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# Portraits of Children at the Spanish Court in the Seventeenth Century: The Infanta Margarita and the Young King Carlos II

## **Cover Page Footnote**

I thank you the Kress Foundation for giving me an award to attend the 98th CAA Annual Conference in Chicago, February 10-13, 2010. Part of this article was presented on Friday 12, at the session The Portrait in Golden-Age Spain: Expanding the Frame. I would like to thank the chair of the session Laura R. Bass & Tanya J. Tiffany. Also I would like to thank Joseph L. Koerner for his help and advice.

## Portraits of children at the Spanish Court in the 17th century: the Infanta Margarita and the young King Carlos II

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Portraits of children at the Spanish Court during the seventeenth century clearly reflect the various stages of their education and upbringing quite significantly. However, visual signs indicating the development and changing status of the child portrayed have to be identified and analyzed if the full meaning of these portraits is to be understood. In the present article, the educational treatises of the period are explored for the light they throw on concepts that were then current in relation to children's development. Royal children's portraits will be shown to reflect the education they received and the various stages through which they passed. First, however, it is necessary to explain how children were thought to move from infancy to childhood (*puericia*) and acquire the especially important "use of reason".

In order to be a good ruler, royal children –it was argued- had to attain three kinds of prudence: personal prudence which can be understood as the control of body and soul; domestic prudence, with which to control the family; and political prudence, to rule the Monarchy.<sup>1</sup> This article will concentrate on

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<sup>1</sup> Luisa María de Padilla Manrique y Acuña, "Idea de nobles", in *Virtudes políticas*, (Zaragoza: Hospital Real y General de Nuestra Señora de Gracia, 1644), parte 5<sup>a</sup>, cap. 1<sup>o</sup>.

the first of these, examining what the educational treatises tell us about how a child learns to control body and soul through education, and in addition, showing the importance of dress as an indicator of children's attainment of the different stages of development and achievements. Finally I will explain why in my view *Las Meninas* and *Queen Mariana in Mourning* can be read as marking the rite of passage from infancy to childhood.

Royal children portraits have been scarcely studied. It could be said that there is a lack of attention to theories on children portraits. Children portraits have been typically a secondary or incidental subject in a number of studies, mainly monographs on painters (Alonso Sánchez Coello, Pantoja de la Cruz, Velázquez, Juan Carreño de Miranda, Claudio Coello...) or historical studies on kings and queens. I wish to refer briefly to some works in which the main focus is royal children portrait in Spain. These studies have been important to my general approach to the topic, particularly those of Eric Young, and Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos.<sup>2</sup> Both have touched upon the subject of the portraits of Carlos II.

In this context, it is also important to mention Miguel Serra and the paper he contributed to the Felipe II exhibition, "Alonso Sánchez Coello y la mecánica del retrato de corte" and David Davies and his lecture "The Anatomy of Spanish Habsburg Portraits."<sup>3</sup> The commemoration of the centenaries of Carlos V and Felipe II has given rise works to which this article is much indebted, such as the magnificent introduction by Javier Portús<sup>4</sup> to the catalogue of *El Linaje del Emperador*, and the chapter in the catalogue called "La sucesión"; and the last two Prado exhibitions dedicated exclusively to portraiture.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Eric Young, "Portraits of Charles II of Spain in British Collection", *The Burlington Magazine*, 126, 977 (Aug. 1984), 488-493 and "Retratos pintados de Carlos II en el Museo Lázaro Galdiano" *Goya*, 193-195 (1986), 126-30 and Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, "Retrato de Estado y propaganda política: Carlos II (en el tercer centenario de su muerte)" *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte*, XII, (2000), 93-108,

<sup>3</sup> Serra, Juan Miguel, "Alonso Sánchez Coello y la mecánica del retrato de corte" in *Alonso Sánchez Coello y el retrato en la corte de Felipe II*, (Madrid: Amigos del Museo del Prado, 1990). David Davies, *The Anatomy of Spanish Habsburg Portraits*. Transcript of Lecture given by David Davies Lecture in the History of Art, (London, University College London, 1998), 77-82.

<sup>4</sup> Portús, Javier "El retrato cortesano en la época de los primeros Austrias: historia, propaganda, identidad" in *El linaje del Emperador*, Iglesia de la Preciosa Sangre, Cáceres del 24 de Octubre 2000 al 7 Marzo 2001, (Cáceres, 2000), 17-40 and "La sucesión", *El linaje del Emperador*, Iglesia de la Preciosa Sangre, Cáceres del 24 Octubre 2000 al 7 Marzo 2001, (Cáceres: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Carlos V y Felipe II, 2000), 320-339.

<sup>5</sup> *El Retrato español. Del Greco a Picasso*, del 20 Octubre 2004 al 6 Febrero 2005, Museo Nacional del Prado, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2004).

### ***The Age of Reason***

During the modern period the notion of the ages of man was of fundamental importance. Infancy and childhood, adolescence and youth, old age and infirmity: all indicated the cycle of life. The transitions from one to another were marked by rites of passage such as baptisms, weddings and funerals, which served to draw society together.<sup>6</sup>

Early modern authors also embraced the classical notion of different periods within childhood, such as those by Aristotle<sup>7</sup> who argued that infancy lasted from birth to the age of seven, followed by childhood from seven to fourteen, and Quintilian, who understood infancy as lasting from birth to age four, followed by childhood until age fourteen for boys and twelve for girls. The most important difference lies in the first infancy. For Quintilian it was the acquisition of teeth and speech at age four that marked the beginning of the second stage, while for Aristotle it was the development of reasoning, supposedly evident at age seven, that indicated the moment of transition.

But the transition from infancy to childhood will vary, depending on the child's development. The Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives leaves the question open since the precise moment of transition will depend on what parents and preceptors observe in their children.<sup>8</sup> As children develop they are shown in paintings with different objects which represent the changes that they are undergoing and which articulate to us what was expected of them at every stage of their lives. The portraits are therefore effectively a record of the sitters' development and achievements through education.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ignacio Atienza Hernández, "Las mujeres nobles: clase dominante, grupo dominado. Familia y orden social en el Antiguo Régimen", *Acta de las cuartas jornadas de investigación interdisciplinaria. Ordenamiento jurídico y realidad social de las mujeres siglos XVI a XX*, (Madrid: Instituto Universitario de Estudios de la Mujer (IUEM), 1986).

<sup>7</sup> According to Philippe Ariès this was the system followed in France. See: Philippe Ariès, *El niño y la vida familiar en el Antiguo Régimen*, (Madrid: Taurus, 1988), 81.

<sup>8</sup> Luis VIVES, *Diálogos sobre la educación* and also *Instrucción de la mujer cristiana*, (Barcelona: Altaya, 1995).

Luis Vives was born in 1492 (Valencia) and died 1529 (Brussel). As a child, he saw his father, grandmother and great-grandfather executed as Judaizers. He studied at Valencia University and later at the Sorbonne. He was appointed professor at the University of Leuven in 1522 and he moved to Bruges. He was invited to England in 1523 to be tutor to Mary Tutor. During that time he resided at Corpus Christi College (Oxford) where he was lectured on philosophy. He fell out of royal favour and returned to Bruges, where he devoted the rest of his life to the composition of numerous works. His most important pedagogical works are: *De ratione studii puerilis epistolae duae* and *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, on the education of girls.

<sup>9</sup> One example is the portraits of Felipe II's sons and daughters: *Infantes Don Diego and Felipe* by Alonso Sánchez Coello (Las Descalzar Reales, Madrid); *Infantas Isabel Clara Eugenia y Catalina Micaela* by Alonso Sánchez Coello, dated 1575 (Museo del Prado, Madrid).

In Habsburg court culture, royal children became their own master or mistress and were considered capable of governing themselves as they approached the age of reason, around age five. Reaching the age of reason also meant for the Catholic Church that children could distinguish between good and evil, that is to say, when the child had the use of reason.<sup>10</sup> Both the *Infanta* Margarita (Figure 1) and King Charles II (Figure2) can be understood to have



Figure 1. Diego de Silva Velázquez, *Las Meninas*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 318 x 276 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid (Spain).

<sup>10</sup> PIUS X, St., *Quam Singulari*, August 8, 1910. *The Code of Canon Law*, Canon 913 and *Código Derecho Canonico*, Libro I, Título VI De las personas físicas y jurídicas (Cann. 96-123), Capítulo I, in [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ESL0020/\\_PB.HTM](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ESL0020/_PB.HTM) (22/06/2007).



Figure 2. Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, *Queen Mariana of Spain in Mourning*, 1666. Oil on canvas, 196.8 x 146 cm. National Gallery, London (United Kingdom).

attained the age of reason at five years of age. Therefore they gained a significance of their own, and quit infancy through the acquisition of knowledge and the first entry into reason. Moreover, when children reached the age of reason they could take communion because they could distinguish between Holy Bread and ordinary bread or food.<sup>11</sup> At this point *Infanta* Margarita and Carlos II were ready to make confession and take communion.

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<sup>11</sup> *The Code of Canon Law*, Canon 913 and *Código Derecho Canonico*, Libro I, Titulo VI De las personas físicas y jurídicas (Cann. 96- 123), Capítulo I, in [http://www.vatican.va/archive/ESL0020/\\_PB.HTM](http://www.vatican.va/archive/ESL0020/_PB.HTM) (22/06/2007).

### ***The fashioning of the self in Margarita and Charles II. The moulding of soul and body through education***

Infancy, ignorant of malice and disguise, acts with simplicity and betrays in its brow, in its eyes, its laughter, its hands and the rest of its movements, its affections and inclinations.<sup>12</sup>

In his *Conversation on Education*, Vives pointed out that education is a complex and ongoing process that neither starts nor ends with the first primer, and added that the education of a child comprises many different aspects, such as “urbanity of manners, piety, letters and the reaching of the duties and responsibilities in life” in order to attain virtue.<sup>13</sup> Erasmus proceeds in similar vein:

The duty of schooling children comprises many parts, [...] first and foremost, making the tender will imbibe the seminal waters of divine piety; next, cultivating love of the liberal arts, so as to know them well; the thirdly, to fulfill life’s duties and responsibilities; fourth, that from the very beginning they grow accustomed to showing urbanity in their manners.<sup>14</sup>

In sixteenth and seventeenth-century portrayals of children, the soul of the child was shown to be “well tempered” by depicting the child in control of its body.<sup>15</sup> The portraits of Prince Baltasar Carlos by Velázquez are examples of how the painter showed the Prince with total control of his body. This physical control was a reflection of the inner soul and good manners. From the first moment, this well-tempered soul was instilled with “the love and fear of God”.<sup>16</sup> Children worked on internalizing doctrine and exercising the practice

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<sup>12</sup> Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*, Edición, introducción y notas de Francisco Javier Díez de Revenga, (Barcelona: Planeta, 1988). For Childhood see also F. Delacour, “El niño y la sociedad española de los siglos XIII al XVI” *Anales Toledanos*, VII, (1973); Julia Varela, *Modos de educación en la España de la Contrarreforma*, (Madrid: Ediciones de la Piqueta, 1983); Margaret L. King, “Concepts of Childhood: What We Know and Where We Might Go” *Renaissance Quarterly*, LX, 2 (Summer 2007), 371-408.

<sup>13</sup> Luis Vives, *Diálogos sobre la educación*, (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987), 81-135. Girls, according to Vives, had to get used to being sober, chaste and virginal. They should fast, eat skimpy meals, and drink cool/pure water, sleep in clean beds, and dress in neither exquisite nor precious clothes. They should not exert themselves in physical exercises nor in games that “heat and alter the entrails”; they should not use creams or scents and should seldom go out in public, and always with a companion.

<sup>14</sup> Erasmus of Rotterdam, *De la urbanidad en las maneras de los niños (De civilitate morum puerilium)*, (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1985), 17.

<sup>15</sup> Various studies have shown how bodily posture varies according to the individual, the society they belong to, their education, rules of conduct and fashion. Marcel MAUSS, “Técnicas y movimientos corporales” *Sociología y antropología*, (Madrid: Tecnos, 1979).

<sup>16</sup> The print reproduced on the first page of the book titled *Nutrición Real*, by Pedro González de Salcedo, illustrates this idea with a double portrait of Queen Mariana and Charles II. On the print Doña Mariana is holding up a text that reads “Fear God, Revere Parents; Love



of piety to govern their soul in order to gain control over the body. Thus those virtues that would make the child a good Christian were attained by learning the prescribed prayers and showing devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament, to the Holy Cross, the Virgin Mary and to James the Apostle. Kings and princes, as good Catholic Christians, had to learn to be on the side of the Church, to helping and protecting her and not trying to be above her.<sup>17</sup>

The body was the site of a complicated ritualised process, undertaken through the instilling of good manners: the child is taught how to dress well, how to speak well, the appropriate language to use, how to play games, and how to behave in ordinary or extraordinary encounters. The body is built step by step through a meticulous but slow moulding of gestures, actions and capabilities as Velazquez depicted *Infanta Margarita* in *Las Meninas*. As Erasmus wrote in *De civilitate morum puerilium*:

... External decorum has its origins in a well-tempered soul, (...) It is good that man as a whole be well modelled in body, soul, actions and dress; but (...) among them, noble children in particular.<sup>18</sup>

Treatises on education discuss the training necessary for children to gain control over every aspect of their body. On the subject of the face, considered the mirror of the soul in a long tradition going back to the classical world, Vives comments:

The composure of the face reveals the inner disposition, and on the outside there is no clearer mirror of the inner being than the eyes, which is why the look in them has to be calm and quiet, not arrogant or base, nor inconstant, nor is it right to stare; neither is the countenance to be frowned, nor should it be baleful, but affable and joyful ...<sup>19</sup>

The portrait of *Infanta Margarita* by Velázquez, in the Louvre Museum (Paris) is a beautiful example. Erasmus wrote much the same, and for the rest of the body he opines:

The hair must not cover the brow nor should it fall loose over the shoulders (...) gather the hair (...) part it in two with the hand, it is more

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Vassals.” This was what a young Prince or Princess was taught in their formative years. Inside the book there are further details. A Prince had to be brought up with devotion to the Holy Sacrament, the Holy Cross and the holy patrons that guard over us, to the Virgin, the Archangel Michael, and James the Apostle.

<sup>17</sup> The moral virtues of magnanimity, constancy, obedience to reason, equality of disposition, liberality, clemency, veracity, modesty, patience. In Jesus’ life, as we can read in contemporary texts, it was this age that was signalled as the moment at which the virtue of prudence was attained. Prudence was considered a fundamental virtue for a king to be endowed with in order to rule.

<sup>18</sup> Rotterdam, op.cit., 17.

<sup>19</sup> Vives, op.cit., 81.

polite. (The body) straight but not stiff. Let the neck not lean left or right, (...) It is convenient to temper the shoulders in equal balance (...) truly so like plants are the little and tender bodies that whatever shape they are bent to by the birch or the rope, thus they will grow and all the stronger for it.<sup>20</sup>

The object of this training was to produce a “man of gentle countenance and of fair bodily disposition,” who had attained a “certain grace of gesture which will make him well-liked at first sight and well-loved by all.” Carlos II, however, was intellectually and physically disabled. In this case, the rigorous training had to achieve a good upbringing. Juan Luis Vives and Francisco Ledesma, both said of a child’s training that it “is a shining light that covers in boys all manner of faults.”<sup>21</sup>

There are rules and routines to be followed in order to acquire control over the body. Children must learn to perform all physical actions meticulously, taking special care in the way they move and walk.<sup>22</sup> They will learn attractive table manners, eating and drinking with grace, modesty and with beauty.<sup>23</sup> They will wash their hands before and after eating, as well as during the meal. They will eat with moderation. They will learn how to dress correctly, and how to keep their clothes clean. If boys, they will exercise frequently as Velázquez shows in many portraits of Prince Baltasar Carlos, but not if they are girls --the paintings showed infantas inside the palace-- in neutral rooms. Girls, according to Vives, must learn to be sober, chaste and virginal. Girls will fast, eat lightly, drink fresh water and sleep in clean beds. Their dresses will be neither exquisite nor precious. They will not exert themselves in physical exercises or in games that heat or alter their entrails, nor will they use creams or scent. They will not go out frequently in public, and when they do, they will always be accompanied as *Infanta* Margarita in *Las Meninas*.<sup>24</sup>

In their portraits of the *Infanta* Margarita and King Charles II, Mazo and Velázquez show the children in full control of themselves. This demonstration is achieved by means of comparison and contrast, through each

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<sup>20</sup> Vives, op.cit., 81.

<sup>21</sup> Francisco Ledesma, *Documentos de buena crianza*, (Madrid: María de Quiñones, 1658), 11-43. Ledesma followed Vives and Erasmus.

<sup>22</sup> Pedro González de Salcedo, *Nutrición real: reglas o preceptos de cómo se ha de educar a los reyes mozos desde los siete a los catorce años: sacados de la vida y hechos de el santo rey Don Fernando Tercero de Castilla y formado v de las leyes que ordenó en su vida y promulgo su hijo el rey D. Alonso...*, (Madrid: Bernardo de la Villa-Diego, 1671).

<sup>23</sup> Pedro González de Salcedo, op.cit., 78-179

<sup>24</sup> If Vives’s ideas were used as the basis of a portraits of the *Infanta*, it must be understood that it was meant to hang in a private place where it would not be easily seen.

child's juxtaposition to a figure of a dwarf.<sup>25</sup> The dwarves are adults in miniature, and in themselves underline the similarities and differences between a developing child and an adult (figure 3).



Figure 3. Diego de Silva Velázquez, *Prince Baltasar Carlos with a Dwarf*, 1631. Oil on canvas, 128 x 102 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (USA).

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<sup>25</sup> Dwarves embody *la agudeza de la desproporción*, the “claverness of disproportion,” and “like a game of mirrors, they highlight in others the normality of body and mind that they themselves lack. They are symbols, emblems, anagrams of the perfection they lack and that is bestowed on kings, noblemen... who beside them seem more majestic and polished.” The idea that the role of freaks is to show the diversity of divine creation and to show by way of contrast the beauty that is born from it, established since St. Augustine’s *The City of God*, can also be found in Baltasar de Vitoria’s book *Teatro de las dioses de la gentilidad*:

es grande hermosa de la naturaleza, semejante variedad de formas diformes y al parecer defectuosas, porque así como la oscuridad de la noche es causa que adornen y hermoseen más los resplandores del sol y así como las sombras hacen sobresalir más las tintas y el colorido diverso de la pintura, así lo diforme de estas formas imperfectas es causa que resplandezcan más las formas de toda perfección.

in Fernando Bouza, *Locos, enanos y hombres de placer en la corte de los Austrias*, (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 1996).

The painters emphasize the idea that as a child, the prince or the infants should behave like small adults, capable of exercising their newly acquired control over their own bodies/souls and their virtues.

### ***A Rite of Passage: Changing the “Body’s Attire”***

Dress played a relevant part in children self-fashioning. It could even be said that dress was the visible manifestation of a child’s rites of passage. It had various functions: on the one hand, it protected the body and kept it from getting dirty;<sup>26</sup> on the other, it was a tool that enabled social identification.<sup>27</sup>

Cleanliness of body and dress is a metaphor for moral and religious virtues such as inner purity, the integrity of the individual’s family and even the purity of the family’s blood.<sup>28</sup> Much importance was also given to the dress of the monarch’s entourage as the members of a royal household somehow “became a visible extension of the royal person.”<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, princes and *Infantes* were taught to give away their clothes so as to imbue in them the virtue of generosity.

Changing one’s external appearance had a dual moral purpose: one personal, the other social.

The dress is in a sense the body’s body, for it allows us to glean the outline of the soul (...) it cannot be prescribed in a fixed way (...) according to custom or place, or even to the occasion which wise men tell us to serve. The dress [has to be for prince] rich and noble and well-fitting... the attire is there to enhance one’s lineage.<sup>30</sup>

During the seventeenth century, children did not dress like adults, but rather, the way they dressed went through distinct phases which corresponded to their age. At first children were swaddled until they were six months old (Figure 4).

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<sup>26</sup> Giuseppe Grilli, “El niño y el tema del aseo del cuerpo” in *La formation del l’enfant en Espagne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne-PSN, 1995), 379-404.

<sup>27</sup> Valentin Groebner, *Der Schein der person. Steckbrief, ausweis und kontrolle im mittelalter*, (München: C. H. Beck, 2004) and Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, (Cambridge & London: Harvard University Press, 1983).

<sup>28</sup> Grilli, op.cit., 379-404.

<sup>29</sup> In Bethany Aram, *La reina Juana. Gobierno, piedad y dinastía*, (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2001), 56, quoting Çonzalo Fernández de Oviedo and his book *Libro de la Cámara Real del Príncipe Don Juan e oficios de su Casa e Servicio Ordinario*.

<sup>30</sup> Rotterdam, op.cit., 21. Hence the endless descriptions of the different attires in any court ceremony.



Figure 4. Santiago Morán, *Infanta Margarita Francisca hija de Felipe III*, h. 1610. Oil on canvas, 100 x 72 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid (Spain).

From the moment children could walk, boys as well as girls were dressed in a skirt.<sup>31</sup> We find examples of this in portraits of Queen Margarita of Austria's children where the different stages of their physical development are reflected in the clothes they are wearing.

The moment at which boys were put into breeches depended upon parental choice and local custom, although it usually happened at the age of five or six, or even later. In the Spanish court a child went directly from wearing the long dress or tunic, called *vaquerillo* or *saya*, to short trousers if he was a boy and to the *guardainfante* or farthingale if she was a girl. The

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<sup>31</sup> The long skirt could have been the so-called *vaquerillo* which was the combination of skirt, *sayo* or *saya* and pinafore that children wore. We find *vaquerillos* in portraits such as Velázquez's *Felipe Próspero* and his *Infanta Margarita in Pink*. The latter is in the Museum of Vienna.

dress reflected the transition from one age to the next. We find the same thing in the portrait of *Felipe Manuel de Saboya a los cinco años* by Jan Kraeck (Figure 5).<sup>32</sup>



Figure 5. Jan Kraeck, *Felipe Manuel de Saboya a los cinco años*, 1591. Oil on canvas, [128 x 91 cm]. Museo Nacional de Prado, Madrid (Spain).

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<sup>32</sup> Executed by Jan Kraeck in 1591. The child is dressed in gold, and is wearing short trousers.

Both *Las Meninas* and *Mariana of Austria in Mourning* depict the children at such a moment of transition: the *Infanta* Margarita has swapped her toddler's long dresses for a bodice and a farthingale, while Charles II is portrayed in short trousers. In each case the gender of the children has become visible for the first time.

But the steps they are taking are not so much ones of parallel development as ones of divergence. For boys, it is the moment of their initiation into literacy, a skill associated with reason which will eventually ensure that the male child becomes distanced from the world of women, anticipating the next stage when boys begin to spend more time in the company of men, being tutored by a mentor. One wonderful example is the portrait *Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School* (Wallace Collection) by Velázquez, where the Prince is surrounded by men of his father's Household (Figure 6).<sup>33</sup>

The following lines describe and confirm the change in King Charles II, and also his new authority:

On 6 November 1666, for the kissing-of-hands ceremony during the birthday celebration, His Majesty was able to wear breeches, overjacket, *golilla* and cape; and to order the ambassadors in person to put their hats on...<sup>34</sup>

Charles II's portrait in The Royal Collection (Hampton Court) shows how he must have been dressed that particular day to receive the ambassadors. However, in Mazo's portrait of the King's sister dated 1666, *Margarita de luto* (Figure 7), the young King Charles II is still shown in a long black dress, so we can safely assume that the picture was painted before November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1666 as that was the date the King wore his new outfit for the first time.<sup>35</sup> The same

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<sup>33</sup> Velázquez paints a recognizable cast of characters placed in a familiar setting. Member of the Royal family, ministers, Alonso Martínez Espinar, the prince's valet, handing the lance to Olivares. Just besides him is Juan Mateos, Master of Hunt. At the far left is a dwarf and also a member of the Household, who directs our attention to the centre of the scene" in Jonathan Brown, *Velázquez. Painter and courtier*, (New Heaven & London: Yale University Press, 1986). See also: Carl Justi, *Velázquez y su tiempo*, (Madrid: Ediciones Istmo S. A., 1999); Enriqueta Harris, *Velázquez*, (Madrid: Akal, 2003) and *Estudios completos sobre Velázquez. Complete Studies on Velázquez*, (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2006). Alpers, Svetlana, "Interpretation without Representation, or, The Viewing of *Las Meninas*" *Representations*, 1 (1983), 30-42.

<sup>34</sup> Gabriel Maura Gamazo, Duque de Maura, *Vida y reinado de Carlos II*, (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1942), Tomo I, 288.

<sup>35</sup> This portrait is dated in 1666 but it had to be painted before the 6th of November because it was when the King changed his clothes.

assumption can be made for a hunting portrait of Charles II where he is shown in mourning again, and again in a long dress.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 6. Diego de Silva Velázquez and workshop, Prince Baltasar Carlos in the Riding School, 1636. Oil on canvas, [144 x 96,5 cm]. The Duke of Wellington's Collection, London

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<sup>36</sup> The dress the children wore was none other than the long dress worn in the Middle Ages. It separated them from the adults. Before they were aged five, it was impossible to distinguish a boy from a girl.





Figure 7. Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, *La infanta emperatriz Doña Margarita de Austria*, (detail), c. 1666. Oil on canvas. 209 x 147 cm. Museo del Prado, Madrid (Spain).

It is important to note that on 8 November 1666, two days after his fifth birthday, Queen Mariana decided that King Charles II was to receive the order of the Golden Fleece,<sup>37</sup> itself ritualised in the adoption of various forms of dress.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Archivo General Palacio Real Madrid (A.G.P.R.M.), Sección Histórica. *Condecoraciones, Toison de Oro. Carlos II. Decreto de Mariana de Austria fijando la imposición del collar al Rey (1665)*, Caja 2, expediente 149.

<sup>38</sup> Nina Ayala Mallory, "Juan Bautista del Mazo: retratos y paisajes," *Goya*, 221 (1991), 265-276, she says: "Mazo desarrolla la ampliación del ambiente que Velázquez había introducido en sus últimos retratos de la familia real... La atención que vuelcan esos personajes del fondo sobre el pequeñísimo príncipe-que aparece ya vestido con vestimenta

With respect to the *Infanta's* attire, we will refer to a series of portraits executed by Velázquez. The first one was sent to the Emperor, her grandfather, and today hangs in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna), (Figure 8). The girl wears clothes similar to those worn by Prince Baltasar Carlos in a portrait in 1631 and those worn by Prince Felipe Próspero as painted by Velázquez in 1659, with *sayo* (a kind of tunic) and *basquiña* (a kind of overdress), overlapping so as to be more comfortable and give more freedom of movement.<sup>39</sup>



Figure 8. Diego de Silva Velázquez, *Infanta Margarita*, 1653. Oil on canvas, 128,5 x 100 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Austria).

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masculina...- y la animación de las poses, son ciertamente un eco del grupo central de *Las Meninas*".

<sup>39</sup> Maribel Bandrés Oto, *La moda en la pintura: Velázquez. Uso y costumbres del siglo XVII*, (Pamplona: Ediciones Universitarias de Navarra, 2002), 80.

The next portrait of the *Infanta*, dating from 1653-54, hangs in the Louvre (Paris). The girl is still wearing a black and white *basquiña* and *sayo*, with golden ribbons. It is only in the 1656 Velázquez portrait in the Kunsthistorisches (Vienna), (Figure 9), that we see the *Infanta* dressed



Figure 9. Diego de Silva Velázquez, *Infanta Margarita*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 105 x 88 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Austria).

differently, this time in a silk brocade farthingale or *mantua*. “The body of the dress is fastened at the front with small buttons; it is very stiff, for it is lined... The *basquiña* is held wide with a farthingale”<sup>40</sup> like that of a grown woman, and it is in this attire that Velázquez portrays her in *Las Meninas*.

Mastering *el buen atavío*, how to choose the right attire and dress appropriately, meant one had learned how to appear and how to project oneself in public. The change of dress symbolises, therefore, a rite of passage from one age to another. We can read these child portraits as marking the end of infancy and the beginning of childhood. In keeping with Habsburg ritual, these rites of passage take place at a certain time in a certain place (the main room in Prince Baltasar Carlos’s privy chambers for Margarita and the Salón Ochavado for Charles).<sup>41</sup> This liminal instant of the ritual temporarily freezes Infanta Margarita and Charles II in a moment between their infancy and their “newly acquired” state of childhood.

At this self-prudence level, *Las Meninas* and *Queen Mariana in Mourning* are portraits of *Infanta* Margarita and Carlos II with a dwarf, having attained the age of prudence at age five to six, now they entered into a new life of learning, one which was structured at that time as a threefold process.<sup>42</sup> Velázquez and Mazo signal this transition visibly in the paintings in the dress and breeches that the *Infanta* and Carlos II are now wearing, in the control of their bodies and by the fact that now they are able to perform certain rituals by themselves which is shown by the *búcaros* offered to the two children by members of household members of their mother, Queen Mariana.

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<sup>40</sup> Bandrés Oto, op.cit., 89.

<sup>41</sup> According to Arnold van Gennep, a rite of passage takes place in three phases: the moment of separation, the *liminal* moment, and the moment of incorporation. He also talks of the importance of a physical transition in rites of passage, where a “threshold is literally crossed at the moment of passing through a door,” see Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>42</sup> See the first chapter: Mercedes Llorente, “The Image of the Catholic Queen. Mariana of Austria: Consort, Regent and Queen Mother”, (PhD, University College London, 2010), 30-90.