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# IN SEARCH OF THE ORIGINS OF THE *HUIK*: DID THE SPANISH PLAY A PART IN ITS INTRODUCTION?\*

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## EN BUSCA DE LOS ORÍGENES DEL *HUIK*: ¿TUVIERON LOS ESPAÑOLES ALGO QUE VER CON SU INTRODUCCIÓN?

**RESUMEN:** Una de las prendas más habituales en la Holanda del siglo XVII era el *huik*, una capucha de un pie de largo rematada por un sombrero pequeño con la parte de arriba en forma de pico. Su creciente popularidad está relacionada con el aumento de la influencia española en la Holanda del siglo XVI. Hasta ahora se ha documentado su existencia, pero no se ha explorado su aspecto. Dentro del congreso «Fascination for the Foe: Self and Other in the Dutch and Spanish Golden Age» intentamos una primera aproximación a la influencia española en la moda holandesa con el fin de delimitar los parámetros de la investigación. Así, con los testimonios gráficos disponibles postulamos los posibles orígenes españoles de prendas como el *huik*, el *fardegaliyn* y los *bragoenen*. Este artículo se centra tan solo en el ascenso del *huik* y propone más investigaciones al respecto.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Huik*, moda, influencia española.

**ABSTRACT:** One item of clothing features prominently in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Netherlands: the *huik*, a foot long cloak of black material topped by a large pointed hat, a small hat with a pummel or by a beaklike cap. Its ascendance seems to coincide with the growing Spanish influence in the Netherlands during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. So far its existence has been documented in the Netherlands but its appearance has never been questioned nor explained. Within the scope of the conference «Fascination for the Foe: Self and Other in the Dutch and Spanish Golden Age» a first costume-historical examination of the Spanish influence on Dutch fashion was attempted in an initial effort to determine the parameters for research. On the basis of readily available pictorial and archival material the possible Spanish origins of the *huik*, *fardegaliyn* and *bragoenen* were outlined. This article solely focuses on the rise of the *huik* from the Dutch point of view and hopefully incites further and more in-depth research into this fascinating subject.

**KEY WORDS:** *Huik*, fashion, Spanish influence.

The introduction of Spanish fashions in Europe during the 16<sup>th</sup> century has been well documented in England and Italy where Spanish princesses and aristocratic ladies married into the upper echelons of society<sup>1</sup>. Leonor Álvarez de Toledo's (1522-1562) marriage to Cosimo I de' Medici (1519-1574) is a famous example. She moved to Florence in 1539 and

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\* From 19-21 September 2012 the University of Amsterdam hosted a conference with the title *Fascination for the Foe: Self and other in the Dutch and Spanish Golden Age*. This article is based on the presentation held by the author during this conference.

<sup>1</sup> For clothes at the court of Henry VIII (1491-1547) and his first wife Catalina de Aragón (1485-1536), and her influence on fashion see Hayward, 2009. For the Spanish influence on female fashion in Italy see Pisetzky, 1978: 206-224.

her detailed inventories show numerous typical Spanish items<sup>2</sup>. Because of Leonor's social status and public persona these hitherto unknown fashions very soon became all the rage in Florence and gradually spread to other Italian regions. In the Netherlands however the situation was quite different<sup>3</sup>. Marriage on the highest level between the Spanish—who ruled over the Low Countries—and the Dutch remained rare: in 1524 Doña Mencía de Mendoza y Fonseca (1508-1554) became the third wife of Henry III, count of Nassau-Breda (1483-1538) and uncle of William of Orange, yet they stayed in Madrid where he was chamberlain. When they finally moved to the Netherlands in 1530 they resided alternately in Brussels and Breda, but shortly after Henry of Nassau's death in 1538 Doña Mencía returned to Spain<sup>4</sup>.

In Brussels—where the Spanish representatives resided—the interaction was not only limited to the Spanish courtiers who mixed with the Catholic noble families involved in government and attended court (fig.\*), but many of the Spanish higher military were scattered around the city in rented quarters. They had arrived with their trunks laden with expensive clothes and accessories<sup>5</sup>. It has been calculated that at its height the Spanish court in Brussels consisted of no less than 500 paid courtiers, most of whom kept a very luxurious lifestyle. Adding to this the locally hired staff and non-registered servants, the court will probably have been much larger<sup>6</sup>. And with Antwerp being the major port in the northern part of Europe, merchants from all over Spain were frequent visitors or set up trading houses there. Thus the upper classes in the Southern Netherlands had ample opportunity to acquaint themselves with Spanish dress and etiquette. Therefore most of the Spanish elements in Dutch dress will have originated from the provinces of Flanders, Brabant and Hainaut. They choose to remain under Habsburg control after the Insurrection of 1568 by the rebellious northern regions and even remained so after the *Placcaet van Verlaetinghe* signed in 1581 by the rebelling factions. As the inhabitants of these so-called Spanish Netherlands do not seem to have languished they most probably remained receptive to Spanish influence<sup>7</sup>. Only after the fall of Antwerp in 1585 did some 150.000 of them leave for the Northern Netherlands—especially the provinces of Zeeland and of Holland—or Germany (Cologne). Their attitude towards dress and appearance was such that: «Men and women of all ages dress themselves very well and powerful, always the latest fashions and beautifully cut, however some much richer than modesty and decency demand», as Italian merchant, writer and since 1541 resident of Antwerp Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589) wrote in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi...* from 1567 (*Beschrijvinghe van alle de Nederlanden...*, Amsterdam, 1612, 90) The steady flow of immigrants from the Southern Netherlands introduced a mixture of Spanish as well as French manners and fashions to the north. English traveller Fynes Moryson (1566-1630) described this development around 1605-1607: «as they [the Hollanders] have admitted forraigne manners, so luxury hath more power with them, then formerly it had»<sup>8</sup>. It was this visible aspect of luxury and opulence that was criticised from various religious quarters in the north. Yet, with the ascent of a new and wealthy merchant class the foreign impulses seem to have blended into a «Dutch» style. Therefore by 1626 fashionable, prospective suitors were

<sup>2</sup> Landini, 2005. Eleonora for instance introduced the *verdugado* boned petticoats and gowns or dresses with *baragoni* shoulder caps and –rolls, but no coats or covers similar to the *huik*.

<sup>3</sup> Woltjer, 2011: 15-65.

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the earliest inventory of the castle of Breda in 1567 does not contain any dress, Jurriaanse, 1935: 240, n. 2. So far no inventory of Mencía de Mendoza y Fonseca, later Duquesa de Calabria is known to have survived in the Netherlands. The «Spanish immigrants» who came to Amsterdam from the end of the sixteenth century onwards were Jews who had been expelled to Portugal and Northern Africa during the Reconquista, see Kuijpers, 2005: 16.

<sup>5</sup> de Laet, 2011: 179-180.

<sup>6</sup> de Laet, 2011: 145-148.

<sup>7</sup> Vermeir, 2012, number 1; Leeds, 2012: 3-18.

<sup>8</sup> Jacobsen Jensen, 1918: 214-305, 256; Deceulaer, 2000.

given the following advice: «Go she dressed in the Spanish manner, then to the Spanish give praise, but if her taste be French, why «tis the French you admire»<sup>9</sup>.

### HAÏK – ALMALAFA – MANTO

To Fynes Moryson one of the most important characteristics of female dress in the Dutch Republic was:

a hoyke or vaile which covers their [all women when they go out of the house] heads, and hangs down upon their backs to their legges; and this vaile in Holland is of a light stuffe or Kersie, [...] and they gather the Vaile with their hands to cover all their faces, but only the eyes<sup>10</sup>. (fig. \*)

Little did he know that the *haik*, *haik*, *hahyk*, *heik* or *haick* was originally a traditionally white, long loose cloak which had been worn for centuries as a cover for clothing in Northern Africa, more specifically Morocco and Algeria<sup>11</sup>. The Islamic inhabitants of these and other North African countries —the Moors— had invaded the Iberian peninsula during the first millennium and from the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards were gradually driven back by the Christian *Reconquista* to their final stronghold, the kingdom of Granada in southern Iberia which finally succumbed to the Christian forces in 1492.

The Moors had introduced the *haik* albeit under the name of *almalafa* —from the Arabic *mil afa* or *Al-milhafa* meaning coat, cover or sheet<sup>12</sup>. Initially exclusively worn by Muslim women, this long white cloak which covered the wearer from head to toe, was also adopted by Christian Spanish women of all ranks. When Doña Mencía Enríquez de Toledo, Duchess of Albuquerque died in 1479 she left one dark red *almalafa* «of silk and gold thread»<sup>13</sup>. She must have liked the cut of the cloak but needed a much richer fabric for her elevated status. Yet, the fabric may have been Moorish too. Since the thirteenth century the Christian upper classes had become partial to Moorish textiles which they prized for their quality and fine workmanship<sup>14</sup>. This example clearly illustrates the underlying problem: one the one hand legislation against the use of Moorish dress was frequent and strict, while on the other hand the ruling classes —even Queen Isabella of Castile (1451-1504) and Emperor Charles V (1500-1558) —owned some of these «forbidden» items<sup>15</sup>. And this is also apparent with the lower classes. Around the time of Granada's surrender an attempt was made to curb Muslim influence and Christian immigrants were lured by tax exemptions and other

<sup>9</sup> J. van Heemskerck, *Minne-kynst, Minne-baet, Minne-dichten, Mengel-dichten*, Amsterdam 1626, p.67: «Kleed sy haer op zijn Spaensch, de Spaensche dracht wilt prysen;/ Is »t op sijn Fransch, so houd veel vande Fransche wijsen».

<sup>10</sup> Jacobsen Jensen 1918: 264. It has been suggested that the *huik* developed out of the medieval *heuque*: Deceulaer, 1998: 407. However, the *heuque* was rarely worn by women: Scott, 2009 [2007]: 204.

<sup>11</sup> Heath, 2008: 43, n.25; nowadays it is still in use by lower-class women in these Northern African countries. Modern dictionaries (*Oxford Dictionary*, *Merriam-Webster*, *Dictionnaire de français Littré*) link the name to *ha»ik* from the Arabic «weaver», the active participle of *ha-ka* or «to weave».

<sup>12</sup> Covarrubias y Orozco explains «almalaza» as follows: «Diego de Vrea dize ser ropa que se pone sobre todo el demás vestido, y comúnmente es de lino; en su terminación árábica *malaserun*, del verbo lehasse, que sinifica envolverse en cosa que la persona echa encima de sí».

<sup>13</sup> In the late medieval and early modern period various Moorish garments were adopted by Christians: Fuchs, 2009: 63; Castro and King, 1962: 75, refers to an earlier inventory of the Marqués de Cadiz (1471): «*Manto que usaban las mujeres moriscas*.» and to the inventory of the Duquesa de Medinaceli (1545): «...*almalafa morisca con cenfas moradas*...» estimated at three Ducats. Moriscos are Muslim subjects converted to Christianity. I am grateful to one of my peer-reviewers for drawing my attention to Barbara Fuchs' publication.

<sup>14</sup> Fuchs, 2009: 62.

<sup>15</sup> Fuchs, 2009: 70.

inducements to settle in the city. Many of these Christian immigrant women were familiar with the *almalafa* and thus it became worn by both faiths, making it very difficult for the authorities to distinguish their social status and belief<sup>16</sup>. This proved a very disconcerting development to the Catholic government and between 1511 and 1526 many royal provisions, municipal decrees and ordinances aimed —yet unsuccessfully— at the denunciation of this acquired «custom» by Christian women<sup>17</sup>. German court physician Dr. Johannes Lange (1485-1565) visited Granada in 1526 and writes about the «white Moors» —making up half the population of the town— of which the women both married and single wear a calf-long white cloth that partly covers their faces. For the privilege of wearing and bequeathing the garment they were annually taxed one Ducat to the Emperor<sup>18</sup>. Two years later another German, the painter, engraver and medallist Christoph Weiditz (1498-1559) stayed in Granada as part of his travels around Spain in 1528-1529. Not only did he depict Moorish women wearing their calf-long white cloak on top of a tight, white cap covering the forehead to the eyebrows (fig. \*), he also showed how they used the *almalafa* to cover their face apart from the eyes<sup>19</sup> (fig.\*). Muslim women in Northern Africa had always used their *haik* to cover their faces when in public and this practice had been adopted by the Moriscos and Christian women of Granada, but was prohibited by two decrees in 1513<sup>20</sup>.

It is interesting to note that Spanish historian Antonio de León Pinelo (1589-1660) included the *almalafa* in his treatise on veiling in Spain, published in 1641, whereas De Covarrubias y Orozco had considered it a coat or a cover in 1611<sup>21</sup>. León Pinelo described how the Moriscos in Granada substituted the —by then controversial— *almalafa* around 1567 for the Castilian mantle or *manto*. Their example was quickly followed by the Spanish women<sup>22</sup>.

Christoph Weiditz was probably the first foreigner to portray a Castilian woman with such a *manto*. On her way to church she wears the black cloak covered by and fastened to a flat, round hat with a flat brim and decorated with tassels and beads or stones (fig.\*). The *manto* was worn by women of all ages, social standing and stations in life and came in a wide range of fabrics, wool, linen, silk, damask and gauze depending on the amount one was able to spend. Black seems to have been the predominant colour<sup>23</sup>. Weiditz's rendering of the *manto* was engraved into a mirror image by Parma born nobleman turned engraver Eneo Vico

<sup>16</sup> Harris, 2007: 22, reference to anecdote by Antoine I de Lalaing (1480–1540), 1st count of Hoogstraten and of Culemborg who was chamberlain to Philip the Handsome, 1<sup>st</sup> King I of Castile (1478-1506) and accompanied him on his journey to Spain in 1501; Briesemeister, 2006: 21 and n. 45.

<sup>17</sup> Fuchs, 2009: n. 15, sees the wearing of the *almalafa* as a clear sign of the continuing force of local acculturation by Old Christian women in Granada. In 1513 a law was passed to ban the wearing since the reverse acculturation was considered a bad example for the newly converted Moriscos and Conversos (converted Jews), p. 71; Coleman, 2003: 63, 120; Carr, 2010: 67, 87-91, 115, 150, 153.

<sup>18</sup> Johannes Lange was the personal physician of Kurfürst Friedrich II von der Pfalz (1544-1556) and travelled to Spain in his retinue, see Hasenclever, 1907: 385-439, 421: «Item das halb tayll diser Stat volcks seine weysse moren, welcher weyber und junckfrawen [...] das hautb und leib mit einem weysen tuche... beclaydet pass auff die waden, und das Tuch vorne alle fur das halbe Antlitz halten, und das dise klayde mogen ine nachgelassen und feyer seie, muss ein Jetzliche person dem kayser darvon jerlichen ein ducaten geben». It has been calculated that in 1609 c. 135.000 Moriscos lived in Valencia (c. 30% of the population), c. 125.000-150.000 in Granada en c. 61.000 in Aragon (21% of the population). Between 1609 and 1614 c. 300.000 Moriscos (4% of the total population of Spain) were banned and fled to the Languedoc (France), Algeria, Morocco en Tunisia. See Pérez, 2000: 115; Marchante-Aragón, 2008: 104-107.

<sup>19</sup> Weiditz made an illustrated journal of his travels, the *Trachtenbuch* which is held in the library of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, inv. MS HS22474.

<sup>20</sup> Bass and Wunder, 2009: 105, n. 11. I am grateful to one of my peer reviewers for drawing my attention to this article.

<sup>21</sup> Op.cit. (n.14)

<sup>22</sup> Op.cit. (n. 22), pp. 103-104, note 10.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 106-108.

(1523-1567) for his series of costume plates *Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus* published in Venice in 1558 and from there on reproduced in various countries until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup> (fig.: inv. BI-1933-996-5).

De Léon Pinelo's date for the introduction of the *manto* in Granada coincides with an engraving of the city from 1565. Flemish painter and engraver Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1601) visited in Spain in 1564-5 and drew the scene from life<sup>25</sup>. He recorded a meeting outside Granada (fig.\*): a woman dressed in a *manto* appears to be introduced to a third party by a fashionably dressed, elderly man standing next to her. The woman's little flat hat on top of the cloak is tilted and covers the upper part of her face. The rest of her face is hidden by her arms enveloped in the cloak. Interestingly the second man shuns away from her and also covers his face albeit only the lower part and with his cape. On her hat the spot is clearly visible where – on either side of the crown - the ribbon or band was fixed which was knotted in a bow at the back of head to secure hat and cloak<sup>26</sup> (fig.\* and fig.\*).

Whether by accident or design Hoefnagel shows us an encounter of a woman going out with her face covered, called *andar tapadas* and considered highly controversial at the time. Face coverings should exclusively be used as a sign of modesty, yet the *tapada* who draped her *manto* elegantly was considered a seductress and a figure of deception<sup>27</sup>. Men were also known to adhere to the practice, as Hoefnagel shows, but their disguise never warranted any legislation. In an earlier engraving of Granada Hoefnagel pictured two women (one standing, one seated) also wearing their hats flat on their heads and probably showing a different way of securing hat and cloak with a bow or knot in the centre of the crown<sup>28</sup> (fig.\*). Whereas on his engraving of Toledo Hoefnagel features a small group with one woman wearing a black hat and cloak, the latter gathered over her right arm<sup>29</sup> (fig.\*).

Hoefnagel's engravings catered to a wide audience which craved for information about places, people and customs near and far. During the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century ever more series of costume prints as well as costume books by various artists saw the light in Germany, Italy, France and the Southern Netherlands. Artists collected them for inspiration and used them in their studios or added them to their private collections of prints and drawings<sup>30</sup>. This resulted in a certain level of knowledge of dress in the various countries of Europe. For instance, in the 1600-1602 painting *«De oploop der Romeinsche vrouwen op het Kapitol te*

<sup>24</sup> van Ierlant, 1988: 12, 14-15, figs. 13-15. To date Ghering van Ierlant's publication remains the only to trace the use of Weiditz's images throughout Europe. His Castilian lady with *manto* features successively in: R. Breton, F. Despresz, *Receuil de la diversité des habits...*, Paris 1562; F. Bertelli, *Omnium fere gentium nostrae aetatis habitus*, Venice 1563 and 1569; J. Sluperius, *Omnium fere gentium nostrae[ue] aetatis Nationem Habitus et Effigies...*, Antwerp 1572; H. Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum.../ Trachtenbuch: darin fast allerley und der fürnembsten Nationen...*, Neuremberg 1577.

<sup>25</sup> Below the scene, the engraving is marked with «*Effigiabet Georgius Hoefnaglius, Anno MD LXX*»: «drawn by J. Hoefnagel 1565». See Hoefnagel, Braun and Hogenberg, 1574-1618, vol. 4, 1617: 3-4, Rijksmuseum Research Library, Amsterdam, inv. GF-382-A-7.

<sup>26</sup> See Abraham de Bruyn, «*Mercatoris Valentiani uxor in Hispania citeriore*», 29, Cologne 1581, engraving, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. BI-1895-3811-33. At each side of the low crown of the woman's little round hat there is a knotted band(?) with frayed ends. It suggests a small hole through which the band(?) was pulled and knotted for fastening; cf. Bartolomeo Grassi(?-1600?), *Dei veri ritratti degl'habiti di tvtte le parti del mondo*, Rome 1585, «*Spagnole plebea di Tolledo*», engraving, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. : with the figure on the left the hat is tied around the back of the head with two ribbons thus securing the cloak.

<sup>27</sup> See «*El Tapado*»: A Brief History and Taxonomy», in Bass and Wunder, 2009: 102-108.

<sup>28</sup> Below the scene, the engraving is marked with «*getekend door J. Hoefnagel/ 1564* »: «drawn by J. Hoefnagel/ 1564», J. Hoefnagel, G. Braun, F. Hogenberg, *Théâtre des Cités dv Monde...*, 3 vols., Cologne 1574-1618, vol. 2, pp. 3-4, Rijksmuseum Research Library, Amsterdam, inv. GF-382-A-5.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 4-5.

<sup>30</sup> Early paintings of Dutch artist Hendrick Avercamp (1585-1634) who never travelled abroad and of whom we know that he possessed costume prints bear witness to this fact: du Mortier, 2009: 156-158.

*Rome...*» by Danish-born, Dutch artist Pieter Isaacz.(1568-1625) - who resided in Amsterdam until 1607 – Weiditz's Moors wearing the *almalafa* are clearly visible<sup>31</sup>. Following this line the undated etching «*Spaensche Inquisitie*» (fig.\*) by Dutch draughtsman and etcher Claes Jansz. Visscher (II) (1596-1652) illustrates the familiarity of the Dutch with the Spanish female's cloak and hat. This print shows a remarkable resemblance to an earlier anonymous German engraving of the (in)famous Autodafé in Valladolid on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May 1558 (fig.\*) where in the presence of members of the Spanish royal family almost thirty Protestants were burned at the stakes<sup>32</sup>. In the original a large number of women wear their tilted little hats on top of their cloaks and the accompanying men have berets and hats with low crowns, as was fashionable at the time. Visscher updated the fashions in his version: the men now wear hats with high crowns and most importantly ruffs which by then had become indispensable. But interestingly enough the women are still clad in their cloaks and hats. This seems to indicate that by the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the *manto* i.e. the *huik* had become such an integral part of Dutch fashion that there was no need to adapt this particular item of clothing.

## HUIK

In Spain the general introduction of the *almalafa* took place as early as the end 15<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the Netherlands, women had covered their hair with crisp white linen folded and pinned into shape which left the face uncovered from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards<sup>33</sup>. For travel or as protection against the elements women used long, dark-coloured cloaks which covered their heads and initially reached mid-calf but later became foot-long. The simplest was the *falie* which was pinned to the linen cap in the middle of the head and bulged out on either side of the face. The earliest pictorial reference to this *falie* can be found in Enea Vico's series of costume prints of 1558, where it is introduced as being worn in Flanders<sup>34</sup> (fig.\*).

One of the earliest references to a *huik* can be found in an allegorical play from 1523 by textile dyer and writer Cornelis Everaert (c. 1480-1556) from Brughes where it is stated that the female character representing the city of Brughes should be dressed in a «little *huik* or mantle», possibly indicating a shorter length<sup>35</sup>. However, German painter Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) who travelled in the Netherlands in 1520 during his stay in Antwerp wrote in his dairy: «And Thomasin gave my wife a gift of 14 *eln* good thick *haraß* to a *höcken...*»<sup>36</sup>. Judging by the length of the fabric Dürer's wife Agnes was given – 9,71 metres - this will have been a long cloak. A fortnight later «I have bought Susanna a *höcken* for 2 Guilders 10

<sup>31</sup> Du Mortier, 1991. Isaacs is said to have travelled in Germany and Italy before 1593. Maybe he saw or even acquired Hoefnagel prints during this trip. Isaacs however, never visited Spain.

<sup>32</sup> Kunstbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Lipperheidische Kostümbibliothek, inv. 2008; Bernis, 1962, figs. 187-188; Hoffmann, 1983: 290-292, fig. 163a, however without provenance of the print. I am grateful to Daniël Horst for drawing my attention to the latter publication.

<sup>33</sup> The Dutch word for veil is *sluier* which in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century usually referred to a sash asymmetrically draped across the body or tied around the waist. A *sluier* in the sense of a veil mostly had a religious connotation or was worn by a bride on her wedding day: *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. For the development of the headdress: du Mortier, 1986: 42-44.

<sup>34</sup> «*Falie. Palla, cyclas, vestis muliebris spatiosa, totum corpus circumdans: calyptra, rica*», in C. Kilianus, *Dictionarium teutonico-latinum, principuas linguae teutonicae dictiones latinè interpretatas ... complectens*, Antwerp 1574.

<sup>35</sup> Everaert, 1920: 149: «een huecskin ofte ma[n]telken».

<sup>36</sup> «*Item der Thomasin hat meinem weib geschenckt 14 eln guten dichten haraß zu einer höcken und tritthalb elen halben atlas zu unterfütern.*», 19-8-1520; Leitschuh, 1884: 56. One Antwerp *el* is 69,41 cm: Staring, 1980 [1902]; *haraß* is a silk fabric from the town of Arras; *atlas* is a shiny silk fabric often used for lining. Tommaso Bombelli, resident of Antwerp, was a wealthy Genoese silk merchant and paymaster general to Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), Governor of the Netherlands; Schaaf, 2007: 222.

Ort»<sup>37</sup>. Unfortunately, neither source indicates the use of a hat on top of the *huik*. This early type may have evolved out of the *falie*.

Yet, by the time Fynes Moryson travelled the Netherlands the hat or cap had become an indispensable part of the *huik*. Interestingly enough only in the Southern Netherlands the *huik* was topped by: «Caps [which] are round, large, and flat to the head, and of Veluet, or at least guarded therewith, and are in forme like out potlids used to cover pots in the Kitchin»<sup>38</sup>. Is this a direct result of the knowledge of and familiarity with the *manto*? Fynes Moryson adds that the women in Flanders «attached» the cloak to the hat at the back and the sides although he does not reveal the actual method: stitching, pinning or tying?

During his travels Hoefnagel had already recorded women with similar cloaks and caps in places like Cambray at the southern tip of the Low Countries, but nowhere in France. On sheet 19 of his costume series of 50 sheets which originally appeared in Cologne in 1577 under the name of *Omnium poene Gentium Imagines* and was re-edited and re-printed in 1581 there are two examples from Antwerp<sup>39</sup> (fig.\*). The woman on the left – described as walking out of doors – holds her cloak over her left arm, whereas the woman to her right – on the way to the market – is pictured from the back showing the pleated cloak and the ribbons or bands dangling from the back of her head.

In contrast, the *huik* in the Northern Netherlands —according to Fynes Moryson— had «a kind of horne rising over the forehead.» The so far earliest image was drawn on the last page of his Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch*: a woman in a black, medium-length cloak with a protruding ribbed or curved black flap above the forehead (fig.\*). It is unclear where this type of head covering originates from. Hoefnagel however presents us with two churchgoing women from Baiona in Galicia wearing a black cloak also with a similar protruding flap (fig.\*). Although trade between the Netherlands and Galicia seems to have occurred from the middle ages onwards, any influence on Dutch dress seems unlikely. Hoefnagel also recorded a woman from the merchant town of Gouda with a long, pleated cloak and a flat protruding flap (fig.\*), whereas a woman from the small, rural village of Sloten has folded a similar kind of *huik* over her arm<sup>40</sup> (fig.\*).

English traveller Fynes Moryson observed that Dutch women «cover all their faces, but only the eyes» with the *huik*. The climate in the Netherlands was harsh with very cold winters and sharp winds blowing. Between 1550 and 1650 the country experienced six extremely severe winters and the period is usually referred to as «the little Ice Age»<sup>41</sup>. Under these conditions women were accustomed to wearing masks or to envelope themselves in their

<sup>37</sup> «ich habe der Susanna Kaufft ein höcken pro 2 Gulden 10 Ort», 3-9-1520; *ibid.* p. 60. The *Ort* is a coin valued at one quarter of a *Stuiver* being 5 cents and twenty to a Guilder. However, historian and local governor Marcus van Vaernewijck (1518-1569) from Gand described in 1566 in his chapter «On some of the past customs of the Hollanders and Zeelanders» that the «cloak or *heycke*, being a kind of mantle, closed under the chin with a hook, without sleeves and narrow around the body,... It was so short that it only covered the upper parts of the body.» He started by mentioning that off old there had been not much difference in the dress of men and women, but the *heycke* was worn by men: «Aen gaende de kleeding der Hollanders en Zeelanders, was 'er weynig onderscheyd tusschen de mannen en vrouwen. De mannen droegen eene klokke of heyke, dat is eene soort van mantel, van boven onder de keel met eenen knop of haek toegevest, zonder mauwen en zeer nauw rond het lyf sluytende, zoo dat men schier het maeksel van alle de leden daer door konde zien. Dit kleed was zoo kort, dat het maer alleen het opperlyf bedekte»: Marcus van Vaernewyck, 1829: 119. His source was the little known Cornelis Battus (c. 1492/96-?), whose father was a friend of Erasmus. Cornelis is said to have been a very learned man and physician in Veere (Zeeland).

<sup>38</sup> Jacobsen Jensen, 1918: 264.

<sup>39</sup> The engraver responsible was Antwerp-born Abraham de Bruyn (1540-1587) —who established himself at Cologne in 1577— and therefore the series is mostly attributed to him.

<sup>40</sup> Gouda: the costumes can be dated around 1580; Sloten: the costumes can be dated to the second half of the 1560's and the beginning of the 1570's.

<sup>41</sup> de Kraker, 2009: 22-29.



cloaks to protect their skin from turning red and chafing<sup>42</sup>. These practices can be witnessed on many of the ice scenes painted in the Netherlands at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## INVENTORIES

Most of the published research into the history of dress in the Netherlands, focuses on the Dutch Republic. Apart from those in De Laet's book on Brussels 1600-1735 inventories from the Southern Netherlands remain hidden. Therefore the early introduction of the *huik* and its ascent as documented in written sources still needs to be completely opened up. Even for the Northern Netherlands this has not nearly been researched to the full and within the limited scope of this article it appeared that written sources are only to be found far and wide. In the northern provinces references start late: in 1553 Catharina, widow of Jan Dircksz. in the town of Utrecht left two women's *hoeycken*, a double cloth *hoeyck* and a fine woollen cloth *hoeyck*<sup>43</sup>. She had an extensive wardrobe with larger numbers of each item, even the most expensive ones. The *huik* was among this category being one of the costliest items of clothing a woman could own. In 1557 a wife's *hoeick* is mentioned in an inventory of a wealthy farmer in a small town in the northern province of Friesland<sup>44</sup>. In 1602 in the merchant town of Kampen someone sold her *huik* to the pawnshop for 5 Guilders<sup>45</sup>. Taking into account that this amounted to a carpenter's half a month's wages, it is not surprising that *huiken* in inventories and wills would frequently be bequeathed to family and friends, either to be worn, altered—sometimes into clothes for the children—or sold<sup>46</sup>. This custom was not restricted to the lower classes but also customary in the upper echelons of Dutch society. When noble Maria van Voorst van Duivenvoorde (c. 1574-1610) made her will she specified which clothes would have to be altered in to clothing for which of her children and what clothes could be sold. Her «silk and woollen *Brabantse heuyck* with a patterned satin hat» were sold for 14 Pounds<sup>47</sup>.

From the inventory of a wealthy lawyer from Friesland in 1568 we know that his wife had «A new women's *hoeyck* and a press. / Another woman's *hoeyck* for daily wear»<sup>48</sup>. In 1581 the widow of Claes Albertsz. from Kampen left her aunts children amongst other one *huik*<sup>49</sup>. The probate inventory of baker Pouwel Adriaansz. and his deceased wife Marijten Jacobsdr. (1583) from merchant town Leiden shows two *hoeycken*<sup>50</sup>. Usually women had two, one *best* and one for daily use.

From the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards geographical indications were added to the *huiken* in the written sources. In wealthy Geertruyt Uytten Engh's inventory (1616) from Leiden are listed «1 black the Hague *heuyck*» and «2 Brabant *heuycken* with 1 velvet hat»<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> Du Mortier, 2009 : 140; 149, fig. 188; 152, fig. 194.

<sup>43</sup> «Inventaris van de Moblen goederen bevonden ten huysse van Salige Catharina Jan Dircksz. Weduwe...: twee vrouwen hoeycken [...] een dubbele lakensche hoeyck / een sayen hoeyck»; de Jonge, 1918: XI.

<sup>44</sup> Hallema, 1928: 270-346, 286.

<sup>45</sup> Gemeentearchief Kampen, RA, 8-2-1602, fol. 204 verso.

<sup>46</sup> For wages in the area see Berkenvelder, 2000: see 48-49.

<sup>47</sup> «Een zijde bouratte Brabantsche heuyck met een gebeelt satijne hoeyken / Verkocht om XIII £»; van der Klooster, 1981: 50-64, see 61.

<sup>48</sup> van der Klooster, 1981: 314-315: «Een nijewe vrouwen hoeyck mit een parse. / Noch een dagelix vrouwen hoeyck» The special *huik* press was used to give it its required vertical pleats.

<sup>49</sup> Schilder, 1997, copia 17-9-1581, Disposition, G.A.K., RA 107.

<sup>50</sup> «Noch 1 croecte(?) hoeycke / Noch 1 dagelicke hoeycke» (Scheurleer and Fock, 1986: 111).

<sup>51</sup> «1 swarte Haechse lackense heuyck [...] 2 Brabantsche heuycken met 1 flouweel hoetgen». There is also mention of «1 flouweel vrouwenhoetgen» which maybe another on going with the «Brabantsche heuyck» (Scheurleer and Fock, 1988: 397, 400-401).

These geographical references probably facilitated distinction between the various types. Unfortunately that knowledge has been lost over the centuries.

## CONCLUSION

To contemporary foreigners the *huik* became the characteristic for dress in the early modern Netherlands: «their women go all covered with a black vayle, which they call a huke, for the most part of cloth»<sup>52</sup>. They even registered the two different types which came to mark the difference between the Southern, catholic Netherlands and the Northern, protestant part of the country. The *huik* in the Southern Netherlands bears great resemblance to the Spanish *manto*.

With Spain having played an important role in the history of the Low Countries and its ensuing extended presence on various levels —as rulers, politicians, courtiers, soldiers and merchants— it is not surprising to find Spanish influences in Dutch dress and fashion. Spanish court etiquette will undoubtedly have left its mark on those families close to the court in Brussels.

During the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century pictorial evidence of the dress and customs of the various nations in Europe became ever more available and desirable among artists as well as wealthy citizens and collectors. With a growing number of Germans and Dutch visiting Spain and upon return publishing their experiences and impressions, the country also became more accessible to those who stayed at home.

Following along both lines it seems very plausible that the *manto* provided the example for the *huik*. However, no direct evidence has been found as yet. But with the *huik* absent in France and only appearing in Germany after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, a direct line with Spain seems apparent.

This article's aim is to initiate discussion and further research into the subject. It is only a first attempt and hopefully future new material from wills, inventories, travel dairies and correspondence will fill in the existing gaps.

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<sup>52</sup> Anonymous and undated (end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century?) manuscript *The Politics of the United Provinces*, 654-655.

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