that metal embroidery was highly fashionable and specifically linked to developments in metal work and the decoration of domestic furnishings: for instance, colored silk and metal threads on linen are used in the Tate Britain’s portrait of “A Young Lady Aged 21” (fig. 29; 1569). In fact, the increasing popularity of applied decoration on furniture and costume gave the impetus for the development of bobbin lace during the second half of the sixteenth century. It was a technique by which metal threads could be more easily manipulated and woven into fabric.⁷⁸

The *Armada Portrait* of 1588 (fig. 30) depicts a wealth of metal thread, from the gold embroidered cloth covering the table on the left to the gold fringe and embroidered upholstery of the chair to the right. The rich textiles depicted in this portrait of imperial triumph are readily available thanks to English naval superiority and dominance over trade. The Queen, lit from the front, seems to manifest the luminosity of the gold around her and she acts as the new standard by which these luxuries are seen. The fact that Elizabeth herself saw light-reflective surfaces

⁷² Philip Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1583).

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Harrison, “Chapter VII: Of Our Apparel and Attire” [1577, Book III., Chapter 2; 1587, Book II., Chapter 7].

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, 25.

⁷⁷ Veale, “From Sable to Mink,” 335.

⁷⁸ Santana M. Levey, *Lace: A History* (London: Victoria & Albert, 1983), 15.

such as golden spangles, metallic thread, and glittering embroidery as essential to the iconographic status of the ruling body is bought home by her last sumptuary proclamation made in 1597 which deemed that none but Knights of the Garter, Privy Councilors, Barons, and those higher in social rank could wear embroideries of silver and gold.⁷⁹ Wives and daughters of men of this rank were equally privileged, as well as Maids of Honor and those whose husbands earned more than five hundred marks a year. This last immunity, based on fortune, is further evidence of how the unique structure of Elizabeth I's court undermined traditional associations of birth right with status. Fashion, in this case silver and gold embroidery, played an important role in potentially upsetting conventional hierarchies. Edicts enacted throughout the sixteenth century were extremely specific in their prohibition against the wearing of luxuries such as embroideries containing metal threads and newly fashionable styles of garments by persons below certain (social and economic) stations of life.⁸⁰ There is evidence that finely embroidered garments were indeed the preserve of royalty and aristocracy and not of the lesser gentry and professionals. The inventory of Thomas Ramsey, Lord Mayor of London and a member of the Grocer's Company who was knighted by Elizabeth, does not list any embroidered doublets, cloaks or hatbands.⁸¹ The only mention of embroidery is table linen edged with blackwork. Instead, his wardrobe was made up of a darker colored kersey and worsted gown and scarlet and wool gowns lined with fur, which were part of his official dress as Lord Mayor.⁸²

The metal embroidery, aglets, and laces incorporated into late Tudor dress utilized actual gold, silver, or copper and was a real material manifestation of currency. A goldsmith and skilled silk textile worker were more highly paid than a painter because their raw materials were more expensive and their costs were manifest in their final product. The value of metal ornaments was directly proportionate to the quantities of gold and silver used.⁸³ In the four years 1594-8, there was imported just under one ton of gold and silver thread from Venice and Cologne and about three tons of copper thread, to satisfy the wants of the those who could not afford gold or silver.⁸⁴ Hans Eworth's portrait of Margaret Audley, laden in metal embroidery and aglets and standing before a gold tapestry, is therefore an ostentatious statement about the Duchess of Norfolk's breathtaking wealth.⁸⁵

It was also common for Elizabethan embroidery to included spangles or "oes," which are similar to modern sequins, although smaller and made from real silver or silver gilt. Spangles were relatively inexpensive, making glittering surfaces more readily used. The Norfolk tailors, Peckover and Gallyard, used great quantities of spangles on wedding clothes in the 1590s. Their accounts include payments for gold oes, silver oes, fine oes and superfine oes.⁸⁶ Proof that rich textiles were now pervading every level of society and becoming more and more essential to Elizabethan identity is detailed in William Harrison's 1587 *The Description of England* as a sign

⁷⁹ Susan North, "An Instrument of profit, pleasure, and of ornament": Embroidered Tudor and Jacobean Dress Accessories" in *English Embroidery from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700: 'Twixt Art and Nature*, eds. Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 52.

⁸⁰ North, "An Instrument of Profit," 167.

⁸¹ North, "An Instrument of Profit," 40.

⁸² North, "An Instrument of Profit," 40.

⁸³ Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, 25.

⁸⁴ Stone, *English Aristocracy*, 5.

⁸⁵ The Duchy of Norfolk was fabulously wealthy during the Tudor period and withstood Henry VIII's attempts to liquate the old medieval baronage.

⁸⁶ Ninya Mikhaila and Jane Malcom-Davies, *The Tudor Tailor: Reconstructing 16th-century Dress* (London: B. T. Batsford, 2006), 44.

of England's economic wealth. Harrison claims that by the late sixteenth century even farmers and "inferior artificers" garnish "their joint beds with tapestry and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine napery, whereby the wealth of our country...doth infinitely appear."⁸⁷ Indeed, historian Lawrence Stone argues that the last fifty years of the sixteenth century were marked by the "spreading taste for conspicuous waste" and commercial expansion gave opportunities for wasting money far in excess of those enjoyed by the medieval aristocracy."⁸⁸

Printed pattern and design books, herbals, and treatises on classical design and architecture also opened up to Elizabethans new ways of making fashion. The first embroidery pattern book published in England was *Moryssche & Damaschin renewed & encreased very profitable for Goldsmiths & Embroiderers* by Thomas Geminus in 1545 and linked the arts of metalwork and embroidery.⁸⁹ The circulation of books of ornament encouraged the exchange of design between the decorative arts trades, with the result that sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century furniture, metalwork, and textiles share similar decorative schemes and motifs. Decorative embroidery became an essential marker of Protestant values and formed an important component of elite female education as seen in John Taylor's *The Praise of the Needle*.⁹⁰ Although embroidery adorning royal dress was professionally made by the Queen's team of skilled embroiderers and artificers, when made by the hands of noble women seeking royal favors, such as the Countess of Shrewsbury's gift of a light blue satin cloak embroidered with pansies, the richly wrought surfaces of Elizabethan dress also signified the wealth and leisure of privilege in Britain.⁹¹ Ornament rendered the surface of an object and the clothed figure into a meaningful space. The fashionability of certain garments such as the drum-shaped farthingale, which became popular from the early 1590s onwards, offered a larger area of skirt for ornamentation.⁹² There is a clear contradiction between embroidery as a sign of virtue but also as a material luxury in that it conspicuously consumes precious materials.

Throughout the long sixteenth century, fur dress retained its economic value and practicality in cold weather, however, the introduction of different fashion-making technologies for metallic threads and the sudden influx of imported silks into the English market shifted social value and fashionability onto other sartorial materials besides furs. Elizabethans become more interested in "sundry colours" and silks, much to the chagrin of moralists like William Harrison and Philip Stubbes, suggesting that the narrow color choice of furs could not satisfy English desire for the novel and flashy.⁹³ Newer technologies in dyeing and processing fabrics into vibrant jewel-toned hues better satisfied elite Elizabethan desires for fashion. Furs became outmoded and were associated with a nostalgic call for tradition and conservatism in dress whereas silks, metallic ornamentation, and embroidery embodied luxury and spoke more to current trends on the Continent. Both the visual arts and sartorial practice during Elizabeth's reign demonstrate

⁸⁷ Harrison, *Description of England*, 200.

⁸⁸ Stone, *English Aristocracy*, 3.

⁸⁹ North, "An Instrument of Profit," 43.

⁹⁰ Morall and Watt, "Introduction" in *English Embroidery*, xiii.

⁹¹ Elizabeth Wingfield reported to the Countess of Shrewsbury that her gift of a blue satin cloak embroidered with pansies was greatly appreciated: "Her majesty never liked any thing you gave her so well." "Elizabeth Wingfield, autograph letter, signed, to Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, January 2 [1576 or 1577]", *Papers of the Cavendish-Talbot family [manuscript], 1333-1705*, Folger Library, call no. X.d.428 (130). Mary, Queen of Scots also sent needlework to Elizabeth as an attempt at communication and political expression, emphasizing that they were "wrought with her own hands." Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 51.

⁹² Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock'd*, 1.

⁹³ Harrison, "Chapter VII: Of Our Apparel and Attire" [1577, Book III., Chapter 2; 1587, Book II., Chapter 7].

that silks and metal threads, because very expensive and decorative, were more apt in conveying magnificence (and extravagance) at the Elizabethan court. Fur was tied to that which was local, landed, and natural whereas newer fashions spoke to the emerging cosmopolitanism of elite Elizabethan culture.

2. 4 Fashion and Subjectivity at the Elizabethan Court

Elizabeth's court was markedly different from the court of her father in that it was no longer made up exclusively of the oldest families, many of whom had been persecuted and executed during the consolidation of the Tudor dynasty. By the late sixteenth century and seventeenth century, landed wealth was no longer sufficient for belonging to the nobility, but social capital in the form of noble titles and patronage networks were more crucial to the elite image. Landed wealth was also not necessary to advance at court. As nobles became less connected to land as in the Henrician court, furs, closely linked with hunting privileges and land rights, were no longer essential to displays of hierarchy among elite men. The environment of Elizabeth's court encouraged elaborate games and riddles to curry the Queen's favor and this court model supplanted older models of militaristic courtliness built on feudal ideas of strength to which furs were attached. Lawrence Stone notes that the majority of the late Elizabethan nobility consisted of second or third generation *nouveaux riches*.⁹⁴ Under Elizabeth I, the Privy Council included lords and wealthy gentlemen drawn from the nobility, gentry, and officers in the royal household. There was more room for personal advancement as figures rose from relatively modest backgrounds to the highest ranks. This new breed of courtier needed to externalize status and individuality in a novel way and elaborate costume was an optically striking medium with which courtiers could express their sophistication and knowledge of the rhetoric of elite visual culture. A text from 1586 discussing the education of a courtier and country gentleman, notes that ambitious individuals relied mainly upon clothing to elevate their status and draw attention to their person:

“I tell you he needeth not to disquiet himself, either in sense or wit, unless it be some one ambitious Gentleman among many, who (because he would seem more venerable then the rest) will be richly appareled.”⁹⁵

By the end of Elizabeth's reign courtiers had more money and access to new sartorial materials and pattern books that opened up innovative modes of making fashion. Richly ornamented clothing and embroidered personal devices were not only a means for courtiers to signify their social station but also their subjectivity, social relationships, and sartorial creativity.⁹⁶ As Susan Vincent argues, without the coercive influence of mass production and

⁹⁴ Stone, *English Aristocracy*, 3-4.

⁹⁵ Anonymous, *The English courtier, and the cutrey gentleman: a pleasaunt and learned disputation, betweene them both: very profitable and necessarie to be read of all nobilitie and gentlemen. : VVerein is discoursed, vvhat order of lyfe, best beseemeth a gentleman, (aswell, for education, as the course of his whole life) to make him a person fytt for the publique seruice of his prince and country* (1586).

⁹⁶ Personal devices were related to the emblem book, which was an important genre in the literary and visual culture of Renaissance England. An individual emblem usually consisted of a motto, an image, and an explanatory epigram that related the two to make a moral point. A wide variety of sources can be identified for the images that appear in emblem books, including classical mythology, plantlore, animals from heraldic imagery and bestiaries, and moral tales from folklore. The first emblem book written in English by an English author was Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devises*, published in 1586 in Leyden. The next most significant and original contributor to English emblem authorship was Henry Peacham, who published a collection of emblems, *Minerva Britanna or a*

ubiquitous fashion images, the early modern consumer had to make a whole range of choices concerning the color, fabric, cut, style, cost and fit of each garment.⁹⁷ In order to do so successfully, he or she needed a particular set of skills and body of information: observations about fashionable dress, a certain knowledge of garment construction, the ability to imagine the finished item, and the vocabulary with which to communicate ideas to the tailor. Furthermore, material was often obtained separately by the customer and given to the tailor for making up. A knowledge of textile properties was essential, along with the ability to judge its quality and to estimate the amount each garment would need.⁹⁸ The expertise required for the selection of fabrics, the devising of garments and the observation of fashionable styles also helps explain the power of clothing, in early modern society, to assert personality and character. When an individual's dressed image directly reflected his or her skills and creativity, it is no wonder that reputation was lodged so firmly in appearance and that appearance was carefully constructed and unique.⁹⁹

In Sir Henry Lee's portrait (fig. 32), we see an instance where an Elizabethan courtier uses costume and jewelry that is specifically designed to show his attachment and loyalty to the Queen. Lee wears the Queen's personal colors of white, gold, red and black and his sleeves are decorated with armillary spheres—an emblem associated with Elizabeth I—and lovers' knots. This portrait shows subtle and complex allusions to Elizabeth and demonstrates the symbolic importance attached to intricate costume at her court. The highly individualized embroidery and devices incorporated into the very fabric and outline of elite dress in portraiture demonstrate that “fashion,” as a phenomenon and mode of expression closely linked with modern notions of individuality, was becoming ever more important for courtiers vying for the queen's favors and recognition.

There is an important distinction to be made between costume and fashion. Clothing as “habit” or costume implies a cultural way of life in the same way that the *habitus monasticus* is not simply a garment but designates the rule, the way of life, from which the garment cannot be disassociated.¹⁰⁰ Habit defines the “mode of being” of established groups and not the free choice of individuals. Furs in the Elizabethan court were taken up as a kind of habit by conservative courtiers, such as Sir William Cecil and other Officers of the State, who required a conscientiously outmoded yet dignified type of dress that contrasted with the flagrant style of younger elite men. A portrait of Cecil c. 1580 in the Bodleian Libraries pictures the Queen's Secretary of State wearing a long fur trimmed gown while mounted on a donkey (fig. 31). He is most likely depicted in the tranquil gardens of his now lost palace Theobalds in Essex and is surrounded by charming strawberry plants. Away from the tensions and rivalries of the court, Cecil's painted respite in the country fittingly portrays him in fur dress associated with old age and scholarly solitude. Contemporaneous to the late Elizabethan shift in fur's iconographic status that we see in elite portraiture, portraits of scholars and professionals take on fur as a type of collective costume that conveyed the dignity and gravity of their profession and class. Cecil's apparel, which demonstrates him trying to attach himself to older traditions, is a striking contrast

Garden of Heroical Devises, furnished and adorned with Emblems and Impresa's of sundry natures in 1612. See Michael Bath, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London: Longman, 1994).

⁹⁷ Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 104.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Defert, “Un genre ethnographique profane au XVIe: les livres d'habits (essai d'ethno-iconographique),” in *Histoires de l'anthropologie (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*, ed. Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (Paris: Klincksieck, 1984), 25-41. For a long version of this argument, see the introduction to Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing* (2000).

to the dapper fashionability of Elizabeth's favorite, Robert Dudley (fig. 33), dressed in a peascod belly doublet and trunk hose. Dudley's garments are ornamented with raised gold embroidery and are slashed and pinked to add texture and pattern to his apparel. His body is encased in a shell-like and highly decorative outer layer that emphasizes geometry and surface whereas Cecil's costume acts more like a comforting and enveloping layer that conveys conformity. Furs were so closely linked with the *habitus* of high office, that they seem antithetical to the new courtier's ideals of subjectivity and of individualism.

In a triptych (fig. 34) that was commissioned in 1575 shortly after the death of Sir Perceval Hart's eldest son Henry, who is not pictured, patriarch Perceval's heavy fur gown acts as a rule of conduct and the memory of this conservatism for both himself as the wearer and for others who see him thus dressed. The figures to the left and right represent Hart's remaining sons George and Francis. The image documents the new family lineage alongside Hart's own piety and expectation of Christian salvation.¹⁰¹ But it also demonstrates a clear demarcation in the sartorial representation of two generations of courtiers. The fact that Hart's sons wish to differentiate themselves from the patriarch of the family and from one another with their *avante garde* and highly fashionable peascod belly doublets and embroidered jackets, instead of wearing a version of their father's dress, shows that they are asserting their individuality and personal tastes through fashion and not through costume. Whereas fur dress and, in particular, the fur gown at the Henrician court confirmed a wearer's conformity within a specific rank, Elizabethan court dress was defined by variety and subjectivity.

In her discussion of the historiography of portraiture, Joanna Woodall challenges long-held associations of Renaissance visual individualization and subjectivity with bourgeois autonomy, interiority and individuality, whereas aristocratic identity is interpreted as socially and politically determined.¹⁰² Woodall argues that elite portraiture has historically been concerned with individuality as it is reliant upon notions of exemplary virtue in order to justify immortalization.¹⁰³ Fashion was central to displays of elite English subjectivity because the hereditary nobility's reliance upon blood and family genealogy rendered noble identity inseparable from the body. Dress presented courtiers with the perfect balance between visually linking themselves to the monarchy upon which the aristocracy depended and allowing the favorite to establish a strong visual identity and assert his very presence and existence through his image.¹⁰⁴ Young Elizabethan courtiers utilized the fashion system as a defensive strategy of legitimization. However, Elizabethans had to negotiate the delicate balance between demonstrating their rank and social relationships with the Queen and other members of the same station while also bringing attention to their own subjectivity (or singularity) and alterity within an already alternative group. I argue that "fashioning" one's body, as a skill "making art", conveyed tensions between the emerging subjectivity and autonomy of the artistic/elite individual who nevertheless was bound by the need to assert themselves as socially-grounded through iconography pictorially linked to a collective identity. Elizabethans were constantly juggling their need to exert their singular traits with clear signs of their membership within an elite community and fashion and its representation in painting gave them the tools to creatively reconcile such tensions. In *Empire of Fashion*, Gilles Lipovetsky explains that this construction

¹⁰¹ Tarnya Cooper and Maurice Howard, "Artists, Patrons, Context for Production of Painted Images" in *Painting Britain, 1500-1630: Production, Influences, and Patronage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 22.

¹⁰² Woodall, *Portraiture*, 15.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁰⁴ Benza, "Vaulting Ambition," 14.

of individuality through fashion creates a tension in aristocrats between the desire to construct an “I” and to respond to the expectations of royal power and the court.¹⁰⁵ It is precisely this tension that is inscribed onto the fashioned body of the courtier who is molded into an image of both Queen and self.

Sociologist Thorstein Veblen argues that throughout modern history courtiers have utilized fashion and the conspicuous consumption of material goods with the aim of attracting the admiration and envy of others.¹⁰⁶ In order to compete favorably with others and to earn and retain honor and prestige, members of the upper classes had to offer expensive gifts and spend generously through their surroundings (home, furnishings, banquets, parties, entourage, processions) and their own person (attire and grooming). Elizabeth’s favorite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, was reputed to have expended £60,000 in preparation for Elizabeth I’s visits to his estate, Kenilworth Castle. The sum he spent included the purchase and commissioning of textiles and art. For three weeks in 1575, Elizabeth and her court were entertained with masques, dancing, tilting, hunting and bear-baiting, fireworks displays, acrobatics, elaborate feasts and barrels of beer and wine.¹⁰⁷

Part of Dudley’s program of conspicuous display was the unveiling of two sets of life-sized portraits he had commissioned of himself and Elizabeth in fashionable dress. In the first portrait set, Dudley (fig. 34) wears a red silk doublet, a symbol of his love for the queen, and in the portrait of Elizabeth (fig. 35), she is shown wearing a jewel-encrusted white doublet that had been a gift from Dudley at New Year.¹⁰⁸ By portraying Elizabeth wearing a garment that had been conceived, designed, and physically handled by him, Dudley brandishes his intimate relationship with the queen through the display of fashion. The parallel between their slashed doublets, similar in cut, design, and fabric, creates a mirroring effect that links the couple visually and politically. Dudley uses attire to articulate his special court status and make careful allusions to his sentimental attachment to the queen and to her possible reciprocity. Dudley literally translates his fashionable body into a work of art that successfully realizes its function within practices of display. The courtier-as-masterpiece had two audiences: the first, other courtiers, who, like true connoisseurs, appreciated him because they thoroughly understood his art form; and the second, the prince, who could reward the artist as well as enjoy the artwork. The prince, in her special position vis-a-vis the courtier, resembled the ideally placed viewer of a perspective painting or theatrical set.¹⁰⁹ It is for this reason that a portrait displaying the sartorial body of the monarch’s favorite is especially apt at expressing the courtier’s subjectivity and his desire for it to be recognized and confirmed as existent by its ultimate audience, the queen.

Dress not only made it possible to display one’s membership within a given rank, class, or nation, but it was fashion that was an instrument for enlarging the cult of the self.¹¹⁰ Elizabethan fashion demonstrates that English courtiers were concerned with displaying

¹⁰⁵ Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 28-29.

¹⁰⁶ Thorstein Veblen, “Conspicuous Consumption” and “Dress as an Expression of the Pecuniary Culture” in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899).

¹⁰⁷ Robert Laneham, *Robert Laneham’s letter: describing a part of the entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at the castel of Kenilworth in 1575*, published in 1907.

¹⁰⁸ Elizabeth Goldring, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and the World of Elizabethan Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

¹⁰⁹ Robert Hanning, “Castiglione’s Verbal Portrait,” in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, eds. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 135.

¹¹⁰ Lipovetsky, *Empire of Fashion*, 28-29.

subjectivity and setting themselves apart from other nobles. The unique structure of the Elizabethan court, wherein traditional markers of noble status no longer guaranteed social and political advancement, put pressure upon courtiers to compete with one another and to curry favor with the queen. And they did so by employing symbolic surface ornamentation and elaborate, expensive dress to garner attention, admiration, and envy. As elite portraiture became less reliant upon fur as a conservative costume of social status, images of younger courtiers emphasized instead their personal choice and ambitions through fashion.

2.5 The Elizabethan Silhouette: Constructing and Painting an Alternative Body and the Problematics of Fur

Fundamental to elite Elizabethan distinction was a new silhouette that emphasized structure and the containment of the body. In contrast to the reality of the human body, Renaissance art and culture viewed the body as a completed, finished product. Classical culture, imported from Italy and based on the principle of symmetry or balance which was first applied in tidying up of the facades of English buildings, began to permeate the anatomy of the courtier's sartorial body.¹¹¹ Henry Howard's portrait (fig. 36) from 1546 demonstrates quite early on how Italian models in poetry and classical education could be reflected in a subject's dress.¹¹² In the portrait Howard wears a doublet and trunk hose decorated with Italianate motifs and ornamentation.

As Mikhail Bakhtin argues in his discussion of Rabelais, the grotesque body is antithetical to the classical body, which with its impenetrable surface closes and limits the body as a separate phenomenon.¹¹³ The classical body was isolated, alone and fenced off from all other bodies. All signs of its unfinished character, of its growth and proliferation were eliminated. This explains why images visualizing the unfinished nature of the body such as pregnancy or images of the disfigured body or of those who have lost their limbs or have blemishes from disease are so rare and usually present such transitions with ambiguity.¹¹⁴ The classical statue was usually displayed mounted on a plinth, elevated, static, and monumental. The plinth or pedestal implies that the classical statue is the radiant center of a transcendent individualism, raised above the viewer and anticipating passive admiration from below whereas

¹¹¹ Classics provided a stimulus to Elizabethan artists, scholars, and educated elites who began thinking about the role of visual arts in English society and the relation of painting to other arts of representation like poetry. Strapwork, consisting of interlaced bands or straps, first executed at Fontainebleau in the 1530s, and the curvilinear floral patterning known as rinceaux shows the influence of classicizing motifs which first came into England under Henry VIII. Margaret and Alexander Potter, *Houses: Being a record of the changes in Construction Style and Plan of the Smaller English Home from Mediaeval Times to Present Day* (London: John Murray Albemarle Street, 1948), 19 and Sharpe, *Selling Tudor Monarchy*.

¹¹² Karen Hearn, ed., *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England, 1530-1630* (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), 52.

¹¹³ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, translated by Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1968), 93. Prints of antiquities and ancient statuary found in Italy were also available to Elizabethans. In 1586, antiquarian William Camden published his findings on Roman Britain and classical architecture and design in *Britannia*. Leslie W. Hepple, "The Museum in the Garden": Displaying Classical Antiquities in Elizabethan and Jacobean England" in *Garden History*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Winter, 2001): 109-120.

¹¹⁴ See Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Methuen London, 1986), 29. Karen Hearn discusses the rare pregnancy portraits known in English art that date from the late 1580s through to about 1630. She argues that since childbirth was potentially hazardous during the period, portraits portraying the woman as clearly pregnant acted as a record of the features of a beloved woman who might shortly be dead. These portraits also seem to have dynastic functions as well. Karen Hearn, "A Fatal Fertility? Elizabethan and Jacobean Pregnancy Portraits" in *Costume*, Vol. 34, No. 1(2000): 39-43.

the grotesque body is usually multiple and open.¹¹⁵ Whereas the blurred outline of furs made it more difficult to gauge the geometric form of the elite body beneath, padded and structured silks clearly distinguished the form of the noble body from the damaged and bent bodies of the working classes and crafted it into something beyond the real. It was precisely during Elizabeth's reign that the English tailor became a more crucial agent than other royal artificers in constructing the fashioned body. Previously the roles of tailor and furrier were clearly separated but during Elizabeth's reign, the royal tailor was charged with replacing and altering fur linings and was regularly employed to alter outmoded styles, showing his emerging importance to the royal wardrobe.¹¹⁶

These notions of the unified body also emerged at a time when anxieties about the mutability and social mobility of the lower classes as urban life exploded began to be expressed in dress and appearance.¹¹⁷ Veblen's theory of pecuniary strength argues that nobles had to demonstrate conspicuously, especially through their dress and surroundings, that they were not compelled to perform degrading, productive work. The main objective of the silhouette was therefore not fashion but to indicate rank.¹¹⁸ The intricacies of lacing and pinning garments together meant that dressing and undressing were social processes that required other pairs of hands and the labor of dressing was a constant reminder of the significance of clothes in the daily makings and unmakings of the body.¹¹⁹ As the sixteenth century progressed, clothes depicted in contemporary sources appear to be stiffer and curves are less evident. Larger sleeves and padded, bulky clothing were the preserve of gentlefolk, since anyone who has to do manual labor would find them impractical. In the late Elizabethan period, trunk sleeves or verthingale sleeves were so big that they required extra support from rolls of fabric or bones.¹²⁰ In women's dress, the stays contained a woman's body and gave an upright position that enhanced the notion of structured beauty.¹²¹ By this time, the bodice of the gown, or another beneath it, was interlined with some form of stiffening.¹²² For noblemen, the peascod belly created a distorted and elongated torso whose belly extended below the hips into a sharp point.¹²³ The notorious Elizabethan ruff characterized the aristocratic desire for inflexibility of dress and rigidity of the figure.¹²⁴ A noble would find his movements so restricted that he could not undertake laborous activity—very much an aristocratic privilege.¹²⁵

Of course, Elizabethans also jousted, hunted, and exercised in stiff armor and clothing. However, it was the controlled and purposeful navigation of dress in motion that counted. Men and women used dress as tools to abide by this art of appearance, and sumptuous clothing and

¹¹⁵ Stallybrass, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 21.

¹¹⁶ Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock'd*, 184.

¹¹⁷ Margaret Pelling, "Appearance and Reality: Barber-surgeons, the body and disease," in *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, eds. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), 104.

¹¹⁸ Denis Bruna, ed., *Fashioning the Body: An Intimate History of the Silhouette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 104.

¹¹⁹ Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, 23.

¹²⁰ Mikhaila, *Tudor Tailor*, 21.

¹²¹ Bruna, *Fashioning the Body*, 63.

¹²² Interlinings of canvas and buckram provided sufficient stiffening for bodices and boning proper appear in household accounts after the middle of the century. Mikhaila, *Tudor Tailor*, 22.

¹²³ Dense materials, easily packed together, were used to create the doublet's bulk: horsehair, wool, cotton, tow, rags, and bran. Bruna, *Fashioning the Body*, 41-44.

¹²⁴ Only with the introduction of starch in 1560s could the ruff grow in size. Susan Vincent, *The Anatomy of Fashion: Dressing the Body from the Renaissance to Today* (New York: Berg, 2009).

¹²⁵ Bruna, *Fashioning the Body*, 71.

accessories governed one's shape and carriage, as well as made one more mindful of one's gestures and attitudes. Indeed, the new fashions of the male courtier, whose padded garments emphasized his torso and his slender and agile limbs, was more conducive to dancing and the chivalric rituals of courtly life dominated by a Queen who needed to be wooed.¹²⁶ Silks and not furs evoked the slender and graceful form of the new courtier's dancing body. The wide-skirted fashions of the late Elizabethan noblewoman enhanced her regal presence while the slow and stately movements described by George Puttenham in 1589 would have made an impressive display of rich fabrics: "And in a prince it is decent to go slowly and to march with leisure, and with a certain grandity rather than gravity; as our sovereign lady and mistress, the very image of majesty and magnificence, is accustomed to do generally; unless it be when she walketh apace for her pleasure, or to catch her a heat in the cold mornings."¹²⁷

Elizabethan fashion was a means to construct a cultural body and not a natural one.¹²⁸ In the Renaissance, medicine and education taught that the body and soul needed to be controlled and regulated through orthopedics and religion to mold a person into the physical and moral ideal.¹²⁹ Many noble families began to devise new educational strategies that emulated socialization and good manners in a court-like setting at home and abroad through schools and universities.¹³⁰ This is also the time when norms of language became stricter and the canon of polite speech was being formed.¹³¹ Pierre Bourdieu states that "symbolic power works partly through control of other people's bodies and belief that is given by the collectively recognized capacity to act in various ways on deep-rooted linguistic and muscular patterns of behavior, either by neutralizing them or by reactivating them to function mimetically."¹³² I would argue that dress was the one material resource that was essential to acting out this symbolic and cultural capital.

It is crucial to note that the alternative elite body emerges at precisely a time when the aristocracy is on the verge of collapse and financial ruin. In tracing the expenditure and economic history of the English nobility throughout the sixteenth century, Lawrence Stone argues that extravagant expenditure on clothes plays a key role in perpetuating this vicious cycle of decay.¹³³ Over two-thirds of the earls and barons were swiftly approaching or poised on the brink of financial ruin in the last few years of Elizabeth's reign because of excessive spending, competition, war, the price revolution, inefficient land management and the cost of public administration, not to mention the culture of hospitality which forced many nobles to spend extraordinary sums to throw masques and performances for the Queen.

As new painting technologies and artistic styles were introduced and then gained favor among elite Elizabethan consumers, a new lexicon or visual anatomy of an alternative social body developed in elite English culture. As discussed above, the art and imagery of Elizabeth I's court favored symbols and emblems over naturalistic illusions and the furry material qualities of fur pelts rendered them less conducive to surface ornamentation and individualization and

¹²⁶ Cooper, *A Guide*, 16.

¹²⁷ Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock'd*, 2; George Puttenham, *The Art of Poesie* (London: 1589).

¹²⁸ Bruna, *Fashioning the Body*, 21.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹³⁰ Herman Roodenburg, *The Eloquence of the Body: Perspectives on Gesture in the Dutch Republic* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2004), 74.

¹³¹ Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 94.

¹³² Pierre Bourdieu "Belief and the Body" in *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 69.

¹³³ Stone, *English Aristocracy*, 4-6.

thereby antithetical to the design and style of the Elizabethan period. The glossaries of Elizabethan limning manuals discuss in great detail the painting of silks, satins, and jewels as a demonstration of the artist's skill but there is no mention of furs as crucial to this visual language of virtuosity and courtliness.¹³⁴ The depiction of silks demonstrated more expertise in painting than the depiction of furs because gouache, the medium of miniature painting, cannot be easily blended to render fur in a naturalistic style recommended by Netherlandish art theorist Karel van Mander, who urged artists to portray the movement and "gheest" of hair.¹³⁵ A clear example of this can be seen in the miniature version of Rowland Lockey's family portrait of Sir Thomas More's family and descendants (fig. 37). In the miniature painting the artist struggled to capture the textural qualities of fur with opaque gouache whereas in the larger oil painting, the trimmings of the Henrician family members are clearly articulated as fur materials because the nature of oil paints permits easier blending and layering. By contrast the crinkled, wet sheen of silk satins is even more emphasized in gouache than in oil. These changing technologies of painting meant that the expertise of Holbein in depicting naturalistic surfaces such as furs was not an important aesthetic component to Elizabethan court culture.

Many art historians misconceive the stiff doll-like presentation of the body in late Tudor portraiture as due to a lack of training among English artists and their inability to render a three-dimensional object on a two-dimensional surface. Painters' marked interest in accurately capturing details of pattern and the design of costume and jewelry is seen to be at the expense of the overall harmony and coherence of the image.¹³⁶ Traditionally, the role of the artist is to represent man in his entirety and not focus on sartorial details: fashion distracts from the overall grandeur of general and universal truths, which art promises. Within this aesthetic, portraiture is always already a problematic genre as it insists on particularization. Portraiture is about momentarily arresting the passage of time, about making something transitory permanent. By contrast, the very purpose of sartorial embellishment is to be constantly open to change.¹³⁷

However, Elizabethan visual culture celebrated visual details as unifying extensions of an individual. In his treatise on miniature paintings, Hilliard gives a minute and technical description of how to represent clothes and jewelry and the relationship between gems, that is, sparkling surfaces, and color serves as the overwhelming focus of his text.¹³⁸ Patricia Fumerton notes that the face in a Hilliard miniature literally functions as the background (the face uses the flesh tone of the primer or card on which these images were painted), which is then made to support variable and complex depictions of hair, ruffs, jewelry, clothes, and other sartorial objects that are actually built up in impasto to be three-dimensional objects.¹³⁹ Instead of disrupting the homogeneity of a seamless and classicizing whole, Elizabethan surface embellishment actually works to enhance the elite body and extend it, rendering the body more

¹³⁴ See Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named The Governour* (1531); Nicholas Hilliard, *Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, written sometime around 1598 or 1599, was left unpublished at his death in 1619; Henry Peacham, *Graphice* (1612).

¹³⁵ Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 66: "Though one might try to master the painting of leaves, working assiduously after nature or after pleasing rendering...: Yet this studious pursuit of art would be like a delusion bodied forth: for leaves, hair, air, and fabric all are *gheest* and *gheest* alone teaches how to fashion them."

¹³⁶ Tarnya Cooper et al., *Elizabeth I & Her People* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2013), 15-16.

¹³⁷ Marcia Pinton, June 2011 conference paper "Accessories as Portraits and Portraits as Accessories" Marburg

¹³⁸ Hilliard, *Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, ed. R. K. R. Thornton and T. S. Cain (Northumberland: Carcanet Press, 1992).

¹³⁹ Patricia Fumerton, "Secret Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets" in *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993).

accessible as an individual. It is in these very details of late Tudor dress that we can see the dominant features of the psycho-symbolic domain. In their discussion of the grotesque body, Peter Stallybrass and Allon White argue that the most powerful, symbolic repertoires are located at borders, margins, and edges rather than at accepted centers of the social body.¹⁴⁰ This theory of the symbolic margin can be extended to the aristocracy and to high culture as well, where the dress of the elite gives insight into the fundamental reworkings of a collective. We can view surface ornamentation, that which is located at the margins of the body and which seem secondary to describing a self, as highly symbolic of elite Elizabethan constructions of identity.

2. 6 Furs and Hygiene in Early Modern Physicians' Texts and the Pictorial Conceit of a Healthy Urban Body

The changing iconographic status of fur garments evident in early modern art is also closely related to practices and knowledge in medicine and public health. New medical discussions about the important protective role of dress compounded the desire of English elites to portray their bodies as impermeable and healthy. Several early modern plague tracts and preventive literature advised readers against wearing fur dress. This advice comes at a time when the need to keep the body protected and hidden was even more essential as city life became more important and the urban population exploded.

Between 1550 and 1600 London's population grew from about 80,000 to about 200,000, making it ten times bigger than its nearest rivals, Bristol and Norwich. As its population increased so did its gravitational attraction for the prospering country gentry and nobility who began enjoying the comforts of their new London houses.¹⁴¹ The preeminence of London was sealed by the increasing presence there of the royal court which stressed personal good looks and accomplishments.¹⁴² Although the country gentleman was wont to "walke at home plainly appareled: yet when wee come to the Assizes, London, or any other place of assembly, wee will put on Courtlike garments."¹⁴³ City life and the high visibility that it entailed brought with it the need to impress through one's physical appearance. But it also meant that gentlemen were thrown into crowded spaces teeming with bodies where they risked more exposure to disease and illness, which could in turn jeopardize good looks. Smallpox caused major mortality, not to mention scarring, and around a fifth of London's population died in each of the plagues of 1563, 1603, 1625 and 1665.¹⁴⁴

Early modern medicine defined bad air as an external danger that threatened to upset one's humoral balance and invade a body's layer of skin, which was permeable.¹⁴⁵ The French royal surgeon Amboise Paré (c. 1509-1590) confirmed a common belief when he said that skin was "penetrated with many pores, as breathing-places," hence making the body more susceptible to "the violent assault of all external dangers."¹⁴⁶ Because dress was seen as the armor that covered the vulnerable flesh beneath, many contemporaries believed that having too few layers of clothing or not being covered at all could lead to illness and even death. Clothing was central

¹⁴⁰ Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 20.

¹⁴¹ Hearn, *Dynasties*, 15.

¹⁴² Margaret Pelling, "Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body and Disease," in *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis*, ed. A. L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), 90.

¹⁴³ Anon., *The English Courtier* (1586).

¹⁴⁴ Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13-14.

¹⁴⁵ Georges Vigarello, *Le corps redressé* (Paris, 1978), 86.

¹⁴⁶ (London, 1634), 89.

to early modern ideas of hygiene and its maintenance. Certain clothes were viewed to ameliorate or aid with hygiene while others were seen as detrimental to it. By the seventeenth century, furs were seen to negatively affect personal hygiene and health. This is a startling contrast to furs' importance in conveying the appearance of the robust, virile elite male body during Henry VIII's reign.

Stephen Bradwell, the son of a London physician by the same name and the grandson of the celebrated Elizabethan physician, John Banister, published a text in 1625 titled, *A watch-man for the pest*, educating the public on how to prevent the spread of plague.¹⁴⁷ He argued that apparel that is "well made" and "well kept" was the best defense against "the infectious Aire."¹⁴⁸ He advises against the wearing of "all kinde of Furr[s]" and explains that

"Furres ... retaine [the infection] long, and it is hardly gotten out of them; as appeareth by a story which Fracastorius telleth of a Furred Gowne that was the death of five and twentie men in Verona, in the yeare 1511, who one after the other wore it, thinking they had still aired it sufficiently."¹⁴⁹

This incident was first discussed in Physician Thomas Lodge's *A Treatise on the Plague* from 1603 wherein we are also told that, "If any sicke man hath afore worne a furr'd gowne, let each man beware how he weareth it after, for furre is too apt to take infection."¹⁵⁰ In times of plague, old fur clothes were seen as aiding in the spread of disease and their sale was restricted.¹⁵¹

Bradwell advises those who can afford such textiles, to wear silks such as taffeta and satins, which "doth best exclude the Aire from entring or taking vp any logging in the stuffs."¹⁵² In this practice of self-medication, it was believed that fabrics with smooth, shiny textures like satins were more repellent to contagion and safer to wear than softer fabrics like wool and fur, which had a looser weave and were therefore more porous and apt to retaining infection.¹⁵³ Although another layer of skin, fur was not as protective as padded, stiffened garments. How could fur clothing, which presumably added another layer of processed skin to a wearer's body,

¹⁴⁷ Stephen Bradwell, *A watch-man for the pest Teaching the true rules of preservation from the pestilent contagion, at this time fearefully over-flowing this famous cittie of London* (London: 1625). In addition to *Physick for ... the Plague*, he was the author of *Helps for Suddain Accidents* (London 1633), which pioneered the idea of the first aid guide. Bradwell was an unlicensed London practitioner, who, despite having no medical education, had been to university. He was well-read in the subject and displayed orthodox medical views in his writings. He used the paradigm of putrefaction to make sense of why the poor suffered most from plague and argued that their poor living conditions and diet contributed to the corruption of their bodies. Peter Elmer and Ole Peter Grell, eds., *Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1500-1800: A Sourcebook* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 153. Also see Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 284.

¹⁴⁸ Bradwell, *A watch-man for the pest*, 18.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹⁵⁰ Thomas Lodge, *A treatise of the plague containing the nature, signes, and accidents of the same, with the certaine and absolute cure of the feuers, botches and carbuncles that raigne in these times: and about all things most singular experiments and preseruatiues in the same, gathered by the obseruation of diuers worthy traualiers, and selected out of the writing of the best learned phisitions in this age* (London: 1603), Chapter XVII.

¹⁵¹ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 82. A 2016 article from *The Guardian* reported the discovery of leprosy in red squirrels across the British Isles. Scientists believe that red squirrels have been infected with the disfiguring disease for centuries, which can be transmitted from animal to human, leading scientists to suggest that humans may have caught leprosy from red squirrels in the past by using their fur or eating their meat. Early moderns may have recognized animal-to-human infection through furs. Damian Carrington, *The Guardian*, 10 November 2016: <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/nov/10/leprosy-revealed-in-red-squirrels-across-british-isles>

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Vincent, *The Anatomy of Fashion*, 154-155.

be open or have a looser weave? If the human body was porous, animal skin was also seen as permeable as the linguistic and scientific division between human and animal skin was often fluid and confused in the early modern period.

Interestingly, early modern medical texts differentiated the medical qualities of fur and leather. In a text published in 1600, physician William Vaughan advised readers to wear clothing made of silk or buffed leather, “for it resisteth venime and contagions ayres.”¹⁵⁴ The process of buffing leather until its surface was completely smooth was seen as tightening the material’s “weave” and therefore rendering it more protective. Under Bradwell’s guideline, apparel that was “well-made” was equated with how tightly woven its fabric was and how best it could exclude external infection. Furs were less “well-made” because, in spite of requiring the intervention of the human hand to process it into a luxury commodity, it retained its raw and natural qualities unlike satins, which had a highly finished surface. As a material sourced from the wild, fur has traditionally been opposed to technology and advancement in spite of the technologies employed in processing it into an aesthetic material.

Medical advice urging readers not to wear furs contradicts earlier sources that had recommended the wearing of fur dress to ameliorate ailments. An English edition of George Gascoigne’s *The Noble Arte of Venerie* from 1575 notes that, “The wild Cats case is nothing so good furre, but it is verie warme, and medicinable for sundry ailments and paines in the bones and ioynts.”¹⁵⁵ Some forty years earlier, patients had been advised to wear many layers of furs to sweat out a malady:

“[The] Patient should be moved to sweat to cure him of illness—
caste on him many clothes. I Percyued my selfe no sooner to
sweate, whanne I was couered with thre or foure fures, than whan
I had to wrye me but one couerlede.”¹⁵⁶

Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey have argued that early moderners believed the evacuation of visible and invisible bodily excrements, such as body matters, fluids, and vapors, was crucial to maintaining good health.¹⁵⁷

The sudden shift to controlling the boundaries between skin and external and internal elements described in later English medical texts may stem from the perceived uncleanness of furs. Bradwell argued that keeping one’s garments “cleane and sweet” was crucial to good health.¹⁵⁸ He notes that “To keepe them cleane, requires varietie and often shifting,” that is, the regular changing of one’s clothes, particularly undergarments.¹⁵⁹ Central to sixteenth-century hygiene was the concept of “shifting” one’s undergarments, which, to an early modern person, came closest to our modern concept of cleaning and freshening up the body.¹⁶⁰ In portraits representing fur garments, furs are never directly in contact with the wearer’s skin but are without exception worn over another layer of clothing such as a man’s shirt or a woman’s shift.

¹⁵⁴ William Vaughan, *Naturall and artificial directions for health deriued from the best philosophers, as well moderne, as auncient* (London: Printed by Richard Bradocke, 1600), 70.

¹⁵⁵ George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie* (London, 1575), 199.

¹⁵⁶ Ulrich von Hutten, *Of the wood called guaiacum that health the Frenche pockes, and also health the goute in the feete, the stoone, the palsey, lepre, dropsy, fallynge euyll, and other dyseases* (London: 1536), 61.

¹⁵⁷ Sandra Cavallo and Tessa Storey, “Excretions as Excrements: The Hygiene of the Body” in *Healthy Living in Late Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 241.

¹⁵⁸ Bradwell, *A watch-man for the pest*, 19.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Vincent, *Dressing Elites*, 52.

Linen undergarments were worn directly next to the skin to absorb all bodily fluids including perspiration and other dirt.¹⁶¹ Even when fur trims necklines, collars, or wrists, a slither of linen is ever present as the barrier between the body and this costly and precious material. It was entirely unacceptable for any major area of outer clothing to be in contact with skin for reasons of cleanliness and to prevent expensive clothing from becoming soiled in a time when regular bathing was not medically advised and when outer garments were often worn daily for long periods of time without change.¹⁶² The expense of fur garments and difficulty in regularly airing and cleaning them may have meant that a wearer did not have a variety of furs to change from on a daily basis. Royal accounts also demonstrate that furs, as a material prone to degradation, required extensive care, beating, perfuming and careful storage in order to keep out vermin, such as lice, moths, and fleas, and to prevent mildew, especially in a humid and damp environment such as England.¹⁶³

The emphasis on hygienic bodies and clothes emerges at a time when Elizabethan courtly comportment and artistic practice demanded an idealized body that was enclosed, controlled, and clean. In Nicholas Hilliard's treatise on limning (written sometime around 1598 or 1599 and published after his death in 1619), the artist views miniature painting as a mode of self-discipline in that it demands an exceptional personal cleanliness.¹⁶⁴ He says that just as limning is "sweet and clean," so too should the gentleman artist be "pure and cleanly in all his doings."¹⁶⁵ Neatness, Hilliard warns, is essential in painting the miniature for no stray hair or speck of dust, dandruff, or spittle must be allowed to mar the delicate surface of the painting. The artist should dress only in silk so as to minimize any dust from clothing.¹⁶⁶ Furs on the other hand are antithetical to neatness. Their porousness retained debris and organic material and their shedding of hairs was inevitable. The one place where fur was always present in the studio was as the brushes used to carry the paint.

Tolerance for dirt is an important social marker and takes historical and culturally specific forms. As Norbert Elias and others have shown, early modern etiquette books were deeply preoccupied with managing the humoral body's fluids and wastes.¹⁶⁷ Controlling one's bodily secretions was increasingly conceived as a mode of internal self-discipline, for it signaled the desire to control the body's humoral balance and shameful nature. The humoral body's vulnerability to the external effects of air, water, heat, and cold made it a volatile and leaky

¹⁶¹ Bianca M. Du Mortier, "Costumes in Gabriel Metsu's Paintings: Mode and Manners in the Mid-Seventeenth Century" in *Gabriel Metsu, 1629-1667* (Dublin: National Gallery of Ireland, 2010), 143.

¹⁶² Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," 93.

¹⁶³ Adam Bland, Elizabeth I's furrier, spent most of the calendar year maintaining the queen's and her household's fur garments. He provided the Queen's household with perfumed bags to keep furs smelling fresh. Silk bags filled with "sweet" (scented) powder were lain between fur garments while they were kept in storage. The sweet smell was mostly likely made of pulverized orris root with a fragrant odor like that of violets and damask roses. Janet Arnold speculates that skimmers may have also included packages of fuller's earth with deliveries of sweet powder to clean grease out of skins, wool and fur. Royal skimmers supplied the royal household with coal for the storage rooms where furs were being aired in the Tower of London to ensure that they did not dampen or grow mildew. See Arnold, *Wardrobe Unlock'd*, 232.

¹⁶⁴ Nicholas Hilliard, *Treatise Concerning the Arte of Limning*, ed. R. K. R. Thornton and T. S. Cain (Northumberland: Carcanet Press, 1992), 53.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 23.

¹⁶⁷ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1982) and Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 10.

vessel, not to mention a potential source of social humiliation. Furs made people sweat whereas silks, such as grosgrains, sarcenets, satins and damasks, were much lighter and more breathable. Between the mid-fourteenth century and the early seventeenth century, the weave density of these lighter silks fell by a third, reflecting a shift to lighter, thinner cloth.¹⁶⁸ Bradwell himself said that causing “the Body to sweat through heat...may be occasions of much harme.”¹⁶⁹ The furrier’s trade, in particular, was described in repugnant terms in the late sixteenth century and furriers were more susceptible to the “sweating sickness” due to the harrowing conditions of their industry and the “contagious heate of their slaughter budge and conny-skins, [dyed] more thicke than the pestilence.”¹⁷⁰ Hair itself was conceptualized as an excrement of the body and as the very manifestation of animal excrement, fur was an overt reminder of discharged waste matter.¹⁷¹ Writing in 1597, Edmund Mats described furs as nothing more than “cases of dead beasts.”¹⁷² Another reason fur may have been considered unhygienic lies in its tendency to retain odor and smells. Danielle Nagler has demonstrated that in the Tudor and Stuart periods, “smell represented both nourishment and poison, both disease and cure” and stale, pungent odors were deleterious to health in contrast to fresh and sweet-smelling odors.¹⁷³

Not only were Elizabethans conscious about bodily fluids and cleanliness, but they were also conscious of exposing their own indelible flaws. As the city became the main arena for competition among social aspirants, urban life added new dimensions to attitudes of the body and its defects.¹⁷⁴ Margaret Pelling argues that in a period before antibiotics, scarring and chronic failure to heal provoked anxieties about the imperfections of the body.¹⁷⁵ Sporadic famines and furious epidemics, together with the impact of colder weather on the population’s health brought widespread distress to the working population.¹⁷⁶ The social division between them and the ruling classes now became more marked through the fashioned body. The silhouette was therefore used not only to impress but also to conform to norms of appearance, creating physical equality within the upper class. Ostentation was combined with concealment to redirect the eyes from the defected and deformed body beneath to the richly wrought and glimmering light-refracting surface. In the elite preoccupation with enclosing and protecting their bodies and in redirecting attention to the outer surface of their identities, the optical and reflective brilliance of embellishments and the sheen of silks are favored over the tactility of furs.

¹⁶⁸ John Styles, “Fashion and Innovation in Early Modern Europe,” in *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles, and Innovation in Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. Evelyn Welch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 146-52.

¹⁶⁹ Bradwell, *A watch-man for the pest*, 18.

¹⁷⁰ Thomas Nash (1567-1601), *The vnfortunate traoueller. Or, The life of Iacke Wilton* (1594).

¹⁷¹ Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 142.

¹⁷² Edmund Mats, *A deuoute mans purposes Being zealous and comfortable meditations, to weane a man from this world, and the vanities thereof* (1597), 13.

¹⁷³ Nagler also argues for “the increasing importance of this sense” throughout the sixteenth century in England on the basis of a variety of evidence, ranging from “the large number of English smell-cognates originating in the sixteenth century” to “the emergence of a domestic perfume industry.” Danielle Nagler, “Towards the Smell of Mortality: Shakespeare and Ideas of Smell 1588-1625” in *The Cambridge Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1997): 42-43. See also Holly Dugan, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (JHU Press, 2011).

¹⁷⁴ Pelling, “Appearance and Reality,” 89.

¹⁷⁵ Pelling, “Appearance and Reality,” 93.

¹⁷⁶ Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 1.

The peascod doublet, which became fashionable in the sixteenth century, originated in military dress where it was an undergarment covered with armor. Articles of padded clothing covering the torso and thighs were worn as protection in sword fighting. Similar to armor, Elizabethan and Jacobean clothing, strong in outline and attractive in surface, played an important role in protecting and concealing the body from public view. This emphasis on display and on riddles and codes hidden in the very fabric of elite dress promises knowledge about the individual beneath while at the same time rendering them inaccessible beneath all this artifice. Fur is the antithesis of armor, that reflective and mirror-like surface. Whereas armor was heroic, fur dress was associated with comfort and idleness. In a sermon by John Chardon from 1594, the wearing of fur garments among the English acts as a positive metaphor for complacency. While France and Flanders and other “Nations about vs struggle in the field, tumble in warre, and wallow in bloud, expecting no end to their miseries, but vtter ruine and desolation; we in the meane while sit at home by our fires in our furred gownes, corked slippers, trimmed buskins, and warme mittens.”¹⁷⁷ Two decades later poet Taylor used the same metaphor wherein fur garments evoked leisurely peace and opposed brave action and militaristic endeavors: “O rouze thee, rouze thee, then braue man of Action, / Make Fur-gown’d peace burst into Armed faction.”¹⁷⁸

Although another layer of skin, fur is not as protective as padded stiffened garments. Fur was a layer of skin that hindered transparency and knowledge of body underneath. The very surface of furs, unruly, untamed, and wild, opposed the geometry and artifice of surface embellishments that became the sartorial currency of Elizabethan expression. The skyline of Elizabethan buildings, their towers rising above gable or parapets, the cut-out silhouette of parapet inscriptions and dramatic size and shapes of chimneys in the form of piers or columns seem to be reflected in the sharply outlined silhouette of the Elizabethan body.¹⁷⁹ So the elites are about pseudo transparency in that they pretend that their clothing is a veil that reveal their individuality but in the end, their armor-like clothing is like an opaque and protective layer that hides and conceals at the same time that it promises knowledge of body beneath. In this period, skin and dress work together to create a completeness in its clearly demarcated outline. What I call an opaque transparency has political urgency during Elizabeth’s reign.

The lack of furs in Elizabethan elite portraiture also demonstrates a pictorial conceit that, in the absence of a practical and utilitarian material like fur, alludes to new comforts, warmth and protection in the confines of the elite house. In William Harrison’s 1587 description of English society he proudly states that new decorative technologies like ceilinged panels and wainscoting, stoves, and a multitude of indoor chimneys, all of which kept damp and cold at bay, made the houses of the gentry and wealthy more comfortable and better heated.¹⁸⁰ We are also told that it was common for walls to be hung with tapestries and painted cloths.¹⁸¹ During the building boom ushered in by the Dissolution of the Monasteries (1536—1541) Tudor architecture began to incorporate warmth-inducing luxuries such as brick, smaller apartments, wall fire-places and chimneys, and tapestries, into its design. Elspeth Veale argues that warm clothes like furs were

¹⁷⁷ John Chardon, *Fulfordo et Fulfordae A sermon preached at Exeter, in the cathedral church, the sixth day of August commonly called Iesus day 1594. in memoriall of the cities deliuerance in the daies of King Edvard the sixt. Wherein is intreated of the goodnes of God toward man, and of the ingratitude of man toward God. By Iohn Charldon, Doctor of Diuinitie. In which also some fewe thinges are added, then omitted through want of time* (1595), 37.

¹⁷⁸ John Taylor, *The great O Toole* (1622).

¹⁷⁹ Mark Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture: Its Rise and Fall, 1540-1640* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2009), 272.

¹⁸⁰ Harrison, *The Description of England*, 197.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

no longer essential for indoor wear as they had once been as the efficient heating methods lauded in Harrison's text developed.¹⁸² This is a purely visual conception of the elite interior—an artificial illusion because there is evidence that the elite home, in spite of these new conveniences, was actually still cold. In her fight against drafts in her spacious home, Bess of Hardwick covered each window in her bedchamber with two curtains of red cloth and three coverlets and she also had a coverlet to hang before the door.¹⁸³ The inventories of Chatsworth and the Old and New Halls drawn up in 1601 list an extraordinary quantity of textiles used to furnish Bess's living quarters: at least 26 sets of tapestry, 26 sets of leather, woven, and embroidered hangings, 250 blankets, 170 fledges, fustians, flannels, and rugs, 250 coverlets, quilts, and counterpanes.¹⁸⁴ In a several portraits of Elizabeth I (figs. 38-40) that situate her within a specific intimate, architectural space, the Queen is depicted in a chamber whose walls are covered in textiles. In the portrait of Frances Sidney (fig. 19) and portraits by William Larkin of Jacobean courtiers (figs. 41-42), English elites are depicted as surrounded by heavy tapestries, drapery, and plush furnishings. In the painting by Levina Teelinc of Elizabeth I receiving Dutch ambassadors (fig. 38), one of the Dutch ambassadors kneeling before the queen wears a heavy brown fur mantle whereas Elizabeth wears light, feminine silks that are pinned to and draped gracefully around her skirt. The rich textiles covering the walls of the visiting chamber are decorated with a floral design, giving the impression of a warm, summer landscape. A similar green panel of fabric is draped over the chamber door to keep out drafts and to create an enclosed space. Although portrayals of their interior spaces show their homes swathed in layers of textiles, Elizabethan nobles do not wear fur. In portraying themselves without fur garments, were Elizabethan nobles creating an illusion of domestic comfort? Architectural historian Mark Girouard argues that the cold in Elizabethan homes is one of the reasons why, in spite of frequent ordinances from Elizabeth I and James I to keep a traditional Christmas of open hospitality in the country, elites nevertheless escaped the cold to their fashionable new houses in snugger quarters in London.¹⁸⁵ John Jewel, writing in 1571, mocked the noble who, in spite of being clothed in "Sables, in his fine furred gowne...is more redy to chill for colde, then the poore laboring man, which can abyde in the fielde all the day long, when the north wynde blowes, with a fewe beggerlye cloutes about him."¹⁸⁶

The textiles displayed in Larkin's images are usually a deep red and form an enveloping and protective sheath around the figures. Red paint was not only expensive but it was also a color that was associated with blood and therefore denoted power.¹⁸⁷ The brownish hues of dark fur garments, by contrast, were deemed less fashionable since brown was one of the commonest of natural dyes, inexpensive, and associated with the poor.¹⁸⁸ Red is a color that exudes warmth and its use was boosted by the belief that it had healthful benefits. The beds of those suffering from

¹⁸² Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 145-6.

¹⁸³ Girouard, *Elizabethan Architecture*, 269-270

¹⁸⁴ Santina M. Levey, *Elizabethan Treasures: The Hardwick Hall Textiles* (New York: The National Trust, 1998), 19-20.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ John Jewel, *The second tome of homilees of such matters as were promised, and intituled in the former part of homilees. Set out by the auctoritie of the Queenes Maiestie: and to be read in euery parishe church agreeably* (1571), 217.

¹⁸⁷ M. C. Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 15.

¹⁸⁸ Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Elizabethan England*, 2nd Edition (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2010), 129.

fevers were often hung with red, and red cloth was used as compresses for the stomach.¹⁸⁹ In 1488 a long nightshirt of scarlet was ordered for the king of France on health grounds.¹⁹⁰ It was also believed that the Queen Elizabeth was saved from small pox by being wrapped in red flannel.¹⁹¹ The correlation between pigments used in painting and pharmaceuticals may have added another symbolic layer of protection to the subject's body in portraiture.¹⁹² Early moderns were known to eat the ingredients of artists' pigments as medicaments as these ingredients were often found in apothecaries.¹⁹³ Color was central to medical community discussions and physicians traditionally relied on hue as an index of health when examining a patient. In Antoine Le Blond de la Tour's artist's manual from 1669, brownish hues, the color we normally associate with dark furs, was seen to evoke a sickly complexion whereas the complexion of a healthy man was "reddish and full of a certain vivacity."¹⁹⁴

In the Renaissance, medicine and education expounded that the body and soul needed to be controlled and regulated through orthopedics and religion to mold a person into the physical and moral ideal.¹⁹⁵ We can also extend this anxiety and pleasure of self-regulation to visual culture where elite portraiture signified the desire of nobles to portray an alternative body that evoked the aesthetic ideal, free from disease and deformity. The highly constructed and labor-intensive surface of late Elizabethan textiles and their representation in portraiture seem to exemplify what Castiglione claims is the essential thing for the practice of *sprezzatura*: dissimulation or a discrepancy between being and seeming.¹⁹⁶

2. 7 Conclusion

The changing values between fur fashion and elite identity that became visually evident in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English portraiture were to hold currency throughout the seventeenth century. In the 1640s Adriaen van der Donck, a lawyer and landowner in the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam (today New York City), explained how in Russia, "whoever has there the most costliest fur-trimmings is deemed a person of very high rank, as with *us* the finest stuffs and gold silver embroideries are regarded as the appendages of the great."¹⁹⁷ This statement reveals the divergent values and status placed upon different sartorial materials (furs versus rich textiles and metal embroideries) in Russia and Western Europe. By visually extricating themselves from fur dress in their self-representation, Elizabethan and Jacobean nobles not only emphasized their cleanliness and impermeability but also their sartorial alterity from other social groups, mainly wealthy gentry landowners and urban

¹⁸⁹ Andrew Boorde's *A Dyetary of Helth* from 1542 recommends: "Next your sherte use you to were a petycote (waistcoat) of skarlet...made of stammel or linsye-wolsye."

¹⁹⁰ J. Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1952), 66.

¹⁹¹ Mikhailia and Malcom-Davies, *Tudor Tailor*, 41.

¹⁹² Romana Sammern, "Red, White and Black: Colors of Beauty, Tints of Health and Cosmetic Materials in Early Modern English Art Writing," in *Early Modern Color Worlds*, eds. Tawrin Baker, Sven Dupré, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 124.

¹⁹³ See Nancy G. Sirasi, *Medieval & Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

¹⁹⁴ Mechthild Fend, *Fleshing Out Surfaces: Skin in French Art and Medicine, 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 72.

¹⁹⁵ Bruna, *Fashioning the Body*, 89.

¹⁹⁶ Eduardo Saccone, "Grazia, Sprezzatura, Affettazione in the Courtier" in *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, eds. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 59.

¹⁹⁷ Quoted in Alice Morse Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America, MDCXX-MDCCCXX* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 228.

elites, as the economic gap between these classes was reduced. This is not to say that fur trimmings or linings completely disappear from elite portrayals. Wardrobe accounts and inventories belonging to Elizabethan hereditary elites demonstrate that nobles possessed fur garments well into the early seventeenth century. But this chapter does posit that understanding this marked visual shift is crucial to shedding light on how the aristocratic body was being reconfigured. Within the fabricated space of elite portraiture, social alterity manifested itself as visual conceits that underscored Elizabethan advances in fashion, art and architecture, and medicine. These three visual conceits are real or “imaginary” manifestations of social and material changes that were just beginning to emerge in elite Elizabethan court culture. Not only were furs an impediment to visual configurations of the luxury spaces of the elite home, but they represented a kind of outmoded fashion that spoke to Henrician collectivity and duty rather than permitting individualization through the play of surface embellishment so important to Elizabethan court culture. The particular aesthetics of Elizabethan culture and the artistic techniques available to miniature painter privileged the depiction of gleaming silks and decorative, prosthetic extensions of the courtier’s body over the naturalistic portrayal of furs so crucial to portraiture during Henry VIII’s reign. The stiff and angular garments of the late Tudor period literally shielded the body from infection and allowed elites to utilize dress as a tool of bodily modification. The porous humoral body was not merely a site of anxiety but also a source of the pleasures of self-regulation, examination, and balance that contributed to the idea of selfhood in early modern literature.¹⁹⁸ New forms of fashion and its carefully constructed portrayal in paint was the perfect medium through which elite Elizabethans could reconcile issues of selfhood and surface.

¹⁹⁸ Shoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves*.

Chapter Three

Model Citizens: Mercantile Portraiture and Fur Dress in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

3. 1 Introduction

In John Isham's (1525-1596) portrait from c. 1567 (fig. 1), the merchant and businessman depicts himself as the true success story. Isham wears a plush black gown trimmed and lined with brown fur. The somber hue of his gown accentuates the merchant's large and imposing silhouette which fills most of the painting's composition. At his neck and wrists are intricately pleated white ruffs. The merchant rests his right hand on a human skull, a *memento mori* of life's transience, and in his left hand is a leather glove and a gold signet ring. Behind Isham can be glimpsed a bureau with drawers on which lie two large account ledgers. Above this is a mechanical clock, not only an object of luxury but also of utility for a man who was no doubt very busy and needed to measure the tides and chronometers important to navigation and the docking of merchant ships. Directly beside Isham stands a table on which lie a folded letter and a pen.

Apprenticed to a mercer in London in 1542, Isham went from a successful businessman to a member of the landed elite in the course of his lifetime. By the time his death in 1596, he was the owner of a large estate at Lamport near Northampton, which supplied wool to the cloth trade. This portrait was painted when Isham was in his early forties at a time when he became Renter Warden of the Mercers's Company in London. Isham did not want to distance himself from his commercial roots and in his will he requested that his gravestone have a brass plaque with the arms of the City of London, the Mercers' Company, and the Merchant Adventurers alongside his own.¹ His will refers to his life as a successful merchant and he states that by the means of trade and "with the blessing of God [I] received my preferment and was enabled to purchase the manor of Langporte."² Isham celebrated and gave thanks for his success in the cloth trade as the source of his social mobility. The memory of his mercantile origins was carefully preserved by Isham's family who protected the two account books prominently depicted beneath the clock in his portrait. The ledgers are in the Northampton County Record office today (fig. 2). The three edges of each book's text block (cut pages) were decorated with costume scenes from the 1590s and 1600s. Possibly done as a drawing exercise by one of the younger members of Isham's family, the decorations speak to their rise into the ranks of the privately tutored classes while also demonstrating a keen interest in and awareness of fashion as central to the identity of the socially mobile merchant class. The painted figures are dressed as fashionable courtiers with high-neck, peascod belly doublets and voluminous trunk hose over canions. These figures represent newer models of fashionability and masculinity that were beginning to emerge among younger generations of hereditary and urban elites in the late sixteenth century. In stark contrast to this new sartorial body is the portrayal of patriarch and self-made businessman John Isham who is careful to construct traditional codes of authority yet modesty through his dress.

¹ Ian Archer, 'Isham, John (1525-1596)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004); online edition ed. Lawrence Goldman (January 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52151> (accessed 13 November 2019).

² Archer, 'Isham, John (1525-1596)'.

Middle class subjects would have been aware of the necessity to commission an image befitting their individual social status and personal circumstances.³ A sitter's own preconceptions almost certainly played a principal role in determining the portrait's composition. For his portrait of 1549 the musician and composer Thomas Whythorne personally chose the iconography to reflect upon his role as a dancing master and musician. He writes: "I *caused* a table to be made to hang in my chamber, whereon was painted, in oil colors, the figure and image of a young woman playing upon a lute, who I gave the name Terpsichore [the muse of music]... I *caused* to be painted by and with her in the same table [*my emphasis*]."⁴ In the same vein John Isham almost certainly made choices about the composition of his portrait, the background setting and objects, and his clothing and accoutrements.

In Isham's portrait it is significant that as a merchant of textiles and woolen cloths great emphasis is placed on his clothing which is trimmed with plush brown fur and must be constructed from high quality black wool. His dress, as well as his ledgers and the mechanical clock, identify the merchant as a wealthy man of trade. In the iconographic tradition fur dress was seen as an elite commodity that was frequently depicted in portraits of royalty and hereditary elites.⁵ The repeated portrayal of fur dress in high art meant that it was valued both aesthetically and as a material.⁶ The inclusion of fur as a sartorial material in Isham's portrait therefore functions as an aesthetic element that references a heritage of elite portraits while elevating the portrait of a middle-class man who did not necessarily have access to first-rate artists. Fur dress situates Isham within a well-established constellation of painted men while also acting as a potent symbol of his middle-class profession and civic duty, since the uniforms of aldermen required fur collars.

Isham is careful to balance his fortune and social rise with virtue. At the same time that Isham displays the profits of his profession, he also demonstrates his humility and morality (via the skull) and hard work ethics since he appears to be in his office. Although men like Isham had access to premier luxury goods and sartorial materials, the majority of sixteenth-century cloth merchants depicted themselves wearing subdued fur dress (see **Appendix C**) which was considered outmoded by the reign of Elizabeth I. By the second half of the sixteenth century, the status of fur dress as an expression of princely magnificence and power in visual culture began to change as the English nobility utilized other sartorial materials like jewel- or metal-encrusted fabrics, laces, and embroidery to convey their social rank and alterity in their portraits.⁷ Even as fur dress was no longer crucial to sartorial displays of magnificence among hereditary elites, portraits of the urban elite, who were just beginning to emerge as a subject group in English visual culture, portray prosperous merchants dressed in furs because it evoked established connotations of prestige, authority, and masculinity. These features were especially crucial to a group of men who were new to commissioning portraiture and needed to justify their right to pictorial representation while also careful not to threaten their social betters with pretensions of luxury or magnificence.

This chapter moves from the staged arena of court art discussed in **Chapters One** and **Two** to the more public and commercial face of London merchants and retailers who had direct

³ Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 58.

⁴ Thomas Whythorne, *The Autobiography of Thomas Whythorne*, ed. James M. Osborn (Oxford, 1962), 115.

⁵ For a more thorough discussion of this, see **Chapter One**.

⁶ Julia V. Emberley, *The Cultural Politics of Fur* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997), 130.

⁷ See **Chapter Two**.

economic access to sartorial materials. It asks why fur dress was a crucial element in painted constructions of urban elite identity. The term “urban elite” refers specifically to those outside the hereditary elite who flourished as a result of the opportunities in the urban environment.⁸ The urban elite consisted of a very diverse group of people. Some were exceptionally wealthy mercers operating as money lenders at the highest level while others were provincial preachers who made a respectable living. Among merchants and wealthy artisans there were also subtler distinctions, particularly between those who trained as makers or preparers of goods (such as goldsmiths, embroiderers and butchers) and those who operated as commercial retailers of those goods, often owning premises and employing numerous additional workers. Both groups would have belonged to the same livery companies but the retailers were more like early entrepreneurs. It was retailers, rather than makers, who most commonly commissioned portraits. This chapter focuses on rich merchants and retailers working in London because of this city’s role as the center of England’s textile and fur trades. The capital had immense political and mercantile influence in the sixteenth century and this was reflected by the growing number of aristocratic homes in the city.⁹

Revising Thorstein Veblen’s trickle-down theory to explain the consumption of luxury goods among the middling classes, I discuss the autonomous role of merchant groups in determining what furs and fur-making technologies to introduce within urban centers.¹⁰ I then consider the tradition of depicting fur dress in English urban elite portraiture and discuss how these professional middle-class subjects employed a mode of dress that was distinct from, and not emulative of, that employed by hereditary elites, allowing them to situate themselves within a specific social group while acting as new models of virtue and dignity.

3. 2 Merchant Access to Furs in the English Market

Since antiquity Londoners had been known for their penchant for and skills in making fur dress. In Cesar’s *De Bello Gallico* (Book V, chapter 10), inland Britons of 55 BC were described as “clothed in skins (*pellibus vestiti*), unlike dwellers of the Kentish coast, who had adopted European dress, made of woven fabrics.”¹¹ By the sixteenth century London was already well established as the center of the English textile trade and the nation’s fur trade was centered there since the Middle Ages, when the traders of the Hanseatic League, a commercial confederation of merchant guilds and their market towns active in cities along the coast of the Baltic and the North Sea, established a fur market called the Steelyard (*Stalhof*) in Thames Street.¹² The bulk trade in furs was mainly handled by the merchants of the Hanseatic League while the trade in luxury furs, with some bulk trading, was conducted by the Italians.¹³

Hans Holbein the Younger (c. 1497-1543) painted a number of portraits of Lutheran merchants of the Hanseatic League during his second and final stay in England from 1532 to

⁸ Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, 12. The urban and rural middling sort could include from 30-40 to 50 percent of the population. Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII’s England* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), 52.

⁹ Maria Hayward, ed., *Great Wardrobes Accounts of Henry VII and Henry VIII* (London: Boydell Press, 2012), xxxi.

¹⁰ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; 1899). See Chandra Mukerij, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

¹¹ Elizabeth Ewing, *Fur in Dress* (London: Batsford, 1981), 15.

¹² See Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*. Translated by D. S. Ault and S. H. Steinberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970) and Rolf Hammel-Kiesow and Matthias Puhle, *Die Hanse* (Darmstadt, Germany: Primus, 2009).

¹³ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 102.

1542.¹⁴ The Hanseatic merchants lived around the Steelyard which was made up of a complex warren of storehouses, offices, and dwellings on the north bank of the Thames. Holbein rented a house nearby in Maiden Lane as a studio to be closer to his merchant patrons. Several of Holbein's portraits depict the Hanseatic merchants in spaces reminiscent of their trade.

His portrait of Georg Gisze (fig. 3) shows the young merchant in an office setting. He appears with all the necessary tools of his daily employment including a ledger, letters, a quill stand with a money box, a seal mark and a seal ring to authenticate documents, keys, notebooks, a pair of scales, scissors, and a clock. Some of the objects appear as props in other paintings by Holbein so it is unsure if this was Gisze's actual office or if the space is a studio setting.¹⁵ Another possibility is that merchants had similar office equipment. We are nevertheless supposed to recognize the merchant at work and he presents himself as a man of measured industry, precision, order, and ultimately success in his trade. Folded letters are tucked into Gisze's gown, suggesting that his work continues even outside the office.

In Holbein's portrait of Dirck Tybis (fig. 4) the merchant is seated behind a desk littered with documents, a quill pen, his merchant's mark, and an ink-well which has a compartment for coins. Tybis looks up as his hands open a letter, suggesting that he has been stopped at work. One of the letters is addressed to him at the London Steelyard. Holbein's strategy of having his mercantile class subjects turned to the viewer with a direct gaze while seated behind or next to a table, presents the men as they would appear ready to conduct business with a client. Ann Jensen Adams observes that the frequent pose of sitters in the midst of movement, such as looking up from work or rising from a chair, was generally restricted to men, who represented active rational thought.¹⁶ The men are also presented in clothing deemed appropriate for professional interaction.

The success of these merchant men is conveyed by their clothing which is constructed of rich materials. Gisze wears a rose-colored, silk-satin doublet with puffed, pleated sleeves that taper at the lower arms and wrists. Under this is a pristinely white shirt that is trimmed with black thread. Over his doublet, Gisze wears a black gown that is trimmed with fur so black that its rich materiality is almost imperceptible against the fabric of the gown itself, rendering it elegant and discreet. Tybis's outer gown is trimmed with a fur collar made of either pine marten or squirrel and the neck of his shirt is embroidered with an intricate motif.

Both Tybis and Gisze would have had direct access to luxury goods like the expensive fabrics and furs worn on their bodies. Members of the Hanseatic League had a virtual monopoly over the fur trade during Henry VIII's reign and the English king bought furs directly from merchants of the Hanse. Because of their control of the fur trade, merchants of the Hanse were able to command high prices for their furs. It was only after the establishment of the Muscovy Company in 1555, that the monopoly exercised by the Hanseatic League over fur trading was greatly diminished, thereby introducing competitive prices for furs.

The growing demand from the nobility and the gentry for high quality textiles and furs had a visible impact on English imports. This was most evident in London, which was the leading center for the consumption of luxury goods in the early Tudor period. The variety of furs worn traced in the list of clothes belonging to wealthy English men and women in the early years

¹⁴ Susan Foister, *Holbein in England* (London: Tate Publishing, 2006).

¹⁵ Susan Foister, *Holbein and England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 211.

¹⁶ Anne Jensen Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 110-11.

of the sixteenth century is reflected in many of the shipments of the same period.¹⁷ In late medieval England and during Henry VIII's reign, fur pelts were predominantly imported into England from Russia, Scandinavia and the Baltic, with some local trade in Irish furs, especially budge. A 1555 English translation of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's (1457-1526) text on navigation and the New World discusses at length the rich furs one can find in Muscovy:

When the commoditie of theyr countrey is neglected by reason of longe warres, theyr chiefe aduantage whereby they haue all thynges necessarie towarde theyr luynges, is the gaines which they haue by theyr rych fures, as Sables, Marternes, Luzernes [lynx], most whyte armyns, and such other which they sell to marchauntes of dyuers countreys. They bye and sell with simple faythe of woordes exchaungynge ware for ware withowt any curious bondes or cautels. An albeit they haue the vse of both golde and syluer monyes, yet doo they for the most part exchange theyr fures for frutes and other thynges necessarie to manteine theyr lyfe.¹⁸

The best martens were found in Siberia, "whiche in fayrenes and greatnes, excell all the fures of that kynde that are founde in any other prouinces."¹⁹ Exotic furs such as leopard skins were derived from the Portuguese interest in the Guinea Coast.²⁰ Before the opening of North America to trade, beaver pelts (extremely rare at the time) came from Spain, France, Italy, and Savoy. Irish skins, such as lamb, fox, marten, and otter, were easy to secure in the sixteenth century and were therefore more widely used.²¹ Domestic fox, cat, otter skins, rabbit, or lambskins were also sent to local market centers.²² Locally produced furs were presented as a badge of loyalty to English production while imported skins were coveted and the preserve of the elite.

At the time of Henry VIII's reign, sixty-nine individuals were selling a wide variety of furs, of which budge (lamb) was supplied by and to the largest number of individuals. There was a trade in both raw fur pelts and in the finished goods (processed skins). If raw pelts, tawyers/furriers prepared them into *tawed* skins, i.e. tanned hides with the fur attached, usually processed using a solution of alum and salt. Tawyers processed raw pelts for both merchants and non-retail buyers. The furs were then given over to skimmers who sewed together skins into garments as linings or trimmings.²³ The best quality skins were collected in the winter and early spring when the pelt was at its thickest and most lustrous. In the mating season, when animals shed some of their hair, skins are much poorer in quality and the fur is often marked.²⁴ Because the fur coats of animals within the same species can differ widely in size and color, it was important that skimmers use the pelts of animals trapped at the same time of year and in the same geographical region. Full furred skins caught in winter months, for example, would not match

¹⁷ Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 169.

¹⁸ Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *The decades of the new worlde or west India conteynnyng the nauigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the moste ryche and large landes and ilandes lately founde in the west ocean pertynyng to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne* (1555), 257.

¹⁹ d'Anghiera, *The decades of the new worlde*, 298.

²⁰ Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 169.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, 58-59.

²³ Skimmers originally known by Latin name *pelliparius*, meaning worker in pelts, what we would call a furrier, but the name covered everyone participating in the trade, whether merchant, shopkeeper, craftsman, or artisan. The London Skimmers Company's seal is still inscribed with the letters AR Pelipar (*Ars Pelliparia*). Hayward, *Great Wardrobes Account*, xxxi.

²⁴ Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 22.

flatter, scantier furs of the same animal caught in a warmer season. Skinners and buyers also had to match lustrous furs with a fine silken texture with those of the same quality while grouping coarser furs together.

As merchants gained greater control over the textile trade, they were able to direct artisans to manufacture the kinds of fur items that they wanted, i.e. furs that sold well and commanded high prices. Merchants of the Hanse also played an important role in introducing advanced fur-making technologies and industries from other regions, namely from their homeland in Germany and the Low Countries, into England. Many processed skins came from the Low Countries and Germany, where local craftsmen may have proven more skilled in handling fashionable skins.²⁵ All known sixteenth-century depictions of the furrier's workshop are of German or Dutch origins, implying that the skinner's and furrier's trade was an important one in northern Europe.²⁶

Urban elite men and women possessed fur trimmed garments. Of the garment types recorded in English wills described as being either lined or trimmed with fur, there were some 250 fur coats and gowns belonging to men.²⁷ All of these were outer garments and the figures clearly show that the male gown was the chief vehicle in England for displaying furs as a sign of status and wealth. Twenty-eight different sorts of fur were listed and of these fox and lamb were the most popular, followed by stone marten and rabbit.²⁸ A Norwich alderman in 1516 owned gowns furred with fitch, black lamb, white budge, calabre, and mink; a merchant stapler in the following year possessed gowns furred with budge, fox, and rabbit.²⁹ The probate inventory of Henry Gylson, Mayor of Cambridge, from 1539 lists a scarlet gown trimmed with "foynes" or stone marten (valued at approximately £2), a black gown trimmed with "foynes" (valued at little over £1), and a black gown furred with fox (valued at 6 shillings).³⁰ The probate inventory of William Senagh, merchant of Hereford, from 1538, lists a total of seven gowns and one coat made of various fabrics, with one gown of black wool furred with black sheep and lamb.³¹ The fur trimmings listed in these inventories are dark in color, adding discreet yet elegant ornamentation to men's gowns. The black fur-trimmed wool gown described in the Senagh's

²⁵ The fairs at Antwerp, Bergen-op-Zoom and Bruges were very important for the fur trade. Twenty timbers (each timber was a pack of 20 skins) of sables, meaning 800 skins all together had been bought from Christopher Haller, a German merchant based at Antwerp. Elspeth Veale, "From Sable to Mink," in *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress*, edited by Maria Hayward and Philip Ward, Vol. II (Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2012), 342.

²⁶ Jost Amman and Hans Sachs' 1568 *Eygentliche Beschreibung Aller Stände auff Erden*, also known as *Ständebuch* or *Book of Trades*, includes a woodcut of a furrier's workshop with accompanying verses. The image depicts furriers cutting and sewing animal pelts in the foreground and beating a fur garment free of dust and dirt in the background. Hanging from the ceiling are animal pelts, a fur trimmed doublet or jacket, a fur hat, and three kirtles. The verse accompanying Amman's woodcut suggests that furriers did indeed construct garments from animal skin in addition to just lining and trimming them with fur: "[The furrier] makes and lines coats, cloaks, hoods and other garments...". Veale has argued that the quantity of high-quality fur goods imported into England from the Netherlands is indicative of the skill of Dutch skinners who were more experienced in processing expensive and fashionable furs. Veale, *English Fur Trade*.

²⁷ Summary of the type of fur listed in the 1,284 wills which included bequests of clothes. See Table 4.5 in Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 105.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 136.

³⁰ The National Archive, Kew PROB2/241 "Item a skarlett gowne faced with foynes, xls; Item a blacke gowne faced with foynes, xxvjs viijd; Item a black gowne furred with fox, vjs viijd."

³¹ The National Archive, Kew PROB2/222 "Item a gowne of Blacke Puke furryd wythe blacke shanckes, xxvjs viijd."

inventory recalls the black fur gowns commonly worn by other merchants in their portraits, demonstrating that this garment was a staple item in the wardrobe of mercantile men.

Traditional theories about the system of fashion rely on Thorstein Veblen's trickle-down model to explain the creation of fashion at the highest levels of society and its subsequent journey down the social ladder to lower classes.³² This theory argues that because the middle class was a relatively new class without a traditional culture of its own (and no traditional dress within the medieval scheme), it suffered status anxieties that led some members of the middling class to imitate aristocratic modes of dress, such as the wearing of fur. This allowed them to express their sense of high social standing (vis-à-vis the majority of the population), but it also confounded the use of dress to denote traditional social standing.³³ The resulting confusion of aristocrats with wealthy merchants spurred the aristocracy to seek out new fashions to distinguish themselves from their imitators. This conflict gave rise to the short-lived patterns of dress that we now call fashion.

The main problem with this formulation is the insistence that the middle class was imitating the aristocracy. Although class conflict absolutely existed in the fashion system, changes in fashion did not always go from the top down but also could go from the middle class to the aristocracy when the former had the political and economic power to define fashion. The importance of trade to the availability of styles of dress and fabrics and the role of trade in defining the relationship between the middle class and aristocracy needs to be addressed. The creation of new fashions was not the sole prerogative of the elites and fashions had several origins that definitely came from the middle class and mercantile classes.³⁴ Merchants were the ones providing aristocrats with choices for their clothing, and aristocratic desire to be fashionable provided a large proportion of the demand for the goods traded by merchants. Merchants determined what goods and fashions to import, and they themselves had direct access to rare, luxury commodities at a lower price point.

Fashion developed not exclusively among elites but within specific geographical centers where trade, commerce, and new technologies in making material goods allowed for sartorial innovation and imitation. Centers of fashion followed the centers of commerce in Europe, moving with the shifts in the economic balance of power, creating innovations in patterns of material culture where goods were flowing most freely. In Holbein's *The Ambassadors* (fig. 5) the figures' fur dress and the scientific instruments on display document not only the material objects that constitute masculine fashion but also the epistemological methods behind material accumulation.³⁵ Holbein situates tools used for navigation that made both the trade in fur in North America and the material accumulation of luxury and learning shown possible in dialogue with the soft lynx worn by diplomat Jean de Dinteville and the denser otter skin worn by Bishop Georges de Selve. The painting highlights fur as a raw material sourced from other geographical locations, namely the Baltic Region, other countries on the Continent, and the New World. Fur dress is utilized as part of a lexicon of features that would define emerging modernity: mercantile capitalism and economic imperialism.

³² Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*.

³³ See Quentin Bell, *On Human Finery* (New York: Schocken, 1976).

³⁴ Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). Bernard Allaire, *Pelleteries, manchons et chapeaux de castor: Les fourrures nord-américaines à Paris, 1500-1632* (Paris: Septentio, 1999), 226.

³⁵ Emberley, *Cultural Politics of Fur*, 130.

International trade was producing a new kind of cosmopolitan culture in the early modern period. Within this system, fashion existed within cores and peripheries, the reigning groups of core states having higher prestige than both their counterparts in the peripheries and social inferiors in the core. The reigning group in cities, such as nobles or members of the urban elite, had higher status than those elites living in the provinces. Commercial centers like London became cultural centers for the new cosmopolitan culture of urban elites who relied on fashion to construct a communal identity while also elevating themselves. New forms of culture like fashion had little classical precedent and did not have a stable center. This is part of what made being fashionable attractive to both aspiring merchants and local aristocrats. It offered a cosmopolitan prestige that local culture could not provide.

At the same time that merchants were directing the importation of sartorial materials and technologies to satisfy cosmopolitan tastes of urban hereditary elites, English merchants and retailers living and working in the sixteenth century were not themselves icons of fashion, or at least not portrayed as such in their portraits. Instead of emulating the fashion practices of nobles who by the 1560s had relinquished fur gowns in their visual representation, mercantile elites developed their own mode of fashion which linked them to other merchants and urban professionals. They wore garments that were more indicative of their commercial and agency professionalism. They are also always portrayed wearing outdoor garments, linking them to the urban environment and to the exterior world.

The portrait of Clement Newce (c. 1507-1579), painted in c. 1545 (fig. 6), and of another merchant identified as Sir William Hewett (c. 1508-1567), painted in the 1550s (fig. 7), portray them in an exterior space that directly links them with the world of commerce and urban activity. Newce is placed against an architectural background and is positioned at a corner where a wall protrudes outward to the left, as if he is standing to one side of an entrance. Could the architectural background of both portraits reference the Steelyard's storehouses, guildhall, weighing house or counting houses, spaces of work and activity for these men? Newce was a merchant financier and purveyor of luxury goods based in London and had international links with merchants across Europe. He is placed between the arms of the Merchant Adventurers and the emblem of the Mercers' Company. The first English company to receive royal authorization for a monopoly on colonial trade was the London Merchant Adventurers (established in the early fifteenth century), which exported wool to Antwerp and imported furs into England. Newce is expensively dressed in a black fur-trimmed cloak with a gold chain just evident at his neck and gold rings on his fingers.

The display of expensive costume in these portraits was a declaration of their possession of hard cash since clothing held actual monetary value. Early modern English businessmen of Protestant faith who built up their enterprises by careful reinvestment used large portions of their wealth to become the new gentry, building country houses on newly acquired estates and filling them with material goods that testified to their high social station.³⁶ Dutch merchants, for instance, frequently bought paintings, not only to decorate their homes, but also because they were good investments in a country where land was scarce and other forms of property had to be used more frequently for investment.³⁷ Fur was not only a symbol of wealth but also a luxury commodity that functioned as an investment of capital. In a period when the concept of saving money in a bank was not well developed, purchases of gold rings, precious stones, and clothing trimmed with rich furs allowed early modern merchants to rapidly place their obtained profits in

³⁶ Mukerij, *From Graven Images*, 3.

³⁷ Arnold Hauser, *Social History of Art* Vol. 2 (New York: Vintage, 1951), 207-25.

commerce. Because money was rare and because access to purchasing land was restricted, mercantile classes made do with clothing as investments. Clothes could be sold during times of difficulty or used as guarantees for important purchases.³⁸

In being placed against a background that references professional settings such as the office or exterior space of commerce, these merchants are portrayed as the very public faces of their community and they are dressed not only for success but to work. Fur was the tangible effects of the hard work of merchants. Henry Peacham, a schoolmaster and artist, presented an commonplace view in international merchant circles of the idea of merit in *The Complete Gentleman* when he said that though buying and selling were historically viewed as base and derogatory for the nobility, God's blessings were so distributed that no one country had an abundance of everything and this lead each country to be beholden to her neighbor and to the merchants that redistribute the abundance. Peacham says he could not "but account the honest merchant among the benefactors to his country."³⁹ Their insistence on work was crucial in the self-representation of the mercantile elite because they had to reconcile their newfound prosperity with claims to virtue and this was done through the careful symbolism of their fur dress.

3. 3 Fur, Virtue, and *Gravitas*: A Merchant's Right to Portrayal

In Holbein's double portrait of father and son Thomas and John Godsalve (fig. 8), we see a rare portrait of members of the professional classes made before the 1540s. Thomas was a registrar of the consistory court of Norwich and his son, John, described himself as a mercer. Thomas had links with Thomas Cromwell and used his connections to orchestrate his son's rise to a position of influence. John Godsalve described himself as a mercer and his official duties as Clerk of the Signet at Henry VIII's court in 1532 involved the purchase of gold and silver cloth from the German merchants of the Steelyard. The two men are clad in expensive fur gowns but whereas portraits of hereditary elites and royals like Henry VIII portray them with intimidatingly large fur collars and wide shoulders, the shoulders of Thomas and John are made to share the width of the canvas. Not only did sharing the canvas lower the price of the work but it also allowed the Godsalves to demonstrate in a single painting their family legacy.

Although John would have had direct access to gold and silver cloth, these sartorial materials were reserved for the king and royal family by sumptuary legislation. Instead of wearing the dark sables prized by Henry VIII and reserved for the highest hereditary elites, father and son are depicted wearing pine marten fur, a fur highly prized in the medieval period and still of notable value during the sixteenth century but less fashionable than sable. Although the mercantile group was growing within society, it was not mentioned by sumptuary legislation, even though it was a group with the potential to flout the law. Many of them traded in the very fabrics, furs, trimmings and accessories that they were not supposed to wear.⁴⁰ In the 1533 Act of Apparel, subtle reference is made to members of the middling classes in the creed that "Heirs of those who spend over £100 per year", "Those who spend more than £40 per year", and "Those who spend more than £20 per year" were permitted furs imported from outside England, gray civet cat, beaver, stone marten, budge, and black rabbit.⁴¹ A London merchant on his death in

³⁸ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 209.

³⁹ Henry Peacham, *The Complete Gentleman, Published for The Folger Shakespeare Library* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).

⁴⁰ Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 325.

⁴¹ 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii. pp. 430-2.

1532 bequeathed two gowns furred with sable, as well as other furred with marten and black budge.⁴² Portraits and inventories, however, suggest that for the most part merchants observed sumptuary legislation and wore furs, such as budge, fox, rabbit, and stone marten, permitted to their class.

The lack of cloth of gold or silver in merchant portraits also positioned working men in postures of elegance and refinement and distanced them from embodiments of hard cash. Physical gold was transmuted into gleaming silks and fur, objects at one remove from the actual handling of money.⁴³ The sensitive issue of work was underlined by the historical conception of merchants (*handelaars* in Dutch) as figures who worked with their hands and whose occupation originated in physically transporting goods from one place to another. The activities of merchants could not readily be detached from personal interest, in that they increasingly handled money, mysteriously generating abstract profits rather than the benefits for the community evident in the provision of goods.⁴⁴

During the time that the portrait of Thomas and John Godsalve was painted, very few even exceptionally wealthy English merchants commissioned their own portraits. In order to justify their right to representation, Thomas and John are dressed in fairly somber, professional clothing that alludes to their high positions at court while at the same time ceding social rank to their betters. Portrait consumption by non-hereditary elites is more evident in London by the 1560s and the 1570s. At this time numerous reasonably prosperous merchants, minor members of the gentry, as well as lawyers, physicians and other urban elites were employing portraiture as a means to express particular personal sentiments or to secure their current likeness.⁴⁵ As individual portraits, they often championed the status of particular occupations, livery companies or trading organizations (such as the Mercers, or Merchant Adventurers, Carpenters) or the status of particular professional groups (physicians, lawyers, etc.). Joanna Woodall has noted that certain formats or “recognizable iconographic types” developed for the depiction of groups, such as the clergy, the prince or the beautiful woman, in response to the gradual widening of access to personal representation.⁴⁶ These modes of representation became identifiable and were responsive to the gender, social status and political position of the sitter. Their purpose was to represent sitters as justly embodying specific virtues which connoted power and authority, or simply the right to depiction. Like the hereditary elites, the humanist and commercial elites developed a distinctive portrait format, attributes and pictorial language to make middle-class positions more recognizable. Central to this pictorial language was the use of specific sartorial elements such as somber color, material, and ornamentation that evoked civic sobriety and gravity.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries black became an important distinguishing factor among the middle ranks of society. Most merchants are represented in their best suit of

⁴² A Norwich alderman in 1516 owned gowns furred with fitch, black lamb, white budge, calibre, and mink; a merchant stapler in the following year possessed gowns furred with budge, fox, and rabbit. In the wills of a draper and fishmonger from Lincoln and a Boston mercer, had gowns furred with fox in their wills. Veale, *English Fur Trade*, 136.

⁴³ Joanna Woodall, *Anthonis Mor: Art and Authority* (Brill, 2016), 434.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 418.

⁴⁵ Robert Tittler’s work on institutional portraits of civic elites across England show that interest in portraiture among urban elites was not confined to London. Portraits of the urban elite were on display in civic and charitable institutions. *The Face of the City: Civic Portraiture and Civic Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2017).

⁴⁶ Joanna Woodall, *Portraiture: Facing the Subject* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 2.

black clothes, sometimes with a fur-lined gown, indicating that this was how they would have routinely dressed in public and on official business. A black suit was immediately both striking and smart without being ostentatious. Black cloth was practical for active men in that it did not show dirt, but it also had associations of constancy and seriousness of purpose. Extremely expensive, a true black dye was a time-consuming color to perfect. In Castiglione's guidebook to courtly grace, *The Courtier* (1528, first published in English in 1561), black cloth is described as having more grace than any other color and valuable for being "grave and sober" because "things external bear witness to things within." The wearing of black acted as a reflection of a man's inner character and virtue and it also unified urban elite men into a community of grave and serious professionals. Black cloth was frequently paired with fur trimming because fur was the best ornamentation or foil for somber black garments.

Fur clothing also had associations of gravity and sobriety.⁴⁷ While humanist and later Lord High Chancellor Thomas More unrestrainedly mocked the sartorial flagrancy of England's nobility in *Utopia*, first published in 1516, fur dress, a clear signifier of power during that period, escaped his contempt. Portraits of Thomas More depict the statesman and scholar adorned in the regal heaviness and seriousness of sable skins. More wrote *Utopia* as a fictive socio-political satire that recounts the idealized political system of an island nation. In the text the narrator considers the features of clothing and jewelry that were prized in contemporary society and presents them from the opposite point of view:

When the legation arrived, it consisted of only three men, but these were escorted by a hundred retainers, all wearing multi-colored clothes, mostly made of silk. As for the great men themselves ... they wore cloth of gold, with great gold chains round their necks, gold earrings dangling from their ears, and gold rings on their fingers. Their very hats were festooned with glittering robes of pearls and other jewels. In fact they were fully equipped with all the things used in Utopia for punishing slaves, humiliating criminals, or amusing small children.⁴⁸

The blatant absence of fur dress from More's sarcastic tirade, shows that in spite of fur's longstanding relationship to power and magnificence during the Henrician period, it flouted condemnation because of the piety and *dignitas* that it conveyed. In a poem celebrating the skills of the furrier, fur as a material is praised as the original and most sublime form of clothing because it came directly from God: "Most of our Arts, on Humane Authors Land; / Yours came at first from the Almighty's Hand. / Heaven's Lord, when our first Parents naked were, / In Coat of Skins, aray'd the Royal Pair."⁴⁹ Its virtuous and majestic reputation is compounded by the fact that furs were the garb of "ancient Patriarchs" and rulers until "Pride increased, and Piety decay'd."⁵⁰ One Frenchman claimed: "Les soieries sont une invention de l'homme, la fourrure

⁴⁷ Throughout the Middle Ages and into the Renaissance, animal fur was a profoundly ambiguous and symbolically charged material. It was the garb of Adam and Eve after the Fall. For Isidore of Seville, wearing fur denoted the sinfulness and bestiality of man. Paradoxically, fur was also associated with the innocence of the Golden Age, when people were neither totally naked nor clothed in woven, artificial garments. Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 171.

⁴⁸ Sir Thomas Moore, *Utopia* (1516: Latin; 1551: English), 75.

⁴⁹ P. D., *The Antiquity and Honours of the Skinner and Furrier Crafts: arms, skinnors, ermine on a chief gu. 3 imperial crowns, or furriers, parted per fess. gu. and ar. a pale countercharged of the same on the 1st, 3 goats of the 2d* [1690?], 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

est un ouvrage de Dieu”.⁵¹ And Jean Calvin wrote that God “clotheth the holy ones with a double rightuousnesse as it were with a furred garment”⁵²

Richard Harrison, writing in 1587, laments the English preference for deforming French fashions, which sported garish cuts and “more diversities of jags [slashes] and change of colors about them.” He insists that true English clothing consists of wool and kersey dress with “some pretty furniture of velvet or fur” about it.⁵³ Fur skins were perhaps viewed as less threatening to the domestic economy because of their unfinished and raw nature. English skimmers would have made up fur pelts into “English” garments whereas finished luxury textiles imported from the Continent gave contemporaries the impression of being a completed product that used distinctly foreign technologies. Of course, furs could certainly have been fashioned into or used as trimming for continental styles of dress but English polemical writers seemed to have focused more on fur’s raw state and less on its potential decorative uses.

In spite of the rich materials of the clothing worn by merchants in their portraiture, the cut and styling of their garments were subdued and tactful. Georg Gisze’s expensive yet discreet costume inspired trust in potential clients who, through their knowledge of high-quality fashion materials, could read the subtle details of the merchant’s success. Gisze’s costume also inspired trust in the merchant’s character. He is dressed as a wealthy but serious man who is not prone to extravagance. In a text from 1537, simple apparel is indicative of a good character whereas exceedingly precious fashions reveal a dissolute one: “For apparaile simple or scant reprouethe hym of auarice. If it be alwaye excedynge precious and often tymes chaunged, as well in to charge as straunge and newe facions, it causeth hym to be noted dyssolute of maners.”⁵⁴ Dirck Tybis also wears clothing that is made of rich materials but is nevertheless discreet and subdued in cut and style.

Although the merchant Clement Newce is also dressed in expensive attire, his pose is restrained and contemplative, and he clasps a prayer book with both hands. In a double portrait of members of the Silver family (fig. 9), aged 64 and 51, signs of worldly prosperity and reputation are countered with an awareness of morality and a concern for salvation. The couple wear fur collared gowns as well as jewelry to demonstrate their wealth and the inscription “Silver is my name wych is of a notable fame” across the top of the panel reads as a type of justification for visual representation. The painting and its frame also contain several inscriptions about the fragility of life, the imminence of death, and the need to pray for the hereafter.

Tarnya Cooper suggests that in both Pre- and Post-Reformation, religious intentions and the public display of piety and Christian virtue continued to be one of the key means for the urban elite to justify their right to visual representation.⁵⁵ This was a right of depiction not available to them through the nobility of blood, but claimed through an association with the virtues of humility and piety, meeting the psychological and cultural needs of dynamic social groups. One of the most frequent features of these portraits is they use commonly identifiable emblems referring to Christian salvation. Emblems of humility which recall an awareness of mortality such as skulls, cadavers and hour glasses or inscriptions referring to the remembrance

⁵¹ “Silks are an invention of man; fur is a work of God.” Quoted in Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 206.

⁵² Jean Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion, vvyritten in Latine by maister Ihon Caluin, and translated into Englysh according to the authors last edition. Seen and allowed according to the order appointed in the Quenes maiesties iniunctions* (1561), 176.

⁵³ William Harrison, edited by Georges Edelen, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life* (New York: Folger Shakespeare Library and Dover, 1994), 148. Originally published in 1587.

⁵⁴ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The boke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (1537), 102.

⁵⁵ Cooper, *Citizen Portrait*, 8.

of death such as a *memento mori*. The use of prominently displayed clocks and watches, such as in the portraits of John Isham and Sir William Chester (fig. 10), makes clear reference to passing time and recalls the importance of meditation and the need for repentance. Lord Mayor Chester was a capitalist who traded not only in cloth but in a range of other speculative ventures in Russia, Persia and Africa, including sugar refining and also one of the earliest slave trading ventures. He is depicted alongside a clock with figures of Christ and Death perched on the hanging weights. These portraits served to present sitters as pious (and mainly Protestant) Christians and helped to negotiate their understanding of the path to salvation following reform in religion.

In trying to capture the psychology of the middle-class subject and locate virtue not in blood but in abstract qualities such as talent and genius, the sixteenth-century English mercantile elite also had to cloak their bodies in non-individualizing garments that emphasized inner, abstract subjectivity rather than an objectivized, material body because they needed to justify a position of honor not dependent on biological inheritance.⁵⁶ Emphasis on comfort rather than on conspicuous consumption was particularly important for the middling classes who needed to carefully validate their right to portrayal in painted portraiture by demonstrating their hard work and modesty rather than flagrancy or pretension through gesture and physical appearance. Chandra Mukerji argues that Protestantism helped “transform a diffuse impulse for accumulation into a tendency to amass capital by advocating a modest life-style rather than flamboyant displays of wealth and power,” what economic historian Jan de Vries has termed the “New Luxury”.⁵⁷ Rather than opposing Protestant teachings, the New Luxury advocated social- or income-specific consumption. New luxury consumption among rich merchants was defined by discretionary spending that improved personal, domestic comforts and was directed towards the home and the body, whereas old models of luxury among the aristocracy were defined by conspicuous consumption and public displays of grandeur.⁵⁸ Increased expenditure among the middling classes was permitted as long as moderation was practiced. Although “Magnificence & Liberalite, be noble vertues” among the aristocracy, among the middling classes, “Frugalitie, whiche is a sobrenesse or moderation in liuing” was virtuous.⁵⁹

Fur garments exemplified moderate and practical consumption because, as one author stated in 1589, “they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave and comely: expressing dignity, comforting age and of longer continuance and better with small cost to be preserved than those new silks, shagges and rages, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.”⁶⁰ In a polemical text from 1613 about the nobleness of perfect virtue, the author uses fur clothing to symbolize good character. A man of high virtue is like a man “prouided against the extremitie of colde with warme fures” and “hee that hath his owne goodnesse and resolution to warme him in all winters of aduersitie, needes wealth but as a thinne silken Cloake vpon a furred Gowne, rather to shew the vanitie of his disposition, then any vsefull imployment

⁵⁶ Woodall, *Portraiture*, 10.

⁵⁷ Mukerji, *From Graven Images*, 7. Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁵⁸ De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, 51.

⁵⁹ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The booke named the Governour, deuysed by syr Thomas Elyot knight* (1537), 133.

⁶⁰ E. G. R. Taylor, *Original Writings & Correspondence of the two R. Hakluyts* (Hakluyt Society, Second Series, lxxvii, 1935), ii, 410.

to the sustenance of life.”⁶¹ Fur dress was all a man needed and any other mode of rich clothing was but extraneous and useless.

Because of its association with official urban positions, fur dress also allowed merchants to present themselves as professional citizens who were dedicated to common welfare. In Clement Newce’s portrait the merchant wears attire that recalls the clothes of an English alderman from the mid-sixteenth century. Mayors and aldermen incorporated fur and velvet guards as subtle but distinct signs of status. Aldermen “well opparelled with manye ryche furies” and “Burgeses & marchantes with well furred robes” was a common motif in sixteenth-century England.⁶² In addition to this, biblical verses stressed the centrality of textiles and fine clothes within civic economy of virtue and provided a frame of reference for the meticulous attention to the fabrics and clothing in merchant portraits.⁶³

William Hewett (fig. 7), the master of the Clothworkers’ Company, also wears similar, if not identical, clothing to that of Newce in his portrait: a red velvet doublet, a small ruff at the neck, a wool hat, and a black gown trimmed with a long brown-fur collar. Hewett first became alderman in 1550, was elected sheriff by 1553, and then became Mayor of London in 1559. In Lucas de Heere’s studies from life of London citizens (fig. 11), English alderman and merchants are depicted as wearing relatively uniform professional garb that consisted of a short-sleeved gown lined and trimmed with fur.⁶⁴ The portraits of Gisze, Tybis, Newce, and Hewett portray the men in their professional attire and a key component of their public appearance was the fur-collared gown. Because of their associations with civic duty and practicality, furs exemplified a more virtuous mode of consumption that fulfilled an urban elite’s desire for comfort rather than for grandeur while simultaneously drawing the recognition of other citizens since the fur gown figured prominently in images and descriptions of leading figures in the urban community.

Fur gowns also exuded *gravitas*, a trait important to the reputation of merchants, “for Grauitie and Affabilitie, be euery of them laudable qualities.”⁶⁵ Early modern writers and historians consistently described the fur gown as “grave” or dignified and it communicated, more than any other sartorial material, seriousness and a solemnity of manner. One text praised merchants for their dignified fur dress, saying that “Certes of all estates our merchants do least alter their attire and therefore are most to be commended, for albeit that which they wear be very fine and costly, yet in form and color it representeth a great piece of the ancient *gravity*

⁶¹ “*Wisedome, Temperance, Valour, Iustice, are the substance and hereditary possessions of a perfectly happy man, and these riches cannot bee forfeited, except by a decay of Vertue, they cannot be seized except the owner cast them off, they cannot suffer contempt so long as they bee nourished in a noble minde. Indeede riches are to a good man like a light silken Cloake vpon his backe, who is else prouided against the extremitie of colde with warme furies: So hee that hath his owne goodnesse and resolution to warme him in all winters of aduersitie, needes wealth but as a thinne silken Cloake vpon a furred Gowne, rather to shew the vanitie of his disposition, then any vsefull employment to the sustenance of life.*” John Ford, *The golden meane Lately written, as occasion serued, to a great lord. Discoursing the noblenesse of perfect vertue in extreames* (1613), 77-8.

⁶² Anonymous, *The debate and stryfe betwene somer and wynter with the estate present of man* (1528).

⁶³ Woodall, *Anthonis Mor*, 439.

⁶⁴ Anon. *The passage of our most drad Soueraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the citie of London to westminster the daye before her coronacion Anno 1558* (1558), 10-11. See Lucas de Heere’s *Mayor and Alderman* from manuscript *Corte Beschryuinghe van Engheland, Schotland, ende Irland*. The artist was a resident in Britain from around 1566 to 1576. He undertook numerous pen and ink drawings of notable features of the British Isles in a sketchbook of 1574, including several types of the principal London citizens such as aldermen and merchants. Very few drawings of ordinary citizens exist, and his assured and swiftly rendered drawings have the appearance of being at least based upon studies from the life.

⁶⁵ Elyot, *The boke named the Governour*, 133.

appertaining to citizens and burgesses... . [my emphasis]”⁶⁶ In another text from 1603 “a grave old merchant” is described as wearing a “rich furred gowne” which gives him the appearance of “some rich Burgor, if not some Burgamaister of some city.” His fur gown and dignified composure “gave the body leave to cary the head upon a square paire of shoulders....”⁶⁷ In Edmund Spenser’s *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1598), the text states that men’s gowns govern one’s composure and “the person that is gowned is by his gown put in mind of gravity....”⁶⁸ As discussed in **Chapter One**, the fur gown evoked gravitas or a dignified appearance because its physical weight and bulky size forced the body of the wearer supporting it to move slowly and with deliberation, thereby affecting the wearer’s physiognomy and psychology.⁶⁹ Although never published and known only to curators of dress who directly encounter existing early modern garments, this knowledge of a garment’s weight, bulk, and materiality can enrich not only our understanding of early modern preoccupations with etiquette and manners but also how clothing altered the movements and posture of the body. When wearing such a heavy garment like a fur-trimmed gown, a man had to affect a certain kind of poise or carriage that required him to walk straight with his chest pushed outward to enhance the angularity of his shoulders. The display of *gravitas* was therefore closely linked with an individual’s bearing and physicality.

A key factor of the fur gown’s connotations with gravity was its affiliation with elderly men, and in particular, humanists. The portrait of Sir Thomas Leigh (fig. 12), who was twice master of the Mercer’s Company and Lord Mayor the year of Queen Elizabeth I’s accession in 1558, was painted when he was 70 years old, just a year before his death. In the portrait Leigh wears a black fur-lined gown and a plain gold chain. In spite of his astounding wealth, Leigh was no keeper of fashion as he wears a small linen ruff and fur gown, which was at least ten years out of date. As a major importer of luxury goods he would have had direct contacts with foreign artisans, suppliers and their factories in London. Yet he chose to have himself portrayed in a simple fur gown. The portrait of John Vernon (fig. 13) from 1610 shows similarly antiquated clothing. Warden of the Merchant Taylors’ Company in 1599 and 1604 and master in 1609, Vernon pairs a short-sleeved fur-collared gown reminiscent of merchant apparel from the early half of the century with a fashionable high-crowned beaver hat. Although Vernon had knowledge of the latest in tailoring, he too chose to portray himself wearing a fur gown in order to connect himself visually to an iconographic tradition of merchant portraiture. The pose that he adopts, with one hand upon a skull, was also commonplace for members of the elite citizenry to use in their portraits.

Even though by the early 1600s fur was deemed an antiquated and unfashionable mode of dress (see **Chapter Two** for a discussion of this), visual and literary iconography continued to depict older men wearing fur gowns to connote maturity, authority, and tradition. In Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, an elderly man representing one of the phlegmatic humors keeps his cold body humorly balanced and warm in a fur-lined and trimmed gown and skull cap (fig. 14; ca. 1610). Gabriele Zerbi, an Italian physician and author of *Gerontocomia (On the Care of the Aged)*, 1489), who composed the first medical book dealing specifically with the problems and

⁶⁶ Harrison, *Description of England*, 148.

⁶⁷ Nicholas Breton, *A merrie dialogue betvvixt the taker and mistaker* (1603), 6.

⁶⁸ Edmund Spenser, *View of the Present State of Ireland* (Original 1598), ed. W. L. Renwick (Oxford: Calrendon Press, 1970), 60-70.

⁶⁹ See J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (1930; repr., New York: International University Press, 1966).

treatments for old age, identified some physical “accidents” that accompany old age, the most prominent of which was the loss of heat.⁷⁰ Zerbi stated that old age in men begins between the age of 30 and 40 years and extends to 50 or 60. The onset of old age at such an early age and its accompanying afflictions must have encouraged middle-aged men living in the sixteenth-century to adopt fur clothing as a preventative and healthy mode of dress. Visual sources indicate that for some individuals such as John Russell, 1st earl of Bedford, comfort and warmth might have influenced his choice of a fur-lined gown in his portrait.⁷¹ Marieke de Winkel argues that the fur gown frequently depicted in Netherlandish portraits of men well into the mid seventeenth century was utilized by the elderly as an informal and comfortable mode of dress that kept them warm in their offices and studios.⁷² A text from 1597 says that the “Schollar sits always crouding at home in his Chamber,...with his nose ouer the fire, or lapped vp in a furred Gowne, to defende him from the cold of the winter.”⁷³

As discussed above, many of these merchant portraits depict their subjects working in a study- or office-like space. Their dedication to work, comfort and practicality, poise and pensiveness exuded *gravitas* and maturity, traits desired in businessmen who handled large sums of money. The display of *gravitas*, self-discipline and restraint, as well as thoughtfulness were believed to be the best trait for a model citizen, based on early modern ideas about knowledge and education, and these qualities were perfectly conveyed by the male fur gown.⁷⁴ While not entirely emulating the fashions of hereditary elites at court, merchants working in England nevertheless constructed a distinctive sartorial identity for themselves that was clearly recognizable and virtuous.

3. 4 Conclusion

I have discussed the depiction of urban professionals in London at a critical point in this city’s history, a time that was marked by expansion in trade and an explosion in population, and consider these images as fundamentally concerned with actively remaking the image of the middle-class subject. At a time when other sartorial materials instead of furs were being utilized by hereditary elites in their own formal self-representations, I have argued that the middling classes were consciously employing a mode of dress that was distinct from and not emulative of that utilized by the current ruling class. Instead, these commercial elite subjects wore the by now outmoded visual and sartorial lexicon of older court cultures in order to express a new mode of bourgeois luxury concerned with a moderate mode of sartorial consumption that reconciled prestige with practicality, modesty, and tradition. In this way, fur, as a material historically and

⁷⁰ Gabriele Zerbi, *Gerontocomia (On the Care of the Aged)*, 1489).

⁷¹ The term gown or “night-gown” was first given to a comfortable gown worn in the bedchamber early in the sixteenth century. At that time, it was frequently made of woolen or worsted fabrics, sometimes with a hood. After Henry VIII came to the throne, men’s gowns were made in richer fabrics, such as satin, velvet, or taffeta trimmed with gold and silver lace, and lined with shag, plush, or fur. A surviving example of a sixteenth-century gown now at Claydon House shows just how richly ornamented such garments could be. While still used in the bedchamber, gowns were later worn during the day as a kind of loose coat for extra warmth. Queen Elizabeth may have favored night-gowns for informal wear during the day among her women for quite a number of “loose gowns” are listed in the Stowe and Folger inventories. Janet Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth’s Wardrobe Unlock’d* (Leeds: Maney, 1988), 139.

⁷² Marieke de Winkel, ““Ene der deftigsten dragten” The Iconography of the Tabbard and the Sense of Tradition in Dutch Seventeenth-century Portraiture”, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 46 (1995), 145-167.

⁷³ Nicholas Breton, *The vvil of vvit, vvits vvill, or vvils wit, chuse you whether Containing fiue discourses, the effects whereof follow. Read and iudge. Compiled by Nicholas Breton, Gentleman* (1597), 25.

⁷⁴ Anne Jensen Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Portraiture and the Production of Community* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 110-11.

visually linked with high office and economic status, allowed these middle-class subjects to situate themselves within a specific social group while also enabling them to act as models of virtue and dignity. The wearing of fur dress also conveyed a merchant's success, financial gain, the important role they played in circulating luxury materials like fur in local and international markets, and their access to the commodities of their business.

Chapter Four

The Merchant's Hat: Beaver Felt Hats in Seventeenth-Century Holland and England

4. 1 Introduction

In Johannes Vermeer's 1657 painting titled *Soldier and Laughing Girl* (fig. 1), a man dressed in a red officer's uniform and a large felt hat sits in an interior space facing a smiling woman. The swirling ripples of the soldier's shirt cuff and the laddered folds of the sleeve of his disproportionately large arm, thrust akimbo, lead the eye along a spiraling trail toward his wide-brimmed hat, which engulfs the man's head, shrouding it in shadow. The very materiality of the soldier's hat, painted in a deep black hue, merges seamlessly with the vaporous texture of his hair and with the flesh of his face. Man and hat become indistinguishable from one another.

In early modern Holland and throughout Europe hats were perceived as a sign of authority and signaled hierarchy among men. Family portraits typically singled out the patriarch of the family as the only member with the right to don a hat in the presence of his wife and children (fig. 2). In the Dutch and French languages the word "hat" was frequently used as a metaphor for man as opposed to "coif," which denoted a woman.¹ Dutch women were rarely shown wearing hats, let alone beaver hats because wearing such a symbol of authority and masculine supremacy would have been considered too bold. Hats were a highly visible component of a male individual's dress, and more than any other garment, they enabled men to engage in the social codes of society. Vermeer's dashing soldier, who keeps his hat on during his visit, is not disrespectful to his lady friend because hats were worn much more constantly indoors than in the present day. The donning or doffing of a hat, its flourish or simple tap, could communicate a number of attitudes to others: salutation, respect, submission, entreaty, emotion, or even aggression and defiance.² It was through a man's adroit handling of his hat and through his nuanced understanding of his relationship to others and his judgment of any given circumstance that he was able to navigate the complex social order. So socially important and expensive were hats that they were left among bequests in a will and could even be hired out and rented.³ Entrusting one's masculine dignity to one's hatmaker led many early modern men to form close relationships with their hatters. English diarist and Member of Parliament Samuel Pepys mentions his hatmaker, Joseph Holden, numerous times in his diary and Holden's wife, Priscilla, became the godmother of Pepys's mistress's child.⁴

¹ Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 56. See M. de Vries and L.A. te Winkel, (et al.), *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 29 vols. (The Hague, 1864-1998), s.v. "Hoed: Waat hoeden zijn, betalen gene mutesn." Translation: "Where there are hats, coifs do not count." This is comparable to the explanation of the French lexicographer Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel* (The Hague/Rotterdam, 1690), s.v. "Chapeau: Habillement, ou couverture de teste dont se servent les hommes par toute l'Europe Occidentale. Signifie quelquefois un homme: Il y avoit plusieurs femmes à cette assemblée, mais il n'y avoit pas un chapeau." Translation: "Hat: signifies item of dress or head covering utilized by men throughout western Europe. Occasionally it also denotes a man. There were numerous women at that gathering, but not a single 'hat'."

² Penelope J. Corfield, "Dress for Deference and Dissent: Hats and the Decline of Hat Honour," *Costume* (1989): 68.

³ During the time of Queen Anne, the rent of a *subscription hat* cost £2 6s. per annum. Alice Morse Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America, MDCXX-MDCCCXX* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 229.

⁴ Samuel Pepys, *1633-1703: Samuel Pepys' Diary* (New York: De Luxe Editions, 1932). Entry "December 2, 1666."

Vermeer's own uncle, Dirck van der Minne, was a felt maker and hatter.⁵ The painter would have been familiar with hats like the ones depicted in his paintings and he would have had a good understanding of their texture, hue, and structure. The hat that the soldier in Vermeer's painting wears, with its low crown and wide brim, is no ordinary hat—it is a beaver felt hat. It is highly likely that Vermeer has depicted his officer wearing a beaver hat, for the stiffness of beaver felt rendered it the only felted material that could support such a wide brim. A felt hat constructed of lamb's wool would have produced a floppy brim that sagged ungracefully. This style of low crowned, large brimmed "bever" was extremely fashionable during the mid 1600s. In 1663 Pepys purchased a similar "new low crowned beaver according to the present fashion made."⁶ Large, slouch hats with wide, sturdy brims were first made fashionable by Swedish cavaliers fighting in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48).⁷ Beaver, indigenous to Scandinavia, was the ideal material for fabricating the wide brim hats worn by the dashing Swedish soldiers, and although hats made entirely of beaver (known as *castor*, from the Latin for "beaver") would have been restricted to the aristocracy and to wealthy traders, some beaver content was mixed into cheaper wool hats to improve its structure.⁸ Beaver felt was practical for men who spent most of their time outdoors as it was virtually impermeable to rain. Well-crafted beaver hats possessed an incredibly soft and smooth texture that produced a sheen similar to silk velvet. The deep, velvety hue of Vermeer's hat evokes the rich surface of surviving beaver felt hats.⁹ It is only upon closer examination of extant beaver hats that the hair fibers of beaver felt can be discerned. Compare extant beaver hats to a painted representation of a taffeta-covered hat by Jan Cossiers (fig. 3). Before the popular use of beaver fur, wool hats were so rough that men of style covered them with velvet, taffeta, or with some other material of silk to create a comfortable and aesthetically smooth surface.¹⁰ Wool hats were only worn "naked" for economy or to go out in the rain.¹¹ Cossiers carefully delineates the taffeta surface of his sitter's hat by depicting the reflective highlights and puckering and bunching of the silk brim's surface. He also depicts the deep fold along the brim needed to keep the upper edge upright, structurally unnecessary with beaver felt.

As the beaver hat became the prime accessory for the well-bred and economically-successful man, beaver fur became the most sought-after commodity of the seventeenth-century fur trade.¹² By 1610 the Dutch West India Company had secured the beaver-rich territory of North-Eastern America under their jurisdiction and began shipping beaver pelts by the thousands back to Holland. Fort Orange (today Albany), called the *Fuyck* by the Dutch, was the natural topographical trap-net to catch this trade, and in the very first season of its settlement 1,500 beaver and 500 otter skins were dispatched to Holland.¹³ In 1657, the same year that Vermeer's image was created, Johannes Dyckman, the commissary of Fort Orange reported that 40,900

⁵ Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2008), 27.

⁶ Pepys, 1633-1703. Entry "August 17, 1663."

⁷ Debbie Henderson, *The Top Hat: An Illustrated History of Its Manufacture and Styling* (Yellow Springs, Mont.: Wild Goose Press, 2000), 16.

⁸ J. F. Crean, "Hats and the Fur Trade," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Sciences / Revue Canadienne d'Economie et de Science politique*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1962): 379.

⁹ See an example of an early modern beaver felt hat in the collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum dated from 1590 to 1670 and made in England (Inventory number: T.22-1938).

¹⁰ Jean-Antoine Nollet, *L'Art, Supplément concernant l'Histoire de la Chapellerie* (Paris, 1765), 89.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Eric Jay Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2010), 13.

¹³ Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, 225.

beaver and otter skins were sent that year from Albany to Fort Amsterdam (today New York City), demonstrating the amount of beaver pelts flooding the Dutch market. Beaver became the chief source of cash income among Dutch settlers, enabling them to purchase European goods and sometimes acting as a form of payment for official stipends and dues.¹⁴ More importantly, duties on imports and exports would not apply. A decade after their arrival in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1620, the Pilgrims' main source of income for purchasing supplies and paying off their debts had come from the sale of beaver pelts shipped to London—pelts obtained by trading with Native Americans.¹⁵ Native Americans carried out all the work in trapping and collecting beaver fur, which was then traded for relatively inexpensive European wares. Beaver fur was critical to the Plymouth colony's survival and this commodity spurred the colonization of eastern North America. The fierce competition to control the region's fur trade pitted European nations against one another, transforming the New World into a battleground and ultimately leading to the expulsion of the Swedes, the Dutch, and the French from the continent.

The high prices fetched by beaver pelts made the North American fur trade highly lucrative. The first shipment to Holland after the Dutch West India Company had begun to organize New Netherland for settlement was a cargo of furs that sold at Amsterdam for 28,000 guilders.¹⁶ The beaver fur trade was worth approximately 50,000 guilders at the time and in the years 1632 and 1633 the value of the returns exceeded 140,000 guilders.¹⁷ A single hat of *castor* quality (*i.e.* made only with beaver fur) required on average four pounds of pelt (a typical beaver hide weighed about 1 ½ pounds), which would produce one pound of wool. 9-12 ounces of fur were used in the best hats though some styles called for as few as 4-6 ounces. Each beaver skin was valued at from 8 to 10 guilders (with a purchasing value equal to \$95 today).¹⁸ If we multiply the cost of a single pelt by four to produce roughly one pound of felt for the best quality hats we begin to understand just how expensive and precious beaver would have been. Pepys wrote in 1661 that he had purchased a "bever" for £4 5s. (having a purchasing value equal to \$900 today).¹⁹ Earlier that year Pepys had purchased a new hat (not made of beaver) for 20-30 shillings (with a purchasing value equal to \$50 today).²⁰ Beaver fur made the best hats that money could buy and Vermeer's soldier has worn his most elegant hat for his lady companion.

Because of its value and fashionability, a man's beaver hat could function as an ostentatious tool of seduction while evoking promises of material wealth and social elevation. Seventeenth-century ballads from England and America frequently recounted cautionary tales of soldiers offering beaver hats as gifts to prospective brides.²¹ The verses to an erotic Dutch poem from 1678 emphasize the seductive appeal of beaver as a material by comparing its softness to

¹⁴ E. E. Rich, "Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 7, No. 3 (1995), 307.

¹⁵ Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire*, xv.

¹⁶ Rich, "Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade," 308.

¹⁷ Simon van Brakel, *Die Hollandsche handelscompagnieën der zeventiende eeuw: Hun ontstaan-hunne inrichting* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1908), 32.

¹⁸ Earle 225

¹⁹ Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry "June 27 1661." Eric W. Nye. Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency. Accessed September 5, 2019. <https://www.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>.

²⁰ *Ibid.* Entry "May 21 1661."

²¹ See Joanna Brooks, "Two Sisters and a Beaver Hat: Desire and the Story of Colonial Commodity Culture" in *Why We Left: Untold Stories and Songs of America's First Immigrants* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

that of a lover's skin.²² The girl in the poem says that whereas the hands of builders (construction workers) would be too rough for her breasts, the hands of the neighbor's son are like velvet and his skin is like beaver hair.²³ Beaver fur was also used to line armor and was therefore tied to masculine displays of military prowess.²⁴ It was common practice for beaver to be applied to a helmet and more generally to the movable face-guard attached to it. English playwright William Shakespeare used the term "beaver" in both senses: "I saw young Harry with his beaver on" (*Henry IV*, pt. I, IV, 1); "Their armed staves in charge, their beavers down, / Their eyes of fire sparkling through sights of steel" (*Henry IV*, pt. II, IV, 1).²⁵ Beaver fur was the material *par excellence* of seduction for it evoked both military skill and expertise, luxury, erotic appeal, and economic power.

In *Vermeer's Hat*, published in 2008, Timothy Brook spends an entire chapter on what the soldier's hat can tell us about the North American fur trade. His ultimate goal is to explain the transcultural links and material exchanges between Europe and the East, namely China, since Brook is a scholar of Chinese history. Although Brook hopes to illuminate our understanding of Vermeer's paintings through his case studies of a beaver hat or a bowl of fruit, he leaves unanswered what those objects actually signified to seventeenth-century Dutch and English men and women. Furthermore, he focuses mainly on the French fur trade while ignoring the Dutch presence in the New World. What were the experiences of early modern men and women who donned the beaver hat? What symbolic meanings did it acquire within visual culture? And how did the beaver hat challenge *status quo* constructions of gender and class when worn by soldiers and merchants' wives? The hat in Vermeer's image addresses multiple narratives fashioned around beaver fur in the seventeenth century: the convergence of the outside world (geopolitics) with the home, the construct and maintenance of gender and male honor, and warnings of material seduction and social mobility and the anxieties therein. In Vermeer's painting the beaver hat acts as an extension of the Dutchman's body and even of his identity, becoming in the process the locus of Dutch middle class moral and national values. An examination of the very materiality of beaver fur will help us to see how a garment like the beaver hat could be charged with such conflicting meanings in both Holland and England at the peak of those regions' involvement in the beaver fur trade.

²² Anonymous, *Het nieuwe gevondene Makrollitje ofte Clioos hernieude cyter* (Weduwe Lootsman, Amsterdam, 1678).

²³ Ibid. "De Metselaers zijn in 't gemeen / Haer handen scherp door 't hand'len van de steen, / Hy sou door 't wrijven mijne Borsjes soet, / Ick kan dan haer niet dencken eenigh goet. / Maer onse Kees, ons Buermans Soon, / Dat is een Gast, die spant van al de Kroon, / Fluweele Handtjes, 't Lijf als Bever Hayr, / Och Moeder, 't is of ick ten Hemel vaer."

²⁴ "The Furrier Lines the Head-piece and the Shield." P. D., *The Antiquity and Honours of the Skinner and Furrier Crafts: arms, skimmers, ermine on a chief gu. 3 imperial crowns, or furriers, parted per fess. gu. and ar. a pale countercharged of the same on the 1st, 3 goats of the 2d* [1690?], 2.

²⁵ William Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, Part I, Act IV, Scene 1; *Henry IV*, Part II, Act IV, Scene 1. In Nathaniel Baxter's *Sir Philip Sydneys ourania* (1606) the knight Astrophil lifts up his "Beaver" or face-guard to reveal his identity. Nathaniel Baxter, *Sir Philip Sydneys ourania that is, Endimions song and tragedie, containing all philosophie* (London: 1606). Knights frequently wore and owned beaver hats. In an inventory from 1459 of Sir John Fastolfe, an English landowner and knight, is listed "a hatte of bever, lined with damaske." Quoted in S. William Beck, *The Draper's Dictionary: A manual of textile fabrics* (1886), 18.

4. 2 Material Examination of Beaver Felt and its Special Qualities

Edward Topsell's *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents* (1658), a natural history compendium of real and fantastical creatures of the known world, claims that beavers were "most plentiful in Pontus," a region on the southern coast of the Black Sea and that they could be found in the "Rivers of Spain, and in the River Marn in France; Padus, in Italy; in Savoy," in Switzerland, and throughout Germany, Poland, Croatia, Russia, and Prussia.²⁶ Topsell's account suggests that at one point, beavers were abundant in Europe but then became very rare. In eleventh-century Europe the medieval chronicler, Adam of Bremen, was dismissive of "flood furs" from Russia when he wrote, "They are [as] plentiful as dung... For our damnation...we strive as hard to come into the possession of a marten skin as if it were everlasting salvation."²⁷ Flood furs were those furs that came from beaver and otter, semiaquatic broad-tailed mammals which were native to northern Eurasia and North America. Beavers had been trapped in Europe for hundreds of years but were considered a lesser fur than weasel and squirrel skins like marten, ermine, and vair, all trapped in the Baltic Sea region, which were used to line and trim elite garments. A variety of fur, including beaver, from the Baltic Sea region and from Muscovy were circulated in the markets of Western Europe by way of Antwerp, then the economic capital of Europe.²⁸ There are records of the sale of Scottish beaver skins as late as 1350, however, by that time they were so rare that the pelt cost up to 120 times as much as lambskin. Overtrapping and the systematic clearing of wilderness areas in Northern Europe, rendered beaver a rare commodity in Europe by the 1400s and by the mid 1500s "only the remote reaches of Siberia and Scandinavia had ponds still abundant in beavers".²⁹ By the Henrician period beaver furs had been elevated in esteem and reserved for members of the clergy and higher.³⁰ Although considered less precious than otter fur, beaver fur was considered "most soft, neither doth it [lose] his beauty by age; for which cause as also for that no rain can hurt it, when it is well dressed it is of great price and estimation, and is sold for seven or eight shillings: thereof also they make fringes in hems of garments, and face about the collars of men and women's garments."³¹

In the medieval and early modern periods beaver was valued for its curative properties. The tail was eaten as a delicacy by both Europeans and Native Americans. Topsell describes the tails as "a very delicate dish" and Thomas Morton, observer of Native Americans in lower New England noted that the tails were reserved for the chief and treated as an aphrodisiac that could maintain an erection: "[It is] of such masculine virtue, that if some of our [European] Ladies knew the benefit thereof, they would desire to have ships sent of purpose, to trade for the tail alone."³² The beaver's gonads or "stones" were considered the most valuable of its body parts. These stones were "much sought after and desired by all Merchants, so that they will give for them any great price."³³ In Laurence Andrew's *The noble lyfe*, the text claims that the

²⁶ Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-footed Beasts* (London: 1607), 35.

²⁷ Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire*, 8.

²⁸ Bernard Allaire, *Pelleteries, manchons et chapeaux de castor: Les fourrures nord-américaines à Paris, 1500-1632* (Paris: Septentio, 1999), 99.

²⁹ Katherine Acheson, "Gesner, Topsell, and the Purposes of Pictures in Early Modern Natural Histories" in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. Michael Hunter (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2010), 133.

³⁰ 24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii. pp. 430-2.

³¹ Topsell, *History of Four-footed Beasts*, 446.

³² *Ibid.*, 36; quoted in Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire*, 15.

³³ Topsell, *History of Four-footed Beasts*, 36.

consumption of beaver gonads “is good for...other paines in the hede.”³⁴ One of the illustrations of beaver in *Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents* (fig. 4) shows the mammal on its back, skinned, with legs splayed revealing its valuable gonads. It is likely that when looking at such an image, the reader would have thought of the value of the beaver’s gonads, tail, and skin for medicine and clothing.³⁵ The fur of the mammal is depicted with meticulous detail in the large introductory image of the beaver positioned by the entry title and the juxtaposition of images of beaver with and *sans* fur suggests to viewers that its pelt was an important commodity to be taken and utilized.

By the early 1600s the Dutch had a thriving trade with Russia, bartering European goods for Muscovy furs. Such trade was highly favorable for the Dutch since the Russians kept tariffs on imports and exports fairly low. However, during this time the Russian resources in beaver were almost depleted as well. Throughout Europe the populations of fur-bearing animals were everywhere in steep decline. When the Dutch first heard word of beavers in the New World from Henry Hudson’s first report back home in 1610, they clamored to set up fur trading posts at Fort Orange and on Manhattan Island.³⁶ Just as the traditional sources of furs were petering out, another source was ready to be exploited. A bounty of furs lay beyond the Atlantic and could be exchanged with Native Americans for insignificant trinkets. From 1580 to 1590 approximately 500 beaver pelts were shipped each year from North America by way of France or other European cities to the Baltic.³⁷ In 1603 the quantity skyrocketed to more than 4,000 beaver pelts a year, reaching the number of 6,675 pelts.³⁸

Although beaver fur was used as trim on collars and cuffs, in the seventeenth century most of it was worked into hats because of its excellent felting properties. The closer the serrated points of animal fiber were and the finer the hair, the better the quality of the felt.³⁹ Human and animal hair has a scaly over layer of a fibrous structural protein called keratin.⁴⁰ A microscopic image of a beaver fiber shows that the surface of beaver keratin is highly serrated and barbed in comparison to the smoother fiber of wool or human hair (fig. 5). This allows the fibers of beaver fur to readily hook together to create superior felt that was tightly woven yet supple. Beaver fur felted so tightly that it felt almost like chamois leather. Russian furriers possessed the long-guarded trade secret for separating beaver wool from the guard hairs, facilitating the felt making process and enabling hatters to use lower grade beaver pelts such as *castor sec*.⁴¹ The Russian hatting industry was in turn influenced by the manufacture of felt hats in Constantinople, with whom the Russians were trading in fur pelts.⁴² As the technique of felting and hatmaking took off on Europe, the excellent felting properties of beaver fur rendered it desirable.⁴³ By the second half of the sixteenth century the felt hat industry was firmly established in France.

³⁴ Laurence Andrew, *The noble lyfe & natures of man, of bestes, serpentys, fowles & fisshes yt be moste knownen* (1521).

³⁵ Acheson, “Gesner, Topsell,” 133.

³⁶ Rich, “Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade,” 307.

³⁷ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 110.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Chris Heal, “Alcohol, Madness and a Glimmer of Anthrax: Disease among the Felt Hatters in the Nineteenth Century,” *Textile History* 44, no. 1 (2013): 103.

⁴⁰ Alan Axelrod, *A Savage Empire* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2011), 8.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴² Crean, “Hats and the Fur Trade,” 377.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 378. Felt hats were originally worn by commoners, however when Charles VII made his entry into Rouen in 1449 after the siege of the city, he wore a felted hat similar to the ones worn by his soldiers, officially launching the felt hat into elite dress.

Before the technological revolution introduced by *carroting* in the first half of the eighteenth century (by which means other wool pelts could be treated with mercury nitrate), beaver fur was the only material which would permit the manufacture of a hat with a large and durable brim.⁴⁴ The tightly felted surface of beaver felt rendered it virtually impermeable to water and it held its shape to a far greater degree under rough wear and successive wettings than felt made from lamb's wool, allowing a gentlemen to keep his dignity in the rain, an essential trait for men who spend most of their time outdoors and lead active lives. When Pepys accidentally dropped his wool hat in the water at Newington he lamented that it was "spoiled" or ruined.⁴⁵ In the Rijksmuseum collection a hat dating from around 1650 (inv. No. BK-KOG-15) has a lining made from a layer of thick waxed linen to repel water over a layer of wool felt for warmth with a silk inner lining, implying that it was intended for outdoor use.⁴⁶ It also suggests that waterproofed headgear was both desirable and a necessity for early modern men. The wet climate of England and the Netherlands explains why the rain-proof properties and smooth surface of beaver hats were so immensely popular among practical men living in those regions. Early modern accounts of beaver fur consistently described it as beautiful, durable, and impermeable to rain, traits that rendered it extremely valuable in Europe. In Topsell's text beaver skins were described as "making the best shew and enduring the longest; they are best that are blackest, and of the bellies which are like felt wool, they make caps and stockings against rain and foul weather."⁴⁷ Beaver has two layers of fur: an outer layer of long, coarse guard hairs and an inner layer of short, fine dense ones, which were used to make felt hats.⁴⁸ Beaver fur achieved astounding densities ranging from 12,000 to 23,000 hairs per square centimeter. As a water-dwelling mammal, the beaver is equipped with anal glands that secrete *castoreum* oil to protect and waterproof its fur.⁴⁹ The thick coat provided added buoyancy in water and shielded the flesh from the sharp teeth and claws of predators, all while keeping the beaver dry and warm.⁵⁰

There were two grades of beaver fur from North America: *castor gras* and *castor sec*. The highest quality beaver pelt was called *castor gras* and, due to an extraordinary preliminary treatment process described below, was ready for immediate use in hatmaking. Native American trappers sewed together beaver skins and wore them as coats, the fur facing inwards, to keep themselves warm during winter. As beaver fur was worn on the body, the rough guard hairs eventually fell out, leaving the soft undercoat of fur. The wearer's sweat and body oil (thus the

⁴⁴ Ibid., 375, 380. Until there is some deterioration of the keratin along part of the surface structure of the rabbit and hare fibers, they will not felt. This type of fiber makes cheap, poor quality hats. Deterioration of keratin is achieved by breaking down the amino-acid molecular chains through the alteration of the number of hydrogen and oxygen atoms. The original formula for the *carroting* solution consisted of salts of mercury diluted in nitric acid. This solution, brushed on the pelts with a stiff brush, induced the required deterioration of the keratin. It was discovered in England sometime between 1720 and 1740.

⁴⁵ Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry "April 30, 1661": "We got a small bait at Leatherhead, and so to Godlyman, where we lay all night, and were very merry, having this day no other extraordinary rencontre, but my hat falling off my head at Newington into the water, by which it was spoiled, and I ashamed of it."

⁴⁶ See Rijksmuseum collections, "Boerenmuts gedragen op de Veluwe," inventory number: BK-KOG-15.

⁴⁷ Topsell, *History of Four-footed Beasts*, 37.

⁴⁸ Brooks, "Two Sisters and a Beaver Hat," 81.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Dolin, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire*, 15.

use of the French term “*gras*,” meaning “fatty” or “greasy”) further broke down and softened the fur, creating a material that would felt better.⁵¹ Adriaen van der Donck wrote,

Unless the beaver has been worn, and is greasy and dirty, it will not felt properly, hence these old peltries are the most valuable. The coats which the Indians make of beaver skins and which they have worn for a long time around their bodies until the skins have become foul with perspiration and grease are afterwards used by the hatters and make the best hats.⁵²

Castor sec consisted of beaver pelts that were trapped in summer and therefore inferior and less dense than thicker winter pelts. They also had not been “treated” before their sale, *i.e.* worn by Native Americans and softened by body oil and perspiration. *Castor sec* pelts were more difficult to felt. European merchants nonetheless possessed a method for “treating” *castor sec* pelts. Europeans sold *castor sec* pelts to Russians who wore the skins as mantle linings and garments. After the guard hairs had fallen off, the Russians sold the used beaver skins back to Europeans because the “peltries [had] become old and dirty and apparently useless.”⁵³ These used fur articles were then converted into felt hats. Alongside the hatmaking industry, there existed an industry for the recuperation, recycling, and resale of used beaver pelts and felt hats in seventeenth-century Paris. As long as the hats were not damaged by worms or gnawed at by parasites they could be legally refreshed and sold.⁵⁴

While the barbed keratin in the underfur of beaver naturally lent itself to felting, it still required labor-intensive processing to transform beaver wool into finished felt. Before the introduction of *carroting* in the 1730s (which replicated the chemical effects of human perspiration), hatters had to prepare and treat *castor sec* beforehand because it would felt with difficulty. Skins were bundled in a sack of linen and boiled for 12 hours in water containing several fatty substances and nitric acid; the choice of these chemicals and their proportions varied according to individual trade recipes.⁵⁵ If a beaver pelt was seen to be too fresh upon arrival at the hatmaker’s it had to be aged by being left in special drums for at least a year.⁵⁶ This was an additional expense on beaver, for other furs could be used for felt much sooner after leaving the animal. One part of *castor gras* could also be mixed with five parts of unworn *castor sec* to create a high-end hat.⁵⁷

A good quality beaver felt hat could easily last half a century and not just for a year or even for a generation like most clothing garments.⁵⁸ In 1662 Pepys received a used beaver hat from a friend and wrote about it with elation: “Did get a beaver, an old one, but a very good one, of Sir. W. Batten, for which I must give him something; but I am very well pleased with it.”⁵⁹ So

⁵¹ *Encyclopoedia of E. Chambers* (1741). “Fat castor, usually called Old-coat, is that which has contracted a certain fat, unctuous humour, by sweat exhaled from the bodies of the savages, who have worn it for some times: this, though better than the dry, is yet only used for hats.”

⁵² Adriaen van der Donck, “Of the Nature, Amazing Ways, and Properties of the Beavers,” in *A Description of the New Netherland* (1655), eds. Charles Gehring and William Starna, trans. Diederick Goedhuys (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 119.

⁵³ Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, 228.

⁵⁴ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 193.

⁵⁵ M. L’Abbé Nollet, *L’Art de faire des chapeaux* (Paris: 1765), 18.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Crean, “Hats and the Fur Trade,” 376.

⁵⁸ Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, 123.

⁵⁹ Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry “April 19, 1662.” Sir William Batten (c.1600-1667) was a British sailor, the son of Andrew Batten, and master in the Royal Navy. He obtained the post of Surveyor to the Navy in 1638 but fell out of favor

durable and strong was beaver felt hats that when the hero in Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1607) strikes his opponent on the head, his "beaver did stiffly beare" the blow.⁶⁰ Beaver felt was also naturally dark and would retain its lustrous hue with time, whereas lamb's wool had to be dyed and lost its vibrancy with age.⁶¹ In a time when clothing dyes were not color-fast and could easily wash away in the rain, the beaver hat was a very good investment for individuals who could not afford to regularly purchase the latest fashions. The beaver hat was a classic hat that lasted and one that retained its shape and color. In spite of its durability, its economic value and preciousness led Samuel Pepys to reserve his beaver for special occasions, such as the Lord Mayor's Feast, and not for daily wear. When simply riding out he wore another hat "to save [his] beaver."⁶²

Fantastically colored beaver hair hats were available for purchase in the early modern period. A purple beaver hat is listed in an inventory from 1590.⁶³ There are a number of unpublished references to white beaver felt hats, garments of exceeding preciousness, during the reign of James I. In a description of one of the king's processions, a "Lord Ambassador" is recorded as wearing a "Cloak and Hose... made of very fine white Beaver... and a white Beaver hat suitable, Brim full of embroidery, both above and below."⁶⁴ The author describes such apparel as a vanity and "a *Romance*, favouring rather of *Fancy* than *Reality*."⁶⁵ White beaver fur did exist, however. Topsell mentions that the beavers found in the woods of Moscow and Lithuania were considered to be of "excellent perfection and stature above others, having longer white hairs which glister [glitter] above other."⁶⁶ In a description of a monastery in Flanders that belonged to the Order of St. Bernard, the "handsome and young" noble men's sons that were members of the Order wore white vests, sashes, and white cords, as well as "white beaver" on their heads.⁶⁷ A fashion plate from the French gazette, *Le Mercure galant* (1678), depicts an elegant aristocrat wearing a richly embroidered *justaucorps* with a "*castor gris blanc*" or gray-white beaver hat (fig. 6). In popular early modern literature the beaver hat symbolized globality and its advantages—exotic goods brought from afar that made the European home cosmopolitan, luxurious, and comfortable. In the comedy *Technogamia: Or The Marriages of the Arts* (1618), the personification of *Geographus* or Geography is described as wearing "a white beaver, with a white and greene Feather,...[and] a Cloke whereon was describ'd the terresetriall Globe in two Hemispheres, and on the Cape the two Poles."⁶⁸

European male fashions spurred on the North American fur trade leading to the near extinction of the beaver in the New World by the end of the eighteenth century. Beaver fur's unique felting properties, durability, and vibrancy rendered it one of the most desirable sartorial materials for hatmaking in the seventeenth century. The perfect medium for constructing the fashionable wide-brimmed hats worn initially by soldiers and cavaliers and, later, by men

during the Second Civil War, only to regain his post at the Restoration. He became MP for Rochester in 1661 and master of the Trinity House in 1663.

⁶⁰ Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando furioso in English heroic verse* (1607), 180.

⁶¹ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 222.

⁶² Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry "April 26, 1662."

⁶³ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 191; Archives nationales, notaire Bontemps, XXIII-134: 17-12-1590.

⁶⁴ Arthur Wilson, *The History of Great Britain being the life and reign of King James the First, relating to what passed from his first access to the crown, till his death* (London, 1653), 92-3.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁶⁶ Topsell, *The History of Four-footed Beasts*, 35.

⁶⁷ Aphra Behn, *Love-Letters Between a Noble-man and His Sister* (London, 1684).

⁶⁸ Barten Holyday, *Technogamia: of The Marriage of the Arts* (London, 1618), A3.

aspiring to the upper class, beaver felt offered European men water-proofed headwear that left their dignity intact. When painted on the heads of certain individuals the beaver hat spoke to their fashionability and access to the latest luxury goods obtained through global networks.

4.3 Dutch Uniformity and Communalism Through Beaver Hats

In Vermeer's *Soldier and Laughing Girl* the beaver hat's extending brim and crown visually links the Dutchman to multiple spaces at once within the painting: to the open window that looks out onto the street and, by extension, onto the exterior world; to the cartographic representation of Holland hanging in the background; and to the interior space of the room in which he sits. Vermeer's hat is the one garment that gives the soldier bodily access to all three spaces, real and abstracted, whereas his female companion, farthest from the window, is relegated to the tranquil recesses of the Dutch domestic interior. Her *kaper* or *hoofdoek* (a linen cloth worn on the head, known in English as a "coif") touches a small sliver of the map's border, giving her secondary access to the global networks beyond. As a Dutch citizen she benefits from the various material objects and commodities (imported wine, wood, gold, silk) made available through Dutch trade that render her interior and body comfortable. The duality between female domesticity and male agency is also reflected in the warmth and inviting yellow of the woman's jacket versus the self-assuredness and assertion conveyed by the vibrant red of the officer's coat, a hint of which is echoed in the tufts of garnishing poking from his hat. These opposites, however, come together naturally and harmoniously within the ordered structure of Dutch society, in which every individual plays his part. The home acted as a microcosm of the properly governed commonwealth. The man and woman may be courting, but their bodies are regulated and restrained by the dictates of the virtuous Dutch home, where men and women negotiate over and talk about sex instead of falling victim to its passions. The soldier's beaver hat, a distinctly male garment, however, allows the Dutchman to negotiate the different spaces, that of the home, of trade and commerce, and of civic and military affairs, while maintaining his civility.

The map depicted in the background of Vermeer's painting is an accurate record of a wall map of Holland and West Friesland (figs. 7 and 8) designed by Balthasar Florisz, van Berckenrode in 1620 and published shortly thereafter by Willem Janszoon Blaeu, the leading commercial cartographer of Amsterdam.⁶⁹ Depicting the coastal half of the United Provinces, with the west positioned at the top of the image, the map's depiction in the painting celebrates the independence of Holland in the aftermath of the Dutch Revolt and the numerous ships along the coast also functions as a clear reference to the burgeoning and successful mercantile endeavors of the United Provinces during a period of prosperity, peace, and scientific progress. Though we cannot read the band of text inscribed on the map in the painting, the text on the actual map stressed the steadfastness of the Dutch, their defense of their homeland, and their artistic accomplishments.

The color scheme of the map is oddly reversed, with the land mass rendered in light blue and the sea in greyish beige. The only existing exemplar of the map is monochrome and in a later depiction of the same map in Vermeer's *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* (fig. 9), the artist represented it in shades of ochre. Timothy Brooks argues that the color reversal symbolizes the larger transition that Dutch society was undergoing in the mid-1600s, from military to civil society, from monarchy to republicanism, from Catholicism to Calvinism, merchant house to corporation, war to trade.⁷⁰ The land mass might have been glazed with a transparent yellow that

⁶⁹ Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *Vermeer and the Art of Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 58.

⁷⁰ Brooks, "Two Sisters and a Beaver Hat," 28-29.

would have given it the correct green tone. This yellow-over-blue glaze was standard practice among many Dutch painters, however the yellow glaze was prone to degrade with time, revealing the blue underpainting beneath.⁷¹

The color scheme could also speak to the hybridity of the Netherlands as a nation made up just as importantly of sea as of land, the land mass taking on the color of the sea and vice versa. The Dutch believed that the Almighty had endowed them with the intelligence and the will to conquer the sea and to use water against their enemies.⁷² The Dutch struggle and will to survive drove them to engineer polders through which they could control the waters of the sea and reclaim low-lying land. They also constructed ditches or moats to protect their cities. So too did the beaver make use of both land and water for the survival of its community and family. In Laurence Andrew's *The noble lyfe and natures of man of bestes*, which was originally published in Dutch and later translated into English in 1527, we are told that the beaver's very physicality compelled him "to be with his hynder fete in ye water & his fore fet on ye londe".⁷³ The amphibian and hybrid qualities of the beaver's body allowed it to move seamlessly from water to land, in much the same manner that the Dutch moved fluidly from the sea to land in order to expand their maritime empire.

The soldier's hat in Vermeer's painting is not the only material reference to beaver for it was common practice in the seventeenth century to use beaver felt hat scraps to wipe metal plates used to print the large cartographic map of Holland in the background. Printing manuals recommended engravers to use a piece of beaver hat with *sallet* (saddle oil) and a smooth oil stone to polish their plates.⁷⁴ Manuals also recommended that engravers wipe the plate with beaver to better see the lines they had engraved: "When you have cut one stroke drop a little *sallet* oyle upon your peece of Beaver, and rub over the said stroke, for by this means you shall better see the stroke."⁷⁵ Beaver felt then was essential to the artistic work of the printmaker and engraver, allowing them to clearly see the progress of large, complex and highly detailed work. Fur pelts made "Their Ink expressive, and the Type to speak."⁷⁶ The behind-the-scenes use of beaver in the production of a map of the nation echoes the hidden yet vital role of this animal material in the nation's artistic and scientific technological development. Beaver felt helped to define the nation's far-reaching geographic borders, pictorially and politically.

The beaver was such an important animal in the cosmography of seventeenth-century Dutch culture, that it was given a place of primacy in a book that taught children how to read and to identify basic words, objects, and animals by their Dutch and Latin names. In Johannes Amos Comenius' *Portael der saeken en spraecken* (1658) the beaver is the first animal to be listed under the category of aquatic creatures next to an otter, crocodile, turtle, and frog (fig. 10).⁷⁷ The text asks children readers, "Wat is een Viervoetigh Watergedierte?" or "What is a four-footed

⁷¹ Glazes were often removed inadvertently during the revarnishing process.

⁷² Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 35.

⁷³ Andrew, *The noble lyfe* (1521).

⁷⁴ See David Woodward, "The Forlani Map of North America," *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): 29-40, where it is shown how the two states of the Forlani map of North America (1565-66) can be identified on the basis of scratches alone.

⁷⁵ John Bate, *The Mysteries of Nature and Art in Foure Severall Parts*, 2d ed. (London: Printed for Ralph Mabb, 1635), 229, 30. Quoted in David Woodward, "Techniques of Map Engraving, Printing, and Coloring in the European Renaissance" in *The History of Cartography*, Vol. 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance (Part I) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 595.

⁷⁶ P. D., *The Antiquity and Honours of the Skinner and Furrier Crafts*, 3.

⁷⁷ Johannes Amos Comenius, *Portael der saeken en spraecken* (Amsterdam: 1658), 27.

aquatic mammal?,” and the accompanying illustration positions the beaver highest in the pyramidal hierarchy of aquatic animals while pictorially describing the texture of its thick and dense fur.

Since it was beaver that helped to finance the colonization of the New World it comes as no surprise that the seal of New Netherland depicted a beaver enclosed in a string of wampum (fig. 11).⁷⁸ But the beaver was more than a lucrative commodity and a cash income for the Dutch, for it seemed to embody the very national and moral traits of the Dutch people themselves. In Laurence’s *The noble lyfe* the beaver was described as industrious and efficient almost to a fault. The woodcut of the beaver (fig. 12) accompanying the text illustrates it hard at work, carrying a tree branch in its mouth to construct a dam. Beavers were believed to gather together in a great company for the construction of their dams and homes. Each member was expected to contribute to the communal cause and those that could not due to old age were forced to help by other means. For example, beavers that had blunted teeth and therefore could not cut wood were thrown on their backs and used as wagons or sleds for supplies. An eighteenth-century illustration in the world atlas by Herman Moll portrays an assembly line of humanoid beavers at work building a dam (fig. 13). Every beaver, young and old, contributes to the communal endeavor and is an exemplar of industry. A parallel can be seen in the Dutch incorporation of the poor and outsiders into the body of Dutch culture and in the culture’s belief that each individual played a role within the social hierarchy and this hierarchy was accepted for the sake of the common good. In Topsell’s *Historie of the Foure-footed Beasts* the beaver’s skills in building are praised as “wonderful” and they are described as “so constant in their purpose”. Dutch Calvinist preachings promoted the message that the whole meaning of Holland’s national existence was part of God’s preordained plan, instilling the Dutch with a greater sense of purpose and responsibility.⁷⁹

The beaver imprinted on the seal of New Netherland (fig. 11) then symbolizes not only the prosperity and industry of the Dutch settlement and, by extension, of Holland itself, but also of self-sufficiency of its people and their desire to foster a communal identity. The beaver hat’s close ties to local Dutch trade and prosperity protected it from charges of immoral materialism. Whereas many moralists lamented that the consumption of foreign luxury goods was detrimental to domestic economy, beaver fur *was* a Dutch resource, albeit one harvested on a different continent. Beaver felt became another skin for the Dutchman, one that gave him an impermeable, water-proof protection and allowed him to easily navigate the rough and tumultuous waters of the sea for the sake of his community’s well-being.

In Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde’s depiction of a typical Dutch square (fig. 14) the Dutchmen standing outside the Amsterdam town hall wear beaver felt hats even in good weather. The beaver hat’s impeccable texture and durability, offering Dutchmen protection against rain or shine, highlighted their refusal to be weathered and to engage directly with the environment around them to survive. These men are prepared for any kind of weather. Even English Quakers, who saw clothing as an outer sign of inner virtue and shunned anything deemed ostentatious, were permitted to wear beaver hats as protection against the weather, foregrounding the garment’s practicality.⁸⁰ The wide brim of the beaver hat also shadowed an individual’s face, perhaps emphasizing the anonymity and homogeneity of the Republic’s members. Note that the

⁷⁸ Rich, “Russia and the Colonial Fur Trade,” 308.

⁷⁹ See Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*.

⁸⁰ Joan Kendall, “The Development of a Distinctive Form of Quaker Dress,” *Costume*, 19 (1985): 63. This was from the early 1700s.

Dutchmen are distinguished as a group from two foreign visitors, a Muscovite and a Turk who wear a fur cap and turban, respectively.

In Anthonie Palamedesz's image of the States-General (fig. 15) the Latin motto of the Dutch Republic "Unity makes strength" is inscribed on the drapery of the table in the foreground (fig. 16). In the painting the beaver hat becomes a means of unifying Dutch men socially, for each member of the States-General is permitted to keep his head covered as a marker of their symbolic if not actual equality. German and English travelers in the Netherlands were frequently surprised by how Dutchmen kept their hats on indoors, during meals, and even at church. The Dutch prided themselves in doing things differently and were renowned for their peculiarities, including their anomalous position as a mercantile republic surrounded by absolutist monarchies. When English Merchant Trader Peter Mundy traveled to Holland in 1640, he said, "I have bin the longer aboutt the discription of this place etts., because there are soe many particularities wherein it differs (and in som excells)."⁸¹ Foreigners generally explained the Dutch disregard for hat honor as an expression of their longing for egalitarianism, personal freedom, and independence. This semblance of egalitarianism held currency only among the mercantile elites whose dress nevertheless distinguished them from women and members of the lower classes. In Jan Steen's portrait of Adolf and Catharina Croeser on the Oude Delft, known as "The Burgher of Delft and his Daughter" (fig. 17), Croeser, a successful corn merchant and brewery owner wears expensive black garments and black beaver felt hat that contrasts with the fur cap or *moffemuts* of the old woman begging for alms. His open posture and covered head, compared to his daughter's highly refined and contained figure, testify to his privileged place and male prerogative. His beaver hat situates him in a social milieu different from that of his daughter and the beggar woman who may be a German immigrant since they were said to wear a lot of fur. Fur caps in contrast to felt hats were associated with vagabonds, thieves, and beggars in the seventeenth century.⁸²

In Job Berckheyde's *The Old Exchange of Amsterdam* (fig. 18; c. 1670) the artist depicts Dutch merchants, investors, potential clients, and Ottoman merchants at the Amsterdam *Beurs* (Exchange), the center of financial activity where clients could trade in commodities, company shares, and government bonds, as well as buy maritime insurance, arrange for freight, and obtain foreign exchange quotations. Exchange activity was boosted by the trade in Dutch West India Company (*VOC*) shares, the first mercantile organization based on permanent shares of capital that could be freely traded on the secondary market. The Dutch citizens wear wide-brimmed beaver hats and black clothing with white collars, creating a homologous uniform. In Rembrandt's group portrait of *The Wardens of the Drapers' Guild* (fig. 19), the artist captures the harmony and interdependence of the syndics through the likeness of their apparel and the simplicity of their ungarnished beaver hats, which visually frame and link them as a unified and cooperative entity. The wardens' felt hats and clothing create a dark grouping across the painting that binds them even more visually into an impenetrable mass. The men act as a unity that is distinguished and separated from the space of the outside world suggested beyond the frame. Like the tightly bonded fibers of beaver felt itself, these men form one and the same body. They work together, succeed together and fail together. Another group portrait by Frans Hals from

⁸¹ R. C. Temple, ed., *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667* (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1925), 81.

⁸² Frans Grijzenhout and Nicolaas van Sas, *The Burgher of Delft: A Painting by Jan Steen* (Amsterdam, 2008), 334-35.

1641 (fig. 20) also uses the hats worn by its corporate members as a binding agent to unify the men visually and socially.

In the portrait of Abraham de Visscher (fig. 21), the director of the *WIC*, the beaver hat's velvety yet sleek texture is apparent. De Visscher wears a hat whose very material was sourced from North America and whose economic power helped the Dutch colonize the West Indies. In comparison to this image of an extremely powerful and wealthy burgher, is Gerard ter Borch's depiction of a cloth merchant from Haarlem (fig. 22) which also depicts the sitter wearing a beaver hat. Whereas the director of the *WIC* is clothed in a velvet jacket, over which is draped a satin-lined cloak, the cloth merchant is encased in less luxurious materials. Remarkably, he nevertheless wears a very similar wide-brimmed hat, demonstrating the beaver hat's prevalence in seventeenth-century Dutch men's costume and specifically among the mercantile classes, acting as their uniform *par excellence*. Beaver hats were a cheaper means of expressing one's economic status than fur lined and trimmed clothing, which cost considerably more than a hat. The beaver hat was, at the same time, a display of hard capital since merchants tended to invest in material goods rather than in land since access to real estate was limited.⁸³ One difference in the value of these men's hats is the silk hat band encircling Abraham de Visscher's beaver, which contrasts with the plain hat of the cloth merchant. Garnishing one's hat with trimmings such as silk ribbons and feathers doubled its cost.⁸⁴ So the nuances in these men's wealth are observed through the ornamentation and materiality of their attire rather than in the cut or kind of garment they wore. Although both men dress according to their economic means, the differences are not exaggerated and a balance between propriety and excess is maintained.

Many portraits of seventeenth-century Dutchmen portray them wearing beaver felt hats as a marker of their social and economic status and the beaver hat was also a marker of these mercantile men's inclusion within a corporate identity. Several portraits of wealthy cloth merchants depict them either wearing or gesturing with their wide-brimmed beaver hats: Willem van Heythuysen and Issac Abrahamszoon Massa by Frans Hals; Abraham del Court and Jan Jacobszoon Hinlopen by Bartholomeus van der Helst. The international connections of merchants gave them exclusive access and good prices to rare commodities such as beaver hats. In view of Holland's close trading relationship with Russia before the 1600s and later its prominent role in the North American fur trade, a Dutch merchant might acquire a beaver hat at below the retail price since his profession put him in a position to avoid middlemen expenses and import costs. A relatively small, widely travelled class of merchants directed the collection and transmission of local furs in Central Europe, and later in North America, introducing in the process both felt making technologies and the beaver commodity to other places, namely Northern Europe.⁸⁵ It was precisely the prosperous middle class's access to luxury commodities and status symbols like the beaver felt hat that raised concerns about the fluidity of social demarcations in England.

4. 4 Inclusion and Exclusion: Hat Honor and Material Greed

Samuel Pepys's long-awaited realization of becoming a gentleman was attained when he purchased a beaver hat in 1661. Only months earlier Pepys had no shame in accepting a second-hand beaver hat from a friend.⁸⁶ When Pepys finally took the step to purchase a new one for £4,

⁸³ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 209.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 190.

⁸⁵ Crean, "Hats and the Fur Trade," 375.

⁸⁶ Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry, "April 19, 1662."

one percent of his annual income was invested in this hat made of beaver fur. In early modern England a beaver felt hat cost on average an astounding £2.5. It was therefore accessible only to the mercantile elites and the ruling classes. King James's son, Prince Charles, purchased between forty and sixty beaver hats a year throughout the 1620s, each costing eighty-five shillings (approximately £4), including fancy trimmings, a sum equivalent to the cost of a good horse or ten weeks' wages for an artisan laborer.⁸⁷

Pepys's diary has a wealth of accounts that demonstrates the importance he placed onto his hats, especially his beaver hat, which became a symbol of his social aspirations. Pepys frequently described in detail what he was wearing on a given occasion and his donning of the beaver hat always emphasized his fashionability and the richness of his attire. In one entry Pepys proudly described his church attire: "This morning I put on my best cloth suit, trimmed with scarlett ribbon, very neat, with my cloake lined with velvet, and a new beaver, which altogether is very noble... ." ⁸⁸ Church was an important public space where Pepys was extremely conscious of and flaunted his physical appearance. When invited to the Lord Mayor's feast, the finishing touch to Pepys's outfit is his hat: "with my beaver I was...ready to go to the Lord Mayor's." ⁸⁹ The importance of his hat to his male identity is evident when Pepys writes that he wore a "bad hat" and is annoyed: "nothing troubled but the badness of my hat, which I borrowed to save my beaver." ⁹⁰ These anecdotes demonstrate how Pepys's hat acted as a proxy for his manliness and dignity.

Wenceslaus Hollar's print of the Coronation Procession of King Charles II (fig. 23) shows the social and political elite wearing high-crowned beaver hats decorated with ostrich feathers. Images of English elites wearing large brimmed hats displayed their social position. Hat honor as practiced in England gave high ranking men the right to wear hats in the presence of those of lesser status and required men of inferior status to doff their hats to their superiors.⁹¹ The rituals of hat honor permeated home life as well. Each household and family unit was seen as a "little commonwealth" and reflected the social hierarchy of society at large. The father wore his hat in the home as a sign of his authority over the whole household and hat honor was demanded as an act of filial respect and submission, required even of adult sons who stood with heads uncovered in their father's presence.⁹² In the portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh with his son (fig. 2; 1601), the child's uncovered head demonstrates his subordination to his father.

The notebooks of John Finet, Master of Ceremonies to Charles I, have numerous references to the way dignitaries negotiated the hierarchies of court and personal standing through the doffing or otherwise of headgear.⁹³ Lapses in etiquette were remarked and censured,

⁸⁷ See Brooks "Two Sisters and a Beaver Hat," 83.

⁸⁸ Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry "November 29, 1663." Pepys states that hats were worn in church; even the preacher wore his hat.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, entry "October 29, 1661."

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, entry "April 26, 1662."

⁹¹ Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 88. Although a gentleman's hat was normally kept on his head, a few ceremonies required him to take it off such as during prayer, the first time when offering food or when an esteemed person toasted to somebody's health.

⁹² Susan Wareham Watkins, "Hat Honour, Self-Identity and Commitment in Early Quakerism," *Quaker History*, 103, no. 1 (2014): 2.

⁹³ Hats figured predominantly in ceremonies where a representative of one head of state was presented at court. In 1603, James I found it necessary to establish the office of Master of Ceremonies. The duties of the Master of Ceremonies was to personally instruct foreign ambassadors in the requisite courtly protocol, including when, where,

and skillful hat handling gained diplomatic prestige and eased international relations. In contrast to Dutch images of masculine communality, hats served to distinguish between the lords or hereditary peers of the Upper House and the elected representatives of the Lower House in the English Parliament. The Lower House was forbidden from sitting and covering their heads in the presence of the Lords of the Upper House as a means of showing respect. In 1606, the Commons in the Lower House of Parliament sent a complaint to the Lords about the “great dis-ease and inequality the House is in at a conference by standing so long bare.”⁹⁴ The motion was seconded by another member of the Lower House who argued that because attendance was long at the committees members of the Commons “have after conference found themselves sick and lame long after”.⁹⁵ The donning or doffing of one’s hat was more than a question of keeping one’s dignity but also one of having a right to maintain one’s health.

In English society, the blatant rejection of hat honor was read as a form of protest and a threat to social order and authority. To illustrate how serious such offense was in this period, we need to understand how the nuanced communication of clothing could provoke violence among men. Men were actually beaten and imprisoned for not rendering hat honor. John Merrick, a Quaker from Herefordshire, was beaten “unmercifully” on three separate occasions for the affront caused to his social superiors by “not saluting ... in the customary Manner,” and the beating given to another Quaker from Leicester for not “pull[ing] off his hat to the Earl of Grey” resulted in his death.⁹⁶ For Quakers, the blatant refusal to acknowledge and practice hat honor was instrumental in cementing their religious identity and helping them to overcome pride and flattery. Disobeying hat honor was also bad for business. George Fox confessed that many Quaker tradesmen lost customers because of their opposition to hat honor.⁹⁷ International merchants, however, seemed to have wholly accepted hat etiquette while proudly displaying their vanity through the wearing of expensive hats. Because their fortunes and profits were tied up in international business and therefore precarious and unstable, merchants used diplomacy and flattery when conducting business affairs and were highly conscious of codes of etiquette and behavior.⁹⁸

There are several complaints from Pepys about the impertinence of low-status individuals not complying with hat honor. In 1661 he reported himself “much offended in mind at a proud trick my man Will: hath got, to keep his hatt on in the house.”⁹⁹ On another occasion when meeting with a group of naval captains, he was ill-pleased to find that one “among twenty that stood bare, stood with his hat on, a proud saucy young man.”¹⁰⁰ Not noticing the Duke of York in the dark, his footman came after Pepys and his companion to see who they were, obliging Pepys to take off his hat in deference: “What his meaning is I know not, but was fearful that I might not go far enough with my hat off, though methinks that should not be it; besides, there was others covered nearer then myself was, but only it was my fear.”¹⁰¹ Pepys jostled for social

and how to remove and replace one’s hat when in the presence of the king. This office still exists today. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, 89.

⁹⁴ Maija Jansson, “‘The Hat is No Expression of Honor’,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 133, no. 1 (1989): 33.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Watkins, “Hat Honour,” 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹⁸ Jansson, “‘The Hat is No Expression of Honor’,” 30.

⁹⁹ Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry, “October 20, 1661.”

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, entry “December 26, 1665.”

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, entry “July 27, 1663.”

recognition and standing within the complex hierarchy of men by way of a garment. Whereas the Dutch beaver hat fostered inclusion and cooperation rather than separation and exclusivity, the donning or doffing of hats in English culture rendered social differences and tensions highly visible in the quotidian.

Fur's longstanding identification with elite culture rendered it a symbol of extravagance. One of the first English authors to attack fur clothing, William Langland equated fur fashions with depraved luxury in the narrative poem *Piers the Ploughman* (c. 1370-90). His Lady Lucre, Falsehood's daughter, is "a woman richly dressed, whose robe was trimmed with the finest fur in the land."¹⁰² Fur is the chief item in the panoply of splendor used to describe her costume that proclaims Lady Lucre's depravity. Geoffrey Chaucer's description of the Monk in the "Prologue" to his *The Canterbury Tales* (1387—1400) uses the clergyman's dress and display of rich fur as a metaphor for the corruption of the Church.¹⁰³ These examples demonstrate that during times of marked social conflict, material objects that were the exclusive prerogative of elites were readily linked with corruption.

In the English literary tradition the beaver hat had a long history of evoking high fashion and monetary privilege while also functioning as a symbol of false status. The first mention of the beaver hat in English is in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, where in the General Prologue the merchant is described as wearing "a Flaundryssh bever hat".¹⁰⁴ The adjective "Flaundryssh" calls attention to either the origin of the hat or to its style.¹⁰⁵ The Merchant's more cosmopolitan sensibilities – knowledge about the latest international fashions, for example – demonstrate his access to global goods and cultures and are probably meant to serve as a contrast to the concerns of those like the Knight, who hail from more traditional and entrenched social groups. Dressed in the latest mode and with a forked beard, the merchant's rich clothes give the impression that he is wealthy when in fact he is in debt. In Jean Froissart's fourteenth-century *Chroniques*, we are told that after sacking Bruges in 1382, the victors from Ghent clad themselves in furs and beaver hats to give the impression that they were wealthy men.¹⁰⁶ In a polemical text from 1528 *false men of God* (i.e. Roman Catholics) "exalte the thre folde crowne of antichrist his bever."¹⁰⁷

In English and Anglo-American ballads from the seventeenth century the beaver hat symbolized greed and the hunger for status goods that set into motion communal disorder.¹⁰⁸ As early as the 1630s, when the beaver hat was still out of the financial reach for all but the nobility and upper merchant class, English popular oral culture began to document the impacts of the beaver hat craze on social relations.¹⁰⁹ In the ballad "Two Sisters" a sailor visits a family and falls in love with the younger sister.¹¹⁰ He offers her a beaver hat as a token, incurring the older sister's jealousy. The older sister invites the younger to walk down by the seashore and attempts to drown her so that she can marry the sailor and possess his wealth. The sailor's gift of a beaver hat provoked greed and rivalry between two sisters, resulting in murder. By the 1680s mentions

¹⁰² William Langland, *Piers the Ploughman*, Book II, "The Marriage of Lady Fee," trans. by J.F. Goodridge (London: Penguin Books, 2006).

¹⁰³ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales* (1387—1400): "General Prologue": line 193-4.

¹⁰⁴ Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*: "General Prologue": line 274.

¹⁰⁵ Although it is unlikely that beaver hats were manufactured in Flanders, the Low Countries had very old and deep contacts with Russia, which had a highly developed hatting industry.

¹⁰⁶ Crean, "Hats and the Fur Trade," 377.

¹⁰⁷ William Roy, *Rede me and be nott wrothe, for I say no thyng but trothe* (London, 1528).

¹⁰⁸ See Brooks "Two Sisters and a Beaver Hat", 80.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 76-77.

of the beaver hat in popular ballads and daily news connected it to the false and untrustworthy (even criminal) behavior of self-styled cavaliers and soldiers.¹¹¹ When a Pirate Captain was executed in the late seventeenth century, “The Captain was then drest in a fine Silk Night-Gown, a large white Wig, and a white Beaver-Hat; all which personal Imbellishments more highly attracted a great many favourable, if not some wet Eyes, and possible more particularly entitled him to that last universal Civility always paid to his circumstances; viz. *That every Man’s handsome that goes to be hang’d.*”¹¹² Soldiers, in particular, were by lifestyle and reputation a class associated with inconstancy and thus their alluring gifts of beaver hats to potential brides implied deceit. In the ballad *The willy, witty, neat and pretty, Damsell* (1649?), a soldier offers a “beautiful and faire” maid “A Bever hat” in exchange for sex and the promise of marriage.¹¹³ The soldier cajoles the girl with “A Bever hat, / Be sure of that, / Ile for a faring give thee... .”¹¹⁴ The introduction of status commodities like the beaver hat was seen as destabilizing to lower class English communities. The beaver hats mentioned in ballads were not worn by women; instead the beaver hat acted as a fetishistic proxy for the male and his promise of social status. Although Vermeer’s painting *Soldier and Laughing Girl* does not hint at the perverse and transgressive associations of the beaver hat as a status symbol, the beaver hat’s role in seduction is clear. The beaver hat renders the soldier an appealing suitor and alludes to promises of social elevation and adventure. The girl’s cheeks are rosy and flushed, either because she is drunk or because she is blushing at the soldier’s advances. In Abraham Cowley’s *Love’s Riddles* of 1638, a woman emphasizes the luscious softness of her lover’s mouth by saying “His lips [were] as red and sweet as early cheryes, / Softer then Bevers skins.”¹¹⁵

The potential of the beaver hat to destabilize society was complicated by the presence of “fake beavers.” As beaver hats became a popular garment in the seventeenth century and its pricing steadily rose, the first counterfeits were produced. Like most luxury goods, the beaver hat inspired imitation products at small prices such as *demi-castor* hats and “gilded” beavers, hats that were constructed from wool but covered with a thin superficial layer of beaver fur. These fakes met the demands of the populace for economically accessible dupes. They were identical to the original model but cost significantly less because of the small amount of beaver used in their construction. These imitation hats were manufactured in France for exportation and were sold in all European countries.¹¹⁶ In 1638 the manufacture of *demi-castors*, or hats not wholly made of beaver fur, was expressly forbidden by Charles I.¹¹⁷ So desirable were real beaver hats that they were a lucrative target for thieves. An entry from Samuel Pepys’ diary recounts how the Sir Edward Mountagu, Earl of Sandwich, was “angry, for that his page had let my Lord’s new beaver be changed for an old hat.”¹¹⁸

Anxiety for beaver hats and their potential to dissimulate may be connected to issues of trade. The English controlled the beaver-rich territory of North America. The frequent

¹¹¹ Ibid., 87.

¹¹² Anonymous, *The life of Captian James Whitney containing his most remarkable robberies and other adventures, &c., continued to his execution near Smithfield Bars, the first of February* (London, 1693).

¹¹³ Anonymous, *The willy, witty, neat, and pretty, Damsell: which to a souldier often made this answer, I dare not doe no more nor the back of your hand sir, to the tune of, The Oyle of Barly*; printed by John Hammond (England: 1649?).

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Abraham Cowley, *Loves Riddles* (London, 1638).

¹¹⁶ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 226.

¹¹⁷ Beck, *The Draper’s Dictionary*, 60.

¹¹⁸ Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry “April 20, 1661.”

description of beaver hats as “English beaver hats”¹¹⁹ in ballads alludes to the English colonies from whence beaver pelts were sourced. However, the French controlled the beaver felt hat industry. In an account of the French usurpation of English trade, “Bever, Demicasters [hats with a veneer of beaver fur], and Felt-Hats” are said to be made in “the City and Suburbs of Paris, besides many other made at Rouen, Lyons, and other places, above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year.”¹²⁰ The raw material, sold by the English, was sent to France and then manufactured into a finished luxury product that was then sold for three times the cost of its raw materials. Philip Stubbes, a satirist of fashions during the reign of Elizabeth I, scoffed at the expense of hats “of a certain kind of fine hair; these they call beaver hats, of twenty, thirty, and forty shillings apiece, *fetched from beyond the sea*, whence a great sort of other vaneties do come.”¹²¹ Beaver hats were therefore viewed as foreign import. By 1620 London hatmakers rivalled those in Paris but by then the cost of beaver felt hats had reached extravagance, spiking twentyfold, rendering it an object of vanity. In 1633 “one beaver hatt for my ladie” cost three pounds.¹²² As mentioned above, Pepys paid over £4 for a new beaver hat in 1661.¹²³ As the beaver fur trade continued to grow and expand across the North American continent, tensions over the trade impacted the political relationship between France and Great Britain, leading even to open military conflict in the Beaver Wars, which concluded with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the cession of Hudson’s Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia to England.

Two portraits of non-Europeans wearing beaver hats, one of Don Miguel de Castro, a Kongolese ambassador (fig. 24) and the other of the twenty-one year-old Pocahontas (fig. 25), engraved by the Dutch artist Simon van de Passe, demonstrate the global value of the beaver hat as a marker of distinction and authority and as a universal object of codified desire, all while placating European anxieties about “otherness.” Pocahontas and Miguel de Castro both don the very hat that symbolizes European social and economic ambitions. The beaver hat also functions as the civilizing object that marks either subject’s assimilation to European social codes and conversion to Christianity. Commissioned by the Virginia Company in the hopes of luring colonists and investors to the Jamestown settlement, the engraving of Pocahontas is the only known portrait of the princess rendered from life and is the first of many depictions of her intended to demonstrate that a Native American could adopt the demeanor and dress of a “civilized” European. The engraving of Pocahontas promotes the false impression that she was a princess in the European sense; the inscription describes her as the daughter of a mighty emperor, and the ostrich feather in her hand is a symbol of royalty. In Antony van Dyck’s portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria with her dwarf Jeffrey Hudson (fig. 26; 1632), the English sovereign is dressed for the hunt in a blue satin riding costume and a wide-brimmed beaver hat. Reportedly petite, Henrietta Maria’s height is elongated and monumentalized by the fluted column painted behind her and her small, round head and delicate features are given an air of vitality and weight by virtue of the large beaver hat. European female rulers and even non-European ones, such as Pocahontas, were depicted wearing beaver felt hats because this garment was synonymous with (usually male) social power and Henrietta Maria’s hat transforms a fragile woman into one that exudes authority. The beaver hat’s materiality also ties her body to the control of colonial territories and their resources.

¹¹⁹ Thomas Hayward, *A Challenge for Beauty* (London, 1636), 13.

¹²⁰ Slingsby Bethel, *An account of the French usurpation upon the trade of England...* (London, 1679), 5.

¹²¹ Philip Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (London, 1583).

¹²² Said by William Howard; quoted in Beck, *The Draper’s Dictionary*, 18.

¹²³ Pepys, *1633-1703*. Entry “June 27, 1661.”

In both the portrait of Pocahontas and the Kongolese ambassador is embedded in the beaver hat's materiality and its exchange narratives of violence, exploitation, and the devastation of several ecosystems. Native Americans were the main suppliers of beaver fur to Dutch, English, and French colonists and readily hunted (almost to extinction) and exchanged beaver fur for European guns and textiles, never truly understanding the European appetite for beaver.¹²⁴ When in 1642 the king of Kongo offered the Dutch "no fewer than seven hundred slaves" to strengthen the two nations' new economic and diplomatic relationship, one of the presents that the Dutch presented to the visiting Kongolese ambassadors was "a beaver hat with a gold and silver hatband."¹²⁵ The beaver hat's symbolic role in this exchange not only emphasized its importance as New Netherland's main export product but demonstrates how the beaver hat functioned as a metonymic representation of Dutch culture, i.e. a stand in for their resourcefulness and global mercantile success. Diplomatic gifts were carefully chosen to represent not only the state but to act as part of a series, meaning that the objects were not necessarily unique but meant to be replicated and manufactured.¹²⁶ It was not the value of beaver as a material *per se* that was deemed an equivalent to the horrific number of humans sold into slavery; instead the diplomatic gift of a beaver hat suggested that a material seemingly as insignificant as beaver (when seen in relation to human life) actually represented the potential to transform the insignificant things that nature had given the Dutch (like wind, simple cloth for sails, etc.) into something unimaginably great and large, such as the financing and formation of the colony.

Don Miguel had traveled to Dutch Brazil and to the Dutch Republic in 1642 to make negotiations.¹²⁷ During his two-week stay in Middelburg, the directors ordered artist Jasper Beckx to paint two portraits of Don Miguel de Castro "in Portuguese clothes," and one in "Congolese dress."¹²⁸ In his portrait Don Miguel displays the gifts he received from the Dutch authorities while in Brazil, a sword and black beaver hat adorned with red feathers and a metal chain. Don Miguel took an active role in the composition of the portraits and his decision to

¹²⁴ See Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

¹²⁵ Johan Nieuwof's *Gedenkwaerdige Brasiliense Zee- en Lant-Reize* (Amsterdam 1682): visitors from the Kingdom of Kongo received: "*een kastoer hoet, met een goude en zilvere hoetbant*". Mentioned in Jeroen Dewulf, "Emulating a Portuguese Model: The Slave Policy of the West India Company and the Dutch Reformed Church in Dutch Brazil (1630-1654) and New Netherland (1614-1664) in Comparative Perspective" in *Journal of Early American History* 4 (2014) 3-36, p. 4. "Carta de D. Garcia II Rei do Congo ao governador holandês no Brasil" (20 February 1643), in António Brásio, *Monumenta Missionária Africana*, 9:81; "Le gouverneur et le Conseil dur Bresil au directeur Nieuland de Loanda" (13 February 1643) and "Extrait d'une letter de Hans Mols aux XIX" (19 September 1643), in Louis Jadin (trans. and ed.), *L'Ancien Congo et l'Angola 1639-1655 d'après les archives romaines, portugaises, néerlandaises et espagnoles*, 3 vols. (Brussels and Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1975), 1:392-5, 482-92; Caspar van Baerle, *The History of Brazil under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau, 1636-1644*, Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning (trans.) (Gainesville, Fla: University Press of Florida, 2011 [1647]), pp. 237-8; Louis Jadin, "Rivalités luso-néerlandaises du Sohio, Congo, 1600-1675," in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* vol. XXXVII (1966), 137-360 and 150-1.

¹²⁶ Guy Walton, "Diplomatic and Ambassadorial Gifts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Gifts to the Tsars, 1500-1700: Treasures from the Kremlin*, eds., Shifman and Walton (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001): 75-95.

¹²⁷ While in the Dutch Republic Don Miguel de Castro he met with three directors of the Zeeland chamber of the Dutch West India Company and later had an audience with stadholder Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange.

¹²⁸ Katie Heyning, *Terug naar Zeeland: topstukken uit de 16e en 17e eeuw. Catalogue of an exhibition held in 2008 in Middelburg* (Middelburg: Zeeuws Museum, 2008), 45.

present himself wearing the gifted beaver felt hat, the finishing touch to his elite European dress underlines diplomatic encounters between the Kongo and Europe while also demonstrating how Kongolese nobles were capable of presenting a public image of flexible or fluid identity to European viewers.¹²⁹ Two portraits of Don Miguel's Kongolese attendants also depict them dressed in European attire, each holding a woven box and ivory tusk, objects from the Kongo that were much coveted and displayed in cabinets of curiosity.¹³⁰ These three canvasses capture a reciprocal gift exchange between the Dutch and the Kongo, two allies whose mutual support was the key to their standing in the southern Atlantic.¹³¹

The images discussed above demonstrate how the beaver hat, as global symbol of value, fostered inclusion among Dutch men, allowed aspiring English men to make a statement about their precarious position in society, and inserted non-European rulers and nobles into a traditionally European visual culture of fashion, authority, and diplomacy. The beaver hat's growing popularity and the production of cheaper versions of the *castor* rendered it a status symbol that could be obtained by non-elites. Social anxiety about the availability of such status garments to members of the lower classes inspired narratives of the beaver hat's penchant for instigating dissimulation and transgressive behavior. The issue of gender is particularly interesting because when worn by female rulers beaver hats acted as a proxy for male authority. What can we make of middle-class women, namely from prosperous merchant families, taking on such a sartorial symbol of traditionally masculine power?

4. 5 Rubens's Portrait of Susanna Lunden

In a portrait by the Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens, now housed at the National Gallery in London, a young woman painted against a cloudy sky stares out from the canvas with large eyes (fig. 27). What is so unusual about this portrait by Rubens is the dramatic manner in which he has lit the woman's body along with his exuberant rendering of her wide-brim felt hat. Sometime in the eighteenth-century an error in translation gave the portrait its famous yet fallacious title: *Le Chapeau de Paille* ("The Straw Hat"). It is clear that the woman is not wearing a straw hat but a felt one. It is believed that the French word for felt, "poil", was incorrectly transcribed as "paille", straw. The felt hat, which cuts across the sky and seems much too large for the woman's head, anchors the viewer's gaze on her face and frames those glittering grayish-blue eyes. It is highly likely that Susanna wears a beaver felt hat. The stiffness of beaver felt rendered it the only material that could support a large, sturdy brim, so popular among cavaliers in the seventeenth century.

Though some doubt remains as to the true identity of this enigmatic woman, the image has been accepted as a portrait of Susanna Lunden née Fourment (1599-1643), who became Rubens's sister-in-law in 1630, when he married Susanna's youngest sister, the sixteen-year-old Hélène. Susanna was the third daughter of Daniel Fourment of Antwerp, a noted merchant and dealer of tapestries and silk textiles. Even before Rubens married Helene, Susanna was already a member of his family and part of his circle of friends because her brother Daniel was married to Clara Brant, the sister of Isabella Brant, Rubens's first wife. Arnold Lunden, the man Susanna was to marry in 1622, was also a good friend of Rubens.

¹²⁹ See Cécile Fromont, *The Art of Conversion: Christian Visual Culture in the Kingdom of Kongo* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 166-168.

¹³⁰ Jaspas Beckx, *Pedro Sunda and Diego Bemba, Attendants to Don Miguel de Castro*, c. 1643-50, oil on panel, each 72 cm x 59 cm, National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen, inv. KMS 8 and KMS 9.

¹³¹ Fromont, *The Art of Conversion*, 166-167.

There are noted similarities in the facial features of the woman in the National Gallery portrait with those seen in confirmed portraits of Susanna (figs. 28-29). In a drawing by Rubens of Susanna, we begin to see how the artist captured her distinct and individual features: her heart-shaped face, her rosy cheeks (a feature that led Sir Joshua Reynolds to remark that Rubens's figures "look as if they fed on roses"), her long nose with their slightly flared nostrils, and her bulging doe eyes with their prominent tear ducts.¹³² These features along with the wisps of baby hair at Susanna's temple and her dangling earring are reminiscent of the National Gallery portrait. Furthermore, this portrait remained in the Lunden family's possession from its creation until 1822, when it was purchased by an English collector and then found its way in the 1940s into the Peel Collection at the National Gallery where it hangs today. The portrait's long presence within the Lunden family circle suggests its sentimental value and therefore its portrayal of an important family member. In fact, Arnold Lunden's estate contained at least four portraits of Susanna. I would therefore like to examine this image as a portrait of Susanna Lunden.¹³³

It is likely that the image was commissioned to celebrate Susanna's second marriage to Arnold in 1622 and she is wearing a ring on her index finger. In the seventeenth-century and in present-day Holland betrothal rings were occasionally worn on the index finger of the right hand. In Rubens's wedding portrait of Marie de Medici (fig. 30) and in a portrait of himself with his first wife, Isabella Brant (fig. 31), each woman wears a ring on her index finger. In Susanna's portrait, the ring forms an axis with her eyes and felt hat and draws our eyes to Susanna's heart, possibly alluding to her union with Arnold.

What is so striking about this portrait, however, is the dynamic and sensual manner in which Susanna is portrayed. At the time that this portrait is believed to have been painted, Susanna was twenty-three years old, already had a child, and was widowed. And yet Rubens portrays her as a voluptuous young woman in the full bloom of youth. Rubens emphasizes Susanna's young age by rendering her flesh luminous, the rosy glow of her cheeks exuding health and freshness. A sense of vulnerability and tender innocence is evoked by the protective gesture of her arms, which press themselves against her body. Her head is slightly bowed by the sweeping brim of her hat and yet her penetrating eyes tell us that here is a woman who may seem innocent but is sure of herself. Her gaze is coy and seductive. Her swelling breasts, pushed up by her bodice and framed by her immaculate shift, allude to her position as a chaste but sexually-knowing widow and soon to be wife.

The most prominent feature of the portrait, Susanna's plumed hat, adds an air of adventure and dynamism since it speaks to different locales (the Americas, Africa) from whence its materials came. Susanna is painted as an ingénue who was very young and yet knowledgeable about the world. Women were rarely portrayed wearing beaver hats in seventeenth-century portraiture and they rarely wore felt hats in public unless they were married.¹³⁴ In seventeenth-

¹³² Sir Joshua Reynolds, *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds: Containing His Discourses, Idlers, A Journey to Flanders and Holland, (now First Published,) and His Commentary on Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting; : Printed from His Revised Copies, (with His Last Corrections and Additions,) : in Two Volumes. : to which is Prefixed An Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, Volume 2* (London, 1797), 123.

¹³³ Hans Vlieghe, "Une grande collection anversoise du Dix-Septième Siècle: Le cabinet d'Arnold Lunden, beau-frère de Rubens" *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 19. Bd. (1977): 172-204.

¹³⁴ While traveling in England in 1599, the Dutch historian Emanuel van Metern judged it a very singular habit and explained to the Dutch reader that "only common, married women wear a hat, both in the street and in the house, but those unmarried go without a hat." Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, 57.

century Flanders the hat was perceived as a sign of male supremacy and in conservative ecclesiastical circles there was much opposition to women wearing hats, which was viewed as striking, rebellious, and bold. In an English broadside pamphlet titled, *The Famous Flower of Serving-Men. Or The Lady turn'd Servingman*, the female heroine adopts accessories normally worn by men in order to exact revenge. The cross-dressing woman says, "I cut my hair, / And dress myself in man's attire: / My Doublet, Hose, and Bever hat . . ." ¹³⁵ This type of daring fashion among women was more common among the mercantile classes in England. Wenceslaus Hollar's etching of the costume of an extremely fashionable merchant's wife from London depicts her wearing a wide-brimmed and tall-crowned beaver hat (fig. 32).

As this was likely a portrait commissioned by her husband, we have to remember that this image of Susanna must also allude to Lunden's relationship to her, to his desires, and to his idea of Susanna as his wife. The very materiality and tactility of Susanna's beaver hat and ostrich feather invite the viewer to compare its texture with the luscious softness of her own flesh. The naturally dark hue of beaver felt also emphasizes by way of contrast the luminosity and whiteness of Susanna's face and décolletage. The wide-brim allows her to shield her face from the sun, maintaining a skin color that was at the time aesthetically desirable. Her hands, the one area of her body not in the shade of her hat's brim, appear ruddier and darker. As far as women were concerned, connotations of virtue and purity also came to be shackled to this concept of whiteness. ¹³⁶ A fair unblemished visage went hand in hand with a fair and unspotted soul. Whiteness, as an index of attraction in a woman, was equally a mark of manly beauty, particularly when combined with a "glowing" masculine vigor, and in Susanna's portrait, her rosy cheeks and radiant skin seem to exhibit these masculine qualities of health and energy. ¹³⁷ Though the background of the portrait does not fix Susanna in a specific locale, it is clear that she is situated outdoors and though a column of ominous clouds gather behind her, Rubens portrays her as armed with her husband's sturdy beaver hat. In Rubens's portrait, a substantial portion of Susanna's breasts is exposed to the air, but her head is nevertheless covered by beaver and this is important because the very materiality of her hat speaks not to her fashionability and frivolity but instead to her practicality.

The beaver felt hat was not just practical for active men and women who wished to protect themselves from the sun, but it was also believed to prevent illness. In order to understand just how valuable the beaver hat was to contemporaries and why Susanna has such a healthy glow though she's exposed to the elements, we need to consider the connection between the enveloping and encasing dress of the seventeenth century and early modern conceptions of health and physical well-being. Early modern medicine defined disease as a pollutant, or an external danger that threatened to invade a body's layer of skin, which was permeable. ¹³⁸ Many contemporaries believed that having too few layers of clothing or not being covered at all could lead to illness and even death. Protecting one's body from head to foot with clothing was especially essential in the period known as the Little Ice Age. From 1550 to 1700, Europe experienced a period of global cooling captured in images such as Hendrick Avercamp's winter landscapes from the 1600s (fig. 33). ¹³⁹ In Avercamp's paintings, we see the Dutch penchant for

¹³⁵ L. P., *The Famous Flower of Serving-Men. Or The Lady turn'd Servingman* (London: 1663).

¹³⁶ Susan Vincent, *The Anatomy of Fashion: Dressing the Body from the Renaissance to Today* (New York: Berg, 2009), 149.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 148.

¹³⁸ Georges Vigarello, *Le corps redressé* (Paris, 1978), 86.

¹³⁹ See Brian Fagan *The Little Ice Age: How Climate Made History, 1300-1850* (New York: Basic Books, 2002) and H. H. Lamb *Climate History and the Modern World* (London: Methuen, 1982), 201-202.

fur hats, muffs, wraps, and fur-lined mantles as winter garb for both men and women. The high-crowned felt hats worn in Avercamp's winterscapes show earlier fashions for taller hats. Note the contrast between the elaborate, plumed beaver hats with a sturdy structure of the wealthy and the shapeless wool caps of citizens with lesser means.

A fifteenth-century translation of *The Book of the Knight of Tour* recounts the moralizing story of a maiden who, due to vanity, fails to utilize the protective properties of fur clothing and in consequence loses a husband. We are told that the maiden refused to wear a fur-lined coat in spite of the extreme cold because she wished to have a slim and "fair-shapen" body for the knight who was courting her. Her complexion turned pale and black. The knight chose to marry her younger sister instead, who did wear a heavy fur coat and was therefore marked by a fresh and rosy glow.¹⁴⁰ This tale is revealing in that it demonstrates how essential fur-lined garments were indoors as well as outdoors. The wise protection of one's body with furs not only renders the body physically healthier but also more sexually attractive because of its externalizing effects on one's vitality and complexion. The practicality of furs also speaks to the good sense and prudence of a practical mind, which negates the vanity and superficiality of those seeking less utilitarian fashions.

In the sixteenth century, it was believed that the body's unmediated contact with cold air was a danger and warm clothes were essential to keeping in good health.¹⁴¹ In a text published in 1600, physician William Vaughan advises the English to emulate their Dutch neighbors, who keep themselves warm in winter with furs around the neck: "At nights be sure to keep your selfe warme, and specially your head and feet. In this case I cannot but commend the Dutchmens providence above our owne, who continually in colde weather weare fures about their necks, and cover their feete with wollen socks."¹⁴² The climate played a part in influencing what was worn and when. Studies of climate history suggest that sixteenth-century people needed more garments than we do today. From around 1560, temperatures dropped significantly throughout Europe. It was therefore ever more crucial for men and women to protect themselves from cold.

Through the writings of ancient authors such as Pliny the Elder and Albertus Magnus, who were widely quoted in sixteenth and seventeenth-century natural histories, fur was also believed to cure indigestion, hemorrhoids, and insanity, among other ailments.¹⁴³ In Topsell's *Four-footed Beasts and Serpents*, the medical virtues of beaver are lauded and the reader is told that, "a garment made of the skins, is good for a Paralytick person."¹⁴⁴ He goes on to say that beaver skin can also stop a nosebleed and ease gout when worn in the soles of shoes. The New Netherland landowner and lawyer Adriaen van der Donck credited the beaver hat's popularity to its original use as a cap for curative purposes, which could recover to a man his hearing, and stimulate his memory to wonder, especially if "oil of castor" was rubbed in his hair.¹⁴⁵ A painting by Jan Olis depicts Johan van Beverwijck wearing his beaver hat inside his study (fig. 34), suggesting that even indoors hats were worn to keep men warm and comfortable.

If clothing represented the means through which people could intervene to better their own health, then wearing a beaver felt hat was a sure way to protect the most important part of your body, the head, from disease and cold. Because beaver fur produced a tightly felted and

¹⁴⁰ Geoffrey de la Tour Landry, *The Book of the Knight of Tour* (1370), related by F.W. Fairholt.

¹⁴¹ William Vaughan, *Naturall and artificial directions for health deriued from the best philosophers, as well moderne, as auncient*. (London: Printed by Richard Bradocke, 1600), 127.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁴³ Topsell, *History of the Four-footed Beasts*, 37.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America*, 228.

smooth surface that felt almost like chamois leather, it was seen as the ultimate protection from contamination since it was virtually impermeable to contagion, unlike fabrics with looser weaves such as wool, which was seen as susceptible to receiving and transmitting infection.¹⁴⁶ The etymology of the English word “fur” itself comes from the Old French *forrer* (“to line, sheathe”) alluding to the protective qualities of furs as another layer of skin. The beaver hat’s impeccable texture and durability, offering Susanna protection speaks to her practicality and also to the protective shadow of her husband who, absent from the image, is nevertheless remembered by this garment. I argue that the beaver hat is a self-reflexive device that refers to Lunden, whose absent body is metaphorically projected onto and physically linked with Susanna’s own body. The beaver hat’s impeccable texture and durability, offering Susanna protection against rain or shine, implies her refusal to be weathered.

The beaver hat acts as a protective garment that metonymically alludes to the male presence while simultaneously signifying Susanna’s own economic and social status and to her mercantile origins. The beaver hat was worn by Netherlandish and English officials during public processions, thereby associating the garment with civic functions. As the daughter of a prominent silk merchant, Susanna would have had access to the newest styles of dress and fabrics. In fact, merchants were the ones providing aristocrats with choices for their clothing because of their direct involvement in determining what goods and fashions to import. Merchants dictated fashion in seventeenth-century Antwerp. In her portrait Susanna is expensively attired in a black velvet bodice with a satin skirt and crimson sleeves that would have been dyed with cochineal, very expensive dyestuff imported from the New World. The extravagant plumage on her hat was most likely sourced from Africa and would have doubled the cost of her beaver felt hat.¹⁴⁷ Her beaver hat incorporates evidence of three different continents. Susanna’s contemporaries would absolutely have been aware of the different fabrics of her dress, their quality and materiality, and where these goods came from. Colonization reshaped the way European nations thought of their role in the global economy from being a producer of raw materials and manufactured goods for domestic consumption and export to playing a role of the middleman in ever more extensive global commercial networks. As a material harvested from distant lands, beaver felt spoke to Susanna’s cosmopolitanism and to her access to global markets of exchange.

When portraying individual women, Rubens usually placed them within an interior setting with an architectural barrier separating them from the exterior world (figs. 35-36). In Susanna’s portrait she is placed entirely in an undefined outdoor space that alludes to dynamism and urgency, progress and globality. Wisps of her hair come loose from her coiffure and the aglets of her sleeves, the metal points tying them together, suggest movement, wind, change. The romantic and swashbuckling air Rubens breathed into Susanna’s portrait served as the inspiration for eighteenth-century French painter Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun’s self-portrait (fig. 37). This time she is actually wearing a straw hat. In substituting herself for Susanna, Vigée becomes both the object of her gaze and the subject creating the painting. Vigée boldly asserts that women too can be genuine artists and active creators of art. Although the portrait of Susanna is made for a male gaze, the boldness of Susanna’s stare and the dynamic air with which she is portrayed nevertheless inspired another woman to make a statement about her own agency.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Crean, “Hats and the Fur Trade,” 375; Vincent, *Anatomy of Fashion*, 154-5.

¹⁴⁷ Allaire, *Pelleteries*, 190.

¹⁴⁸ See Catherine R. Montfort, “Self-Portraits, Portraits of Self: Adélaïde Labille-Guiard and Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun, Women Artists of the Eighteenth Century” *Pacific Coast Philology*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2005): 1-18.

In portraying Susanna wearing this material symbol of success and value, Rubens depicts her as a woman of the world, whose trappings speak to her vigor, mercantile birth, and to her internationalism, while also alluding to the protective presence of her second husband. By portraying Susanna with a man's felt hat, Rubens creates an intimate and tender portrait of a woman who was almost like a sister to him and he imbues her presence with an air of adventure and vigor not typically ascribed to women in the seventeenth century.

4. 6 Conclusion

I have illuminated some of the ways in which early modern people experienced the beaver hat as a garment and sartorial marker of their identity. In no other garment was utility, durability, and preciousness wedded so magically as in the beaver felt hat. The excellent material qualities intrinsic to the beaver fur meant that the beaver hat lived a long life-cycle. The beaver hat spoke to the communality and seeming egalitarianism of Dutch society while instilling social hierarchies in England. The fashionability of and desire for the beaver felt hat inspired not only territorial expansion but narratives about greed and potential social disorder that could ensue when status symbols drove humans to acts of immorality and crime. Associated with the prosperous middling classes since the medieval period, the beaver hat evoked money, access to global goods, and social duplicity. When worn on the heads of women the beaver hat functioned as a proxy for male authority and power. As a garment so closely tied to masculinity, the beaver hat was also erotic and functioned as a display of seduction. No other garment of the seventeenth century evoked such disparate connotations and yet was so closely linked to social aspiration and a longing for recognition. When represented in seventeenth century Dutch art the beaver hat symbolized the changing geographic landscape and geopolitical influence of the Dutch maritime empire. Vermeer's painting of a *Soldier and Laughing Girl* reveals the complexities of a hat that straddled the exterior world of trade, commerce, civic duty all while being contained within the order and rituals of the domestic home. In Rubens's portrait of his sister-in-law, Susanna Fourment, the beaver hat alludes to the adventure and far-away locales that her mercantile background fosters while also positioning her as a sexually desirable wife. The felt beaver hat was a garment that tied the new globality of the early modern period and its shifting social ranks with a sartorial consciousness that pervaded all levels of society.

Chapter Five

The Fur-Trimmed Jak and High-Burgher Ideals of Female Domesticity in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Portraiture and Genre Scenes (1650-1670)

5. 1 Introduction

On April 3, 1657 the fabulously wealthy textile merchant, Jan Jacobzoon Hinlopen (1626-1666), married Leonora Huydecoper (1631-1663), daughter of Joan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen, a rich mayor, art connoisseur, and fur trader.¹ Shortly after their wedding, Jacob van Loo, one of the most prominent and sought-after artists in Amsterdam at the time, painted a portrait of the couple (fig. 1), which is now in Budapest.² Van Loo must have painted the couple's likeness as a wedding present in 1657 or before April 1658 when their first child was born. The double portrait portrays the thirty-year old Jan and twenty-six-year old Leonora in a sumptuously furnished interior and dressed in rich fabrics reflective of their high social and economic standing among the Amsterdam elite. 1657 was a fortuitous year for Jan's vaulting political ambitions. Already ensign of the civic guard since 1655, in 1657 he became lieutenant of the guard, church warden of the Nieuwe Kerk, as well as city commissioner.³ Four years later he would become alderman of the City of Amsterdam. A modern-day assessment of his fortune places him in the top tier of the richest men living in the Dutch Republic at the time.⁴

In Van Loo's portrait Jan is seated at a table covered with a Turkish carpet, pen in hand and poised to write. Documents, folded letters, and account ledgers (objects of his trade and profession) are strewn on the table before him. He looks up at his wife who stands to his right. She points to a prancing spaniel, a symbol of conjugal fidelity, with the hand that wears her wedding ring while her other hand offers the dog an edible treat. Behind them can be glimpsed a marble-columned hearth and a large cast-iron stove decorated with reliefs of two biblical scenes: the Nativity and the Annunciation to the shepherds. The back of the fireplace is lined with blue and white Delftware tiles depicting sea monsters. The various material objects depicted in Van Loo's image demonstrate that even in the small details of the Dutch interior, the interaction of sea and land, the exotic and mundane, and the foreign and local were in constant conference.⁵

The portrait also demonstrates the Hinlopen family's direct mercantile access to luxury textiles, fine fur pelts, and imported goods. Jan is dressed in ample robes of gray taffeta with wide, hanging sleeves similar to the exotic *japonsche rok* (or *japon*) presented by Japanese

¹ The name Huydecoper literally means "buyer of pelts." The Huydecopers operated a tannery in addition to trading pelts and armaments. M.S. Polak, ed., *Inventaris van het familiearchief Huydecoper 1459-1956* (1987), 6. In fact, Burgomaster Huydecoper preferred the title "Lord of Maarsseveen" to his name, which reminded him too much of the source of his family's wealth: the trade in animal hides. Ronnie Baer, *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2015), 34.

² *Portrait of Jan Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper* by Jacob van Loo, c. 1657-8, oil on canvas, 119 cm x 156 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inventory number 1333.

³ Ildikó Ember et al., eds., *Rembrandt and the Dutch Golden Age* (Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2014), 136.

⁴ Hinlopen's fortune of 230,000 guilders earned him a place as the 28th of the 250 richest men living in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century. Kees Zandvliet. *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw: Kapitaal, macht, familie en levensstijl* (Amsterdam, 2006). This is a compiled catalogue of the 250 wealthiest inhabitants of the Dutch Republic, a kind of Forbes List of the Golden Age, based on capital tax declarations, and includes all those with a fortune of 200,000 guilders or more.

⁵ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 563.

shoguns to Dutch East India Company (VOC) officials beginning in the early seventeenth century.⁶ Altered for Western taste, the *japon* was worn by Dutch humanists and diplomats in their studies. Its classically tinged looseness was associated with scholarly activity and was adopted by the bourgeois elite in imitation of “careless” aristocratic manners.⁷ In portraits of men wearing exotic, loose-fitting robes, this type of garment was never intended to replace Western clothing; instead it acts as a supplement to formal garb, thrown over a man’s shirt, doublet, and breeches indoors.⁸ The informality of Jan’s robes is countered by the immaculately white linen cuffs encircling his wrists and the stiff collar framing his head. The visibility of Jan’s linen, so carefully arranged at the extremities of his body, demonstrates the vital need among male subjects to foreground their own cultural identity when wearing an exotic robe while simultaneously hinting at their individuality.

Leonora is dressed in equally sumptuous attire. Her pale wrists are adorned with strands of pearls and a larger strand encircles her sturdy neck. The sheen of the pearl beads is echoed by the shimmering luminosity of her white satin bodice and skirt, the fine surface of which crinkles with each movement. The protocol of the court traditionally prescribed white dresses for wives of royal blood or aristocrats, making the Hinlopens’ pretensions clear.⁹ Over her formal attire, Leonora wears a plush, olive-green velvet *jak* trimmed with thick bands of white fur. Worn by Dutch women at home or on errands, the *jak* was a loose-fitting jacket with three-quarter length sleeves that ended at the hips and was usually cinched at the waist. Leonora’s *jak* mirrors the relaxed robes of her husband and the striking highlights across the rich velvety texture of her jacket renders her figure a locus of light and warmth in a composition enveloped by shadow and somber, muted colors.

Dictated by the conventions of portraiture, formality and decorum necessitated that Jan and Leonora act as exemplary models of virtue and propriety through their dress and demeanor. Both husband and wife wear spotless undergarments bleached with buttermilk, a Dutch industry practice, and the whiteness of their linen communicates cleanliness and good manners.¹⁰ The

⁶ A distinction should be made between the East Asian *japon* and the Indian *banyan*, which Martha Hollander argues became hugely popular only in the late seventeenth century. Usually made of chintz, the *banyan* differed from the *japon* in having a narrower silhouette, and sleeves tight all the way from the wrist to shoulder. Madelyn Shaw also suggests that though the European dressing-gown was understood by contemporaries to have been modeled on Indian dress, it may have been originally based on the Japanese kimono or *kosode* (an outer garment similar in shape to the kimono), its original cultural context conflated into multiple Eastern colonies and simply evoking the orient. It is clear from the Van Loo double portrait that Jan is wearing the Japanese version of the loose-fitting robe since a glimpse of his right sleeve shows it to be very wide and hanging. These robes were gifts to Dutch traders in Japan, given out at the annual visits with the Tokugawa shogun in Edo. Only fifty robes of the Shogun’s robes were reserved for the VOC public auctions, held every September, after the trading ships returned in late August. Because these robes were extremely rare and difficult to obtain, they were a marker of high social and intellectual status. See Martha Hollander, “Vermeer’s Robe: Costume, Commerce and Fantasy in the Early Modern Netherlands” in *Dutch Crossing*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (July 2011): 177-95. See also Madelyn Shaw, “Exoticism in Fashion: From British North America to the United States” in *Global Textile Encounters*, ed. Marie-Louise Nosch, Zhao Feng, and Lotika Varadarajan (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 214), 178.

⁷ Alison McNeil Kettering, “Gentlemen in Satin: Masculine Ideals in Later Seventeenth-Century Dutch Portraiture” in *Art Journal*, 56 (1997): 41-47.

⁸ Hollander, “Vermeer’s Robe,” 185.

⁹ Majorie E. Wieseman, “Acquisition ou Héritage? Les biens matériels dans la peinture de Vermeer et de ses contemporains” in *Vermeer et les maîtres de la peinture de genre* (Paris: Louvre, 2017-18), 106.

¹⁰ Linda A. Stone-Ferrier, *Images of Textiles: The Weave of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Society* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 109; Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the “Ancien Régime”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 178.

marble column directly behind Leonora echoes her upright position and buttresses her self-composure whereas Jan is permitted a more casual posture. Such pairings reflect larger conventions of Dutch marriage portraiture, wherein an assertively or informally posed man is customarily contrasted to his more passive and formal wife.¹¹ Leonora's loose *jak* is carefully parted to reveal her tightly laced bodice and fashionably tapered middle, confirming that her body has been disciplined and molded into the ideal silhouette—"small of waist and fine of limb."¹² At the same time, the couple's over-garments convey an image of comfort, easy nonchalance, and intimacy within the confines of the elite-burgher home. Such informal apparel for a formal portrait speaks to Jan's solid position in society as a wealthy city official who wished to project an air of elite sophistication while alluding to his mercantile ties, which positioned him at the forefront of the fashion and luxury trades. In the words of Madelyn Shaw, "more conservative attire characterized those that felt less secure."¹³ If Jan in his *japon* represents the masculine virtue of lofty intellect and aristocratic grace, then Leonora in her *jak* represents distinguished leisure and feminine domesticity and duty. It has been suggested that Leonora is calling her husband away from work to bed.¹⁴ In a painting already replete with rich fabrics and surfaces, Leonora's fur-trimmed *jak* is the ultimate sartorial material of sensuality, bourgeois luxury, and domestic comfort. It is also the point of friction between the conflicting formal and metaphorical conventions that governed portraiture and genre painting, respectively.¹⁵

The *jak*, also known as a *manteltje* ("little jacket") in cities outside Amsterdam, such as Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and Delft, figures prominently in genre scenes from the 1650s to the 1670s. The genre scenes of Gerard ter Borch, Gabriel Metsu, Pieter de Hooch, Jan Steen, and Jan Vermeer, among others (see **Appendix D**), are replete with women dressed in *jakken*.¹⁶ Out of the over five million paintings produced in Holland during the seventeenth-century, an estimated ten percent or half a million fall under the category of interior or still-life paintings.¹⁷ Many of these pictures of the Dutch home depict the *jak*, demonstrating that this garment was visually tied to representations of interior life. The female figures in these images are usually engaged in a

¹¹ David R. Smith, "Irony and Civility: Notes on the Convergence of Genre and Portraiture in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting" in *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 64 No. 3 (September 1987): 407-430.

¹² Simon de Beaumont wrote these verses to celebrate the occasion when Anna Roemers Visscher was welcomed by a grandiose civic reception in 1622. *C.w. de Kruyter to Letter-Juweel*, facs. ed. (Amsterdam, 1971), 12, and poem no. 1.

¹³ Shaw, "Exoticism in Fashion," 179.

¹⁴ See Smith, "Irony and Civility," 415.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ William Sewel, *Groot woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederduytsche taalen* (Amsterdam, 1691): *Manteltje*, "a little cloak"; *Jak*, "a Yak, jacket, a dutch womans dress." Quoted in Marieke de Winkel, "The Interpretation of Dress in Vermeer's Paintings" in *Vermeer Studies*, eds. Ivan Gaskell and Michiel Jonker, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 328.

¹⁷ On the basis of the number of painters active in Holland and statistical analysis of domestic inventories, two economic historians have independently concluded that Dutch painters produced over five million pictures in the seventeenth century. A. M. van der Woude, "The Volume and Value of Paintings in Holland at the Time of the Dutch Republic," in David Freedburg and Jan de Vries, eds., *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica, 1991), 285-329; and J. Michael Montias, "Estimates of the Number of Dutch Master Painters, Their Earnings and Their Output in 1650" in *Leidschrift* 6, no. 3 (1990): 59-74. This estimate, rough but plausible, is extrapolated from detailed research into subject distribution in Amsterdam inventories from 1620 to 1679; J. Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in David Freedburg and Jan de Vries, eds., *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture* (Santa Monica, 1991), 331-72, esp. 334-37 and tables 2-3.

household chore or leisurely activity, such as music-making or letter-writing, deemed appropriate for upper-class women. Women dressed in *jakken* are almost always young and attractive with generalized features, implying that they represent a type or ideal. Some of these genre scenes are also erotic in nature.¹⁸ The *jak* was utilized by Dutch genre painters as the costume *par excellence* of high-burgher interior life and its presence in an image facilitated the beholder's entry into the intimate scenes portrayed.

Although no surviving examples of the *jak* exist today, we know from inventories that Dutch women actually wore these jackets in the seventeenth-century.¹⁹ They formed part of the informal daily wear for elite ladies in contrast to the rigid gowns they wore on more formal occasions. What is so unusual about the portrayal of the *jak* in the Hinlopen double portrait is the rarity with which *jakken* were portrayed outside of genre painting. In 1999 dress historian Rozemarijn Hoekstra insisted that the *jak* was depicted only in genre paintings because it would not have been deemed appropriate enough for formal occasions.²⁰ Elite portrait sitters normally chose to have themselves represented wearing formal dress as seen in another confirmed family portrait of the Hinlopiens (fig. 2) in which a slightly aged Leonora, now the mother of multiple children, is depicted wearing court attire, that is, a rigid, heavily boned bodice and embroidered stomacher, large sleeves, and an overskirt over a petticoat. Her attire in this portrait starkly contrasts with the cozy luxury of her fur-trimmed *jak* in the earlier portrait. Two portraits by Gerard ter Borch of his stepmother Wiesken Matthys (figs. 3-4) dressed in a *jak* while spinning or combing a child's hair fall under the category of what art historian Lyckle de Vries has termed "genreified portraits," works "in which a sitter participates in a narrative not drawn from literary or historical sources or from pictorial traditions normally associated with portraiture."²¹ Scholars have argued that rather than probing the subtle nuances of Wiesken's personality, ter Borch exhibits the essential skills required of a housewife and mother.²² Similarly, the portrayal of the *jak* in Gerrit Dou's portrait of a young woman (fig. 5) has led art historians to believe that the image was not a standard commission but a more casual portrait of one of the painter's relatives.²³

In addition to the Hinlopen double portrait, several formally commissioned portraits of elite Dutch women dressed in *jakken* do exist, however. Art historian Axel Rüger expressed surprise that in Emanuel de Witte's portrait of Adriana van Heusden shopping at a fishmarket (fig. 6), the housewife is dressed in an article of clothing "more commonly seen in genre scenes."²⁴ To be more precise, Adriana is depicted wearing a *jak*, "surprisingly mundane clothing, which a woman of her station might have worn for everyday use, but hardly for a

¹⁸ See Frans van Mieris's *The Cloth Shop* and other genre scenes that represent themes of the brothels or dining.

¹⁹ See **Section 5. 2**. Because *jakken* were very rich in appearance and comfy to wear on a daily basis they were probably worn until they were worn out and all the salvageable parts were no doubt recycled for newer clothing. For a list of surviving dress in Dutch collections see *Kostuumverzamelingen in beweging* (Zwolle, 1995), 164-190.

²⁰ Rozemarijn Hoekstra, "Images of Dress in the Golden Age of Dutch Painting: A Methodology of Research into Women's Costume in the Netherlands of the Seventeenth Century" in *Costume* (1999): 41.

²¹ Lyckle de Vries, "Portraits of People at Work" in *Opstellen voor Hans Locher*, ed. J. de Jong et al. (Groningen, 1990a), 52-9. See Wayne E. Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 73.

²² Franits, *Paragons*, 73-75; De Vries "Portraits of People at Work" in *Opstellen voor Hans Locher*, ed. J. de Jong et al. (Groningen, 1990a), 55-56.

²³ Axel Rüger in *Dutch Portraits: The Age of Rembrandt and Frans Hals*, Rudi Ekkart and Quentin Buvelot, eds. (The Hague: Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, 2007), 100.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 224.

portrait.”²⁵ In a family portrait (fig. 7) by Jacob Ochtervelt of printer Isaac Elsevier (1627-1684), his wife, Anna van der Mast (?-1679), their four children, and nanny, Anna is shown wearing a fur-trimmed *jak* fastened closed over the front of her bodice. Her luxurious *jak* is paralleled by the plain and untrimmed *jak* worn by the nanny. Hendrick Sorgh’s portrait of Eeuwot Prins (fig. 8) and his family depicts the mother, Maria van der Graeff, wearing a black velvet *jak* while tending to two small children. Why would Leonora Hinlopen, Adriana van Heusden, Anna van der Mast, and Maria van der Graeff have themselves portrayed in a mode of informal dress associated with genre painting whereas their female contemporaries were more likely to portray themselves in formal attire?

In the seventeenth century clothing was one of the most important and highly visual means of conveying social status and rank, gender identity, and religious and political affiliations. Portrait sitters gave careful instructions to painters about how their dress should be worn and styled, demonstrating the great importance clients attached to their attire as a mode of self-presentation, and artists likewise utilized dress as a means of displaying their artistry and technical skill.²⁶ A portrait’s main function was to successfully render a sitter’s identity through the portrayal of their physical appearance and inner character. In this sense portraiture was bounded by both reality, since its classification involved the identifiability of the figure, and by an enhanced version of that reality, since its motivation depended upon portraying the subject in a positive light. By contrast, genre painting is defined by the informality of its scenes and figures and usually concerns itself with moralizing themes and iconographic symbolism. Increasingly in the seventeenth century, however, the artistic genres of portraiture and genre painting converged into what Smith argues was an ironic interplay between opposing meanings.²⁷ During this time, genre painting became preoccupied not only with upper-class life but with a domestic milieu that portraiture was also beginning to explore.²⁸ I explore what connotations Dutch portrait artists and elite sitters were hoping to appropriate and convey through the depiction of the *jak*, a garment so closely tied to idealized and imagined images of the Dutch home. I also ask how the convergence of the artistic genres of portraiture and genre painting affected the meanings of the portraits under study and why the *jak* was the most apt symbol for accomplishing this convergence.

The meanings and prevalence of the *jak* has puzzled art historians and historians of dress for decades. Historians have mainly approached the *jak* as a method for dating Dutch painting within a narrow time frame. Costume historian Bianca M. du Mortier has suggested that the brief popularity of the *jak* in Dutch dress history is related to the long and cold winters experienced in Amsterdam in 1642 and 1658 and that these jackets are essentially winter coats.²⁹ This does not explain why so many Dutch paintings are populated with women dressed in *jakken*, many of

²⁵ Ibid., 224.

²⁶ When painted by Van Dyck in 1639, Lady Sussex was very particular about her painted image and dress, asking that “Sr Vandyke [be] in remembrance to do my pictuer wel. I have sene sables with the clasp of them set with dimons—if thos that i am pictuerde in wher don so i think it would look very wel in the pictuer.” In this instance we see the care with which noble patrons discussed and devised their painted sartorial bodies in collaboration with the artist, even requesting to be dressed in garments they did not own but that nevertheless existed and circulated within the homogenous pictorial lexicon of elite culture. Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 97. Adam Eaker has written at length about the relationship between Van Dyck and the tradition of models and posing in the studio. See “Van Dyck between Master and Model” in *The Art Bulletin*, 97:2, 173-191, 26 May 2015.

²⁷ Smith, “Irony and Civility,” 408.

²⁸ Smith, “Irony and Civility,” 410.

²⁹ Bianca M. du Mortier, “Costumes in Gabriel Metsu’s Paintings: Mode and Manners in the Mid-Seventeenth Century,” in *Gabriel Metsu*, ed. Adriaan E. Waiboer (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 132.

which do not necessarily illustrate “winter” scenes. Since the *jak* is usually worn by young women, who are sometimes shown nursing or with children, and because it gives the female body an enlarged silhouette around the waist, several scholars have debated its possible function as maternity wear.³⁰ Marieke de Winkel claims that to her knowledge there are no examples of pregnant women in Dutch portraiture because pregnancy was considered unattractive and indecent and when it was depicted in genre scenes, it was only in comical situations.³¹ However, the fur-wearing subjects of the genre scenes discussed in this chapter evoked Dutch Protestant family values, which emphasized rather than countered the pleasures of motherhood and a well-balanced marriage. Majorie E. Wieseman argues that the richly constructed *jakken* worn by upper-class women in genre scenes are simply indicative of the wearers’ “financial means to buy them, an idle existence and servants who will maintain these jackets in impeccable state.”³² While the fur-trimmed *jak* is certainly indicative of the burgeoning wealth of the middling classes in the newly founded Dutch Republic, this garment signified much more than a frivolous lifestyle, for the model housewife depicted in Dutch literature and imagery was anything but idle.

Scholars have yet to discuss the garment’s cultural significance and its close associations with Dutch ideals of domesticity (*huiselijkheid*) and virtue among high-burgher women and their husbands following the Thirty Years’ War.³³ Dutch artists chose to clothe their female figures in this garment at a time when Holland was recently independent from Spanish Habsburg rule and experiencing a period of peace and prosperity. The Dutch Republic had won independence from the Spanish crown by the start of the seventeenth century and as the Spanish-held harbor of Antwerp began to decline, Amsterdam began to serve as a clearing house for international bulk and luxury trade. Amsterdam quickly became the most important port for international trade, making Holland the dominant commercial and economic center in Europe during the seventeenth century. The plethora of genre scenes produced in this period catered to the tastes of married Dutch burghers and merchants like Jan Hinlopen who needed to see and feel that the *gezelligheid* (comfort) of their homes was being attended to.³⁴ Although the images under examination did not function as realistic mirrors of life they nevertheless reflected and helped to construct people’s understanding of and attitudes about women and their behavior. This chapter asks what the fur-trimmed *jak* signified to a seventeenth-century audience and what it can reveal about Dutch family values and new models of luxury that prioritized private comfort. I also discuss how contemporary art theory texts strongly emphasized the view that Netherlandish artists were unmatched in their technical skill in portraying fur and different kinds of textiles. In exploring

³⁰ See John Walsh, “Vermeer,” in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 31 (May 1973), 79; Ernst Günther Grimme, *Jan Vermeer van Delft* (Cologne, 1974), 54; Nanette Salomon, “Vermeer and the Balance of Destiny,” in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Doornspijk, 1983), 216-221; Peter Sutton et al., *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* [exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Fine Art, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, and the Royal Academy] (Philadelphia, Berlin, and London, 1984), 342-343.

³¹ De Winkel, “Vermeer’s Paintings,” 331-32.

³² Wieseman, “Acquisition ou Héritage?,” 106.

³³ The saying “Huislykheid is ‘t vrouwen kroon cieraad” (“Domesticity is the jewel in a woman’s crown”) appears in the anonymous *Verzameling van uytgelesene sinnebeelden* (Leiden, 1696), 4, cited by Peter C. Sutton, *Pieter de Hooch: Complete Edition* (Oxford, 1980), 49, 70 n. 83. For discussion and further references to the literature on domesticity as a prevailing cultural ideal in the Dutch Republic, see Mariët Westermann, “Wooncultuur in the Netherlands: A Historiography in Progress,” in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 51 (2000): 17-33, esp. nn. 72-74.

³⁴ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 416.

how the visual representation of sartorial materials is linked to the creative tradition of image making, I explore how the vibrant fabrics of the *jak* demonstrated Dutch pride in both their artistic tradition and their flourishing textile industries.

5. 2 Inventories: Types of *Jakken* Worn and Their Fur Trimmings

Genre paintings and portraits do not always depict real garments, but inventories and popular literature confirm that the *jak* was an actual article of clothing worn by women from all social classes in the Dutch Republic as part of their daily informal wear. Ordinary *jakken* were constructed from sturdy fabrics in somber colors without any ornamentation. The more elegant versions, in silk or plush materials, were made in a variety of colors. In images, the *jak* is usually paired with a skirt and apron and worn either over a shift or stays. Inventories seldom list the colors of garments but images of *jakken* tend to depict them as either black, yellow or red. In De Laire's *Groot Schilderboek* ("The Art of Painting"), colors such as apple blossom or light lemon yellow are described as typically female.³⁵ When the colors of *jakken* are specified in inventories, green, black, and yellow seem to have been popular hues among Dutch women.

Wendela Bicker (1635-1668), the wife of Johan de Witt, a key figure in Dutch politics, owned a green velvet *jak* lined with sable bellies and edged with white fur; a green woolen one lined with cat fur; and one of white satin lined with a carnation-colored fabric and padded with cotton.³⁶ These garments were listed in her account book in 1655, the year of her marriage. From 1660 to 1667, Wendela had a new *jak* made every year, demonstrating that this was a staple garment in her wardrobe. In 1662 she ordered a green camlet with white fur; in 1663 a satin *jak* with ribbons; in 1664 one of black *armosin* (a kind of taffeta, originally imported from the Far East but later also made in Italy and France) with pleats; in 1665 one of black velvet and one of gray serge lined with the cat fur taken from the green jacket of 1655.³⁷ The ubiquity of *jakken* in the Dutch woman's wardrobe meant that artists had access to and sometimes even possessed the garment that they so meticulously populated their genre scenes with. The posthumous inventory of the house of Vermeer, taken in 1676, records "a yellow silk jacket with trimming in white fur" and "an old green jacket trimmed with white fur."³⁸ These *jakken* may have belonged to Vermeer's widow, Catherina Bolnes, and were undoubtedly used as modeling props by the painter for his images.

Among wealthy women, the *jak* was usually, though not always, trimmed with decorative bands of fur. Some Amsterdam inventories specify the type of fur used to trim *jakken*. Typical kinds of fur linings and trimmings were white squirrel, white rabbit, and white cat. In the 1638 inventory of Matthijs Willemsz van Raephorst and Aeffgen Witsen, "a figured velvet jacket lined

³⁵ Lyckle de Vries, *How to Create Beauty: De Laire's on the theory and practice of making art* (Leiden: Primavera Press, 2011), 131.

³⁶ "1 groen velp jak met buycke van sabelen gevoert met een witte rant daeren f 8:--:--; het jack kost behalve het bont van binnene f 50:--:--; 1 out groen magaeyder met katten gevoert, het stof f 6:--:--; 1 jackien van ostindies wit satijn deertoe 5 ¼ elle f 9: 9:--; met watten en incornaet gevoert kost samen f 20: 5:--." A list of Wendela's clothing from 1655 to her death in 1668 is published in Johanna H. der Kinderen-Besier, *Spelevaart der mode, de kledij onser voorouders in de 17de eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1950), 263-286. Quoted in de Winkel, "Vermeer's Paintings," 329.

³⁷ See the "Glossary of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Dress and Textile Terms" in Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 353. De Winkel, "Vermeer's Paintings," 336, no. 18.

³⁸ "Een geele zatyne mantel met witte bonte randen, een oude groene mantel met een witte bonte kant... ." This inventory was published by Andreas J.J.M. Peer, "Drie collecties schilderijen van Jan Vermeer," in *Oud Holland* 72 (1957), 92-103. See also John Michael Montias, *Vermeer and his Milieu: A Web of Social History* (Princeton, 1989) p. 339, doc. 364.

with squirrel and trimmed with spotted edges” is listed.³⁹ The 1661 inventory of Pieter Cornelisz Bijkerck and Lijsbeth Jans listed “one figured velvet jacket with a sable edge; one figured velvet jacket with a polecat edge.”⁴⁰ The inventory of Gerrit Reijersz Elias and Catharina van Beringh from 1676 listed “a violet velvet fur jacket lined with squirrel.”⁴¹ The fur trimmings on a *jak* doubled its price. Wendela’s account book notes that the sable lining and white fur trimming of her green camlet *jak* from 1655 cost 50 guilders or twice the cost of the actual jacket itself. In the year 1660, 314 guilders was roughly equivalent to the yearly wages of an unskilled worker so a garment that cost 75 guilders total was almost the third of an unskilled worker’s salary.⁴² Cat fur was much cheaper and cost Wendela 8 guilders. This fur was valued for its softness and medicinal benefits. In Laurence Andrew’s *The noble lyfe and natures of man, of bestes*, which was originally published in Dutch and later translated into English in 1527, the author says that, “Cattes flesshe is warme and drye and warmeth the kidney and eseth the payne in the backe.”⁴³

Some jackets had detachable fur trimmings so that the jacket could be worn in warmer seasons, and as seen in Wendela’s account books, fur trimmings and linings could also be taken off one jacket and used for another in an effort to economize. In the medieval period and during the sixteenth century, consumers normally practiced *purfling*, a technique that used more expensive furs in areas where they showed and cheaper alternatives where they were hidden.⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that Wendela lined her *jak* with sables, a very expensive fur, while trimming the exterior and visible areas of her jacket with a less precious white fur in order to keep with the fashions for light colored fur trimming common among Dutch women during this period.

Although some scholars have described the spotted fur trimming seen in the paintings of Vermeer as ermine (figs. 9 to 11), in inventories of the wealthiest Dutch citizens, this particular fur is never mentioned.⁴⁵ The inventory of the Amsterdam furrier Jan Wusthoven, who died in 1653, includes almost 2,000 white rabbit skins, more than 100 white hares and 14 white cats, and only 5 ermine pelts.⁴⁶ Ermine skins were harvested during winter and its rarity and diminutive size rendered it extremely expensive and difficult to obtain. Inventories, however, do list jackets trimmed with faux ermine fur. The inventory of Maria van Voorst van Doorwerth, a Dutch noblewoman, mentions a lining made “with white coney (rabbit) with small black dots.”⁴⁷ White furs such as cat or rabbit could be “pinked” or slit and then “powdered” with tails made from

³⁹ “Noch eenen cappa mantelgen met Inckhoorentgensbont gevoert ende gestippelde randen.” Amsterdam Municipal Archives, notary F. Bruyningh, Notarial Archives 1415, 23 February 1638, inventory of Matthijs Willemsz van Raephorst and Aeffgen Witsen.

⁴⁰ “1 kaffa jack met een sabele rant; 1 cappa bont jack met een vis rant.” Amsterdam Municipal Archives, notary C. Hogeboom, Notarial Archives 2661, fols. 233-240, 28 December 1661, inventory Pieter Cornelisz Bijkerck and Lijsbeth Jans.

⁴¹ Amsterdam Municipal Archives, notary J. de Winter, Notarial Archives 2410, fols. 10-28, 7 January 1676, inventory of Gerrit Reijersz Elias and Catharina van Beringh.

⁴² This roughly corresponds to \$29,927 USD today. See Jan de Vries and A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy* (1997).

⁴³ Laurence Andrew, *The noble lyfe & natures of man, of bestes, serpentys, fowles & fishes yt be moste knowen* (1521).

⁴⁴ Laura Hodges, “A Reconsideration of the Monk’s Costume,” in *Chaucer Review* 26.2 (1991): 137.

⁴⁵ De Winkel, “Vermeer’s Paintings,” 329.

⁴⁶ Inventory dated 28 July 1653. J. G. van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven* R.P.G. 144 (1974), 603-5.

⁴⁷ “Een purper satijne nachtmantelken ... [gevoerd] met witte conijnen met swarte pleckgens” in L.J. van der Klooster, “De juwelen en kleding van Maria van Voorst van Doorwerth,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 31 (1981), 61. Maria van Voorst van Doorwerth was a Dutch noblewoman who was married to Jonker Johan van Wassenaar van Duvencourde and died in 1610. Quoted by du Mortier, “Metsu’s Paintings,” 152, no. 35.

black lamb's wool in order to create an effect similar to processed ermine furs traditionally worn by royalty and nobles.⁴⁸ The ermine symbolized moral purity and self-sacrifice because legend claimed that the ermine would rather die than soil its coat while being hunted.⁴⁹ The desire among seventeenth-century women to wear faux ermine fur and its appearance, albeit rare, in Dutch genre painting (see also the genre scenes of Nicholaes Maes) imply the symbolic importance of this kind of fur.

White fur in general, and not just ermine, symbolized chastity, innocence, and platonic love while also functioning as a fashionable contrast to bright colored silks.⁵⁰ Indeed, in many of these images of women wearing white furred *jakken*, they do not engage with the viewer but are so absorbed in their respective activities that they are rendered aloof, stately, and sexually unattainable in the Petrarchan sense. The white fur trimming of their clothing emphasizes their purity and delicacy while also rendering them into symbolic figures of elite femininity—chaste and aloof. White and lighter colors were also generally considered “youthful.” It comes as no surprise then that the most fashionable fur trimmings for the *jak* in the mid-seventeenth century were white in color and in genre scenes depicting multiple figures, the youngest and most attractive woman in the group is usually depicted wearing a fur-trimmed *jak*.⁵¹

Inventories from this period demonstrate that certain colors for the exterior of the *jak* and for its fur trimmings and certain kinds of furs were preferred among upper and middle-class women living in the Dutch Republic. Because the earliest known record of a *jak* or “*mantelgen*” comes from 1638, that is, before the earliest known depiction of the *jak* in painting, which is dated to the early 1650s, we can surmise that actual sartorial practices and fashions influenced the representation of the *jak* in Dutch art. Of course, as the *jak* became more and more prevalent in Dutch genre painting, artistic representations of contemporary clothing may have influenced ideas of fashionability and created iconographic links between the *jak* and concepts of femininity and domestic life.

5.3 Industrious Housewives in *Jakken* as Paragons of Virtue and the New Luxury

In early modern Europe, married women were expected to manage the productivity and daily care of the household and usually had sole responsibility for shopping, cooking, cleaning, washing, nursing the sick, and raising and supervising children. Dutch women, however, were notorious for not conforming to the traditional requirements of feminine behavior. Foreign visitors to the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century remarked not only on the beauty of Dutch women but also on their independence.⁵² Their autonomy was no surprise as many Dutch men were away at sea or at war during the Thirty Years' War. In 1617 visiting Englishman Fynes Moryson recorded his amazement at the boldness and business acumen of Dutch women:

⁴⁸ Elspeth Veale, “From Sable to Mink,” in *The Inventory of Henry VIII: Textiles and Dress*, ed. Maria Hayward (Belgium: Harvey Miller, 2012), 337. Veale notes that faux ermine tails were made from the legs or shanks of lambskins.

⁴⁹ See Henry Peacham, “Emblem 75: Cui candor morte redemptus” in *Minerua Britannia or A garden of heroical deuises* (1612).

⁵⁰ Irene Groeneweg, “Court and City: Dress in the Age of Frederick Hendrik and Amalia” in *Princely Display: The Court of Frederik Hendrik of Orange and Amalia van Solms* (La Haye: Haags Historisch Museum, 1997-98), 210, 201-202; Alison McNeil Kettering, “Ter Borch's Ladies in Satin,” in *Art History* Vol. 16, No. 1 (1993): 95-124.

⁵¹ In Jan Steen's *Twin Celebration* from 1668, the youngest woman in the group positioned to the right is the only member of her party to wear a fur-trimmed *jak*, suggesting that this garment was associated with beauty. Oil on canvas, 69.2 cm x 78.8 cm, Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

⁵² Baer, *Class Distinctions*, 194.

“While their husbands sport idly at home, the women especially in Holland...manage most part of the business at home, and in neighbor cities. In the shops they sell all, they take all accompts, and it is no reproch to the men to be never inquired after, about these affaires...”⁵³ Although seventeenth-century Dutch women were relatively liberal and more active in the public realm in comparison to other European women, it is important to keep in mind that the expected roles available to them in this period were those of wife and mother. After the collapse of the old land-based feudal system, women were no longer integral partners in family farms and businesses unless they were widows or managing their husbands’ affairs in their absence. With Protestantism and the closing of convents in the Netherlands, women could no longer choose the cloistered and consecrated lives of nuns as an alternative to marriage. The position of full-time housewife, the upper middle-class woman who could concentrate all her energy on home and family, would become a reflection of the newfound wealth of the newly minted Dutch Republic.⁵⁴

Several Dutch marriage and household manuals and domestic courtesy books were published in the seventeenth century to help reinforce the new social structure of the Republic by promoting the home as the site of Christian virtue and celebrating the family as the microcosm of moral order. The most influential publications were Jacob Cats’ *Houwelyck* (“Marriage,” Middelburg, 1625), Johan van Beverwijck’s *Van de Uitmementheyt des Vrouwelicken Geslachts* (“On the excellence of the Female Sex,” Dordrecht, 1643), and Petrus Wittewrongel’s *Oeconomia Christiana* (“Christian Economy,” Amsterdam, 1661). According to Beverwijck’s text, the home is of supreme importance in determining the moral fate of both individuals and Dutch society as a whole. As the irreducible primary cell on which the entire fabric of the commonwealth was grounded, the orderly home was a metaphor for the properly governed country.⁵⁵

Maintaining socially prescribed hierarchies and gendered spaces within the home was crucial to good social order and while the world of trade and business was viewed as a fitting domain for husbands, wives were expected to “attend to their household” and kitchen.⁵⁶ In his chapter on the *Vrouwe* (“Wife”), Jacob Cats discusses in detail what he deemed the appropriate separation of work among men and women:

“The husband must be on the street to practice his trade
 The wife must stay at home to be in the kitchen
 The diligent practice of street wisdom may in the man be praised
 But with the delicate wife, there should be quiet and steady ways
 So you, industrious husband, go to earn your living
 While you, O young wife, attend to your household.”⁵⁷

In Van Loo’s double portrait of Jan and Leonora Hinlopen, the division of work and space outlined by Cats’ text is demonstrated by the couple’s respective activities and placement (fig. 1). Jan is seated at a desk and is surrounded by the tools of his “trade.” Directly above his head are Delftware tiles of sea creatures, alluding to his mercantile origins. A man’s proper realm was

⁵³ Quoted by Laurinda S. Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine*, (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1995), 216.

⁵⁴ Baer, *Class Distinctions*, 195.

⁵⁵ Johan van Beverwijck, *Van De Uitmementheyt des Vrouwelicken Geslachts*, 2nd ed. (Dordrecht, 1643), 206-12. Cited in Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 384-6.

⁵⁶ Jacob Cats, “Vrouwe” in *Houwelyck: Dat is de gansche gelegentheyt des echten staets* (Middelburg, 1625), 317.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

the outside world of commerce, trade, manufacturing, and government.⁵⁸ Good husbands were good providers and hence ought to engage in virtuous capitalism and the performance of civic duties. Jan is also placed closest to the border of the image, suggesting that he has more ready access to the imagined space located beyond the configuration of the painting. Leonora is positioned further within the image and is visually framed by the interior architecture and drapery, placing her more securely within the background's material comforts. Her *jak*, a specifically indoor garment that differs from the explicit worldliness of the exotic robe that her husband wears, further emphasizes her place within the interior.

In Hendrick Sorgh's portrait of the Prins family, the gendering of space between women and men is made even more explicit (fig. 8). The mother, Maria van der Graef is foregrounded within the space of the home proper as she tends to her children. The father, working in his study or office, is placed at the rear of the image. The tenuous relation of men to domesticity explains Eeuwout's liminal status in Sorgh's portrait. Eeuwout looks up from his books momentarily to regard this moment of maternal affection with a mix of fondness, longing, and sternness. The father's distance signals the complexity of men's relations to the home in the new domestic ideal. Symbolism in the image emphasizes Maria's domestication and happiness therein. Above the mother hangs a cage with a parrot. In the seventeenth century, the parrot was associated with docility and domesticity because the breed is easily trained and taught to speak. In an emblem from Jacob Cats, the motif of a bird in a cage (fig. 12) is inscribed with the motto "Joy through Slavery." The parrot, who is the narrator of the inscription, declares that the "imprisonment of love" has brought great joy to the married couple.⁵⁹ Maria acts as model of female docility and is in the process of teaching correct feminine behavior to her daughters. With one hand she steadies an exuberant little girl perched on the table while she hands the other girl a treat as a reward for being good. The obediently sitting dog, who by nature takes to being trained and disciplined, symbolizes the girl's *leer-sucht*, or love of learning, which was one of the virtues most prized in girls and young women.⁶⁰

Of particular interest is how Maria is attired in a portrait celebrating her domestication and role as housewife. Dressed in clothing typical of Dutch housewives, Maria demonstrates her readiness to work. Over her *jak*, Maria wears a *nachthalsdoeck*, a linen shoulder mantle. The *nachthalsdoeck* was worn in combination with an apron during the day as an informal housedress to protect the jacket and skirt from stains. On her head is a *tip*, a black cap that was worn by married women. In a costume print by Wenceslaus Hollar from the 1640s and titled *Mulier Belgica in Vestitu Domestico* ("Netherlandish Woman in Household Dress"; fig. 13) the woman wears a waistcoat very similar in shape to the *jak* underneath a *nachthalsdoeck*. This image illustrates what non-Dutch viewers would have understood to be the standard housedress for women living in the Low Countries in the 1640s. Although fashions were to change in the middle of the century, the silhouette of a cinched jacket which reached the hips and had three-quarter-length sleeves and which was worn with an ankle-length skirt and apron was to remain the same. Such costume exemplified practicality and modesty in Dutch women and their willingness to partake in household affairs.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth A. Honig talks about the gendering of spaces in seventeenth-century Dutch urban life in "Desire and Domestic Economy" *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 294-315.

⁵⁹ Jacob Cats, *Proteus ofte minne-beelden verandert in sinnebeelden* (Rotterdam, 1627), 80-1, no. 14.

⁶⁰ In Pieter de Hooch's *A Woman Nursing and Infant with a Child and a Dog* (c. 1658-60), a child feeds an attentive dog in imitation of her mother who nurses a baby. The well-trained, obedient dog was a widely known symbol of *leer-such*, literally the desire to learn or docility. Jan Baptist Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols: Studies in the Iconology of Netherlandish Art, 1400-1800* (The Hague, 1990), 109-69; Franits, *Paragons*, 154-57.

Dutch manuals and treatises aimed at female readers recommended housewifery as their only occupation and described household management as “this art [that is] the very foundation of our prosperity and is today the basis on which every household must be built.”⁶¹ The pedagogical treatise by the Middelburg schoolmaster Johannes de Swaef states that early on maidens

must learn what belongs to housewifery / how they should be humbly submissive and loving to their husbands (if God calls them to marriage) / how they should raise their children / how they should run their household / how to make purchases / how to sew / spin / be neat and diligent / and similar things which are part of women’s callings.⁶²

With Dutch independence there arose a vernacular political allegory in which the legendary cleanliness of the Dutch home became a metaphor for the new state’s virtue.⁶³ To have a clean and tidy house was to be patriotic and vigilant in the defense of one’s homeland against invading polluters.⁶⁴ The scrubbing brush in merchant author Roemer Visscher’s *Sinnepoppen* bears the inscription “*afkomst seyt niet*” (“pedigree counts for nothing”) (fig. 14). The brush stood as a heraldic device for the new commonwealth, cleansed of the impurities of the past. The popular household manual *De Ervarene en Verstandige Hollandsche Huyshoudster* (“The Experienced and Knowledgeable Hollands Householder”) devoted an entire chapter to the cleaning of a house with strict instructions on the tasks to be tackled each week.⁶⁵ The steps in front of the house, the path leading to the house and the front hall were all to be washed every weekday early in the morning. On Wednesdays, the entire house was to be gone over. Monday and Tuesday afternoons were devoted to dusting and polishing reception rooms and bedrooms. Thursdays were scrubbing and scouring days, and Fridays were assigned to the unenviable job of cleaning the kitchen and cellar. Besides these standard chores, dishes had to be washed after each meal, and the household laundry done each day.

Given the political and social importance of a household’s cleanliness and the principle role of wives in maintaining it, it is fitting that images of elite and upper-middle class women engaged in household chores are depicted wearing practical, informal dress. The *jak*, in particular, was initially associated with domestic work and worn by servants.⁶⁶ In *De seven engelen der dientmaagden* (1697), the *jak* is described as a garment worn with modesty by the lower classes.⁶⁷ In Geertruydt Roghman’s series of engravings titled *Five Feminine Occupations* (c. 1648-50; figs. 15 to 19) we see an early representation of the *jak* before it became prevalent in Dutch genre painting. The sobriety of these domestics who are so absorbed in their chores illustrates their exemplary behavior as industrious and virtuous women and the *jak* is their uniform *par excellence*. The women in these prints wear long-sleeved jackets that end just below

⁶¹ Melchior Fokkens, *De Ervarene en Verstandige Hollandsche Huyshoudster*, 3rd Edition (Amsterdam, 1664), xv.

⁶² Johannes de Swaef, *De geestelycke queeckerye van de jonge planten des Heeren...* 2d ed. Intro. and ed. J. Willemsen (first published in 1621) (Middelburg, 1740), 312: “...de Dochters moeten sy leeren wat dat tot huyshouden behoort/ hoe sy in aller ootmoedigheyd hare mannen (als God haer tot het houwelyck roept) sullen onderdanigh syn/ en life hebben/ hoe sy met de kinderen moeten ommegaen/ hoe sy reyn en vlytigh moeten syn/ en diesgelycke dinghen die tot vrouwen beroep behooren.”

⁶³ H. Perry Chapman, “Home and the Display of Privacy” in *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Mariët Westermann (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 132.

⁶⁴ Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 379.

⁶⁵ Fokkens, *De Ervarene*, 3off.

⁶⁶ De Winkel, “Vermeer’s Paintings,” 328.

⁶⁷ J. H. B., *De seven engelen der dientmaagden* (Leiden, 1697).

the hips and are cinched at the waist with an apron. The jacket's loose fit permits these women freedom of movement as they sew, cook, spin, and scour kitchen utensils. Conventional metaphors of virtue such as the distaff and reminders of the briefness of life seen in the skull, candlesnuffer and clock underscore the utter seriousness with which these women undertake their duties. As the artist of these engravings was a woman herself, she would have been intimately familiar with the clothing of women within the domestic sphere and these prints give us a glimpse of what women would have worn behind closed doors while undertaking everyday tasks.

In “A Woman Cleaning” (fig. 19), Plate 5 from the *Five Feminine Occupations*, the backside of a woman bent over a counter and scouring a large plate is depicted. The sleeves of her jacket are pushed up to her elbows. Seventeenth-century viewers would have immediately recognized this motif of a woman with rolled-up sleeves as a sign that she was diligent and industrious.⁶⁸ Genre scenes from the 1650s and 1660s (figs. 20 to 26) depicting female servants at work sweeping, cleaning kitchen utensils, doing laundry, tending to children, or coiffing their mistresses’ hair typically depict them with sleeves rolled up past their elbows and their inner chemise folded up above their sleeves in order to demonstrate their industry and activity. Contemporary moralists exhorted middle-class housewives to literally stick their hands “uyt de mouwen” (out of the sleeves) like servants did when working. The phrase “uyt de mouwen” was the Dutch translation of the Biblical proverb “She sets about her work vigorously” (Proverb 31, verse 17). In Wittewrongel’s *Oeconomia* the good housewife, who is exhorted to roll up her sleeves and plunge her hands in cold water, is favorably compared to fashionably dressed “youngsters” whose attire render them unfit for meaningful work:

She would do well to roll up her sleeves [*handen uyt de mouwe steecken*], not like our youngsters do today, who dress in such a way that they expose their elbows but are no longer skilled in doing any work, like those who are clasped and handcuffed. Those capable women will take up the work and stick their hands in cold water. Those women are never without work.⁶⁹

It was not only important for servants to be industrious and active but also for housewives to demonstrate their propensity for hard work. In Roemer Visscher’s *Brabbelingh* (1669), a grandmother exhorts her grandson to find a wife “who can really roll up her sleeves [*die haer handen wel kan steecken uyt de mouwen*], who can wash, clean, bake and brew, and who does all housework extremely clean....”⁷⁰ Domestic conduct books recommended that mistresses not only supervise servants by delegating every single task but that they also work

⁶⁸ Franits, *Paragons*, 97

⁶⁹ “Prov:31. Vers 17. Sy derft wel de handen uyt de mouwe steecken / niet gelyck onse dertele Juffertjes doen inse dagen; die haer wel soo kleeden / dat sy tot de elbogen bloot gaen; maer niet meer bequaem zijn tot eenigh werk / als die gene die aen handen ende voeten geknevelt ende geboeyt gaen: sulck een sy derst het werck aentasten / ende haer handen in kout water steecken; sy en is noyt ledigh.” Petrus Wittewrongel, *Oeconomia Christiana ofte Christelicke huys-houdinghe. Vervat in twee boecken. Tot bevoorderinge van de oeffeninge der ware Godtsaligheydt in de bysondere huys-ghesinnen. Naer den regel van het suyvere woort Godts te samen-gestelt*, Vol. 2 (1661), 723.

⁷⁰ “Petemoey Nel houdt my altijd te voren, / En raedt my dat ick een wijf moet trouwen; / Die haer handen wel kan steecken uyt de mouwen, / Sy kan wasschen, schueren, backen en brouwen, / En doen alle huys-werck reyn uytermaten, / Die een man wel in eeren sal houwen, / Sy kan wel maierlijck een reden praten, / Oock heeftse veel kroonen en ducaten, / Ick geloof, segh ick, dat sy goet, rijck, en koy, is, / Dan ick hoor aen uw woorden wel datse niet moy, is.” Roemer Visscher, *Brabbelingh* (Amsterdam, 1669), 19, no. 47.

alongside them.⁷¹ Indeed, relatively few households had domestic help. Although servants figure prominently in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, only 10 to 20 percent of all Dutch families had a servant in their home, leaving most housewives to complete chores on their own.⁷² By structurally cutting the sleeves of the servant's jacket at the elbow, the newly fashionable *jak* very practically did away with the need for lower and upper class women to physically roll up their sleeves and gave the impression that its wearers were perpetually “uyt de mouwen.” The *jakken* worn by servants differ from those worn by upper middle-class housewives depicted in the same paintings in that they are constructed with long sleeves that literally need to be rolled up. *Jakken* worn by servants were also constructed from brown or black wool, making them coarser in fabric and neutral in color. Upper middle-class housewives wore *jakken* that were already tailored to have shorter sleeves and constructed from sumptuous satins and velvets.

Prints such as Roghman's engravings are particularly revealing about Dutch notions of femininity owing to their relatively low price and wide availability. They served as reliable examples of the outlook of a considerable segment of society in this period. They reinforced widely held cultural values of the industrious and domesticated woman as a paragon of virtue. These images also equated rolled up or three-quarter length sleeves with positive female work. In popular literature Dutch housedress and, in particular, the cinched jacket with short sleeves held connotations of female industry and tidiness, which were viewed as attractive and pleasing in women. These significations of cleanliness and attractiveness were assimilated into the Dutch language. The Dutch word for clean “*schoon*” is also used to describe beautiful or pleasing things. Another word for clean, “*reyn*,” was used frequently to imply purity. “*Zindelijk*” meant cleanliness and neatness or tidiness.⁷³

Portrait depictions of wives and mothers were supposed to display exemplary female virtue. Since it represented this, the *jak* was a fitting garment by which real women could visually and metaphorically link themselves with Dutch proverbs of hardworking women and ideal housewives. In Jacob Ochtervelt's portrait of the Elsevier family (fig. 7), each household member acts in accordance with his or her domestic place and their clothing is one of the main means of reinforcing these roles. The father wears black apparel, which evokes the *gravitas* and seriousness befitting the head of the household. The nonchalance and ease with which he is sprawled on his chair is also a marker of his status within the household since such a pose was considered proper only for men. Beside his wife is another chair, indicating that in her husband's absence she acts as mistress of the household. She wears a brocade satin skirt and a velvet fur-trimmed *jak* over which is tied an apron, a sign of her willingness to serve as housewife. The loose fit of the *jak* connotes ease of movement while its sumptuous materiality signifies the elite lady's rank and status. The mistress's garments parallel those of the maid except these latter are in a much plainer style and with a coarser fabric. The maid holds up the youngest child while modestly averting her gaze away from the beholder. That the two adult women in the portrait are depicted wearing *jakken* implies that this garment was viewed as the standard dress of modest women within the domestic sphere. Both mistress and servant are visually and sartorially linked.

The more luxurious jackets worn by elite housewives adopted the motif of the exposed arm (“*uyt de mouwen*”) to imply practicality and industry even if the expensive materials of its construction rendered it impractical for strenuous domestic labor. Although servants did not

⁷¹ Ibid., 104.

⁷² Klaske Muizelaar and Derek Phillips, *Picturing Men and Women in the Dutch Golden Age: Paintings and People in Historical Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 14.

⁷³ Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 375; no. 1, 645.

always wear laced stays under their jackets, upper middle-class women would have worn tightly-laced bodices beneath their *jakken*, rendering the luxurious *jak*'s claim to easy labor questionable. A *jak* paired with stays was nonetheless far more comfortable than the rigid gowns worn by elite women on more formal occasions. What matters here is the allusion to (and illusion of) work and modesty. By appropriating a garment initially associated with servants, elite and middle-class Dutch women emphasized the pseudo-practicality and -frugality of their domestic attire. The paradoxical condition of the *jak*, as a garment of low origins and a uniform of working women that could be constructed from the most luxurious of fabrics and furs, exemplifies what economic historian Jan de Vries has termed the "New Luxury".⁷⁴ The urban society of seventeenth-century Holland was the first culture in early modern Europe to experience new concepts of luxury that permitted increased expenditure among the middling classes as long as moderation was practiced. Rather than opposing Calvinist teachings, the New Luxury advocated social- or income-specific consumption. New luxury consumption among rich burghers was defined by discretionary spending that improved personal, domestic comforts and was "directed towards the home..., and adorned the interior—of both home and body—more than the exterior," whereas old models of luxury among the aristocracy were defined by conspicuous consumption and public displays of grandeur.⁷⁵ The Dutch were so skilled in hiding their staggering wealth that foreign visitors to the Republic repeatedly commented upon the simplicity of their clothing. During his visit of 1676, the papal nuncio to Cologne, Pallavicino, noted that Holland was a "nation that does not squander its wealth on clothes or servants."⁷⁶ The English Ambassador in the years 1668-70, Sir William Temple, observed that luxury expenditure in the Republic "is laid out in the fabric, adornment, or furniture of their houses; things not so transitory, or so prejudicial to Health and to Business as the constant excesses and luxury of tables...."⁷⁷ Indeed, consumption that improved daily comforts was considered virtuous and practical. The *jak* was a justified and discretionary, if luxurious, mode of material consumption because its functionality relegated it to the comforts of the private domestic realm.

De Vries goes on to argue that the striking feature of Dutch material culture was its uniformity. The basic forms of expressing status and achieving comfort were remarkably similar between city and country, and between rich and poor.⁷⁸ It was the cost and specific quality rather than the types of objects and their general form, that differed. The same theory of uniformity may be applied to the *jak*. Among both upper- and working-class women the *jak* operated as a standard symbol of female industry and domestic duty even if its material differences distinguished the more luxurious types from those that were purely utilitarian. In the Ochtervelt family portrait, the material differences in the mistress and maidservant's clothing reinforce beliefs that maids should be subordinate to their mistresses. Rather than acting as specifically winter wear, it is more likely that the fur-trimmed *jak* (which was significantly more expensive than an un-trimmed *jak*) acted as a distinguishing marker of the housewife's status since servants also wore the same piece of clothing. In standard portraits of Dutch women wearing *jakken*, they are always portrayed with fur trimming because it is this decorative detail that elevates the *jak* from mere servant's wear to fashionable, bourgeois attire.

⁷⁴ Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁷⁵ De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, 51.

⁷⁶ Quoted in *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ Sir William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, Sir George Clark, ed. (Oxford, 1972; orig. pub. London, 1673), 87.

⁷⁸ De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, 53.

De Vries counters the argument of Simon Schama in *The Embarrassment of Riches* that Calvinist preachings and the burgeoning wealth of Dutch elite and middling classes created a guilt-inducing dilemma between luxury consumption and vice. De Vries cautions against the pitfalls of using visual images as historical sources for the material consumption that took place in the Dutch Republic, arguing that “the new material world revealed in many of these paintings is typically enveloped in moral and iconographic conventions steeped in the vocabulary of the Old Luxury” which sought to uphold elitist principles of social hierarchy and exclusivity by reproaching luxury consumption among non-elite classes.⁷⁹ There are a number of comic images of women of questionable morality wearing the *jak*, but it is important to note that these scenes portray members of the lower classes, that is, peasants, servants, or prostitutes, wearing luxurious garments well beyond their social means or rights.⁸⁰ While middling- and upper-class women wearing *jakken* are often portrayed as positive figures embodying domestic virtue or elegant refinement, paintings by Jan Steen and some of his contemporaries depict *jak*-clad women behaving far from admirably. Most interesting are his chaotic domestic interiors of household life gone topsy-turvy. One such example is “In Luxury, Beware” (fig. 27). The disorder and dirtiness of the dwelling and misbehavior of the children and young adults can all be put down to the sleeping mother, who, identified by her *jak*, embodies the opposite of domestic virtue. Her sloth and lack of vigilance, brought on by irresponsible handling of economic success, prevents her from managing the household and moral upbringing of her family. This is especially iniquitous as the well-run household was held to be a microcosm for the well-run nation. The symbolism of the *jak* is inverted. These images serve to warn viewers about the disorder and folly that will arise when members of the lower classes dress beyond their station. The number of tracts and polemical texts about the sins of maidservants published in the seventeenth century attest to the anxiety felt by Dutch people who were concerned about the influx of independent, foreign women hoping to find work as domestics in the Netherlands. In 1681 the magistrates of Amsterdam issued a sumptuary law that regulated the sumptuous clothing of servants, forbidding them from wearing silk garments and jewelry.⁸¹

While some genre scenes are indeed moralizing warnings against the dangers of decadence, I argue that the *jak* mainly conveyed New Luxury principles of private and personal comfort. The fur lining and plush exterior of *jakken* rendered them comfy and warm while their

⁷⁹ De Vries, *Industrious Revolution*, 49-50. Schama argues that the new wealth of Holland was a source of embarrassment or anxiety for the Dutch. Vries claims that Schama relies heavily on paintings and other visual images which in turn relied on ancient themes of luxury’s dangers that were derived from pre-capitalist, pre-market societies.

⁸⁰ In 1662 J. van B. published a pamphlet suggesting the enactment of sumptuary legislation in the Dutch Republic. He proposes a dress code on who should be allowed to wear silk and velvet and who should be denied this privilege. He is annoyed by “tailors, shoemakers and shopkeepers” and their wives who wrapped themselves in silk and velvet “as though they were barons.” The upper classes consisted of nobles, regents, wealthy merchants, and university-educated professionals (lawyers and physicians, but apparently not clergymen). Merchants from commercial centers like Amsterdam and Rotterdam were on par with magistrates, because they were “men of power and means” but only if they had property worth at least forty or fifty thousand guilders and paid taxes on that amount. J. van B. says that they should be allowed to wear what they liked. Although less wealthy merchants were on a lower rung of the social ladder, they too were allowed to wear silk fabrics. But small tradesmen, shopkeepers, and peddlers, “who usually do not know themselves and like to play the gentleman” should be forbidden to wear velvet and silk. Artisans too should wear simple woolens and other materials “more appropriate to their position and more useful to the fatherland.” *Een onderscheyt boeckje ofte tractaetje vande fouten en dwalingen der politie* (Amsterdam, 1662), 2-4.

⁸¹ De Winkel, “Vermeer’s Paintings,” 328.

lose fit allowed women to move freely within their homes. Contemporaries would have viewed the *jak* as a virtuous mode of attire. In an anonymous publication in support of maids from the 1690s, the author argues that the *jak* is a garment worn with such modesty by the lower classes in Holland that it is impossible to view it as a sign of sinful pride, even if it was sometimes made of silk:

How is it possible that the *jak*, a garment worn with such modesty by the lower classes in Holland, could be considered a sign of sinful pride, even if it did happen to be made of silk?⁸²

It becomes evident then that the *jak*, no matter how luxurious its fabrics and trimmings, could be seen as a modest garment. Unlike any other female garment, the *jak* perfectly melded Dutch practicality with luxury. The *jak* pretended to functionality, frugality, and propriety while exhibiting Dutch access to luxury goods on the global market—what I would call a kind of pseudo-modesty. These seemingly dichotomous forces very much reflected the intimacy, comfort, virtue, and luxury paradoxically yet successfully combined in “genrefied portraiture”.

In de Witte’s portrait of Adriana van Heusden the elite housewife wears a *jak* at a fishmarket (fig. 6). The painter places Adriana directly within an allegorized narrative that emphasizes Dutch frugality and industry. The subject of this portrait alludes to the popular theme in Dutch genre painting of women purchasing provisions at the marketplace. In his manual on married life titled *Houwelyck*, Jacob Cats discusses in detail the practical aspects of the mistress’s duty to purchase goods for the household, stating that she should have been taught how to shop by her mother in preparation for marriage, which explains why Adriana’s daughter is accompanying her at the market.⁸³ Instead of relying upon a maid, Adriana has taken it upon herself to complete this task and in the process she is instructing her daughter on how to be a good housewife. The ability to shop wisely was an important skill for a wife to possess since the money her husband provided had to be prudently spent for the economic well-being of the family.⁸⁴ Because Netherlandish genre scenes depicting bourgeois women at the market were rife with tension and open to contradiction, since it opened up to public scrutiny the behavior of private women and thereby disrupted the ideal gendering of the spatial map, a portrait of Adriana out on the street with her daughter necessitated careful symbolic and allegorical orchestration.⁸⁵ De Witte draws on pictorial traditions usually associated with genre painting, namely the *jak*, to create a “genrefied portrait” that celebrates Adriana’s virtue and prudence in her role as housewife while presenting her as an ideal type and model of frugality through costume and action.⁸⁶

Portraits were believed to shape both attitudes and behavior and the women portrayed in the portraits above display exemplary virtue through their costume. These women appropriated the positive symbolism and attributes of genre painting in order to render themselves into the

⁸² J.H.B., “De seven engelen.” The author is arguing against a claim that others must have been making that the *jak* was a sign of pride.

⁸³ Franits, *Paragons*, 92; Cats, *Houwelyck*, chap. 4, sigs. 86^v-87^v. The housewife’s duty to purchase provisions for her family recalls the words of Solomon in Proverbs 31:14: “She [the virtuous woman] is like the merchant’s ship; she bringeth her food from afar.” This proverb is very interesting when thinking about the painting of the ship in the background of the Hinlopen marriage portrait.

⁸⁴ According to Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, a widely used Italian emblem book that was translated into Dutch in 1644, fish were attributes of austerity. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des verstands*, trans. D. Pers (Amsterdam, 1644), 475. Mentioned in Chapman, “Home and the Display of Privacy,” 143.

⁸⁵ Honig, “Desire and Domestic Economy,” 306.

⁸⁶ Franits, *Paragons*, 92-3.

ideal housewives repeatedly visualized in art. Dutch images of domestic virtue are meticulous re-creations of reality that are fictitious because they synthesize observed fact and invention. Moreover, they were forged by artists in response to pictorial traditions, to personal aesthetic interests, and even to the demands of the market—some domestic subjects were frequently painted while other never took root within the limited artistic repertoire.⁸⁷ The presence of many of the same motifs in painting and family literature such as the *jak* confirms the widespread knowledge of particular ideas about domesticity in the Dutch Republic.⁸⁸ The conventionality of genre scenes of women dressed in *jakken* while completing domestic activities reflect widespread attitudes and ideas that dictated their production and even their content. The subjectival formulae that constitute these images of domestic virtue reveal what contemporary viewers expected to see, what they enjoyed seeing, and what they deemed significant out of a multitude of representational possibilities. The household tasks depicted in many of these images being carried out by young, attractive women dressed in fashionable *jakken*, oblige *male desiderata* of the virtuous wife. Women also bought paintings for the home and had some role in choosing their comparative image. Since women were evaluated more on their appearance than men, and because of their generally disadvantaged position in society, they were more likely to be conscious of how they measured up to the idealized standards that genre images projected.⁸⁹

Marriage and family portraits were particularly numerous in this period, appearing in a variety of forms, including pendant and double portraits of couples, the betrothal portraits, and family group portraits. Within these basic categories, sitters like Leonora and Jan Hinlopen may have been shown in contemporary dress in either formal or casual poses. Family groups were most often portrayed in the conversation-piece format, with the figures carefully posed to evoke the impression that the viewer had been made privy to a moment in the everyday life of the household, thereby placing pressure upon the intimate, everyday costume of the painted subjects to communicate such an impression.⁹⁰ The popularity of family portraits shows that the nuclear family became central to the merging sense of Dutch national identity. Family portraits reinforced the class identity of the Dutch Republic's new merchant elite by naturalizing the core familial unit as the most basic unit of the emerging, more democratized social structure.⁹¹ As the core familial unit of father, mother, and children became regarded as the basic, self-sufficient building block of society and as the site of morality and the seed of civic virtue, the old aristocratic ideals of heritage, lineage, and blood were replaced.

⁸⁷ Franits, *Paragons*, 13-14.

⁸⁸ Franits, *Paragons*, 82-3.

⁸⁹ Men could compare themselves with idealized standards of male attractiveness, but their involvement in the world outside the family and their domination in the marital relationship means that they were less likely to define their physical appearance via the image of others or according to how they were seen by others.

⁹⁰ David R. Smith emphasized how marriage and family portraits convey the socially accepted character or persona (social façade), of an individual through artistic conventions, adapted by the Dutch from aristocratic court traditions to their own middle-class culture. The actions, attitudes, and settings combine into a “performance” of the subject’s own role and status in society, which has been translated into a visual medium by the artist. He argues that the seventeenth-century attitude toward individual personality and character is based upon social identity, not inner psychological reality. *Masks of Wedlock: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982). E. de Jongh, by contrast, relies heavily on seventeenth-century literary emblem books and treatises on social etiquette to decipher the iconographic significations of portraits. De Jongh contends that what we see is the reflection of society’s standards of decorum. *Portretten van Echt en Trouw* (exh. cat.; Haarlem: Frans Halsmuseum, 1986). See Sheila D. Muller, ed., *Dutch Art: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

⁹¹ Chapman, “Home and the Display of Privacy,” 143.

The *jak* is essential to this emerging sense of the nuclear family and of Dutch national identity in the years following Dutch independence from Spanish Hapsburg rule. Women could now be portrayed in a newly intimate manner that contrasted with the somber portraits from a decade earlier while still portraying themselves as models of exemplary behavior since the *jak* was associated with positive attributes. The *jak* in portraiture reminded wives of their domestic responsibilities. Clothed in *jakken*, the industrious Dutch wives depicted in genre scenes and in portraiture reassured male viewers, some of who were their husbands, that they could bring order to the household and were virtuous like servants. At the same time, the rich materiality of the *jak* and the objects that functioned within the same domestic constellation celebrated the pseudo-modest riches of the Dutch home and nation.

5. 4 Sites of Warmth and Generation: *Jakken* by Fireplaces and in the Studio

Costume historian Bianca M. du Mortier has suggested that the cold climate during the mid-seventeenth century, known as “The Little Ice Age,” explains the brief fashionability of the *jak* from the 1650s to the 1660s.⁹² She notes that in 1647-8, the English soldier, author and lexicographer Henry Hexham had described the *jak* as a “Furred Jacket, or Coat to wear in Winter” in his *English and Nederduytsch Dictionarie* (1675).⁹³ As demonstrated above, however, the *jak* was not originally trimmed with fur or made of plush materials and did not necessarily come into fashion as a winter coat (although the later fur varieties could very well have served this purpose among rich women once it became ubiquitous among the upper classes). Instead, the *jak* was initially a garment worn by servants or working-class women as a mode of utilitarian dress. Its modification into the luxurious three-quarter length sleeved version seen in bourgeois interior scenes would have rendered it impractical for braving the long and harsh winters of 1642 and 1658. Dutch winterscapes do not depict women in *jakken*; instead they wear long mantles and sleeves. Allegories of winter, such as Joachim von Sandrart’s “December” (fig. 28), typically represented elderly men or women wearing another kind of fur garment, the *tabbaard*, an ankle-length gown with a broad, turned down shawl-collar and long wide sleeves. Whereas the *tabbaard* was considered *démodé* and pictorially linked with old age, conservatism, and cold weather, the *jak* was a highly fashionable article of female clothing that could be constructed from a variety of materials depending on the season or one’s economic means.⁹⁴ As Dutch homes only had fireplaces in the kitchen and side room and sometimes in bedrooms, it makes sense that the *jak*, trimmed with fur or not, could have been worn year round for its warmth and comfort. In seventeenth-century preventative literature and health guides, women were believed to be in more need of thermoregulatory garments than men because their bodies were especially prone to catch cold. Dr. Johan van Beverwijck, for example, thought that women were anatomically designed for “inner” or domestic things, their flesh being softer and their muscles being weaker than that of men. Males, on the other hand, were made of tougher sinew and bone, the better to withstand extremes of heat and cold, and the knocks and shocks of trade and travel.⁹⁵

Rather than viewing these jackets as “winter coats” I would instead like to discuss how in painting the *jak* becomes a locus of warmth that draws attention to a woman’s womb and

⁹² Du Mortier, “Metsu’s Paintings,” 132. See Pieter Roelofs, ed., *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2009).

⁹³ Henry Hexham, *English and Nederduytsch Dictionarie* (1675).

⁹⁴ For a complete discussion of the *tabbaard* and its iconographic tradition in Dutch art, see Marieke de Winkel, ““Ene der deftigsten dragten”: The Iconography of the *Tabbaard* and the Sense of Tradition in Dutch Seventeenth-century Portraiture” in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* Vol. 46 (1995): 145-167.

⁹⁵ Johan van Beverwijck, *Schat der Gesontheit* (Dordrecht, 1652), 160.

potential fertility. In genre scenes, the bulk and relaxed fit of the *jak* frequently obfuscates the shape of a woman's body beneath and counters the fashionable silhouette of the time, which was a very elongated and slim figure achieved by heavily boned bodices. Because the loose-fitting *jak* gives the female body an enlarged silhouette around the waist when viewed from the profile, several art historians have understood the *jak* as maternity apparel, especially when analyzing Vermeer's *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* (fig. 29) and *Woman Holding a Balance* (fig. 30), which appear to depict women in the late stages of pregnancy.⁹⁶ Costume historian Marieke de Winkel is hesitant to associate the *jak* with pregnancy because she argues that "pregnancy was not a common subject in art" and in the early modern period the condition was considered to be unattractive and indecorous.⁹⁷ She argues that pregnancy is sometimes depicted in genre painting but only in comical situations such as in Jan Steen's *Celebrating the Birth* of 1664 (fig. 31), where the heavily pregnant woman at the left wearing a gray *jak* is an illustration of the seventeenth-century belief that pregnant women indulged in excessive eating and drinking.⁹⁸ Karin Leonhard, however, argues that the woman in Vermeer's *Woman Holding a Balance* is clearly pregnant and that the painting is the artist's response to Western art history's Annunciation image. As an interior image that depicts the receipt of a message, it adapts all the conventions of this biblical scene's iconography.⁹⁹

In Vermeer's *Woman with a Pearl Necklace* (fig. 9) and *A Lady Writing* (fig. 10) the protruding bulk centered around the ladies' abdomen suggests that they are pregnant. However, the protective and enveloping swaths of the *jak*'s fabric render this intimate state ambiguous and hidden. The distinctiveness of the (faux) ermine trimming in these images, which was rare in other Dutch genre scenes and also uncommon in inventories requires a nuanced reading. Citing Ovid, Pliny, and other ancient texts, the anonymous authors of medieval and late-Renaissance bestiaries perpetuated the belief that ermines conceived through the ears and gave birth from the mouth, thereby associating weasels with the Virgin Mary and rendering them a type of talisman for pregnant women.¹⁰⁰ Jacqueline Marie Musacchio has demonstrated that a rich iconographic tradition linking newly married women, those soon-to-be pregnant, and birthing mothers with weasels and fur pelts called *zibellini* existed in the early modern period.¹⁰¹ As a type of weasel, the ermine could equally have functioned as a charm of fertility among women hoping to conceive while also conveying early modern connotations of chastity.

Surviving examples of religious paintings and of portraits from other regions in Europe in relatively the same period demonstrate that pregnancy was not virtually absent in art but actually

⁹⁶ See Walsh, "Vermeer," 79; Grimme, *Jan Vermeer van Delft*, 54; Salomon, "Vermeer and the Balance of Destiny," 216-221; Sutton et al., *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, 342-343. Nanette Solomon argues that the pregnant state of the woman holding the scales of destiny lends itself to the complex iconography of the painting which would have been carefully orchestrated by the painter.

⁹⁷ De Winkel, "Vermeer's Paintings," 331-332.

⁹⁸ This is the subject of a whole chapter (5) in Hippolytus de Vrye, *De tien vermakelijheden des houwlijks* (Amsterdam, 1678).

⁹⁹ Karin Leonhard, "Vermeer's Pregnant Women: On Human Generation and Pictorial Representation" in *Art History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2002): 310.

¹⁰⁰ Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, 'Weasels and Pregnancy in Renaissance Italy', *Renaissance Studies*, 15 (2001), 184. See also Tawny Sherrill, 'Fleas, Furs and Fashion: *Zibellini* as Luxury Accessories of the Renaissance', in *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, ed. by Robin Netherton and Gale R. Owen-Crocker, Volume 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 121-150.

¹⁰¹ Musacchio, "Weasels and Pregnancy."

celebrated.¹⁰² English portraits of women in advanced stages of pregnancy give “visual evidence of anticipated dynastic success” and also recorded the likeness of a family member who might die from childbirth.¹⁰³ Elizabeth A. Honig has also shown that pregnant women were depicted in Netherlandish art and not necessarily in a negative light.¹⁰⁴ The pregnant woman’s craving for expensive food is seen as natural and enables the viewer to visually enjoy the same objects without any ethical dilemma, as in the *Fifth Delight of Marriage: Pregnancy* from Petrus de Vernoege, 1678 and Frans Synders and Cornelis de Vos, *Elegant Woman Purchasing Apricots at a Fruit Stall*, 1616-1621.

Most of the subjects of genre scenes evoke Dutch Protestant family values, which lauded rather than opposed the pleasures of marriage and motherhood. From the start of the Reformation, Protestant theologians rejected the mandatory celibacy of priests, putting in its place a heightened valuation of marriage and marital procreativity as benchmarks of a good life. Jean Calvin echoed the views expressed by Martin Luther and other reformers when he called marriage “a good and holy ordinance of God.”¹⁰⁵ Reformers noted that God himself had instituted marriage by making Adam a wife from his rib, and that he had done so not to curtail Adam’s sexuality but to provide him with a companion. This view was buttressed by reference to Genesis 2:24-25, which appears to make the union of Adam and Eve the model of all future marriages and condones sex without embarrassment when it is practiced within marriage: “That is why a man leaves his father and his mother and is united to his wife, and the two become one flesh. Now they are both naked, the man and his wife, but they had no feeling of shame toward one another.”¹⁰⁶ While wary of sexual activity in general, Jean Calvin said that “whatever sin or shame is in it is so covered by the goodness of marriage that it ceases to be a sin—for the intercourse of husband and wife is a pure thing, good and holy.”¹⁰⁷

Procreation and pregnancy, then, did not counter Dutch religious or social principles but were seen instead as a celebration of marital life, which itself was essential to Dutch ideals of domesticity. Art historian David R. Smith groups the Hinlopen double portrait under the rubric of the “interrupted-husband” theme and suggests that Leonora is beckoning her husband away from his desk.¹⁰⁸ The sweetmeat she offers her dog implies that she wants Jan to come to bed. The intimacy suggested by her *jak* reinforces the erotic rhetoric of the portrait which was

¹⁰² See images of the *Visitation* which depict Saint Elizabeth and the Virgin Mary; Hans Holbein, *Portrait of Cecily Heron*, 1526, drawing, Windsor Castle (inv. No. 12269); Mildred Coke, *Lady Burghly*, c. 1565, Marquess of Salisbury Collection, Hatfield; Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (attributed), *Anne, Lady Wentworth and Her Children*, 1569, whereabouts unknown. Sara Piccolo Paci illustrates several Italian sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century examples in “Le Vesti Della Madre: Considerazioni Socio-Antropologiche dalla Preistoria al XX Secolo D.C.” in *Da Donna a Madre* (Firenze, 1996).

¹⁰³ See Karen Hearn, “A Fatal Fertility? Elizabeth and Jacobean Pregnancy Portraits” in *Costume*, No. 34 (2000): 40.

¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 158-159.

¹⁰⁵ Mariët Westermann, *Art & Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of Rembrandt* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001) 48; Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 1-25; Franits, *Paragons*, 66-68, 112. Reformers did not invent these views of marriage, which began to be articulated in the course of the late Middle Ages, but they newly championed companionable marriage as a greater good than mandatory celibacy. William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (Oxford and New York, 1988), 60, 136-7. Bouwsma discusses Calvin’s vigorous stance against celibacy, his advocacy of marriage, and his leniency toward sexual pleasure in marriage.

¹⁰⁶ Genesis 2:24-25.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 137.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, “Irony and Civility,” 415.

considered appropriate within the bounds of holy matrimony. The Nativity relief on the stove ties marital sexuality to sacred meanings as well.¹⁰⁹ In Ochtervelt's portrait of the Elsevier family, the orange that Anna van der Mast proffers at the center of the composition symbolizes the abundant fruit she has borne; significantly, all of her children, including the youngest, are assembled and presented to the viewer. The image of the frolicking putti hanging to the right alludes to the joys of family life, demonstrating that sexual meanings had a very legitimate place in Dutch marriage portraiture.¹¹⁰ These portraits of women wearing *jakken* echo the advice of contemporary moralists such as Jacob Cats that couples should not neglect their marital duties, including their duty to be fruitful and multiply.¹¹¹

Motherhood and childbirth were jointly celebrated in paintings of visits to the nursery and in images of the lying-in. One such painting by Gabriel Metsu (fig. 32) depicting the distinctly Dutch subject of the *kraambezoek* (lying-in visit) was commissioned by Jan Hinlopen in 1661.¹¹² In the image the parents of the newborn baby receive a fashionable well-wisher. The maid to the left brings a side chair and a foot warmer, the latter for use as a footrest while holding the baby. The refinement of customs and objects pertaining to childbirth may allude to the fact that mothers and especially infants often did not survive the experience. The lying-in visit therefore ritualized and attempted to stabilize a highly precarious family moment. Metsu instills *Visit to the Nursery* with a dignity and solemnity reminiscent of religious iconography and the image abounds with Christian allusions.¹¹³ The mother, with breast exposed, sits with her child in her lap, her feet resting on a rug of honor reminiscent of depictions of the Madonna and Child being greeted by an adoring worshipper. The scene is set in an imaginary *zaal* or *voorkamer* (front room or reception room) of a magnificent town house and represents the artist's idea of an extremely luxurious lying-in room. The painting over the fireplace shows a small ship tossed in a stormy sea, reminiscent of marines by Jacob van Ruisdael that date from the early 1660s. The seascape alludes to the perils of childbirth and to the journey of life that has just begun for the infant and the role that fate will play. Metsu modeled the room's main features (the fireplace with red marble columns and a frieze and putti, the black-and-white marble floor, and the doorway revealed by drapery) after the burgomasters' council chamber in the new Town Hall of Amsterdam, designed by Jacob van Campen in 1655. The image's reference to the Town Hall, Jan Hinlopen's new place of business as city alderman, is an overt allusion to the merchant's rising political career. Furthermore, Jan felt personally connected to the architecture of the Town Hall because it was considered to a great degree to be the creation of his father-in-law, the wealthy burgomaster Joan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen.¹¹⁴

While there is a general resemblance between the parents in Metsu's *Visit to the Nursery* to Jan and Leonora Hinlopen, Liedtke says that it is not strong enough to qualify the painting as a

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 414.

¹¹¹ Jacob Cats could be remarkably frank about the demands and delights of the marriage bed. He devotes a considerable portion of the fifth book of *Houwelick*, entitled "Moeder," to a discussion of sexual relations between husband and wife (see especially 248-53).

¹¹² It is almost certain that *The Visit to the Nursery* was painted by Gabriel Metsu expressly for Jan Hinlopen, the first known owner of the painting. Walter Liedtke, *Dutch Paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* Vol. 1 (New York, 2007), 76, 463-69, 502, no. 118 colorpl. 118.

¹¹³ Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., *The Public and the Private in the Age of Vermeer* (London: Osaka Municipal Museum of Art [exh. cat.], 2000), 152.

¹¹⁴ Liedtke, *Dutch Paintings*, 465.

“genre-like portrait” of the Hinlopens.¹¹⁵ The Hinlopen couple’s third child was born in 1660 and would have been approximately a year old when *Visit to the Nursery* was painted. Older children would not necessarily have been present during a lying-in visit but they might well have been. If this image were indeed a portrait of the Hinlopens, it seems strange that their other children were not included. Instead, a painting like this would have been considered a *conversatiestuk* (conversation piece) that evoked the Hinlopens’ world but did not portray it literally and in which various nuances of meaning and observation might be discussed and appreciated. The theme of childbirth in the Netherlands would have opened up for discussion a much larger subject, that of the family and of the various roles, especially those of women, played within in. It is of particular interest that Jan Hinlopen commissioned a genre scene celebrating childbirth and that in this image and in the Van Loo double portrait, both the new mother and Leonora are depicted wearing a fur-trimmed *jak*. Van Loo’s meticulous depiction of the bas-relief in the Hinlopen double portrait is likely a wish for Leonora’s impending pregnancy for she gave birth to her first child around a year after this portrait was conceived.¹¹⁶ The Hinlopen couple’s commissioning of *Visit to the Nursery* and its symbolism and costume reminiscent of their earlier marriage portrait expresses a fascination with the romantic procreative marriage.

Of further interest is the prominent role both the hearth and the fur-trimmed *jak* play in the Elsevier portrait, the Hinlopen double portrait, and *Visit to the Nursery*. In *Visit to the Nursery* the *jak* is clearly linked with mothers and childbirth. Its fur trimming gives warmth and comfort to the new mother, who, as suggested by contemporary health manuals, is more prone to feeling the effects of the cold than her husband. At the same time the *jak*’s sumptuous material renders it formal enough for receiving guests. The old woman seated beside the draped wicker cradle must be a *baker*, or dry nurse. The fur-lined robe that she wears would probably have been provided by the parents, with a view to the infant’s comfort as well as the woman’s own. The fur garments these two women wear render them sites of warmth and *gezelligheid* (comfort) within the image. Although in genre imagery the fireplace could allude to sexual passion, here it carries the domestic meanings of the hearth and womanly virtue. In both the Hinlopen double portrait and in the Elsevier family portrait the housewives are located next to the hearth.

In Van Loo’s portrait Leonora acts as a site of warmth and is positioned as the visual counterpart to the cast iron stove. Leonora Hinlopen’s olive-colored *jak*, whose plush material gives off an incredibly reflective sheen, turns its wearer into the locus of heat and light in the painting. Because literature on the humors perceived women as biologically wet and cold in contrast to men, images that depicted women in fur *jakken*, a garment that exuded sensations of warmth and comfort, attract attention to them as warm spots within the home that have the potential to be activated and controlled. Like the stove, which acts as container or vessel for exterior things that can be imprinted onto and into it, Leonora’s body, wrapped in a warm *jak*, functions as a metaphorical receptacle and site of heat and generation. Gynecologic writings and engravings well into seventeenth century embraced the metaphor *au courant* since the Middle

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ It is interesting that many women were painted during their first year of marriage, a time when many could have been with child, and yet show no signs of pregnancy are depicted in their portraiture. Reynu Meynertsdr Semeyns, who was portrayed by Jan Claesz on the occasion of her marriage (which took place 2 April 1595), must have been pregnant when she sat because she gave birth to a daughter on 24 August of the same year. Her state, however, is in no way indicated. The portrait is in the former orphanage of Enkhuizen. Reynu and her husband Jan Huygen van Linschoten probably sat between their wedding date and the second of July, when Jan left on an expedition to Nova Zembla; see also E. de Jongh, *Portretten van echt en trouw. Huwelijken gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (exh. cat., Frans Hals Museum) (Zwolle and Haarlem, 1986), cat. 15.

Ages that compared a woman's womb to a receptacle for a man's seed, which gave life to the embryo. The female organism known as the ovum was still predominantly described in terms that emphasized the receptive, protective, and nourishing functions of the woman.¹¹⁷ Seventeenth-century medical theories of procreation and vision claimed that images and objects in the exterior world could literally imprint ("*prenten*" and "*drucken*") themselves onto the mind of a pregnant woman and affect an unborn fetus.¹¹⁸ Jacob Cats discussed the power of external things and their images to visually infiltrate and have a major impact on a pregnant woman's body and on the development of an unborn child. Nicole Malebranche devoted an entire chapter to this subject entitled "Of the Communication which is between the Brain of a Mother and that of her Child."¹¹⁹ These theories propounded that formative forces could affect individuals as soon as they merely opened their eyes and permitted the external world to enter.

The biblical scenes of conception and birth literally impressed upon the surface of the iron stove reflects the Hinlopen couple's wishes and hopes for a child while also acting as a visual stamp that would impress upon Leonora's body her conjugal obligations each time she looked upon the painting. Genre scenes of the home or interior, in particular, can be seen as empty sites of potential generation. The walls of a chamber demarcated a space that we normally call an "interior" but which could just as well be called a "vacancy" or an "empty space". The definition of an interior is nothing more than the inside of a cavity. It reflects only the attributes of a receptacle, namely something from within to flow outward. This is based on the seventeenth-century notion that everything that even comes close to serving as a vessel is capable of opening itself up to the outside or closing itself off.¹²⁰

Karin Leonhard has argued that pregnancy could be conflated with the generation of images and with painting itself. The *jak* is an interesting vehicle through which to see this filtered. When women are dressed in the *jak*, a garment that is associated with childbirth and the regulation of women's bodies, they become a locus of potential productivity and fertility much like the artist's image, which is a blank site of production. In Metsu's *Young Lady Drawing* (1657-59; fig. 33) and in *A Woman Artist* ("Le Corset rouge"; 1661-64; fig. 34) both women in the art studio are portrayed wearing a fur-trimmed *jak*, suggesting a correlation between fertility, intimacy, and creativity. Frans van Mieris the Elder's poignant portrait of his wife, Cunera van der Cock (1657-58; fig. 35), depicts her dressed in a velvet, burgundy *jak*. She was about 27 years old at the time and had already given birth to their first son, Willem, when the portrait was painted. When recorded in the 1672 inventory of Franciscus de la Boë Sylvius, an internationally famous professor of medicine, the makers of the list thought it important to record that the portrait represented the artist's wife.¹²¹ Since she was neither a relative of Sylvius nor a celebrity, but merely the model for a *tronie* (a type of single-figure painting that was usually marketed as a sample of artistic virtuosity), the identification seems intended to emphasize the truthfulness of the representation. It suggests that the viewer's knowledge of the model's personal relation to the renowned artist added value to the picture. The *jak* serves to render this intimate relation more

¹¹⁷ Leonhard, "Vermeer's Pregnant Women," 302; "Houwelijk" Book 6 in *Alle de Wercken* (Amsterdam, 1658), 157.

¹¹⁸ Leonhard, "Vermeer's Pregnant Women," 293-318.

¹¹⁹ Nicole Malebranche, *Search after truth, or Treatise of the Nature of the Human Mind and Of its Management for avoiding Error in the Sciences* Vol. 1, Book 2 (London: Bennet, 1694), 145f.

¹²⁰ Leonhard, "Vermeer's Pregnant Women," 311.

¹²¹ Walter Melion, Michael Zell, Joanna Woodall, eds., *Ut pictura amour: The Reflexive Imagery of Love in Artistic Theory and Practice, 1500-1700* (London: Brill, 2017), 399. B. P. J. Broos, Ariane van Suchtelen, Quentin Buvelot, eds., *Portraits in the Mauritshuis: 1430-1790* (Hague: 2004), 261.

visible: here we glimpse a woman in her daily housedress. Van Mieris portrays Cunera as the perfect modest wife, with her hair immaculately combed back under the white coif. He shows that he alone has the intimate knowledge to skillfully replicate his wife.

While Cunera's *jak* suggests a relationship between husband and wife, the garment also suggests a relationship between artist and muse. The *jak* emulates the loose-fitting jackets worn by men in their studio. Inventories suggest that the *jak* was derived from the *mantelgen* or *bont mantelken*, versions of a loose-fitting fur coat similar to the *tabbaard*.¹²² By the seventeenth century, informal gowns were commonly associated with artists and scholars as seen in Vermeer's *The Geographer* (1669) and *The Astronomer* (1668). A lexicon had developed in early modern art and literature linking the loose robe or jacket with the exclusive social and intellectual status of its male wearers while simultaneously hinting at their worldliness and access to global goods. Martha Hollander argues that through its very folds and bulkiness, the informal robe evoked the physical substantiality of wisdom.¹²³ The intimate and private connotations of the oriental robe, in particular, as a prop usually within the private space of the study, could also be extended to encompass the private crevices of the wearer's own mind, whose imagination is fueled by the exotic and playful motifs usually printed on and conjured by these garments. The *jak*'s loose silhouette and informality renders it an appropriate female equivalent to the male gown and its fur trimmings lent an air of fancy.

Many portraits by Van Musscher, along with Jan Verkolje and Nicolaes Maes, show gentlemen in open robes that often are almost indistinguishable from pieces of drapery. The common addition of the classical column, also seen in the Hinlopen double portrait and which was pioneered by Rubens and van Dyck as an accessory for aristocratic portraiture, doubles as a reference to antiquity, accompanying the sitters' quasi-drapery.¹²⁴ The whole effect is one of casual splendor, exoticism, and timelessness. Furthermore, the long, wide-sleeved garment that Jan Hinlopen wears intersects with the kind of costume typically seen in history painting. Oriental dress used for history paintings was usually an amalgam of antiquarian and Asian or Middle Eastern styles, borrowed most often from Italian Renaissance art.¹²⁵ Almost all of the oriental robes adopted by European wearers were altered to meet western tastes in fashion. Since Leonora is meant to be seen as the female counterpart or other half to her husband, her apparel also seems to imitate his aristocratic aspirations. Could the depiction of the *jak* be Van Loo's attempt to elevate his portrait with apparel that was seen as classical and timeless? Several historians have in fact discussed how genre paintings and portraits tend not to depict very fashionable accessories or elements like *mouches* (face patches) because they were deemed too

¹²² In 1641 Matthijs Elsevier, registrar at the University of Leiden, left "1 bont mantelken f. 11.10" ("one fur coat") to his oldest son, Isaac. Lunsingh Scheurleer et al., *Het Rapenburg, geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* (1986-92), vol. 5a, p. 162. In 1630 Elisabeth van der Meulen left "noch 1 bont matelgen van boerecaffa" ("further 1 fur coat of a silk velvet with patterned pile designs"). *Ibid.*, vol. 6b, p. 573.

¹²³ Hollander, "Vermeer's Robe," 191. A few years after colonial scientist and physician Benjamin Rush had himself painted in 1786 wearing a mauve silk robe, he suggested that its looseness actually enhanced one's mental capacity: "Loose dresses contribute to the easy and vigorous exercise of the faculties of the mind... ." Benjamin Rush, *Letters of Benjamin Rush, 1761-1792* (American Philosophical Society, 1951), 96.

¹²⁴ Hollander, "Vermeer's Robe," 190-191.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* See also de Winkel, *Fashion or Fancy*, 255-61. De Winkel points out that Rembrandt, while he owned and copied north Indian miniatures, did not explicitly use them as a costume source. He got ideas from Lastman, prints of works by Rubens, Lucas van Leyden, and others. Venetian art was an especially rich source of oriental clothing images since Venice was a central city along the trade routes.

ephemeral and not timeless enough.¹²⁶ Portraiture is about momentarily arresting the passage of time, about making something transitory permanent. By contrast, the very purpose of sartorial embellishment is to be constantly open to change. The *jak*, with its loose fit and simplistic silhouette and trimming, seems to have melded the fashionability of contemporary fashions with the timelessness of history painting and allegories. The *jak* also seems to evoke Dutchness and stability, thereby rooting the housewife to the domestic and local spheres whereas the loose-fitting robe or coat worn by men speaks to a universal worldliness or globalism. This dichotomy between female domesticity and male worldliness is very apparent in the composition of Nicolaes Maes's *The Eavesdropper* (fig. 36; 1657). The mistress of the house wears a fur-trimmed *jak* and is literally positioned at the center of the household's architecture and social operations. Pressed against a pillar that buttresses the ceiling and stairway, the *jak*-clad mistress brings stability and structure to the home. The maid, however, instead of attending to her duties, has allowed herself to become amorously involved with her own guest, an elegant cavalier whose red jacket, fur hat, and sword are placed over the chair in the right foreground. The large wall map of the world hanging directly above his coat further alludes to his worldly ways.

Pregnant women, soon-to-be-pregnant women, or women who have just given birth wore the *jak* for comfort and possibly to conceal to their bellies. In most genre paintings, the *jak* celebrated female fertility and a woman's domestic role. The Dutch painter, in being able to bring attention to these things, draws attention to the bodies of young and pretty Dutch women as sites of warmth and potential productivity/creation similar to the work of art itself. The *jak* is about controlling warmth, especially in images of lovelorn or sick maidens. Seventeenth-century medical sources claimed that women were prone to suffering from a "wandering womb", which provoked depression, hysteria, and illness.¹²⁷ The causes of this disease was usually sexual abstinence and young women were encouraged to marry quickly. That lovesickness was associated with idleness, aggravated by celibacy, and cured by (maritally sanctioned) deflowering opened the pictorial type to comic possibilities. Dutch women in particular were predisposed to illness and sexual abstinence by their race, physiognomy, and the climate of the Netherlands. Because Dutch women were often perceived as willful, forward, and passionless, that is, at odds with the subservient feminine ideal, these images may act as wishful projections by men, who wanted to reinforce a notion of the male physician as a moral and physical guardian of helpless young women in need of male sexual fulfillment. The *jak*, as a garment that forms their bodies into warmer and more passionate ones, molds Dutch women into more compliant types while sexualizing their bodies and objectifying them as fertile vessels. Alison Kettering argued that Dutch women looking at genre scenes would have easily projected and indeed been socially conditioned into projecting themselves into the roles of the idealized and attractive women depicted therein: "at the most basic level, she could have enjoyed the imagined pleasure of posing center-stage, admired and perceived as beautiful. Equally immediate would have been her identification with the depicted lady's delight in wearing such a shimmering gown. By imaginatively projecting herself into this pictorial context, a woman transported herself into a milieu of leisure and beauty."¹²⁸ In the Hinlopen case Leonora would have encountered an exemplary version of herself that was meant to impress upon her mind and body the domestic desires of her new husband.

¹²⁶ De Winkel, "Vermeer's Paintings," 328; Marcia Pointon, "Accessories as Portraits and Portraits as Accessories" (Marburg: June 2011 conference paper).

¹²⁷ See Dixon, *Perilious Chastity*.

¹²⁸ Kettering, "Gentlemen in Satin": 111.

5. 5 A National Garment

Another reason why the *jak* was ubiquitous in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting is that its materiality and production demonstrated pride in the domestic textile industry. The silk industry flourished in Amsterdam by 1648 and lasted to the late 1690s.¹²⁹ Attempts had been made in the sixteenth century to grow mulberry trees for silkworm cultivation in the Netherlands but Dutch climate and the soil were not conducive to this. In 1603, the Dutch captured two Portuguese ships which happened to be carrying a cargo of raw Chinese silk amounting to more than had been imported from Lisbon in the previous twelve years.¹³⁰ Amsterdam's possession of so much silk stimulated the trading market which had been suffering from lack of silk due to war between Persia and Turkey. By 1636 raw silk was imported on Dutch East Indies trading ships directly from India and the Levant, indirectly from China, and later from Persia. Raw silk was processed in Holland and then exported to northern Europe. As a result of such growth after 1650, the Amsterdam silk industry could compete with the lucrative Lyon and Tours silk industries on the European market. Most of the silks sold in the United Provinces were locally made. The Dutch government's official sanctioning of the local production, purchase, and wearing of silks reflected national pride in and economic encouragement for the native textile production industry.¹³¹ The choice of silks was much larger by the mid-seventeenth century than at the beginning of the century, even if luxury textiles remained financially inaccessible to the majority of people. The highest quality silks were imported but strict limitations placed on importations of manufactured products by the East Indies Company maintained the competitiveness of Dutch silks on the European market.¹³²

Inventories have shown that the *jak* was constructed with a variety of colored silks and silk velvets. In genre painting they are some of the most vibrantly colored garments in the image. The *jak*'s presence in Dutch genre scenes then not only situates these works of art within a specific region but also within a particular period of prosperity and political stability. The younger generation of Dutch men and women wished to reject the somber, dark-hued Spanish-influenced apparel of their parents in favor of colorfully dyed silk and silk-blend fabrics as a renunciation of early Spanish political and economic control of the Netherlands.¹³³ The fashions for the brightly colored silk garments found in seventeenth-century genre painting also came about with the loosening of Protestant conservatism and sobriety.

The Dutch also had access to a variety of furs through trade with the Baltic Sea region. The burgeoning and powerful mercantile classes in Holland utilized dress, and especially fur, as markers of their inclusion within these emerging social groups and as material symbols of their internationalism and connections to a global market. In Nicolaes Maes's image of a young girl sewing (fig. 37), it is no coincidence that the interior in which the girl learns to be a model housewife includes a map of the Republic. The material objects of this girl's domestic world, to which she is physically relegated, connect her metaphorically and materially to the Dutch Empire beyond the seas, and the very jacket she wears fits into this network of imported luxury goods while grounding it within the Dutch home. The *jak* was also seen as a distinctly Netherlandish garment. In William Sewell's Dutch-English dictionary from 1691, he defines the *jak* as a

¹²⁹ Linda A. Stone-Ferrier, *Images of Textiles: The Weave of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Society* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 214.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 219.

¹³² Wieseman, "Acquisition ou Héritage?," 106.

¹³³ Stone-Ferrier, *Images of Textiles*, 219-27.

specifically Dutch type of female dress. Indeed, the *jak* is not represented in any other regions so foreigners and Dutchmen must have understood this garment as a specifically national garment. The *jak* reconciles the celebration of luxury and fashionability with Dutch local economy, national identity, and modesty, almost as if its humble origins act as an apology for its brightly-hued exuberance in Dutch painting. Because merchants were directly involved in the importation of goods and had access to the newest styles of dress and fabrics, they played a major role in dictating the latest fashions and the *jak* fits into this mercantile lexicon of trade, luxury, comfort, and bourgeois virtue within a commercial society.

The obsessive rendering of the *jak* was a source of pride for Dutch painters who were renowned for their technical skill in portraying different kinds of fabrics that were produced locally or obtained through Dutch ingenuity and mercantilism. Dutch art theorist Karel van Mander already commented in 1604 on the impressive innate ability of Dutch painters in contrast to Italian ones to render convincingly and to differentiate between various textiles. In Chapter 10 of his *The Foundation of the Noble Free Art of Painting*, van Mander instructs young painters in the rendering of drapery and argues that painting clothing and hair will showcase an artist's natural skill and invention (*gheest*).¹³⁴ The seemingly tangible rendering of textures was built on a tradition that was at least two centuries old in Netherlandish painting and was credited to Jan van Eyck's "invention" of oil painting, a medium that allowed for such virtuoso brushwork. Contemporaries often praised seventeenth-century Dutch painters for their skill in *stofuitdrukking* (the projection of materiality through the convincing presentation of textures and surfaces).¹³⁵ In De Lairese's *Groot Schilderboek* ("The Art of Painting"), first published in 1707, painters are told that the depiction of the human figure necessitates the rendering of clothes and it is important that fabrics are recognizable.¹³⁶ He writes that linen, silk, etc. should be recognizable by the way they are draped and that even the difference between heavy and light fabrics should be indicated. The artist should have several pieces of material in his studio because some phenomena are so subtle that they can only be successfully rendered if studied from reality. The surface structure of objects and the way in which their appearance is affected by light is also an important aspect of art. Leiden artists Gerrit Dou and Frans van Mieris, who frequently depicted the *jak*, were especially celebrated for their fine differentiations of texture, a style known as "nette", meaning neat or smooth. Dutch artists may have especially prized the *jak* as an opportunity to showcase their internationally renowned skills of realistically depicting a variety of sumptuous fabrics.

In the Hinlopen double portrait, Van Loo demonstrates his skills in distinguishing a multitude of surfaces and textures that can be seen in a rich burgher's home and on elite bodies. Such artistic virtuosity must have greatly appealed to Jan Hinlopen, whose professional responsibilities including assessing the quality of cloth. The white fur trimming of Leonora's *jak* is carefully differentiated from the smooth translucency of her pale skin and from the delicate and crinkled sheen of the fine silk dress she wears. The painter also demonstrates the difference between the undulating fur of the active dog, full of energy and movement, from that of the very static but plush rabbit trimming of the *jak*. Jan Vos (1610-1667), who served as "house poet" to

¹³⁴ Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 65-6. "Though one might try to master the painting of leaves, working assiduously after nature or after pleasing rendering...: Yet this studious pursuit of art would be like a delusion bodied forth: for leaves, hair, air, and fabric all are *gheest* and *gheest* alone teaches how to fashion them."

¹³⁵ Freedberg and de Vries, eds., *Art in History*, 3.

¹³⁶ De Vries, *How to Create Beauty*, 131.

the Hinlopen family, included a poem about Metsu's *Visit to the Nursery* in the 1662 edition of his collected works. Vos praised the picture for its lifelike depiction of different substances ("flesh and blood; yea, silver, wool and silk") and for its dramatic effect ("Art affects our eye with such extraordinary effect.... / Life can be created from dead paint."¹³⁷ The poem further extolls the painting's convincing narrative, commenting on how its astonishing lifelikeness allows men, that is male viewers, to participate in the lying-in visit, thereby transgressing established social mores. "The visitor politely enters the new mother's room, / Conversing animatedly with suitable restraint.... / Long a woman's privilege, to which men had no recourse: / Now art invites a man to see this mother and her babe."¹³⁸ It is the virtuoso depiction of the surfaces and textures of domestic life that permits the viewer's entry into this hidden and most intimate of spaces.

A painter's technical skill could also render titillating situations and fantasies of attractive *jak*-wearing women more real visually accessible to male viewers. In Frans van Mieris's *The Cloth Shop* (fig. 38), a smirking officer strokes the chin of a slightly disheveled clerk while he touches a cloth swatch on the table. The female clerk wears a plush velvet *jak* trimmed with fluffy white fur. The officer compares the textures of the silken cloth with the delicate skin of the clerk. And judging from her enticing appearance he can probably purchase both the fabric and its seller. An old man in the back points to the mantel above on which hangs a painting of the Old Testament tale of Adam and Eve mourning the body of their slain son, Abel. The banner lying on the Persian carpet on the right-foreground table is folded in such a way as to make its Latin inscription partly legible. It reads: "Comparat[ur?] cui vult." This can be translated into English very loosely as either "Purchased for the one who wants it" or "There are comparisons for those who want them." The meaning hinges on the word *comparat*, a conjugation of the verb *comparare* which means to purchase or to compare. Van Mieris meticulous technique reproduces a shop's diverse textures and surfaces, ranging from the assorted fabrics, the clerk's fur trimming, and her soft skin, to the weathered hide of the aged man and the airy feathers of the officer's hat, which is contrasted with the hard, reflective brass of the chandelier directly above it. The artist's skill arouses longing on the part of the beholder to purchase and possess both the image and the material goods, especially the clerk's fur dress, and the girl's body proffered up for view. The *jak* emphasizes the clerk's ideally domesticated body, which is warm and pliable, in the interplay between man and woman. However, our longing is mirrored in the envious gaze of the old man who cannot engage sexually with the young woman but is riddled with jealousy like Cain.¹³⁹ The materiality of the woman's fur *jak* offers still a direct comparison between animal hair and smooth human skin. As her fur trimming brushes against her décolletage and arms, the viewer is left to imagine what such contact must feel like.

In a late seventeenth-century English ode to the furrier's art, furs are praised for enhancing the beauty and drawing attention to the erotic charms of the fairer sex: "The Furrier adorns their Ivory Necks."¹⁴⁰ Allegories of touch through the contact between fur and flesh is

¹³⁷ Jan Vos, *Alle de gedichten van den poëet Jan Vos. Verzamelt en uitgegeven door J.L.*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1662), 654.

¹³⁸ "De vandster, die beleeft ter kraamzaal in komt treên, / Schijnt haar gezicht en mondt eerbiedelijk te reppen... / Nu noodt de kunst de mans om deeze vrouw te vanden." Ibid.

¹³⁹ Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 127.

¹⁴⁰ P.D., *The antiquity and honours of the skinner and furrier crafts : arms, skimmers, ermine on a chief gu. 3 imperial crowns, or furriers, parted per fess. gu. and ar. a pale countercharged of the same on the 1st, 3 goats of the 2d* (1690[?]), 3.

also explored in images depicting *jak*-wearing women with pet dogs (figs. 39 and 40). In these images a man is portrayed teasing or petting a dog that sits on its mistress's lap.¹⁴¹ The woman's gesture to fend off her suitor signifies her efforts to preserve her chastity against the onslaughts of a tempter. These images could also be construed in Petrarchan terms: the suitor's action could be one of jealousy as he attempts to displace the animal as the principal object of this aloof beauty's affection. Such conceits were found in several love poems from the period: "Fortunate little dog, your prosperous lot is envied: / Fortunate little dog, that so often enjoyed Celestyne's lap, / And, to my regret, was caressed by her so softly."¹⁴² The aesthetic quality of the *jak*, its light-reflecting hues, its textured fur trimming, and shimmering materiality allowed artists to demonstrate their virtuosity in representing difficult textures while also imbuing their depictions of women with sensuality, intimacy, and a sense of national pride since the *jak* was associated with virtuous consumption since its materials encouraged the local textile industries. Dutch painters aspired to dazzle the viewer with their creation of the *schijn zonder zijn* (semblance without being).¹⁴³ By reproducing an eclectic range of sartorial surfaces and evoking longing for the richly constructed fur-trimmed *jak* and the body on which it was draped, Dutch artists demonstrated the visual accessibility of Dutch housewives and material goods, which were equally desirable. At the same time that these women and their clothing are rendered visually accessible in Dutch painting through their careful artistic description, they were also the exclusive prerogative of the Dutch upper middle-class domain to which they belonged.

5. 6 Conclusion: The *Jak* as Still-Life and Fetishistic Proxy

In Cornelis Bisschop's still-life of a Dutch interior (fig. 41) a fur-trimmed *jak* is draped over a chair in a hallway. A pair of satin slippers are placed near-by and an open doorway to the left tantalizingly reveals a sliver of sunlight emanating from an inner chamber. A still-life painting of a lobster on a silver plate hangs above the chair and implies that the housewife is tending to the household's meal. The entire image represents the domestic domain of a woman, absent but alluded to by proxy through the unworn clothing she has left behind. The *jak*'s role as a fetishistic proxy for the missing woman is made all the more apparent by the molded shape the jacket takes on as if it has just been taken off and still retains the form and heat of the woman's body. Even though the *jak* was associated with feminine virtue when worn by patrician women, it was also an erotically charged garment since its prevalent visual associations with the female body implies that it could symbolize a woman much as a hat could connote a man even in images where women are not present. Discarded clothing and shoes often signified carelessness and the loss of virtue and in Bisschop's painting the actions of the woman in the next room are hidden from us. Unworn shoes were also, however, tied to domesticity. Since antiquity, the removal of one's shoes invoked reminders to women that they belonged in the home.¹⁴⁴

Several genre paintings, such as Metsu's *The Intruder* (fig. 42) and Frans van Mieris the Elder's *Woman Admiring Herself in a Mirror* (fig. 43), also include still-lives in the foreground

¹⁴¹ Both painters Frans van Mieris and Pieter Slingelandt explore this theme.

¹⁴² Franits, *Paragons*, 55.

¹⁴³ Freedberg and de Vries, eds., *Art in History*, 3.

¹⁴⁴ Franits, *Paragons*, 77. The symbolism of discarded shoes is found in Plutarch's *Conjugalia praecepta*, which originally appeared in the second book of Plutarch's *Moralia*. Judging from the reprints and its frequent quotation by moralists—including Jacob Cats—Plutarch's book must have been well known in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Plutarch, *Den spiegel des houwelicks*. . . N.p. 1575. A reprint of Plutarch's book is appended to Jan van Marcon-velle, *Van het geluck en ongeluck des houwelicks...hier achter is noch by-gevoeght*, 49. *gheboden of wetten des houwelicks door Plutarchus* (Wormer-Veer, 1647), 200-245.

of anthropomorphic *jakken* draped over chairs. These images toy with the viewer's access to the private spaces they portray, promising the exchange of confidences yet rendering the most intimate of these areas ambiguously open and visually or psychologically cut off. This tension between intimacy and public scrutiny, discretion and revelation, and domesticity and eroticism found logic in the *jak*, which relegated its wearer to domestic tasks while simultaneously epitomizing the urbanity and sensuality of Dutch elite society through its materiality. Indeed, in inhabiting the liminal spaces (collar and elbows) of early modern dress, where garment and flesh met, the fur-trimmed *jak*, much like shirts and shifts (undergarments that were visible at the extremities of the body), brought attention to tensions between the inner and outer self, private and public.¹⁴⁵

Dutch images like Bisschop's still-life functioned as complete double *entendres* for sexual innuendo but they were also didactic. In genre painting the very same scenes that served to illustrate riddle books could be combined with didactic verses and used as *specula virtutis* (mirrors of virtue) to teach morals and good manners to ladies and gentlemen.¹⁴⁶ Offering several different comments on the same picture was a popular game in seventeenth-century society. Contemporaries were allowed to give moralistic interpretations, to reduce the painting to risqué puns, or simply to enjoy the image it portrayed or its artistic quality. Seventeenth-century conversation was a highly developed art manifesting itself in *Gesprächsspiele* (conversation games) and riddles. It would seem highly unlikely therefore that spectators would have felt compelled to arrive at a single agreed-upon meaning.¹⁴⁷

In seventeenth-century Dutch literature, garments with rolled up sleeves were not only considered virtuous but were also seen as erotically charged. In the popular publication *Zeven duivelen, regerende en vervoerende de hedendaagsche dienst-maagden* ("Seven Devils, Ruling and Seducing Contemporary Maidservants"), a diatribe about the iniquities of maidservants, we are told that when maids begin to feel "man-sick" they flaunt their "half-naked bosoms" or tantalizingly "rolled-up sleeves" to expose "the whiteness of their arms."¹⁴⁸ An illustration in a small Dutch songbook of 1622, *Venus minne giftjens* (fig. 44), depicts a young woman scrubbing a barrel and wearing a *jak* with the sleeves rolled up. The inscription describes her rolled up sleeves ("uyt de mouw") as sexually enticing.¹⁴⁹ The inscription reads:

Even if she is just the maid, she's good at scrubbing

¹⁴⁵ As Joseph Koerner explains, these various ambiguities, nicely condensed in the French word *doublure*, meaning both "lining" and "stand-in", made fur an apt metaphor for the "doubleness" of man as body and soul, inner and outer. Fur linings also encapsulated the externalizing function of clothing in extending from the body. Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 171.

¹⁴⁶ Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, "Frauenzimmer Gesprächsspiele," in *Deutsche Neudrucke des Barock*, ed. Irmgard Böttcher (1641-1669; Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1968), 13-20; 113 on specialization; 107 on the different ways people can enjoy art; but above all compare the whole structure of his conversations, which are meant to establish standards for polished social discourse. Allan Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi: Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and Its International Background*, Lychnos bibl. 19 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960), 243ff. For a more general view, see K. G. Knight, "G. P. Harsdörffer's 'Frauenzimmergesprächsspiele,'" in *German Life and Letters* 13 (1959-1960): 116-25; Rosmarie Zeller, *Spiel und Konversation im Barock: Untersuchungen zu Harsdörffers "Gesprächsspielen," Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker* NF 58 [177] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1974).

¹⁴⁷ Jochen Becker, "Are these Girls Really so Neat?: On Kitchen Scenes and Method" in Freedberg and de Vries, *Art in History*, 158.

¹⁴⁸ *Zeven duivelen, regerende en vervoerende de hebendaagsche dienst-maagden* (1682), 116 and 130.

¹⁴⁹ *Venus minne giftjens inhoudende veelderhande nieuwe deuntjens* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Willemsz. Blau-Laecken, ca. 1622), 3ov~3ir. The etching is probably by Dirk E. Eons.

And if she is herself the lady, that is all the better:
She seems to be equally handsome and even with sleeves rolled up
So that I'd like to do the little job with her as well.¹⁵⁰

The exposure of the maid's arms renders her sexually available to the male viewer. It also suggests voyeurism on the part of the narrator who has intruded upon a forbidden intimacy, that of a woman with sleeves rolled up within the closed off sphere of the home.

Painted over and over again, the *jak* was fetishized as an intimate garment, close to the (equally fetishized) female flesh glimpsed so seductively on canvas. It transformed the hard and cold Dutch female into a luxuriously soft, warm, docile and industrious woman, perfect wife and maternal figure. Most paintings of women in *jakken* reinforced ideals of female behavior celebrated and promoted by men of the middle and upper classes. It's important to note that many of these generic images of women as the perfect housewife were produced by privileged male artists who were mainly concerned with selling their work to potential buyers, meaning that they were very selective in what they pictured and how they did so. The burghers who bought images of women wearing *jakken* and saw themselves reflected in such paintings had a political stake in the triumphant progress of their values and it is clear that the *jak* had the potency to conjure particular ideas about femininity in the Dutch Republic.¹⁵¹ These images instilled a sense of nostalgia for the present. The *jak*'s prevalence in Dutch painting implies that this garment was important to evoking intimate images of domestic life that complemented high-burgher notions of domesticity and household management, which in turn was a reflection of the order of society at large. Portrait painters and sitters took a garment widely worn in actual sartorial practice and frequently depicted in genre scenes of interior life in order to allude to popular cultural ideas about women and their roles within the home.

Viewing the *jak* merely as the inevitable result of harsh winters would appear to be reductive at best. The *jak* encompassed the changing values and feminine ideal of a newly born nation at its global economic peak. While the images under discussion demonstrate masculine pride in national success and love for the distinctly Dutch domestic ideal, some also show a certain urban unease--the blurring of the lines between high-life and low-life, the rival attractions of private and public--appealingly embodied by women in fur and silk who possess the elegance of the elite but behave with the warmth and affection characteristic of the lower classes. In Van Loo's double portrait of the Hinloopens, Leonora's rich fur *jak* alludes to the fur-trading origins of her father as well as to the premier access her husband has to the finest fabrics. While embodying high-burgher notions of the feminine ideal as a refined, young, and sexually attractive wife who is eager to "go to bed" and fulfill her conjugal duties, she is also portrayed as a model of pseudo-modesty, industry, and bourgeois comfort since she is dressed as if prepared to undertake household tasks. The portrait's clever utilization of the symbolism and attributes of genre scenes renders this portrait into a narrative about family virtue and the joys of domesticity and married life.

¹⁵⁰ "Al waert een dienstmeyt maar, soo kanse aardig schuren, / En isse selver vrouw', te beter kanzet sturen: / Zy dunckt my even knap, en wacker uyt de mouw, / zoo dat ick hare tobb' oock graagh' eens schuren wouw." Dirk E. Lons (?), illustration for *Venus minne giftjens...* (c. 1622).

¹⁵¹ Westermann, *Art & Home*, 79.

Conclusion

This project investigates what made furs so important and central to displays of identity in early modern Europe within the specific cultural contexts of Tudor England and the golden age of the Dutch Republic.

In **Chapter One** I examined transcriptions of sixteenth-century documents, period advice tracts, contemporary commentary on art theory and practice, recent scholarship on historical clothing, and royal inventories to present a material culture and social history of fur dress during the reign of Henry VIII. My history of the wearing of fur clothing in the Tudor period has also led me to the art historical question of what the donning of furs in elite male portraits signified. A close visual analysis of painted images depicting Henry VIII and male courtiers, and x-rays of these works. I discuss at length fur types and brushwork representing those very specific fur types.

The superiority of Holbein over his competitors, imitators, and successors lay in his depiction of legible fur passages. The legibility of fur in portraits of elite Tudor men was important because furs were markers of degrees of masculinity, social rank, and power. Although argued otherwise in literature, fur did not lose prestige during Henry VIII's reign but was the most crucial sartorial element in visual portrayals of upper-class masculine identity. Male clothing was most important in English sumptuary legislation because it was the most publicly visible sign of social standing and therefore of which man should yield deference in public even if the personages were unknown to one another. Failure to yield deference resulted in conflict, easily avoided with sartorial indicators. Deference was as central to all social interactions as assertion. It is apparent that within the complex hierarchy of elite men in Tudor England, those being portraited did not want to be depicted above their station. My evidence, to the contrary, points to individuals wishing to be portraited at exactly their station.

Chapter Two drew on a wide array of secondary literature, paintings, period texts about poetry, people, portraiture, health, period pattern and design books, as well as courtesy books, to render a vivid account of the presence and role of furs in Elizabethan England. Beginning with and anchored by a chronological account of portraits of Elizabeth as Queen, I explained why her royal image, unlike that of her father, was amplified by jewels, lace, gold thread, and silks rather than by fur. In her portraits fur (especially ermine) became an embroidered motif about purity and prerogative rather than a thing naturalistically portrayed. Contemporary accounts make clear that fur garments were, nevertheless, bought, kept, and used throughout the sixteenth century including by Elizabeth I in muffs and linings of capes while she and other elites were portraited in silks instead. Because hers was a culture in which elites shared visual and sartorial values, this emphasis on lighter non-fur materials extended to members of the court and other elites.

I argue that this shift in material preference is the result of several factors including the destiny of Elizabeth's portraits on the Continent where the new materials (silks) were sourced and the new technologies (precious metal threads for gold and silver embroidery and spangles) were developed. Especially important were Venice and Cologne to the influx of trade in new fashions in the English markets. I also point to courtier displays of taste, wealth, and expertise in their design of creative and individual objects of apparel; the association of furs with passive elderly men (professionals, state officials, scholars) with idleness and peace, rather than the court and the arena of action; a preference for a more precise bodily outline; a fear that furs were sometimes associated with illness; and the fact that the care of furs was labor-intensive to keep fleas, moths, lice, and mold at bay. I refute the usual art historical fault-finding with Elizabethan

portraiture in its emphasis on details of dress and its de-emphasis on details of the face and demonstrate that clothing, not the face as moderns assume, indicated the personhood of the individual as well as his/her social class.

Using wide-ranging sources as in other chapters (including probate inventories) **Chapter Three** explores merchant portraits in sixteenth-century London. The emphasis in these (almost exclusively male) portraits is on sober colors, especially black, and fur-lined gowns when that sobriety and use of fur was no longer fashionable at court. The fur, nevertheless, projected some of the character of furs for Henry VIII: prestige, authority, and masculinity, here added to signs of virtue, seriousness, dignity, and practicality as well as prosperity. I note that some of these merchants were involved in the international fur trade and in the importation to England of the bright luxury materials used at court so they were well acquainted with the most costly and fashionable goods. Nevertheless, disproving Veblen's "envy/emulation" hypothesis, they did not emulate their betters. Rather they created an international convention for the portrayal of members of the successful mercantile and professional classes in fur-lined outer wear. Urban elites were also curtailed by sumptuary laws but might have flouted those laws.

Peacham's theory of the merchant—as the class of individual who moves goods from where they are plentiful to where they are needed because no place is perfect in its resources—is a standard defense of this traditionally suspect figure who makes money out of movement, not out of production or fabrication. I also mention the investment potential of fur garments for those for whom land and jewelry were unavailable. A topic that requires further discussion elsewhere is how portrayals of fur dress, less crucial to visual displays of female authority in elite Henrician portraits, figured among urban elite women. Middle class women in sixteenth-century England were indeed portrayed wearing fur as proxy for their men and as wealthy widows.

In **Chapter Four** I continue to draw on a broad range of pertinent sources both primary and secondary, including economic history, the technology of beaver pelt processing, and the writings of Aphra Behn. This chapter takes us to the seventeenth century; it is comprised of extended exegeses of two paintings, Vermeer's *Soldier and Laughing Girl* of 1657, and Rubens's portrait of Susanna Lunden. In these images the beaver hat incorporates evidence of trade with at least three different continents (the Americas, Africa, and Europe).

Parallel to the commerce of producing new beaver hats, there existed a trade in the rescue, recuperation and resale of used beaver hats. France in particular specialized in giving these old hats new life and shipped many of them out to the Spanish and Portuguese, who in turn gave them as gifts to slavers, demonstrating their universal and global value.¹ What is more interesting is that even though France developed a highly sophisticated felting industry in the late seventeenth-to early eighteenth century, beaver hats are still indelibly linked in our minds to the Dutch of the Golden Age and to English elites and social aspirants. J. F. Crean argues that beaver pelts became more and more expensive in the 1700s, forcing hatters to turn to other furs.² He argues that the flow of beaver pelts from America was being used more for fancy fur, clothing, hence why there was still a demand for beaver in France. This is an interesting explanation for the decline in the beaver fur trade by the 1830s, which has been argued to be caused by the introduction of nutria fur and the fashionability of the silk hat. Sleeper-Smith argues that beaver pelts were still in high demand but that the beaver's near extinction was one of the main causes

¹ Susan Sleeper-Smith, ed., *Rethinking the Fur Trade: Cultures of Exchange in an Atlantic World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

² J. F. Crean, "Hats and the Fur Trade," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Sciences / Revue Canadienne d'Economie et de Science politique*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (1962): 379.

for its rarity.³ There's also something to be said about how prior to the late seventeenth century and before the invention of waterproofed protection, such as the umbrella, people only dreamed about what we now take for granted: going out into the rain and arriving at one's destination with dry clothes.⁴ It was only at the turn of the eighteenth century that the original folding umbrella was invented, perhaps making waterproofed hats no longer essential to urban life. Beaver felt not only made structurally strong hats in the early modern period but it was the only hat material that did not sag in the rain and that is key as rain is unpredictable and one of the reasons one would want a hat in the first place. The depiction of beaver hats in the paintings under study show the role they played in courtship and seduction. Courtesy literature, however, clarifies that hats were all about signaling hierarchy among men. Beaver hats were ostentatious symbols of masculinity that helped keep peace between males who are all armed with swords or poignards and very conscious of hierarchy.

Chapter Five investigated the appearance of the *jak*, a specific kind of fur-trimmed and/or fur-lined garment for women that appears to be unique to the Netherlands and to the middle decades of the seventeenth century. I asked what the meaning and significations of this little "informal" coat was within Dutch culture and within artistic practice. I proposed that it represented globalism (the silk from Asia, the fur from elsewhere), family values and the meaning of domesticity for elite women, and an opportunity to demonstrate artistic prowess in the rendering of contrasting textures for the artist. My decoding extended to the intimation that this garment was suitable for physical labor and therefore related to a national ethic of cleanliness and orderliness in the home and in the state, and a taste for "casual splendor" or New Luxury practiced among the Dutch upper middle-class and urban elite. Of further interest is how exactly the particular female silhouette produced by the *jak* worked in terms of the always foremost male gaze.

Throughout this project I have foregrounded the social life of furs. My investigation was about fur's "semantic properties" and especially issues concerning furs and identity and community—in life and in art. My interest was in the body in portraits as contributing to the sitter's subjectivity, identity, and self-fashioning. Each chapter contributes to a material culture of fur dress including usage, consumption, production, trade, and touches on the importance of sumptuary legislation, the social rhetorics of dress, and gender differences. I also investigated how furs were used differently by hereditary and non-hereditary urban elites. I emphasized that fur garments were actual objects and products of culture that functioned outside the visual arts. And yet fur was also inextricably tied to the visual arts in the necessary intervention of the human hand to transform it into a luxury object. Fur existed as a material manifestation that blended the natural world with the skill and ingenuity of human endeavor, rendering the production of the fashion garments discussed in this project similar to the art-making process. The painter's ability to render the density and sensual texture of fur trimming and lining amid an array of different sartorial textiles reflected his own skills in working pigment into very believable and tactile materials. The virtuosic displays of the artist's labor in painting fur as a material also reiterated the actual production of fur garments whose animal origins is crafted into a luxury commodity of more value than its raw components. Elite and middle-class men and women had themselves portrayed wearing fur garments at crucial moments in the social history of Tudor England and seventeenth-century Holland because fur possessed aesthetic and

³ Sleeper-Smith, ed., *Rethinking the Fur Trade*.

⁴ Joan DeJean, *The Essence of Style: How the French Invented High Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafes, Style, Sophistication, and Glamour* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007), 217-218.

economic value that rendered the work of art more beautiful. The appearance of furs also rendered identities in painted portraits more stable. Fur clothing, more so than any other sartorial element in early modern Europe, also allowed fashion-conscious individuals to express and then dismantle traditional significations of class and gender ideals so that they could construct new identities appropriate to emerging social groups.

Table 1. 1

Comparative status of furs in 1533 Act of Apparel*
(in descending rank)

*24 Henry VIII, c. 13: *Stats. Realm*, iii. pp. 430-2

Individual class, profession or wealth	Statute privilege (Each rank has the rights of those below them in the table)
“None below the rank of...” King Royal Family Dukes Marquises Earls Knights in Order of the Garter	“...shall weare in his apparelle...” Furres of Sables
Children of Earls Viscounts Prior of St John of Jerusalem Barons	Wollen Clothe made oute of this Realme except in bonnets Blake Jenettes (civet cat) Luserns (lynx)
Lord Chancellor Lord Treasurer President of King's Council Lord Privy Seal Ambassadors Those given clothes to wear by nobility Foreigners	Any furres, excepte blake genettes (civet cat)

Barons' Sons Knights	Furres of Libardes (leopard)
Bishop Abbot Prior Prelate	Stuff wrought or made oute of this Realme
Archdeacons Deans Provosts Masters and Wardens of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches Prebendaries Academic Doctors Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity Doctors of Law and Science Those on doctoral or B. Div courses	Menever (white squirrel) Foynes (stone marten)
Any clergy without the highest degrees (listed above)	Bever (beaver) Otter Lamb Foxe Grey fiche (polecat) Calaber (squirrel) Shankes (shanks) Bodge (imported lambskin) Blacke Conny (rabbit) Grey Cony (rabbit)

Knights' heirs Esquires Heirs of those who spend over £100 per year Those who spend more than £40 per year	Furre whereof the like kynde groweth not within this Realme Grey genettes (civet cat) Beaver Foynes (stone marten)
Those who spend more than £20 per year	Bodge (imported lambskin) Blacke conny (rabbit)
Those who spend more than £5 per year	No spending limit on below furs
Artificer Craftsmen Yeomen Those who spend more than 40 shillings per year	Most native furs allowed such as British lamb and rabbit Maximum 6 shillings 8 <i>d.</i> per yard
Those who spend less than 40 shillings per year	whitte lambe of Englisshe, Welsse or Irisshe growyng blake lambe Grey conny (rabbit) One cloth per item of clothing, maximum 3 shillings 4 pence per yard
Husbandman	No fur Limit on other textiles: 5 shillings per yard
Cow-herd apprentice Journeyman in handicrafts	No fur Limit on other textiles: 2 shillings 9 <i>d.</i> per yard maximum spending limit

Table 1. 2

***Comparative valuation of different types of furs in Tudor Books of Rates
from 1536, 1558, 1562, 1582***

Terminology: A “pain” or pane was a panel of furs that had been stitched together. “Pouts” or poots was the term for paws and furs made from the paws of animals. A timber was a group of 40 skins. The term “wombs” was used to refer to fur taken from the belly of the animal.

Money: *d.* = penny (12 pence to a shilling); *s.* = shilling (20 shillings to the pound); *l.* = pound (£).

N. B. When reading British Roman numbers, “j” after several “i”s as in “vijj” represents another “i” and so the number “vijj” would read as the Arabic numeral “8”.

Types of Fur	Valuations
Armines (ermine) the timber containing xl skinnes	xxs.
Beares skinnes the skin black Beares skinnes the skin red Beares skinnes the skin white	xvis. xxvis. xxxs.
Bever (beaver) bellies the peece Bever skinnes the role Bever skinnes the peece	viiid. xxs. vs.
Budge (imported lambskins) black tawed the dosen Budge black untawed the c. contayning Budge polles the fur containing iiii pains in the fur Budge Naveron (Navarra in Spain) the c. legs Budge Romney the c. legs Budge white tawed the c. contayning	xiiis. iiid. v.xx ls. xvjs. viijd. vis. viijs. v.xx xxs.
Callaber (squirrel) tawed the timber containing xl skins Callaber untawed the timber Callaber seasoned the pane Callaber stage (raw, unseasoned) the pane	vis. viiid. vs. xvjs. xs.
Cats pouts the mantle Cats pouts the c. containing Cats wombes the pane Cats skins the c. containing	vs. v.xx xiijs. iiid. vs. v.xx xvjs. viijd.

Duckers (dockerers, fur made of the skin of the weasel) the timber	vis. viijd.
Fitches (polecat) the mantle Fitches the timber	xs. vis. viijd.
Foyne (stone marten) backs the dosen Foine tailes the pane Foyne wombes the pane Foyne wombes the stage the pane	vjs. viijd. xs. xvjs. xs.
Fox skinnes the pane or mantle Fox skinnes the peece Fox wombes, poules or peeces the pane	xs. viijd. viijd.
Gray (grey fur, usually the badger) tawed the timber Gray untawed the timber	xs. vjs. viiid.
Grayes skinnes called flying gray (squirrel) the peece Grayes skinnes the skin	vjs. viijd. viijjs.
Jenets (civet cat) black raw the peece Jennets black seasoned the peece Jenets gray raw the peece Jennets gray raw the timber	xs. xiijjs. iiiid. ijs. vjd. vl.
Letwis (snow-weasel; a kind of whitish grey fur, sometimes applied to the polecat) the barrel containing ii c. at v.xx xii li. the c. Letwis the but containing v timbers Letwis tawed the timber Letwis untawed the timber	xxs. xxxiijs. iiijd. vis. viijd. vs.
Liberds (leopard) the pane of wombes Liberd skinnes the peece Liberd look in Lyons	iiijl. xxs.
Luzerns (lynx) the peece	xls.
Marterons (marten) tawed the timber containing xl skinnes Marteron gilles the timber	xl. viijjs.

Miniver (squirrel) the mantle	vjs. viiid.
Minks untawed the timber Minks tawed the timber	xls. liijs. iiiid.
Moule (mole) skinnes the dosen	vjd.
Otter skinnes the peece	ijs.
Ounce (lynx) skinnes the peece	xs.
Sables the timber of the best containing xl skinnes Sables of the second sorte the timber Sables of the wurst the timber	lxl. xxxl. xiiijl. vis. viiid.
Wesel (weasel) skinnes the dosen	iiijd.
Wolves skinnes tawed the skin Wolves skinnes untawed the skin	xxs. xviijs. viijd.

Chapter One

Images



Figure 1. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Whitehall Mural Cartoon*, 1536-7, ink and watercolor, 257.8 cm x 137.2 cm. The National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 2. Studio of Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII*, 1537-1562, oil on oak panel, 238.2 cm x 134.2 cm. The Walker Art Center, Liverpool.



Figure 3. Studio of Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII*, 1537-57, oil on oak panel, 238.2 cm x 122.1 cm. Petworth House, The Egremont Collection, Sussex.



Figure 4. Hans Eworth after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII*, 1560-73, oil on oak panel, 221 cm x 124 cm. The Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.



Figure 5. After Hans Holbein the Younger, *Portrait of Henry VIII*, after 1560, oil on canvas, 223.5 cm x 147 cm. Collection at Parham House and Garden, West Sussex.



Figure 6. After Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII*, c. 1567, oil on oak panel, 229.6 cm x 124.1 cm. The Masters, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Cambridge.



Figure 7. After Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII*, early 17th c., oil on canvas, 217 cm x 147.2 cm. The Duke and Duchess of Rutland, Belvoir Castle.



Figure 8. Attributed to William Scrots, *Edward VI*, 1546, oil on panel, 114.3 cm x 87 cm. Royal Collection, Windsor.



Figure 9. Unknown Netherlandish artist, *Henry VII*, 1505, oil on oak panel, 42.5 cm x 30.5 cm. The National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 10. Donatello, *St. George*, 1415-17, marble. Bargello Museum, Florence



Figure 11. Andrea del Castagno, *Pippo Spano*, fresco, 1447. Sant'Apollonia, Florence.



Figure 12. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study of Family of Thomas More*, c. 1527, pen and brush in black on top of chalk sketch, 38.9 cm x 52.4 cm. Kunstmuseum, Basel.



Figure 13. Hans Holbein the Younger, *William Warham*, 1527, oil on oak panel, 82 cm x 67 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 14. British School, *Henry VIII*, 1535-36, oil on oak panel, 48.9 cm x 35.6 cm. Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.



Figure 15. British School, *Henry VIII*, 1535-40, oil on panel, 57.2 cm x 42.5 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 16. British School, *Henry VIII*, 1535-40, oil on panel, 58.4 cm x 44.5 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 17. Joos van Cleve, *Henry VIII*, 1535, oil on panel, 72.4 cm x 58.6 cm. The Royal Collection, Hampton Court.



Figure 18. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study of Henry VIII*, c. 1536, black, red, and white chalk on paper, 30.7 cm x 24.4 cm. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.



Figure 19. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study of William Warham*, 1527, black, white, and colored chalks, with traces of silverpoint on paper, 49.7 cm x 30.9 cm. Royal Collection, Windsor.



Figure 20. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study of Lady Mary Guildford*, 1527, black and colored chalks on paper, 55.2 cm x 38.5 cm. Kunstmuseum Basel, Switzerland.

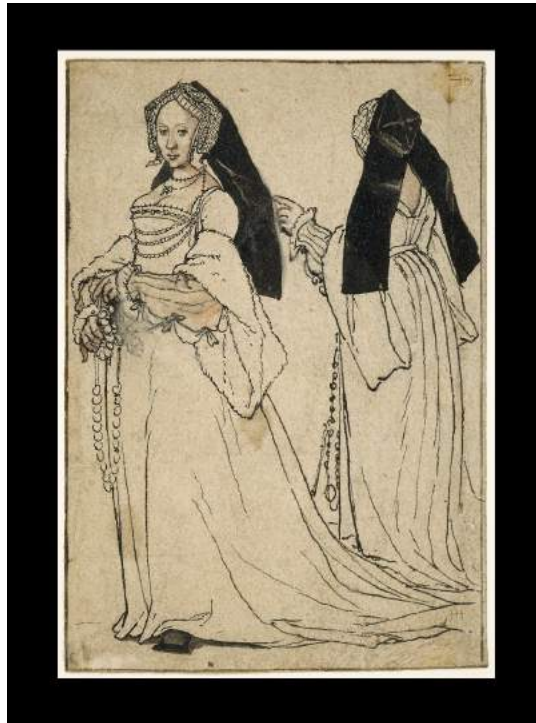


Figure 21. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study of an Englishwoman's costume*, 1532-5, brown ink and pink and gray wash on paper, 15.9 cm x 11 cm. British Museum, London.



Figure 22. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study of George Neville*, 1530s, black and colored chalks, black pen and ink, yellow wash, white bodycolor on pink-primed paper, 27.3 cm x 24.1 cm. Wilton House, Salisbury.



Figure 23. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study of unknown woman, thought to be Anne Boleyn*, c. 1536, black and colored chalks on pink prepared paper, 28.1 cm x 19.2 cm. Royal Collection, Windsor.



Figure 24. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Study of Lady Margaret Butts*, 1541-43, black and colored chalks, pen and ink, brush and ink and metal point on pale pink prepared paper, 37.7 cm x 27.2 cm. Royal Collection Trust.



Figure 25. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Thomas More*, 1527, oil on panel, 74.9 cm x 60.3 cm. The Frick Collection, New York.



Figure 26. Anglo-Netherlandish artist, *Thomas Wentworth*, 1547-50, oil on panel, 77.1 cm x 73.4 cm. The National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 27. John Bettes the Elder, *Unknown man*, 1545, oil on panel, 47 cm x 41 cm. Tate Gallery, London.



Figure 28. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Anne Lovell(?)*, 1526-28, oil on oak, 56 cm x 38.8 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 29. Anglo-Netherlandish artist after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Thomas Cromwell*, 1530s, oil on canvas, 49 cm x 36 cm. Petworth House and Park, West Sussex.



Figure 30. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Thomas Cromwell*, 1532-33, oil on oak panel, 78.4 cm x 64.5 cm. The Frick Collection, New York.



Figure 31. Remigius van Leemput after Hans Holbein the Younger, *Whitehall Mural*, 1667, oil on canvas, 88.9 cm x 98.7 cm. The Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.



Figure 32. Attributed to Jan Cornelis Vermeyen, *William Paget*, 1549, oil on panel, 128.3 cm x 83.8 cm. Plas Newydd, Anglesey.



Figure 33. Gerlach Flicke, *Archbishop Thomas Cranmer*, 1545, oil on panel, 98.4 cm x 76.2 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 34. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Miniature of Royal Servant*, 1534, oil on limewood, diameter: 11.8 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Figure 35. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Miniature of Unidentified Woman*, 1534, oil on limewood, diameter: 11.8 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Figure 36. Attributed to Master John, *Katherine Parr*, c. 1545, oil on panel, 180.3 cm x 94 cm.
National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 37. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Miniature of Margaret Roper*, 1535-36, bodycolor on vellum mounted on card, diameter: 4.5 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 38. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Lady Margaret Butts*, 1541-43, oil on panel, 47.2 cm x 36.9 cm. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.



Figure 39. Hans Eworth, *Mary Fiennes*, 1555, oil on panel, 73.7 cm x 57.8 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



Figure 40. Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors*, 1533, oil on oak panel, 207 cm x 209.5 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 41. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Thomas Howard*, c. 1539, oil on panel, 80.3 cm x 61.6 cm. Royal Collection, Windsor.

Figure 42. Wildman



Figure 43. Anglo-Flemish School, *Prince Arthur*, c. 1500, oil on oak panel, 27.9 cm x 17.8 cm. Private Collection.



Figure 44. Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, *Henry VIII*, c. 1520, oil on panel, 50.8 cm x 38.1 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 45. Unknown artist, *Illustration of Henry VIII at prayer* from *The Black Book (Liber Niger) of the Garter*, 1534-51, painted vellum. Reproduced by permission of the Dean and Canons of Windsor.



Figure 46. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry Guildford*, 1527, oil on panel, 82.6 cm x 66.4 cm. Royal Collection.



Figure 48. Unknown artist, *The Family of Henry VIII* (detail), c. 1545, 141 cm x 355 cm. The Royal Collection, Hampton Court.



Figure 49. Hans Holbein the Younger, *King Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons*, c. 1540, oil on oak panel, 108 cm x 312.4 cm. The Worshipful Company of Barber.



Figure 50. British School, *William Sharington*, 1545-53, oil on canvas, 109.3 cm x 83.2 cm. Lacock, Wiltshire.



Figure 51. John Bettes the Elder, *William Cavendish*, 1552, oil on panel. Chatsworth House.



Figure 52. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Robert Cheseman*, 1533, oil on panel, 58.8 cm x 62.8 cm. Royal Picture Gallery, Mauritshuis, The Hague.

Chapter Two

Images



Figure 1. Hans Eworth, *Mary I*, 1554, oil on oak panel, 104 cm x 78 cm. Collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London.



Figure 2. Hans Eworth, *Mary I*, 1555-8, oil on panel, 25.1 cm x 19.1 cm. Private collection, USA.



Figure 3. British School, *Elizabeth I*, also known as *The Clopton Portrait*, 1558-60, oil on panel, 67.5 cm x 48.9 cm. Clopton House (National Trust).



Figure 4. British School, *Elizabeth I*, 1558-60. Philip Mould Ltd., London.



Figure 5. British School, *Elizabeth I*, 1558-60, 39.4 cm x 27.3 cm. The National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 6. British School, *Elizabeth I*, also known as *The Coronation Portrait*, c. 1600, oil on panel, 127.3 cm x 99.7 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 7. Unknown artist, *Emblem 75: "Cui candor morte redemptus"* ("Purity bought with his own death") in Henry Peacham's *Minerua Britannia or A garden of heroical deuises*, 1612, engraving.



Figure 8. After Hans Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII*, 1537-1557, oil on oak panel, 238.2 cm x 122.1 cm. Petworth House, The Egremont Collection (National Trust), Sussex.



Figure 9. Attributed to Joris Hoefnagel, *Elizabeth I and the Three Goddesses*, 1569, oil on panel, 70.8 x 84.5. Royal Collection.

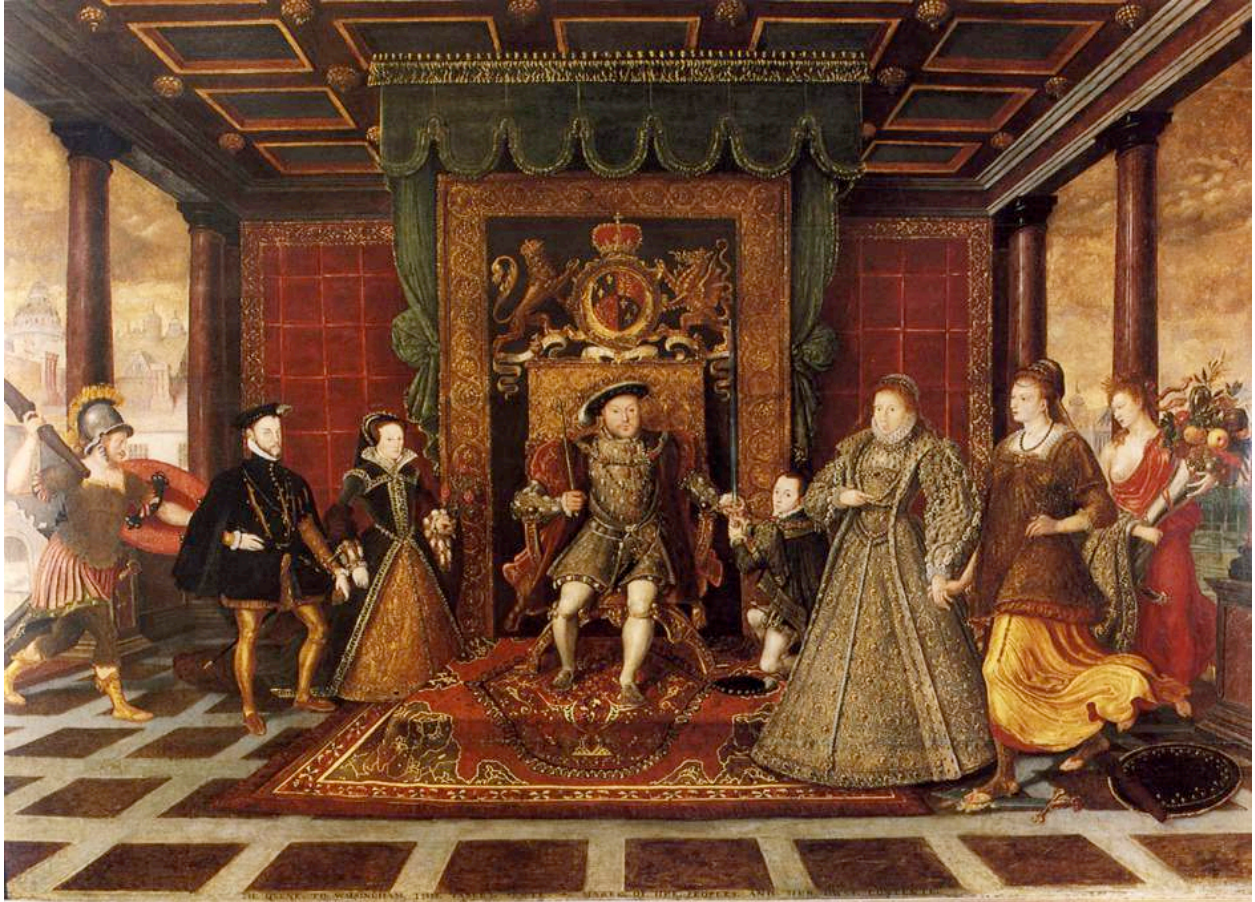


Figure 10. Lucas de Heere, *The Allegory of Tudor Succession*, c. 1572, oil on panel, 129.5 x 180.5 cm. Sudeley Castle, Winchcombe, Gloucestershire.



Figure 11. Nicholas Hilliard, *Elizabeth I*, also known as *The Pelican Portrait*, c. 1575, oil on panel, 78.7 cm x 61 cm. Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.



Figure 12. Attributed to William Segar, *Elizabeth I*, also known as *The Ermine Portrait*, 1585, Oil on panel, 96 cm x 86.4 cm. Hatfield House (National Trust).



Figure 13. Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Elizabeth I*, also known as *The Ditchley Portrait*, c. 1592, oil on canvas, 241.3 cm x 152.4 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 15. British School, *Unidentified noblewoman*, 1598. Dover District Council.



Figure 16. British School, *Elizabeth I*, c. 1598, oil on panel, 86.36 cm x 114.3 cm. Dover District Council.



Figure 17. Attributed to John de Critz, *Unidentified noblewoman*, c. 1590, 103.5 cm x 83 cm.
Private collection.



Figure 18. British School, *Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford*, c. 1603, oil on panel, 191.4 cm x 113.8 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 19. British School, *Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex*, 1570-75, oil on panel, 193 cm x 111.1 cm. The Master, Fellows and Scholars of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.



Figure 20. After Hans Holbein the Younger, *Lady Margaret Gray, née Wotton, Marchioness of Dorset*, late 16th century after original from 1530s, oil on panel, 41 cm x 32.2 cm. Anglesey Abbey, Cambridgeshire (National Trust).



Figure 21. Attributed to William Scrots, *Edward VI as Prince of Wales*, 1546, oil on panel, 114.3 cm x 87 cm. Royal Collection, Windsor.



Figure 22. British School, *King James V, King of Scotland and Mary of Guise, Queen of Scotland*, after 1538, oil on panel, 109.2 cm x 143.5 cm. Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust).



Figure 23. British School, *Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford*, 1615, 211 cm x 129 cm.
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



Figure 24. Rowland Lockey, *Sir Thomas More, his father, his household, and descendants*, 1593, oil on canvas, 227.4 cm x 330.2 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 25. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Sir Thomas More and Family*, c. 1527, pen and brush in black on top of chalk sketch, 38.9 cm x 52.4 cm. Kunstmuseum, Basel.



Figure 25. Unknown artist, *William Cecil, Baron of Burghley*, 1570s, oil on panel, 49.5 cm x 39.4 cm. Dunham Massey, Cheshire (National Trust).



Figure 26. Hieronimo Custodis, *Elizabeth Brydges, later Lady Kennedy*, 1589, oil on canvas, 92 cm x 69.8 cm. Marquess of Tavistock and Trustees of the Beford Estate.



Figure 27. Hans Eworth, *Margaret Audley, Duchess of Norfolk*, 1562, oil on panel. Collection of Lord Braybrooke.



Figure 28. Unknown artist, *Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton*, c. 1598, oil on panel, 142.2 cm x 89 cm. The Buccleuch Collection, Boughton House, Northamptonshire.



Figure 29. Unknown artist, *A Young Lady Aged 21*, possibly *Helena Snakenborg*, later *Marchioness of Northampton*, 1569, oil on panel, 62.9 cm x 48.3 cm. Tate Britain, London.



Figure 30. Attributed to George Gower, *Elizabeth I*, also known as *The Armada Portrait*, oil on panel, 105.4 x 133.5 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 31. Anglo-Netherlandish artist, *William Cecil, Baron of Burghley*, 1580s, oil on canvas, 130.2 cm x 110.5 cm. The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.



Figure 32. Antonis Mor, *Sir Henry Lee*, 1568, oil on panel, 64.1 cm x 53.3 cm., National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 33. Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, *Hart Family Triptych*, 1575, oil on canvas. Lullingstone Castle, Kent.



Figure 34. Unknown artist, *Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester*, c. 1575, oil on panel, 198 cm x 82.6 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 35. Anglo-Netherlandish artist, *Elizabeth I in white doublet*, c. 1575.



Figure 36. Guillaume Scrots, *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, 1546, oil on canvas 222.4 cm x 219.9 cm. The National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 37. Rowland Lackey, *The More Family, Household, and Descendants*, 1593-4, gouache on vellum on card, 24.6 cm x 29.4 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

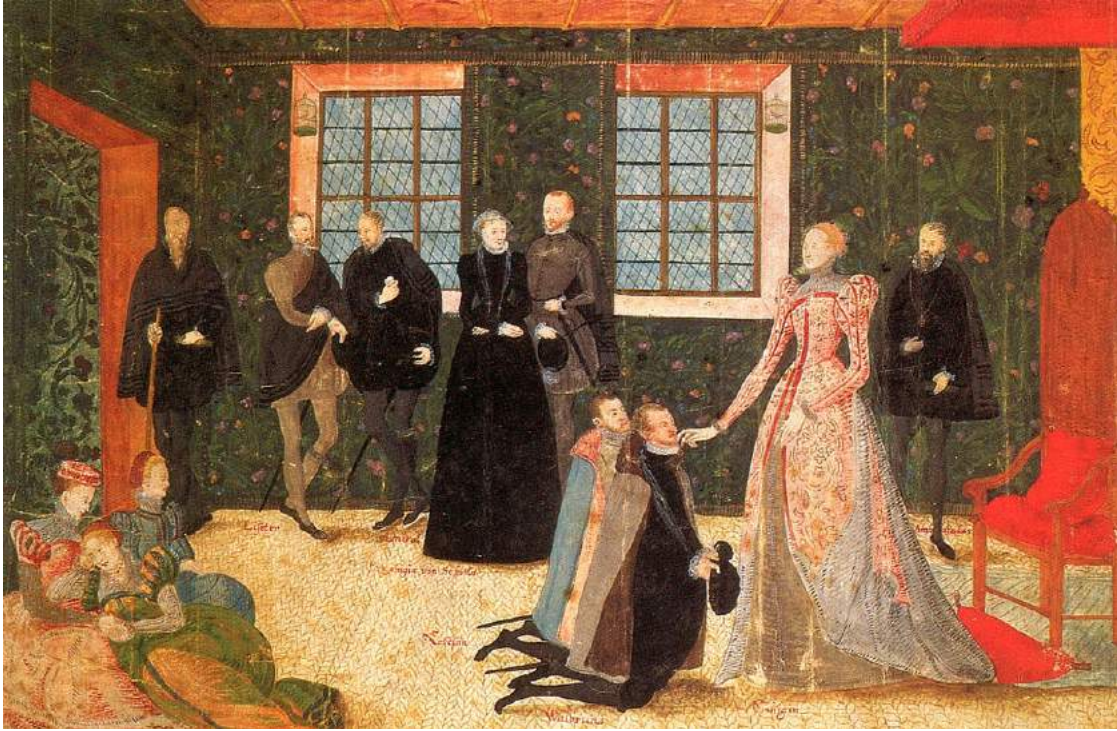


Figure 38. Attributed to Levina Teelinc, *Elizabeth I receiving Dutch ambassadors*, 1560s.



Figure 39. William Rogers, *Elizabeth I*, c. 1588, engraving, 24 cm x 19.8 cm. Royal Trust.



Figure 40. *Elizabeth I*



Figure 41. William Larkin, *Elizabeth Cary* (?), c. 1614-18, oil on canvas, 205.8 cm x 121.4 cm. Suffolk Collection.



Figure 42. William Larkin, *Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset*, 1613, oil on canvas, 206.4 cm x 122.3 cm. National Trust.

Chapter Three

Images



Figure 1. Unknown English artist, *John Isham*, c. 1567, oil on panel. Lamport Hall, Northamptonshire.



Figure 2. Account books of John Isham (front view and side view), mid-late sixteenth century. Northampton County Record Office.



Figure 3. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Georg Gisze*, 1532, oil on panel. Painting Gallery, National Museums in Berlin.



Figure 4. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Dirck Tybis*, 1533, oil on panel. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Figure 5. Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Ambassadors*, 1533, on oak panel, 207 cm x 209.5 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 6. Unknown German artist, *Clement Newce*, c. 1545, oil on panel. Private collection.



Figure 7. Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist, *Possibly Sir William Hewett*, 1550-1555, oil on panel. On loan to the Museum of London.

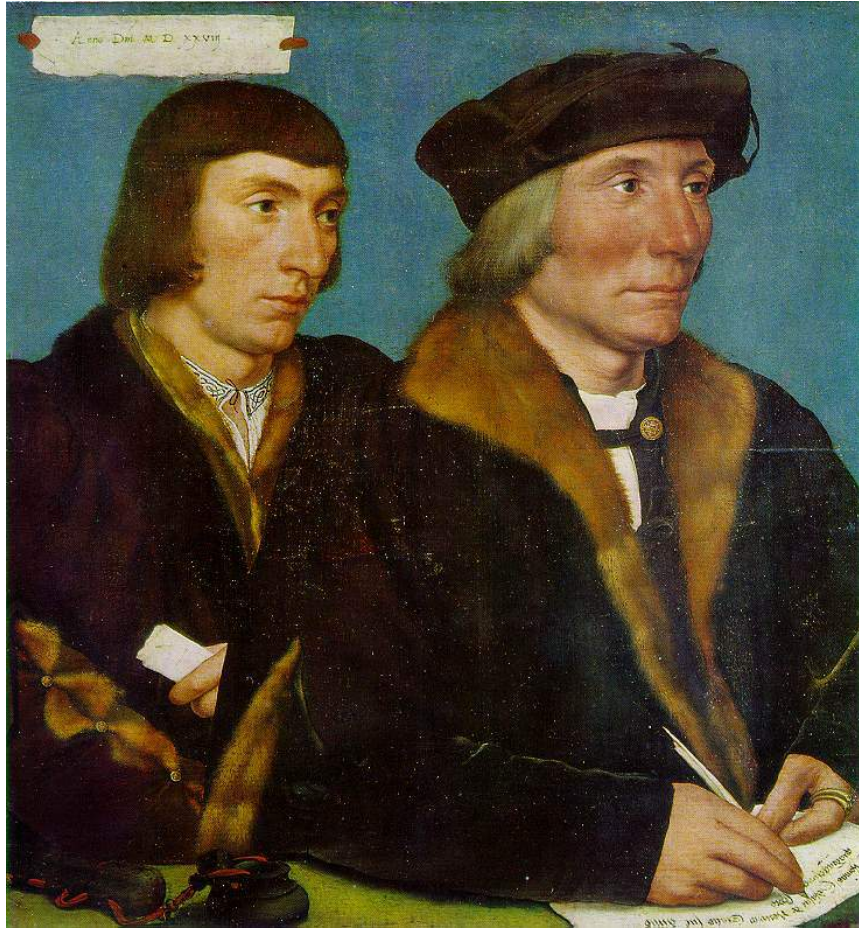


Figure 8. Hans Holbein the Younger, *Thomas and John Godsalve*, 1528, oil on panel. Gemaldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden.

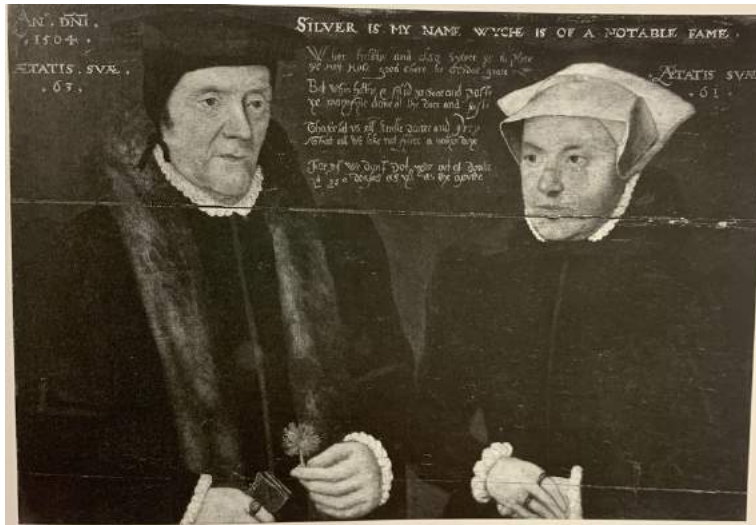


Figure 9. Unknown English artist, *Double Portrait of a Husband and Wife, Members of the Silver Family*, 1564, oil on panel. Location unknown.



Figure 10. Unknown English artist, *Sir William Chester*, c. 1560, oil on panel. Drapers' Company, London.



Figure 11. Lucas de Heere, *Mayor and Alderman* from manuscript *Corte Beschryuinghe van Engeland, Schotland, ende Irland*, c. 1574, pen and ink with wash. British Library, London.

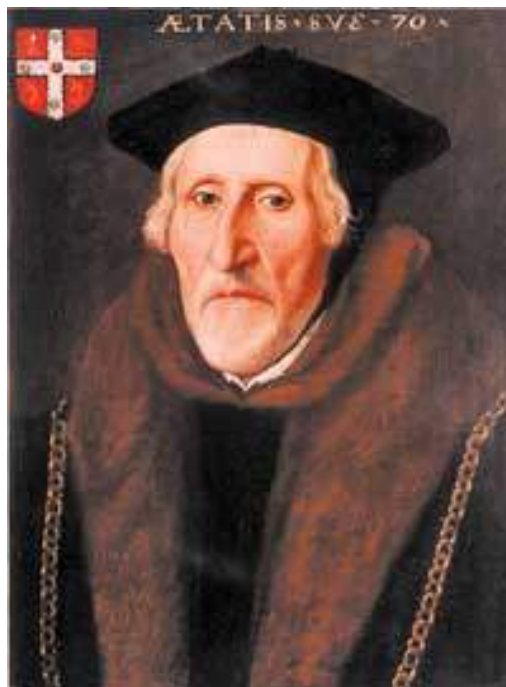


Figure 12. Unknown English artist, Sir Thomas Leigh, c. 1570, oil on panel. Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire.



Figure 13. Unknown English artist, *John Vernon*, c. 1610, oil on panel. Merchant Taylors' Hall, London.



Figure 14. Cesare Ripa, "Phlegmatic humor" from *Iconologia*, c. 1610.

Chapter Four

Images

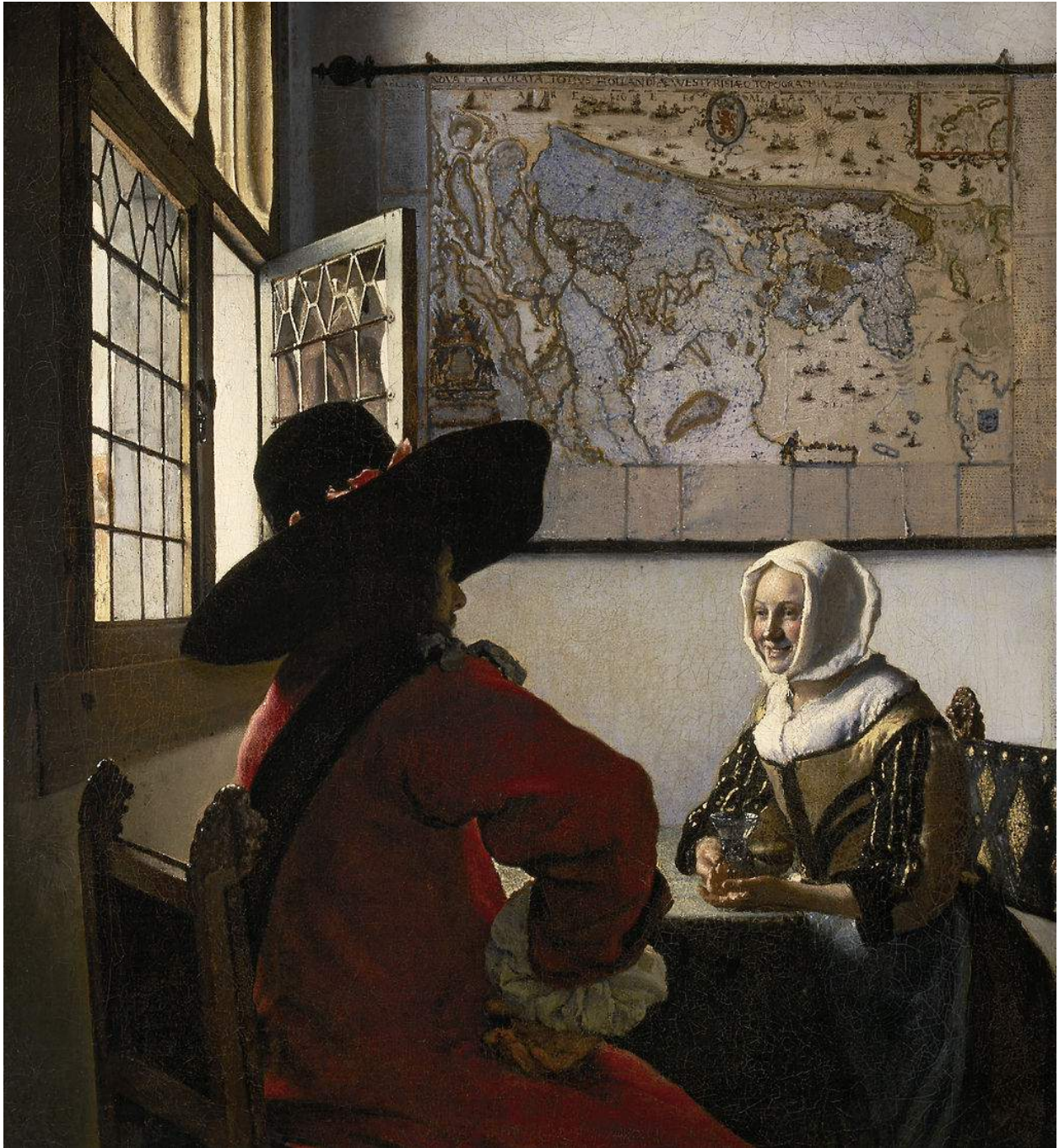


Figure 1. Johannes Vermeer, *Soldier and Laughing Girl*, 1657, oil on canvas, 50.48 cm x 46.04 cm. The Frick Collection, New York.



Figure 2. Unknown, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his son*, 1602, oil on canvas, 199.4 cm x 127.3 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 3. Jan Cossiers, *Man with a Wide-Brimmed Hat*, 1630s, oil on panel, 105.5 cm x 73.5 cm.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

OF THE BEAVER.

Male and Female.

Of the name

It is called

The beaver is called in Latin

The beaver is called in Latin

The beaver is called in Latin



Beaver is called in Grecke *Caster*, in Latine *Fiber*, in Italian *Zibetto*, or *Bevera*, and in Spanish *Castor*, in French *Castor*, & some time *Castor*; in Illyrian, *Dobr*, in Germane *Liber*, all which wordes are derived from the Latine: There is no certain word for it in Hebrew: in Arabia it is called *Abelocaster*: it is also called in Latine *C. mus Ponticus*, but *Castor* *fluviatilis* is another beaver, as we shall manifest in the succeeding discourse of an Otter: and the reason why in Latin it is called *Fiber*, because (as *Ferro* saith) it cutteth the sides, banks, or extremities of the river, as the *extremities* or *lappes* of the care and liver, are called *fibra*, and the skirts of garments *fibria*: but the reason why the Grecians call it *Caster*, is not as this Latine have supposed, because it biteth off his owne bones, *quasi castoreum*, as *Plinius* saith, but of *castoreo*, because hee the stones thereof is hunted and killed, or rather of *Caster* signifying a belly, for that the body is long and almost all belly: or rather because of the colour and ill favour thereof.

This Beaver is no other then that which *Aristotle* calleth *Laxax*, and it differeth from an Otter only in the tayle. Some compare a Beaver with a Badger.

... but they attribute to him a longer body and smoother haire, but shorter and softer than a Badgers: their colour is somewhat yellow and white, aspered with ash-colour, which stande out beyond the shorter hayres, double their length: they are neat and soft like unto Otters, and the haire length of the one and others colour, is not equall.

Some have seen them brown declining to blacke, which *Athenus* preferreth, & *Silvius* affirmeth, that his long haire are like a Dogs, and the short ones like an Otter. They are most plentifull in *Pontus*, for which cause it is called *Castor Ponticus*; they are also bred in the Rivers of Spain, and in the river *Marne* in France, *Padus* in Italy, in *Sonay*, in the Rivers *Jura* and *Rhona*, and in the Island called *Samoy*, and in *Helvetia*, were *Arata*, *Pysa* and *Lingona*: Likewise throughout all *Germany*, *Polonia*, *Silesia*, *Russia* and *Francia*: There are Beavers in the woods of *Mosco* and *Lituania*, of excellent perfection and stature above others, having longer white haire which glister above other. These beavers live both in the water and on the land, for in the day time they keepe the water, and in the night they leape the land, and yet without water they cannot live, for they do participate much of the nature of fishes, as may be well considered by their hinder legs and tale.

Their quantitie is not much bigger then a country Dog, their head short, their ears very small and round, their teeth very long, the vnder teethe standing out beyond their lips three fingers breadth, and the upper about halfe a finger, being very broad, crooked, strong and sharpe, standing or growing double verie deep in their mouth, bending compasse like the edge of an Axe, and their colour yellow with red, wherein they defend themselves against beates, take fishes as it were upon hooks, and will gnaw in funder trees as big as a mans thigh: they have also grinding teeth very sharpe, wherein are certaine wrinckles or folds, so that they seeme to be made for grinding some hard substance, for with them they cut the sides or barke of trees; wherefore the biting of this beast is very deepe, being able to crafte under the hardest bones, and commonly he neuer loseth his holke vntill he feeleth his teeth gnaw one againt another. *Pliny* and *Silvius* affirme, that the person so bitten cannot be cured, except he heare the crafhing of the teeth which I take to be an opinion without truth.

They have certaine haire about their mouth, which seeme in their quantity or bignesse to be rather horse they are so hard, but their bones are most harde of all and without marrow: Their forefeet are like a Dogs, and their hinder like a Gooles, made as it were of purpose to go on the land, & swim in the water: but the tale of this beast is most strange of all in that it commeth nearest to the nature of fishes, being without haire and covered over with a skin like the scales of fish, it being like a soale, and for the most part six fingers broad and halfe a foot long, which some have affirmed the beaver neuer pulleth out of the water; whereas it is manifest, that when it is very colde or the water frozen he pulleth it vp with his body, although *Agricola* affirmeth, that his hinder legs and tale freeze with the water, and no lesse verue is the assertion, that they compell the Otter in time of colde and frost, to wate upon their tale and to trouble the water so that it may not freeze round about them; but yet the Beaver holdeth the Otter in subjection, and cyther ouercommeth it in fight, or killeth it with his teeth.

This tale he vseth for a flume when he swimmeth after fish to catch them. There hath



Country of breed.

Altores.

They are called in Latin

Their fevers are called

Figure 4. Edward Topsell, *Beaver* from *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents*, 1658, woodcut. UK (London).

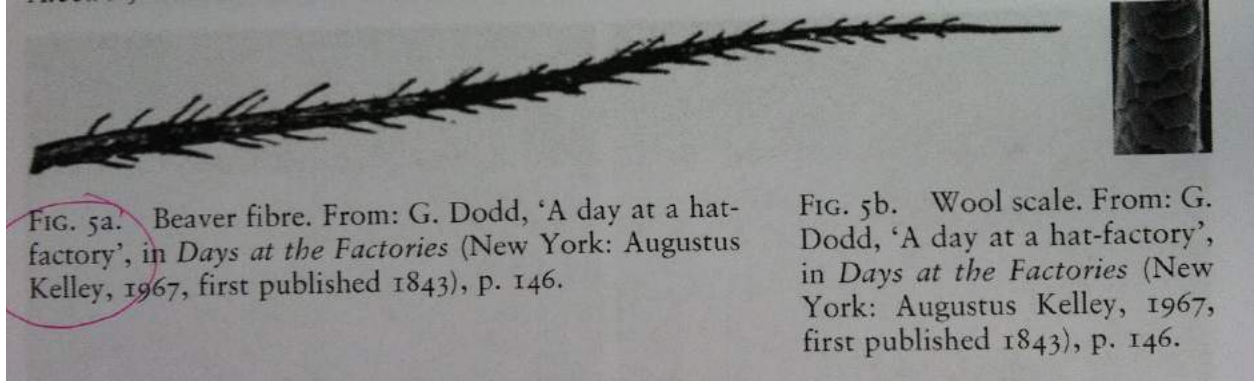


FIG. 5a. Beaver fibre. From: G. Dodd, 'A day at a hat-factory', in *Days at the Factories* (New York: Augustus Kelley, 1967, first published 1843), p. 146.

FIG. 5b. Wool scale. From: G. Dodd, 'A day at a hat-factory', in *Days at the Factories* (New York: Augustus Kelley, 1967, first published 1843), p. 146.

Figure 5. Beaver fibre and wool fibre



Figure 6. Jean Le Pautre after Jean Bérain, *Man in winter suit* from the fashion supplement of *Le Mercure galant*, 1678, France (Paris), etching and engraving. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Figure 7. Johannes, Vermeer, *Detail of map* from *Soldier and Laughing Girl*, 1657, oil on canvas, 50.48 cm x 46.04 cm. The Frick Collection, New York.



Figure 8. Designed by Balthasar Florisz, published by Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Hollandia Comitatus*. Amsterdam, 1635.



Figure 9. Johannes Vermeer, *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter*, c. 1663-4, oil on canvas, 49.6 cm x 40.3 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

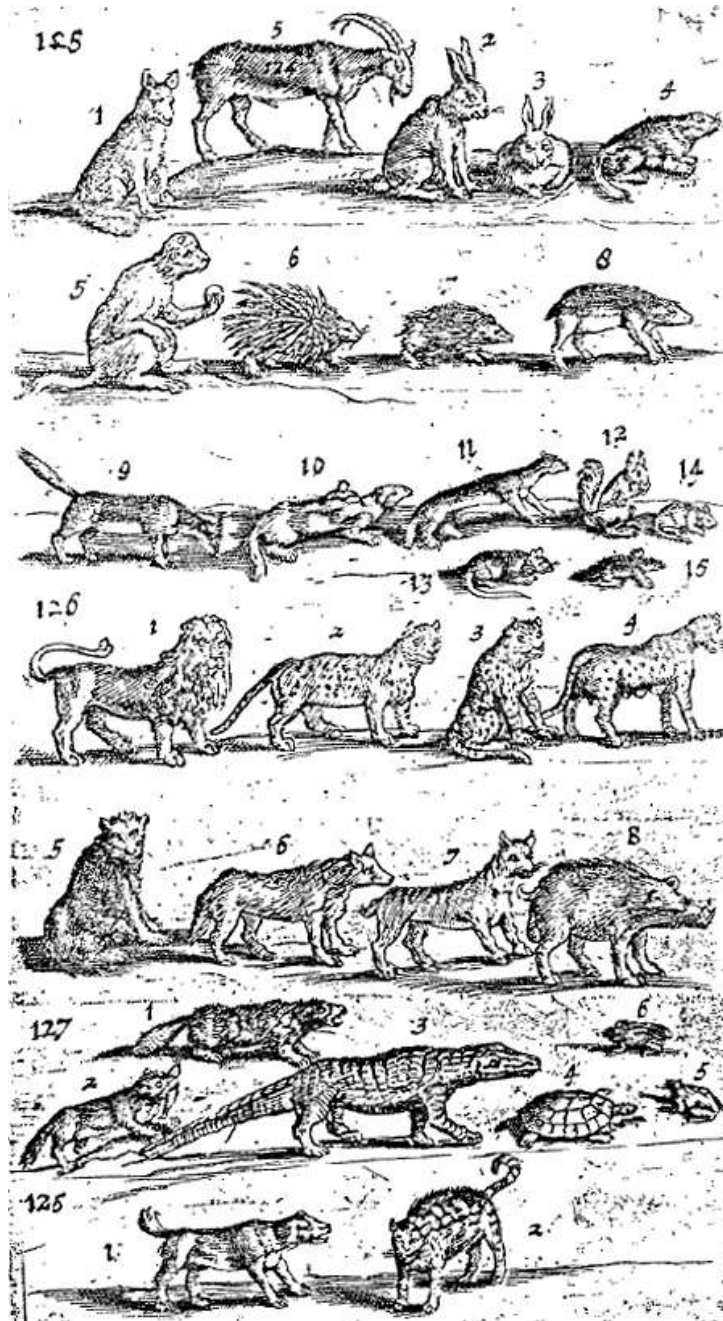


Figure 10. Johannes Amos Comenius, "Wat is een Viervoetigh Watergedierte? Quid est Quadrupes Aquaticum?" from *Portael der saeken en spraecken*. Amsterdam, 1658.



Figure 11. "SIGILIVM NOVI BELGII" Seal of New Netherland



Figure 12. Andrew Laurence, *Beaver* from *The noble lyfe and natures of man of bestes*, 1521, woodcut.



Figure 13. Herman Moll, “Continent of North America” in *The World Described or a New and Correct Sett of Maps* (London), 1709, engraving. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.



Figure 14. Gerrit Adriaenszoon Berckheyde, *The Town Hall on Dam Square, Amsterdam*, 1672, oil on canvas, 33.5 cm x 41.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 15. Antonie Palamedesz, *The Ridderzaal of the Binnenhof during the Great Assembly of 1651*, 1651, oil on panel and metal, 52 cm x 66 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 16. Antonie Palamedesz, Detail of *The Ridderzaal of the Binnenhof during the Great Assembly of 1651*, 1651, oil on panel and metal, 52 cm x 66 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 17. Jan Steen, *Adolf and Catharina Croeser on the Oude Delft*, known as *The Burgher of Delft and his Daughter*, 1655, oil on canvas, 82.5 cm x 68.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 18. Job Berckheyde, *The Old Exchange of Amsterdam*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 85 cm x 105 cm. Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.



Figure 19. Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn, *The Wardens of the Amsterdam Drapers' Guild*, 1662, oil on canvas, 191.5 cm x 279 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 20. Frans Hals, *Regents of the St. Elisabeth's Hospital, Haarlem*, 1641, oil on canvas, 153cm x 252 cm. Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem.



Figure 21. Attributed to Abraham van den Tempel, *Abraham de Visscher, Amsterdam Merchant and Director of WIC*, 1650-1667, oil on canvas, 127 cm x 100 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 22. Gerard ter Borch, *Portrait of Gerard Abrahamsz van der Schalcke, Cloth Merchant in Haarlem*, 1644, oil on panel, 29.5 cm x 23.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 23. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Coronation Procession of Charles II Through London, 1662*, etching, 44 cm x 53.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 24. Jaspas Beckx, *Don Miguel de Castro, Ambassador from Kongo to Dutch Brazil*, 1643, oil on canvas, 75 cm x 62 cm. National Gallery of Copenhagen, Denmark.



*Matoaks als Rebecca daughter to the mighty Prince
Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughkomouck als virginia
converted and baptizel in the Christian faith, and
wife to the ver.^o M.^r Joh Rolfe.*

Figure 25. Simon van de Passe, *Pocahontas*, 1616, engraving, 17 cm x 11.7 cm. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 26. Anthony van Dyck, *Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson*, 1633, oil on canvas, 219.1 cm x 134.8 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 27. Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Susanna Lunden (?) (Le Chapeau de Paille)*, c. 1622-5, oil on oak panel, 79 cm x 54.6 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 28. Peter Paul Rubens, *Susanna Fourment*, c. 1620, black and red chalk, heightened with white chalk; pupils, eyebrows, and eyelashes strengthened with pen and dark brown ink, on brownish paper, 34 cm x 25 cm. Albertina, Vienna.



Figure 29. Anthony van Dyck, *Susanna Fourment and her Daughter*, 1621, oil on canvas, 172.7 cm x 117.5 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 30. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Wedding by Proxy of Marie de' Medici to King Henry IV*, 1622-25, oil on canvas, 394 cm x 295 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



Figure 31. Rubens, *Self-Portrait of Painter with His Wife, Isabella Brandt*, ca. 1609, oil on canvas, 178 cm x 136.5 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



Figure 32. Wenceslaus Hollar, *Mercatoris Londinensis Uxor* (“A London Merchant’s Wife”) from *Theatrum Mulierum*, 1643, etching and engraving, 9.3 cm x 6.1 cm. British Museum, London.



Figure 33. Hendrick Avercamp, *Enjoying the Ice near a Town*, 1620, oil on panel, 47 cm x 89 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 34. Jan Olis, *Portrait of Johan van Beverwijck in his Study*, c. 1640, oil on panel, 26 cm x 20.6 cm. Mauritshuis, The Hague.



Figure 35. Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Isabella Brant*, 1626, oil on panel, 86 cm x 62 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.



Figure 36. Rubens, *Portrait of Helene Fourment*, 1631, oil on oak, 164 cm x 135 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.



Figure 37. Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Self Portrait in a Straw Hat*, after 1782, oil on canvas, 98 cm x 70 cm. National Gallery, London.

Chapter Five

Images



Figure 1. Jacob van Loo, *Portrait of Jan Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper*, c. 1657-8, oil on canvas, 119 cm x 156 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest.

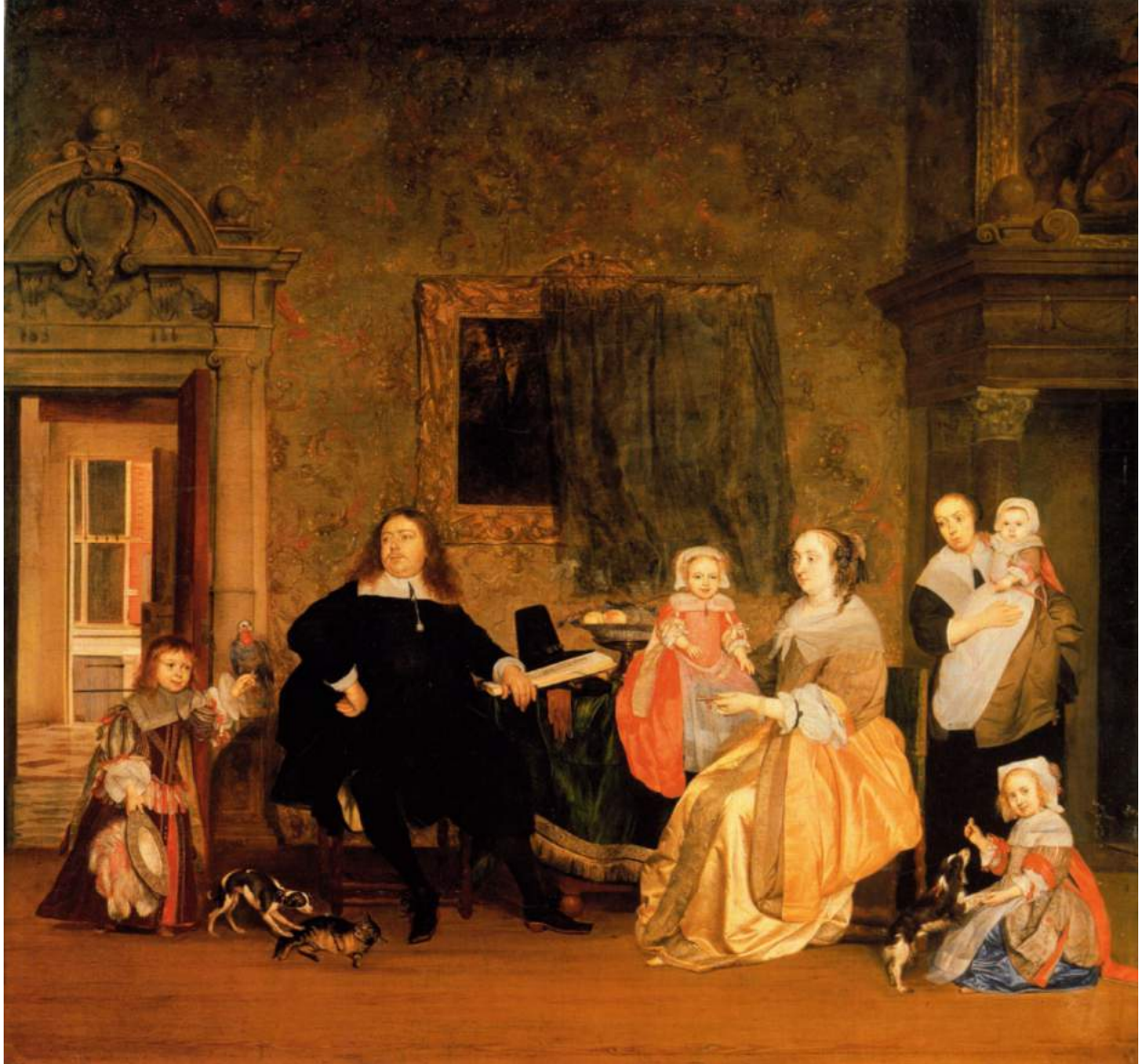


Figure 2. Gabriël Metsu, *Portrait of Jan Jacobsz Hinlopen and His Family*, c. 1662, oil on canvas, 71 cm x 79 cm. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



Figure 3. Gerard ter Borch, *Portrait of Wiesken Matthys Spinning*, c. 1652-53, 34.5 cm x 29.5 cm. Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.



Figure 4. Gerard ter Borch, *Portrait of Wiesken Matthys Combing a Child's Hair*, c. 1652-53. Mauritshuis, The Hague.



Figure 5. Gerrit Dou, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, c. 1655, oil on panel, 14.5 cm x 11.7 cm. The National Gallery, London.



Figure 6. Emmanuel de Witte, *Adriana van Heusden and daughter at the fishmarket*, 1662, Oil on canvas, 57.1 cm x 64.1 cm. The National Gallery, London.



Figure 7. Jacob Ochtervelt, *Portrait of Isaac Elsevier, Anna van der Mast, their Four Children and a Nanny*, c. 1668-9, oil on canvas, 75 cm x 58.5 cm. The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.



Figure 8. Hendrick Sorgh, *Portrait of Family of Eeuwout Prins*, 1661, oil on panel, 65 cm x 49 cm. Historical Museum, Rotterdam.



Figure 9. Johannes Vermeer, *Woman with a Pearl Necklace*, c. 1664, oil on canvas, 51.2 cm x 45.1 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.



Figure 10. Johannes Vermeer, *A Lady Writing*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, 45 cm x 39.9 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.



Figure 11. Johannes Vermeer, *Mistress and Maid*, c. 1667-9, oil on canvas, 90.2 cm x 78.7 cm. The Frick Collection, New York.

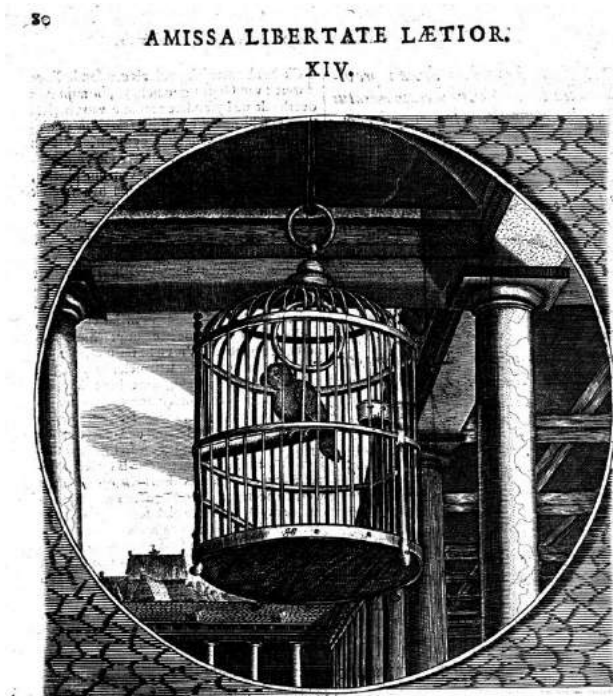


Figure 12. Emblem from Jacob Cats, *Proteus ofte minne-beelden verandert in sinnebeelden*, 1627, published in Rotterdam. Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Amsterdam.



Figure 13. Wencesalus Hollar, *Mulier Belgica in Vestitu Domestico* (Netherlandish Woman in Household Dress) from *Theatrum Mulierum*, 1643, etching, British Library, London.

XLVI

Afkomst feyt niet.

Het is een oudt recht, dat de Edele gheboren eenighe voorbaerlijckheydt ofte praëminentie hebben in alle Heeren Hoven, om hooghe Officien ofte Ampten te bedienen, bysonder den Krijghhandel aengaende; maer daer mede is den wegh der vrome kloeckmoedighe daden niet ghefloten, dat een slecht eerlijck mans soon daer gheen part en deel aen hebben soude, om d'eerste Edel-man zynes stams te worden. Alle Edel-stammen hebben haren oorsprong door een van heurlieder Voorouders begonnen; by Adams tyden en was het soo niet, daerom seytmen:

**Doe Adam haspelde en Eva span/
Waer was doe den Edelman?**

Men maeckt seer bequame Besēmen, om de kleederen seer schoon te veghen, van morsighe vuyle Verckens rugh-borstelen, die alle stof seer suuyverlijck af strijcken, dit mocht niet wesen, soo dees borstelen den aert van hūn Vader ende Moeder niet en verwierpen.

Afkomst feyt niet.



O 2

Figure 14. Claes Janszoon Visscher, from Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.



Figure 15. Geertruyt Roghman, *Two Women Sewing from Five Feminine Occupations*, c. 1648-50?, engraving, 22.4 cm x 17.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 16. Geertruyt Roghman, *Woman Sewing from Five Feminine Occupations*, c. 1648-50?, engraving, 22.4 cm x 17.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 17. Geertruyt Roghman, *Woman Spinning* from *Five Feminine Occupations*, c. 1648-50?, engraving, 22.4 cm x 17.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 18. Geertruyt Roghman, *Woman Cooking* from *Five Feminine Occupations*, c. 1648-50?, engraving, 22.4 cm x 17.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 19. Geertruyt Roghman, *Woman Cleaning Kitchen Utensils* from *Five Feminine Occupations*, c. 1648-50?, engraving, 1st state, 22.4 cm x 17.8 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 20. Gerard Dou, *A Maid Servant Scouring a Brass Pan at a Window*, oil on panel, 17.1 cm x 13.3 cm. Collection of Her Majesty, London.



Figure 21. Ludolf de Jongh, *Woman Receiving a Letter*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, 58.5 cm x 72.5 cm. Ascott House (National Trust), Buckinghamshire.



Figure 22. Eglon van der Neer, *Woman Reading a Letter with a Maid Servant*, oil on canvas, 81 x 66 cm. Private collection.



Figure 23. Jacob Ochtervelt, *A Woman Reading a Letter with Two Maidservants*, early 1670s, oil on canvas 91.4 cm x 63.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 24. Jacob van Ochtervelt, *Street Musicians at a Door*, 1665, oil on canvas, 68.5 cm x 57.1 cm. The Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis.



Figure 25. Pieter de Hooch, *Two Women with a Child in a Courtyard*, c. 1658, oil on canvas. The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo.



Figure 26. Pieter Janssens Elinga, *Interior with a Gentleman, a Woman Reading and a Housemaid*, c. 1670, oil on canvas, 83.7 cm x 100 cm. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.



Figure 27. Jan Steen, *In Luxury, Beware*, 1663, oil on canvas, 105 cm x 145.5 cm.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Figure 28. Joachim von Sandrart, *December* from the series *The Twelve Months of the Year*, 1643, oil on canvas, 146 cm x 122 cm. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Schloss Schleissheim.



Figure 29. Johannes Vermeer, *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter*, c. 1663-4, oil on canvas, 49.6 cm x 40.3 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 30. Johannes Vermeer, *Woman Holding a Balance*, c. 1662-3, oil on canvas, 42.5 cm × 38 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.



Figure 31. Jan Steen, *Celebrating the Birth*, 1664, oil on canvas, 89 cm x 109 cm. Wallace Collection, London.



Figure 32. Gabriel Metsu, *A Visit to the Nursery*, 1661, oil on canvas, 77.5 cm x 81.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Figure 33. Gabriel Metsu, *A Woman Artist*, c. 1661-4, oil on panel, 28.6 cm x 24.1 cm. Private collection.



Figure 34. Gabriel Metsu, *Young Lady Drawing*, c. 1657-9, oil on panel, 36.3 cm x 30.7 cm. The National Gallery, London.



Figure 35. Frans van Mieris the Elder, *Portrait of the artist's wife, Cunera van der Cock*, c. 1657-8, oil on panel, 11.1 cm x 8.2 cm. The National Gallery, London.



Figure 36. Nicolaes Maes, *The Eavesdropper*, 1657, oil on canvas, 92.5 cm x 122 cm. Dordrechts Museum, on loan from the Collection Nederlands Institute for Cultural Heritage, Rijswijk, Amsterdam.



Figure 37. Nicolaes Maes, *Young Girl Sewing*, 1657, oil on panel, 40 cm x 31 cm. Private collection.



Figure 38. Frans van Mieris the Elder, *The Cloth Shop*, 1660, oil on panel, 55 cm x 43 cm.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Figure 39. Frans van Mieris the Elder, *Teasing the Pet*, 1660, oil on panel, 27.5 cm x 20 cm. Mauritshuis, The Hague.



Figure 40. Pieter van Slingelandt, *Teasing the Pet*, 1672, oil on panel, 39.5 cm x 30.5 cm. Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.



Figure 41. Cornelis Bisschop, *Dutch Interior*, c. 1660, oil on canvas, 45.2 cm x 37.8 cm. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



Figure 42. Gabriel Metsu, *The Intruder*, c. 1659-62, oil on panel, 66.6 cm x 59.4 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



Figure 43. Frans van Mieris the Elder, *Woman Admiring Herself in a Mirror*, c. 1662, oil on panel, 30 cm x 23 cm. Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.



Figure 44. Dirk E. Lons (?), illustration for *Venus minne giftjens...*, c. 1622, etching, 7 x 11 cm.
Private collection.

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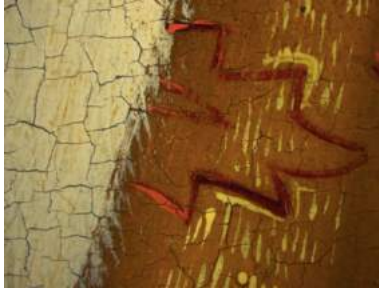

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Appendix A

Elite Tudor Portraiture Depicting Fur Garments, 1505—1558



TUDOR ROYAL FAMILY AND RELATIONS



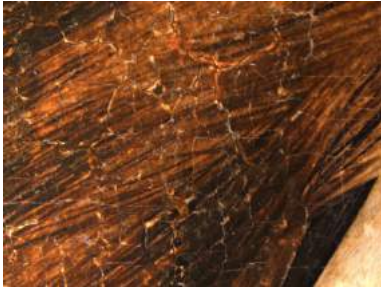
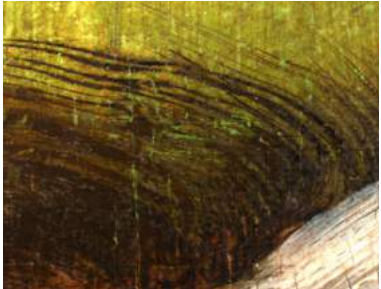
Image, Medium, Size, Location	Subject	Artist and Date	Type of Fur Depicted
 <p>Oil on oak panel 42.5 cm x 30.5 cm; arched top The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>King Henry VII (1457—1509), r. 1485—1509</p>  <p>Edge of the fur collar over the neck, showing fine brushstrokes.</p>  <p>Edge of white fur over the robe.</p>  <p>Edge of white fur over the robe, showing how the fur was painted while the robe was still</p>	<p>Unknown Netherlandish artist 1505</p>	<p>Brown squirrel collar; white squirrel or weasel gown lining</p>



	<p>wet.</p>  <p>Area of fur inside the chain (left side), showing no white paint.</p>		
 <p>Oil on panel 56.5 cm x 41.6 cm The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Elizabeth of York (1466-1503), Queen of Henry VII</p>	<p>Unknown artist</p> <p>Late 16th c., based on a work of c. 1500</p>	<p>Ermine cuffs</p>

	<p>Prince Arthur (1486-1502)</p>	<p>Anglo-Flemish School c. 1500</p>	<p>Short brown fur gown trimming</p>
<p>Oil on oak panel 27.9 cm x 17.8 cm Private Collection</p>	<p>King Henry VIII (1491—1547), r. 1509—1547</p> <p>Due to overpaint and restoration it is difficult to determine exactly the original shoulder line. The fur is painted in rather a crude way in comparison to other works of this period in the collection. Significant areas of the fur have been overpainted, particularly in the left-hand side of the panel.</p>  <p>Detail of fur on the left-hand side, showing original details, composition of brown paint and restoration. (10 x mag.)</p>	<p>Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist c. 1520</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>
	<p>Oil on panel 50.8 cm x 38.1 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>		

 <p>Painted vellum Reproduced by permission of the Dean and Canons of Windsor</p>	<p>King Henry VIII at Prayer from <i>The Black Book (Liber Niger) of the Garter</i> (MS DOC 162a)</p>	<p>Unknown artist 1534—1551</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 72.4 cm x 58.6 cm The Royal Collection, Hampton Court</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p>	<p>Joos van Cleve (d. 1540/41) c. 1535</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>

 <p>Oil on oak panel 48.9 cm x 35.6 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p>	<p>British School 1535—1536</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 57.2 cm x 42.5 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p> <p>The broad diagonal brushstrokes of the fairly thickly applied, lead-based priming are visible beneath the paint in places (for example, in the face, through the left eyebrow, in the lower part of the red tunic and the bottom of fur on the right-hand side). Some areas suggest that the artist was working with magnification. For example, where individual hairs can be seen at the edge of the hat, some of the black paint has been flicked downwards into the hair. There are also some white strokes among these that are very precise and only visible under the microscope.</p>	<p>British School c. 1535— 1540</p>	<p>Brown fox collar</p>

	 <p>Detail of shoulder, showing fur, wet-in-wet beard hairs, protrusions and restorations. (7.1 x mag.)</p>		
 <p>Oil on panel 58.4 cm x 44.5 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p>  <p>Detail of fur, showing technique. (7.1 x mag.)</p>  <p>Detail of the edge of fur on the shoulder on the left. (7.1 x mag.)</p>	<p>British School c. 1535— 1540</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>

	<p>King Henry VIII</p>	<p>Circle of Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543); inscribed <i>Hans Swarttung</i></p> <p>c. 1536</p>	<p>Wearing fur collar, possibly colored brown and therefore sable</p>
	<p>King Henry VIII; King Henry VII</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>c. 1536—1537</p>	<p>Henry VII: ermine collar; fur collar for Henry VIII unidentifiable but most likely intended to be sable</p>
<p>Black, red, and white chalk on paper 30.7 cm x 24.4 cm Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich</p>	<p>Ink and watercolor 257.8 cm x 137.2 cm The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>		



Oil on canvas
88.9 cm x 98.7 cm
The Royal Collection,
Hampton Court Palace

King Henry VIII; King Henry VII; Queen Elizabeth of York; Queen Jane Seymour

Copy after Holbein's Whitehall mural

Remigius van Leemput after Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)

1667

Henry VIII: sable trimmed surcoat; Henry VII: ermine lined gown and sable collar; Elizabeth of York: ermine lined and trimmed bodice and skirt, ermine cuffs; Jane Seymour: ermine oversleeves and ermine-lined overskirt.



Oil on oak panel
238.2 cm x 134.2 cm
The Walker Art Center,
Liverpool

King Henry VIII



Infrared detail of underdrawing at the proper left shoulder, showing the zig-zag line delineating the fur edge at the top of the gown.


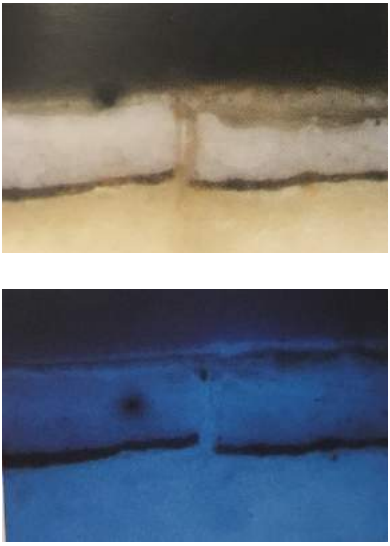

Brown fur: the first layer a warm transparent brown, being followed by more opaque, lighter and darker brown layers depicting the grain of the pelts. As a finishing touch, fine single wisps of lighter gray are painted as highlights.



After Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)

Directly linked to original Whitehall Mural

1537—1562?

Sable collar and gown lining

 <p>Oil on oak panel 238.2 cm x 122.1 cm Petworth House, The Egremont Collection (National Trust), Sussex</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p>  <p>Cross-section of paint layers of white ermine cloak 500x (150x) (+UV)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -pale blue overpaint -white of ermine -reddish brown layer (mordant?) -white priming -chalk ground 	<p>After Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>Directly linked to original Whitehall Mural</p> <p>1537—1557</p>	<p>Ermine collar and gown lining</p>
 <p>Oil on oak panel 221 cm x 124 cm The Devonshire Collection,</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574) after Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>c. 1560—1573</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>

Chatsworth House (National Trust), Derbyshire			
 <p>Oil on canvas 223.5 cm x 147 cm Collection at Parham House and Gardens, West Sussex</p>	King Henry VIII	<p>After Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>After 1560</p>	Ermine collar and gown lining
 <p>Oil on oak panel 229.6 cm x 124.1 cm The Masters, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Cambridge</p>	King Henry VIII	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574) after Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1567?</p>	Sable collar and gown lining



Oil on canvas
217 cm x 147.2 cm
The Duke and Duchess of
Rutland, Belvoir Castle

After Hans
Holbein the
Younger
(1497—1543)

Early 17th
century

Sable
collar and
gown
lining






Oil on oak panel
28 cm x 20 cm
Thyssen–Bornemisza
Collection, Madrid




King Henry VIII



Hans Holbein
the Younger
(1497—1543)




c. 1536—
1537

Sable
collar




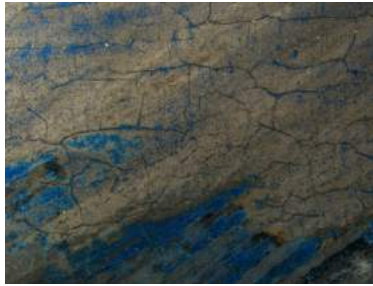
 <p>Oil on panel 88.5 cm x 74.5 cm Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) 1540</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>
 <p>Oil on oak panel 108 cm x 312.4 cm The Worshipful Company of Barbers</p>	<p>King Henry VIII and the Barber Surgeons</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) c.1540</p>	<p>Henry: ermine lined and trimmed robes of parliament</p>
 <p>Manuscript book (ink and watercolor on vellum) 23 cm x 14 cm British Library, London</p>	<p>King Henry VIII playing a harp from <i>Henry VIII's Psalter</i></p>	<p>Jean Mallard 1540—42</p>	<p>Henry VIII: sable collar and sable-lined surcoat</p>

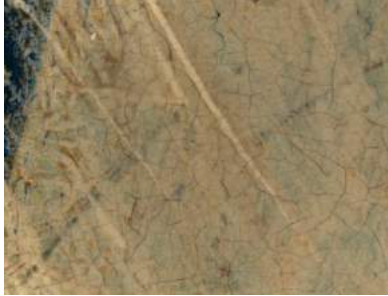
	<p>The Family of Henry VIII: King Henry VIII; Prince Edward; Jane Seymour (1508—1537), third Queen of Henry VIII</p>	<p>Unknown artist c. 1545</p>	<p>Henry VIII: sable gown trimming and lining; Jane Seymour: ermine oversleeves and skirt lining</p>	
<p>141 cm x 355 cm The Royal Collection, Hampton Court</p>		<p>King Henry VIII arriving at Guisnes riding in procession with Wolsey from The Field of the Cloth of Gold</p>	<p>Unknown artist c. 1545</p>	<p>Brown fur lining of gown</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 168.9 cm x 347.3 cm The Royal Collection, Hampton Court</p>		<p>King Henry VIII</p>	<p>British School after Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) c. 1560—1580</p>	<p>Lynx or ermine collar and sleeve trimmings</p>

<p>Oil on canvas 92.5 cm x 72.5 cm Seaton Delaval Hall, Northumberland (National Trust)</p>			
 <p>Oil on canvas 35.6 cm x 31.8 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p>	<p>British School 1530—1569</p>	<p>Ermine collar</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 53 cm x 41 cm Petworth House and Park, West Sussex (National Trust)</p>	<p>King Henry VIII</p>	<p>British School 1530-1569</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>

 <p>Miniature By kind permission of the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensbury, KT</p>	<p>Catherine of Aragon (1509—1533), first Queen of Henry VIII</p>	<p>Lucas Horenbout (1490—1544) c. 1525—1526</p>	<p>Ermine oversleeves</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 55.9 cm x 44.4 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	 <p>Detail of Catherine's left oversleeve with fur hairs along edge touching brocade sleeves.</p>	<p>Unknown artist 18th-century version of a portrait type that derives from a widely circulated portrait pattern of Katherine of Aragon. Likeness dates from circa 1530, based on costume.</p>	<p>Sable lining seen at edge of oversleeves</p>

 <p>Oil on panel 54.3 cm x 41.6 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Anne Boleyn (1501—1536), second Queen of Henry VIII</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>Late 16th century, based on a work of circa 1533— 1536</p>	<p>Sable oversleeves</p>
 <p>Oil on oak 179.1 cm x 82.6 cm National Gallery, London</p>	<p>Christina II of Denmark (1521—1590)</p> <p>Beginning in 1537, Henry VIII began marriage negotiations with Christine. In 1538 he sent Holbein to Brussels to portray Christina. Even though the marriage negotiations came to nothing, Henry was reportedly very pleased with the portrait and kept it until his death in 1547.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1538</p>	<p>Sable fur collar and gown lining</p>



 <p>Watercolor on vellum laid on playing card (the four of diamonds) 6.3 diameter Royal Collection Trust</p>	<p>Catherine Howard (1520—1542), fifth Queen of Henry VIII</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) c. 1540</p>	<p>Sable oversleeves</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 180.3 cm x 94 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Katherine Parr (1512—1548), sixth Queen of Henry VIII</p>  <p>Detail of long hairs in the fur at the edge of the silver skirt, extending over the red underskirt. (7.1 x mag.)</p>  <p>Detail showing the edge of the fur sleeve over the blue background, with restoration. (7.1 x mag.)</p>	<p>Attributed to Master John (active 1544—1545) c. 1545</p>	<p>Lynx oversleeves and lining at neckline and opening of skirt</p>

	 <p>Detail of fur sleeve, showing underdrawing beneath the surface. (7.1 x mag.)</p>		
 <p>Color on oak panel 32.4 cm diameter Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</p>	<p>Edward VI, as Prince of Wales (1537—1553), r. 1547—1553</p> <p>Aged 6</p>	<p>Copy after William Scrots (active 1537—1553)</p> <p>After 1543</p>	<p>Ermine or lynx collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 42 cm x 36.5 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>King Edward VI</p>	<p>After William Scrots (active 1537—1553)</p> <p>c. 1546</p>	<p>Ermine collar</p>


	<p>King Edward VI</p> <p>Underdrawing was carried out with a red material in the hands, the shirt cuffs, part of the collar, the fur and some of the hair and hat feathers. This can be seen through the paint surface and particularly with the microscope.</p>  <p>Detail of the edge of the fur on the jacket lining (7.1 x mag.)</p>	<p>British School after William Scrots (active 1537—1553)</p> <p>c. 1546</p>	<p>Miniver (gray squirrel) or white weasel lining.</p>
	<p>Edward VI, as Prince of Wales</p> <p>Aged 9</p>	<p>Attributed to William Scrots (active 1537—1553)</p> <p>1546</p>	<p>Lynx or ermine collar and gown lining</p>




Oil on panel
47.3 cm x 27.9 cm
National Portrait Gallery,
London

Oil on panel
114.3 cm x 87 cm
Royal Collection, Windsor

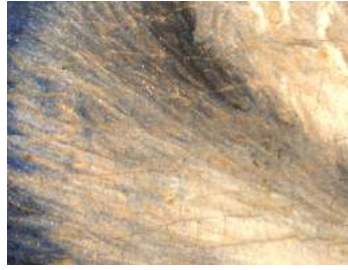
 <p>Oil on panel 155.6 cm x 81.3 cm The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>King Edward VI</p>	<p>Workshop associated with Master John (active 1544—1545) c. 1547</p>	<p>Ermine collar and gown lining</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 62.2 cm x 90.8 cm The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>King Edward VI (from <i>Edward VI and the Pope: An Allegory of the Reformation</i>)</p>	<p>Unknown artist c. 1568—1571</p>	<p>Edward VI: ermine lined gown</p>

	<p>Queen Mary I (1516/17—1558), r. 1553—1558</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574)</p> <p>1554</p>	<p>Sable oversleeves and overskirt lining</p>
<p>Oil on oak panel 104 cm x 78 cm Collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London</p>	<p>Queen Mary I</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574)</p> <p>1555—8</p>	<p>Sable collar and trimming</p>
	<p>Oil on panel 25.1 cm x 19.1 cm Private Collection, USA</p>		

	<p>Queen Mary I</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520— 1574)</p> <p>1557</p>	<p>Ermine fur collar and trimming</p>
 <p data-bbox="203 1283 609 1423"> Oil on panel 20.4 cm x 16.6 cm Private Collection, UK </p>	<p>Queen Mary I</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520— 1574)</p> <p>1554</p>	<p>Sable oversleeves</p>

	<p>Queen Mary I and Philip II</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574) 1558</p>	<p>Mary: white rabbit oversleeves</p>
<p>Woburn Abbey</p>	<p>Philip II, King of Spain (1527—1598), <i>jure uxoris</i> of King of England and Ireland through Mary I</p> <p>The fur collar is painted with extremely fine and delicate brushstrokes. The edge of the fur is created by a combination of the black paint of the jacket being brushed upwards to form a spiky line for the gaps between hairs, and very fine strokes uniting the white collar and black jacket. The small fur sections between the jacket buttons are very fine brushstrokes of grey paint flicked over the black.</p>	<p>After Titian (1488/1490—1576) 1555</p>	<p>Ermine collar and white fur lining doublet / jacket</p>
	<p>Oil on panel 8.6 cm x 6.4 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>		<p>Collar, showing very fine brushstrokes.</p>

(7.1 x mag.)



Detail of fur collar, showing the blue paint used in the fur. (12.5 x mag.)





Detail showing black jacket paint used for edge of fur— with restoration. (25 x mag.)








Detail of the collar, showing priming used as a mid-tone. (20 x mag.)



	<p>Philip II</p>	<p>British School c. 1500—1599</p>	<p>Ermine gown lining</p>	
<p>Oil on panel 44.1 cm x 36.8 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>		<p>Princess Mary Tudor (1496—1533), sister of Henry VIII, and later Queen of France; Charles Brandon (1484—1545), 1st Duke of Suffolk, 1st Viscount Lisle, Knight of the Garter</p>	<p>Attributed to Jan Gossaert (1478—1532) c. 1515</p>	<p>Charles Brandon: sable collar</p>
	<p>King James V, King of Scotland (1512—1542); Mary of Guise, Queen of Scotland (1515—1560)</p>	<p>British School After 1538</p>	<p>James V: miniver (white squirrel) or ermine gown lining; Mary of Guise: ermine oversleeves</p>	
<p>Oil on panel 109.2 cm x 143.5 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>				



PEERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ENGLISH COURT




Image, Medium, Size, Location	Subject	Artist and Date	Type of Fur Depicted
 <p>Oil on panel 53.5 cm x 26.5 cm Private Collection, Paris</p>	<p>John Bouchier (d. 1474), 2nd Baron Berners, Knight of the Garter</p> <p>Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1516; Lord Deputy of Calais (1520—1526)</p>	<p>Attributed to Ambrosius Benson (c.1495—1550) c.1521—6</p>	<p>Dark brown or black fur collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 49.5 cm x 39.4 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>John Bouchier</p>	<p>Unknown Netherlandish artist c. 1520—1530</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>

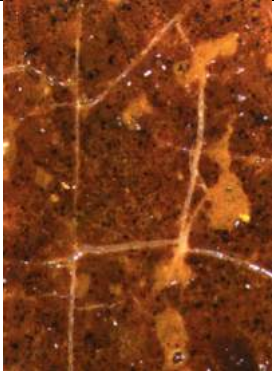

 <p>Sir Thomas Moore.</p>	<p>William Fitzwilliam (1490—1542), 1st Earl of Southampton</p> <p>Painting erroneously inscribed with name of “Sir Thomas Moore.”</p>	<p>After Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1520—1542</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>
 <p>Oil on oak 56 cm x 38.8 cm National Gallery, London</p>	<p>A Lady with a squirrel and a starling (Anne Lovell?)</p> <p>The starling in the background and the pet squirrel on a chain may have been intended to allude to the sitter’s name. The Lovell family showed squirrels on their coat of arms and owned a house at East Harling in Norfolk.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>c. 1526—1528</p>	<p>White lettice (snow weasel) bonnet</p>

	<p>Sir Thomas More (1478—1535)</p> <p>Author of <i>Utopia</i> (1516); Lord High Chancellor of England (1529—1532); Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (1525—1529); Speaker of the House of Commons (1523)</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1527</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>
<p>Oil on panel 74.9 cm x 60.3 cm The Frick Collection, New York</p>	 <p>Black brushstrokes used to soften the edge of the collar and create the texture of fur. (10 x mag.)</p>		
	<p>Sir Thomas More</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1527</p>	<p>Fur collar</p>

 <p>Oil on canvas 74 cm x 58.5 cm Knole, Kent (National Trust)</p>	<p>Sir Thomas More</p>	<p>After Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) c. 1527</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>
 <p>Pen and brush in black on top of chalk sketch 38.9 cm x 52.4 cm Kunstmuseum, Basel</p>	<p>Sir Thomas More and Family (from left to right) Elizabeth Dauncey, second daughter of TM; Margaret Giggs, adopted daughter of TM; Sir John More, Judge and father of TM; Anne Cresacre, wife of John More II, son of TM; Sir Thomas More; John More, son of TM; Henry Patenson, household fool; Cecily Heron, youngest daughter of TM; Margaret Roper, eldest daughter of TM; Alice More, second wife of TM</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) c. 1527</p>	<p>Fur oversleeves on Alice More to far right; Thomas More wearing fur trimmed and lined gown; John More wearing fur lining</p>

 <p>Oil on panel 49.1 cm x 38.5 cm Andrew W. Mellon Collection</p>	<p>Sir Brian Tuke (d. 1545) King's Secretary and Treasurer of the Household</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) c. 1527</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 82.6 cm x 66.4 cm Royal Collection</p>	<p>Sir Henry Guildford (1482— 1532), Knight of the Garter Master of the Horse and Comptroller of the Royal Household</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) 1527</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>

 <p>Colored chalks and flesh-colored wash on white paper 38.4 cm x 29.4 cm Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Print Room (RL 12266)</p>	<p>Sir Henry Guildford (1482—1532)</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) 1527</p>	<p>Fur collar</p>
 <p>Oil on oak panel 82 cm x 67 cm Musée du Louvre, Paris</p>	<p>William Warham (c. 1450—1532), Archbishop of Canterbury</p> <p>The costume is extensively underdrawn and the texture of the fur is marked in with zig-zag lines and individual marks to show the direction of the fur. No <i>pentimenti</i> are evident.</p>  <p>Detail of fur cuff showing underdrawing beneath. (7.1 x mag.)</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) 1527</p>	<p>Stone marten stole and cuffs</p>

	 <p>Detail of fur, showing wide cracks and where the glaze has flaked off. (50 x mag.)</p>		
 <p>Black, white, and colored chalks, with traces of silverpoint on paper 49.7 cm x 30.9 cm Royal Collection, Windsor</p>	<p>William Warham (c. 1450—1532), Archbishop of Canterbury</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) 1527</p>	<p>Stone marten stole and cuffs</p>



Oil on oak panel
87 cm x 70.6 cm
The Saint Louis Art Museum,
Missouri, Museum Purchase

Lady Mary Guildford; second wife of Henry Guildford (1482—1532) and daughter of Sir Robert Wotton of Boughton Malherbe, Kent

Henry Guildford was Comptroller under King Henry VIII. This portrait is one of a pair that presented husband and wife. Hung with gold chains and embellished with pearls, Lady Guildford embodies worldly prosperity, and with her prayer book she is also the very image of propriety. Although a preparatory drawing for this painting, now in the Kunstmuseum Basel, Switzerland, shows Mary glancing off to the side, Holbein changed the direction of his sitter's gaze to suggest a more mature woman. The background ivy may have been intended as an emblem of steadfastness.

Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)

1527

Short and dense black fur oversleeves, possibly black squirrel or rabbit





Black and colored chalks on paper
55.2 cm x 38.5 cm

Lady Mary Guildford



Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)

1527




Fur oversleeves


<p>Kunstmuseum Basel, Switzerland</p>			
 <p>Brown ink and pink and gray wash on paper 15.9 cm x 11 cm British Museum, London (1895,0915.991)</p>	<p>Costume study showing the front and back view of a woman wearing English dress and an English hood</p> <p>The details of the woman's costume, especially her headdress, are similar to Holbein's portrait of Lady Guildford from 1527. The woman may be a lady-in-waiting who models the clothes for a more important sitter.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>c. 1532—1535</p>	<p>Fur oversleeves</p>
 <p>Colored chalks, white bodycolor and black ink on pink prepared paper 28.4 x 20.5 cm Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Print Room (RL 12203)</p>	<p>Sir Thomas Elyot (c.1490—1546), Knight</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>c.1532—4</p>	<p>Light brown fur collar</p>



	<p>Sir Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485—1540), 1st Earl of Essex, Knight of the Garter</p> <p>Lord Great Chamberlain (1540); Governor of the Isle of Wight (1538—1540); Lord Privy Seal (1536—1540); Master of the Rolls (1534—1536); Principal Secretary (1534—1540); Chancellor of the Exchequer (1533—1540)</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1532—1533</p>	<p>Otter or beaver collar and gown lining</p>
<p>Oil on oak panel 78.4 cm x 64.5 cm The Frick Collection, New York</p>	<p>Sir Thomas Cromwell</p>	<p>Anglo-Netherlandish School</p> <p>1530s</p>	<p>Otter or beaver jacket doublet lining; also collar and gown lining</p>
	<p>Oil on canvas 49 cm x 36 cm Petworth House and Park, West Sussex (National Trust)</p>		



 <p>Black and colored chalks, black pen and ink, yellow wash, white bodycolor on pink-primed paper 27.3 cm x 24.1 cm Wilton House, Salisbury</p>	<p>George Neville (c. 1469—1535), 3rd Baron Bergavenny, Knight of the Garter</p> <p>Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1530s</p>	<p>Brown fur collar and stole</p>
 <p>Black and colored chalks, the outlines strengthened with pen and ink, on pink prepared paper 24.8 cm x 20.4 cm Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Print Room</p>	<p>Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey</p> <p>A poet, the Earl of Surrey was beheaded in 1547. He sat for Holbein on several occasions. This drawing was executed when Henry was in his late teens; no painting based upon it is known.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1530s</p>	<p>Fur collar</p>



	<p>Jean de Dinteville (1504—1555), Seigneur de Polisy; Georges de Selve (1508—1541), Bishop of Lavaur from <i>The Ambassadors</i></p> <p>French envoys</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1533</p>	<p>Dinteville: lynx collar and gown lining; Selve: otter or beaver collar and gown lining</p>
	<p>Robert Cheseman (1485-1547), Member of Parliament</p> <p>Justice of the Peace (since 1528); Chief Falconer of Henry VIII</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1533</p>	<p>Stone marten collar and gown lining</p>
	<p>Charles de Solier (1480—1552), Sieur de Morette</p> <p>Ambassador to England from 1526 to 1535. Had portrait painted in London in 1534.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1534</p>	<p>Leopard's bellies (wombs) collar and gown lining</p>


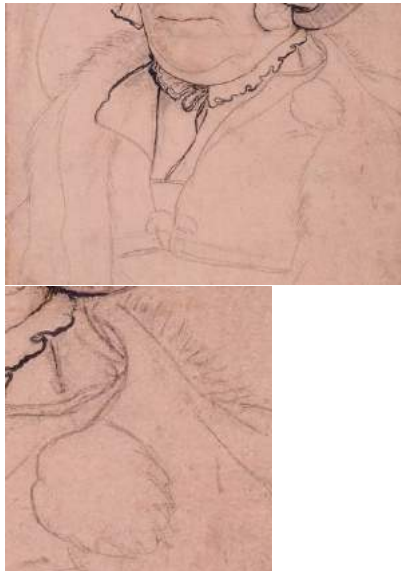

 <p>Oil on limewood panel Diameter: 11.8 cm Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna</p>	<p>Unidentified woman, possibly wife of unknown royal servant or dignitary (see below) at court of Henry VIII</p>  <p>In the background, the inscription: AETATIS SVAE 28. ANNO. 1534</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) 1534</p>	<p>White wool felt hat with bodice trimmed and lined with brown fur</p>
 <p>Oil on oak panel 56.5 cm x 42.5 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>Edward Seymour (c. 1500—1552), 1st Duke of Somerset, “Protector Somerset,” Knight of the Garter</p>	<p>British School 1530s</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>



	<p>Lady Margaret Gray, née Wotton (1487—1541), Marchioness of Dorset</p> <p>Second wife of Thomas Grey, 2nd Marquis of Dorset</p>	<p>After Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>Late 16th-century copy after original from 1530s</p>	<p>Ermine oversleeves and bodice trimming</p>
	<p>Margaret Roper, née More (1505-1544)</p> <p>Writer and translator, daughter of Sir Thomas More and wife of William Roper</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>c. 1535—36</p>	<p>Zibellino, sable tippet</p>
<p>Oil on panel 41 cm x 32.2 cm Anglesey Abbey, Cambridgeshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>Bodycolor on vellum mounted on card Diameter: 4.5 cm Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</p>		



	<p>Unknown woman, formerly known as Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury</p>	<p>Unknown artist c. 1535</p>	<p>Ermine hood, ermine oversleeves, and ermine trimming at bodice</p>
	<p>Unknown woman, thought to be Anne Boleyn</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) c. 1536</p>	<p>Fur collar of informal gown</p>
<p>Oil on panel 62.9 cm x 48.9 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>			
<p>Black and colored chalks on pink prepared paper 28.1 cm x 19.2 cm Royal Collection, Windsor</p>			




	<p>Thomas Howard (1473—1554), 3rd Duke of Norfolk, Knight of the Garter</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) c.1539</p>	<p>Lynx collar and gown lining</p>
	<p>Dr. William Butts (1486—1545) Royal Physician; knighted in 1544</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) 1541—1543</p>	<p>Pine marten collar and jacket lining</p>
<p>Oil on panel 80.3 cm x 61.6 cm Royal Collection, Windsor</p>			
<p>Oil on panel 46.8cm x 37 cm Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston</p>			



	<p>Dr. William Butts</p>	<p>After Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1571—1603</p>	<p>Brown fur collar and lining</p>
	<p>Lady Margaret Butts, née Bacon (c. 485—1545)</p> <p>Lady-in-waiting to Mary I; wife of Sir William Butts; daughter of John Bacon</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543)</p> <p>1541—1543</p>	<p>Zibellino, sable or pine marten tippet</p>
<p>Oil on panel 47 cm x 37.5 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>			
<p>Oil on panel 47.2 cm x 36.9 cm Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston</p>			



 <p>The Lady Butts.</p> <p>Black and colored chalks, pen and ink, brush and ink and metal point on pale pink prepared paper 37.7 cm x 27.2 cm Royal Collection Trust</p>	<p>Lady Margaret Butts</p>  <p>Details of fur tippet with weasel paw.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger (1497—1543) 1541—1543</p>	<p>Zibellino</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 98.4 cm x 76.2 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (1489—1556)</p>	<p>Gerlach Flicke (a. 1545—1558) 1545</p>	<p>Beaver fur stole</p>

	<p>Unknown man</p>	<p>John Bettes the Elder (active c. 1531—1570)</p> <p>1545</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>
<p>Oil on panel 47 cm x 41 cm Tate Gallery, London</p>	<p>Sir William Sharington (c. 1495—1553), Member of Parliament</p> <p>Page of the King's Robes (1539); Groom of the Robes (1540); Page of the Privy Chamber (1541); Groom of the Chamber (1542); Steward and constable of Castle Rising (1542); Sheriff of Wiltshire (1552); merchant in wool; "under-treasurer" of Bristol Castle mint—accused of embezzling</p>	<p>British School c. 1545-1553</p>	<p>Brown fur collar and gown trimming</p>
	<p>Oil on canvas 109.3 cm x 83.2 cm Lacock, Wiltshire (National Trust)</p>		

 <p>Oil on panel 109.3 cm x 83.2 cm Lacock, Wiltshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>The Honourable Ursula Bouchier (b. 1512), Lady Sharington</p>	<p>Anglo-Netherlandish School</p> <p>c. 1545—1553</p>	<p>Brown fur stole</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 222.4 cm x 219.9 cm The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Henry Howard (c. 1517—1547), courtesy title of Earl of Surrey, Knight of the Garter</p> <p>Aged 29; first cousin of Queen Anne Boleyn and Queen Catherine Howard</p>	<p>Guillaume Scrots (active 1537—1553)</p> <p>1546</p>	<p>Sable cape lining</p>

	<p>Henry Howard</p>	<p>After Guillaume Scrots (active 1537—1553)</p> <p>1546—1550s</p>	<p>Sable cape lining</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 214 cm x 137.5 cm</p>	<p>Thomas Wentworth (1501— 1551), 1st Baron of Wentworth</p> <p>Lord Chamberlain to Edward VI (1550)</p> <p>During the painting of the jacket, the dark paint was drawn upwards into the already laid-in fur collar paint, using the jagged shape of the end of the stroke, made with a stiff brush, to create the edge of the fine hairs. This technique is similar to that used in the beard of William Paget by an unknown Flemish artist and also in the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	<p>Anglo- Netherlandish artist</p> <p>c. 1547— 1550</p>	<p>Ermine collar and unpowde red white ermine gown lining and sleeve lining</p>
			
<p>Oil on panel 77.1 cm x 73.4 cm The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>			

	<p>Black paint used for the tunic brushed upwards to create edge of fur collar. (7.1 x mag.)</p>  <p>Detail of aglets on sleeve (right side) with fur hairs. (7.1 x mag.)</p>		
 <p>Oil on panel 128.3 cm x 83.8 cm Plas Newydd, Anglesey (National Trust)</p>	<p>William Paget (1506—1563), 1st Baron Paget de Beaudesert, Knight of the Garter (1505/6— 1563)</p>	<p>Attributed to Jan Cornelis Vermeyen (c. 1500—1559)</p> <p>1549</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>

	<p>William Paget</p>	<p>Unknown Flemish artist 1549</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>
<p>Oil on panel 45.1 cm x 36.2 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>William Paget Aged 48</p>	<p>Anglo- Netherlandish School 1549—1552</p>	<p>Sable collar and gown lining</p>
	<p>Oil on panel 43.2 cm x 34.3 cm Plas Newydd, Anglesey (National Trust)</p>		

 <p>Miniature</p>	<p>Unknown Lady</p>	<p>Levina Teelinc (1515—1576) 1549</p>	<p>White rabbit collar and trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 54 cm x 43 cm Guildhall Art Gallery</p>	<p>Sir Thomas Exmewe, Lord Mayor of London</p>	<p>John Bettes the Elder (active c. 1531—1570) c.1550</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>

	<p>Sir William Cavendish (1505—1557), Minister of Parliament and Knight</p> <p>Second husband of Bess of Hardwick and ancestor of the Dukes of Devonshire</p>	<p>John Bettes the Elder (active c. 1531—1570)</p> <p>1552</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>
	<p>Mary Fiennes (1524—1576), née Neville, Baroness Dacre</p> <p>Daughter of Georg Nevill, 5th Baron Bergavenny; married to Thomas Fiennes (c. 1515—1541), 9th Baron Dacre, who was convicted of murder and hanged as a common criminal. Henry VIII stripped the family of its lands and titles. In 1558, Elizabeth I restored the title of Baron of Dacre to Mary's second son Gregory.</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574)</p> <p>1555</p>	<p>Zibellino, sable tippet</p>



Oil on panel
Chatsworth House (National Trust)


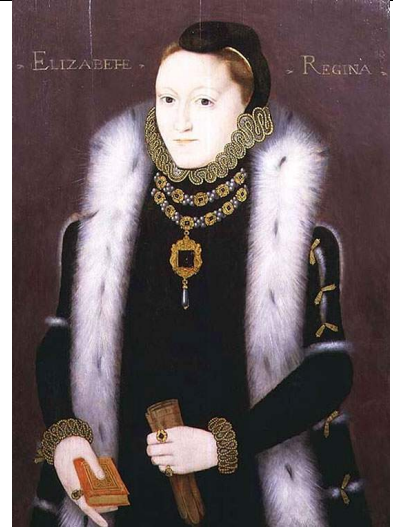
Oil on panel
73.7 cm x 57.8 cm
National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa




Appendix B



Elite Elizabethan Portraiture Depicting Fur Garments, 1558—1603




PORTRAITS OF ELIZABETH I (1533—1603), r. 1558—1603

Image, Medium, Size, Location	Subject	Artist and Date	Type of Fur Depicted
 <p>Oil on panel 32.07 cm x 22.86 cm Present whereabouts unknown</p>	Elizabeth I as a Princess	Artist Unknown c. 1555	Ermine gown collar and trimming
 <p>Private Collection</p>	Elizabeth I as a Princess	Artist Unknown c. 1555	Ermine gown collar


	<p>Elizabeth I as a Princess</p>	<p>Artist Unknown c. 1560</p>	<p>Ermine gown collar and trimming</p>
<p>Private Collection</p>	<p>Queen Elizabeth I Known as “The Clopton Portrait”</p>	<p>British School c. 1558-60</p>	<p>Ermine gown trimming and lining</p>
 <p data-bbox="180 1339 570 1442"> Oil on panel 67.5 cm x 48.9 cm Clopton House (National Trust) </p>			



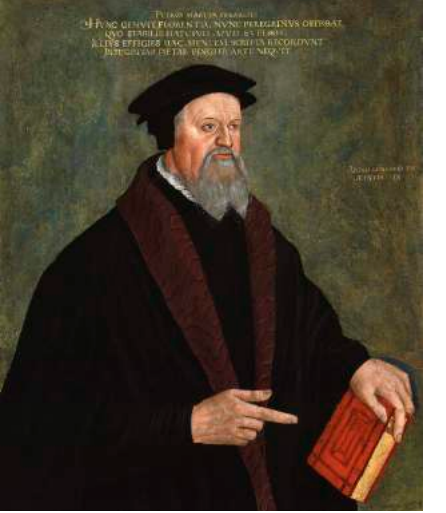
	<p>Queen Elizabeth I</p>	<p>British School c. 1558-60</p>	<p>Ermine gown collar and trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 39.4 cm x 27.3 cm The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Queen Elizabeth I</p> <p>The paint layers are mostly thin, with some thicker paint in the background. The fur is painted with fine brushstrokes.</p>	<p>British School c. 1558—60</p>	<p>Ermine gown trimming</p>
 <p>Miniature Diameter: 4.6 inch Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II</p>	<p>Queen Elizabeth I</p>	<p>Levina Teelinc (1515—1576) c. 1565</p>	<p>Fox fur collar and gown trimming</p>




 <p>Oil on panel 127.3 cm x 99.7 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Queen Elizabeth I</p> <p>Known as “The Coronation Portrait”</p> <p>The x-ray shows that the fur collar on the cloak was originally planned to be slightly longer than it appears in the final composition.</p>  <p>Detail of fur collar, showing texture created in brushstrokes (7.1 x mag.)</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>c. 1600, likely copied from a lost miniature from 1559</p>	<p>Ermine lined coronation robes</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 96 cm x 86.4 cm Hatfield House (National Trust)</p>	<p>Queen Elizabeth I</p> <p>Known as “The Ermine Portrait”</p>	<p>Attributed to William Segar (c. 1554—1633)</p> <p>1585</p>	<p>Living white ermine with spotted coat on Elizabeth’s arm</p>


 <p>Oil on canvas 88.9cm x 71.1 cm Penrhyn Castle, Gwynedd (National Trust)</p>	<p>Queen Elizabeth I</p>	<p>British School after William Segar (c. 1554—1633) 1580s</p>	<p>Living white ermine with spotted coat on Elizabeth's arm</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 131.2 cm x 184 cm National Museum and Gallery, Cardiff</p>	<p>The Family of Henry VIII: An Allegory of the Tudor Succession</p>	<p>Attributed to Lucas de Heere c. 1570</p>	<p>Mary: brown fur oversleeves; Henry VIII: brown fur collar and trimmed surcoat</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 86.36 cm x 114.3 cm Dover District Council</p>	<p>Queen Elizabeth I Hilliard's "Mask of Youth" face pattern is used. In the background is Elizabeth's pillar device, inset with representations of the Three Theological and Four Cardinal Virtues.</p>	<p>Unknown artist c. 1598</p>	<p>Ermine mantle</p>



PEERS AND MEMBERS OF ELIZABETHAN COURT




Image, Medium, Size, Location	Subject	Artist and Date	Type of Fur Depicted
 <p>Oil on panel 50 cm x 71.4 cm Private collection, on loan to the National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Mary Fiennes (1524—1576), née Neville, Baroness Dacre; Gregory Fiennes (1539—1594), 10th Baron Dacre</p> <p>Mary was the daughter of George Nevill, 5th Baron Bergavenny; married to Thomas Fiennes (c. 1515—1541), 9th Baron Dacre, who was convicted of murder and hanged as a common criminal. Henry VIII stripped the family of its lands and titles. In 1558, Elizabeth I restored the title of Baron of Dacre to Mary's second son Gregory.</p> <p>The background paint is used to brush in the first lines of the fur at the edge of Fiennes' collar. This technique appears to be common to Netherlandish artists and is also seen in the execution of the beards in William Paget, Gerlache Flicke, and Henry Strangwish, and Thomas Wentworth.</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574) 1559</p>	<p>Gregory: lynx collar and gown lining</p>

 <p>Oil on panel 90 cm x 70 cm Petworth House and Park, West Sussex (National Trust)</p>	<p>A member of the Tichborne family</p> <p>Aged 38</p>	<p>Circle of Hans Eworth (1525—1574)</p> <p>1559</p>	<p>Lynx collar and gown lining and trimming</p>
	<p>Queen Elizabeth I receiving Dutch ambassadors</p>	<p>Attributed to Levina Teelinc (1515—1576)</p> <p>1560s</p>	<p>One of the Dutch ambassador s kneeling before the queen wears a brown fur mantle</p>
 <p>Oil on panel, transferred to canvas 59.7 cm x 54.6 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Pietro Vermigli (1499—1562), known as “Peter Martyr,” Professor of Divinity at Oxford</p> <p>Italian-born reformer and theologian; brought to London in 1547 by Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer. Vermigli was in England from 1547 to 1553 but there is no evidence that he sat for his portrait during this period.</p>	<p>Unknown artist</p> <p>1560</p>	<p>Sheared Persian lamb</p>


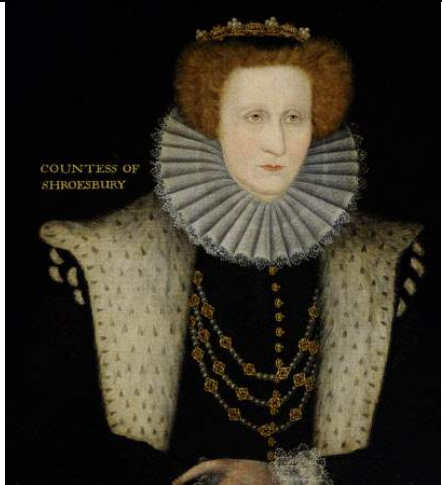
	 <p>Beard hairs over the stole and background (7.1 x mag.)</p>		
 <p>Oil on panel 117.8 cm x 81.3 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Henry Fitzlan (c. 1512—1580), 12th Earl of Arundel</p> <p>Appointed Lord Chamberlain and a Privy Councillor in 1546 under Edward VI; Lord Stewardship under Mary I and Elizabeth I. In 1569, implicated in intrigues of Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk.</p>	<p>Anglo-Netherlandish artist</p> <p>1565</p>	<p>Sable collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 53.3 cm x 40.6 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>Thomas Radcliffe (1526—1583), 3rd Earl of Sussex, Knight of the Garter</p> <p>Lord Deputy of Ireland</p>	<p>British Court</p> <p>1560s</p>	<p>Pine marten collar and gown lining</p>



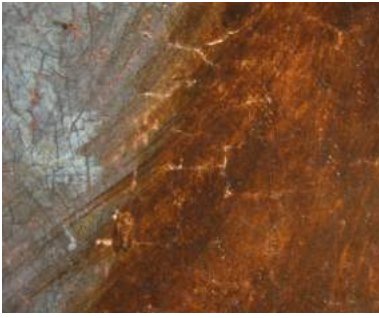
	<p>Sir Edward Rogers (c. 1498—1568), Officer of State</p> <p>Aged 69; Rogers was made vice-chamberlain, captain of the guard and privy councillor by Elizabeth I immediately after her accession in 1558; Vice Chamberlain of the Household of Elizabeth I (1559); usually very active, his absence from the Privy Council in 1567-8 suggests that he may have been suffering from poor health around this time</p> <p>He holds a white rod of office in this portrait.</p>	<p>Unknown artist</p> <p>1567</p>	<p>Sable</p>	
<p>Oil on panel 67.9 cm x 52.7 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>		<p>Anthony Browne (1528—1592), 1st Viscount Montagu, Knight of the Garter, Privy Councillor</p> <p>Faint traces of an inscription are visible at the top right of the portrait, and an x-ray of 1962 revealed it to read: 'AETATIS XL/[MDL] XIX' (aged 40/1569). The sitter wears the great collar of the Order of the Garter which helped to identify him as Viscount Montague, as all other eligible Knights of the Garter were eliminated on the basis of age or likeness.</p> <p>There is considerable restoration evident in many areas. The paint surface has many restored ground and paint losses, particularly</p>	<p>Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574)</p> <p>1569</p>	<p>Brown fur gown trimming, possibly sable; unidentifiable due to abrasion</p>
<p>Oil on panel 96.2 cm x 67.6 cm National Portrait Gallery</p>				



	along the panel joins, along the bottom edge of the painting and in the fur. Many areas have also suffered considerable abrasion, especially in the dark brown costume and the fur.		
 <p>Oil on panel 87.6 cm x 66.7 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>Young Elizabeth Hardwick (1520-1608), known as “Bess of Hardwick”, Countess of Shrewsbury</p> <p>Accomplished needlewoman; shrewd businesswoman; keeper of Mary, Queen of Scots; married four times to Robert Barlow, Sir William Cavendish, Sir William St Low, and George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury</p> <p>Painting erroneously inscribed with name of Queen Mary I</p>	<p>Follower of Hans Eworth (c. 1520—1574)</p> <p>1560—1569</p>	<p>Rabbit collar, lining and trimming of gown</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 193 cm x 111.1 cm The Master, Fellows and Scholars of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge</p>	<p>Frances Sidney, Countess of Sussex (1531-1589)</p>	<p>British School</p> <p>1570-75</p>	<p>Ermine collar</p>



	<p>Sir Henry Sidney(1529-1586), Knight of the Garter</p> <p>Aged 44; Lord Deputy of Ireland</p>	<p>Arnold van Bronckhorst (c. 1566-1586)</p> <p>1573</p>	<p>Lynx or ermine collar and gown lining</p>	
<p>Oil on panel 202 cm x 122 cm Petworth House and Park, West Sussex (National Trust)</p>		<p>Hart Family Triptych; George Hart; Sir Perceval Hart; Francis Hart</p>	<p>Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist</p> <p>1575</p>	<p>Sir Perceval Hart wears a dark fur gown</p>
<p>Oil on canvas Lullingstone Castle, Kent</p>		<p>Robert Dudley (1532—1588), 1st Earl of Leicester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the Garter</p>	<p>Unknown English workshop</p> <p>c. 1575</p>	<p>Sable trimmed and lined gown</p>
<p>Oil on panel 96.5 cm x 68.6 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Elizabeth I's court favorite; Master of the Horse; Lord Steward of the Royal Household; Privy Councilor; Governor-General of the United Provinces</p>			



	<p>Richard Hilliard, father of the artist</p>	<p>Nicolas Hilliard c. 1577</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 62.9 cm x 49.1 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Sir Nicholas Bacon (1510—1579), Lord Keeper of the Great Seal</p> <p>Aged 68, father of Sir Francis Bacon. Inscription includes Bacon’s motto: ‘MEDIOCRIA FIRMA’, which translates as ‘the middle course is most secure’.</p>	<p>Unknown artist 1579</p>	<p>Sable gown trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 49.5 cm x 39.4 cm Dunham Massey, Cheshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>Sir William Cecil (1520—1598), 1st Baron of Burghley, Knight of the Garter, Privy Councillor</p> <p>Secretary of State (1550—53 and 1558—72); Lord High Treasurer from 1572; Lord Privy Seal (1590—98)</p>	<p>British School 1570s</p>	<p>Sable gown lining</p>



 <p>Oil on canvas 130.2 cm x 110.5 cm The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford</p>	<p>Sir William Cecil</p>	<p>Anglo-Netherlandish artist 1580s</p>	<p>Sable stole or robe and trimmed short gown</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 62.2 cm x 54.6 cm Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust)</p>	<p>Elizabeth Hardwick</p>	<p>British School c. 1580</p>	<p>Ermine trimmed gown</p>



	<p>Frances Sidney (1531—1589), Countess of Sussex</p> <p>Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Elizabeth I and founder of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; daughter of Sir William Sidney, of Penshurst Place in Kent; married Thomas, Viscount FitzWalter, Lord Deputy of Ireland</p>	<p>British School</p> <p>1570—75</p>	<p>Lynx or ermine trimming and lining of gown</p>
<p>Oil on panel 193 cm x 111.1 cm The Master, Fellows and Scholars of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge</p>	<p>Sir Walter Raleigh (c. 1554—1618), courtier</p> <p>Landed gentleman; poet; soldier; spy; explorer</p>	<p>Attributed to the Monogrammist “H”</p> <p>1588</p>	<p>Otter or beaver cape collar</p>
		<p>Detail of the edge of the doublet and cloak. (7.1 x mag.)</p>	
<p>Oil on panel 91.4 cm x 74.6 cm The National Portrait Gallery, London</p>			



 <p>Oil on panel 76.2 cm x 63.5 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Sir Francis Walsingham (c. 1532—1590), Knight of the Garter, known as Elizabeth I’s “spymaster”</p> <p>Sir Francis Walsingham was appointed Elizabeth I’s principal secretary and a member of the privy council in 1573; he was knighted in 1577 and received the honorific dignity of the chancellorship of the Order of the Garter in 1578.</p>  <p>Detail of fur collar (7.1 x mag.)</p>	<p>Attributed to John de Critz the Elder</p> <p>c. 1589</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>
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	<p>Sir William Cecil</p>	<p>Unknown artist 1590s</p>	<p>Sable gown lining</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 223 cm x 140.3 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Unknown Noblewoman</p>	<p>Attributed to John de Critz (1551/2—1641) c.1590</p>	<p>Zibellino, sable weasel embellished with gold, bejeweled head and paws; faux ermine pattern embroidered on silk skirt</p>
 <p>103.5 cm x 83 cm Private Collection</p>			

	<p>Unidentified noblewoman</p> <p>Age 27</p> <p>Brought by the Dover Borough Council Chamber in 1598</p>	<p>British School</p> <p>1591</p>	<p>Schematized ermine fur embroidery</p>
<p>Dover District Council</p>  <p>Oil on canvas 227.4 cm x 330.2 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Sir Thomas More (1478—1535), his father, his household, and descendants</p> <p>This portrait shows five generations of the family of the scholar and Lord Chancellor of England, Sir Thomas More. It presents a fiction by showing living and dead family members together in the same room. More's grandson, Thomas More II, commissioned it long after the Lord Chancellor's death, and it is partly based on an earlier group portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger, showing More's immediate family.</p> <p>(from left to right) Sir John More; Ann Cresacre; Sir Thomas More; John More II; Cecily More; Elizabeth More; Margaret More; John More III; Thomas More II; Christopher Cresacre More; Maria More; Anne More</p>	<p>Rowland Lockey (c.1566—1616)</p> <p>1593</p>	<p>John More: wearing gray fur lining; Thomas More: wearing brown fur collar and lining; Anne More (in hanging portrait from c.1560): brown fur collar</p>

 <p>Gouache on vellum on card 24.6 cm x 29.4 cm Victoria and Albert Museum, London</p>	<p>Sir Thomas More, his father, his household, and descendants</p>	<p>Rowland Lackey 1593-94</p>	<p>Note how the textural qualities of fur are realized with lesser success in gouache than with the oil painting version</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 72.9 cm x 62.3 cm Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh</p>	<p>James VI of Scotland, later James I of England</p>	<p>Adrian Vanson (a. 1581-1602) 1595</p>	<p>Ermine trimming</p>



 <p>Oil on panel 77.1 cm x 62.5 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>John Donne (1572—1631), poet and cleric of the Church of England</p> <p>Member of Parliament in 1601 and in 1614; appointed Dean of St Paul's Cathedral in London in 1621</p>	<p>Unknown artist</p> <p>c. 1595</p>	<p>Pine marten / squirrel glove trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 110.5 cm x 87.6 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	<p>Thomas Sackville (1536—1608), 1st Earl of Dorset, Knight of the Garter in 1589</p> <p>Aged 72; Lord Treasurer in 1599 and Lord High Steward in 1601; created Earl of Dorset in 1604</p>	<p>Unknown artist</p> <p>1601</p>	<p>Sable trimmed and lined gown; beaver hat</p>



	<p>Sir Walter Raleigh; Walter Raleigh</p> <p>An unusual double portrait of Sir Walter Raleigh and his son, made at the height of his favour with Elizabeth I.</p>	<p>Unknown artist</p> <p>1602</p>	<p>Beaver hat</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 199.4 cm x 127.3 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>	 <p>Detail of thick, curly strokes used to recreate dense texture of beaver fur.</p>	<p>British School</p> <p>c. 1603</p>	<p>Ermine mantle, cuffs, bodice, and skirt</p>
	<p>Possibly Lucy Russell (1580—1627), Countess of Bedford</p> <p>Patron of the arts and literature in Elizabethan and Jacobean eras; performer in court masques; poet; daughter of Sir John Harrington of Exton; first cousin to Robert Sidney and Mary, Countess of Pembroke; married to Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford, who rode with the Earl of Essex in his rebellion against Elizabeth I; upon James I's ascension to the English throne in 1603, the Bedford fortunes revived; Lucy was audaciously absent at the late queen's funeral and rode hard to the Scottish</p>	<p>British School</p> <p>c. 1603</p>	<p>Ermine mantle, cuffs, bodice, and skirt</p>
<p>Oil on panel 191.4 cm x 113.8 cm National Portrait Gallery, London</p>			

	border, where she was the first to greet the new king's wife		
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Appendix C



Portraits of London Merchants and Retailers in Fur Dress, 1528—1625


Image, Medium, Location	Subject Bio	Artist and Date	Type of Fur Depicted
 <p data-bbox="188 1039 570 1142">Oil on panel Gemaldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden</p>	<p data-bbox="656 562 1008 636"><i>Thomas (d. 1542) and John Godsalue (c. 1505—1556)</i></p> <p data-bbox="656 674 1065 1394">Thomas was a registrar of the consistory court of Norwich, and his son John described himself as a mercer. Thomas had links with Thomas Cromwell and appears to have orchestrated his son’s rise to a position of influence. John became Clerk of the Signet at Henry VIII’s court in 1532, and his official duties involved the purchase of gold and silver cloth from the German merchants of the Steelyard. Although this portrait is an exception, surviving evidence indicates that very few even exceptionally wealthy English merchants commissioned their own portraits before 1540.</p>	<p data-bbox="1099 562 1214 709">Hans Holbein the Younger</p> <p data-bbox="1099 743 1162 774">1528</p>	<p data-bbox="1265 562 1357 632">Pine marten</p>
 <p data-bbox="188 1869 347 1900">Oil on panel</p>	<p data-bbox="656 1402 850 1434"><i>Thomas Kitson</i></p> <p data-bbox="656 1478 1073 1875">Exceptionally wealthy merchant adventurer and mercer Sir Thomas Kitson was painted in the 1530s by a German (or probably Flemish) émigré broadly influenced by Holbein. Kitson was exporting English broadcloths to the Netherlands and importing back to London more luxurious fabrics such as velvet and linen. Kitson</p>	<p data-bbox="1099 1402 1227 1583">Unknown Netherlandish artist c. 1530s</p>	<p data-bbox="1265 1402 1393 1434">Fur collar</p>


<p>Location unknown</p>	<p>benefited from the dissolution of the monasteries, and his vast wealth allowed him to purchase several properties, most notably Hengrave in Suffolk. The portrait was probably commissioned with the intention that it would hang in a room in Kitson's newly finished great house.</p>		
 <p>Oil on panel The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (50.135.4)</p>	<p><i>Hermann von Wedigh or a Member of the Wedigh Family</i></p> <p>Includes an oblique reference not to trade but to another type of import into England at this date: German Reformation ideology. An inscription tucked into a book, which may be a prayer book, includes the words in Latin that translate as “truth brings hatred,” which might refer to the turbulent troubles caused by the “truth” of the Protestant cause.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger 1532</p>	<p>Pine marten or fox trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel Painting Gallery, National Museums in Berlin</p>	<p><i>Georg Gisze</i></p> <p>Shows young merchant in an office environment. He appears with all the necessary tools of his daily employment including a ledger, a quill stand with a money box, a seal mark, a seal ring, a clock and scissors on the table, keys, notebooks and a pair of scales. Some of the objects appear as props in other paintings by Holbein so we are unsure if this is his actual office or a studio setting. We are nevertheless supposed to recognize him at work and he presents himself as a man of</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger 1532</p>	<p>Black fur collar, civet cat</p>


	<p>measured industry, precision, order and ultimately success in his trade.</p>		
 <p>Colored chalk on paper Royal Collection, Windsor (RL I2265)</p>	<p><i>John Godsalue</i></p> <p>Highly worked up drawing from the early 1530s, at the same time the Hanseatic merchant portraits were being commissioned. John is shown against a bright blue background wearing a black fur-lined gown.</p> <p>He holds a letter and stares directly out at the viewer; his unusual expression is both intense and gentle and must have been captured following a direct sitting from the life. The drawing is one of Holbein's most highly finished studies, and it is not clear if it was commissioned as a rare independent study (which would have cost less than an oil portrait) or if it served as a worked-up drawing for a now lost painting.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger c. 1532—1534</p>	<p>Brown fur-lined gown</p>
 <p>Oil on panel</p>	<p><i>Dirck Tybis</i></p> <p>Includes a letter addressed to him at the London Steelyard along with other papers, one with his merchant's mark. There is also a quill pen and ink-well with coins in one of the compartments, as if to leave the viewer in no doubt of his status as a man of trade.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger 1533</p>	<p>Pine marten collar</p>



<p>Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (GG 903)</p>			
 <p>Oil on panel Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig</p>	<p><i>Cyriacus Kale</i></p> <p>Shows subject holding two letters, which include his merchant's mark.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger 1533</p>	<p>Black fur collar and lining, possibly civet cat</p>
 <p>Oil on panel Royal Trust</p>	<p><i>Derich Born</i> (1509/10-after 1549)</p> <p>Born was a merchant from Cologne and the youngest member of the London Hanseatic League. In 1536 he supplied Henry VIII's armorer, Erasmus Kyrkener, with military equipment for the suppression of the Northern Rebellion. Unlike the other Hanseatic portraits the inscription is on the stone ledge at the lower edge: DERICHVS SI VOCEM ADDAS IPSISSIMVS HIC SIT / HVNC DVBITES PICTOR FECERIT AN GENITOR / DER BORN ETATIS SV AE 23. ANNO 1533 . [If you added a voice, this would be Derich his very self. You would be in doubt whether the painter or his father</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger 1533</p>	<p>Black fur-lined gown</p>



	<p>made him. Der Born aged 23, the year 1533]. This suggests that the portrait appears to be so lifelike that you would doubt whether it is painted (by the artist) or is in fact the real living person (the child created by the father). The inscription suggests that the portrait is alive because of the skill of the artist which looks back at the classical tradition when Apelles could match nature with his art.</p>		
 <p>Oil on panel 46.5 cm x 34.8 cm</p>	<p><i>Young merchant at his desk</i></p> <p>The young businessman, aged 28, turns to directly face the viewer. Holbein made the sitter's hands very expressive as they touch several objects related to his profession.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger 1541</p>	<p>Black coat with short sleeves with brown fur collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel Worshipful Company of Barbers, Barber-Surgeons' Hall, London</p>	<p><i>Henry VIII and the Barber-Surgeons</i></p> <p>The picture was commissioned to celebrate the union of the Barbers' Company with the Surgeons' in 1541 and shows eighteen members of the newly amalgamated company.</p>	<p>Hans Holbein the Younger and studio 1541—1543</p>	<p>Some of the members wear fur collars</p>



	<p><i>Clement Newce</i> (c. 1507—1579)</p> <p>Merchant financier and purveyor of luxury goods based in London; had international links with merchants across Europe. He was admitted to the Mercers' Company in 1532 and was apprenticed to a Bartholomew Baron and went on to become a successful international merchant.</p> <p>Newce is placed between the arms of the Merchant Adventurers and the emblem of the Mercers' Company. He is expensively dressed in a black fur-trimmed cloak with a gold chain just evident at his neck and gold rings upon his fingers. His pose is nevertheless restrained and contemplative, and he clasps a prayer book or psalter with both hands.</p> <p>He is placed against an architectural background, positioned at a corner where a wall protrudes outward to the left, as if he stands to one side of an entrance.</p>	<p>Unknown German Artist</p> <p>c. 1545</p>	<p>Black gown with short sleeves; brown fur trimming and lining at collar and edge of sleeves</p>
<p>Oil on panel Private collection</p>	<p><i>Sir Thomas Exmewe</i> (1454-1529)</p> <p>His portrait hung alongside Gawen Goodman's and his father's, and this evidence of a group display indicates how urban elites were becoming confident in using portraiture to chart their own merchant networks and chronologies of families and associates.</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>c. 1550</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>

<p>Oil on panel Guildhall Art Gallery, London</p>			
 <p>Oil on panel On loan to the Museum of London (L266)</p>	<p><i>Possibly Sir William Hewett (c. 1508—1567)</i></p> <p>The subject wears the clothes of an English alderman from the 1550s. May represent the master of the Clothworkers' Company, William Hewett, who became Mayor of London in 1559. The figure is competently painted, but the architectural background depicting a stone building is crudely executed and almost certainly by another, probably later hand.</p> <p>Hewett first became an alderman in 1550, was elected sheriff by 1553, and was knighted soon after becoming mayor in 1559. He also acted as an agent for George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.</p>	<p>Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist</p> <p>1550— 1555</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel Goldsmiths' Company, London</p>	<p><i>Robert Trappes</i></p> <p>Portrait presents a conflicted visual persona (i.e. piety versus wealth).</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>1554</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>

	<p><i>Sir William Chester</i></p> <p>Draper, alderman, and Lord Mayor Chester appears alongside a clock with figures of Christ and Death perched upon the hanging weights. He also wears a death's head ring.</p> <p>As an energetic capitalist he traded not only in cloth but in a range of other speculative ventures in Russia, Persia and Africa, including sugar refining and also one of the earliest slave trading ventures.</p> <p>He served as alderman for four different wards from 1553 to 1573. He became Mayor of London in 1560. He was a prominent member of the political elite in London, serving as master of the Drapers' Company five times and MP for the City in 1563—1564. He was one of several men to act as a signatory on behalf of the City of London to Edward VI's will, and was present as one of the many prominent citizens who lined Cheapside on Elizabeth I's entrance to London at her accession in 1558.</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>c. 1560</p>	<p>Sleeves edged with brown and wide fur collar</p>
<p>Oil on panel Drapers' Company, London</p>			



	<p><i>Sir Rowland Hill</i> (c. 1494-1561)</p> <p>Mercer and Lord Mayor of London. He was a prominent merchant adventurer and served as master of the Mercer's Company three times in the 1540s and 1550s, as mayor in 1549, and was knighted in 1542.</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>c. 1560</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>
<p>Oil on panel Museum of London</p>	<p>There is a lengthy inscription in Latin written onto a strip of paper stuck to the base. Hill was apprenticed to Thomas Kitson in 1519 and was likely to have seen his portrait dating from the 1530s. It is probably that Hill's connections to a wide range of institutions, companies, and charities, including schools and hospitals in both London and his home town of Market Drayton in Shropshire, prompted the various institutional recipients of his generosity to record his memory by hanging a version of his portrait.</p>		
	<p><i>Unknown Man Holding a Book</i></p> <p>Depicts a wealthy merchant; provenance and style of painting indicate that the sitter is likely English.</p>	<p>Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist</p> <p>c. 1560—1570</p>	<p>Black gown with high collar, long sleeves, and asymmetrical opening; brown fur trimming at collar and cuffs; same brown fur lining visible at opening of coat.</p>
<p>Oil on panel Dulwich Picture Gallery, London (DPG 151)</p>			


 <p data-bbox="191 856 597 919">Oil on panel Goldsmiths' Company, London</p>	<p data-bbox="656 233 841 268"><i>Martin Bowes</i></p> <p data-bbox="656 306 1065 415">Exceptionally wealthy goldsmith and alderman Martin Bowes, who died in 1566.</p>	<p data-bbox="1097 233 1230 342">Unknown English artist</p> <p data-bbox="1097 380 1235 489">After a portrait of 1562</p>	<p data-bbox="1265 233 1382 489">Fluffy brown collar of men's gown, possibly fox</p>
 <p data-bbox="191 1234 435 1297">Oil on panel Location unknown</p>	<p data-bbox="656 926 1068 1035"><i>Double Portrait of a Husband and Wife, Members of the Silver Family</i></p> <p data-bbox="656 1073 1057 1654">The painting and its frame contain several inscriptions about the fragility of life, the imminence of death, and the need to pray for the hereafter. The inscription "Silver is my name wch is of a notable fame" across the top reads as a type of justification for visual representation. Sitters are 64 and 61 and they are concerned with representing their worldly reputation and prosperity, alongside their awareness of mortality and a concern for salvation.</p>	<p data-bbox="1097 926 1230 1035">Unknown English artist</p> <p data-bbox="1097 1073 1166 1108">1564</p>	<p data-bbox="1265 926 1398 1108">Brown fur collar on both husband and wife</p>


	<p><i>John Lonyson</i></p> <p>London goldsmith (1525—1582). Lonyson was from a Flemish family of émigré goldsmiths who first established themselves in the town of Kings Lynn in Norfolk. Lonyson leased buildings after 1552 in Goldsmith Row consisting of a shop, counting house, melting yard and garden, although he is not recorded as taking on his first apprentices until 1558. He was elected to the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company in May 1564, and a year later commissioned this portrait, which must have been partly a demonstration of his successful entry into the London elite.</p>	<p>Unknown Anglo-Netherlandish artist</p> <p>1565</p>	<p>Black fur collar</p>
	<p><i>Sir William Petre</i></p> <p>(1505/6—1572) A statesman, the son of a well-to-do tanner, derived from a family on the fringes of the gentry. First went into government service and therefore rose to become principal secretary of state under Mary I. His portrait of 1567 was painted at a time when his rise to power was complete, and he appears with a rod of office and newly acquired coat of arms. His assimilation into the ranks of courtiers was facilitated by intellect and connections, but at the right moment a portrait could become a useful tool to present the appropriate face of judicious authority and a willingness to serve. Petre's portrait hung at his house at Ingatestone Hall in Essex, and</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>1567</p>	<p>Dark fur collar</p>



Oil on panel
Goldsmiths' Company London



Oil on panel
National Portrait Gallery, London
(NPG 3816)


	<p>an inventory produced in 1600 after William's death records it was the only family portrait hanging in the Long Gallery.</p>		
 <p>Oil on panel Lampport Hall, Northamptonshire</p>  <p>Account books of John Isham (front view and side view), mid-late sixteenth century, Northampton County Record Office</p>	<p><i>John Isham</i> (1525—1596) Went from successful business man to landed elite in course of one generation. Apprenticed to mercer in London in 1542, Isham died a country gentleman, the owner of a large estate at Lampport near Northampton, which supplied wool to the cloth trade. The portrait was painted when Isham was in his early forties, at a time when he became Renter Warden of the Mercers' Company. He provided notably lavish hospitality for the company feast. Three years later, he moved permanently to Lampport. His dress and the business ledgers in the portrait clearly identify him as a wealthy man of trade.</p> <p>He did not want to distance himself from his roots in trade and in his will requested that his gravestone have brass plaque with the arms of the City of London, the Mercers' Company and the Merchant Adventurers alongside his own. His will refers to his life as a successful merchant and he states that by the means of trade and "with the blessing of God [I] received my preferment and was enabled to purchase the manor of Langporte." He celebrated and gave thanks for his success in the cloth trade as the source</p>	<p>Unknown English Artist c. 1567</p>	<p>Black gown with short sleeves; wide brown fur collar and trimming at sleeves and hem of gown</p>

 <p data-bbox="191 737 618 806">Oil on panel Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire</p>	<p data-bbox="654 197 894 226">of social mobility.</p> <p data-bbox="654 233 1013 262"><i>Sir Thomas Leigh</i> (d. 1571)</p> <p data-bbox="654 306 1073 1579">Married to Alice Coverdale (d. 1604) before March 1536. Alice was the niece of and principal heir to the mercer Sir Rowland Hill. She added considerable wealth to their union. Leigh was twice master of the Mercers' Company and served as an alderman for almost twenty years from 1552. He was Lord Mayor the year of Queen Elizabeth I's accession in 1558, and despite outbursts of disorder in the streets of London, he was knighted in January 1559. He purchased property in Stoneleigh, Warwickshire (his main country residence) and Adlestrop, Gloucestershire. The portrait shows him at the age of 70, just a year before his death. He and his wife wear a plain gold chain and a black fur-lined gown in their portraits. Thomas Leigh was no keeper of fashion despite his wealth, as he wears a small linen ruff, which even in mercantile circles was at least ten years out of date. As a major London importer of luxury goods he would have had direct contacts with foreign artisans, suppliers and their factories in London.</p>	<p data-bbox="1092 233 1230 411">Unknown English artist c. 1570</p>	<p data-bbox="1260 233 1398 302">Brown fur collar</p>
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 <p>Pen and ink with wash British Library, London (Add. 28330)</p>	<p><i>Mayor and Alderman</i> from manuscript <i>Corte Beschryuinghe van Engheland, Schotland, ende Irland</i></p> <p>Lucas de Heere was a resident in Britain from around 1566 to 1576. He undertook numerous pen and ink drawings of notable features of the British Isles in a sketchbook of 1574, including several types of the principal London citizens such as aldermen and merchants. Very few drawings of ordinary citizens exist, and his assured and swiftly rendered drawings have the appearance of being at least based upon studies from the life.</p>	<p>Lucas de Heere c. 1574</p>	<p>The mayor and alderman are depicted wearing long, brown fur-trimmed gowns.</p>
 <p>Pen and ink with wash British Library, London (Add. 28330)</p>	<p><i>Four Citizens' Wives</i> from manuscript <i>Corte Beschryuinghe van Engheland, Schotland, ende Irland</i></p> <p>Four women are depicted from left to right: a ordinary citizen's wife; a wealthy citizen's wife and her daughter; and a countrywoman.</p>	<p>Lucas de Heere c. 1574</p>	<p>The wealthiest woman wears brocaded fabrics and jewelry. She is the also the only one to wear a gray fur collar.</p>

	<p><i>Sir Christopher Hatton</i></p> <p>Likely commissioned to celebrate Hatton's appointment as Chancellor of Oxford University. Includes his coat of arms and the arms of the city of Oxford, his recently acquired garter badge, his crest of the golden hind, and a book with arms of the University of Oxford.</p>	<p>Unknown English Artist</p> <p>c. 1588—1591</p>	<p>Black gown with brown fur collar</p>
<p>Oil on panel National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 1518)</p>	<p><i>Robert Dowe or Dove</i> (1523-1612)</p> <p>Wears death's head ring.</p>	<p>Studio of John de Critz</p> <p>c. 1606</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>
	<p>Oil on panel Merchant Taylors' Hall, London</p>		

 <p>Oil on panel Merchant Taylors' Hall, London</p>	<p><i>William Craven</i> (1548-1618)</p> <p>Wears death's head ring. Only one of three portraits of Merchant Taylors' Company that shows its subject wearing the costume of civic office, perhaps because he served as an alderman from 1600 and Mayor London in 1610-11, when this portrait was painted.</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>c. 1610</p>	<p>Fur collar</p>
 <p>Oil on panel Merchant Taylors' Hall, London</p>	<p><i>John Vernon</i> (d. 1616)</p> <p>Was warden of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1599 and 1604 and master in 1609. Vernon was particularly interested in portraiture and the probable patron of several other portraits. His portrait adopts the pose now quite commonplace for members of the elite citizenry of placing one hand upon a skull or death's head.</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>c. 1610</p>	<p>Fur collar</p>

	<p><i>John Bankes</i></p> <p>London mercer wears elaborate and expensive accessories alongside his black attire and fur-lined cloak. One hand reaches out to touch a skull, a gesture which appears at odds with his interest in decorative finery.</p> <p>He was the son of Thomas Bankes, a barber surgeon, and he was made free of the Mercers in 1598-9. He became a prosperous merchant and was elected master of the Mercers' Company in 1630 but died just a few days later. In the top right corner of his portrait is the Mercers' Maiden, a badge in use by the company since the 15th century.</p>	<p>Unknown English artist</p> <p>1625</p>	<p>Brown fur collar</p>
<p>Oil on panel Chequers Court, Buckinghamshire</p>			


Appendix E



*Dutch Paintings Depicting the Fur-Trimmed Jak, 1650—1670**

*organized alphabetically by artist

Image, Medium, Size, Location	Title	Artist and Date	Type of Fur Depicted
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B



 <p data-bbox="203 1270 535 1371">Oil on canvas 45.2 cm x 37.8 cm Staatliche Museen, Berlin</p>	<p data-bbox="737 653 925 688"><i>Dutch Interior</i></p> <p data-bbox="737 730 1071 1129">A still life of a lobster on a silver plate hangs above the equally sumptuous still life of a silk and fur-trimmed <i>jak</i> and satin slippers. The entire image represents the domestic domain of a woman, absent but alluded to by proxy through the unworn clothing.</p>	<p data-bbox="1107 653 1230 798">Cornelis Bisschop c. 1660</p>	<p data-bbox="1266 653 1393 724">White fur trimming</p>
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 <p>Oil on panel 34.5 cm x 29.5 cm Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen, Rotterdam</p>	<p><i>Portrait of Wiesken Matthys Spinning</i></p> <p>Depicts the artist's stepmother.</p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch</p> <p>c. 1652- 53</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 33.5 cm x 29 cm Mauritshuis, The Hague</p>	<p><i>Portrait of Wiesken Matthys Combing a Child's Hair</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch</p> <p>c. 1652- 53</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

	<p><i>Woman sewing by a cradle</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1656</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p><i>Interior with a courier handing a letter to a young woman, also known as "The Letter Refused"</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1656-58</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on canvas
46.5 cm x 38 cm
Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague

Oil on panel
46 cm x 56 cm
Alte Pinothek, Munich

	<p><i>Woman sealing a letter with a maidservant</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1658-59</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p><i>Couple drinking at a table</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1658-59</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

Oil on canvas
56.5 cm x 43.8 cm
Private collection, New York

Oil on canvas
41.3 cm x 32.1 cm
Royal Collection Trust, London

 <p>Oil on panel 45.2 cm x 38.6 cm The Wallace Collection, London</p>	<p><i>The letter writer surprised</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1660</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 50 cm x 37 cm Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon</p>	<p><i>Woman with rustic courier</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1660</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on canvas
76.2 cm x 62.2 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Curiosity

Gerard ter Borch

c. 1660-62

White fur trimming





Oil on canvas
79.5 cm x 68 cm
Her Majesty the Queen, Buckingham Palace, London



The letter



Gerard ter Borch



c. 1660-65

White fur trimming

 <p data-bbox="204 793 662 898">Oil on canvas mounted on panel 36.3 cm x 30.7 cm Kunsthistorisches Museum, Viena</p>	<p data-bbox="735 195 1036 233"><i>Woman peeling apples</i></p>	<p data-bbox="1104 195 1235 338">Gerard ter Borch c. 1661</p>	<p data-bbox="1263 195 1395 268">White fur trimming</p>
 <p data-bbox="204 1507 626 1612">Oil on canvas 44.2 cm x 32.2 cm The Wallace Collection, London</p>	<p data-bbox="735 905 911 942"><i>Letter reader</i></p>	<p data-bbox="1104 905 1235 1050">Gerard ter Borch c. 1662</p>	<p data-bbox="1263 905 1395 978">White fur trimming</p>

 <p>Oil on canvas 68 cm x 55.2 cm Musée du Louvre, Paris</p>	<p><i>Gallant Military Man</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1662-3</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 82.5 cm x 72 cm Musée du Louvre, Paris</p>	<p><i>The duet</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch 1669</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

 <p>Oil on panel 58.1 cm x 47.6 cm Cincinnati Art Museum</p>	<p><i>The music party</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1670</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 57.1 cm x 45.7 cm Staatliche Museen zu Berlin</p>	<p><i>The concert</i></p>	<p>Gerard ter Borch c. 1675</p>	<p>The woman playing the virginal wears a white-fur <i>jak</i>. The woman with her back to us wears a sable tippet around her neck.</p>

 <p>Oil on canvas 66 cm x 53 cm Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam</p>	<p><i>The tailor's workshop</i></p>	<p>Quirijn van Brekelen kam 1661</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 47 cm x 36 cm Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam</p>	<p><i>Confidential conversation</i></p>	<p>Quirijn van Brekelen kam 1661</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on panel
47.8 cm x 35.7 cm
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

Woman washing her hands

Quirijn
van
Brekelen
kam

1662

White fur
trimming





Oil on panel
42 cm x 32.5 cm
Present location unknown

*Woman reading a letter
with a young messenger*

Quirijn
van
Brekelen
kam

1662

White fur
trimming

	<p><i>A man playing a lute and a woman with a parrot</i></p>	<p>Quirijn van Brekelen kam</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 40 cm x 30 cm Private collection</p>	<p>1662</p>	<p><i>The gallant conversation</i></p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p>Quirijn van Brekelen kam</p>	<p>c. 1663</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 41.3 cm x 35.2 cm Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</p>			



Oil on panel
49.8 cm x 39.4 cm
Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester

*Interior with a lady
choosing a fish*

Quirijn
van
Brekelen
kam

1664

White fur
trimming




Oil on panel
36 cm x 31 cm
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

A visit to the nursery


Quirijn
van
Brekelen
kam


c. 1665

White fur
trimming

	<p><i>Mother feeding a child</i></p>	<p>Quirijn van Brekelen kam</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 30.5 cm x 25.5 cm Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam</p>			

D


	<p><i>Portrait of a young woman</i></p>	<p>Gerrit Dou c. 1655</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel (oval) 14.5 cm x 11.7 cm The National Gallery, London</p>			



 <p>Oil on panel 86 cm x 67.8 cm Musée du Louvre, Paris</p>	<p><i>Lovesick woman</i></p> 	<p>Gerrit Dou 1663</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 75.5 cm x 58 cm Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam</p>	<p><i>Woman at her toilette</i></p>	<p>Gerrit Dou 1667</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



E

	<p><i>Party on a terrace</i></p>	<p>Gerbrand van den Eeckhout c. 1652</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 50.5 cm x 62.5 cm Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</p>			

H



	<p><i>Tavern scene</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch c. 1650-5</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 46 cm x 37 cm Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam</p>			



	<p><i>A woman nursing an infant with a child and a dog</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch 1658-60</p>	<p>Although the cuffs are not trimmed with fur, the hem is</p>	
<p>Oil on canvas 67.6 cm x 53.6 cm Palace of the Legion of Honor, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco</p>		<p><i>Woman and her maid in a courtyard</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch c. 1660-61</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 73.7 cm x 62.2 cm The National Gallery, London</p>				

	<p><i>The mother</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch c. 1661-63</p>	<p>Cream fur trimming</p>
	<p><i>Interior with women beside a linen cupboard</i></p> <p>Depicts the final stage of linen care. The lady of the house, in a black fur-lined jacket, long red skirt, and white apron, is shown placing the clean and folded linens, held for her by her daughter, into a large oak ball-footed chest inlaid with ebony.</p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch 1663</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen
Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin

Oil on canvas
70 cm x 75.5 cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

	<p><i>Woman peeling apples</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch 1663</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>	
<p>Oil on canvas</p>		<p><i>A woman reading a letter by a window</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch 1664</p>	<p>Seems more like a bodice/stays than a <i>jak</i> with white fur trimming at sleeve and hem of the peplum skirt</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 55 cm x 55 cm Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts), Budapest</p>				

 <p>Oil on canvas 62.9 cm x 54.8 cm Staaliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie</p>	<p><i>Woman weighing coins</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch c. 1664</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid</p>	<p><i>Woman at her needlework with a child</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch c. 1668</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on canvas
83 cm x 72 cm
Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen,
Rotterdam

*A woman and a serving
girl with a fish*

Pieter de
Hooch

c. 1668

White fur
trimming



Oil on canvas
64 cm x 77 cm
North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh

*Two women and a child
by a fireplace*



Pieter de
Hooch

c. 1668

White fur
trimming



	<p><i>Woman handing a coin to a servant with a child</i></p>	<p>Pieter de Hooch c. 1668-72</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p><i>Doctor's visit</i></p>	<p>Samuel van Hoogstraten c. 1670</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 73 cm x 66 cm Los Angeles County Museum of Art</p>	<p>Oil on canvas 69.5 cm x 55 cm Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam</p>		

L

	<p><i>Brothel scene</i></p>	<p>Jacob van Loo c. 1650</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 76.2 cm x 63.5 cm Private collection</p>	<p><i>Portrait of Jan Hinlopen and Leonora Huydecoper</i></p>	<p>Jacob van Loo c. 1657-8</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p>Jan Jacobsz. Hinlopen (1626-1666) was a wealthy textile merchant in Amsterdam. He was ensign of the civic guard in 1655, lieutenant in 1657, church warden of the Nieuwe Kerk in 1657, commissioner in 1657, alderman in 1661. He married Leonora Huydecoper (1631-1663) in Amsterdam on 3 April 1657. She died six years later. Two years after her death, Hinlopen married his second wife, Lucia Wijbrants, in 1665.</p> <p>Van Loo probably painted their likeness as</p>	<p>Oil on canvas 119 cm x 156 cm Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest</p>	



	<p>a wedding present in 1657 or before April 1658 when their first child was born. The double portrait depicts the couple in an interior. Jan is seated at a table, pen in hand and head turned to Leonora. In the mantelpiece behind him is a cast iron stove with a bas-relief of the Nativity and the Annunciation to the shepherds on the side facing the viewer. The back of the fireplace is lined with some blue and white tiles decorated with sea creature motifs. Leonora passes sweets to the pet dog, which symbolizes conjugal loyalty.</p>		
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M

	<p><i>The idle servant</i></p>	<p>Nicolaes Maes 1655</p>	<p>White fur trimming with black spots</p>
	<p><i>The eavesdropper</i></p>	<p>Nicolaes Maes c. 1655-6</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

Oil on panel
70 cm x 53.3 cm
The National Gallery, London

Oil on canvas
57.5 cm x 66 cm
Apsley House, London

	<p><i>The account keeper</i></p>	<p>Nicolaes Maes 1656</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 66 cm x 53.7 cm Saint Louis Art Museum</p>	<p><i>The eavesdropper</i></p> <p>The mistress draws attention to an amorous pair standing in the lower hallway. Her knowing look is one that assumes a sympathetic response from the viewer that stems from shared experiences, a sort of “good help is hard to find” type of response, tinged with a bit of moral outrage. Upstairs in the dining area, the master stands and has noticed that the wine glasses are empty and that the maid has not appeared to refill them. The mistress of the house has descended the stairs and discovered that the maid, instead of attending to her duties, has allowed herself to become amorously</p>	<p>Nicolaes Maes 1657</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p>Oil on canvas 92.5 cm x 122 cm Dordrechts Museum, on loan from the Collection Nederlands Institute for Cultural Heritage, Rijswijk, Amsterdam</p>		

	<p>involved with her own guest, an elegant cavalier whose red jacket, fur hat, and sword are placed over the chair in the right foreground. The large wall map of the world hanging directly above his coat further alludes to his worldly ways.</p>		
 <p>Oil on panel 40 cm x 31 cm Private collection</p>	<p><i>Young girl sewing</i></p>	<p>Nicolaes Maes 1657</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 62 cm x 66 cm Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano</p>	<p><i>The naughty drummer</i></p>	<p>Nicolaes Maes</p>	<p>Leopard or lynx fur trimming</p>



Oil on canvas
65 cm x 58 cm
Stedelijk Museum "het Prinsenhof,"
Delft

*Interior with a woman
sweeping*

Cornelis
de Man
(1621-
1706)

1666

Brownish-
gray fur
trimming





Oil on canvas
82 cm x 68 cm
Private collection

*A man weighing gold or
The goldweigher*


Cornelis
de Man
c. 1670

White fur
trimming

	<p><i>Young lady drawing</i></p>	<p>Gabriel Metsu c. 1657-59</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p><i>A sick woman and a weeping maidservant</i></p>	<p>Gabriel Metsu c. 1657-9</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

Oil on panel
36.3 cm x 30.7 cm
The National Gallery, London

Oil on panel
31 cm x 26.5 cm
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

 <p>Oil on canvas 51 cm x 48 cm The City of Amsterdam, Amsterdam</p>	<p><i>The hunter's gift</i></p>	<p>Gabriel Metsu 1658-60</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 66.6 cm x 59.4 cm National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.</p>	<p><i>The intruder</i></p>	<p>Gabriel Metsu c. 1659-62</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on panel
 36.5 cm x 30 cm
 Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel,
 Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel

A woman tuning her cittern, approached by a man

Gabriel Metsu
 c. 1659-62

White fur trimming





Oil on canvas
 77.5 cm x 81.3 cm
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

A visit to the nursery

Commissioned by Jan Hinlopen. Jan Vos (1610-1667), who served as “house poet” to the Hinlopen family, included a poem about the painting in the 1662 edition of his collected works. The poem identified the image’s distinctively Dutch subject as a *kraambezoek* (lying-in visit). The scene is set in an imaginary *zaal* or *voorkamer* (front room or reception room) of a magnificent town house and represents the artist’s idea of an extremely luxurious lying-in room. Metsu modeled the room’s main features (the fireplace with red marble columns and a

Gabriel Metsu
 1661

White fur trimming

	frieze and putti, the black-and-white marble floor, and the doorway revealed by drapery) after the burgomasters' council chamber in the new Town Hall of Amsterdam, designed by Jacob van Campen in 1655.		
 <p>Musée du Louvre, Paris</p>	<i>Vegetable market in Amsterdam</i>	Gabriel Metsu c. 1661-62	White fur trimming
 <p>Oil on panel 28.6 cm x 24.1 cm Private collection</p>	<i>A woman artist (Le Corset rouge)</i>	Gabriel Metsu c. 1661-4	White fur trimming



Oil on panel
61.5 cm x 45.5 cm
Gemäldegalerie, Dresden

*An old man selling
poultry and game*

Gabriel
Metsu

1662

White fur
trimming




Oil on panel
57.8 cm x 43.5 cm
Mauritshuis, The Hague

*A young woman
composing music*

Gabriel
Metsu



c. 1662-
63

White fur
trimming

	<p><i>Woman writing a letter</i></p>	<p>Gabriel Metsu c. 1662-4</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p><i>A man offering a glass of wine to a woman tuning a lute</i></p>	<p>Gabriel Metsu c. 1662-5</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

Oil on panel
39.4 cm x 33.2 cm
The Leiden Collection, New York

Oil on panel
46.9 cm x 40 cm
Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury

 <p>Oil on oak 35 cm x 26.5 cm Staaliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden</p>	<p><i>A woman working lace</i></p>	<p>Gabriel Metsu 1663</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 61 cm x 48 cm The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg</p>	<p><i>A doctor's visit</i></p>	<p>Gabriel Metsu c. 1664-7</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on panel
52.5 cm x 40.2 cm
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin

*Woman reading a letter
with a maidservant*

Gabriel
Metsu
c. 1665-
67

Ermine
fur
trimming





Oil on panel
34 cm x 26 cm
Puskin Museum, Moscow

*Woman working lace
with parrot*



Gabriel
Metsu

White fur
trimming

	<p><i>The doctor's visit</i></p>	<p>Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635-1681) 1657</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p><i>Portrait of the artist's wife, Cunera van der Cock</i></p> <p>When recorded in the seventeenth-century inventory of Franciscus de la Boë Sylvius, an internationally famous professor of medicine, the makers of the list thought it important to record that the portrait represented the artist's wife. Since she was neither a relative of Sylvius nor a celebrity, but merely the model for a <i>tronie</i> (a type of single-figure painting that was usually marketed as a sample of artistic virtuosity), the identification seems intended to emphasize the truthfulness of the representation. It suggests that the</p>	<p>Frans van Mieris the Elder c. 1657-58</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

Oil on copper
33 cm x 27 cm
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Oil on panel
11.1 cm x 8.2 cm
The National Gallery, London

	viewer's knowledge of the model's personal relation to the renowned artist added value to the picture.		
 <p data-bbox="203 974 662 1079">Oil on panel 55 cm x 43 cm Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna</p>	<p data-bbox="764 380 959 415"><i>The cloth shop</i></p> <p data-bbox="764 457 1089 1178">A smirking officer strokes the chin of a slightly disheveled clerk while he touches a cloth swatch on the table. He compares the textures of the silken cloth with the delicate skin of the clerk. And judging from her enticing appearance he can probably purchase both the fabric and its seller. An old man in the back points to the mantel above on which hangs a painting of the Old Testament tale of Adam and Eve mourning the body of their slain son, Abel.</p>	<p data-bbox="1118 380 1247 485">Frans van Mieris the Elder</p> <p data-bbox="1118 527 1187 562">1660</p>	<p data-bbox="1274 380 1403 449">White fur trimming</p>
 <p data-bbox="203 1862 363 1890">Oil on panel</p>	<p data-bbox="764 1262 964 1297"><i>Teasing the pet</i></p>	<p data-bbox="1118 1262 1247 1367">Frans van Mieris the Elder</p> <p data-bbox="1118 1409 1187 1444">1660</p>	<p data-bbox="1274 1262 1403 1331">White fur trimming</p>

<p>27.5 cm x 20 cm Mauritshuis, The Hague</p>			
 <p>Oil on panel 27 cm x 21 cm Mauritshuis, The Hague</p>	<p><i>The oyster meal</i></p>	<p>Frans van Mieris the Elder 1661</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 30 cm x 23 cm Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin</p>	<p><i>Woman admiring herself in a mirror</i></p>	<p>Frans van Mieris the Elder c. 1662</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on panel
22.5 cm x 17.5 cm
The Leiden Collection, New York

Woman and parrot

Frans van Mieris the Elder

1663

White fur trimming





Oil on panel
27 cm x 20 cm
Private collection


A woman sealing a letter by candlelight

Frans van Mieris the Elder



1667

White fur trimming

 <p>Oil on panel 44.5 cm x 31.1 cm J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles</p>	<p><i>The doctor's visit</i></p>	<p>Frans van Mieris the Elder 1667</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 18.5 cm x 14.5 cm Private collection, France</p>	<p><i>A young woman writing a letter</i></p>	<p>Frans van Mieris the Elder c. 1670</p>	<p>Jacket that woman wears is not same shape as typical <i>jak</i>, looks more like a cape. White fur trimming.</p>



	<p><i>Young woman at her toilette</i></p>	<p>Frans van Mieris the Elder</p> <p>1667</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 28 cm x 22 cm Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden</p>			


N

	<p><i>Ill-matched couple</i></p>	<p>Eglon van der Neer c. 1672-7</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p><i>The letter with the black seal</i></p>	<p>Caspar Netscher 1665</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>


Oil on panel
24 cm x 19.7 cm
Private collection, Zurich

Oil on panel
30.9 cm x 26.5 cm
Staatliches Museum, Schwerin

	<p><i>A lady at a spinning wheel</i></p>	<p>Caspar Netscher 1665</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 22.5 cm x 17.7 cm The National Gallery, London</p>	<p><i>Woman combing a child's hair</i></p>	<p>Caspar Netscher 1669</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p>Oil on panel 44.5 cm x 38 cm Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam</p>		

	<p><i>Woman teaching a child to read</i></p>	<p>Caspar Netscher 1669</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 45.1 cm x 37 cm The National Gallery, London</p>			

O

	<p><i>A fishmonger at the door</i></p>	<p>Jacob Ochtervelt 1663</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 55.5 cm x 44 cm Royal Picture Gallery, The Hague</p>			



Oil on canvas
54 cm x 44.5 cm
Guildhall Art Gallery, London

The oyster meal

Jacob Ochtervelt
c. 1664-5

White fur trimming



Oil on panel
43 cm x 33.5 cm
Museum Boijmans van Beuningen,
Rotterdam

The oysters

Jacob Ochtervelt
1667

White fur trimming



Oil on canvas
75 cm x 58.5 cm
The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford

Portrait of Isaac Elsevier (1627-1684), Anna van der Mast (?-1679), their four children and a nanny



Jacob
Ochtervelt
c. 1668-9

White fur
trimming

In the background are portraits of the parents of Isaac Elsevier: the Leiden printer Abraham Elsevier (1592-1652) and Catharina van Waesbergen (1597-1659)

Each household member acts in accordance with his or her domestic place: the father, wearing the serious, elegant black befitting the head of the household, is seated in the widely spread pose considered proper only to men. His wife, standing at ease, is dressed in a fine skirt with gold brocade and fur-trimmed *jak*, but her long apron signals her willingness to serve as mistress of the household. The orange she proffers at the center of the composition symbolizes the abundant fruit she has borne. The youngest child is presented by the maid, who stands to the far right and modestly averts her gaze.

S

 <p>Oil on panel 26.6 cm x 20.4 cm The National Gallery of Art, London</p>	<p><i>Le duo à la rose</i></p>	<p>Godfried Schalcken c. 1665- 70</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 39.5 cm x 30.5 cm Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden</p>	<p><i>Teasing the pet</i></p>	<p>Pieter van Slingelandt 1672</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

 <p>Oil on panel 30.4 cm x 40.2 cm Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel</p>	<p><i>Fish market</i></p>	<p>Hendrick Sorgh 1654</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel 65 cm x 49 cm Historical Museum, Rotterdam</p>	<p><i>Portrait of Family of Eeuwout Prins</i></p>	<p>Hendrick Sorgh 1661</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on panel
21 cm x 15 cm
Mauritshuis, The Hague

Girl eating oysters

Jan Steen
c. 1658-
60

White fur
trimming





Oil on panel
47 cm x 33 cm
Ascott House, National Trust



Wandering musicians

Jan Steen
1659

White fur
trimming

	<p><i>The oysters</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1660-65</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 38 cm x 31.7 cm Nasjonalmuseet for Kunst, Arkitektur, Oslo</p>	<p><i>“Easy come, easy go”</i> (“Soo gewonnen, soo verteert”)</p>	<p>Jan Steen 1661</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
	<p>Oil on canvas 79 cm x 104 cm Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam</p>		

 <p>Oil on panel 47.5 cm x 41 cm Apsley House, London</p>	<p><i>The doctor's visit</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1661-2</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 61 cm x 52.1 cm Alte Pinakothek, Munich</p>	<p><i>"No doctor needed here, since it is love sickness"</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1661-3</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>

 <p>The painting depicts a busy, cluttered interior scene. In the foreground, a woman sits on a chair, her legs crossed, wearing a white fur-trimmed garment. She is surrounded by various objects, including a dog, a bowl, and scattered items on the floor. In the background, several other figures are engaged in different activities, such as playing a lute and sitting at a table. The room is filled with furniture and household items, creating a sense of a lived-in, somewhat chaotic space.</p>	<p><i>The dissolute household</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1661-64</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 80.5 cm x 89 cm Victoria and Albert Museum, London</p>	<p><i>Woman at her toilette</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1661-5</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>The painting shows a woman seated on a wooden chair, leaning forward as she adjusts her stockings. She is wearing a white headscarf and a blue and white dress. The room is dimly lit, with a checkered floor and a small table with a bowl and a glass. The background is dark, suggesting a private, intimate space.</p>			
<p>Oil on panel 37 cm x 27.5 cm Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam</p>			



Oil on panel
64.7 cm x 53 cm
Royal Collection, UK

A woman at her toilette

Jan Steen
1663

White fur
trimming



Oil on canvas
105 cm x 145.5 cm
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

In luxury, beware

Jan Steen
1663

White fur
trimming

 <p>Oil on panel 44.5 cm x 37.1 cm Taft Museum of Art, Cincinnati, Ohio</p>	<p><i>The doctor's visit</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1663</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 134 cm x 163 cm Mauritshuis, The Hague</p>	<p><i>"As the old sing, so pipe the young"</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1663</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on panel</p>	<p><i>Wine is a mocker</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1663-4</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



Oil on canvas
89 cm x 109 cm
Wallace Collection, London

Celebrating the Birth

Jan Steen
1664

The pregnant woman to the left is wearing a *jak* with white fur trimming.




Oil on canvas
108 cm x 90.2 cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The dissolute household


Jan Steen
c. 1665



White fur trimming

 <p>Oil on canvas 82 cm x 70.5 cm Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam</p>	<p><i>The feast of Saint Nicholas</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen c. 1665</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 69.2 cm x 78.8 cm Kunsthalle, Hamburg</p>	<p><i>Twin birth celebration</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen 1668</p>	<p>Only the young woman to the right wears a fur <i>jak</i>, suggesting that this garment was associated with beauty.</p>

 <p>Oil on canvas</p>	<p><i>Wine is a mocker</i></p>	<p>Jan Steen 1668-9</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
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V

 <p>Oil on canvas 42.5 cm × 38 cm National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.</p>	<p><i>Woman holding a balance</i></p>	<p>Johannes Vermeer c. 1662-3</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
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 <p>Oil on canvas 51.4 cm x 45.7 cm The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</p>	<p><i>Woman with a lute</i></p>	<p>Johannes Vermeer c. 1664</p>	<p>Ermine fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 51.2 cm x 45.1 cm Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie</p>	<p><i>Woman with a pearl necklace</i></p>	<p>Johannes Vermeer c. 1664</p>	<p>Ermine fur trimming</p>



Oil on canvas
45 cm x 39.9 cm
National Gallery of Art, Washington



A lady writing


Probably has to do with the contemplation of an absent lover, to whom the lady writes. Musical instruments in the painting on the back wall traditionally symbolized love's harmony. The painting may be a portrait. Privileged woman who has plenty of time to enjoy the pleasures of leisured contemplation and the art of letter writing, which were associated with a certain level of education and wealth. Probably fewer than half the women in Holland, the richest Dutch province, could write. The sense of exclusivity is enhanced by the lady's yellow satin jacket trimmed with fur, which was meant for wear at home and suitable for a private activity. Costly objects on the table, a string of pearls, a silver-studded wooden box, a silver inkwell, add to the feeling of closeted luxury.

Johannes Vermeer

c. 1665


Ermine fur trimming



 <p>Oil on canvas 72.5 cm 64.7 cm Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston</p>	<p><i>The concert</i></p>	<p>Johannes Vermeer c. 1665-66</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 90.2 cm x 78.7 cm The Frick Collection, New York</p>	<p><i>Mistress and maid</i></p>	<p>Johannes Vermeer c. 1667-9</p>	<p>Ermine fur trimming</p>

 <p>Oil on canvas 44 cm x 38.5 cm Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam</p>	<p><i>The love letter</i></p>	<p>Johannes Vermeer c. 1667-70</p>	<p>Ermine fur trimming</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 53 cm x 46.3 cm Kenwood House</p>	<p><i>The guitar player</i></p>	<p>Johannes Vermeer c. 1670</p>	<p>Ermine fur trimming</p>

	<p><i>Girl with a flute</i></p>	<p>Attributed to Johannes Vermeer 1665/1670</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>
<p>Oil on panel 20 cm x 17.8 cm National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.</p>			

W

	<p><i>Interior with a woman at the virginal</i></p>	<p>Emanuel de Witte c. 1660</p>	<p>Woman at virginal is wearing a fur trimmed jak.</p>
<p>Oil on canvas 77.5 cm x 104.5 cm Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam</p>			

 <p>Oil on canvas 65.4 cm x 73 cm Private collection</p>	<p><i>Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam</i> (detail)</p>	<p>Emanuel de Witte (1617-1692) c. 1660-1665</p>	<p>Woman to front right is wearing fur-trimmed <i>jak</i> with white fur</p>
 <p>Oil on canvas 57.1 cm x 64.1 cm The National Gallery, London</p>	<p><i>Adriana van Heusden and daughter at the fishmarket</i></p> <p>Adriana haggles with the vendor, their gestures alluding to her cautious purchase of fish. De Witte draws on pictorial traditions usually associated with the theme of market shopping in genre painting, thereby creating a “genrefied portrait,” one that celebrates Adriana’s virtue and prudence in her role as housewife. The image likely depicts the new fish market that opened near the Haarlemmersluis in</p>	<p>Emanuel de Witte 1662</p>	<p>White fur trimming</p>



	Amsterdam during this time.		
	<i>The new fish market</i>	Emanuel de Witte c. 1662-64	White fur trimming
Pushkin Museum, Moscow			

POST SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY IMAGES

	<i>The pin cushion</i>	Huib van Hove 1859	White fur trimming
Oil on panel 74 cm x 58.5 cm Douwes Fine Art, Amsterdam			

Appendix F

Types of Fur Worn in Early Modern Europe

Type of Fur	Origins	Description
<p>BEAVER</p> 	<p>Originally found in parts of Germany, Eastern Europe, Spain, France, Italy, and Savoy; Richard Harrison says that beaver could be very rarely found in the Teivi in Wales during the 16th c. Extinct in Southern Europe by the 16th c.; in the 17th c., beaver came mainly from North America.</p>	<p>Beaver was used exclusively in the manufacture of hats before the nineteenth century, when it had a limited sale for articles of dress. Two kinds of hair covered the pelt; the outer one, made up of guard hairs, was hard and rigid, of a grey colour, with reddish brown ends; and the other was soft, delicate, and of a silvery hue. The guard hairs were plucked out and the skin was then shorn and dressed for use. The fur, when finished and ready for sale, resembled that of the expensive South Sea otter.</p>
<p>BUDGE or BODGE</p> 	<p>North Africa, Spain</p>	<p>Lambskin with the fur dressed outwards, differentiated from other lambskins by reference to their original association with the Moorish kingdom of Ougie. By the seventeenth century “budge” came to refer to any imported lambskins. It was used to trim livery gowns and to border the gowns of scholars. The trade of preparing these skins gave its name to Budge-row in London: a street “so called of the Budge furre, and of skimmers dwelling there.”</p>
<p>CALABER</p>	<p>Germany</p>	<p>The fur of a little gray creature in Germany of the same name. Its size was comparable to that of a squirrel. Literally an animal</p>

		with a shady tail (from the Low Latin <i>sciuriolous</i> , and the diminutive of <i>sciurius</i> ; Greek <i>skiouros</i> , a compound of <i>skia</i> , shade, and <i>oura</i> , tail). The species, in several varieties, is common to all parts of the world except Australia. The skins were frequently dyed to imitate sable.
CAT-SKIN	Europe	Had been used for a variety of purposes, but most frequently to be dyed as imitation sable. Dutch inventories from the seventeenth century suggest that white cat fur was popular trimming among women. S. William Beck (1886) claims that a committee of the House of Commons noted that it was a common practice in London to decoy cats on the street and kill them for the sake of the skin.
CONEY, known today as RABBIT	Europe	Rabbit (called cony) was a ubiquitous and inexpensive fur in the 16th century. Rarer varieties of rabbit could command a higher price and would not be considered out of place if worn at court. Black rabbit skins were considerably more expensive than grey ones, with black fur sprinkled with white hairs often costing around 6s. per skin. Black rabbit skins dominated the skimmers' trade for the high-end market and were also used to produce felt hats.
ERMINE, usually given from the Armenian rat; in French	Northern regions of Europe	“So called from the Latin word <i>armus</i> , which signifieth



Hermine, German *hermchen*, meaning a weasel









a shoulder, because the Ermines are worn in the Capes of Kings and Princes robes of state, and with ermines the Parlement robes are lined” (John Minsheu, *The Guide into Tongues*, 1617).

An animal of the weasel tribe (*Mustela Erminea*) an inhabitant of Northern countries called in England a stoat, whose fur is reddish brown in summer, but in winter (in Northern regions) completely white, except the tip of the tail, which is black. The fur of the ermine was often used with the black tails, or pieces of black lamb’s wool (Astrachan lamb), arranged on it at regular intervals. The whiteness of ermine is frequently used as an emblem of purity.

During the reign of Edward III, it was forbidden to all but the royal family, and a similar prohibition still exists in Austria. There is, however, a characteristic distinction made in the mode of ornamenting the fur employed on state occasions, according as it is worn by the sovereign, or by peers, peeresses, and judges. The sovereign and royal family alone could wear ermine trimmings in which the fur is spotted all over with black—a spot in about every square inch of the fur. Peeresses wore capes of ermine in which the spots were arranged

		<p>in rows, the number of rows denoting their degrees of rank. Peers wore robes of scarlet cloth, trimmed with pure white ermine without any spots. The number of rows or bars of pure ermine also denoted rank.</p>
<p>FITCH or POLECAT</p> 	<p>Italy and France, England</p>	<p>Produced throughout Europe and in England This weasel has a soft black fur, with a rich yellow ground. The natural smell of the fur is unpleasant and difficult to overcome.</p>
<p>FOYNES, known today as STONE MARTEN</p> 	<p>Orleans, France</p>	<p>The animal from whence the pelt comes was as large as a cat. Foynes was a name popularly applied to the whole weasel family, but properly denoting one genus only of that division. The Stone Marten was known sometimes as French Sable from the superiority of the French furriers in dyeing the skin. The stone marten was distributed through most European countries. The under fur is a bluish white, with the top hairs a dark, reddish brown, the throat being generally a pure white, by which it is distinguished.</p>
<p>FOX</p>		<p>“Fox” literally means “the hairy animal” (A. S., Germ. <i>Fuchs</i>, probably allied to Icelandic <i>fax</i>; A.-S. <i>feax</i>, hair). Of this fur there are</p>

		several varieties, the red, cross, arctic, sooty or blue, and black or silver fox, the latter being the most valuable.
<p>GENETTE, known today as CIVET CAT</p> 	Southern regions of Europe, mainly Spain	The genette bears a mottled fur that is black or gray in hue. The black pelts were the most esteemed.
<p>LEOPARD or LIBARDES BELLIES</p>	Guinea coast of West Africa	The light-colored belly fur of the leopard. This area of the coat was softer and longer and was the most favored part of the pelt.
<p>LYNX or LUSERNS</p> 	Sweden, Russia, Poland, the Alps, North America	Of a grey color, almost black, according to the climate which the animal inhabits. The darkest shade is on the back of the animal, and the hue becomes gradually lighter downwards to the belly, which is white, and marked with black spots, as are the other parts on the skin. The hair is longest and softest on the belly and it was this part that was used in the early modern period.

<p>MINIVER</p>	<p>Muscovy</p>	<p>A white fur made of the bellies of squirrels: some say it is the skin of a little white weasel, breeding in <i>Muscovia</i>.</p>
<p>OTTER</p> 	<p>North America; Richard Harrison says that otter was plentiful in England during the 16th c.</p>	<p>The fur of the American variety varies from a deep reddish brown in winter to a blackish hue in summer, while that of the European otter is of a deep lustrous black, or of a dark maroon color when dressed.</p>
<p>PINE MARTEN</p>  	<p>Forests of Northern Europe</p>	<p>The Pine Marten inhabited the forests of the North of Europe. The pine marten was sometimes, though rarely, found in Britain. The top hairs of the weasel were black while the under fur was yellow. The skins were originally distinguished by the yellow hue of the throat, but this was generally dyed in imitation of sable.</p>
<p>SABLE</p> 	<p>Siberia (hence the name from <i>Sibelinae</i> for <i>Siberinae</i>)</p>	<p>“Marten a little beast, or Marterne. Marternes or sables” (John Minsheu, <i>The Guide into Tongues</i>, 1617). Light or mid-brown fur of <i>Mustela Zibellina</i>, nearly allied to the marten. The fur seems to have been very dark brown or black in the sixteenth century.</p> <p>Several varieties are known in</p>



commerce, but the principal source of supply is derived from North America, but these are inferior in quality to the Russian variety.

The Lord Mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London had their robes and gowns lined with Russian sable, according to their respective ranks.

The tails of sable are used in the manufacture of artists' pencils and brushes.