

CHAPTER 4

Nationhood

Documents of National Style

Previous chapters have already suggested that everyone in the Renaissance was increasingly confronted with questions about the national styles her or his dress adhered to. Castiglione for one chided Italian courtiers in 1528 for adopting French, Spanish, and German, as well as Turkish manners of dress.[1] Clothes were seen to manifest and even impart the customs and morals of cultures. The naturalistic art of the period reflects this stance. Most prominent among the Germans once more was the Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer, who twice travelled to Venice and had closely copied Gentile Bellini's path-breaking studies of Orientals, drawn 'from life' in Istanbul.[2] Dürer in his youth was a close friend of a great promoter of patriotic ideas, a humanist called Conrad Celtis. Celtis lauded Dürer as the new German Apelles, the naturalistic master artist described by Pliny, whose affectionate dog mistook his portrait for the real man. Celtis had known Dürer from his boyhood. He lodged in the same street as the Dürers when he stayed in Nuremberg, and Dürer soon produced bookplates and broadsheets for Celtis's publications. In Celtis's vision, Dürer played a central role in a cultural campaign for what they called a *translatio studii*, to bring the height of education from Italy to Germany. Celtis saw Dürer's destined place next to the emperor, to point towards a new way for peace, harmony, and reconciliation with God.[3] Did Celtis know that Dürer was a second generation immigrant, whose father was a Hungarian of rural descent? Dürer therefore was not straightforwardly 'of the German nation', and his father's cultural heritage and adaptations would have been integral to life at home. It is very likely that it informed Dürer's great curiosity about other cultures. Yet in a retable on the Martyrdom of the Ten Thousand completed in 1508, just after Celtis's death, Dürer represented himself and Celtis intimately side by side in the centre of the panel.

68. (*opposite*) Albrecht Dürer, *Nürnberg woman and Venetian woman*, c.1495, pen and ink drawing, 24.5 × 15.9 cm. © U. Edelmann – Städel Museum/ARTOTHEK

On the basis of this friendship and Celtis's patriotic ideals, one of Dürer's most interesting early costume studies deserves particular comment (Fig. 68). It directly contrasted a middle-aged Venetian and a Nuremberg woman, and thus was highly unusual for the period. Erwin Panofsky drew particular attention to it in his discussion of Dürer's interest in costume. Since Panofsky's interpretation has remained canonical, it is worth quoting in full:

> in one truly remarkable drawing he [Dürer] illustrated the fundamental difference between the Southern and the Northern fashion by representing a Venetian *gentildonna* side by side with a Nuremberg *Hausfrau*. Everything wide and loose in the Italian dress is narrow and tight in the German one, the bodice as well as the sleeves and shoes. The Venetian skirt is cut on what may be called architectural lines; the figure seems to rise from a solid horizontal base, and the simple parallel folds give an effect not unlike that of a fluted column. The German skirt is arranged so as to create a picturesque contrast between crumpled and flattened areas, and the figure seems to taper from the waist downward. The Italian costume accentuates the horizontals (note the belt and the very form of the necklace), uncovers the shoulder joints and emphasizes the elbows by little puffs. The German costume does precisely the opposite. The very idea of this juxtaposition might have been suggested by Heinrich Wölfflin. Dürer contrasted the two figures as a modern art historian would contrast a Renaissance palazzo with a Late Gothic town house... in sum, the costumes are interpreted, not only as curiosities but also as documents of style.[4]

Hausfrau and *Gentildonna*, late Gothic townhouse and Renaissance palazzo: these oppositions gain further meaning if we consider that Panofsky thought that Dürer was seriously (and not just jokingly) delighted by Venetian female costume and by the women themselves. Indeed, Panofsky equated Dürer's Nuremberg wife Agnes with a workmanlike, limited Gothic aesthetic, pitted against an Italian expansiveness, pleasure-loving culture, Renaissance learning, and sophistication.[5] Panofsky wrote during the Third Reich, and attempted to 'internationalize' Dürer against current nationalistic appropriations of him by those loyal to the fascist regime.[6] This meant that his book had nothing to say about Dürer's friendship with Celtis, or his possible influence on the artist.

But if we pay more attention to the physiognomy and comportment of the figures as well as dress, the point of the contrast becomes clear. It seems that Dürer first drew the Nuremberg woman and then the Venetian, who is positioned in the foreground and takes up more space. The Nuremberg dress is extremely neat, defined, and modest, as it fully covers the head, arms, and much of the shoulders and chest. Covered hair in this period affirmed a husband's sexual control. This depiction reflected the grip of a good government that ensured modesty, as sumptuary legislation indeed forbade Nuremberg women, as much as Venetian women, to wear low-cut bodices. The Venetian woman, by contrast, is far more loosely drawn in the upper part of the body. Fewer shading effects are used, so that her whole appearance lacks structure. The sleeves have many more decorative elements, but appear slovenly; a piece of cloth hangs messily over the right arm, and half

her breasts are openly revealed by a low-cut bodice. Some of her hair is loose, escaping the veiling. A large left hand hangs down without any apparent purpose. The shoes are broad and placed clumsily next to each other, whereas the Nuremberg wife has pointed shoes placed in an artful step. The Venetian woman gazes vaguely from large eyes directed upwards while the Nuremberg wife could be said to regard the Venetian rather critically, as she places her elbows determinedly on one hip. Cesare Vecellio's late sixteenth century costume book depicted several Venetian women from this earlier period, but never in such a negligent pose.[7] No wonder then that Dürer modelled his Babylonian whore of the Apocalypse on a similar type of Venetian woman, who was more elaborately dressed and is likely to have been a prostitute. All this suggests that, as in his other costume studies of neatly dressed Nuremberg women, Dürer had Celtis's ideal of a cultivated indigenous urban aesthetic in mind to represent Nuremberg as the most glorious and promising city of the empire. Female dress had political significance, for it symbolized not just civic morality, but also national virtue or vice. In this, Panofsky was right. Dürer's drawing was not a comparative study of clothing as curiosity, but a document of national styles.

BARBARIANS

In 98 AD, the republican historian Tacitus wrote a brief ethnographic treatise entitled *Germania* to warn Roman leaders that Germans were dangerous if left unconquered.[8] Tacitus contrasted German simple resilience with the dangers of conspicuous consumption that cosmopolitan Romans of his time indulged in. Chapter seventeen was devoted to clothing. All Germans, it set out, wore a cloak held together by a pin, or, even simpler, a thorn. Animal skins were also frequently worn, and wealthier men displayed more of their bodies. Women might embroider clothes with purple, leave their arms uncovered and one breast exposed, but generally they wore the same as men. Germans living inland were unable to obtain finery through trade, but even those closest to the riverbanks had no concern for style. Tacitus later added that 'Suebi', living in the greater part of Germany, tied their bristling hair back and on the top of their heads. This was not, Tacitus hastened to add, 'to love or be loved', but to appear taller and strike terror in their enemy, the 'shock and awe' look, as it were[9] (Fig. 69).

Tacitus's treatise was rediscovered by German humanists at the end of the fifteenth century. He was hugely exciting to them in their quest to further the love of their mother- and fatherland. This was notoriously difficult in the absence of a monarchical dynasty to which notions of a heroic past and future could be securely linked, and in a country that was part of an empire whose boundaries were not easily defined, and shifted constantly through wars and negotiations. The Holy Roman Empire always encompassed several cultural 'nations': Bohemia, Austria, Burgundy, parts of upper Italy, 'lower' Germans in the north and upper Germans in the south, as well as the Swiss. The emperor over these 'nations' was elected in Germany, and, as was seen in the succession from Maximilian I to Charles V, emperors' involvement and identification with German domains could vary dramatically. Calls for religious and political renewal had resounded in the German lands



69. Wolfgang Lazius, *De aliquot gentium migrationibus...*, Basle: Oporiniana 1572, T.1.14, p. 443, Swabians. © By kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library

since the fifteenth century. Concurrent notions of 'Germanness' soon were strongly connected to anti-Roman and hence Italian sentiments, for 'Germans' regarded themselves as humiliated and exploited by the papacy. Perhaps the most poignant and to us amusing episode which circulated in the Reformation years, calculated to arouse shame and in turn defiance against Italians, was a description of Cardinal Jerome Aleander, of whom it was said that 'he considers a German name contemptible and those of that nation in his service he summons in a feigned barbaric accent: "Come barbarian, go barbarian, do this and that barbarian."'[10] Intense anti-German stereotyping was marked in the classical literature humanists discovered, and travellers still encountered it.[11] In 1495, for example, the Strasbourg humanist Wimpfeling disdainfully recalled how Italian fathers would insult little boys as 'German pig' (*porcum dedischo*), if they did something wrong.[12] Unsurprisingly then, after Maximilian I had appointed the painter and print-maker Jacopo de Barberi as court artist in 1500, fellow Venetians nicknamed him 'Jacopo of the Barbarians' when he duly took up residence in Nuremberg.[13] Whereas Tacitus had at least highlighted the virtuousness of German simplicity, many self-aggrandizing Renaissance Italians seemed to know only arrogant contempt for uncultured, rough, and temperamentally choleric people environmentally exposed to too much cold and rain.

Already in the mid-fifteenth century, the Sienese humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II (1458–1464), had composed an ironic verbal portrait of one of the most significant German representatives at the Roman curia, Gregor von Heimburg. It applied Seneca's environmentally based conception of Germans in his treatise *On Anger*.[14] Enea first described Gregor's extraordinary beauty, height, and vividness, only to set out how badly it was matched by his lack of controlling his conduct, his lack of shame, and total rudeness. After dinner, Enea concluded, Gregor would walk at the foot of Monte Giordano, overcome by heated anger as if full of contempt for Romans and his own office. He marched up and down with hanging boot legs, bared chest and head, rolled-up sleeves, and would neither stop blaspheming Rome, Eugen, and the curia, nor stop being 'very cross about how hot this land was'.[15] This pointedly indicated that Gregor's problem clearly lay in the heat he himself generated through his choleric anger, which in turn was generated by his inability to make agreements and thus enter politics and society proper. And at the root of this was his inflexible and primitive German love of liberty alongside his uncontrolled, and in the final instance, self-destructive, nature. Line by line, this portrait insinuated that in a more complex, interdependent political world, Germans needed to be ruled to exist. Enea's description of Gregor's dress underlined that the temperament of northern German people made it physically impossible for them to cope with warmer countries, as their anger in conjunction with the climate caused them to overheat, even if they already dressed over-casually with a shirt. Everyone familiar with the iconographic visualization of anger (*ira*) in that society—everyone, for instance, who had seen Giotto's stunning depiction in the Arena chapel in Padua—knew that a man who let himself be overcome by such uncontrollable anger would in no time tear off his shirt from his already bared chest. For their own good, Germans seemed best off confined to their own lands.

Enea used the newly invented printing press to full effect to publish politically incisive portraits of this kind as well as topographical descriptions. One of the most prominent humanists and politicians of his generation, he was similarly cunning when he refuted German claims of decline as a result of papal rule. In an influential open letter entitled 'Germania', published in 1457, Enea praised the wealth, urban, and technological development that Germany had evidently seen since classical times, which clearly resulted from Christian and Roman influences. There was no rational cause for antagonism between Germans and Italians; rather, it would have followed, room for optimism, if Germans accepted Italian superiority and rule, instead of each of its many rulers defending their own freedom.[16]

Ideologies of Dress

By the end of the fifteenth century, defiant 'anti-barbarian' and 'anti-Roman' voices multiplied in the German lands, as a politically active core within the empire agreed on reforms or grievances against Rome. For the first time, a German nationalistic ideology took shape. This ideology—and we need to term it such because of its coherence as a thoroughly invented way of thinking about the origin and future of the German

nation—was developed by the second-generation humanist Conrad Celtis, whom we have already learnt about as Dürer's friend. Celtis, in 1487, had been crowned by Frederick III in Nuremberg as first Imperial poet laureate after Petrarch and Enea Silvio. Celtis made Tacitus widely available in print for elites, and used him foremost as evidence that Germans were an indigenous race. He stated that Germans had been directly created by a God called Demogorgon. Enea's 1458 treatise on Europe, by contrast, had set out how migration from different regions had made up the people now known as Germans, while the Habsburg emperor Maximilian I soon built on the more established myth that Germans were direct descendants of Trojans, who had escaped to the German region of Franconia after their city's fall (Fig. 75).[17] Celtis's indigenous race had instead been endowed directly with the German lands. It had three important socio-psychological characteristics: Germans took all hardship, hated laziness (in direct contrast to what Tacitus had written), and lived like brothers. Demogorgon generously had made them huge, and, as the Greek geographer Strabo had described, they were well proportioned, with white bodies, light eyes, and blonde hair. They had thoroughly male voices, their rough 'palate' evidence of their fearless warrior spirit. This new nationalist ideology, in other words, was patriarchal to the core: it took men, male roughness, hardness, and even violence to be the model of the German race. These men, whom Celtis praised in his *Germania generalis* of 1498, were ready for a bloody revenge when any injustice harmed them; and ready, too, to spill their pink blood for their fatherland.[18] As for Tacitus, these mythical Germans were hence primarily distinguished by their warrior spirit, and, Celtis added, by their willingness for sacrifice—a concept that equated male revenge and sacrifice with the noblest qualities of a people. So important was it to masculinize this political ideal of liberty from outside rule and defence of the fatherland that women were not mentioned once in Celtis's *Germania generalis*, as if men did not live in connection with them. Rather, he especially emphasized that these men's voices were not like women's; a comment which introduced the feminine as something that would weaken the violent male, whose self-image and success depended on his ability to inspire fear in all those men who were not his racial brothers.[19] Celtis next followed Enea in arguing that Germany had developed from barbarism to a civilized nation, of which its cities and technological inventions were foremost testimony. The reason for this, however, was not the exogenous influence of the Roman church, but cosmic change: Germany was now much closer to the sun and had become a fertile country.[20] Moreover, it had been druids and their descendants who had acted as a cast of philosopher-priests throughout German history. They had brought barbarians out of the woods into cities, and had disseminated rules for living together and education.[21] Under Charlemagne they had become Christianized. This had furthered the development of civilization, but the church had not been its cause. Charlemagne had gained the highest political power—that of an empire—for Germans, and Celtis regarded himself as following the traditions of druids who showed the necessity of complementing political strength with learning. Druid-humanists achieved the highest ideals of greatness until the end of that empire.[22] Germany had succeeded Greece and Rome as leading empire, and had turned any residues of its barbarian nature into virtues. 'Wild brutishness' had been expelled

to make way for a 'softer nature', ready to absorb laws, religion, language, and philosophy.[23] Celtis's most ambitious plan was to work out a *Germania illustrata*, a description of German geography, ancient history, customs, religion, language, emotional makeup, and bodily characteristics, based on fieldwork, the study of literary sources, and scholarly teamwork. It never substantially progressed in writing, but Celtis was at the node of a large network of people whom he inspired with his interest and vision.

The patriotic aim of refuting Italian allegations of primitivism or cultural dependency created the framework for much German thought about the meaning of clothing and appearances throughout the fifteenth and well into sixteenth centuries. It closely connected a political ideal of Germanness with social ideals of comportment. As in any myth of nation, regeneration for some was easiest to think of as a return to past values. Tacitus was popularized through a vernacular translation by the former Franciscan friar Johann Eberlin von Günzburg in 1526, who we have already encountered in his Reformation campaign against foreign influences. Unsurprisingly, then, he added comments such as 'Count Frantz of Nirandula scolds the Germans for wearing such wide clothes and not tight ones like their elders', or, with palpable reproach, 'just as nowadays furs for children are sleeveless, so was the old German dress of the common man'![24] Yet inventing the necessarily tight boundaries of an indigenous identity nonetheless proved tricky. For if Germans were to aspire to return to the material simplicity practised by their forefathers, then how could they avoid appearing as primitive barbarians again, as 'pellitus' with their animal skins and long hair, which Romans had made the very stereotype of Northern barbarians?[25] Was more sophisticated clothing a desirable sign of civilization within Germany, or was it evidence that this culture had been corrupted and effeminized from outside, through trade and luxury, which, as in Rome, surely precipitated its fall? Celtis's speech to the students of Ingolstadt University in 1492 blamed Italian greed and commerce with luxury goods for draining Germany of its resources, trying out the simplest 'us versus them' rhetoric in elegant Latin on this audience of aspiring young men:

> But from the south we are oppressed by a sort of distinguished slavery, and under the impulse of greed, that old and accursed aid to the acquirement of comfort and luxury, new commercial ventures are continually established, by which our country is drained of its wonderful natural wealth while we pay to others what we need for ourselves.[26]

The ironic key phrase here is 'distinguished slavery': if Germans fell for luxury they betrayed their political heritage as free men and were reduced to smart-looking slaves. This told youths, who were thought to be most susceptible to fashion, that choosing one's dress was not an attribute of freedom. Hence Celtis later rhetorically admonished students that Italian sensuality had so corrupted Germans that it would be better if they practised again the 'rude and rustic life of old, living within the bounds of self-control, than to have imported the paraphernalia of sensuality and greed which are never sated, and to have adopted foreign customs'.[27] This was intended to make clear to them that indigenous utilitarian dress constituted them as Germans. Nationhood, in short, was

tied to matter and its relation to the body rather than merely to abstract ideas in its making and unmaking. Even if students chose sensuous luxury just once, it would engulf them in the spiralling dynamics of greed and effect the nation's fall. Celtis, in other words, constructed the cultural and political ideals of Germanness as interdependent and grounded them in matters of appearance. In addition (and in contrast to the ideological praise of the *Germania generalis*) Celtis's elegies used the genre in the tradition of Roman satirists, in particular the blazing Juvenal, to lambaste women: these were the men who held that women exhibited expensive dress, lasciviousness, and general moral decadence in particular starkness. Old Germans had been a cabbage-eating 'casta simplicitas', new Germans had diseased bodies.[28] This contrast between old and new Germans mirrored the opposition between old and new Romans in Juvenal's satires as well as his comments on clothes, which he merely praised for their functional use against cold. Otherwise, Juvenal's fantasy, if anything, had been to 'escape the toga' when the sun allowed, and he supplied old men with the role to admonish the young: 'The person who is not embarrassed at wearing high rawhide boots in the ice, who dispels the east winds with skins turned inside out, will have no wish to do anything forbidden.' Juvenal predicted, as previously mentioned, that 'it's purple cloth, whatever it is, foreign and new fangled, that leads people to crime and wickedness'.[29] In this way, Juvenal provided one influential model for the dramatic portrayal of clothing as the foundation—or destruction—of morality and why therefore it should be of fundamental cultural and political importance (Fig. 70).



70. Wolfgang Lazius, *De aliquot gentium migrationibus...*, Basle: Oporiniana 1572, T.1.14, p.785, Scottish and Irish warriors. © By kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library

Celtis's visionary sense of German history, as developed in the *Germania generalis*, nonetheless implied that a return to skins and pins could not take place. If Germany had developed into a warmer and cultivated land but maintained indigenous virtues of simplicity, then dress must reflect this process as well. The main rule to observe was to stick to indigenous fabrics and tailoring, and to be frugal in expenses; but the whole point of this new German aesthetics was to craft simple elegance onto body, mind, and senses (just as the elegance in speech Celtis admired in ancient languages). Out of this would result a simple yet cultivated and appropriately decorous style to exhibit that the German empire was at its height, autonomous in its values, and with its eyes on defending or extending its borders.

Celtis made this politically motivated aesthetics of appearance concrete in two principal ways: in his discussions of Nuremberg women and of Lapps. In a poem in praise of the city of Nuremberg, the *Norimberga*, Celtis applauded women for their frugality and modest appearance, but also their 'cultus'.[30] He took the negative figure of a corrupted woman named Elsa in his elegies *Amores*, published in 1502. Celtis followed Juvenal's attack on female decadence and described a lascivious, unfaithful, heavy drinking woman as emblematic of contemporary German decadence. Elsa used artificial beauty products, and dressed luxuriously and erotically. Elsa was not the lover any German was to lust after. Ideas about good and bad femininity and masculinity, as we have already seen, figured prominently in nationalist ideology. Tacitus had admired the warrior nature of German men, but also emphasized the sexual virtuousness of Germans, who practised monogamy, punished adultery harshly, did not abandon children and—all in obvious contrast to his contemporary Romans—had mothers who nursed their children and looked after them closely.[31] This meant that German women were less forced to compete for attention, and instead could be modest and domesticated. Celtis's adaptation of Tacitus's conception of Germans as an indigenous race, moreover, potentially implied that sexual virtue was a cornerstone not only of national honour, but of a national future: any intermarriage with foreigners would corrupt a race by weakening inborn virtues. The marriage of a modest, but cultivated German woman who saw her place in the household, rather than at parties, and as dutiful mother, could be lent political significance. Thus, as the Renaissance stimulated once more the idea that cities were emblematic of civilized achievement based on legal order and peaceful political rule, so the visual performance of sexual difference through make-up, dress, and comportment could be taken to exhibit a people's virtue or vice. Though Celtis, Pirckheimer, and other humanists might brag about their love affairs in their correspondence, Celtis's poetic praise of Nuremberg women served to show that women after all were able to attain political praise if they behaved in these ways and not like Elsa (Fig. 71). As men understood women to be naturally inconstant and morally weak, this would also demonstrate the success of patriarchal institutions governing them—from magistrates and courts to fathers and husbands. Gender, in these ways, was central to early nationalist ideas. Such views in turn endorsed the staging of sexual difference through distinct appearances;



71. Melchior Lorck/Hans Sachs, *Honour and praise of a beautifully decorated woman...* Nuremberg: 1551, broadsheet, 24.6 × 32.7 cm . © The Trustees of the British Museum

Tacitus's assertion that German men and women had largely dressed the same was not usually taken up to demand more gender-neutral dress practices. In some contexts, nonetheless, a unisex look based on male dress could interestingly serve to publicly and politically display a notion of honour based on traditional virtue and generational continuity. The 'book of honour' of the Augsburg Herwart family from 1544, for instance, showed the patron couple of the beautiful folio volume both dressed in the long black gowns worn by governing men. Herwart was mayor, and his wife, too, represented this position in her dress. This minimized any sense of sexual difference and fashionable change[32] (Figs. 72–73).

Lapps, too, were repeatedly discussed by Celtis in the light of the classical tradition to argue who were the real 'barbarians'. Lapps figured as poor, squalid, uncultured inhabitants of the extreme North, whom Tacitus had named 'Fenni'. They were simply and carelessly dressed with skins, did not settle, and indeed were unable to converse with anyone who approached them. Celtis falsely claimed to have visited Lapps in their deserted and hardly human existence, to which their freezing climate and nature condemned them until there was cosmic change.[33] They had no political culture. The significance of this construction is obvious: these truly were the contemporary barbarians and there was no point of comparison with Germans. To dress merely for protection

from the elements—in the way Juvenal had positively envisaged—was therefore associated with carelessly bordering on neglect, which in the Christian tradition was associated with sinful, slovenly behaviour, and had been discussed by Aquinas, for instance, alongside immoral overdressing. At the same time, Celtis followed Tacitus's sudden final thought on the Lapps, where at the end of the discussion of these primitive people he ambivalently added that 'without concern in their relations with men as well as with gods, they have attained a most difficult thing, not to have the need to express a wish'.[34] In this specific respect, Lapps and other Northern ethnic groups could still serve to identify serenity through a positive Nordic lack of desire.[35]

Such discussions of civic morality based on ethnic stereotyping were by no means confined to humanist elites. Nor was the link between a patriotic discourse and reflections on clothing—Brant's *Ship of Fools* already declared short upper garments and codpieces as a 'shame for the German nation'.[36] Most remarkably, in 1534, a Nuremberg broadsheet presented a woodcut of a bizarre looking 'wild Lapplander', which Hans Sachs's verses



72. (*left*) Georg Herwart, mayor, in a *Schaube*, 1544, from the Herwart's family *Book of Honour*, Schätze 018. © Stadtarchiv Augsburg

73. (*right*) Veronica Bimlin, Georg Herwart's wife in the female equivalent of a *Schaube*, from the Herwart's family *Book of Honour*, Schätze 019. © Stadtarchiv Augsburg

set out to explain (Fig. 74). His uncombed hair immediately showed his contra-political existence—Heinz Widerporst had strange ideas of his own, his own will, and detested any laws or common concerns. The verses transported him into the social institutions that constituted Nuremberg life—magistrate, crafts' guild, sociable gatherings, neighbourhood, household, and parish—where he would only use spiky words and cause conflicts. As nobody liked having anything to do with him, Widerporst disappeared back into the woods to an isolated life. His example served Sachs to show that it was necessary to distinguish between good and bad, but with the will to turn everything to its best, and conduct oneself in an easy-going way with people, quietly, and peacefully. In response



74. Hans Sachs/Eberhard Schön, *Hans Widerporst*, coloured broadsheet 1534, 16.6 × 12.5 cm. © Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, photo: Lutz Ebhardt

to this figure of the real barbarian, the German development into a culture with 'varied cults' in many cities for Celtis and his followers now needed to be studied and preserved in its genuinely German development towards greater civilization.

In the wake of Celtis's influence on German elites, urban communal dress with regional peculiarities—and not courtly or clerical or rural dress—became most interesting to anyone seeking to consolidate a patriotic and German imperial identity. This of course perfectly overlapped with the largest audience humanists addressed. For the most vibrant centres of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German technical, economic, and creative production were seen to be the sixty-five 'free' Imperial cities, which were subject to the emperor and thus had no princely court. The most important, as we have seen, were Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Strasbourg. Particularly in Nuremberg, the coming together of different forms of highly specialized knowledge and skill with capital and an interest in visions for that society enabled innovative teamwork and ambitious undertakings. The most famous of these, as has been mentioned, was the voluminous World chronicle by the Nuremberg physician Hartmann Schedel, published in 1493. It showed the progress of time through six ages of the world, which would be concluded with the Days of Judgement. Copious woodcuts for the final, sixth age detailed the sheer number of more recent German cities, and thus made visually manifest that this nation stood at the height of civilization and power in the world.[37]

But the nation needed to affirm German and urban values, as Celtis once more critically remarked in a further description of Nuremberg, now explicitly attacking courts alongside trade as conduits of corruption:

> The citizens of Nuremberg mostly dress in black, but the form of their dress varies frequently. For they have taken over bad manners from the foreign peoples with which they trade and let themselves be influenced by different nations. Perhaps our dukes contribute most to this, for they have already renounced the old German ways in many other respects, and now betray their fathers' morals and their fatherland, take on a new way of speaking and a new look and feel displeased when thinking of their home country and the way life used to be, when peace still ruled and there was loyalty and constancy in all things.[38]

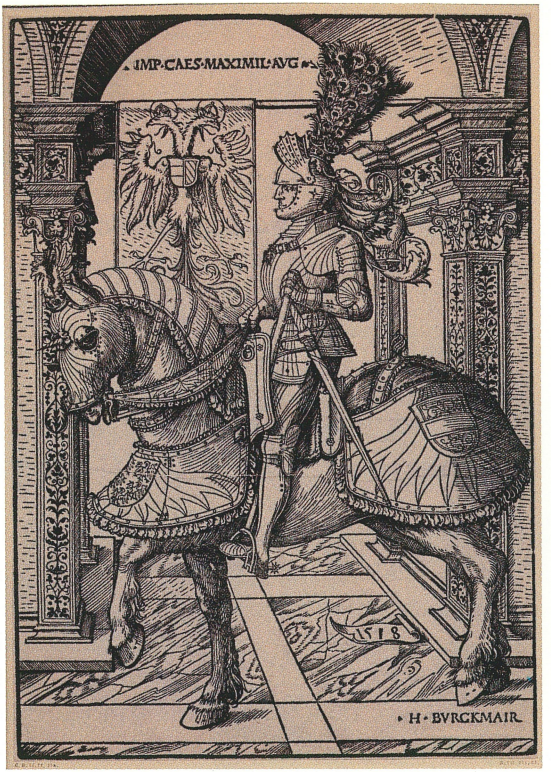
Black naturally materialized politicized values such as constancy and loyalty because it could not be dyed in any other colour: black is black, only its shades differ. Self-denigration became fashionable: Wimpfeling, for one, admitted in 1495 that Italians had some justification for calling naughty boys German pigs, since 'most of our people are rude, "porci et inurbani", shallow people in pompous clothes, with effeminate headdresses and shoes, furious and inconsiderate, addicted to drink, despising learning etc'.[39] A popular song book entailed the following reflection on the old question of why there seemed to be no money in the German lands: 'it is a question and great lament/ how money disappears from the land/ from the land/ but there is no question really/ one gives it away for silken dress/ Worldly pomp is all powerful/ vanity breaks out/ without measure or meaning/ without measure and meaning/ one dresses over costly over costly'.[40]

The influential Bavarian sixteenth-century historian and chronicler Aventin, in response to these dilemmas, busily constructed an ideal of political personhood by writing extensively about Charlemagne's attitude to dress, so as to provide a role model for contemporary rulers. Charlemagne's biographer Einhard had set out in detail that this mighty Christian ruler had worn simple hose and a tunic trimmed at the border with silk. In winter, he used common animal skins and fur for vests and a blue cloak. He always carried a sword at his side. Most importantly, Einhard wrote, 'he disliked foreign clothes no matter how beautiful they were, and would never allow himself to be dressed in them'. Charlemagne only used precious jewellery or foreign dress on a very few ceremonious occasions, in accordance with specific protocol. On the whole, however, 'his dress was not much different from that of the common people'.[41] When Germans and Franks had fought in Italy and France they had already adapted their fashion for 'short slashed coats and frocks'. Charlemagne had seen this, Aventin vividly related, and had shouted at them furiously:

> 'oh you Germans and free Franks, how inconsiderate and inconstant you are! That you take over the clothing of those you have conquered, whose lords you are, is not a good sign, means nothing good: if you take their clothes, they will take your hearts. What are these Italian patches... good for? They don't cover all of the body, but leave half of it naked, are neither good for cold nor heat, rain or wind; and if someone needs to pee in a field (I beg your pardon) it doesn't cover one, your legs freeze.' Then he sent out a law for all the country that French clothes were neither to be bought nor sold in Germany.[42]

It was difficult to put this more strongly: foreign clothes *will take your heart.* This was the message by humanist scribal elites repeated after Celtis. Once more we see here that clothing continued to be understood not as something external to the body, that could be simply put on and taken off, or that could function as an abstract sign: rather, it was seen to mould a person and materialize identity. Consequentially the German heart could only remain pure and strong and (as such organic metaphors always suggested) maintain a healthy body politic, if a practical aesthetics of the 'whole' was followed and guaranteed integrity. Patches were to be avoided. Only one unified cloth worked as protection from the elements, and this, after all, was the main function of clothing. For the robber-knight von Hutten, imported silk and clothing was infectious for the body politic: it took away manly strength. Whereas Celtis had proposed that Germans might have become softer as a result of civilization, this positive 'softness' was only sometimes gradually related to refined masculinity. Hutten valued masculinity most for its toughness and violent affirmation of what he understood as independence. As Hutten developed his ethos of Germans as robbers in their fight for political liberty, he even excluded merchants from the nation on such grounds. His 'School of Tyranny' set out that

> it is hardly credible that things which do not originate here are good for those born here. If this was the case, then nature would ensure that they were grown here. This is why one desires them not for everyday usage, but for pleasure. Not to keep up the body, but to indulge it, you (merchants) circulate these tempting



75. (*right*) Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Maximilian I on horseback*, in armour with peacock feathers, 1518, woodcut from two blocks, 32.3 × 22.6 cm, AN56092. © The Trustees of the British Museum

> things. Thus it is no surprise that health is endangered and that one is prone to suffer every illness. Also you have imported silk and every kind of foreign dress, through which the inborn German strength is softened up and the best morals are corrupted, because through you a female obsessiveness about looks and awful effeminacy spreads in the life of man.[43]

For Hutten, any pleasure in appearances diseased the nation. Manliness and the political future were dependent on the right attitude to material things: as if tough men needed rough cloth to prickle their skin. Such views lent support to the idea that secular authorities needed to police their subjects' dress to maintain the nation.[44] But such discussions did not resolve the question of whether Germans should dress retro-simple, or adapt refined clothing to their advancing civilization.

Symbolizing Gender

Yet, as Dürer's drawing showed (Fig. 68), the basic representation of female virtuous dress in Germany had been given clear parameters: it was closed instead of low-cut, it fitted tightly around the waist, projecting an ideal of controlled eating and drinking, it was designed for labour rather than idle leisure, and it was decorous, but not overtly showy. It was *teutsch*, not *welsch* (Italian), and the one thing to remember about this time is that '*welschen*' for Germans was synonymous with men delighting in homosexual 'arse-fucking'.[45] German dress ideally displayed women and elite men in an iconic way as honourable, heterosexual, and differently sexed, suggesting a binary distinction between 'man' and 'woman', rather than a spectrum of shifting sexual identities to be experimented with. Civic respectable male dress, as we have seen, was most clearly represented through the outer layer of a long, black, fur-trimmed silk gown (*Schaube*) (Fig. 72, 73). It was exclusive to elites, who almost by definition were also governing elites in communal

politics. Imperial cities were especially proud of such political autonomy from princes. The *Schaube* hence resembled the black toga Venetian councillors wore. Franceso Sansovino in 1581 indeed endorsed that such constancy in modest customs made Venice the least corrupt and most stable of all Italian republics. Most Italians, he thought, had been corrupted by 'northern' fashions—which to him meant that they had taken over French and Spanish (!) clothes.[46] Yet the German *Schaube* still permitted a greater display in colours and cut of doublet and hose that would be worn underneath.[47]

For the first half of the sixteenth century there moreover remained greater ambivalence about what constituted male dress as symbolic of not just civic but also imperial honour. This was because ideas of civil restraint had to be related to ideals of manly virility, boldness, power, and pride. The figure of the Landsquenet soldier clearly revealed this contemporary ambivalence and consequently was an extremely prominent subject of contemporary woodcuts on broadsheets, title pages, as well as in books.[48] Landsquenets were mercenary soldiers who were first recruited to make up a 'German army' by Maximilian I from 1500 onwards, to defend as well as to extend his territories. This drew common men into prolonged, though still temporary, military service and de-emphasized the status of noble-born knights as a supreme warrior class. A prestigious Augsburg 1529 edition of Venegati's classical treatise on military affairs, for instance, was filled with no less than 125 large woodcuts by skilled artists such as Jörg Breu the Elder, and depicted glorious Landsquenets as contemporary knights.[49] Visual media spread new beauty ideals (Fig. 76). Soon, broadsheets depicted Landsquenets as inhabiting a world with concubines, which was diametrically opposed to the ideal of the 'holy household' for which craftsmen so successfully lobbied during the Reformation movements. Herein lay much of the Landsquenets' appeal. Several series of Nuremberg broadsheets produced around 1530 with their representations of strikingly fashionable Landsquenets thus constituted deliberate visual interventions in rallying for men to defy advancing Ottomans. They specifically depicted the attractions of this military life for tailors, bakers, shoemakers—the same group of artisans whose civic life had during the Reformation movements been so firmly founded on an ideal of sensible marriages and a well governed household, on careful spending and investment in a generational future, on respectable, controlled masculinity as part of a communal sense of urban morality for the sake of the common weal. Landsquenets were imagined through them as new German warriors, out to fight and win or fearlessly die; they served their fatherland and mighty emperor; went from place to place, with wayward women in tow, receiving big bounties and salaries; they were tall, strong, and slim, erotic, and, last but not least, exempt from sumptuary legislation.

By all accounts, military service hence counted on its attractiveness to keen dressers. Landsquenet displays partly related to their rank within the army. But all depictions advertised that even a poor tailor could instantly aspire to an appearance impossible in ordinary civic life. Mercenaries were always depicted with striking amounts of exotic ostrich or peacock feathers on their heads, which must have been sourced from Southern Europe and the Middle East, and an abundance of ribbons on doublets. They seem to have worn body-clinging hose, vivid colours, bold, and sometimes experimentally patterned slashes as well as the large, diagonal slits of the Burgundian St Andrew's cross, and their clothes

apparently were made from costly, sensuous materials like silk and velvets. Proudly they carried long, heavy swords, spears, or pikes, and were often represented with elaborate beards or long hair. Most importantly, perhaps, the Landsquenet 'look' was achieved through an elongated, erect silhouette, but could also tolerate rough sloppiness, which manifested itself in a slightly bent walking style and disintegrating, torn hose, revealing straps linking it to drawers or the doublet (Fig. 77). This was a display of dress and undress, of finery and squalor in these potentially overdressed bodies, a style to which contemporaries simply were not accustomed. Critics could depict all this as effeminate frippery that got in the way of proper fighting, as luxury motivated by greed, lasciviousness, and vainglory, rather than traditional chivalric values, and sometimes represented Landsquenets as old men with grey beards but little wisdom. Other observers drew attention to the miseries of real war, depicting how these splendid clothes would turn into rags, becoming a sign of lost honour, barely covering lost limbs, or how they would be torn straight off dead bodies before they became too cold, bloody, and stiff on the field. The depictions from the first half of the sixteenth century, by contrast, slanted towards the hyper-masculinity of these athletic, bold, and aesthetically attractive bodies, who would deservedly gain praise and money. Contemporary lewd songs described how women, even married women, tempted these men into their homes for play. Arnold von Bruck, esteemed Kapellmeister for Ferdinand I in Vienna between 1527 and 1546, merrily composed a song of a



76. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Landsquenet decorated with feathers*, c.1506, woodcut, 24.2 × 9.0 cm, AN49476001. © The Trustees of the British Museum

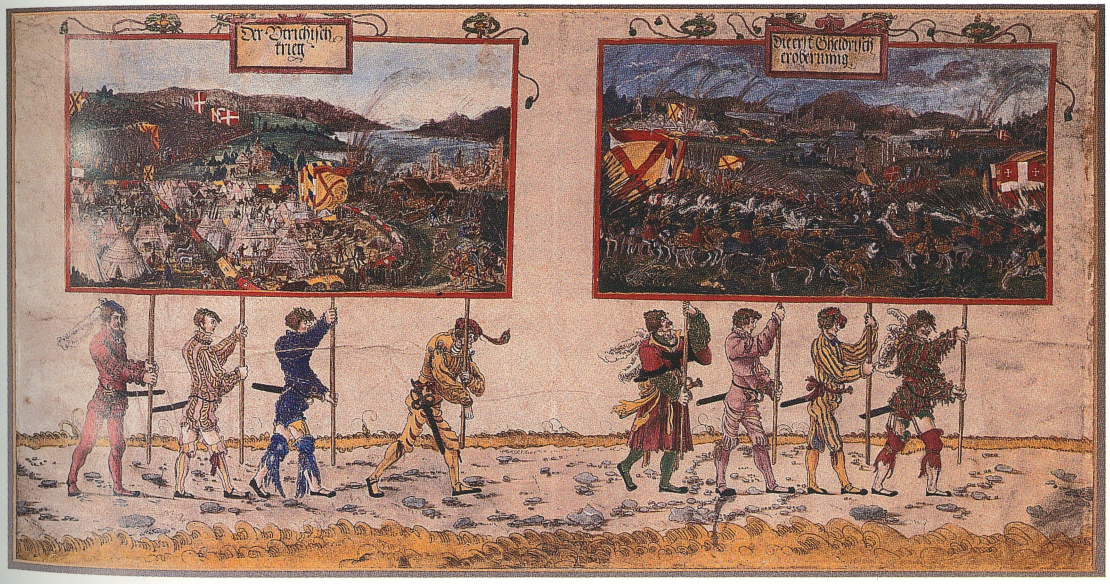


77. Jost Amman, illustration to Leonhard Fronsperger, *Order of War*, Frankfurt: Feyerabend & Hüter 1563, soldier with a lance and a canteen woman carrying poultry, AN76419001r. © The Trustees of the British Museum

Landsquenet out of money passing by a tavern where 'the ale-wife looked out of the window, and then a little more, as so many times before'. At this point the bleating song in a consciously ill-refined *teutsch*, non-*Welsch* musical fashion developed into a long list of aphrodisiac plants, some of which directly evoked the image of an erect penis and intercourse—a device followed by other songs. There was no moralistic commentary.[50] Landsquenet soldiers, in sum, were a distinct social group licensed to exhibit a whole new spectre of fashionable, sexually attractive, and valiant male dress, entirely at odds with notions of civic morality and the honourable simplicity and sexually domesticated life of ancient German warriors. Landsquenets had a strong urban and rural presence—they were hired to protect Imperial events in the cities, marched into battle, or returned waiting for new assignments. Their distinct comportment through dress, as much as

gestures and speech, was critically discussed by some as much as supported by others, and thus allowed for identification and to some extent imitation from men and women across society. Women depicted as Landsquenets' concubines would have busily worked as seamstresses for them to care for their special clothes.[51]

After 1550, however, this particular visual cult of the young, audacious Landsquenet patriot used for recruitment purposes was coming to an end. They now tended to be represented as older, battle-hardened men. In 1555, Hans Glaser, a prominent Nuremberg illuminator, still attempted to provide a distinctive, but respectable, image of a sturdy, steadfast soldier with a long beard, valiant posture, and voluminous dress, a giant in the landscape.[52] This image sought to create confidence in and support for the figure of the 'good', God-fearing patriotic soldier, who knew that his 'beginning and end/ stood in God's hand', and that God's help and protection in turn depended on his moral comportment in everyday life. Far more typical, however, were critical depictions of mature Landsquenets in exceedingly long, overly sumptuous, and unpractical baggy breeches, which easily ripped and tore. As in the Lutheran preacher Musculus's discussion, it was the length of the breeches, and hence their excessive use of fabric, which distinguished them from appropriate decorousness in civilian dress.[53] Their depiction as torn revealed that young soldiers had to learn how to steal and escape without making a mess of their dress, and that real mercenary life was about robbery and conceit[54] (Fig. 78). Little honour was left; and it seems that Protestants, who were the prime movers in public discourses about German values at this time, now withdrew their support for the contested ideal of Landsquenets as



78. Albrecht Altdorfer, detail of the *Triumph of Maximilian I, Utrecht Campaign* (Inv. 25208). © Albertina, Wien



the embodiment of German masculine patriotic honour, which had been so crucially projected through dress displays.

The absence of consensus in the second half of the sixteenth century about how to display heroic masculinity could in turn further fears of cultural instability. This is strikingly revealed by a very large embroidery, which dates from 1571 and adorned a fireplace in Leipzig's town hall (Fig. 79). It displays nine figures. Starting on the left is a half-naked 'white Moor', followed by a Hungarian, a Gypsy, an Italian, a nude 'black Moor', a Frenchman, a Swiss, and a Turk slaughtering a Christian child. The series ends with a nude but bearded German, balancing several pieces of cloth on his left arm. The inscription declares that he likes the clothing of all nations and does not know which to choose. This German is going to a tailor to allow him to decide on the style that would make him look like a hero.[55] The verse below all these figures reads laconically without any of the usual rhymes: 'So look at this depiction / How strange a matter clothing is throughout this world in all countries, And nobody now keeps to their ran / And it was not like this in the past As one reads in old histories.'[56] The Italian and French men wear elegantly fitted clothes, giving them a refined look of wealthy civility. The Moor, Hungarian, and the Swiss soldier all emphasize their masculine pride in their physical prowess at fighting or hunting. Six figures carry carefully-made and eye-catching weapons of wood and metal. Remarkably, only four other Christians are represented, making the German seem equally attracted to non-Christian and Christian dress and culture, and mostly to those outside central Europe. The embroidery thus offered Leipzig's town-councillors and their visitors a picture of a world where identities and masculine firmness in Germany were unmade through cultural exchange. Fixed traditions had been eroded by experiencing diversity, and history could seem unpredictable and uncontrollable. The hanging suggested a distinction between the 'natural' nudity of savages—or what Montaigne would call 'natural apparel'—and what we might call 'cultural' nudity, resulting from a loss of identity. The fear was that Europeans had to acknowledge such cultural nudity, or to face their own diversity, whereas non-European cultures in fact were positively rooted in clear customs and stable societies.



79. (*above*) Chimney-hanging from the Leipzig town-hall, 1571, embroidery with linen, silk, metal threads, wood, paper and metal pieces, 40 × 285 cm, Inv. No. V 466. © Grassi Museum, Leipzig

80. (*right*) The naked German, at the close of Wilhelm IV of Bavaria's *Book of Court Costumes* (Hofkleiderbuch), Cgm 1951, 460r. © Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München



Fashion was the very materialization of inconstancy. The image of the naked man on his way to a tailor hence quickly turned into an icon across Europe, which made the experience of accelerated change in this period concrete. We have already heard of Andrew Boorde, who in a woodcut created such a naked Englishman in his *Book Of Knowledge*.[57] In the early sixteenth century, the French preacher Michel Menot alarmingly told his audience about a Venetian palace in which there were wall paintings of people of all nations. Only the French man was represented naked with cloth and scissors in hand.[58] A book that recorded many of the clothes Duke Wilhelm IV of Bavaria wore and handed out to his court surprisingly ended with another depiction of the naked man with his scissors in hand surrounded by cloth, lamenting the ever growing vanity in dress (Fig. 80).

Moral Geographies

One available political response to this troubling experience of cultural exchange and dislocation in the age of state formation was to successfully cultivate what Gábor Klaniczay has identified as defiant 'ostentatious barbarism'. This in part happened in Hungary and Poland, where the substantial gentry used oriental clothes, weapons, and hairstyles to emphasize its closeness to Asian rather than Western European aesthetic ideals, as well as male valour and hardiness. Italy, France, and Spain mattered far less than Ottoman, Russian, and Tartar styles, so that French observers of Polish ceremonies routinely felt as though they were back in periods of ancient Persian glory.[59] But for Germany, as we have seen, this was no real possibility, as its elites mostly wished to document its successive indigenous civilization, to claim national superiority.

Another possible response was to create moral geographies in print, which would then orient people's dress styles. It is in this context that the first book that visually set out what it regarded as the various 'cults' of dress in the German lands was devised.[60] This comparative moral geography in a global context was created by the woodcut artist Hans Weigel in Nuremberg, with help from his better known colleague Jost Amman. The *Trachtenbuch* was printed in 1577 by one of the leading entrepreneurial publishers of the day, Sigmund Feyerabend, in Frankfurt, which was already home to the bustling book fair. Weigel's book was the most comprehensive and lavishly printed costume book that had appeared in Europe so far, and stood right at the beginning of a successful new genre, of which the best known examples have remained the Venetian Cesare Vecellio's two even more comprehensive costume books, published in 1590 and 1598 (Fig. 81). Many of Vecellio's (and his Nuremberg cutter Chrieger's) depictions would be based on Weigel's book. Before Weigel's publication, as we have seen, artists like Bellini, Pisanello, and Dürer had been interested in costume studies, and some ambitious collections of watercolour studies of dress had been compiled. The Venetian artist Enea Vico had begun to pioneer costume engravings in 1545, and several specific studies on Turks had been printed, most strikingly the Frenchman Nicolas de Nicolay's emphatically empirical and sumptuously illustrated report of his voyages to Eastern Europe and the Ottoman Empire in 1562. Nicolay and his artist praised themselves on their diligent observations from nature in contrast to ancient Romans. The point of their work was as much to present instructive, useful knowledge as delectable variety for the eye and spirit in a 'pleasant spectacle' of different people.[61] Nicolay was almost immediately translated into German. A preciously illuminated edition from Nuremberg is among the holdings of the British Library, documenting how patrons valued images of other cultures created by travellers (Figs. 82–83). In 1562, too, the first 'costume book' proper appeared in Paris, a small French book revelling in the *'diversité'* of world clothing, published by Richard Breton, which incorporated Europe, Asia, Africa, and the *'isles sauvages'*, mixing 107 simple woodcuts on 56 sheets with guest appearances of monsters and marvels.[62] A Venetian called Fernando Bertelli next published a Latin book of costume in 1563 with



81. Silk-embroidery with costume scenes of men and Italian women as in Bertelli and Vecellio, south-German, late sixteenth century, Inv. No. D 193. © Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe

60 sheets, which was reprinted in 1569, while from 1572 onwards the German team Franz Hogenberg and Georg Braun successfully sold their beautiful, extraordinarily ambitious tomes depicting cities of the world, which included detailed vignettes of people. In 1577, the same year as Weigel's book, there appeared a final significant publication by an Antwerp etcher, Abraham de Bruyn, who published his Latin work with 206 figures on fifty sheets in Cologne and included a preface by a humanist.[63] The genre thus had quickly established itself not just as an entertaining one, but also a serious one.

Weigel's book comprised 219 single-page woodcuts in full quarto format, with captions and verses in German as well as in Latin. Its lavish format invited owners to customize the book by investing in splendid colouring, making it a prize piece in their collection. It boasted a six-page historical introduction in German and a programmatic cover- and end-page. Weigel's production therefore was the first ambitious costume book in Europe directed at a broad European audience.

Costume books are often treated as a genre. More recently it has been proposed that this genre should be seen as 'equivalent to contemporary efforts in cartography to





82. (*above left*) Nicolas de Nicolay, *Von der Schiffart unnd Raiisz in die Türckey...*, Nuremberg 1572: designed by C. Saldoerffer, noble Turkish woman at home, BL C55.i.4, 10r (1). © The British Library, London

83. (*above right*) Nicolas de Nicolay, *Von der Schiffart unnd Raiisz in die Türckey...*, Nuremberg 1572: designed by C. Saldoerffer, Janissary, BL C55.i.4 (1), 23r. © The British Library, London

publish an atlas of the whole world'. Even the earliest books, Ulrike Ilg argues, followed the 'historiographic approach' proposed by the French scholar Louis Le Roy, who wrote the first universal history in 1567. Le Roy declared that peaceful exchanges manifested a 'New European spirit to live "in the same city and a world republic".'[64] This would have been an extraordinary political aim for this period in books encompassing the Americas, and it is difficult to see how costume books indicated that they shared Le Roy's thoughts. Instead, it makes more sense to analyse these predominantly visual sources in the same way as one situates texts. Rather than seeking to find one underlying idea typical of a genre, it is of greater interest to reconstruct what particular intervention an author was trying to make in a specific political and social context. What is interesting about costume books therefore is less what they have in common than how they differed and sought to use the visualization of clothing customs to impart political and social

ideals to particular audiences. Hence our primary question has to be what kind of visual acts they constituted. Even less, of course, should we treat such productions as a reliable index of what people actually wore, without consulting other evidence.

Such an approach means that we need to spend more time looking at the contents of a heavily illustrated book like Weigel's than has hitherto been the case. Weigel's depiction of clothing thus turns out to have been a renewed attempt to picture an ideal of comportment in order to construct a positively patriotic sense of civilized urban German behaviour, especially for women. He contrasted this ideal above all with Italian and French luxury as well as with male 'incivility' anywhere. This visually captivating global moral geography identified a series of national types in a single volume, from which an ideal of Germanness could emerge and serve as a model for its readers. Weigel's introduction explicitly stated that a nation's future depended on the success of its habits. Costume once again was given meaning as a political subject.

Two remarkable images by the artist Jost Amman opened and closed Weigel's book (Fig. 84). Amman was the son of a Zurich professor of classics, rhetoric, and logic, and had received a distinguished humanist education. He had moved to Nuremberg in 1561, and after just one year took over the workshop of Virgilius Solis the Elder, the foremost Nuremberg woodcut artist of his time. Amman worked in partnership with the Frankfurt publisher Sigmund Feyerabend on a large number of illustrated book projects, of which his *Book of Trades* (1568) with verses by Hans Sachs is now the best known. He was also involved in genealogical projects for Nuremberg patrician families, on which he worked with the best illuminators. His prolific activities document the extent to which Nuremberg in the age after Dürer remained a focus of supreme artistic education and skill, teamwork and patronage, which the next chapter will further explore. Dürer's successor as 'genius' was the goldsmith Wenzel Jamnitzer, who also closely cooperated with Amman, illustrating his theoretical writings.[65] Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* reflects the sense of innovation, scale, and ambition these networks sustained. Amman's frontispiece provided the first programmatic engraving among the costume books. It was a humanist tradition to present the argument in visual summary, in order to ensure its emotional impact and memorability. This frontispiece depicts the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise in its upper part, satirically setting out its consequences in its lower part. While Asia, America, and Africa are identifiable through men in distinctive costume and armour, no such figure can be found to represent Europe. Like an imperfect Adam, Europe covers himself with a large roll of fabric, scissors in hand. He, too, is on the way to a tailor, wondering how to dress, and eager to follow the latest style. This made the visual argument that even America with its elaborate feather cloak could not be termed naked; Europe alone was denuded and without any identifiable identity as a continent. For the first time, the topical figure of the 'naked European' was put directly in a comparative context with the other continents in print. Yet this naked personification of Europe is also depicted as strong and confidently moving forward in his predicament. He is open to change.[66] Amman on the other hand closed the book visually with a depiction of John the Baptist, illustrating the third chapter of Matthew. It presents John

wearing a cloak of camel hair with a simple belt around his loins, admonishing people to be truly penitent. Amman's depictions therefore made it clear that the moral framework of the work was biblical and important, while the title announced that these costumes of 'many and the most noble nations' were also 'very funny and entertaining' to watch. The naked European satirically set out the larger problem: at the very worst, political ideals could no longer be matched by enduring social ideals of comportment. Europe advanced through its move away from traditions and awareness of other cultures. This would not make it vulnerable to outside rule as long as it retained its judiciousness. Did man's passions allow for judiciousness to be retained?

Weigel dedicated the work to the ruler of his native Amerbach, Ludwig, duke of Bavaria and *Churfürst*, in order to gain patronage, but also to introduce his work as patriotic. He then set out a brief moral history of dress. First, humans had tried to cover their shame with figleaves, then God had given them animal skins. Next, they had elaborated clothing, to protect themselves from the elements, but soon also in accordance with their 'inner senses'. Thus they had started to abuse clothing, adding superfluous elements and taking on foreign customs. The consequences had been disastrous: Romans had been drawn into sumptuousness and *Übermuth*, and all their thoughts had been directed at how they could outdo one another. They had forgotten about welfare and the common good. Hatred, envy, anger, and contempt had spread. Such ill feeling had culminated in civil wars, and brought about the destruction of a beautiful and constitutionally well-defined government, which had then been finally ruined by foreign nations.[67] This presented the fall of Rome as the final consequence of a precise sequence of a causal chain that had begun with creative dressmaking and sartorial cultural exchange. Weigel's next historical example was provided by Alexander the Great. Alexander famously had taken on luxurious and sensuous Persian dress, demanding to be worshipped as a god. His native Macedonians regarded him as foreign and treacherous, and rebelled against him. Weigel, too, therefore ascribed to clothes an extraordinary psychological force as they affected Alexander's sense of self and rule. 'Everyone's way', Weigel stated, 'is made known through clothing.'[68]

He now addressed the 'strange wondrous change which foreign and strange clothing' had introduced in 'our common fatherland'.[69] These developments, he confessed, made it difficult to find any steady German dress, and Orientals were ridiculing this changeability of mind. But some of the 'old honourable' and more comfortable clothing had not fallen out of use completely. It was much more decorous and pleasing to see than many of the new fashions. This kind of old fashioned civil honourable clothing, Weigel concluded, was laudable, as long as 'utility, morals and civility' prevailed over luxury and sumptuousness. The Roman 'wise men' had advocated abstaining from gold, precious jewels, and scarlets, modest, and gracious dress.[70] Weigel ended by presenting his innovative compilation as a toolkit for morally upright readers to enjoy looking at all the different manners of clothing, but then to 'grab and take' whatever was reasonable,

84. (*opposite*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch (Book of Costumes)*, frontispiece, L.11.33. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge



HABITVS

PRÆCIPVORVM POPV-
LORVM, TAM VIRORVM QVAM
fœminarum Singulari arte depicti.

Trachtenbuch:

Darin fast allerley vnd der fürnembsten Nationen / die heutigs tags bekandt sein / Kleidungen / beyde wie es bey Manns vnd Weibspersonen gebreuchlich / mit allem vleiß abgerissen sein / sehr lustig vnd kurtzweilig zusehen.

Gedruckt zu Nürmberg / bey Hans Weigel Formschneider.
Mit Röm. Kay. May. Freiheit / In x. Jharn nicht nach zudrucken.



ANNO M. D. LXXVII.

honourable, and suitable, while escaping from everything extravagant or low.[71] Weigel's volume thus described its value in the following way: it helped Germans to remind themselves of the few examples left of old honourable clothing and encouraged them to develop this ideal in civilized ways. Hence, unlike Vecellio's later books, none of the plates contrasted old and new looks. Appearances thus emerged as a form of active political commitment, through which citizens could morally sustain their fatherland. This was applied and popularized humanism. Weigel referred throughout to the Roman ethics of civic virtue, which were built on a rejection of luxury and an endorsement of useful and comfortable clothing.[72] This type of active moral patriotism was predominantly advocated by Protestants. After 1550, 'readers' of early humanist nationalist texts as well as patriotic plays published by Protestants became the staple of a broadening elite school education.[73]

The function of clothing to regulate gender was once more lent particular importance. Weigel immediately emphasized that God had ordained men to wear male dress and females to wear only female dress, and this had been subsequently endorsed in Christian councils and Roman law. He provided several historical examples of abuse, referencing the recent case of a wealthy, but reckless Roman woman during the (non-Italian) Adrian VI's papacy. She had dressed and acted like a man, and even though this was not a punishable offence in Italy, the reform pope Adrian had commanded that she be shamed and led across the city dressed merely in a shirt.[74] God had created women as women and men as men; women who rejected this notion challenged patriarchal hierarchies. Disguise could not be a matter of play, and boundary crossing was dangerous. This paragraph, in other words, emphasized that political order was visualized through the separateness of male and female dress, while Weigel's woodcuts would subsequently always represent men and women on different pages. He thus visually ordered gender to represent an ideal of assumed sexual difference. This projected a specifically honourable 'German' conduct, which Weigel's Roman anecdote had already contrasted to Italian permissiveness.

Weigel's illustrations for the German lands, which formed the first part of his book, were overwhelmingly urban. He spent no more than six pages honouring the political hierarchy to which his patron Ludwig belonged—from the Holy Roman Emperor, elected by 'autonomous' Germans who thereby avoided arbitrary foreign rule, to a German prince, and sumptuously dressed noble courtier (Fig. 85). Rapidly he moved on to an extensive section on Nuremberg, which began with images of patrician weddings. Its prominence documented the great esteem in which 'honourable' marriage was held; monogamy and rank-specific intermarriage were the basis of social order. The sequence of illustrations moreover observed distinction of rank, progressing from high to lower members of society, while predominantly focusing on women (Figs. 86–87). Almost all of them were shown as covering all of their body with clothing, and Weigel's verses under each illustration frequently used the attribute 'honourable' to reinforce the visual argument that such public enclosure made urban woman respectable. Gowns in unexciting brown and white colours underlined this appearance, and contrasted with later

images of non-Germans whose brightly pastel coloured dress demarcated immorality, especially, for example, the disastrous Persian king,[75] or, exceptionally, a young unmarried Spanish couple together on the same page, to illustrate how those 'outside marriage' practised 'vanity and sumptuousness'[76] (Figs. 88–89). At the same time, Weigel made it clear that clothes worn below German gowns exhibited more decorousness through colourful trims. Even a Strasbourg peasant woman was depicted with a rustic face, but well and decently clad. The dress of maids was depicted as related to their mistresses' status and task: if a wealthy urban woman went shopping, her servant displayed the household's standing alongside her. Weigel also conveyed a sense of civic pride linked to



85. Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, a German *Landtsfürst* (territorial ruler). © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

imperial privileges. Catholic cities were not morally inferior: 'This is how the women in the famous imperial city of Aachen go / Were many an imperial coronation happened. / The women go in this decent (*züchtig*) way / And take care to adorn themselves in this manner.'[77] Even so, Genevan women earned themselves particular praise, as Calvinist consistories ensured moral conformity. Their depiction served to make the general comment that 'honour, virtue and piety / is a woman's greatest ornament'—this, Weigel instructed the reader, 'is what we can see looking at Genevan women/ who are always fine (*züchtig*)'.[78] These rudimentary rhymes thus repeatedly enshrined the same values of female virtuousness, above all honourable and disciplined conduct (*ehrbar and*





86. (*above left*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, Nuremberg woman. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

87. (*above right*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, Nuremberg woman attending an invitation to a meal. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

88. (*opposite*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, Persian lord. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

SATRAPA EX PERSIA.



CLXXIII.

Ein Persier Herr.

EIn Persier in dem Gwandt/
Auß Persia dem verheerten Land.

Daß der grosse König Alexander/
Mit Krieg verderbet allesander.

Xf

züchtig), while also positively emphasizing the industriousness (*fleiss*) that would go into the making of such an honourably decorous but not extravagant appearance. Hair was always either braided in unmarried girls, or covered, whereas, as we shall see, German urban women had long started to display their hair underneath small berets and caps[79] (Fig. 90).

In France, the Lorraine city of Metz stood out because it had formerly belonged to the Empire. Weigel stated this in his book, and the fact that Charles V had beleaguered the city, and depicted another neat woman. This insinuated that women's clothes reflected that Metz was legitimately German rather than French, or at least documented how much their morals had benefited from German rule[80] (Fig. 91). French women otherwise gained praise if they were depicted appropriately covered,





89. (*above left*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, a Biscay couple. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

90. (*above right*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, Cologne maidservant. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

but were usually depicted in much more refined clothing than Germans, which Weigel clearly regarded ambivalently as partly 'magnificent' and partly too much finery (Fig. 92). Several Italian ladies were depicted with luxury accessories, which affected their comportment: whereas German women carried baskets or folded their hands, these women held large exotic feather fans or huge pairs of leather gloves, which would have been perfumed. This engulfed them in decorous sensuousness and removed them from the ordinary tasks of market shopping, which German urban women of rank were depicted as taking seriously enough to do themselves in order to govern households well. Italian dress was mostly presented as far more elaborate and low cut, even though Weigel also drew attention to a considerable degree of variety within Italian towns, and to the fact that according to their cultural values such clothing could be





91. (*above left*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, French lady. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

92. (*above right*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, Lorraine woman of Metz. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

NOBILIS NEAPOLITANA
in Italia.



CXLVIII.

Alſo gehen die Frawen zu Neaples.

ZV Neaples in Welſchem Landt/ Die ſchönen Adelichen Frawen/
Gehen daher in ſolchem Gwandt. Daran mancher ſein luſt thut ſchawen.

'*züchtig*' (Fig. 93). His comments on Indians or a woman from Fez likewise made clear that they thought of themselves as beautiful and fine, whereas he took it that his European audience would be dismissive of them. There were nonetheless glimpses of an ethnographic interest, which was pedagogically evoked to prevent instant moral judgements. An Indian woman, for instance, was depicted holding an object, which Weigel explained was a stone casket with a particular name, which she worshipped as God, as he noted apologetically, 'they do not know otherwise'.[81]

German urban men were presented as respectable in ways that would have bored Matthäus Schwarz. Civic magistrates gained praise for their 'long, honest' dark gowns, and both forms of apparel contrasted with padded out and puffed up aristocrats and courtiers (Fig. 94). Open abjection, however, was reserved for a few interspersed male labourers from different cultural backgrounds, who represented a primitive roughness of people who would be unable to act in accordance with communal values and oblige to leadership: a horse-carter from the Allgäu, the mountainous south-German region, with large, rude features, and equally large unstructured clothing, a big sword and big, sloppy, thoroughly ill-fitting boots (duly copied by Chrieger for Vecellio as an image of a rough 'German', shouting obscenities); a French peasant was introduced as a 'wild' and 'sour' rebel, and evidently lazy, because he went to market with hardly anything to sell, had scraggy hair, torn shoes, and untidy rags for clothes (Figs. 95–96);[82] a gypsy represented a people 'despised'.[83] Landsquenet soldiers were only represented through a reckless Turk, risking 'life and soul' for little gain.[84] A sailor from Zeeland appeared outlandish in his widely cut, simple clothes,[85] while another man from a mountainous region in Spain looked exotically rustic.[86] Swiss men, conversely, were overtly applauded for their more elaborate civilized dress, because it never changed[87] (Fig. 97).



93. (*opposite*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, Neapolitan woman. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

94. (*right*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, Saxon courtier. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge





95. (*above left*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, French peasant. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

96. (*above right*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, horse-carter from Flammerspach and the Allgäu-region. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

97. (*opposite left*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, Swiss man. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

98. (*opposite right*) Hans Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, a Spanish priest's concubine. © The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge

Weigel's moral geography was thus built on selection. It privileged urban German bourgeois or patrician men and women, but also depicted other realms of the Empire—Switzerland, the Netherlands, Bohemia, Burgundy—as marked by decent respectability among the upper classes. It limited the variety of types associated with Germany—no Landsquenet was shown; no prostitute, as for Italy; no priest with concubine and son in tow, as for Spain (Fig. 98); no ethnic or religious minorities, except

for the gypsy. This variety was a variety of sorts, and it principally served to project the 'varied customs' of civilized civic Germans on which a healthy Empire could rest. Weigel could emphasize such healthy regional diversity because he likewise constructed a unifying ideal of a patriotic commitment to decency among burghers. His costume book thus presented precise visual arguments in a political culture marked by debate about patriotic ideals.

Italian costume prints, too, fostered an identification of readers with people of the same status and time in cities such as Venice, obliterating differences of parish, confraternity, or occupation. Venice, in fact, was the only other European city apart from Nuremberg that from the late sixteenth century onwards published a host of books of costume and created a set of iconic images of the city. Bronwen Wilson argues that

> new formats and uses for printed visual imagery shaped the ways in which individuals interpreted the world and negotiated their place within it. Because the content and conventions deployed by printmakers overlapped with social practices, printed imagery may have helped to secure ideological values that were





> central to Venetian cultural life, such as noble status, masculine virtù, religious identity, and appropriate forms of female comportment. Print was central to this claim, for it would have been the repeated identifications of sixteenth-century viewers with representations that cemented and regulated identities.[88]

Such publications were therefore more likely to affirm local, national, gender- and rank-specific identities than cosmopolitanism and universal values.[89]

Visual representations of regional peculiarities, which did not fit national stereotypes, in turn could be recategorized to avoid confusion. A most interesting example for the German lands is provided by its marginal northern province, East Frisia, which granted special privileges to its 'free' peasants and still upheld a constitution based on chieftains. From the fourteenth-century onwards, several sources commented on the distinct appearance of East Frisian men and women. They used copious silver or gold jewellery to braid the hair, for belts and other decorations, and for fastening their bright red or green clothes. This elaborate form of dress clearly informed a sense of regional pride in wealth and its more equal distribution. The reformed, highly educated, and well-travelled chieftain, Unico Manninga, chronicled this tradition in 1571 in his house-book through striking images of men and women of different rank.[90] Manninga's contacts with Heidelberg as the German centre of Calvinism ensured that the reformed collector of images, Marcus zum Lamm (1544–1606), copied several of Manninga's astonishing depictions into the costume section of his thirty-two-volume compilation of images, the *Thesaurus Picturarum*. Yet zum Lamm needed to recategorize East Frisian as Turkish:

> The people of Phrygia minor inhabit part of Asia, opposite Carthea, where Ilium lies, which is now called Troy. Today they are subject to the Turkish empire. This landscape is famous for and distinguished by its amount of gold and silver. But the people there have a wild mind and enslaving stupidity. This is why already Terence said that the Phrygian will only become wise through misfortune. Their gods are the stars, which they worship. This is why they tend to decorate their clothes with figures of cosmic signs, which they artfully engrave in gold.[91]

Each female figure was presented through the attribute 'orientalis phrygiae habitus' (Fig. 99). Manninga had represented two peasant women as particularly imposing, one with a large pitch-fork and the other far taller than a man. Zum Lamm eliminated this association with strong Amazonian women on the margins of Germany by reducing women to a standard size and look. Such visual strategies once more served to make sexual difference imaginable only in very limited ways. They instantiated gender through these acts, which for instance would make a woman recognizable as 'normal' only through a shorter body size in relation to the man she was with.

99. (*opposite*) Marcus zum Lamm, *Thesaurus Picturarum*, Frisian woman, Hs 1971, vol. 15, 179r. © Universitäts– und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt


Phrygiæ Orientalis foeminarum 179.
habitus à ~~tergo~~. Fronte.

The Impact of French Fashion

Despite efforts to endorse patriotic commitment through everyday practices such as dress, one dilemma typically persisted for German humanists. They wanted to establish patriotic values and stereotype cultural enemies. Yet they also retained a marked taste for national self-deprecation. We might wish them to have been coherent in their views, but they simply were not. Take the Tübingen professor Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590) who created the intriguing figure of a French pedlar of luxury wares in his historical comedy *Julius Redivivus*. The play was first performed at the Lutheran Württemberg court at a ducal wedding in 1585. It did not relate to any specific contemporary historical event, but far more ambitiously created a historical comparison to actively revise ideas about the course of history in order to support German patriotic ideals.[92] The plot turns on Caesar's and Cicero's imagined return to sixteenth-century Germany. They are introduced to the beneficial changes that have taken place since Roman times through their contemporary equivalents. Caesar's equivalent as military leader is Hermann, and Cicero's a humanist called Eobanus. A lewd chimney sweep represents contemporary Italians, whose barbarian language Caesar and Cicero no longer understand. Instead of handling weapons, he only knows how to handle a brush. Moreover he is so black that Cicero thinks he has to be a black man from Sicily rather than a north-Italian from Milan! The chimney sweep nonetheless credibly claims to be a citizen of Milan, adding that his family comes from Bergamo and have done nothing other than sweep chimneys for generations. 'Oh dear, with what rags he is clad', Cicero exclaims.[93]

The French character is called Allobrox. Like many real pedlars of the time, he comes from the Savoy. In Frischlin's play he even is apt enough to speak Latin. French, the play explains, was no pure language, but a mixture of foreign influences, which the inhabitants of France imitated. This showed the French were masters of dissimulation and cunning. The pedlar immediately sets out to target Hermann's soldiers with his wares as they receive their pay. Allobrox praises the grace and beauty of his products, such as rapiers with silver sheaths. Hermann has asked him to provide solid, useful, and cheap iron weapons and armoury. Allobrox has none. Instead of helmets, he offers only silken head-covers to conquer beautiful women. Hermann announces that these little sensuous, immoral luxuries extinguish the wealth, warrior spirit, and manliness of Germans. When Allobrox keeps enticing him to buy one of his cloaks, Herman reiterates exactly what Tacitus had written: that Germans had only used to wear skins often tied together with merely a thorn. 'But that was a rough age', Allobrox objects, 'and the Germans had no civilisation as trade brings it.'[94] Yet Hermann maintains that Germans have only avoided becoming effeminate through their distance from Gallia and its pedlars. Allobrox now tries to market a concoction of sugar and pepper to spice up meals, only to hear Hermann explain that Asian pleasures and refinement in cooking and musical entertainment have been a further reason why German virility has declined. When Allobrox seeks to attract customers for his saffron and ginger, and promises ten nights with a whore in exchange for his bangles or fine muslin dresses, Hermann

despairingly asks where great German Imperial leaders of former times found their equivalent nowadays. He orders his soldiers to beat this pedlar to death with club sticks for ruining German youth and being a pest to old Germans, corrupting their spirit for battle. Now, however, Allobrox calls upon Mercury—the despicable God of trade, who has already been introduced to the audience through his love of elaborate meals and leisurely trips to barbershops. Mercury endorses the idea that the fault lies not with the seller, but with the people who buy such fine foreign things. 'Nein', Hermann retorts, nobody would be corrupted if sellers did not enter the country. Mercury quickly counters with the longstanding argument that German men first needed to overcome their chronic insatiability for drink. Here lay the real reason for their decline.[95]

Frischlin's plays were widely used at Protestant schools and universities, as well as being performed at court. *Julius Redivivus* demonstrates how central the theme of foreign corruption through trade remained in reflections on Germany's history and future. It also shows how powerful the ideal of placing a rough warrior spirit at the centre of German identity remained. This was coupled, nonetheless, with a positive image of a successful transfer of civilized education from Italy to Germany, which had begun to rule the world with Charlemagne's accession. The play, for instance, praised the German art of making fine paper through strong, fast, and clever workmanship, and the invention of book printing, which it had taught other nations. It lauded its humanists' superior skill to truthfully translate classical literature and produce orators who were truly learned, wise, and knew how to lend weight to their words without being wordy. The chimney sweep not only served to show that Italians were the new barbarians, but also to denote the cleanliness and racial purity of Germans through their whiteness and abstinence from ethnical, non-Christian mixing in history. A whole aesthetics of German integrity unfolded once more, endorsing its preference for honest, 'weighty' speech, musical instruments, worthy entertainment, indigenous spices, sex in honourable, indigenous marriages, solid rather than precious metal, functional weapons, the courage to kill through manly strength rather than through poison or even weapons at times, to remain in a rigid hierarchy in battles and instantly repair mistakes. Finally, of course, in Hermann's view, there should be no sensuous, seductive jewellery or clothes, no grace and adornment. And yet, this play left open how exactly Germans were to manifest greater indigenous civilization in their dress. It found no reply to counter the old truth and well-honed joke that Germans were drunkards. It produced image after image of women and soldiers alike being open to seduction; and finally admitted through its very construction that their French neighbours were seeping through all imperial boundaries and easily passed through the lands of their Swiss allies to further destroy an already perilous state of German rule.

CAVALIERS

Alongside the Italians, the French had frequently been depicted as 'natural' enemies of the Germans in the early humanist writings on German liberty and had been charged

with tyranny.[96] They were stereotypically criticized because they thought of Germans as simple barbarians, lacked constancy in religion and everyday morals, and were greedy for fame.[97] Aventin, as we have seen, lauded Charlemagne for his attack on Germans who took over French clothing. Yet, as Frischlin's play reflects, French influence on German elite culture grew during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Noblemen travelled across France. Courts employed French dancing masters, the language competed with its rival Latin, and in the later sixteenth century French fashion took over from Spanish influences.

Critics during the early decades of the next century continued to criticize French fashion as pompous and at the same time ill-disciplined. Formal, high, stiff Spanish hats now turned into a fashion for broad, soft, and flat felt hats, decorated with a large display of ostrich feathers. Men grew their hair longer, and individual longer locks, *cadenettes*, fell over the face. A range of beard-styles seemed to disfigure the face. Ruffs were no longer stiff, but floppy, or could be replaced by laced collars. Casual capes and cloaks hid any clear contours, and widely cut, long breeches were often depicted tucked into equally wide galoshes. Postures thus lacked rigidity and did little to inspire fear or authority, while walking sticks for idle promenading could now seem a more important accessory than even the smallest weapon.

Across Europe, anti-French fashion satires were vigorously developed during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).[98] English Civil War rhetoric would likewise pit the pious Roundhead, a freeborn Englishman who demonstrated his capacity for self-control through closely cropped haircuts and simple clothing, against the royalist Cavalier with his long locks and effeminate French manners, who had clearly succumbed to Catholic tyranny.[99] The Restoration King Charles II in 1666 might well have invented the three-piece suit to boost his legitimacy when, as the diarist John Evelyn recorded, he changed 'doublet, stiff collar, and cloak, etc: into a comely vest,... resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained to our great expense and reproach'.[100]

In German broadsheets, Frenchified cavaliers and women now contrasted with the new heroic representations of simple Nordic warrior cultures fighting for the Swedish Protestant Gustav Adolf. Right at the beginning of the war, for instance, one sheet lampooned Frederick V. He had been a fashionable man with long hair and a small beard, but now sought refuge in rags. His weaver from Zeeland (in the Low Countries) brought him tender white linen to dry his tears and anxious sweat about his kingdom, as well as durable linen for a pair of fisherman's trousers. He just asked for Frederick's rags in return, to make more paper and write on his behalf.[101] Prolific printing and political opinion could thus be explicitly seen as materially dependent on fashion, the constant renewal of clothes.

From the 1620s onwards a whole series of broadsheets based on Abraham Bosse's bestselling depiction of French noblemen would satirize fashionable aristocrats as 'à la mode Monsieurs'. They introduced the term 'fashion' into the German language as 'Mode' and its images were adapted in different European countries. A broadsheet



100. *A la modo monsiers* and ladies who reject traditional German values, 1628, broadsheet, 41.9 × 33.5 cm HAB IE 155. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

with a copperplate engraving of four of these men from around 1628 is representative of the genre (Fig. 100). Wolfgang Harms has argued that these broadsheets are essentially ambivalent in that they provide detailed descriptions of the clothing without caricaturing its wearers, so that moral satire served to cover a fascination with French fashion.[102] But it would have been difficult not to see the faces at least as increasingly disfigured as one looked from left to right. This is particularly interesting, as the far right figure was meant to represent the most military of all these types, and the man next to him the most decorous, with his fine ornamental shoes and lavish garters. The text also describes the figures from left to right, so that the figures might also appear

as a progression of increasingly degenerated personae, who had lost what, for a culture intensely interested in physiognomy, defined personhood; they visually lost face. The second line of the text describes them as wondrous animals (*Wunderthier*), and soon they turn out to follow female preferences for artificially curled locks as hairpieces. The feathers on the hat are described as foxtails, which symbolized dissimulation, and the chief advantage of the broad hat is correspondingly described as a tool to disguise changeable dispositions. Throughout the twenty verses the 'monsiers' are presented as silly fools, who refuted tradition until 'not a little drop of German blood remains/ and in all of the country neither virtue nor gentility'. A further broadsheet from around 1629 explained that the wondrous animal fashion had been born from the union of *luxus* and *superbia*, so that Germania had lost its old liberty, courage, heart, and warrior spirit, and its men had been enslaved in their language, gestures, and appearance so as to look like sumptuous women. It was now on its way to hell.[103] During the same early period of the war, another broadsheet presented 'Matresen' as the female equivalent of the monsieurs, and as whores and latter day followers of Celtis's Elsa. They copied male fashion, as it was anyway effeminate, did not care about hierarchies of rank, wore silk gowns but possessed no undergarments, and had the worst manners. They heaped so much shame on the German nation that the author only wished that German steadiness, *Redlichkeit*, might be reimplanted in youth.[104] Meanwhile, the naked Germans reappeared in a series of broadsheets, sometimes surrounded by over-decorous Frenchmen and a ready-to-wear assortment of items in shops, as consumers would increasingly have found (Fig. 101). One of them presented the most heavily effeminized man of all à-la-mode broadsheets, whose curly hairpiece reached down to his elbow. This corresponded to the softness of his hat, as well as the large fur trimmings on his sleeves and coat. His whole silhouette was so broad that he looked as if he was wearing a gown.[105] The 1630s next produced the topical figure of the *Aufschneider*, the bragging, lying man represented with a huge knife and fitted out with puffed up sleeves and breeches, and his huge exaggerated hat in boastful French fashion.[106]

Most interestingly, as we have already mentioned, all these types were now brought into contrast with a series of sheets from the 1630s onwards depicting Irish and Finnish warriors as well as Lapps fighting for Gustav Adolf. Several broadsheets deliberately used crude woodblocks to visually reinforce the warrior's simple traditional appearance. The Irish were said to wear black wool from their sheep, which were made 'in a wholly barbarian way and with caps'. They were also described as black 'like gypsies'. Their difficult climate made them hard warriors with stamina, men who needed little to subsist, happily ate roots, and could walk twenty miles a day. They were positively described as politically subservient, as they paid taxes to the English king, and equally positively as obedient to strong hierarchies. Two types of broadsheet thus depicted their leaders in colourful, heavily patterned silk clothes. Straw shoes, big beards, and shoulder-length hair in older men nonetheless supported the conventional image of self-sufficient, manly, and courageous Northerners[107] (Fig. 102). A 1632 anti-Catholic



101. *Alla modo Meßieurs*, with the naked German in the middle of winter and summer clothing and a parody of the German Messieurs who affected French speech, broadsheet, 1628, 26.2 × 17.1 cm HAB IE 159. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

broadsheet thus represented a Fin, Lapp, and Irish mercenary in conversation. It set out the positive potential inherent in all discussions of extreme Northern people from Tacitus through to Celtis. The Lapp first declared that everyone thought of them as insolent. But in fact they had never been so wild as to bring shame and ridicule upon their fatherland and enslave their children. He then announced that the Spanish and Italians had wanted to change German loyalty and courage and had wanted the country to become a monarchy as well. The Spanish and Italians drew on Jesuit help, and the Irishmen affirmed that their roughness could win against Tilly's cavaliers. Protestant hopes to defend German liberty against a Southern monarchical, Catholic tyranny were now linked to the original spirit of simple, rough, but steadily moral Northern cultures, led by manly warriors strong enough to resist the imposition of foreign rule.[108] A further broadsheet of 1632 similarly presented primitive Scotts and Lapps as fighters for peace and unity.[109]



102. Irish soldiers as true warrior tribe, contracted for the Protestant cause by Gustav Adolf of Sweden during the Thirty Years' War, Nuremberg 1632, 34.9 × 25.9 cm, HAB IH 225. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel

Subsequent publications returned to satires discussing the status of fashion. In 1640 a successful broadsheet satirized the many different styles of small artful beards that men cared about and bought as detachable parts, among them even an 'Ethiopian' one.[110] It therefore displayed a wrong kind of prosthetic masculinity, which did not come from true bodily virility. The moralist writer Moscherosch next created the long standing trope of the 'German Michel', who had no identity of his own and mixed up all sorts of foreign languages and manners, as a result of which he was hardly recognizable. The engraving correspondingly presented such a mixture of appearances, from the baggy *Pluderhosen* to a large stiff Spanish ruff and French locks.[111] Others emphasized one extremely long ostrich feather as ridiculous ornament. A further sheet with the most extensive text part in this series yet again told the story of the naked European who could not be painted in his costume.[112]

The last series of broadsheets from the late 1640s chose the format of a conversation between a father and his fashionable son, Ernst Teutschmann and Wendel Frantzmann. 'Frenchman' had just returned from extensive travel to try to convince his father, 'Germanman', that any serious pedagogue had to keep his child at home. Instead of any education, he had picked up no other French word than 'mossier'. All the clothing just served to attract female attention. It had effeminized him and destroyed German braveness. Wide sleeves, Frenchman explained, covered the stinking flesh of idle people. Breeches now had become far too tight and made for ridiculous displays in front of ladies. The French habit of wearing several pairs of stockings in different colours likened illustrious men to Dutch peasant maids.[113] The broadsheet therefore formed part of a wider contemporary literature warning about the negative effects of gentlemanly travel. Men might return with a mixture of diverse cultural habits rather than any useful knowledge. This conversation between Teutschmann and Frantzmann, however, soon elicited a further broadsheet, in which the comfort, utility, and relatively low expense of French male clothing was defended against the late-sixteenth-century German fashions, in which baggy breeches, for instance, used up large amounts of fabric. Frenchman was now transformed into a dashing, confident young man with a proper sword, short hair and no hat, a proper ruff, half-length mantle, and short breeches displaying elegant legs in flat shoes. 'Germanman', by contrast, was now represented as an older man wholly consumed by elaborate and artificial exaggerated Spanish fashion—a long thin Dalí-like beard, wide ruffs, enormous sleeves, and a padded peas-body belly (Fig. 103). He nonetheless stereotypically argues that his concern had been that foreign fashion had brought in all these foreign nations and caused German ruin; to which Frenchman equally stereotypically replies that Germans had caused God's anger through their permanent sins. He likes comfortable French clothing and dismisses criticism of the younger generation as merely envious.[114] This meant that he was indeed a German Frenchman.

Because so few contemporary clothes survive it is difficult to reconstruct how exactly aristocrats positioned themselves in the debate about French fashion. The Bavarian National Museum possesses clothes found in the tombs of a minor ruling Protestant family—the Lauinger Fürstengruft. Lauingen was a small residential town between Ulm and Donauwörth.[115] Here we find an exceptionally preserved broadly brimmed, dark brown felt hat with several original ostrich feathers, likewise dyed brown, which belonged to the Count Palatinate August (1582–1632) (Fig. 104). Count Palatinate Johann Friedrich (1587–1644) had been buried in a relatively simple, and at that time typically more generously cut, doublet and still relatively tightly fitted breeches (Fig. 105). Both were made of brown velvet, with some decorous borders of precious fabric, but no silk ribbons, gold buttons, or any other kind of flamboyant detail. The whole family tradition for men, as well as for women, therefore apparently was to choose brown fabrics for official daywear, which funerary clothes were meant to draw on. Other garments that survive from seventeenth-century courts tend to be the most precious ones, from significant ruling men and women in *majesté*. Most paintings commemorated high political events. Yet there



REVANCHE,
Oder
Continuation des Gespre-
ches zweyer Nachbarn / vber die newste
Façon aus Francreich.
Wendel Frantzman.

Ernst Teutzschman.

Wendel Frantzman.

Gedruckt in selben Jahr, Da diese Modo Alt war.

103. *Revanche*, broadsheet, 1641, sheet: 27.4 × 34.8 cm, Gü 8045, fol.73. © Universitäts-und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt

104. (*opposite top*) Felt-hat of Pfalzgraf August (1582–1632) with several layers of dyed ostrich feathers, width of hat: 15cm, Inv. No. T 4107. © Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München

105. (*opposite bottom*) Doublet and breeches of brown velvet, Pfalzgraf Johann Friedrich (1587–1644), Inv. No. NN 1313,1314. © Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München

are occasional paintings of a more informal kind, which do portray Charles II in less decorous brown daywear, talking to his gardener, or the elderly Louis XIV with his family, though he still wore his famous red heels.[116] And all courts were under pressure to show that they were not sumptuous when there was no particular need. As in Weigel's book, the Count Palatinate's brown presumably stood for decency, and for an appropriate balance of approving some of contemporary fashion, in order not to be behind the times, and yet to signal that one did not belong to the group of overdecorous, wasteful cavaliers who did everything just to be at the height of fashion. Here was the choice of a characteristically minor Protestant ruling dynasty, to affirm an aesthetic of courtly civility.[117]





Conclusion

There had only ever been one type of fashion that across Europe had been associated with German men—the heavily slashed clothing 'almain' style, which Landsquenets so elaborated, but many other social groups had also adopted. When the English traveller Thomas Coryat reported on his journeys to Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century, he mused on the etymological origins of the name Alemannia. Some said it was the surname of Hercules, who had reigned here, others that it related to Tuisco's son. Coryat himself judged that 'the best and most elegant etymology of all' derived from the words 'All man', and he explained:

> So that they which deduce the name Alemannia from All man (as Münster [Sebastian Münster] doth) give this reason for it, because the auncient Alemannes were very courageous and valiant men, yea they were All men: as when we in our English idiome doe commend a man for his valour, we sometimes say such a man is all courage, all spirit: so the Aleman quasi All man, he is all valour, euery part of him is viril, manly, and courageous, no jot effeminate, which indeed was verified by their fortitude and manly carriage in their warres against the Romans. Though this etymologie be passing good and deserueth (in my opinion) to be most approued aboue all the rest, yet I perceiue that Philip Melancthon speaking according to the opinion of other writers, affirmeth that the Aleman is so called quasi Allerleyman a Dutch word, which signifieth a promiscuous multitude, which heretofore conioyned themselues together to recouer their liberty, by reason of the tyrannical insolencies of the Roman Captaines.[118]

So were Germans 'all man' or 'all sorts of men'? At least to other countries, the slashed almain style had the capacity to project a sense of German men as part of a thoroughly male warrior-nation, which Celtis and others had sought to revive. However, the Irish and Lapps were increasingly regarded as the new, hardy warrior-race. The fact that it proved too difficult for Protestant elites to unambiguously identify with the Landsquenet style meant that clothing was often developed through a more or less careful adaptation of foreign customs and use of materials. The horrifying image of a composite body politic made up of 'all sorts of men' rather than an indigenous race in turn would fatally remain at the heart of moralistic German self-perceptions for centuries to come. This body politic was nude, disorientated, and divided; corrupted, it lacked form and was unable to endorse civic morality. Yet such fantasies of demise were by no means unique to Germany. By 1606, for instance, the London playwright Thomas Dekker imagined an English patriotic body politic violently dismembered by foreign dress:

> An English-mans suit is like a traitors bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and set up in seuerall places: the collar of his doublet and the belly in France; the wing and narrow sleeue in Italy; the short waist hangs over a Dutch botchers stalls in Utrich; his huge slopes speakes Spanish; Polonia gives him his bootes; the blocke for his head alters faster than the feltmaker can fit him.[119]

German humanists distinctly emphasized that Germany had had a great past, and nonetheless was exposed to tyranny. Smaller rulers, it seems, such as the Neuenburger Pfalzgrafen, as well as part of the elites represented in territorial estates and civic elites, as we have seen on the other hand could positively try to endorse bourgeois notions of German moral decorousness (*sittliche Zier*) as an author like Weigel advocated.[120] One simple reason for this was that they did not have the means to properly emulate the magnificence of French aristocracy, something that the Protestant Dresden court, by comparison, was often desperate to achieve. Restrained clothing, which was not at the height of foreign fashion, also strengthened a political claim for liberty as absence of foreign rule. The Prussian court under Frederick Wilhelm I in the early eighteenth century therefore rigorously rejected French fashion and endorsed old ideals of rough male militarism. At the same time—through the Renaissance and the endorsement of Celtis—the notion that civilization expressed itself through education and appropriate expressions of aesthetic refinement gradually became central to German bourgeois ideals of nationhood. This framework, as we shall later see, fitted with the new aesthetics of a softer masculinity, characterized by discerning taste rather than boldness. Herein, too, lay the invention of Weigel's book of costume with its argument that discernment could only be trained through comparison and by looking at customs across the globe. Hence patriotism did not necessarily remain insular, or merely discuss ancient literature. It looked at customs abroad.

149 Wolfgang Sommer, *Gottesfurcht und Fürstenherrschaft: Studien zum Obrigkeitsverständnis Johann Arndts und lutherischer Hofprediger zur Zeit der altprotestantischen Orthodoxie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck 1988, 67–68.

150 Johannes Cochläus, 'Eine heilige Vermahnung der heiligen Stadt Rom an Deutschland', in Adolf Laube (ed.), *Flugschriften gegen die Reformation (1518–1524)*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1997, 627.

151 Cochläus, 'Vermahnung', 614–646.

152 Cochläus, 'Vermahnung', 629, 'Nun volget dieser statt nach in boßheiten, ja gat ir auch in etlichen stücken vor, das elend, arm, katticht stätlyn Wittenberg, gegen Prag kaum ein statt dryer heller wertt, ja nit wert, das sie söl in teütschen landt ein statt genannt werden, welche vorzwaintzig jaren gelerten und ungelerten unbekant was, ein ungesunt, unlieblich erd, on wyngarten, on baumgarten, on fruchtbar baum, ein bierische kamer, rauch (rau), frosthalb, on freid, gantz koticht, waz ist doch Wittenberg, wenn das schloß, stifft und schul nit weren. Sehest on zwyfel nichts anders do denn lutherische, daz ist kottichte heüser, unrein gassen, alle weg, steg und strassen vol kotß, ein barbarisch volck, die kein ander bierische hendel dryen und dryerhellerische kauffmannschafft, ir marckt ist on volck, stadt on burger, kleinbürgerliche kleidung do grosser mangel und armut aller ynwoner.'

153 Brecht, *Luther*, vol. 2, 201.

154 Brecht, *Luther*, vol. 3, *Die Erhaltung der Kirche 1532–46*, Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag 1988, 240–242.

155 Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press 1993, 255.

156 Uwe Riesken-Braun, *Duellum mirabile: Studien zum Kampfmotiv in Martin Luthers Theologie*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck 1999, 255.

157 'Reformator Ecclesiae Oder Deren in dieser Welt…Erretter', in *Deutsche Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Wolfgang Harms, vol. 2, Tübingen: Niemeyer 1986, 203, 360–361.

158 This paraphrases Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison's immensely useful approach to scientific objectivity, and thus the interaction with the natural, in *Objectivity*, New York: Zone Books 2007, 52.

159 William G. Naphy (transl. and ed.), *Documents on the Continental Reformation*, Houndsmill: Macmillan Press 1996, 72.

160 Graeme Murdock, 'Did Calvinists have a Guilt Complex?: Reformed Religion, Conscience and Regulation in Early Modern Europe', in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Retribution, Repentance, and Reconciliation*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2004, 138–158; idem, 'Dressed to Repress? Protestant Clergy Dress and the Regulation of Morality in Early Modern Europe', *Fashion Theory*, 2 (2000) 179–199.

161 Valerius Anshelm, *Die Berner Chronik*, ed. Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern, vols. 1–6, Bern: Haller 1884–1901, vol. II, IV, 462.

162 Friedrich Nicolai, *Über den Gebrauch der falschen Haare und Perrucken in alten und neuen Zeiten: Eine Historische Untersuchung*, Berlin: n.p. 1801, 101.

163 Mary Hollingsworth, *The Cardinal's Hat: Money, Ambition and Housekeeping in a Renaissance Court*, London: Profile Books 2004, 179.

164 For a brilliant study see Markus Völkel, *Römische Kardinalshaushalte des 17. Jahrhundert: Borghese, Barberini, Chigi*, Tübingen: Niemeyer 1993.

165 Elfriede Moser-Rath, *Dem Kirchenvolk die Leviten gelesen: Alltag im Spiegel süddeutscher Barockpredigten*, Stuttgart: Metzler 1992, 262–278.

166 Fernand Braudel, *Civilisation matérielle, économie et capitalisme, XVe-VIIIe siècle*, vol. 1, Paris: Flammarion 1979, 362.

Chapter 4

1 Elizabeth Currie, 'Prescribing Fashion: Dress, Politics and Gender in Sixteenth-Century Conduct Literature', *Fashion Theory*, 4 (2000), 159.

2 Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode*, London: Islamic Art Publications 1982.

3 Cf. Dieter Wuttke, *Dazwischen: Kulturwissenschaft auf Warburgs Spuren*, vol. 1, Baden-Baden: V. Koerner 1996, 367; Jane Campbell Hutchinson, *Albrecht Dürer: A Biography*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 1990, 68.

4 Erwin Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, first published in 1943, with a new introduction by Jeffrey Chipps Smith, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2005, 36.

5 Panofsky, *Life and Art*, 36, xxxiii.
6 Panofsky, *Life and Art*, xxxii.
7 Cf. Cesare Vecellio, *Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book: All 500 Woodcut Illustrations from the Famous Sixteenth-Century Compendium of World Costume*, New York: Dover 1977, 28–33.
8 Benjamin Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press 2004, esp. 436 and 439: 'In the eyes of Tacitus and other Romans, the failure to subdue all of the Germans was the single worst failure of the empire. It was a matter of safety as well as honour. The logic of ancient imperialism describes here a vicious circle: subject people eventually lose their independence of mind and become natural born subjects; conversely those who are not subjected remain dangerous.'
9 Herbert W. Benario (ed. and trans.), *Tacitus: Germany, Germania*, Warminster: Q Aris & Phillips 1999, 30–32, 50.
10 Cit. in Kurt Stadtwald, *Roman Popes and German Patriots: Antipapapalism in the Politics of the German Humanist Movement from Gregor Heimburg to Martin Luther*, Geneva: Droz 1996, 61.
11 Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 438, 'The Germans constitute more of an object of stereotypical thinking than almost any other people.'
12 Cit. in Caspar Hirschi, *Wettkampf der Nationen: Konstruktionen einer deutschen Ehrgemeinschaft an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Göttingen: Wallstein 2005, 306–307, fn. 14.
13 Campbell Hutchinson, *Albrecht Dürer*, 72–74.
14 Isaac, *Invention of Racism*, 431.
15 Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Papst Pius II: Ausgewählte Texte aus seinen Schriften*, ed. Berthe Widmer, Basel: Schwaber 1963, 412–414.
16 For the debate surrounding the 'Germania' see Gerald Strauss (ed. and trans.), *Manifestations of Discontents on the Eve of the Reformation*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1971, 35–47.
17 Hirschi, *Wettkampf*, 151.
18 Gernot Michael Müller, *Die 'Germania generalis' des Conrad Celtis: Studien mit Edition, Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Tübingen: Niemayer 2001, 94–96.
19 Müller, *Celtis*, 94.
20 Müller, *Celtis*, 416.
21 Müller, *Celtis*, 421.
22 Müller, *Celtis*, 429.
23 Müller, *Celtis*, 108.
24 Johann Eberlin von Günzburg, *Ein zamengelesen buochlin von der Teutschen Nation gelegenheit, Sitten vnd gebrauche, durch Cornelium Tacitum vnd etliche andere verzeichnet (1526)*, ed. Achim Masse it's Masser, Innsbruck: University of Innsbruck 1986, 57.
25 Philipp von Rummel, *Habitus barbarus: Kleidung und Repräsentation spätantiker Eliten im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: de Gruyter 2005, 145, 222.
26 Selections from *Conrad Celtis 1459—1508*, ed. and trans. Leonard Forster, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1948, 46–50.
27 Forster, *Celtis*, 53–54.
28 Jörg Robert, *Konrad Celtis und das Projekt der deutschen Dichtung: Studien zur humanistischen Konstitution von Poetik, Philosophie, Nation und Ich*, Tübingen: Niemayer 2003, 430.
29 *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. and trans. Susanna Morton Braund, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2004, 472.
30 Robert, *Konrad Celtis*, fn. 343.
31 Isaac, *Racism*, 432.
32 In the same period, the Protestant and politically influential Augsburg couple Anton and Magdalena Rudolf chose an almost identical representation when they had themselves portrayed by the local master painter Christopher Amberger. They were depicted wearing black gowns, heavy fur over their shoulders, exactly the same finely pleated shirts, and each wore one ring. Strikingly, the husband displayed the decorous element of a small, beautifully crafted silver shaft which held white and red carnations, while Magdalena's portrait hinted at a gold chain worn over her shirt—this usually was the key male attribute of wealth and political influence; Annette Kranz, *Christoph Amberger: Bildnismaler zu Augsburg*, Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner 2004, Pls. 58/59, Cat. 16/17.
33 Robert, *Celtis*, fn. 381.
34 Benario, *Tacitus*,
35 Robert, *Celtis*, 437.
36 Ulrike Lehmann-Langholz, *Kleiderkritik in mittelalterlicher Dichtung: Der Arme Hartmann, Heinrich 'von Melk', Neidhart, Wernher der Gaertenaere und ein Ausblick auf die Stellungnahmen spätmittelalterlicher Dichter*, Frankfurt-on-Main: Peter Lang 1985, 271.
37 Müller, *Germania generalis*, 435.
38 Hirschi, *Wettkampf*, 118.
39 Hirschi, *Wettkampf*, 306, fn. 15.
40 Georg Forster, *Ein außbund schooner Teutscher Liedlein, Nürnberg: Johann vom Berg*, Nuremberg: Berg 1550, Discantus, 'S'ist ein frag/ und grosse klag/ wies gelt kombt auß dem lands/ auß dem lands/ Soliches frag loß/ darff nit vil

gloß/ man gibt's umb seyden gwande/ Der welte bracht/ ist vbermacht/ die hoffart bricht herfüre/ ein yeder will/ on maß und zil/ on maß vnd zil/ sich kleiden vber bure vber bure' n.p.

41 Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni, The Life of Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. Evelyn Scherabon Firchow and Edwin H. Zeydel, Coral Gables: University of Miami Press 1974, ch. 23.

42 Hirschi, *Wettkampf*, 318.

43 Hirschi, *Wettkampf*, 339–340.

44 On the imperial level, luxury in clothing was first prohibited in 1497 and 1498. Maximilian I adopted the argument that Germany was drained of all 'blood' and life through expenses for gold and silk, and wished to strengthen the flow of German capital to German textile production, Hirschi, *Wettkampf*, 321–323.

45 Helmut Puff, *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland 1400–1600*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2003.

46 Cit. in Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2005, 71.

47 A particularly good example is Christoph Amberger's full-length painting of an Augsburg patrician with a *Schaube* and mi-parti striped hose in 1525, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. On the subject see Johannes Pietsch, *Zwei Schauben aus dem Bayerischen Nationalmuseum München: Ein Beitrag zur Kostümforschung*, München: Siegl 2004.

48 There is a large literature on this subject. Some of the most interesting discussions are provided by Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation*, Chicago: Chicago University Press 1989, ch. 4; Larry Silver, 'Shining Armor: Emperor Maximilian, Chivalry, and War', in Pia Cuneo (ed.), *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, Leiden: Brill 2002, 61–86; J. R. Hale, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*, New Haven: Yale University Press; Jan Willem Huntebrinker, *'fromme Knechte' und 'gartteufel': Sölnder als soziale Gruppe im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, D.Phil. dissertation, Dresden 2008.

49 Flacius Venegati, *Vier Bücher der Ritterschaft*, Augsburg: Stainer 1529.

50 Convivium Musicum, Ensemble Villanella, Stefan Berger, *Tugend und Untugend. German Secular Songs and Instrumental Music from the Time of Luther*, Naxos 8.553352, Songs 36, 37.

51 John A. Lyn II, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008.

52 Walter L. Strauss (ed.), *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1550–1600*, vol. 1, New York: Hacker Art Books 1975, 353.

53 In contrast to Matthias Rogg's sense that there was a large degree of overlap between military and civilian fashions, based on broadsheet depictions of Landsquenets, see his '"Zerhauen und zerschnitten, nach adelichen Sitten": Herkunft, Entwicklung und Funktion soldatischer Tracht des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel zeitgenössicher Kunst', in Bernhard R. Kroener and Ralf Pove (eds.), *Krieg und Frieden: Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh 1996, 109–135.

54 Strauss, *Woodcut*, vol. 3, 1070.

55 'So bin ich der hohe Deutsche genan aller nation Kleidung gfelt mir wol weis doch nicht wie ichs machen sol mir doch eine bas dan die ander gefelt da mit ich ein ansehen hab als ein helt do will ich hin zum werckman gan und im die sache selber zeigen an.'

56 'So Schav Nvn dise Biltnvs an wie seltsam es in der Welt tvt stan mit der kleidung dvrch alle Lant helt sich avch niemant nach seinem Stant dann es vor Alters so nicht gewesen ist wie man in allen Historien list.'

57 Ch. 1, p.6.

58 Isabelle Paresys, 'Paraître et se vêtir au XVIe siècle: morales vestimentaires', in Marie Viallon (ed.), *Paraître et se vêtir au XVIe siècle. Actes du XIIIe Colloque du Puy-en-Velay*, Saint Étienne: Publications de L'Université de Saint-Étienne 2006, 15.

59 Gábor Klaniczay, 'Everyday Life and Elites in the later Middle Ages: The Civilised and the Barbarian', in Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *The Medieval World*, London: Routledge 2001, 671–690. Much of this fascinating article actually refers to early modern material; Janusz Tazbir, 'Culture of the Baroque in Poland', in Antoni Maczak, Henryk Samsonowicz, and Peter Burke (eds.), *East-Central Europe in Transition: From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1985, 167–181, esp. 178 on French observers.

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61 Odile Blanc, 'Ethnologie et merveille dans quelque livres de costumes Français', in Viallon (ed.), *Paraître*, 82, 86.

62 François Desprez, *Receuil de la diversité des habits, qui sont de present en usage, tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique, & Isles sauvages, le tout fait après le naturel*, Paris: Richard Breton 1562.
63 Ulrike Ilg, 'The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture 1350–1650*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2004, 29–48.
64 Ilg, 'Costume Books', 37.
65 For a brief overview cf. K. Pilz, 'Jost Amman', in Andreas Klimt and Michael Steppe (ed.), *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 3, Munich-Leipzig: K. G. Saur 1992, 246–249.
66 This argument is well developed in Thomas Lüttenberg, 'Der Nackte Mann mit Schere und Tuchballen: Ein Sinnbild der Verhaltensnormierung und seine Entwicklung im 16. Jahrhundert', in Andrea Bentlage, Andreas Priever, and Peter Schuster (eds.), *Recht und Verhalten in vormodernen Gesellschaften: Festschrift für Neithart Bulst*, Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte 2008, esp. 134–137.
67 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, 2.
68 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, 2.
69 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, 3, 'was bey vnseren zeiten in unserem allgemeinen Vatterland/ für seltzame wunderbarliche verenderungen zugleich mit dem frembden vnnd außlendischen kleidungen/ erfolget seien/ . . .'.
70 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, 3.
71 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, 6.
72 For the classical position see Rummel, *Habitus barbarus*, 95–96.
73 Alexander Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe und Religionskonflikt: Politische Diskurse im Alten Reich (1555–1648)*, Leiden: Brill 2007.
74 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, 3.
75 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, CLXXIII.
76 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, CLV.
77 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, LXXVI.
78 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, XCVII, 'Ehrbarkeit/ Tugent vnd Frombkeit/ Ist eins Weibs gröste zier allzeit./ Das sieht man zu Genff an den Frawen./ Die lassen sich so fein züchtig schauen.'
79 See Ch. 5.
80 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, XCIX, 'In Metz wol in der vesten Stadt/ Die Kayser Carl belagert hat/ Will sie vor hat gehört zum Reich/ Gehen die Frawen also gleich.'
81 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, CLXXXIII, 'In Indi der Frawen Tracht/ Vnd Klaidung ist alle gemacht/ Von schönen Federn ander art/ Drinn düncken sie sich schön vnd zart./ Das ding so sie trägt in der Hendt/ Ist hol wird Tammaracta genendt./ Drein thun sie steinlein rasseln darmit/ Sind ir Götter ander wissens nit.'
82 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, CV.
83 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, CLXXIX.
84 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, CXCVII.
85 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, LXXXVVII.
86 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, CLVI.
87 Weigel, *Trachtenbuch*, LXVI.
88 Wilson, *The World in Venice*, 265.
89 See also Martin Dinges, 'Von der "Lesbarkeit der Welt" zum universalisierten Wandel durch individuelle Strategien: Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft', in Neithard Bulst and Robert Jütte (eds.), Zwischen Sein und Schein: Kleidung und Identität in der ständischen Gesellschaft, *Saeculum*, 44 (1993), 93–95, with reference to Weigel's book.
90 Johannes C. Stracke, *Tracht und Schmuck Altfrieslands nach den Darstellungen im Hausbuch des Häuptlings Unico Manninga*, Aurich: Verlag ostfriesische Landschaft 1967.
91 Stracke, *Tracht*, 72.
92 Dirk Niefanger, *Geschichtsdrama in der Frühen Neuzeit 1495–1773*, Tübingen: Niemeyer 2005, 81–86.
93 '*Julius Redivivus*: Julius Caesars Rückkehr ins Erdenleben', in Nicodemus Frischlin, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. and trans. Christoph Jungck and Lothar Mundt, vol. 3, Part I, Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt: frommann-holzbog 2003, 564, 'Ehem, quam pannis obsitus Est!'.
94 Frischlin, *Julius Redivivus*, 586.
95 Frischlin, *Julius Redivivus*, 586.
96 Hirschi, *Wettkampf*, 298.
97 Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe*, 403.
98 These are discussed by various authors, but not systematically connected to the earlier patriotic discourse; see, for instance, Thomas Lüttenberg and Andreas Priever, '"... Hergegen macht das kleyd oft einen Mann und Helden": Deutsche Alamode-Flugblätter des 17. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext', in Adelheid Rasche and Gundula Wolter (eds.), *Ridikül! Mode in der Karikatur 1600 bis 1900*, Cologne: DuMont 1993, 153–168.
99 See, for instance, Will Fisher's *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006, ch. 4, esp. 143. A good example of rendering the Cavalier hairstyle as visual act is Bernini's bust of Thomas Baker.

100 For an outstanding study see David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550–1850*, Berkeley: California University Press 2002, 1.

101 John Roger Paas (ed.), *The German Political Broadsheet*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1985, vol. 3, *1620–21*, 308.

102 Wolfgang Harms, Cornelai Kemp eds., Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, vol. 4, Tübingen: Niemeyer 1987, *Druckgraphik*, IV, 32, 54: 'Wie wenig besonders die Graphik zur Kritik beiträgt, macht die Beobachtung deutlich, dass die einzelnen Figuren kaum karikierende Züge aufweisen, umso mehr, als die beiden äußeren Figuren auf die Stichserie *La noblesse de Lorraine*(1624) von Jacques Callot (1592–1635) zurückgehen... Hierin offenbart sich ein hinter der wortreichen Kritik verborgener normativer Impuls, der dem Reiz der neuen Mode bereits erlegen ist; in einer Zeit, da Kleiderordnungen individuelle Luxusbedürfnisse auf ein allgemeines, von der Ständeordnung bestimmtes Maß beschränkten, konnte diese Faszination jedoch nur unter dem Schutz der Moralsatire weitergegeben werden.'

103 Harms, so this needs to be changed to Deutsche illustrierte Flugblatter subsequently *Druckgraphik*, IV, 39, 64–65.

104 Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 4, *1622–29*, 313.

105 Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 4, 317.

106 See, for instance, Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, 305.

107 Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 5, *1630–31*, 102; Harms, *Druckgraphik*, II, 284, 496.

108 Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 6, *1632*, 85.

109 Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 6, 89.

110 Harms, *Druckgraphik*, IV, 40, 66–67.

111 Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 2, *1616–1619*, 240.

112 It also added the old anecdote of how Paracelsus had been called by the emperor, but not been admitted because he was badly dressed. He returned dressed in silk and sat silently in front of the emperor. When asked by him why he did not speak Paracelsus replied he thought the clothes should do so, as everyone seemed to think that all art lay in them. Paas, *German Political Broadsheet*, vol. 4, 316.

113 Harms, *Druckgraphik*, IV, 36, 60–61.

114 Harms, *Druckgraphik*, IV, 37, 62–63.

115 Karen Stolleis, *Die Gewänder aus der Lauinger Fürstengruft*, Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag 1977.

116 Ecole française, *Portrait de Madame de Ventadour avec les portraits de louis XIV et de ses descendants, 1715–1720*, London, Wallace Collection.

117 For Moscherosch's prominent anti-court criticism through the à-la-mode idiom to depict selfishness, flattery, and corruption see Johann Michael Moscherosch, *Visiones de Don Quevedo: Wunderliche vnd Wahrhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald...*, Strassburg: Johann Phillip Mülben 1642.

118 Thomas Coryat, *Coryats Crudities 1611*, intro. William M. Schutte, London: Scolar Press 1978, 444.

119 Seven Deadly Sins of London, see Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Material of Memory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000, 1. A host of fears about national identity similar to German developments are explored in Roze Hentzschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Construction of a National Identity*, Aldershot: Ashgate 2008, esp. ch. 4.

120 Seventeenth-century court dress has been comparatively explored by Cat., *Fastes de cour et ceremonies Royales: Le Costume de cour en Europe 1650–1800*, eds. Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel and Pascale Gorguet Ballesteros, Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux 2009.

Chapter 5

1 Jean Michel Massing, 'Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans', in idem, *Studies in Imagery*, vol. II, London: Pindar Press 2007, 114–141.

2 Modelled on the Triumph of Caesar by Benedetto Bordon and Jacobus Argentoratensis in Venice in 1504, Massing, 'Burgkmair's Depiction', fn. 27.

3 Massing, 'Burgkmair's Depiction', 43. For Peutinger's enthusiasm see Folker Reichert, *Erfahrung der Welt: Reisen und Kulturbegegnung im späten Mittelalter*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2001, 176.

4 *Balthasar Springer's Indienfahrt 1505/06. Wissenschaftliche Würdigung der Reiseberichte Springers zur Einführung in den Neudruck seiner 'Meerfahrt' vom Jahre 1509*, ed. Franz Schulze, n.p.: J. H. E. Heitz 1899.

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