

FASHION IN VENICE1: AN EXPRESSION OF MODERNITY

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is to study the emergence and the impacts of fashion in the early-modern Venetian society as an expression of modernity. The concept of fashion is studied not only as a mode of dressing but as a social, cultural, economic, symbolic, political, artistic, psychological phenomenon. Fashion is taken as a reason and a result of the European modernity due to its role in the resolution of the tradition. In the first section, the concept of fashion and its historical evolution and sociological influences are analyzed. Later the development of the textile industry in Europe and its impacts on Mediterranean trade is discussed. The social, political and economic structure of Venice during the 13th and 15th centuries is briefly summarized in the third part. In the final section, the role of fashion in Venetian society, the symbolic meaning of dressing, the economic value of garments, the production and supply channels of textile are analyzed. The changes and transformations taking place in every aspect of life during the early modern period found a way of "(re)presenting" themselves in terms of fashion. The concept of fashion is evaluated not only as a way of dressing but also as a paradigm of modernity including a set of manners and behaviors for being right in a specific time and a specific context.

Keywords: Modernity, Fashion, Textile, Renaissance, Venice

ÖZET

Bu araştırmanın amacı moda kavramını erken modern Venedik toplumu bağlamında ele alarak, sosyal ve ekonomik etkilerini incelemek ve moda kavramının modernite üzerinden bir okumasını yapmaktır. Moda sadece bir giyinme şekli olarak değil, sosyal, kültürel, sembolik, politik, sanatsal ve pisikolojik bir etmen olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada, moda kavramının geleneksel olanı çözerek, Batı modernitesinin hem sonuçlarından, hem de sebeplerinden biri olduğu öne sürülmüştür. İlk bölümde, moda kavramının ortaya çıkışı, kısa tarihçesi ve toplum üzerindeki etkileri anlatılmıştır. Daha sonra, Batı Avrupa'da tekstil endüstrisinin oluşumu ve Akdeniz ticareti üzerindeki etkileri tartışılmıştır. Venedik kentinin kısa tarihçesi ve 13. ve 15. yüzyıllar arasındaki sosyal, politik ve ekonomik yapısı üçüncü bölümde kısaca özetlenmiştir. Son bölümde ise moda kavramının erken modern Venedik dünyasındaki rolü ve giysinin sembolik ve ekonomik anlamları, tekstil üretim ve dağıtım süreçleri, kıyafetin farklı kullanım amaçları tartışılmıştır. Bu dönemde hayatın her aşamasında meydana gelen değişim ve transformasyonlar kendilerini moda kavramı altında "temsil edebilmişlerdir". Ele alınan dönemde kadın modasının değişim ve dönüşümü 1490 ile 1609 tarihleri arasında yapılmış Venedikli kadın portreleri üzerinden ortaya konulmuştur. Bu metinde moda, sadece bir giyim konusu olarak değil, aynı zamanda bir tavırlar ve hareketler bütünü olarak, belirli bir zaman aralığında ve belirli bir bağlam içerisinde doğru olmak olarak ele alınmış ve bir modernite paradigması olarak incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modernite, Moda, Tekstil, Rönesans, Venedik

¹ This article is developed from a term paper produced for "Urban Structures and Strata" course offered by Prof. Dr. Murat Güvenç.



INTRODUCTION

Charles Baudelaire, propounded the term "modernity" in his essay "The Painter of Modern Life" (1859-60) and modernity as "the transient, the fleeting, the contingent; the half of art of which the other half is eternal and immovable." [1] In this essay Baudelaire criticized the painters of his age for dressing their characters in Renaissance fashion instead of contemporary dresses and lacking ability to "represent the present". Those painters believe that Renaissance fashion represents the "eternal and immovable" half of the art and neglect the duality of beauty which also includes the relative aspects. such as the trends, the fashion and the moral values of the time. [2] Even though Renaissance clothing seemed to be an ultimate classic for those painters, the emergence and evolution of fashion-as a continuous change of trends- corresponds with the same era.

During the early modern era of 15th and 16th centuries and especially during transition period of the 14th century, visible signs of change and "resolution of tradition" in Western Europe were recorded. This detachment from traditional ways of living, acting, or thinking can be interpreted as an emerging modernity. This paper aims to highlight the connection between the evolution of modernity and the changing pattern of everyday practices of early modern Venetians. Fashion, was chosen as a simple but clearly visible indicator of the mentality technological, changing and moral, artistic, economic and political developments of Renaissance. study, the evolution, the direct and indirect implications, and the role of fashion in the early modern European society analyzed and the modern concepts such as individuality, sexuality. transformation. imitation and differentiation are discussed. This study hopes to develop a new for the approach understanding

transformations taking place in early modern European society. In spite of a macro perspective analyzing the economic and political developments; a micro perspective exploring the impacts of fashion as an indicator of the changing everyday practices and tastes, is offered.

The first part of the article focused on the definition and the evolution of the fashion phenomenon and its cultural, social, symbolic, economic and even psychological impacts were analyzed. In the second part, the significant role of the textile industry in European enlightenment and capitalism was discussed.

The last section of the article focused on Venice, as an essential hub of the medieval world trade network and as an important center for artistic and cultural developments of Renaissance. Various implications of fashion, from supply channels to economic value and from symbolic significance to social consequences were discussed. The relatively fast change of the women's fashion between the late 15th and early 17th centuries was depicted by investigating several Venetian lady portraits. Being fashionable was an object of desire in Venetian society with its cultural, economic, symbolic, political, artistic, psychological, and hierarchical impacts. Venetian Fashion, in this paper, was regarded not only as a major 'reason' of but also as the 'result' of the European modernity.

1. FASHION

"We are all Adams sons, silk onely distinguisheth us." [3]

We have to separate men's basic urge to cover and decorate their body, from the concept of fashion -as we understood today. We have to accept the fact that fashion is not a universal or constant but a historical concept. There has always been a tradition and customs of clothing, and it may differ from society to society, between



different sexes, and between the various social ranks of the same society. However in the pre-modern societies the rules of clothing were fixed; the norm did not change from one generation to another. Because primitive society is conservative, it respects the past and is loyal to its ancestors, traditions and legacies. The same type of tunic-dress has been kept unchanged for almost fifteen centuries in ancient Egypt. In Ancient Greece, India, China, or Japan we observe the same kind of stability of clothing styles going on for centuries. The same tastes. same traditions, same rituals were carried on without any major changes, because the focus of the traditional societies was to respect history and to reproduce the past. [4] Braudel summarizes the fact as, "If a society remained more or less stable, fashion was less likely to change – and this could be true at all levels, even the highest hierarchies." established [5] organizations resistant to change and transformation show little diversity in terms of fashion. The traditional costume of Vatican Swiss Guards; silk gowns, wigs, and ceremonial sashesthe of the British judges; or the universal appearance of nuns stable nature of proves the these institutions. During the times of economic depression or war, fashion showed little variation. On the contrary, a great shift in dressing styles occurred in post-war years or economic development periods.

Before the 12th century. wearing fashionable clothes for the low or middle classes was forbidden as it was regarded as an attempt for breaking social order. [6] According to Braudel, the stable and uniform clothing style of Europeans until the 14th century suddenly changed after 1350 with the drastic shortening of men's clothes. [7] The same long flowing robe worn by both sexes was replaced by a totally new type of dress that was very different for gender: short and fitted for men and long and close to the body for women. This revolution in apparel laid the groundwork for modern dress. [8] Various national styles had been evolved and a so-called "fashion craze" had begun starting from that date.

Fashion can not be explained as the set of rules for clothing properly, but it is a much complex social phenomenon. Fashion by its nature calls for constant change. The word is derived from the Latin facere, meaning to measure or to make. It can be defines as being right in a specific time and context. [9] Even in the same society and in the same time frame one's appearance could be perfect for a specific occasion and totally absurd for another. Where, when, and how you wear a dress is of crucial importance. A simple garment takes meaning in a specific social and cultural context. We have to have the necessary background information to decode the symbolic meaning of fashion. Paul Nystrom said "If we could understand the full significance of a woman's hat we could prophesy her clothes for the next year, the interior decoration of the next two years, architecture of the next ten years, and we would have a fairly accurate notion political, of the pressures, religious, that go to make the shape of an age. [10] "His words supported the "Sprit of the Age" theory of fashion adaptation. The theory assumes that the impacts of the social. cultural. economic or political conjuncture of the time are reflected through fashion. [11] For instance, during the religious periods of the middle ages, more conservative apparel for men and women were appropriate; clothing covered the silhouette, hide the body curves, and concealed sexuality. Politically dominating or invading countries impose their dressing customs and rituals. The black and tight costume of the Spanish influencing other European elites in the 16th century was related with the Spanish domination of Atlantic trade after the discovery America. Thus it is not surprising to see the great shift and transformation in fashion during the great cultural, political, cultural



transformation years of European Renaissance.

The word 'fashion' was recorded in the Oxford English Dictionary for the first time in 1568 as "the mode of dress . . . adopted in society for the time being [12] ", however there are several theories for the functions of clothing and apparel. The modesty theory assumes that we dress because we are ashamed of nakedness. The immodesty theory suggests that clothing is not used to cover the body but to attract attention to it and the protection theory accepts the use of clothing as an item of physical and psychological security. The most widely accepted view, the adornment decoration theory accepts the fact that individual self expressionism and the desire for beauty are basic human instinct. Nevertheless, dressing is not a simple action to be explained by simple motives. Clothing and apparel are the products of complex physical, psychological, and social conditions. [13]

Fashion is not only how a person dresses up but how he behaves, acts and manners. It is a symbol of statue, wealth, education, and class. The fashion of upper classes were never identical with those of lower, they are discarded by the upper classes as soon as the lower class starts to copy them. This structure of imitation and differentiation explains how fashion constantly changed and evolved. The similarity of fashion within the members of a specific class also excludes other classes. Simmel evaluates fashion with the two complementary forces the human nature; the need for unification and the need for distinction. [14] These two tendencies are valid both in individual personality and in the society as a group. The need for union is mostly expressed as imitation. When someone imitates, he does not stand alone and shares the responsibility of his actions. The imitation is the adaptation of the past and when someone advances beyond this stage by expressing his individuality, he is now acting for the future. Fashion also satisfies the need for differentiation, the tendency towards dissimilarity, the desire for change and contrast by its ever evolving nature. Even though, Simmel categorized the desire for differentiation and unification as forces of human nature, these concepts appeared as a result of modernity, with the realization of the self as an individual.

2.EUROPEAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Jones & Stallybrass argued that the making and transmission of fabrics and clothing were central to the making of Renaissance culture. [15] Textile industry, apparently correlated with fashion, was the main economic drive behind the European enlightenment. Developing international trade created a new rich merchant class intending to establish a status in a rigid hierarchical society, using 'conspicuous consumption' as a tool for distinction. We should set a brief picture of the medieval Europe to better understand the undeniable impact of textile, trade, and fashion on European history. [16]

After the collapse of the Roman Empire, Europe was under complete chaos and the church was the poverty, only dominating force. Europe was economically dependant to the East – Byzantine, Arabs, China and India and it was actually economically, technically, and scientifically far behind East. Everything Europeans needed including spice, luxurious material, silk, everyday goods had to be obtained from the East through the Silk Route. Venice was an important hub in this crucial transmission, as the city had a distinctive economic relation with the Byzantines who were trying to diminish the Genoese dominancy on Mediterranean trade. Venice was one of the most important trade centers of its time since the goods coming from Constantinople was distributed from the city all through Europe.



Before 12th century, Europe did not have anything to offer to East in exchange. except for slave, silver, and timber. Later on, Europeans discovered that there was a great demand for European high quality 'woolen textile' from East. The rainy, nonagricultural, limitless, fertile land of the Northern Europe was the perfect place for animal breeding. Europe, especially England and Flanders produced the best quality wool of the known world. Now there was a demand from East for something Europe could supply. This would totally change the pattern of trade and the power balances between East and West within the coming centuries.

Italian merchants had advanced in the textile industry by creating agent cities in northern Europe, collecting high quality wool or linen from there and finishing them in their hometown. Venice became an especially important center for textile production and distribution. Venetians established an elaborate system for silk production, linen industry, and wool-textile industry.

3.VENICE

Venice was city-state that а was established on a lagoon, composed of 120 small isles. When the Roman Empire collapsed, approximately 300 communities escaped from barbarians and settled down in Venice. The physical condition of the area was extremely unsuitable to establish a city but it was rich in terms of salt mineral which was very precious during the Middle Ages. Venetians built parcels on the lagoon by filling the land with wooden piles, erected houses and organized hundreds of canals for transportation.

The Grand Canal, was the main connection route from mainland to the sea was three kilometers long. The Rialto Bridge was built on the highest point of the land and it was the most important business center of Venice. Piazza St. Marco was the political

and administrative center of the city. The most important goods such as silk, spices, metals were traded in the arcaded shops of Rialto. The best shops were located on the land route connecting Rialto Bridge and the Piazza St. Marco and the best and the largest houses were located along the sides of the Grand Canal. Those houses were used both residentially and commercially as warehouses, with their convenient reach from the harbor to Rialto.

Venetians constructed an elaborate system to support their city. The large granaries to stock grain were a solution to feed the city as there was no fertile land in Venice. Although there wasn't and fresh water sources to support the textile industry, Venetians managed to bring water from mainland or collect rainwater in underground cisterns. The well-heads and the typical water collecting chimneys of Venice can still be seen today.

The social and political life of medieval Venice was as complex. There was a rigid hierarchical system. The ruler class of Venice has remained unchanged for almost five centuries. This steady group never let the middle or the lower class gain political power. Many members of the merchant class were richer than the Venetian nobles and they were actively worked for the scule, the nonprofit apolitical civil service, instead of politics. Being in the council of ten in scule was extremely prestigious among the merchant class. Rich merchant families lacking a political status, paid tremendous importance to fashion to compete with nobility. Fashion was the tool for Venetians to establish their position in this hierarchical society. Even the status of the nobleman was distinguished with the color of their robe; ordinary noble wore black, Collage wore violet, and the Dodge wore golden robe. The coloring of fabric was also a very complicated task in early modern Europe and black and purple colored fabrics were among the hardest to achieve. [17]



Tarde differentiated between customary and fashionable societies as former being more passionate about their country than their period and where fashion dominated people are prouder of their era than their country. I believe that was the case in early modern Venice. Becoming a major economic and cultural center of Europe, Venetians no longer need to recall the past. Their time was believed to be the golden age of Venice, it was the time to look towards the future, not the past.

In economically expansive periods. increasing importance was laid on fashion. [18] The great economic achievements of Italian cities during the 15th and 16th centuries were of course very much effective in the creation, adaptation, expansion and development of fashion. In fact Europe had experienced an incredible economic accomplishment with the textile industry along with textile trade and actually gained economic and cultural independence from the East. The close relation between the textile industry and the creation of fashion was stated by Foley as: underpinned the commercial growth and cultural transformation of Western society. [19] "

4.THE ROLE OF FASHION IN VENICE

Clothing as an industry is a large and interrelated sum of practices ranging from raw materials, production, manufacture, distribution and supply to sales with various cultural, social and economic impacts. [20] Starting from 13th century, the raw materials collected mostly from northern Europe, especially from Bruges, the agent town of Venice. The production of fabrics was complex process including spinning, weaving, and finishing techniques. The technology of the time played an important this production. Special manufacturing quarters were established within the city where various textile workers such as spinners, weavers, dyers were located. Venice was one of the largest manufacturers of silk. Wool, linen, and cotton were also major products for the domestic and foreign market. The clothes were finished in disparate patterns to satisfy European taste or the Eastern taste. Therefore the textile industry had a huge economic impact both on the domestic and the international trade.

The emergence of fashion also triggered consumer demand for apparel. increase in the demand for clothing supported the textile industry. With the desire to follow fashion, people began their clothing and changing regularly. Clothes did not live their full material life but their fashionable life. Apparel could be worn as long as it was trendy and acceptable in public and the rapid change in the norms of fashion stimulated consumption. Stimulating impact of fashion on textile industry was soon to be discovered by the merchants, suppliers and producers of the time. The supply channels for clothing were also numerous. The fashionable dresses and apparels could be attained from several ways in early modern Venice. [21] Apart from the traditional shops for purchasing attire, short-term rental. second-hand dealers were also common. Venice also had a reputation for its talented tailors having one of the oldest and strongest guilds of the city. Fabrics can be obtained from drapers and mercers and the famous street connecting San Marco to Rialto Bridge was called the Merceire named after these shops.

The economic value of clothing was as important as its symbolic meaning. Since medieval times, the salary workers, servants or maids were paid not in currency but in terms of food and dress. Livery, actually meant food and drink given to people in return of their service but it has changed its meaning since workers were mostly compensated with clothing. [22] Dresses had an exchange value and were kept as insurance for bad times. It was a



valuable item for pawnbrokers. Clothing was given as guarantee against loans, debts or payments. Borrowing dresses or giving garments as gifts were also very common and clothing can even be used as bribe in early modern Venice. Clothing theft was an old problem as well. After midsixteenth century, dressing the poor for charitable purposes were practiced by the Venetian government and became common among patricians.

Apart from the economic impacts, the fashion had a strong symbolic meaning in Venetian society. Simmel suggests that there was no fashion for the Venetian upper class as they were ordered to wear black togas to maintain social stability. The differentiation from lower classes was prevented by law. [23] Actually numerous sumptuary laws were established during this period to prevent lower classes imitate the nobles or to regulate the elite itself. It is a question of mystery how well those regulations were enforced and how often they were changed. As opposed Simmel's evaluation, significant change in fashion can clearly be seen in the portraits of Venetian genteel. (Figures 2,3,4) The costumes in those portraits were depicted in extreme detail. The dresses were even portrayed better than the faces since they were sent to the artist's studio later on. It is fact that aristocratic dresses were much expensive than the portrait itself. [24]

With the help of Renaissance paintings, we can see a brief chronology of Venetian female fashion starting from 1490 to 1610. [25] The simple and symmetrical figure in late 15th century became more elaborate by the turn of the century and more and more emphasis was given to the sleeve. Two or more different kinds of fabric, mostly the underwear camicia- were exposed in the sleeve. The higher waistline just below the bust got lower and the neckline enlarged exposing the chest and the neckline in early 1500s. Later in 1520's

sleeves got larger with larger cuffs. The camicia was clearly revealed from the openings of the sleeve. Waistline dropped almost to its natural place. The boat-shaped bodices were almost dropping from the shoulder exposed the undergarment. By 1530's the shoulder part was exaggerated and the sleeve got more fitted. The hairstyles got more elaborate during this time and hair ornaments were introduced in 1530's. The use of stylish jewelry and accessories were characteristic to the period. More importance was paid on the fabric itself and amazing patterns of cloths were used by the mid 17th century. By the end of the century, elegant lace collarets and skirts in full volume with V-shaped waistlines got fashionable.

In contrast to the rigid hierarchical system, Venice was quite dynamic а Continuous newcomers –laborers, artisans, nobles, or merchants from other cities- and increasing volume of international trade created cultural diversity and dynamism to the society. The renowned carnivals and festivals of the city were the indicators of this dynamism. The use of masks and costumes also reinforced the symbolic meaning of garments as a symbol of social identity. It is not surprising to observe the exposition of dresses as a sign of social status or individual aesthetic. Venice was famous for its ostentatiously dressed women by the fifteenth century. In 1494 Casola wrote about Venetian women that they love to see and to bee seen in public. 'To see and to be seen' was an unusual concept for the medieval Europeans. [26] The Christian, introverted society had no tools or mediums to express its social identity. Renaissance brought new ideas, new concepts, and new spaces which would change the patterns of social life drastically. To see or to be seen was not important unless the signs of social order were decoded. Fashion gained meaning as long as there were ones to appreciate, follow or abandon it. The concept of ever



changing and evolving fashion was a novelty and it was a tool for the society to express its internal dynamics and personal preferences. Instead of repressing their sexuality, people became proud of their bodies and used fashion as a tool for display.

a class Apart from being indicator, costumes were a symbol of well-being and trust in early modern business life. High quality fabric and a nice cut could be an important factor for building trust. For example, it is known that courtesans of Venice mostly preferred very expensive high quality clothing to advertise their and reputation. Flamboyant costumes were means of visibility, literally 'Two Venetian and symbolically. Courtesans' painting by Carpaccio (Figure 2), the fashionable clothing styles of courtesans were apparent.

The dresses also represented the wearer's status and physical place. The painting named 'Married Gentle Woman outside the House' (Figure 4) depicted a noble Venetian woman with her maid. The gentle one, most probably wore chopines and they both. The next picture illustrated them at home the same women were at the same height and their garments can be seen much clearly. In the following illustration 'Bride and Master' (Figure 4), the lady again portraved wearing chopines as she was taller than the male figure. The chopine (Figure 1) was defined as: "Developed in the early sixteenth century, the chopine was designed to protect the foot from irregularly paved and wet or muddy streets, and also to symbolically enhance the wearer's stature. Because of their height, chopines introduced an awkward instability to a woman's gait. A Venetian woman wearing chopines would generally be accompanied by an attendant on whom she would balance. It was once thought that very high chopines—as much as twenty inches were worn by courtesans to establish a highly visible public profile. However, in sixteenth-century height was associated with the wearer's level of nobility and grandeur." [27]



Figure 1. Venetian Chopines

Sumptuary laws were established to preserve the social order or to prevent the lower classes imitate nobility. Especially the rich merchants of Venice were eager to display their richness and glory with ostentatious costumes and luxurious items and patricians to prove their noble life. As opposed to numerous sumptuary regulations established between 14th and 17t centuries, 'conspicuous consumption' could never really been prevented. Luxury spending was a symbol of aristocratic identity and naturally emulated by the nonnobles. Gilles Lipovetsky's emphasizes the role of patricians in the creation of fashion by: "Individualism in fashion is reflected in all its brilliance in the power of a few great nobles to promote innovations deliberately, to be leaders in taste and grace within high society." [28]

5.CONCLUSION

Instead of analyzing the economic and political developments of the early modern era in a macro scale, underestimated everyday practices could provide us a clue for understanding the inspirations and motivations behind the changing life patterns of Europeans. Such a microperspective will generate a better understanding of how and why modern ways of living and thinking unfolded in Western Europe.



Italian city-states have long been accepted as the foundations for Renaissance enlightenment and their role as catalysts of an emerging modernity should be evaluated in various dimensions. Especially the social dimension which is an indicator of the changing tastes and habits of the citizens could help us to analyze the transition into modernity in a larger perspective. Venice, being one of the most influential and prominent city-states of medieval Europe deserves a special attention in this respect.

Fashion, in particular early modern fashion in Venice, shall not be understood solely as how people dressed but as a reflection of the social, political, cultural, economic, developments of Renaissance artistic enlightenment which leads the way towards modernity. During the emergence of the capitalist society, fashion "represented" the desire for consumption, class differentiation and social unification. The fetishism of the commodity can be defined as the longing for objects and their symbolic meanings. For Venetians the possession of dress and apparel has never been as important economically and symbolically- before the 14th century. The first signs of modern consumer society began to appear long before the industrial revolution when early modern Europeans refused the traditional modes and patterns of clothing and attain new priorities of consumption. [29] No wonder the appearance of fashion, as a function of modernity, coincided with the emergence of the capitalist system.

This provide paper to aims an of understanding the rise of the evolution enlightenment and the of modernity in Western Europe by tracing the transformations in everyday life. Fashion, as a modern experience, was breaking the traditional modes of not only dressing but also living, thinking, and acting; and it was considered as an expression of modernity.

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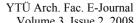




Figure 2. Portraits of Venetian Ladies from 1490 to 1527





Figure 3. Portraits of Venetian Ladies from 1530 to 1570





Figure 4. Portraits of Venetian Ladies from 1570 to 1609