The exclusiveness of luxury and the individualization of the stage character

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Abstract
Among the several attempts to refresh the staging at the beginning of the XX century, it was the design process itself which helped the performing arts to consolidate its own place within the artistic and cultural context of that time.

Through the design process, each element of the staging is designed as something exclusive, just as the luxury items are addressed.

The attraction of a unique design leads to an emotional communication between the person who carries the item and the person who stares at it and is drawn to it. Likewise, in the performing arts an emotional relationship is established between the staging and the audience, so working the visual elements as exclusives is needed in order to engage the audience.

The aim in this paper is how the design process helps to make the costume designs exclusive, looking for the individualization of the character, not only with historical rigor but also in a creative way and full of emotions that are conveyed to the audience. The methodological approach consists of a comparative study of the costume designs for the role of “Carmen” in the several productions of the opera “Carmen” by the composer Georges Bizet between 1875 and 1906.

Keywords
Design Process, Costume Design, Performance, Exclusiveness, Luxury, Stage character
1. Introduction

The main reason people have attended theatre productions for centuries has been, and still is, to do with emotion. This is mainly due to the expectation that each new performance produces among the audience. People choose their seat in the theatre not because of the sound level but in search of a good view of the stage.

When the viewer takes a seat, they are hoping that their expectations will be fulfilled, that they will have a new emotional experience and be entertained for a while, even if the performance has a tragic end.

The two main senses that perceive emotions in any performance are hearing and sight. For this reason, it is very important to work on both the impact of the actors’ voices and the visual elements of the scene. Regarding the latter, costume is more directly related to the character, so it acquires more importance than the other visual elements as a communication tool.

Costume is part of non verbal communication and carries great emotion; it helps the director of any performance (be it in film or theatre) to build the story of each character (Nadoolman 2012); it is a projection of the ego, which conveys different messages relating to its external circumstances and its inner being.

From this concept of costume, a comparison has been made with the impact of how we dress in real life; it has been suggested that costume could be more important as a projection of the ego on stage than the way we dress is, in real life.

In real life the first impressions people get guide emotions and generate judgments mainly based on the external image. However, thanks to conversation, those superficial judgments can change as we get to know the person we are meeting for the first time.

In contrast, first impressions on stage do not go hand in hand with a dialogue between the actors and the audience, so the external image of characters as a projection of the ego is even more important than it is in real life.

Turning back to the context of real life, and considering the first impression made by a person wearing a luxury item, it is more emotional than a normal object and the item attracts attention in a special way; this being due to the fact that a luxury item is the result of the combination of two factors:

a) the use of appropriate techniques and good-quality materials

b) design: its conception and elaboration stemming from a research process at a historic and conceptual level because its purpose is not only to cover the basic need to dress but also to look for innovation and the subsequent individualization of the object, so it is considered as an exclusive item.
Considering the ideas suggested, a study has been carried out in order to show that producing a costume in the same way a luxury item is designed helps to achieve the necessary individualization and veracity of characters on stage.

2. The opera Carmen by Georges Bizet

For the development of this study, a review was carried out of different costume proposals made by various companies for the character of Carmen for the opera Carmen, composed by Georges Bizet.

The main reason this opera was chosen was that it sets a precedent for the wider research being done – the interpretation of the Spaniard through costumes used in theatre at the beginning of the 20th century.-

The second reason Carmen was chosen as a matter of study was its global success. It has been suggested that the success of Carmen was precisely because of the emotional impact that Carmen had on the audience thanks, in part, to her costumes.

In order to select which productions to analyse, preliminary research was carried out on the ones performed between 1875 and 1915 in the following theatres: The Teatro Real in Madrid, The Opera Comique in París, The Royal Opera House in London and The Metropolitan Opera House in Nueva York.

As a starting year 1875 was chosen because it was the year Carmen was globally released. 1915 was chosen because it was the beginning the wider research previously mentioned began.

Five productions of Carmen from this review were finally chosen, all produced by The Metropolitan Opera House and performed between 1893 and 1904. The singer Emma Calvé played the role of Carmen in a total of 140 productions.

The others productions were discarded for these reasons:
- Due to a fire in the building of The Opera Comique in 1887, none of the written or graphic documentation was preserved, nor were the costumes of the first release of the opera, so studying it was unsustainable.
- There is little documentation about the first productions of Carmen in the Teatro Real of Madrid between 1888 and 1913; only a few names of the singers who played Carmen have been discovered. Some newspaper reviews have been found containing only few and superficial references to costumes, which didn’t provide any additional information for this research.
- It is documented that between 1894 and 1913 the opera was performed in The Royal Opera House in London. Eighteen sketches by Attilio Comelli for Carmen are registered in their archives but none of them are named as a costume for the character Carmen. The only reference to this character that has been found is a photograph of Emma Calvé as a gypsy,
probably used for the first and second acts of the performance. This material was considered insufficient for the research.

**Content of the opera Carmen**

The comic opera *Carmen* composed by Georges Bizet is based on the novel *Carmen*, written by Prosper Mérimée in 1845. The opera was premiered in the Opera Comique in Paris on 3rd March 1875; the script was written by Henry Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy.

The novel is set in Sevilla in 1830. Mérimée was inspired by two stories told by his friend Eugenia de Montijo, in which there were two key elements for his novel: a crime of passion and a cigarette girl as a main character. The novel was also influenced by his life experience in Spain on a journey he made in 1830.

The opera, based on the novel, consists of four acts and is about a romance between an Andalusian gypsy and a Navarran soldier who is captivated by her. The performance ends in a tragic way with the murder of the gypsy by the soldier.

**Carmen’s costumes**

According to the acts of the script a classification of the costumes has been made, drawn from the written and graphic documentation compiled:

- Costume for gypsy or cigarette girl (Act I)
- Costume for Andalusian dancer (Act II)
- Costume for fortune-teller gypsy (Act III)
- Costume for *maja goyesca* (Act IV)

This study has been mainly defined by the bibliographic sources and documents consulted. The main source of study for this analysis was The Metropolitan Opera House Digital Archives. The only costume that has been found to be a reliable and useful reference was the *maja goyesca* costume, from where the research began.

The Metropolitan Opera House provided for this research a photograph of a *bolero* they still have which was used by Emma Calvé between 1893 and 1904[1].

Furthermore, a photograph signed by Benjamin J. Falk was found from another digital source, in which precisely the same singer dressed as Carmen as the maja goyesca wearing the same bolero appears [2].


According to those sources the elements that made up that costume were the following:

- A skirt that due to the brightness of its fabric looks like it was made from a fine satin, almost certainly silk. It was decorated with horizontal braids that themselves were decorated with adornments traditionally called madroños.
- A corsage, which looks like it was made from the same fabric as the skirt.
- The bolero, which is better appreciated in the photograph of the real clothing, looks like it was made of velvet. It is adorned with elements that look like they were made with metallic thread; there is a trimming along the edge of the bolero, the front of the sleeves and the cuffs. There are some small round pieces called madroños which are sewn onto the edge of the bolero. There are also ten round pieces on different parts of the bolero. There are fringes and tassels adorning the shoulders. The cuffs are adorned with a laced trimming.

According to the sources studied, the maja goyesca costume described is the kind of costume used by the majas of Madrid and later by women in Sevilla, Jerez and Cadiz during the 18th and 19th century.

Regarding the authorship of this costume, the only names registered as Costume Designers between 1884 and 1904 on the spec sheet of the productions of Carmen carried out by The Metropolitan Opera House are D. Ascoli and Henry Dazian. Their names specifically appear in the productions between 1884 and 1893 (The Metropolitan Opera House Digital Archives), however, there are no names registered as CostumeDesigners in the other productions up until 1904 so, we can deduce that Ascoli and Dazian must have been in charge of the productions of
*Carmen* up until 1914 when a new Costume Designer was registered, Giuseppe Palanti (The Metropolitan Opera House Digital Archives).

During this research, Ascoli’s first name could not be found but it is known that he was from Venice. It is also known that he worked for Dazian, who had inherited a costume sales and rental business called “Fancy Goods”.

**The impact of Carmen’s costumes on the audience.**

As noted above, costume must complete as a communication tool the absence of dialog between the actors and the audience to project the ego of characters as truthfully as in reality. Thus, the first question posed was if *Carmen’s maja goyesca* costume produced any impact on the audience. In order to address this question a study was carried out on different newspaper reviews of the operas produced by The Metropolitan Opera House between 1893 and 1904. At the same time, a study was done on several reviews of *Carmen* in order to compare them with each other.

A total of 232 reviews were studied. It is important to say that the ones of *Carmen* include the most references to costume, which indicates its success, partly thanks to the influence of *the spaniard* during the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century by a strong current that, mainly driven by Spanish and French romantics, would later be strengthened by the works of Spanish painters such as Joaquín Sorolla and dancers such as Carmen Dauset or Antonia Mercé “The Argentina”.

The costumes made for *Carmen* in these productions had such a good reputation that they were even used as an example in an article about the opera *Tristan und Isolde* “Perhaps the public would patronize the undertaking more if Tristan and Isolde appeared in the costumes of Don Jose and Carmen” (Krehbiel 1895).

- Regarding the content of the reviews, the first thing to take into consideration is that most of the comments relating to the costumes are too general. This means on one hand, a lack of interest in the matter on the part of the journalists and, on the other hand, that costume was generally underrated. Although the adjectives used reflect some impact on the audience as part of the overall scene, there are no specifications of any element or aspect of the costumes, meaning there was nothing that drew particular attention. This indicates that the characters weren’t adequately characterized: “The mounting of the opera was beautiful, the costumes being rich and the scenery very effective” (The New York Times 1894a) “The scenes are all reproductions of the Paris models and superbly painted, the costumes gorgeous to a degree” (Khrebiel 1901), “the old choristers had new costumes, of picturesque design and color” (Philadelphia newspaper 1904), “The stage looked brilliant and barbaric, and that was enough”( The New York Times 1894b).
Concerning Carmen some examples of this type have been found such as “The scenery was handsome and the costumes were tasteful” (Henderson 1893).

- Furthermore, some comments have been found in which journalists link costumes and the way the singers wore them. This means that singers as well as costume designers did an in-depth study of the script in order to understand the psychology of the characters. Costume and body language are both necessary for the purpose of giving realism to the character. This brings us to the following words by Nadoolman “Movies are about people. It’s the people, the characters in the stories, who hold our attention and who are of endless fascination to the audience. The people are the emotional core of every movie and it’s their story that moves us”. Concerning this kind of comment the following have been found in newspaper reviews: “She has plenty of handsome garments, and she wears them with distinction. She has jewels, too, which she should not wear in the first scene” (Henderson 1895), “She looked very young and lovely, in costumes just a bit too modish, and she sang as well as could be expected, considering that she was fairly flung into the part” (Brooklyn Daily Eagle 1900), “The new costumes do not add to the brilliancy of the old scenes, but they do enhance their characteristic picturesqueness and satisfy the desire for historical accuracy. (...) Tenth century costumes and customs may, therefore, he assumed as essential in a representation of Lohengrin and the rude forcefulness and barbaric appearance of Herr Van Rooy's Telramund yesterday were justified, though they appeared in rather crass contrast with their surroundings at times” (The New York Daily Tribune 1903), “It is a humorous spectacle to see ladies disporting themselves in short skirts and tights in a snowstorm” (Henderson 1899), “Mme. Calvé acted and sang the role with consummate dramatic art. The more's the pity. Her appearance was seductive and her costumes in accord with the character” (Henderson 1902).

It is also reflected in several reviews that the singer who played the role of Carmen did a study of the character: “She must have studied the type, taken of the ordinary gypsy what she deemed illustrative of Mérimée's story” (Kubel 1901), “the beauty of her voice and her histrionic skill, but by the subordination of all these to a dramatic characterization which developed with the fateful drama in which it was enwoven and impressed by its sincerity and truth.”(Philadelphia newspaper 1904).

In reference to Emma Calvé’s successful performance as Carmen, the editor Mabel Wagnalls says that the costume and the way she wore it were both relevant for the interpretation of the role: “Great was our amazement on that memorable night in 1894 when we beheld for the first time a real cigarette girl of modern Spain” (Wagnalls 1922, 107).

- Another kind of comment that specifically concerns the development of the costume being similar to the way luxury items are designed indicates attention to detail and a more in-depth
approach to the costumes, considering the different aspects of design (form, volume, colour, texture, etc...): “She wore a gown recently imported from Paris. It captivated the ladies at first sight. The heavy brocaded velvet bodice and the accordion-plaited skirt of the same color were pronounced by her female admirer "a perfect symphony in orange” (Henderson 1896), “They are most noticeable on her first entry, where she appears in cap and cape as any one passing through the streets naturally would, instead of the traditional indoor dress” (Philadelphia newspaper 1900).

Two reviews have been found about Carmen that name different items of clothing and specify some materials and colours used for them: “We are quite content to be charmed by so beautiful a girl though she is a gypsy cigarette-maker, who wears a dagger in her corset and uses it freely upon her companions” (Krehbiel 1884); y “The [beginning] of the second act - in which she wears a superb ball gown, made from an embroidered Chinese crepe shawl over a ruffled train of orange color” (Philadelphia newspaper 1904).

These last reviews of Carmen are important for this research not only because they specify elements of the costume design but also because they are the only ones in which two specific costumes of the opera are named (the first one refers to Carmen as a cigarette girl in the first act; the second one refers to Carmen as an Andalusian dancer in the second Act). This means that those costumes especially attracted the attention of the audience. Consequently we can affirm that they achieved individualization of the character.

In contrast, the lack of references to the maja goyesca costume in the reviews studied reflects that this costume almost certainly didn’t produce the same visual impact as the others; thus it could be suggested that the maja goyesca costume was developed in a different way to the others. In order to prove this hypothesis a study was done on this costume according to these aspects:
- The materials used and the finish of the clothes.
- The consistency between the costume and the script in connection with the psychology of the character as well as the time-space circumstances and other external aspects that could have defined it.

The materials used and the finish of the clothing

Towards the middle of the 19th century theatre companies in the United States produced medium-quality shows due to a lack of financial means. In many cases this led to asking actors to bring their own costumes for performances. Consequently, history wasn’t considered as an important issue (White, 2015, 11). Other times the actors ordered their costumes themselves from a well-known tailor; Blanche Partington wrote a review in The San Francisco Call about a performance of the opera Lohengrin in which she says that the singer’s husband designed her
costumes (Partington 1901); Story worked as a painter; he is not named as a costume designer in the spec sheet of the opera, neither is he registered as an employee of the company; therefore, it could be suggested that he designed the costume as a freelancer. There is also another hypothesis that this kind of collaboration was common and the actors and singers usually managed them by themselves.

If the companies did invest in costume, they ordered it from an external tailor. There are different names registered in the Metropolitan Opera House Digital Archive as costume designers on the spec sheets of the productions between 1893 and 1904 (D.Ascoli, Henry Dazian, Eugène Castel-Bret, Engel & Co., Baruch & Co. y Blaschke & Co); of these, Eugéne Castel-Bert is the only person who has been found who worked specifically as a costume designer for various operas produced by The Metropolitan Opera House around 1900. The other names were tailors who would have made the costumes with the savoir faire of the artisans.

In the case of the costume a la goyesca for Carmen, according to the references studied, it is clear that the materials as well as the finish of the clothes were of good quality, presumably ordered from Henry Dazian tailoring.

The coherence between the costumes and the script

Research is a key working tool in any design process. First of all it helps to make proposals with an appropriate space-time rigor. Secondly, through the study of the character and their circumstances, individualization can be achieved through costume. All this leads to a groundbreaking and effective result.

A review of possible sources of research that Ascoli and Dazian could have consulted to develop their ideas for costumes has been carried out, which include: the content of the manuscript and the script for the opera, trips to Spain (specifically to Sevilla), history books, travel books about Spain, paintings from museums and costumes from previous productions of Carmen:

- Content of the novel and script. There is only one reference to the dress Carmen wears in Act IV of the novel and it is very general: “Escamillo and Carmen finally appear; she looks radiant and is wearing a shining gown” (Mérimée 1989). In the script it says “Escamillo finally appears, and on his side Carmen is walking radiant in her gorgeous gown” (Meilhac & Halévy, 1875, 165). In both cases, the description of Carmen’s costume is very simple using general adjectives without referring to the style or colour of it. There are only two details that could be extracted from those words. On one hand the bullfighting influence (which will be discussed later); and, on the other hand, there are two adjectives -“shining” and “radiant”- which could have easily been interpreted as a white or light yellow colour (although a pumpkin tone was chosen) and a shiny fabric (as shown in the photograph where it looks like satin)[1].

- Trips. On the assumption that the costume designers were Ascoli and Dazian, the possibility exists that Ascoli did the research and sketches and Dazian revised them and managed their
production. However, it would have been highly recommended that at least one of them travelled to Sevilla in order to do a more thorough job of finding out about the following features:

- **The Lifestyle and customs of gypsies.** Carmen is a gypsy; gypsies have some distinctive features that make them different to other people who live in the same place. They think that “Segregation is important in order to maintain their identity” (Borrow 1990); they are not interested in mixing with other races nor adapting to different lifestyles; they search for singularity. While the other races in Europe looked for a social and economic status by trying to follow the fashion of that time, gypsies kept their own identity with an external image that identified them as different, without any desire for educational or social development (Borrow 1990). It is thought that in order to make Carmen different from Spanish women (the term Spanish women will be used in order to distinguish from gypsy women), it would have been necessary to consider singularity for her costumes. However, Carmen was dressed as *maja goyesca* as if she had denied her gypsy status in order to turn into a Spanish woman. Considering the aforementioned, this is quite strange.

- **Sevillan gypsy clothing.** With regard to the gypsies Ascoli or Dazian might have met, no photographs have been found from that time. However, what has been found are photographs of gypsies in Granada at that time [3].

![Gypsy portrait](image)

[3] From *España es Cultura, n.d.* (Garcia 1880-1890)

It is supposed that the basic clothing used by the gypsies of the different Andalusian cities at that time were similar to one another so, these photographs serve as a visual reference for this analysis: long printed skirts with some ruffles, a blouse and a long shawl. On the other hand, in accordance with the older photographs of Andalusian gypsies
preserved in the revised archives, dated around 1860 and taken by Charles Clifford and Robert Peters Napper, there are some costume similarities with the ones from 1890. Considering the information given so far it is safe to say that basic clothing of gypsies from Sevilla in 1830 must have been similar to those in 1860 and 1890. In terms of the photographs analysed, the costume for Carmen as a cigarette girl and as an andalusian dancer would have had historical consistency but in the case of the maja goyesca costume it would be different because no written or graphic references of gypsies from Sevilla wearing this style have been found. This style of dressing a la goyesca, which emerged in Madrid during the 18th century and mainly spread to Sevilla, Jerez and Cadiz, occurred at the same time as bullfighting was developed (the bullfighter’s clothing was defined at that time); in the case of women, it was women from medium and high social class who wore this style but not gypsies. In this sense it is clear that dressing Carmen as a maja goyesca was inconsistent. It is true that according to Act IV, Carmen has already formalized her relationship with Escamillo, a bullfighter from Granada. It is thought that Ascoli and Dazian could have interpreted that situation as a change of lifestyle and the way Carmen dressed, but they could also have chosen another, more realistic, proposal according to the character; the shining dress could have been interpreted as a smart version of the andalusian dancer costume: clean, made in a shiny fabric in an eye-catching colour.

- The clothing of the cigarette girls who worked in the Sevilla tobacco factory. It has to be taken into consideration that the workers at that time, who Ascoli or Dazian might have met during their trip to Spain, were of a different age and had a different social and economic status to the ones that worked there in 1830. It is important to refer to the research carried out by Eloísa Baena Luque, in which she criticized the fact that Mérimée idealizes the cigarette girls of that factory in his novel (Baena 1993, 63), which indicates an inconsistent historical starting point. It is likely that there were gypsy workers in that factory in 1830 but, according to Baena, at the time Ascoli and Dazian might have visited the factory – approximately sixty years later - there would have hardly been any gypsy workers, so the clothing of the workers they saw didn’t serve as a reference.
- Interestingly, we know from Emma Calvé’s autobiography that she visited Granada before she played Carmen (Calvé 1922, 81-82). However, while she mentions many times how she was inspired to play her role by the clothing of the cigarette girl and andalusian dancer, she doesn’t mention the maja goyesca costume at any time.

- Paintings in the museums. There are several portraits of gypsies from Sevilla that could have been inspired Ascoli and Dazian for the costumes. Although these paintings are dated after the
year the novel was set in, they could have served as a reference for dressing Carmen, taking into account that gypsy clothing at that time evolved slowly. Again, it is important to say that none of the gypsies in those paintings are wearing the maja goyesca style.

- “Gypsy with a shawl” by Gonzalo Martínez Bilbao in 1860 and “Gypsy” by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta in 1872. In these paintings gypsies are shown in long skirts, a blouse and a short or long flower printed shawl with long fringes (called ‘de Manila’).

These paintings served as visual evidence of the clear difference between gypsy clothing and the way Spanish women dressed; this distinction should have been taken into consideration in order to define Carmen, who was a gypsy, with greater rigour.

- Books about travelling to Spain. Ascoli and Dazian could have also consulted the books written by people from all over the world who had travelled to Spain, in which they recounted their experiences, making specific references to gypsies in Sevilla, including descriptions of their clothing and lifestyle. Some examples are “Glimpses of Spain”, “L’Espagne ou costumes, moeurs et usages des espagnols” by J.B.B. Eyries, “Etudes sur l’Espagne, Seville et l’Andalousie”, “Voyage pittoresque en Espagne et en Portugal”, “Costumes de diferentes nations” by Hippolyte Lecomte and “Voyage pitoresque a Espagne” by Lord Byron.

- Costumes for other productions of Carmen. At the beginning of this research it was suggested that the costume a la goyesca was drawn from the one made by the French in 1888 for The Opera Comique, due to its similarity, meaning they wouldn’t have needed to do any in-depth historical research. However, this hypothesis was discarded because although both proposals were drawn from the same idea in terms of type of clothing, the results were very different to each other; as can be seen in the painting of Célestine Galli -Marié as Carmen by Henri Lucien Doucet, the French made a costume according to the fashion of that time, whilst the Americans, although they opted for lo goyesco, made a more simple costume thus more similar to Carmen as a gypsy.

Based on the analysis carried out out of newspaper reviews and available sources of study for this research, it can be concluded that the maja goyesca costume didn’t produce the same impact as the others did for the following reasons:

- The proposal of maja goyesca lacked the necessary historical rigour
- The proposition of a costume inconsistent with the personality of the character indicates that there was not sufficient study about it.
- As a result of the above, that costume didn’t individualize the character and, consequently, had a low degree of innovation.

Mabel Wagnalls talks about the success of Carmen in one of the performances in The Metropolitan Opera House in a chapter of her book “Stars of the Opera”. Among other things she praises Carmen’s costume as a cigarette girl, played by Emma Calvé with great realism (Calvé 1922, 107). She compares that costume with others for Carmen from previous productions and links part of her triumph to that costume and the way she wore it. Furthermore Wagnalls makes only one reference to the maja goyesca costume for Carmen in her book: “The public cry, “Vive Escamilla!” and burst into a vociferous singing of the “Toreador song. Carmen is radiant as the dawn, and the bull-fighters wear colors and spangles that quite eclipse any soldier’s uniform” (Wagnalls 1922, 139-140). There is also a photograph of the singer wearing that costume: a gown and bolero similar to the ones in the photograph, by Falk [2] but this time in white [4].

[4] From Stars of the Opera, 1907 (Dupont 1893-1900)

On one hand the colour used is more suitable for the script than the one in the photograph by Falk; on the other hand, as can be seen, the reference to the costume is very short in comparison to others. It thus emerges that this maja goyesca costume didn’t convince the audience as the other costumes did; as a result it could be suggested that the reason is the inconsistency of that costume with the personality of Carmen as a gypsy in Sevilla in 1830.
3. Findings

Based on this research carried out using various documents and bibliographic sources the following conclusions have been drawn:

- Costume, to a greater extent than the other staging elements, as it has a more direct relation to the characters, has to be taken into consideration as a key communication tool; it serves to convey the psychology of characters and achieve two things: their individualization and, as a result, an innovative outcome.

- The function of Costume as a projection of the ego is more important than dressing does in real life because on stage there is no dialog between actors and the audience so Costume has to complete the absence of those words by carrying greater emotion. In this regard a comparison can be established between costume design and the design of luxury items: both emerge as exclusive objects with the purpose of attracting attention without needing any words.

- Lastly, in connection with the research on the interpretation of the spaniard in performances at the beginning of the 20th century, it is necessary to say that the clothing of women globally popularized as ‘typical Spanish women’ was the one of gypsies (immigrants from India who arrived in Spain around 1425 through the North of the country). In contrast, the maja goyesca costume, of truly Spanish roots, was used less on stage over time, although it is still linked to the spaniard due to its use in the bullfighting field.

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Endnotes

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