Theses and Dissertations

8-2012

English King and German Commoner: An Exploration of Sixteenth Century Clothing and Identity

Bradley Dale Moore
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd

Part of the Fashion Design Commons, Fiber, Textile, and Weaving Arts Commons, Medieval History Commons, and the Social History Commons

ENGLISH KING AND GERMAN COMMONER: AN EXPLORATION OF
SIXTEENTH CENTURY CLOTHING AND IDENTITY

ENGLISH KING AND GERMAN COMMONER: AN EXPLORATION OF
SIXTEENTH CENTURY CLOTHING AND IDENTITY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in History.

By

Bradley Moore
University of Arkansas
Bachelor of Arts in Art History, 2007

August 2012
University of Arkansas

ABSTRACT

This paper will explore the connections of clothing and identity in the sixteenth century. The fit and construction of clothing can be directly related to how a person is perceived, or indeed, how one perceives one's self. Henry VIII (1491-1547) of England will be compared and contrasted with Matthäus Schwarz (1496-1574), a commoner from Augsburg, Germany. Tudor will represent how identity can be created for others, particularly through legislation and courtly life; while Schwarz' own words will assist in the exploration of the identity of the individual.

This Thesis is approved for recommendation
to the Graduate Council.

Thesis Director:

_____

Dr. Rembrandt Wolpert

Thesis Committee:

_____

Dr. Lynn Jacobs

_____

Dr. Elizabeth Markham

THESIS DUPLICATION RELEASE

       I hereby authorize the University of Arkansas Libraries to duplicate this thesis when needed for research and/or scholarship.

Agreed_____
       Bradley Moore

Refused_____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks are due to my thesis committee for all of their help in the writing process. I would especially like to thank Dr. Rembrandt Wolpert and Dr. Elizabeth Markham for taking me on as a project, and guiding me through the writing of this thesis.

Also, special thanks to the history faculty at University of Arkansas for continuing to teach and inspire their students.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Marie Moore, and my grandmother, Sophronia Marr Greene who held me while they were sewing on clothing or quilts when I was very young, and who instilled in me a lifelong fascination with garments and cloth.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures:

English King and German Commoner:
An Exploration of Sixteenth Century Clothing and Identity

> "Then the Magnifico Giuliano said: 'Now that you mention those who are so ready
> to associate with well-dressed men, I wish you would show us, messer Federico, how
> the Courtier ought to dress, and what attire best suits him, and in what way he ought
> to govern himself in all that concerns the adornment of his person. For in this we
> see an infinite variety: some dressing after the French manner, some after the
> Spanish, some wishing to appear German; nor are those lacking who dress in the
> style of the Turks; some wearing beards, some not. It would therefore be well to
> know how to choose the best out of this confusion."[1] –Baldassare Castiglione, *Il
> Cortegiano*, 1528

There is perhaps no other external article which is more closely tied to one's sense of identity

than clothing. With a quick glance, one can readily gauge a person by their dress. So too, in the

sixteenth century; clothing was used to construct identity, and in some cases to deconstruct it as

well. This paper seeks to explore how identity and clothing are in many ways, inseparable.

Concepts of religiosity, gender, nationalism, and "the other[2]" were all intimately tied to dress and

fashion. During the sixteenth century, perhaps even more strongly than now, clothing could be read

like a book in order to divine a person's social standing, religious affiliation (Catholic/Protestant,

Jew, or Muslim), indeed, even the nation, state, or city they were from.

The role of clothing in history has often been downplayed or dismissed; being so ubiquitous

as to be beneath consideration for most. Existing in the liminal spaces between disciplines, this

research seeks to draw garments out of historical obscurity, and use them to explore new ways of

seeing the self and other in context. Using clothing as a particular lens; or perhaps a typeface, if you

will; we will explore why the cut or fit of things can shape the outcome of history. As sort of outer

---

[1] Castiglione, Baldesar; Singleton, Charles S. (translator), *The Book of the Courtier,* (New York: Anchor Books, 1959), 120.

[2] "The other" refers to how a person or society defines its "self"; "the other" representing ideological constructs which assist in defining the self through a series of negations; i.e., "I am not that". Edward Said's work Orientalism attacks the issue head on, "much of it having to do with Islam and the Arabs on one side, "we" Westerners on the other". Said, Orientalism, 1979, xvii.

layer of the body, clothing functions as an exoteric symbol for a wide range of concepts, including wealth, gender, power, and place.

This research will be broken into three major sections. The first will lay the ground work for the place of clothing and textiles in the early sixteenth century. This section will cover both the material culture of the fabrics themselves, and the ways in which garments would have been made (et ergo, how they would affect the wearer). It is important to understand how our perceptions of clothing and textiles have changed over time.

The next section will cover the fashion lives of Henry VIII and Matthäus Schwarz. Henry VIII will represent the exoteric creation of identity. The *Wardrobe Book of the Wardrobe of the Robes prepared by James Worsley in December 1516* and *The Inventory of the Wardrobe of the Robes prepared by James Worsley on 17 January 1521*[3] (referred to from here as *the Great Wardrobe*) are two extant manuscripts detailing the garments owned by King Henry VIII, which along with *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, completed in1547[4], will act as our guide to the garments and textiles which King Henry VIII owned during his reign. By examining the sartorial lives of a very fashion forward king and his court, sumptuary legislation, gifts of clothing and/or textiles, a view of how identity was at times created by other people, their expectations, and the desire to "be like him (Henry VIII)". Matthäus Schwarz, on the other hand, will be considered to see how, in the same time period, a single person might create or shift his own identity within the social structure being inscribed upon him. Schwarz's *Klaidungsbüchlein*[5] or Book of Clothes, written between the years 1520 and 1547 will be the basis of research on our German commoner. The original manuscript is housed in the Herzog Anton

---

[3] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, pp. 369-436. The Great Wardrobe is a collection of two sixteenth century works transcribed by Maria Hayward in her landmark work, Dress at the Court of Henry VIII.

[4] Starkey, *The Inventory of King Henry VIII*, Vol. 1, The Transcript, Harvey Miller Publishers, 1998.

[5] Braunstein, Philippe, *Un Banquier Mis a Nu*, 1992.

Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig (Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen). A copy of the manuscript is in the Bibliothèque National, Paris. The facsimile edition[6] based on the copy in Paris, by Philippe Braunstein was used in this research.   Not content to remain a burger-craftsman like his father, Schwarz actively used clothing to advance his station, and moreover, we have this social and sartorial mobility captured in a dual media; images created by an artist, and the journal Schwarz himself scribed upon the paintings. Schwarz is at once dancing with the self-created by others, and the self he has himself designed; we are witness to a synthesis and metamorphosis of identity which takes place over the course of a lifetime.

The two preceding sections will lay the groundwork for the third. This final section will integrate the prior portions of the work by examining the creation of identity though dress. Conceptions of identity will include the formulation of the self and the other, as well as those of place, the body, masculinity, and religiosity, to name a few. As a "Final Fitting" I shall bring together these ideas into a smartly tailored finish; much as a tailor would his sketches and measurements in order to craft a bespoke creation.

---

[6] Braunstein, *Un Banquier Mis a Nu*, 1992.

PART I

Cloth, Clothing, and the Modern Historian

"The Renaissance saw the development of the individual and the discovery of what he called, 'the full, whole nature of man' this happened largely because man attached himself in a dynamic and creative way to things" –Jacob Burckhardt, 1860

Before beginning a study of textiles and clothing, one must put them into a historical context. It is important to step back and take a look at the way in which clothing was understood within the period of focus, separate from current trends and contexts. Some groundwork is necessary to make this topic fully accessible to the modern reader; as you will find, textiles and clothing take on a decidedly different meaning in the sixteenth century. It can be rather difficult for a person of the twenty-first century to understand the importance of clothing in this period without some background in the material culture of the day.

Our custom of owning a large variety of garments, in a wide range of styles and uses is a great departure from that of the sixteenth century. For the average person "workout clothes", "play clothes", and the like would not have existed. In fact, the idea of owning outfits for specific purposes (like riding garments for equestrians) is only just beginning in the sixteenth century, and arguably would not trickle down to the middling sort until the Victorian era.

A series of English labourer's[7] inventories from Oxfordshire between 1550 and 1596 indicate that the average man would have owned only a few articles of clothing, which would have a total worth of only a few shillings to a pound. The typical wardrobe "comprised a pair of leather breeches, a coat, a waistcoat, a couple of shirts, stockings, shoes, and a hat"[8]. Some paupers would

---

[7] Caroline Johnson, *The King's Servants: Men's Dress at the Accession of Henry VIII* (Surrey: Fat Goose Press, 2009), 7.

[8] Ninya Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor: Techniques and Patterns for Making Historically Accurate Period Clothing* (Hollywood: Quite Specific Media Group, 2006), 46.

have had access to even fewer articles of clothing, though a small number of the poorest individuals

would have had garments ritually presented to them by the king or another aristocrat during

specified feast days or other holy days like Maundy Thursday in Tudor England[9]. Of course the

wealthy had more disposable income, and access to more articles of clothing, but these men and

women typically constituted less than one percent of the total population[10]. It is also important to

note that most clothes were bespoke, or made to measure. One didn't simply go down to the store

and pick something out. First one had to buy cloth from a fabric merchant, then one found a tailor,

and consulted with him on what article or articles were desired, and how these were to be

constructed, negotiating all the while. It is in this period that off the rack clothing began to become

available, but largely it would have been a trade in used[11] clothing. The majority of what one wore

would have been made by a tailor or perhaps someone in your family for poorer individuals[12].

It was not uncommon for clothing to be torn apart and made into something new as styles

changed, when something was outgrown, or began to appear worn. This is important to note,

because cloth was considerably more expensive during the sixteenth century than it is today. As an

example, in *An Acte for Reformacyon of Excesse in Apparayle*, passed down by Henry VIII in 1533, a man

whose income was £4 a year could legally spend one third of that amount for a single cloth gown[13].

Imagine spending one third of your total yearly income for one very modest, unlined coat[14].

---

[9] Johnson, *The King's Servants*, 7.

[10]. Johnson, *The King's Servants*, 7.

[11] Clothing was so valuable that it could even be used as security for a loan, or pawned to raise funds quickly. Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 110.

[12] Interestingly, most undergarments (shirts, shifts, and drawers) were crafted by one's wife or mother, or by a seamstress. Other garments such as doublets, jackets, or gowns were crafted by tailors, and hosen (fitted trousers) were made by hosiers (tailors and hosiers typically being men).

[13] Johnson, *The King's Servants*, 7. "Single Cloth" refers to an unlined garment, consisting only of the outer fabric, with no other lining.

[14] It is important to note here, that for a man, even of the middling sort to be considered fully dressed to go out in public he would wear the following layers: a shirt, hosen (fitted trousers), a doublet (a jacket interlined with canvas, to give it body, and to support the hosen), a jerkin (a sleeveless or often short-sleeved over jacket, often having bases or skirts which hunt to mid-thigh or

The fabrics which were available to a person were also of great importance. Linen was the most common fabric, and was worn by all, rich and poor alike. "Nearly everyone began and ended their life wrapped in linen of some kind"[15]. Because it can be washed easily, linen typically comprised the layer of clothing worn next to the skin. Babies were swaddled in linen, and it was used as a diaper of sorts, as well. Most people owned at least a couple of shirts or shifts, so they could be changed and laundered, preventing outer garments from being dirtied by oils from the skin[16]. While linen can be quite coarse when first woven, it wears like iron, and grows softer with each wearing. Linen could be spun and woven into fabrics which were quite fine and sheer, and was made into things like veils, smocks, shirts, and even gloves. Sebastian Guistinian, the Venetian Ambassador to King Henry VIII from 1516 to 1519 described the King playing tennis as the prettiest thing in the world, "his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture"[17]. Of course, the finer the thread or nicer the weave, the more expensive the cloth; the linen worn next to the skin of a king would have been a far cry from that worn by a pauper. The very poorest would likely have made all of their garments from coarsely woven linen, being unable to afford woolen cloth.

After linen, the next most common cloth would have been wool. The most common sorts of wool would have been woven and then fulled[18], prior to being crafted into a garment. Most outer garments were typically fashioned of wool, although the poorest, as mentioned before, might only be able to afford outerwear of coarse undyed linen. Woolen garments could not be laundered, thus these were typically cleaned with stiff brushes, and would have been perfumed and stored carefully

---

the knee), and a gown (a large, often fur lined coat, coming to the knees or even to the ankle for older men), and a hat or cap to top it off.

[15] Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor*, 15.

[16] *Ibid*, 16.

[17] Brown, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII* (London: Smith, Elder, & Company, 1854), 312.

[18] Fulling is a felting process in which the weave was tightened, and a fine nap raised on the cloth, rendering it warmer and more water resistant.

in chests when not being used[19].   A number of the sumptuary laws passed during Henry VIII's reign confined the middle and lower classes to wearing wool produced in England, and forbade them to purchase or wear wool imported from the continent. While this legislation was produced largely to preserve the local economy of sheep farmers, spinners, and weavers it also contributed to the growing identity of "Englishness" among the middle and lower classes. Wool was common even among the wealthiest individuals during this period; it had not yet been replaced as a luxury fabric entirely.

The most luxurious of cloths, including silks, velvets, brocades, cloth of gold, and furs were sharply delineated as being the provenance of the rich. Even if a merchant or other member of the middle class could afford these items, sumptuary laws prevented them from owning or wearing them without special royal dispensation. Those who flouted sumptuary legislation could be sharply fined, and risked having their finery confiscated[20]. Silk velvet was among the more luxurious textiles available during the sixteenth century. Patterned velvets with either woven ornamentation or "voided velvets" with the decoration cut into the pile had grown popular during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and this is reflected by both written descriptions[21] and extant garments. Accounts from the Great Wardrobe of Henry VIII exhibit the King's fondness for plain single color satin doublets, often lined with taffeta or sarsenet (light weight silk fabrics imported from Italy or the Near East) further emphasizing Henry's wealth[22]. The majority of Englishmen would have lined their garments with undyed linen, but a king could afford to splurge now and again.

The most expensive fabrics were woven of metal threads, typically gold or silver and warped with silk. During the period these textiles were most frequently referred to as "cloth of gold",

---

[19] Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor*, 45.
[20] This is not to say that many would not take the risk; if no one flouted the law, there would be no reason for the law to exist in the first place.
[21] As in Henry VIII's Great Wardrobe.
[22] *Ibid,* 92.

encompassing a wide variety of fabrics utilizing metal and silken threads. These textiles were limited

by both cost and legislation to the king and royal family. The most valued of these metallic fabrics

was tissue, incorporating "raised loops of metal thread as well as metal-wrapped threads and metal

wire forming part of the ground weave and this extravagant use of the thread was reflected in its

high price"[23]. .

Less affluent individuals couldn't afford these imported silks, let alone cloth of gold, and had

to make do with other lower quality (though still luxurious) fabrics. Textiles called "union cloths"

were created to obtain the look of a more costly material by weaving silk with a warp of linen or

wool. Fustian was a sort of cloth combining wool warped with linen, and was commonly used as

both an outer fabric for garments and for a lining[24]. Satins could be produced with a linen weft

thread to lower the cost, and were commonly referred to as "Satin de Bruges" or the anglicized

"bridges satin". These inferior textiles allowed the middling sort to afford fabrics with the

appearance of greater luxury, and the nobility made use of them as well. Frequently the portions of a

garment which would be covered by another layer could be constructed of these lower quality

fabrics in order to save money[25]. It was not uncommon for men's doublets or women's kirtles

(supportive under-dresses) to be crafted from less expensive fabrics, with panels added to areas

which would be seen under an over-garment. Hems, sleeves, collars and front panels could be

covered in costly silk brocades, velvets, or other finery while a more conservative cloth could be

used for the rest of the garment.

Color would also have been of paramount importance in the cost and quality of textile items.

"Dyed garments were the most visible, widespread, and extensively used signs of social status and

---

[23] Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII"s England* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 89.
[24] Hayward*, Rich Apparel,* 93.
[25] Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor*, 37.

conspicuous consumption"[26] Linen was notoriously difficult to dye, and was most commonly used in either a natural or bleached form. Bleaching was often performed at home as a part of the laundering process "using sour milk, cow dung and lye, then laid out in the sun"[27] to produce a white fabric. Dyestuffs could add an immense price to a given textile.

Blues were typically produced using woad (*isatis tinctoria*), a plant typically grown and cultivated in France or Thuringia. When politics interfered with the importation of woad in the 1540's it began to be cultivated more heavily in England[28].

Red was likewise a very important color in sixteenth century Europe. Crimson was a deeper, richer red, which would have been produced with kermes (typically referred to as "grain" in contemporary sources) while simple red would have been dyed with madder, a much less costly dyestuff[29]. Cochineal, a tiny insect discovered in the New World, produced Scarlet, perhaps the most expensive and highly sought after red of its day. Crimson was a ubiquitous color at the Tudor court, just as it had been in earlier English dynasties. It was the color of choice for Royal Coronations, and at Henry's accession to the throne in 1509 the Great Wardrobe issued 1,641 yards of crimson fabric for livery. This is 1,172.5 more yards than were used by Henry VII in 1485. The ceremony cost £4,750 and £1307 of this was spent on livery. Even among servants, however there was a social distinction based on color; all men of the rank of yeoman or above received scarlet cloth while all others received red cloth.

Purple was another very popular color for those who could afford it. "During the reign of Diocletian (284-305), the famous Tyrian (or Phoenician) purple derived from the eastern Mediterranean murex shell fish was used to dye cloth that cost 50,000 *denarii* per pound—or the wages of a skilled craftsman for three years"[30]

---

[26] Robert Finlay, "Weaving the Rainbow: Visions of Color in World History", *Journal of World History*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (2007), 399.

[27] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 92.

[28] *Ibid*, 97.

[29] Maria Hayward, "Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey, and Carnation: Red at the Court of Henry VIII", *Textile History*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (November, 2007), 138.

[30] Finlay, "Weaving the Rainbow", 398.

Another purple, called orchil was produced from lichen (*roccella tinctria*)[31]. The color black was the

most difficult to produce, requiring a complex series of over-dyeing, which still would not guarantee

a good final product. "Poor Black" referred to inferior textiles often more brown than black, but

available at a lower price. In England "the preference for black has been associated with the arrival

of Catherine of Aragon and her entourage in 1501 and the influence of Spanish fashion at court"[32].

Castiglione, in *The Book of the Courtier*, states "I think that black is more pleasing in clothing than any

other color; and if not black, then at least some color on the dark side"[33]. European sumptuary laws

restricted the use of these colors, particularly purple, blue, and red. These strictures generally

referred to colored silk and not wool, however. In England, for example only Knights of the Garter

were allowed to wear blue velvet, and blue silks and velvets would have been worn by the king

during periods of mourning. "These rare uses of blue by the elite would have struck a chord with

observers at court"[34] as blue was typically reserved for servants and livery in England[35].

To the modern reader it may be difficult to imagine the meaning of these various cloths to

the average person in the sixteenth century. A person's clothing would have been read like a text,

transmitting knowledge to the viewer. The quality of materials and colors used in textiles would

have been quite noticeable, with the man on the street reading the status of the wearer based largely

on the fabrics alone. Color and cut brought in an even deeper dimension to reading a garment. In

an era when a person could spend most of a year's wages on a single suit of clothes or could be

---

[31] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 96.

[32] Maria Hayward, "'The Sign of Some Degree?': The Financial, Social and Sartorial Significance of Male Headwear at the Courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI", *Costume*, Vol. 36 (2002), 3.

[33] Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, 122.

[34] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 97.

[35] As an interesting aside: blue, the color of livery and worn by servants in England was considered in France to be the color associated with royalty, and the French Crown.

fined or imprisoned for wearing cloth or finery above his station it paid to be aware of the persona he created with the clothes on his back.

The garments themselves, and the terms used to describe them are also important to understanding the sources. The shirt is the most basic garment worn by men of the period. As mentioned above, it would have been made of linen, and worn next to the skin. This first layer was of great importance to the longevity of outer garments. Braies were undergarments, and looked a bit like a modern brief with a draw string waist. Next was hosen, which were long, usually footed trousers. By the 1530's, these were beginning to divide into upper stocks, which were rather like shorts, and lower stocks that tied to the upper stocks and were like over the knee stockings, cut from cloth on the bias to lend stretch to the fabric or a close fit. The doublet would have been worn over the shirt, and was a long sleeved garment, that would have tied with points to the hosen or upper stocks. Points were ties made of leather, linen or silk cording, and were used to tie garments closed, and to tie garments together at the waist, and to join upper and lower stocks. Over the doublet, most men would have worn a jerkin. The jerkin could be sleeved or sleeveless, and during the early 1500's, would often have had attached bases. Bases were skirts found on men's garments which would have gone to the mid-thigh or knee, with a few examples extending just past the knee. Over the jerkin and doublet most men would have worn a gown. The gown was an over-coat that could reach from mid-thigh to floor length, depending on the age, social status, and wealth of the wearer. During the summer these would have been single-cloth garments (unlined), but during winter would have been lined with the warmest, most luxurious fabric or fur the wearer could afford. These are not the only names used for these garments during the period, but they seem to be the most common in modern clothing histories and historic costuming sources for this era. These names at least give a baseline for readers to understand what is being described.

PART II

Henry VIII: A Sartorial Powerhouse

> Now after the death of this noble prince [Henry VII], Henry the VIII, sonne to Kyng Henry the VII bganne his reigne the xxii daie of april, in the yere of our lorde 1509 and in the xviii yere of his bodily age; Maximian then beeyng Emperoore and Lewes the xii reigning in Fraunce. And Fernando beeyng the kyng of Arragon and Castell, and kyng Iames the fourthe then ruling ouer the Scottes."[36]
>
> –Edward Hall, English Historian, *Hall's Chronicle*, or *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre and Yorke*, 1542

At the time of his accession to the English throne in 1509, Henry Tudor was seventeen[37] years old. A sense of optimism pervaded England as this tall, handsome, powerhouse took up his father's crown. During the first two decades of his reign, Henry VIII was seen as a virtuous model of the Renaissance prince. Brought up with a humanist education, he seemed ready to carry on the legacy of the House of Tudor. "Lord Mountjoy described Henry in 1509 as having no wish for 'gold, or gems or precious metals, but virtue, glory, immortality'."[38] A skilled jouster, avid hunter, wrestler and musician; Tudor also wrote, composed music, and played tennis with great prowess. It can be estimated that Tudor was around 6'1" tall, based on his remaining suits of armor. An average male Londoner would have stood only 5'7"[39], leaving the king to tower over most of his subjects by half a head. Sebastian Guistinian, Venetian Ambassador to Henry's court describes his first impression of the monarch thusly:

> "He wore a cap of crimson velvet, in the French fashion, and the brim was looped all round with lacets and gold enameled aigletes. His doublet was in the Swiss fashion, striped alternately with white and crimson satin, and his hose scarlet, and all slashed from the knee upwards… round his neck he had a gold collar, from which there hung a rough-cut diamond the size of a large walnut… and to this was

---

[36] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of King Henry VIII*, 12.

[37] Even though Hall states that Henry VIII was eighteen at his accession, he was in fact seventeen years of age.

[38] *Ibid*, 1.

[39] *Ibid*, 7.

suspended a most beautiful and very large round pearl. His mantle was of purple velvet lined with white satin, the sleeves open with a train verily more than four Venetian yards in length. This mantle was girt in front like a gown, with a thick gold cord, from with there hung large garlands entirely of gold, like those suspended from a cardinal's hat; over this mantle was a very handsome gold collar, with a pendant St. George entirely of diamonds.. Beneath the mantle he had a pouch of cloth of gold, which covered a dagger.[40]

Henry VIII was certainly dressing to impress his magnificence upon Guistinian, who served as the Venetian Ambassador to his court from 1515 to 1519. Every dispatch in which Guistinian describes Tudor's physical appearance is flattering, some bordering on glowing descriptions of the English king.

These descriptions left by others are our best way of knowing Henry VIII and his dress. Being such a public figure, particularly one who cuts such a larger than life swath through his reign, it is difficult to find the man under the image. Beyond written descriptions, portraiture must act as our window into a monarch's soul. "Unlike his daughter Elizabeth, Henry VIII did not pass any legislation seeking to control the production or dissemination of his image"[41] As king, he relied heavily on his image as a source of state propaganda. Dr. Maria Hayward recognized a series of seven images that represented the king throughout his reign. "The development of Henry's portrait during his reign focuses around a fairly small group of seven images or patterns which are copied during his lifetime and after his death."[42] Each painting shows the king at a different stage of life, and in a particular style of clothing, contemporary to the time in which they were painted. The clothing would reflect minor differences, such as color of garments, or in the placement of embellishments, but largely were true to what is presented in the original painting. These portraits and the brief written descriptions in his great wardrobe are all we know about the appearance of the

---

[40] Brown, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, vol. 1, 85.
[41] Hayward, *Dress*, 3.
[42] Hayward, 4.

garments of Henry VIII. Aside from a hawking glove and some suits of armor, none of the king's garments remain.

As one might imagine, proximity to the king was proximity to power. This closeness to the head of the English state was often symbolized by garments or textiles from Henry VIII himself, in the form of livery for his yeomen or members of his household; while articles of his own clothing, or clothing purchased as gifts would be given to those nobles who greatly pleased him. These gifts or payments (in the case of Henry's household servants) were detailed in the Great Wardrobe[43], a massive document which recorded the belongings of the King. The Great Wardrobe detailed expenditures and collections of cloth, clothing, hounds, jewelry, spurs, saddles; basically all of the "stuff" which Henry VIII owned. An exploration of a portion of the King's Great Wardrobe will help to define these gifts of textiles, who wore them, and what they would mean to one who viewed them on the body.

King Henry VIII was the epicenter of English power, and the court revolved around him. This proximity was often represented by gifts of clothing to those nearest the king, whether royal favorites, or loyal servants. Each year of Henry VIII's reign he provided clothing for his household. This included the royal family, his wife, and children, and early on his sisters. Henry VIII provided an appropriate marriage trousseau for both of his sisters. Beyond the royal family, Henry also was responsible for clothing his yeomen and servants, as well as a small portion of the poorest in the country. The yeomen and servants of the king were provided different articles of clothing, and different qualities of cloth based on their duties for the King. Those who were highly visible, or who performed duties in the name of the King would be supplied with garments made of higher quality of cloth than those of simple servants.

---

[43] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 81.

The Boys of the Leash, who were responsible for the health and keeping of the King's

hounds, are but one example of what a typical servant might receive in a year's time from the Great

Wardrobe. Each of the four was supplied for the winter season of 1509 with a gown made of tawny

cloth (a heavy woolen cloth), lined with black lambskin, a doublet of camlet wool, two shirts each of

linen, two pairs of hose, a hat, and a bonnet. In addition, they were each supplied with two pairs of

double soled shoes (used for outdoor wear, and hunting), two brace of collars, two chains and a

leash for the hounds. The following summer (July of 1510), the same four men were given a light

weight coat of motley (mingled-color) wool, lined with cotton (a soft, loosely woven woolen cloth),

a camlet doublet, one pair of hose, a hat, a bonnet, two more linen shirts, two new pair of double

soled shoes, and collars for the greyhounds[44].

The King also provided clothing for the poor on Maundy Thursday, as a part of the Easter

celebration. As a part of an elaborate ceremony each year, the king would give out a gown and hood

of russet cloth (a low quality woolen cloth) and a pair of single soled shoes to a number of paupers

equal to the King's age. No information is given as to how these "paupers" were chosen, or who

they were, but each year of his reign, Henry VIII gave out successively more garments as dictated by

tradition[45].

Aside from his obligations, Henry VIII also gave away numerous gifts of textiles or

garments to his favorites, ambassadors, and other members of the royal court. The largest group of

those who received gifts of clothing from Henry VIII were neither family nor servant, but the

King's jousting companions. These favorites, who included the likes of Nicolas Carew, received

---

[44] Johnson, <u>The King's Servants</u>, 27.
[45] *Ibid*, 21.

items like coats, bases and boots from the King regularly[46]. Between the years of 1516-21 alone,

Henry VIII gave away ninety-one garments or sets of garments to members of the court, eighty-six

items were given to men, and five to women[47]. It is important to note that while the King was

giving away garments, whose cloth value would have been staggering in some cases, all embroidery,

particularly gold or silver work, fur linings, velvet guards (bands of fabric to protect the hems of a

garment), jewels, buttons, or goldsmith work would have been removed. These items were

frequently moved from garment to garment, allowing a wide range of outfits to be remade to suit an

occasion or season. If he chose, Henry VIII could wear the same gown in both summer and winter,

with it being lined with silk satin in summer and a rich fur in the winter. This removal of fur, gold

and ornamentation allowed a lower ranking member of the court to use the garment without

breaking sumptuary laws, or in some cases with special dispensation from the King to wear a

particular garment.

These gifts of clothing were also fairly practical; even a king only had so much closet space.

At one point Henry VIII ordered ninety doublets in the space of only two months. "A Parisian

jeweler, Jean Langues sold Henry two garments even though 'the king says he is too old to wear

them but he offers 4,000 crowns for them both'"[48]. It is unknown if Henry bought these garments

to wear or to give away. The king likely soon tired of garments; gifting them to another allowed him

to pass them along, while remaining a fashion forerunner.

---

[46] Maria Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII", <u>Clothing Culture1350-1650</u> (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 171.
[47] *Ibid*, 174.
[48] Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII", <u>Clothing Culture1350-1650</u> (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 171.

The "Field of Cloth of Gold"[49] is perhaps one of the best examples of the sumptuous spending and passing of gifts from Henry VIII, both to his subjects and as an act of diplomacy. From June 7 through the 24 of 1520 the Tudor king met with Francois I of France. Both monarchs strove to outdo the other with gifts, pageantry, and feats of physical prowess. Henry's royal guard was quite famous for their height and good looks, dressed in the king's livery of green and white[50]. The year 1520 marks one of the largest expenditures on cloth during Henry VIII's early reign; a total of £13,474 7*s* 8*d* was paid out for textiles and ceremonies, £10,480 8*s* 8*d* of which were for cloth. In a single year more money was lavished on clothing, revels, and ceremonies than was spent 1516-1519 combined[51]. It makes sense financially, if for no other reason that many of these garments were given away as gifts. Henry also gifted Francois I with four doublets, one of which was "of cloth of gold baudkyn, the placards and sleeves wrought with flat gold and eight pairs of aglettes"[52]. Endowments of clothing were not only worth monetary value, these garments were often emblematic. A connection between the king and the recipient was symbolized by the acceptance of such a gift.

Based on the descriptions of garments in The Great Wardrobe, it can be surmised that Henry VIII enjoyed bright colors. Garments are found in a broad range of colors, including deep blue for his garter robes, purples and violets, yellows, green for hunting clothes, orange, white and carnation. Black also played a strong role in Henry's Great Wardrobe. Styling was as important as color, and Henry loved to show off. French styles were very influential in the court, as well as Swiss

---

[49] "The Field of Cloth of Gold" was a meeting between Henry VIII of England and Francois I of France in the summer of 1520. The meeting was arranged under the machinations of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, in an attempt to push through a treaty of non-aggression between the powers of Europe, in his bid for the papacy. Henry VIII and Francois I used it as a means to display their great wealth and fashionable sensibilities.

[50] Joycelyne G. Russell, The Field of Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), 59.

[51] Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII", 173.

[52] *Ibid*, 176.

and German modes. English clothes are described by Ambassador Guistinian and others as having slashes, much like the garments of the continent, but were somewhat more subdued, and less exuberant. It seems that English tailors took a nod from continental styles, but imparted a certain Englishness to the resulting garments.

Matthäus Schwarz: The Man Represented

"A Modern viewer of a work of medieval art should be able to put him- or herself in the position of its original spectators, who easily recognized the extent to which the image corresponded to the world they knew. This means recognizing not only the subject and its treatment, but also the identity, occupation, and moral character of the figures, information often conveyed by their clothes, as it was in life. Today we dress more or less as we please, but in former times people were expected to wear clothes that corresponded to their position or "estate". To dress and act according to one's estate was believed necessary for the stability of society. Those who did not threatened the social order: their garments were confusing, and their transgression of the rules a sign of moral deficiency. Dress was thus a code, a collection of signs read by other members of society and exploited by artists as well." (van Buren 2011)

Matthäus Schwarz, an Augsburg businessman (1496-1574), commissioned the *Klaidungsbüchlein (Figure 1)*, a lavishly illumined book consisting of 135 watercolor pictures; all depicting Schwarz and his clothing in a strangely empty, and yet recognizable Augsburg[53]. The book begins thusly:

> 1520. Today, 20 February 1520, I, Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, having just turned twenty-three years old, looked as I do in the above painting. Then I said that I have always enjoyed being with the old folk … And among other things we came to talk of costumes and manners of attire, that is, how they dressed everyday … This caused me to have my apparel portrayed as well, in order to see over a period of five, ten or more years what might become of it.[54]

Schwarz's *Book of Clothes* was revolutionary in its depiction of a single man and his possessions from birth to death. While the book does not cover every year of Schwarz's life, it does account for all stages of his life, from infant to elderly gentleman. This was the first time that such a record of personhood had existed, with the patron of the book depicted for his own viewing pleasure. The book was not printed on a modern printing press, but was hand illuminated by local

---

[53] Philippe Braunstein, *Un Banquier Mis A Nu: Autobiographie de Matthäus Schwarz Bourgeois d'Augsbourg (facsimile)* (Paris: Gallimard), 1992.

[54] Gabriele Mentges, "Fashion, Time, and the Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Matthäus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496-1564", *Gender & History,* (Nov. 2002), 384.

artists, and stitch bound late in Schwarz's life. Following the death of his son, Veit Konrad in 1586, the *Klaidungsbüchlein* was found in the family home in Augburg, along with a shorter book of similar subject matter created by his son, Veit Konrad Schwarz[55]. There were of course other books of clothing printed during the sixteenth century. In fact, they were quite popular. Most were printed from woodcuts, and depicted a sense of regional or national mode of dress. What makes Matthäus Schwarz's *Klaidungsbüchlein* so unique is that it was not meant for a large audience, but for close acquaintances of Schwarz to view at leisure. The book documents the patron's changing views of Himself, his clothing and his body, as he comes to grips with impermanence and change[56].

---

[55] Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in the Renaissance*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 2010, 78.

[56] *Ibid*, 40.

Figure 1: Matthäus Schwarz, *Klaidungsbuchlein*, Frontispiece, 1520. Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen, Museumphoto Bernd Peter Keiser.

Change was in the air in 1520, when Schwarz began commissioning the first images which

would become the *Klaidungsbüchlein*. Carlos V had just ascended the throne, and would soon be

crowned Holy Roman Emperor. Schwarz had landed a job working for the Fugger firm, after

returning from his training in Venice as a bookkeeper. His father had just passed away, and on his

birthday in 1520, he began what would become an anomalous masterpiece of visual autobiography.

The connection which Schwarz had with his clothing is quite absorbing. In each image, it is the

clothing which the viewer must use to identify Schwarz; the artist's representation is in fact, rather

generic in most of the images. "Clothes create at least half the look of any person at any moment"[57].

Schwarz' *Klaidungsbüchlein*, while not essentially medieval, must still be engaged as a

manuscript. A collusion of public and private, the work takes on an aspect rather like a book of

hours, or other such miniscule devotional. At only sixteen by ten centimeters, the work is small

enough to be carried in a pocket or girdle purse. Van Buren laments in her work, *Illuminating*

Fashion, that "the potential confusion and the apparent circularity of this process has deterred art

historians from considering how the figures in a work of art are dressed"[58]. The *Klaidungsbüchlein* is

not a work on paper, but on parchment (calf skin), which Valentin Groebner suggests is in keeping

with the Germanic tradition of making genealogy and heraldic books during the fifteenth and

sixteenth centuries. Groebner also points to small prayer books and devotionals printed by

Maximilian I from 1514 to 1519, along with a series of propagandist documents. Maximilian's book

of prayer, followed by the *Theuerdank*, the *Weisskunig*, and the *Freydal*, with each work containing

numerous woodcuts by the superstars of German Renaissance art, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung

Grien, and the like may have been an inspiration for Schwarz to use Imperial propaganda as

prototypes for his own book of clothes. "Schwarz was a close intimate of Joseph Schönsperger, the

---

[57] Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 314.

[58] Van Buren, Anne, *Illuminating Fashion*, 2.

Augsburg printer in charge of these imperial propaganda projects; woodcuts from its unpublished sections soon circulated around Augsburg"[59].

Did Schwarz wish to capture and record his own little transgressions, cleverness and shrewd humor? Was the *Klaidungsbüchlein* a sort of personal propaganda for Schwarz? It is clear from figures two and three, below, that at least one image was directly copied from the *Weisskunig*[60]. The man seems intent on depicting his own ingenuity, not only sartorially, but socially in the work. This is a middle class man on the move. Firmly ensconced in the Fugger firm by the age of nineteen, Schwarz could safely depict himself running away from home at age nine, trampling his school books at the age of fourteen, and outsmarting travelers on the road to Milan. Each of these little memories served to set Schwarz apart, to make him his own man, distinct from his thirty-two siblings[61] as well as his coworkers in the Fugger firm. This makes the unpopulated images of the *Klaidungsbüchlein* all the more interesting in how it represents Matthäus the man.

---

[59] Groebner, 107.

[60] *Ibid,* 107.

[61] Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 42-3.

ii. Octobr. 1515. als Franc: kúnig
zú Franckreich zú Mailandt
einrit nach der Schlacht, klait mich
Herr Ambrosio reschúnt also, nicht von
seiden, laút der welilaúf 10. cap: 16 blat
anzaigt ist alding.

18. Jar 29 tag.

23

Figure 2: Matthäus Schwarz, October 11, 1515, wearing French livery in Milan, the image is believed to have been copied from *Der Weiss Kunig* below. Braunstein, 23.

Figure 3: Maximilian I, *Der Weiss Kunig*, woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, from German reprint 1775, Groebner, 107.

Sixteenth century Augsburg was a crowded place, teeming with people. *Augsburger Monatsbilder* is the title of a collection of four monumental paintings credited to Jörg the Elder Breu in the collection of the German Historical Museum (*Deutsches Historisches Museum*) which depict daily life on the streets of Augsburg, circa 1531. Each image in the series shows streets teeming with life.

Men and women in colorful clothing crowd together and vie for attention, dressed conspicuously in order to attract the eye of the viewer. Soldiers, merchants, burgers, and peasants all mill about together on the street; one can almost hear the din of the crowd echoing through the marketplace. Ulinka Rublack describes a "new sense of urban life as display manifested itself in a series of richly detailed paintings" (Rublack, Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe 2010).

The *Klaidungsbüchlein* is the world of one man, and how he chose to display himself to the world. Schwarz' decision to depict himself on these same streets alone, create a wholly different atmosphere. Gone is the madding crowd, Matthäus walks the streets of Augsburg alone. In 1519, at the death of his father, Matthäus represents himself four times the same image, wearing four different sets of mourning clothes. The picture is curious in that it appears that the four Matthäus's are engaging one another. Each one clad in somber black, the figure on the far left wears a traditional mourner's cloak with hood, which completely covers the face of the wearer. The pair of figures in the background, each one also depicting Schwarz, shows him in more relaxed, if still somber attire, perhaps the garments he wore to work and to socialize in during his period of mourning. The fact that Schwarz had four complete sets of mourning clothes reveals a bit about the kind of money he was willing to spend on clothing. The color black, as mentioned previously, was notoriously difficult to achieve and therefore expensive. In Augsburg of the early sixteenth century, it was customary to mourn for six months. The image shows Schwarz wearing four different sets of mourning clothes for that six month period, standing in front of a Cathedral[62] in Augsburg. What was Schwarz communicating with these small pages?

Valentin Groebner suggests that the work is simply another part of Schwarz' obsession with bookkeeping; he was after all the head bookkeeper for the Fugger firm. "Schwarz's clothes and the manner in which he had them depicted are intrinsically linked to politics, as well as to his vocation as

---

[62] Philippe Braunstein surmises that it is likely St. Ulrich's in Augsburg. "Devant une église gothique, probablement Saint-Ulrich d'Augsbourg", on page 125 of *Un Banquier Mis A Nu.*

an accountant"[63]. The *Klaidungsbüchlein* is not only a manuscript, but a record of wealth, and

power—a bookkeepers log, if you will. In this case, it seems that Schwarz may be asking the viewer

to put him or herself, not simply in the position of viewing a book of curiosities, or of clothes, but a

sort of visual accounting book of the life he lived. Schwarz makes careful notation of the garments

and outfits which are given as gifts. In particular, he notes garments he received in Milan in 1515 (a

French inspired riding costume), and a hat worn with a wedding costume in 1524 from Hans Rot, a

"wealthy Augsburg Patrician"[64] Another suite of gifted clothing was for the wedding of Anton

Fugger:

> "In March 1527, he received a sumptuous complete wedding outfit in brilliant red
> and yellow, consisting of a doublet, trousers, and jacket with a silk ruff finish.
> Identical outfits were given to all Fugger employees to be worn at the occasion: Not
> simply a boastful display of expensive clothes but also a deliberately political gesture.
> Contemporaries clearly understood the allusions or demonstrative claims symbolized
> by these yellow trousers and red silk fringes. It was a manifestation of political,
> Catholic, and Fugger symbols in the religiously divided city—and it was these
> presentations, among others that Matthäus Schwarz obviously wished to preserve."[65]

And preserve it he did; these were outward symbols of Schwarz' connection with some of the most

powerful individuals of his age. Schwarz was also placing himself into a continuum of power. By

carefully maintaining relationships to his contemporaries, and recording them for posterity, he

preserved a portion of his perceived self. Schwarz was careful to never step beyond the acceptable.

As a bookkeeper, he was intimately aware of his place between his betters and those beneath him,

and was careful to represent this on his body, and on the manuscript page.

---

[63] Groebner, 112.
[64] *Ibid*, 109.
[65] *Ibid*, 109-110.

Figure 4: Schwarz wearing the wedding clothes provided to all employess of the Fugger firm for the wedding of Anton Fugger in 1527, Braunstein, 62.

By engaging the *Klaidungsbüchlein* as a manuscript, a particular image of Schwarz begins to emerge. This was a man who was quite aware of appearances, and how they can make a man. Here too was a man who was intimately aware of bookkeeping and notation[66]. By further narrowing the lens, and engaging with it as a sort of visual bookkeeping ledger, a new means of understanding Schwarz is brought to the fore. Schwarz was very careful in his *Klaidungsbüchlein* to include no costumes or carnival outfits. Most of the images focus on *öffenlich cleidung* or "public clothes" (clothes which would have been worn for public appearances, weddings, and other events to see and be seen at). Viewed as a work of bookkeeping, Schwarz seems to make the *Klaidungsbüchlein* into an account of his public persona. This too, explains the lack of other figures in the work. An accountant would never include extraneous numeric figures in their work; it would stand to reason that neither would Schwarz. Some of his notations mention other people, including the young Dutch girl he fell in love with[67], his mother, and his sister, but very few represent another figure. These would skew his data in recording and representing his life in pictures.

---

[66] Schwarz actually wrote a bookkeeping manual for the Fugger firm. Written when Schwarz was only 21 years old, it was in fact, "the first such handbook north of the Alps", Groebner, 113-114.
[67] Mentges, 385.

PART III

Gender and the Continuum of Power in Tudor Sumptuary Legislation

   The first parliament of Henry VIII met in January 1510, and, amongst other measures, passed a lengthy sumptuary law entitled 'An Act agaynst wearing of costly Apparrell'.1 This statute is evidently modelled on the acts of apparel of 1463 and 1483, and closely resembles them both in its grading of ranks and classes and in the various articles of apparel prohibited to each. It contained, however, three novel features: it prescribed in most cases forfeiture of the obnoxious apparel as well as imposing fines, it enabled any one to sue for the forfeited apparel and for recovery of the penalties, and it empowered the king to grant licences of exemption. Moreover, while the act of 1483 exempted from its operation women, save only the wives and daughters of husbandmen and labourers, the act of 1510 excluded all women, without distinction.[68]

This portion of the paper seeks to explore the role of garments in determining or

emphasizing wealth, power, and gender in England, under the Tudor Dynasty. While King Henry

will be our bedrock, if you will, other members of his court will also be examined in their sartorial

relationship to him. As stated before, the clothes on a man's back could literally be read like a book

in determining his social standing, his inherent masculinity, or even (or perhaps especially) his

closeness to the king. A series of sumptuary laws were passed between the years of 1510 and 1542.

These stringent legal codes limited the garments, fabric choices, and colors available to men of a

certain class (women are mentioned only once in the legal codes set down by Henry VIII).   These

laws of fashion will be explored in an effort to understand the relationship of textiles to power and

gender in this period. This work will also explore how garments could define or strengthen the

perceptions of gender and masculinity during this period.   Likewise, ideas about "Englishness" or

what it was to be an Englishman in the sixteenth century, and how dress could represent an evolving

national identity will be examined. Foreign clothing was nothing new to the royal courts of

---

[68] Hooper, *The Tudor Sumptuary Laws*, 433.

England, but during the sixteenth century, a new awareness of an English identity was rising, and the use of non-English clothing and textiles could mark a man or uplift him socially, according to their use.

Gender history is a complicated subject in any era, and that of the sixteenth century is no exception. For many years the term "gender" in a historiographic context meant "women". Since the mid-1990's, however, the focus of the genre has evolved to include genders beyond the feminine, and the study of masculinities has grown into a sub-field of gender history. The life of a courtier in the Tudor era was lived within a largely homosocial environment, and this portion of the paper will, in part, examine the Tudor Court in light of garments and their use as objects which could define one's masculinity. It is important to understand, however that the masculinity of the Tudor era is not the monolithic structure often presented by early feminist historians of the twentieth century. A focus on the concept of patriarchy as a means of repression of women and minorities without consideration for its hierarchical roles forced on men has given way for new insights in masculinity and gender:

> "In understanding gender scholars have been too ready to assume that a system of hierarchy between men and women is simply constitutive of subordinating women . . . [Brod] notes: "Patriarchy institutionalizes not just hierarchy *between* genders, but hierarchy *within* each gender as well""[69].

This gendered hierarchy will be examined primarily in light of sumptuary legislation, as all of the Henrician sumptuary laws except that of 1539 exempt women entirely from their statutes.

Gendered garments first appear at around the age of six for most young men of the sixteenth century. Prior to that, boys and girls would wear the same clothes, modeled after those of their mother or older sisters. This was important in the process of potty training children. Skirted garments made sense for clean-up. While wearing skirts, boys were still encouraged to play with

---

[69] Kim M. Phillips, "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws", *Gender & History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (April 2007), 24.

masculine toys, such as swords and to wear hats and doublets over their skirts in a more masculine style. At around age six, however, boys would be "breeched", or allowed to wear hose for the first time. This indicates that the primary care and raising of the boy would transfer from the care of women of the household, to that of men. "Prince Edward was breeched at six years, two months"[70] and from that age would have worn the same garments as an adult male.[71]

Gender could also be indicated by the textile from which a garment was constructed. "Leather is the most frequently specified material for doublets in the Essex wills (40 percent of 284 items)… Apart from a 'payre of bodies' of sweet leather, made for Queen Elizabeth in 1579, there appear to be no other examples of women's clothing made of leather", (Mikhaila, 38). Color could also be a major indicator of gender during this period. Gender rules regarding color were not hard and fast, like those regarding the cut or fabric of a garment, but the color blue was found predominantly in the wills of men, while the color red was typically found in those of women[72].

Much of the formation of gender during this period can be read by studying the sumptuary laws of the day. Sumptuary legislation dates back to the Roman era, re-appearing in the medieval period in Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Sumptuary legislation first appears in England in 1336, popping up periodically until all sumptuary legislation was repealed by James I in 1604[73]. Most all of the sumptuary legislation passed in England refers to the garments of men, with rare exceptions, creating an environment of homosocial elite, which control the state and one another in a sort of hierarchy of fashion. "Patriarchy institutionalizes not just hierarchy *between* genders, but

---

[70] Mikhaila, *The Tudor Tailor*, 16.
[71] It is important to note that garments worn after breeching still carried the connotation of youth, or of old age. Color, cut, and in particular the length of a garment said much about the age and status of the wearer.
[72] *Ibid*, 40.
[73] Wilifrid Hooper, "The Tudor Sumptuary Laws", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 30, No. 119 (1915), 448.

hierarchy *within* genders as well"[74]. The gendered nature of sumptuary legislation of this period

reveals the institutionalized hierarchy of these laws. The House of Commons, by passing legislation

that controlled their own disposable income, created for themselves a two -fold fail safe. Not only

did they make it illegal for them to squander money on garments beyond their social standing, but

they recognized their own place societally. They stood above the masses, but below the Lords.

"Western social structures are organized homosocially and use of this term helps us to see the

gendered nature of hierarchies. Perhaps there is no such thing as class, only struggles, alliances and

compromises between men"[75].

A sort of complicit masculinity was created in this way. The House of Commons recognized

and upheld the hegemony held by the noble elite of the House of Lords, while taking advantage of

their own liminal status between the nobility and laborers. This created a sort of continuum of

masculinity, very unlike modern ideas of manliness, where men constantly have to prove themselves

as "man enough". Early modern masculinity was more concerned with placing one's self within this

continuum and maintaining or raising that status. By giving up the right to the most luxurious of

goods, these men "became models of limited eminence"[76] allowing themselves a certain level of

luxury; remaining visually apart from the gentry, but at the same time maintaining an almost

bourgeois sense of respectability through the limitation of luxury.

Traditionally only members of the nobility would have had access to the sort of funds

necessary to purchase luxurious textiles, but as the merchant class grew wealthy more members of

the lower gentry and the middling sort had access to disposable income it created problems of social

---

[74] Phillips, "Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws", 24.
[75] *Ibid*, 24.
[76] *Ibid*, 30.

identity. By limiting themselves, the men of the House of Commons not only protected their social

identity midway along the continuum of masculinity; they also protected their hard earned wealth.

This continuum of masculinity exposed by the study of sumptuary laws reveals much of the

mindset of the English during this period. Women are not even mentioned in the majority of the

sumptuary legislation, in glaring contrast to contemporary legislation passed on the continent. The

Italian sumptuary laws frequently sought to control what women wore; the English did not. The

sole exception of Henrician law sought to limit the clothing allowed to the women of Ireland.

Regarded largely as savages by the English, Henry VIII's edict of 1539 forbade the wearing of

traditional Irish hair styles, as well as to:

> weare any shirt, smock, kerchor, bendel [ribbon], neckerchour mocket [bib], or linen
> cappe coloured, or dyed with Saffron, ne yet to use, or weare in any their shirts or
> smockes above seven yards of cloth to be measured according to the Kinges
> Standard, and that also no woman use or weare any kyrtell, or cote tucked up, or
> imbroydered or garnished with silke, or couched ne layed with usker [jewels] after the
> Irish fashion, and that no person… shall use, or weare any mantles, cote or hood,
> made after the Irish fashion[77].

This legislation made illegal all manner of traditional dress in Ireland, effectively attempting to

destroy the rebellious indigenous culture in favor of Anglicization. The long hair of the Irish Kerns

(war chiefs), along with their saffron yellow *leinte* (long shirts), shaggy mantles, and such were now

the mark of an outlaw. While this legislation clearly includes Irish women, no other sumptuary

legislation passed during Henry VIII's reign was used to regulate the garments of women in the

realm. This is telling; not only did this legislation seek to destroy the Irish cultural identity; it also

emasculated the Irishman, and turned the Irish woman into something formidable; going so far as to

---

[77] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 28.

blame them for the fact that Ireland was so difficult to control and conquer. Irish rebels, it seems, were believed to have been provoked to insurgence by their unquiet wives[78].

---

[78] William Palmer, "Gender, Violence, and Rebellion in Tudor and Early Stuart Ireland", <u>The Sixteenth Century Journal</u>, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Winter, 1992), 699.

"Englishness" and Fashion

> "Cannot get a good white damask. All the good silks are sent into England. The Court here is nothing so gallant of women as our Court in England. Here are no dames that will wear whites. They be but counterfeits to our dames, so that whites, yellows, reds, blues and such fresh colours go from hence straight into England."[79] --Stephen Vaughan in a letter to Sir William Paget from Brussels, 16 December, 1544.

An emerging identity of Englishness during the sixteenth century was both influenced and reflected by garments, and what those garments were made of. As mentioned earlier, in the section on King Henry VIII, the fashions of other places played a role in influencing English dress of the period. It is clear that there was by this time an "English" mode of dress, in part due to the language used to refer to garments outside that milieu. In both the Great Wardrobe of Henry VIII, and in wills, inventories, letters, and books there are references to "almain" or German-style hose, "Milan bonnets", "Spanish" cloaks, or "Turkey" (Turkish) gowns[80]. Spanish contributions like the "Spanish Cloak" usually referred to a cloak with a hood[81], and would be easily distinguished from a more English cut. The early sixteenth century was bringing a new cosmopolitan air to cities like London, in which the English frequently rubbed shoulders with Frenchmen, Italians, and other nationalities from the continent and beyond. Many were surprised by what they found there:

> In short, the wealth and civilization of the world are here; and those who call the English barbarians appear to me to render themselves such. I here perceive very elegant manners, extreme decorum, and very great politeness; and amongst other things there is this most invincible King, whose acquirements and qualities are so many and excellent that I consider him to excel all who ever wore a crown[82].

---

[79] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 11.

[80] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 3.

[81] Ruth Anderson, *Hispanic Costume, 1480-1530* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1979), 109.

[82] *Ibid*, 1.

This was written by Francesco Chieregato to Isabella d'Este, following a joust hosted by Henry VIII in 1515. Another Italian, who visited England in 1500, the secretary of Francesco Capello, described the English as "great lovers of themselves"[83]. A part of this developing national identity was expressed through clothing. The very cut of one's garments could determine where they were from, as much as the cloth from which they were made. In 1517 Monsieur de Boughieville, a French spy, was reported to be heading to England via Calais. He had purchased English wool and had it fashioned into clothing prior to leaving France, to use as a disguise. A description of the individual and his manservant was hastily dispatched to England, and he was captured. The fabric his clothing was made of may have been English, but the distinctively French cut of the garments and use of ornamentation immediately marked him as a foreigner[84].

While the members of the Tudor Court were accustomed to wearing garments made in the continental fashion, the vast majority of Englishmen were not. "There was a certain cachet associated with wearing imported materials because they were foreign, silk fabrics had the appeal of the exotic as they were imported from Europe and beyond"[85]. The nobility made up a very small minority of the population. By some estimates, the king, nobility, and knights made up only one percent of the total population of England and Wales combined during the early years of Henry VIII's reign. Esquires and gentlemen accounted for only two percent, and burgesses and citizens another seven percent. Sixty-eight percent of the population consisted of base laborers, and another twenty-three percent were yeomen and artificers, and less than one percent would have been

---

[83] Anderson, *Hispanic Costume*, 3.
[84] *Ibid*, 4.
[85] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 85.

considered paupers[86]. This would mean that less than ten percent of the population would have been likely to have access to high cost materials or foreign garments.

English textile producers and merchants had been in competition with those of the continent since the 1300's when the first high quality linen fabrics would have been imported from the Netherlands, and silks from Italy. The Great Wardrobe makes note of the use of cloth of tissue and cloth of gold or silver in the making of garments for both Henry VII and Henry VIII, however documents recording taxes and impositions on cloth do not record the import of these cloths until 1582. It seems likely that these were imported by Italian merchants who "held licenses exempting them from import duty provided that the king had first sight of the shipment"[87]. It was good to be the king; Henry VIII had access to the best of everything in England. Those who were able to maintain a close relationship with him and avoid the snares of power also had access to greater wealth and power.

Weaving the Self and Unraveling the Other: Clothing and Identity in a Historical Context

> "Dress is a form of visual art, a creation of images with the visible self as its medium. The most important aspect of clothing is the way it looks; all other considerations are occasional and conditional. The way clothes look depends not on how they are designed or made but on how they are perceived; and I have tried to show that the perception of clothing at any epoch is accomplished not so much directly as through a filter of artistic convention. People dress and observe other dressed people with a set of pictures in mind—pictures in a particular style. The style is what combines the clothes and the body into the accepted contemporary look not of chic, not of ideal perfection, but of natural reality"[88]—Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 1978

Self-identity can mean many things. In the context of this research, Identity is examined in the creation of the Self, as well as in the understanding of the other. The creation of the Self was

---

[86] Caroline Johnson, *The King's Servants: Men's Dress at the Accession of Henry VIII* (Surrey: Fat Goose Press, 2009), 7.
[87] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 86.
[88] Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, (New York: Viking Press), 1978, 311.

not something determined solely by the individual. Much like the creation of a garment, Selfhood was established through a series of negotiations. Other people, institutions, beliefs, and material goods all contributed to the definition and formulation of who a person was, and how that person identified him or herself. The Self was not created in a vacuum, then as now. Dress was just one of a series of negotiations which helped to bring an individual identity into focus.

That look could be used to define the Self in relation to others, or to place someone outside the pale. Clothing was frequently used to identify someone as an outsider, as recorded in Sumptuary Laws and even in popular literature. Whether a person from another town, another nation-state, or another faith; exactly who the other was depended upon who was doing the observing, and when. Castiglione, in the Book of the Courtier states, "the French are sometimes in being over-ample, and the Germans in being over-scanty—but be as the one and the other style can be when corrected and given better form by the Italians."[89] Castiglione's German contemporary Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) feared that southern luxuries would soften the Germanic peoples into "a sort of distinguished slavery"[90], giving counterpoint to how the other was formulated.

Clothing played a major role in defining one's self, so there is no surprise that it also was used to define the Other as well. It could be seen in the subtle cuts of garments that changed from town to town, or region to region. Specific styles of clothing were also used in the Arts to define otherness. And perhaps it was easier to define for artists like Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), as visual conventions are much easier to convey. When Dürer depicted an Irish Gallowglass and his Kerns (see figure 2), it was clear to a German audience that these men were "not from around here". Strange haircuts, bare feet, and unusual clothing were easy to pick out as something "Other".

---

[89] Castiglione, *Book of the Courtier*, 121.
[90] Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 131.

Figure 5: *Irish Soldiers and Peasants*, Albrecht Dürer, 1521, Berlin Kupferstichkabinett.

Another common artistic convention of the day involved the use of earrings and archaic clothing styles in Italian art to identify someone as Jewish. The artist Ambrogio Lorenzetti (mid-fourteenth century) used earrings to denote the Jewish-ness of the Virgin, setting her apart from Christian women, and emphasizing her otherness. "Lorenzetti's ear-rings took Mary out of the Christian society of the northern Italian city, where they seem to have been rarely worn"[91] By the mid-fifteenth century, particularly in Italy, it was difficult to discern who was "Italian" and who was "Jewish".

> They spoke the same language, lived in similar houses, and dressed with an eye to the same fashions. Jews who settled in Italy from German cities were indeed shocked by the extent of assimilation among their Italian co-religion-ists, who thought nothing of buying their wine from "the uncircum-cised". Nor can the participants in

---

[91] Diane Owen Hughes, "Distinguishing Signs: Ear-Rings, Jews and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City", *Past & Present*, (Aug. 1986), 10.

marriage scenes that illuminate numerous fifteenth-century Jewish manuscripts be identified as Jew-ish by their costume.[92]

This was particularly disturbing for Franciscan friars of the day, who began in their sermons to push for a re-emergence of sumptuary legislation forcing Jewish women and girls over the age of ten to wear "rings hanging from both ears, and fixed in those ears, which should be and remain uncovered and visible to all."[93] Jewish men and boys over the age of twelve were to wear a saffron colored cloth symbol to mark them as other. This was extremely unpopular within the Jewish community, who petitioned the Pope, who finally permitted Jewish women to stop forcibly wearing earrings in 1497.

Clothing was also used to establish who belonged in a given place. Outside the nobility, it was easy to recognize an outsider based upon what they wore. A certain civic pride of place, particularly among the middle and lower classes grouped them together in appearance and clothing choices. Courtiers and nobles might fly after the latest fashions from other lands, but for common folk, non-local dress immediately marked you as an outsider.

 Perhaps more than any other part of Europe, Spain struggled with its identity of self through garments. Moorish and Moorish inspired garments were considered fashionable well into the sixteenth century, among all social classes. Nobles often dressed in Moorish fashion for comfort, while commoners and peasants did so for utility's sake. Turbans were common, and one historian describes an experience of Charles V as he rode to Valladolid.   "He was met in the road by the old Marquis of Villena, wearing a *toque* like the Saracens' and resembling one of the Wise Men of the East."[94] It was described as being common among country folk, particularly of the older

---

[92] Hughes, "Distinguishing Signs", 16.
[93] *Ibid,* 22.
[94] Ruth Anderson, *Hispanic Costume, 1480-1530*, (New York: Hispanic Society of New York), 1979, 44.

generations, "who hated giving up their old customs."[95] Princess Juana of Castile (1479-1555) was

wed to Archduke Phillip the Fair (1478-1506) in 1496. The pair was summoned to Spain following

the death of Prince Miguel, finally arriving in 1502. During this trip, two different occasions are

described in which the Hapsburg Duke dressed in Moorish fashion, along with his in-laws. The first

was on June twenty-fourth in Toledo. Phillip was dressed in a Moorish tunic covered with Morisco

embroidery, and a long cloak, most likely a burnoose (*albornoz* in Spanish –a kind of North African

cloak*),* and a turban. A second occasion describes him wearing Moorish clothing to watch a

bullfight and tilting with reed spears (a tournament in the Moorish tradition)[96].

As was mentioned in the opening quote by Castiglione, courtiers were dressing in the

Turkish fashion. This trend may be observed by looking at portraiture of such august personages as

Eleanor of Toledo and Henry VIII of England. Agnolo Bronzino painted Eleanor along with her

son Francesco in 1549 (figure 3). She wears an exquisite mulberry silk satin *zimarra* (Italian overcoat)

over a mulberry velvet gown. The *zimarra* is bordered with "Arabesque"[97] embroidery, and has frog

closures of silk braid, echoing the style worn by Ottoman women. Roberta Orsi Landini, author of

Moda a Firenze, 1540-1580, states that the *zimarra* is in the Hungarian style[98], but when compared to

another garment worn by Henry VIII, which is referred to as a Turkey (Turkish) Gown[99] (figure 4).

While Henry VIII's gown is certainly more in the English style, it still features the strong borders of

"Arabesque" embroidery and a closure made to look like a frog, but instead of a cloth knot, each is

buttoned with a table-faceted stone setting. Dr. Maria Hayward describes one as "a Turquey gowne

of Crimsen veluett of a newe making embraudered with Venice golde and silver like vnto Clowdes

---

[95] Anderson, *Hispanic Costume*, 44.
[96] *Ibid*, 15-16.
[97] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, (Leeds: Maney Publishing), 2007, 17.
[98] Roberta Orsi Landini, *Moda a Firenze, 1540-1580: Lo Stile di Eleonora di Toledo e la sua Influenza*, (Florence: Pagliai Polistampa), 2005, 59.
[99] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 17.

lined with Crimsen Taphata faced with Crimsen satten".[100] She goes on to cite Cawarden's store of

revels in the following:

> VIIJ Cootes for Turkes of Clothe of golde with works Videlicet purple blacke and
> grene garded vpon paliwise with <blewe> Sarcennet longe sleues of clothe of golde
> and blewe satten thunder sleues of red & white/ Sarcennet Lozengewise viiij hedde
> peces to the same Turkes fashion blewe red and yellowe Sarcennette.[101]

The effect which the Ottoman court of Suleiman had on European courts is unmistakable.   Both

gowns depicted in the portraits above show a marked resemblance to a Turkish caftan, the principle

garment of the Turkish courts. The pass-through sleeves on Henry VIII's gown in particular, show

an Ottoman influence, particularly when compared with the garment in figure 5. Looking carefully

at the painting of Henry VIII, the tight hanging sleeves of his coat may be discerned. The sleeve

may be seen most clearly under his left arm, bent at the elbow, holding a rod. The attraction of the

Other is clearly identifiable in these portraits, and in the descriptions left to us by Castiglione and his

contemporaries. While on the one hand, the European powers considered themselves to be near

war with the Ottomans, the exoticism of their clothing was irresistible to those who could afford it.

Nationalist narratives were both strengthened and weakened by concepts of dress. Clothing on the

streets and in the courts can give the historian windows into minds of the people.

---

[100] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 17.
[101] *Ibid,* 17.

Figure 6: *Eleanor of Toledo and her son Francesco,* **Bronzino, 1549, Pisa, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Reale, Landini and Niccoli, p. 59.**
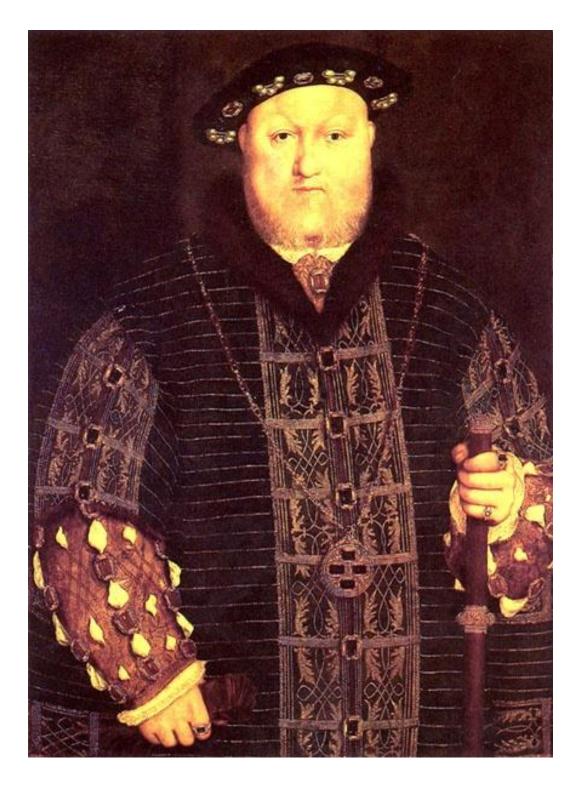
Figure 7: Henry VIII wearing Turkey Gown, 1542, National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 163), Hayward, *Dress* **p. 15.**

Figure 8: Ottoman Child's Caftan with detachable pass-through sleeves, second quarter of the sixteenth century, Topkapi Museum, Itanbul.

Memory and Time

"Clothing is a worn world: a world of social relations put upon the wearer's body. 'I will deeply put the fashion on, /And weare it in my heart," says Hal. Sorrow is a fashion not because it is changeable but because fashion fashions, because what can be worn can be worn deeply. That the materials we wear work as inscriptions upon us is an insight more familiar to pre- or proto-capitalist societies than to fully capitalist ones.... Clothing (by which we understand all that is worn whether shoes or doublet or armor or ring) reminds. It can do so oppressively, of course. Why for instance, should women alone have to recall the dead? But, whether oppressively or not, memory is materialized. Both ring and hair necklace are material reminders, working even when what is recalled is absent or dead. And if they remind others, they also remind the wearers themselves. This is the significance of Hal's "put[ting] on" of sorrow: sorrow will permeate him only if it acts with as much force as mourning clothes.[102] –Ann Rosalind Jones, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*

While it may act as a window into the minds of humanity, clothing also has the inescapable stamp of memory and time. A change of outfits can place the wearer along the perceived historical continuum more quickly than perhaps any other visual or descriptive device. When one views an individual in a garment with the hoary bouquet of another era, it immediately places them into a particular context for the modern viewer. This concern with the passage of time and the changing of fashions was a preoccupation of the sixteenth century, just as today. Memory plays a huge role in the first portion of Schwarz' *Klaidungsbüchlein*. All of the images prior to February 20, 1520 were painted from memory, as Schwarz could best recall them. The first twenty-nine images from the *Klaidungsbüchlein* are from Schwarz' memories of himself, and of his parents; this fact alone lends itself to the theory that Schwarz' little book is a work of renaissance self-fashioning.

Matthäus Schwartz opens his book with a discussion he had enjoyed in the past with "the old folk", the manner of their attire, and how it has changed. This preoccupation and desire to record one's self in time is revolutionary. We are no longer in the purely medieval world, but in a

---

[102]Ann Rosalind Jones, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 3.

liminal, transitional place. Schwartz' world is not yet wholly modern, but the ideas he is grasping to understand and record are not the ideas of a medieval person. Schwartz was, of course, not the only person struggling with these issues of impermanence and change. Artists of the day were struggling to represent similar ideas. No longer were saints or Biblical scenes placed in the timeless robes of medieval art, but in the height of the sixteenth century mode. The use of clothing to place a scene within a temporal context was becoming more and more common.

An example of this can be drawn from *Judith Dining with Holofernes* painted in 1531 by Lucas Cranach the Elder. Holofernes is depicted as a general of the Holy Roman Empire in a coat of red velvet, cloth of gold, and a lining of the finest sable. On his head is a coif and hat of crimson, slashed and ornamented with feathers and passamenterie. Judith and her maid are dressed as high born ladies of Saxony; Judith wearing a gown of cloth of gold, banded with black velvet, her hair a mass of pearled braids. Her maid wears a slightly more demure gown of crimson wool with a crisp linen apron to denote her status as a serving girl. Holofernes' men are no longer simply the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, but *Landsknecte*; the German and Swiss mercenary soldiers campaigning all across Europe, clearly identified by their slashed woolen garments. The backdrop of the painting is not an idyllic, Biblical countryside, but a war camp below a fortified German town. Clothing was the key which opened a door for a sixteenth century viewer. By witnessing a Biblical event in a contemporary setting, a new understanding of the story was revealed. Alongside this, clothing marks the fusion of historic time with biblical time by the artist. As the wars of religion began to rage across continental Europe, the fashion choices of Schwartz and his contemporaries would shift and change, as shown in his *Klaidungsbüchlein*. Garments would be read by the viewer a person's religious affiliation, their wealth, status or social standing.

Another book of clothes, which would be published a few years after Schwartz' death was the *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* by Cesare Vecellio. Vecellio's work was as preoccupied with temporality and fashion as Schwartz'. The opening words in his letter of dedication are as follows:

Magnificence Reflected

"As I was considering what qualities would bring praise and appeal to this work of mine about the clothing of diverse nations, ancient as well as modern, which I have assembled and explained with such great effort, I selected three criteria as the most important: antiquity, variety, and richness. Any one of these by itself can arouse curiosity in the hearts of men, but even more when they are joined together." (Rosenthal and Jones 2008)

Matthäus Schwarz and Henry Tudor were living contemporaries. Henry VIII was born on June 28, 1491 and died on January 28, 1547. Matthäus Schwarz was born on February 20, 1497 and died in 1574. When engaging these two contemporaries, a new way of seeing each individual begins to emerge. Henry VIII's magnificence may be seen as reflecting back upon the monarch by courtiers and the gifts which he as passed on to them. Matthäus' own magnificence is in turn reflected by his image on paper. In almost every image we see of Schwarz, in his *Klaidungsbüchlein*, he is represented alone, but in a particular milieu which helps to define his tale. These images create a unique hybrid state, combining the art of limning a manuscript with the growing renaissance art of portraiture, so strongly influenced by Albrecht Durer, and his contemporaries. The simple beauty of these images reminds the viewer over and over that each page of the work was meticulously hand painted. In the dawning age of the printed book, the extravagance of commissioning a tiny, hand painted manuscript of his clothing to "see what would come of it"[103] communicates to the viewer a sense of Schwarz' feelings of personal worth.

---

[103] Mentges, 382.

These limning/portraits which make up the *Klaidungsbüchlein* were a means for Schwarz to look upon in reflection of his own magnificence, in much the same way that Henry VIII of England might have gazed in satisfaction upon his court, firm in the knowledge that it was by his magnificence that his court was upraised. Many of the images are copied from earlier images, with new and appropriated garments added over a pre-existing figure[104]. Even though Schwarz knew the original illustrator, Narziss Renner personally, the figure of Schwarz himself is much less important than the garments depicted therein. The fluidity of his personal features lie in stark contrast to the intense detail paid to the garments that ultimately define the identity of the sitter.

In a lovely handwritten script, Schwarz makes commentary on who, what, where, and when he was, even going so far as to cross out and make corrections from time to time. His own bodily awareness is clouded, though, by the remembrance of his clothes. The man himself is a pale shade rendered as a mere hanger for the garments which defined his sense of self. While Renner and his contemporaries might miss the specifics in regards to their sitters, the attention paid to the garments of their patrons was just the opposite.

> "In contrast, they paid enormous attention to costume, whose ornate splendour was lovingly reproduced, causing Christopher Breward to conclude that the aesthetics of fashion in those days were primarily intended for pictorial effect. After all, it was in paintings that the finely woven patterns of damasks and silks developed their full aesthetic impact. Dress thus served as an essential means of social identification and consequently also played a central role in the cultural construction of masculinity." (Mentges 2003)

Schwarz was a man, living in a man's world. This too becomes painfully apparent when viewing his *Klaidungsbüchlein*.

Women may be mentioned periodically in his meticulous notations, but they are seldom depicted in the work. Aside from images of Schwarz' mother and sister from his early childhood, women are never depicted in the work again. Unless other figures are absolutely necessary to

---

[104] Mentges, 386.

Schwarz' narrative, he is depicted alone; even at his own wedding. He is depicted once with his employer, Jacob Fugger. Schwarz is also depicted with his children and with his page as he prepares for battle, but these figures always reflect somehow on the magnificence of Schwarz. Fugger is his link to a greater, wealthier world. Schwarz' children appear as a sort of worldly possession, gathered around their father's sick bed during an outbreak of influenza in Augsburg (Mentges 2003). These surely are a means to further his own magnificence; these were his link to the future. Schwarz would go on to encourage his son Veit Konrad to commission his own little book of clothes. Neither Schwarz nor his son ever depicted his wife in their respective books.

Perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of Schwarz *Klaidungsbüchlein* is its depiction of a sort of intangible, but visually manifest everyday life. The informal quality of these half-portrait/half-illuminated images presents before the viewer random glimpses into sixteenth century mundanity. Even as they reflect the magnificence of the patron, they open windows to a masculine world not often glimpsed in formal portraiture. Particularly during Schwarz' youth, the book presents images of the patron in various states of undress while fencing, practicing or competing in archery, while wearing the garments of a student or traveler, or even posing nude to capture the look of his own body as he began to gain weight in his thirties. These are images rarely captured in more formal portraiture, where a gentleman would almost always be depicted in his finest clothing. With only a few exceptions, men were depicted wearing a doublet, jerkin, gown, and hat. This is the case in many of Schwarz' pages as well, but not in all of them. Several depict him wearing a more relaxed form of partial dress, particularly without a gown or cloak. These less formal depictions are as important as the works of Pieter Brueghel the Elder and his contemporaries in their depiction of peasants in realizing a more complete view of the sixteenth century. The formal dress depicted in portraiture was only a part of the picture in regards to what people wore on a day to day basis.

It might seem strange to think of informal paintings of a man conducting himself at fencing or archery as a representation of magnificence, but these images also represent a man with time on his side. Schwarz was firmly established in the Fugger bookkeeping firm by the time he was nineteen. In his twenties he depicts himself taking up fencing, archery, hunting, and other pursuits of the gentry and nobility. These hobbies presented well-heeled youth with dress opportunities, and means of gathering together in a particular social milieu where connections and contacts could be made, as they were seeing, and being seen. Free time and the money to capitalize on it were other forms of magnificence.

This free time and money was even more apparent in the sartorial world of Henry VIII. As a king, it was necessary to emphasize his authority through his clothing. By appearing publically in dramatic displays of rich fabrics, jewels, and furs his power would symbolically emanate from his dress. In 1520, Tudor is described as dressing as Hercules when he met Francis I of France in Guisnes[105]. This allusion to a classical demi-god was no accident. Henry VIII was relying on this image to bolster his image with the French king, and his subjects. A larger than life figure, the adventures of Hercules would have been known to the French court, and Tudor played on this knowledge with his revelry costume. "Why was clothing such a good vehicle for the expression of royal magnificence? In great part, it was the rarity of these expensive and sumptuous garments"[106]. Only a handful of the highest ranking nobles in the country could hope to afford to compete with Tudor in sartorial magnificence. One problem would have been the king's reaction to it; likely they would have quickly become suspect of treason, as in the fate of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey[107]. The other was the issue of maintaining such a large expenditure over an extended period of time.

---

[105] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 10.
[106] *Ibid*, 10.
[107] Surrey was a high ranking noble, with a refined and expensive sense of public display. He was put to death by Tudor on January 19, 1547, and was deeply in debt at the time, due to his constant

When meeting other royalty, it was important for Tudor to maintain appearances while being careful not to outshine his royal contemporaries. To do so could quickly sour relations between monarchs. During meetings with Francis I of France, Emperor Maximilian I, and lather with Carlos V, Tudor was careful to maintain a sense of enriched equality, often wearing garments which matched in color, type of cloth, and in embellishment. It was important to show onlookers that he was a king, but not to create an international incident by insulting the other monarch.

Growing Magnificence: Tudor and Schwarz as Children

> "In the midst stood Prince Henry, now nine years old, and having already something of royalty in his demeanour in which there was a certain dignity combined with a singular courtesy."[108] –Desiderius Erasmus, 1499

Record of both Henry VIII's and Matthäus Schwarz's childhood wardrobes exist. These make an interesting contrast in what was emphasized during the recollection of childhood. A drawing of the young Henry Tudor exists in the collection of the Bibliothèque de Méjanes in Aix-en-Provence, France. It depicts a chubby boy in typical clothes of the era, a square neck, probably smocked shirt, with a deeply square necked doublet. Over this is a gown or coat, tied in front. The young prince wears a coif on his head, tied below his chin. He also wears a bonnet with ostrich plumes overall. His hair is cut in an even fringe beneath his coif. The image is undated, but it appears to depict the prince at around the age of three or four. Because of the rough nature of the sketch, no details about the textiles themselves can be discerned. In an image from 1500, at about the same age as the portrait drawing of Henry VIII, Matthäus Schwarz has himself depicted in a

---

overspending. He was incidentally Henry VIII's last public execution prior to the king's death on January 28, 1547.

[108] Hayward, *Dress*, 90.

similar outfit to Tudor's.   His gown or coat appears to be a scarlet red, with a white, square necked jerkin over the top. His shirt is visible at the neckline, of the little gown, and he wears a black belt and small girdle purse. He is aged three years and six months. Schwarz is abed with a fever, most likely chicken pox[109]. Schwarz's toy ball, and little men on horseback are on a low trestle table beside his bed. His sister sits and fans him, in an attempt to keep him comfortable.

It is interesting to note how similar the garments are for these two boys. While Tudor grew up in England, and Schwarz in Augsburg, one a prince, and one firmly middle class, the cut of their garments are quite similar. The deep square neckline is evident on both garments. Tudor's sleeves appear to be a bit more sumptuous, in a leg o'mutton style, while Schwarz's sleeves are less full, but otherwise, the cut is remarkably similar.

---

[109] On page 116 of *Un Banquier Mis a Nu*, Philippe Braunstein states that the manuscript in Paris does not mention chicken pox, that this information is found in a copy of the manuscript in Brunswick, and that in addition to chicken pox, Syphilis ("une éruption de mal français") was sweeping through Augsburg at this time.

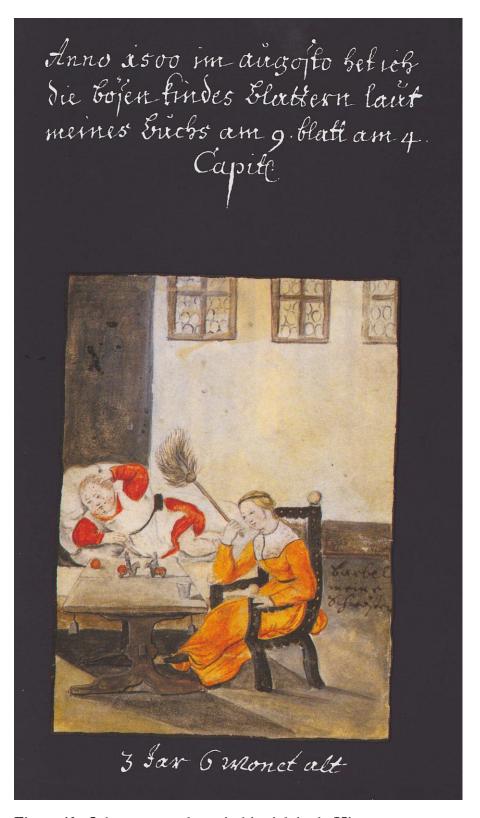**Figure 9: Henry VIII, unknown artist, Bibliothèque de Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence, Hayward,** *Dress***, 89.**

Figure 10: Schwarz, age three, in his sick bed. His garments are remarkably similar to those of Henry VIII at around the same age, Braunstein, p. 9.

Early childhood accounts of Tudor and Schwarz vary somewhat, as might be expected. Our knowledge of Henry Tudor's childhood comes from the words and accounts of others, while our knowledge of Schwarz comes from the way he presents himself in the *Klaidungsbuchlein*. Tudor's childhood was much more public, seeking to establish the boy as second prince of the Tudor line. Henry VII bought several horses for "my lord Harry" in 1494; Tudor would have been two and a half at the time. By the time he was three years old Tudor was proclaimed Duke of York in a direct attempt to discredit the claim Perkin Warbeck[110] laid to the title. On the same day, he was also made a Knight of the Bath. Loade's *Chronicles* states:

> "At about thre in the afternoon the duke of York, called Lord Henry, the king's second son, came through the city. A child of about four years of age, he sat on a courser and rode to Westminster to the king with a goodly company."[111]

The young prince was given all of the livery for his station as duke and as a knight. In 1495, the prince is honored again, this time being made a Knight of the Garter. His father supplied a tailor with silks to make his robes. He was also given a gown of black camlet lined with expensive imported lamb skin, a black satin gown, and a scarlet petticoat. In a number of the accounts from the Great Wardrobe, the actual cost of the young prince's garments is not recorded. By looking at the descriptions, however, we can note that his garments were made of expensive fabrics, but not overly so. Subtle descriptions also show that Henry's clothing was fine, but a little less so than his older brother Prince Arthur, who was in line for the throne. "Like his elder brother's Garter livery for 1499, his consisted of a blue cloth gown and a matching hood, but Henry's only has 160 garters"[112].

---

[110] Perkin Warbeck was a pretender to the English throne who claimed to be Richard of Shrewsbury, one of the "princes in the tower".

[111] Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, 89.

[112] *Ibid*, 90.

The young Matthäus Schwarz wasn't a prince, but he was very concerned with his appearance, even at a young age. At the age of five years and four months, in the year 1502, Schwarz remembers himself in a black schoolboy's coat, striped hosen, and a red book bag, as he practices his letters. In1504, at the age of seven years and two months, he has himself depicted in the livery of Kunz von der Rosen, the fool of Emperor Maximilian. The image makes it clear before ever reading the text; Schwarz was quite unhappy in his job as page to von der Rosen. The saucy boy sticks his tongue out behind the back of his liege. In the text Schwarz complains about having to constantly follow him, "at all times" during the three weeks he served him[113]. Perhaps because Schwarz's *Klaidungsbüchlein* is a more private memoir, much of his character and exuberance comes through in the image and description. It is not difficult to imagine the naughty youth who would at age fourteen years and two months, throw his school books into the street and stomp on them[114].

Far less of Tudor's personality and character are vividly expressed in the way of Schwarz's. One must read between the lines of the entries from Tudor's youth to find something of the person he was. Tudor's love of sport begins to become apparent in 1505, when a warrant was sent out to obtain a black satin arming doublet. Arming doublets were special quilted coats to be worn under armor, in this instance, most likely for Tudor to take part in a tournament. A year later the accounts of his grandmother, Margaret Beaufort list a horse, saddle and harness. "She bought him another saddle for his first public appearance jousting in June 1507"[115]. While his grandmother was lavishing him with gifts, her son, King Henry VII was more concerned with being frugal, a trait his son Henry VIII would not share. A number of warrants issued by Henry VII detail garments which were repaired or reworked instead of being replaced. This trend, while not entirely displaced, was far less common in the Wardrobe of Henry VIII.

---

[113] Braunstein, 116.
[114] *Ibid.*, 17.
[115] Hayward, *Dress*, 91.

The Cult of Youth:
Clothing and Ageism in the Sixteenth Century

> Indeed, examined closely, it becomes apparent that Matthäus Schwarz's album is rather more than mere self-fashioning. The book captures his appearance from teenage to old age—the final image leading him to reflect sardonically on how different life seemed now from the years in his prime, when he dressed in red; not wanting to appear mutton dressed as lamb, in age he wore black. Just as today, an interest in fashion was mostly associated with youth. As a young king, Henry VIII, for example, pioneered the renaissance vogue for mono-coloured splendor, throwing a lavish party with 24 young men fitted out, in the German style, in "yellow satin, hosen, shoes girdles and bonettes with yellow feathers."[116]—Ulinka Rublack, 2011

In the sixteenth century as now, youth and fashion went hand in hand. In the early sixteenth century, both Henry VIII and Matthäus Schwarz were young men, bent on dressing their best for every occasion. As Rublack states in the quotation above, modern people generally associate youth with fashion. This is not a new concept, and it certainly held true in the early sixteenth century. As we continue to explore the fashion lives of Henry VIII and Matthäus Schwarz, a pattern emerges that depicts the garments of youth, adulthood, and old age. These two exemplars will not enter these stages at the same time; how could they? One is a king, and one is a bookkeeper. This does not change the fact that there was a culturally appropriate mode of dress for men of varying ages and responsibilities during this era.

Beyond wearing "age appropriate" clothing, the make-up of a sixteenth century man's wardrobe changed as he aged based upon his activities as well. Henry VIII had special clothing set aside for tilting, the joust, and other tournament based activities. Special garments were required to wear underneath armor, both for protection from the chafing metal, and to act as an armature of sorts to attach the pieces of steel plate to. These garments had to be fitted individually to insure that the armor functioned properly. Henry VIII also had special garments for hunting and stalking game. These garments would have provided warmth or breathability, depending on the season. Hunting

---

[116] Rublack, *Cambridge Alumni Magazine*, 27.

clothes also allowed for maneuverability for hunting on horseback and for the occasions when the chases slowed and dismount was required. Garments for tennis were also listed among Henry's possessions early in his reign. All of the required accessories were listed as well, including various and sundry tack for horses, hawking gloves, dog collars, and leashes. "By 1547 these types of dress had almost disappeared from the king's wardrobe because the king's sporting activities were limited to very sedate forms of hunting."[117] We see a definite shift in the sorts of garments worn by both Henry VIII and Matthäus Schwarz as the two grow older. Schwarz's clothes become more and more understated, both in style and in color. By 1535 he is wearing black clothing with only small dashes of color. The last depiction of red in his garments is in 1542. Schwarz is depicted wearing only monochromatic shades of black, gray, and brown in 1547 and after; as befitting a man of his age and station during this period. Maria Hayward calls attention to the portraiture of the aging Henry VIII in her work, *Rich Apparel*[118]. Hayward defines seven stages of portraiture for Tudor, each depicting changes in the king's physical appearance, and his dress.[119] In his final portrait, painted in 1542, Henry VIII wears a "turkey goune" or cassock, which is closed in front to cover his great bulk, and he holds a staff, which was necessary by that time to allow the king to walk. There is a noticeable shift in the mood of the portrait, and in the style of dress. Gone is the flamboyant, Almain-inspired crimson and gold embroidered affair; it has been replaced with a somber gown. The garment is still heavily embellished with embroidery, but in a far more understated way, more suitable to a man of Henry's age.

Age played a major role in the way a sixteenth century person was expected to dress, just as it does today. Even kings were bent to the will of time; perhaps even more than a normal man because of the need to appear wise and strong. To present one's self as a boy would undermine a

---

[117] Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII", *Clothing Culture 1350-1650* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 168-9.
[118] Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, 155.
[119] *Ibid*, p. 155.

king's power. Similarly, for Schwarz, to remain too long a bachelor, wearing the costume of youth

would have eventually led his peers to talk. Rumors of homosexuality or immaturity would force the

most free-spirited of men into marriage. At the age of 38, Schwarz was still unmarried, and pushing

the boundaries of accepted youthful play[120].

A Final Fitting:
Fashion in the Psychic Landscape

> "Nonetheless it is too simplistic to treat fashion, as the French sociologist
> Gilles Lipovetsky does, as an engine of Western modernity. In his view, fashion
> exploded tradition and encouraged self-determination, individual dignity and
> opinion-making. Fashion did indeed play this role to some extent in the 16th century,
> but not in uniform ways and directions, let alone just in the West. Clothes were
> already forming an important part of what we can call people's 'psychic landscapes'.
> Wardrobes were already storehouses of fantasies and insecurity, as well as
> accommodations to expectations of what a person ought to look and be like."[121]
> —Ulinka Rublack, "Maintaining a Sense of Proportion", *Cambridge Alumni Magazine*

Through the use of visual and sartorial records left behind by Schwarz and Tudor, an

understanding of their own "psychic landscapes" can be developed. Tudor's Great Wardrobe leaves

details for the massive household which he dressed yearly. Wives, children, servants and friends,

Henry VIII spent lavishly on dress. He was creating his own psychic landscape upon the backs of

those who surrounded him. Most everyone he saw or dealt with on a daily basis were clothed from

his stores or from gifts given by him. Servants and household staff in particular were dressed

according to the king's wishes. Henry could create a visual/sartorial microcosm with those around

him in a public space. He is looking at himself, as worn by another. Tudor's identity as a public

figure was dependent upon his court to cooperate with and create his majesty. In much the same

way, Schwarz was using his *Klaidungsbüchlein* to create his identity by reflecting upon his image on the

page. His world was a private one, contained within his mind, and upon the pages of his little book.

---

[120] Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 57.

[121] Rublack, *Cambridge Alumni Magazine*, 26.

This expression of the public versus the private is one of the major separating factors of Schwarz and Tudor. Both were inordinately concerned with creating his own world; Tudor's may have been on a grander scale in terms of sheer wealth and quantity, but ultimately Schwarz's private musings set him on an equal footing in regards to what we as historians are able to know about these contemporaries and their sartorial adventures.

The role of the renaissance imagination and the popular dress of the period were not as separated as we have in the modern period. Dress played a greater role in symbolizing who a person was, and what his or her role in life might be. Public performance was a part of life during this period, and clothing maintained an essential role in these performances, and in defining the psychic landscape of the observers and participants. Schwarz wore his public clothing in order to see and be seen at particular public events, just as Henry VIII did for his court (and conversely, his court did for him). Anne Hollander, author of the groundbreaking art historical work, *Seeing Through Clothes*, addresses the influence of the merging of renaissance public and private spaces in the psychic landscape in the following quote:

> "It is an influence on perception, one that may have some similarity to the way garments worn at public theatrical events in the Renaissance—civic processions, essentially, which marked festivals year after year in the streets and squares of European towns—were perceived. Such Renaissance street festivals were in fact moving pictures in which both spectators and performers saw themselves sharing, both dressed to see and be seen, two groups of ordinary people in festive clothes made more extraordinary by ceremonial circumstances…. To make a show with clothes, without the demands of song or dance or spoken text, is a way of permitting ordinary citizens to be spectacular performers without any talent whatsoever. Physical beauty is not necessary, either. A simple public procession of specially dressed-up ordinary people is one of the oldest kinds of shows in the world; it has probably continued to exist because it never fails to satisfy both those who watch and those who walk."[122]

Hollander confines this to processions in her work, but it can be applied more broadly to the life of a courtier of the day; or an accountant, in the case of Schwarz. These opportunities to see and be

---

[122] Hollander, Anne, *Seeing Through Clothes*, 240.

seen weren't limited to festival days. The weddings, funerals, and public gatherings which Schwarz describes in the *Klaidungsbüchlein* are equally suited to this description. Courtiers to Henry VIII also engaged, at times, almost daily in a sort of dance of dress, using appropriate clothing to reflect the king's magnificence back upon him like living mirrors.

Public events like weddings and court gatherings gave people with the money to indulge in it, the opportunity to create lavish displays of magnificence. As noted in the Groebner quote above, all the employees of the Fugger firm were given matching outfits to wear to the wedding of their boss Anton Fugger[123]. In similar fashion, when Henry VIII travelled to France to meet with Francois I at the "Field of Cloth of Gold" he spent more than £10,000 on cloth alone[124]. These great expenditures were on the one hand expected for a king. Magnificence was his calling card. For a man of Schwarz's social standing, less magnificence was allowable, but he still had to keep up appearances in order to maintain his position at the Fugger Firm. If he wished to move up in the company, and in society, this social movement required that he visually fit the role he aspired to.

Matthäus Schwarz was careful not to include his carnival dress in the *Klaidungsbüchlein*[125]. He did this in order to capture a true sense of his personhood without it being somehow sullied with the imaginative. It can be argued, however that imagination still played a major role in his little book of clothes, just as it did for the fashion choices of men across the sixteenth century. All of the clothing prior to February 20, 1520 are pulled from Schwarz's memory. It is impossible that imagination could be completely removed from the process of remembering his old clothes, particularly those from his youth, and infancy. When Schwarz appears dressed in a blue and yellow French riding livery in Milan, or when Henry VIII and his band of companions appear dressed as Germans in yellow, we have a deeper sense of the renaissance imagination at work. Even more so, when Henry

---

[123] Groebner, "Inside Out", 109-110.
[124] Hayward, "Fashion, Finance, Foreign Politics and the Wardrobe of Henry VIII", 171.
[125] Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 37.

VIII appears in a costume dressed as Hercules he is communicating this sense of fantasy with his clothing. There was a kind of mental alchemy at work as Tudor equated himself with a figure from myth. The figure of Hercules represented things to the renaissance imagination, and Henry VIII was actively playing on that in his choice of representation. Tudor's own larger than life stature played into bringing this mythological icon to life. At the same time, the figure of Hercules breathed a sense of otherworldly magnificence into Tudor's reign as king. The cultural influences of the day are made manifest in clothing choices. Perceptions of the self, or how one wished to be perceived were hung in layers upon the body, creating a sort of landscape in which the real and the imagined conjoin to create an identity worthy of a king, or even of an up and coming banker.

Beyond the curious admixture of mythological fantasy and garments, one must consider the place of the other in the psychic landscape of the sixteenth century. Perhaps the most vaunted representation of the sixteenth century other was Süleyman Muhteşem, better known as Suleiman the Magnificent. Suleiman rose to power in 1520, the same year that Schwarz began his *Klaidungsbüchlein*. He would reign until 1566, well beyond the end of the reign of Henry VIII, and after the last image was placed in Schwarz's *Klaidungsbüchlein* as well. The push by the Ottoman Turks into Eastern Europe had begun with his great-grandfather, Mehmet the II, but Belgrade had always eluded capture. Suleiman was determined to finish what his predecessor had started. Even as "The Great Turk" stood in opposition to European Christendom, a curious interchange was taking place. European nobles were seen wearing Turkish inspired clothing and embroidery. As mentioned earlier, "Turkey Gounes" are listed among Henry VIII's possessions in his Great Wardrobe, and he wears one in his iconic 1542 portrait (figure 5).

Clothing is inseparable from the created identity in the modern era, just as it was in the sixteenth century. It was a powerful tool used for personal gain, or to plot men's downfalls. For those who had the eye for it, a good sense of fashion could mean a total shift of fortunes. As we

64

saw with Matthäus Schwarz, our intrepid banker, his calculated use of clothing propelled him into

the nobility, and our king, Henry VIII utilized clothing to project the image of "Bluff King Hal".

Working within the confines of their world, these men were able to use clothing to define

themselves. It cannot be said that this was an independent creation, but it is creation nonetheless.

By recognizing the performative nature of dress, both men were able to utilize garments to their

utmost advantage while taking part in both calculated and spontaneous public events.

It is the public nature of dress which gives it its power. There is an unspoken

communication taking place; words are unnecessary, the garment speaks and the eyes hear. No one

in the sixteenth century would mistake Matthäus Schwarz, the Augsburg bookkeeper, for an English

king. Likewise, it would be impossible to confuse Henry VIII for a German banker. Each of these

men is walking along a continuum of power, as expressed in the sumptuary laws of the day. As men

of Henry's rank and power sought to limit the grandeur of those beneath them, men like Matthäus

were using sartorial display as a means to gain access to higher circles of privilege.

The exploration of garments as a tool of historic study delves into the history of commerce,

of gender and sexuality, of ideas, and the history of art, as well. It is a study of things; observing

how possessions can take on a life of their own, and in that life, drive the lives of others.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braunstein, Philippe. *Un Banquier Mis A Nu: Autobiographie de Matthaus Schwarz Bourgeois d'Augsbourg (facsimile).* Paris: Gallimard, 1992.

Brown, Rawdon. *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII: Selections of Despatches Written by the Venetian Ambassador, Sebastian Guistinian, and Addressed to the Signory of Venice, January 12, 1515 to July 26, 1519.* Cornhill: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1970.

Castiglione, Baldesar, and Charles S. (translator) Singleton. *The Book of the Courtier.* New York: Anchor Books, 1959.

Finlay, Robert. "Weaving the Rainbow: Visions of Color in World History." *Journal of World History*, 2007: 383-431.

Groebner, Valentin. "Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of." *Representations*, 1999: 100-121.

Hayward, Maria. "Crimson, Scarlet, Murrey, and Carnation: Red at the Court of Henry VIII." *Textile History*, 2007: 135-150.

—. *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII.* Leeds: Maney Publishing, 2007.

—. *Rich Apparel: Clothing and the Law in Henry VIII's England.* Surrey: Ashgate, 2009.

Hayward, Maria. "'The Sign of Some Degree'?: The Financial, Social, and Sartorial Significance of Male Headwear at the Courts of Henry VIII and Edward VI." *Costume*, 2002: 1-17.

Hollander, Anne. *Seeing Through Clothes.* New York: Viking Press, 1978.

Hooper, Wilfrid. "The Tudor Sumptuary Laws." *The English Historical Review*, 1915: 433-449.

Hughes, Diane Owen. "Distinguishing Signs: Ear-Rings, Jews and Franciscan Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance City." *Past & Present*, 1986: 3-59.

Johnson, Caroline. *The King's Servant's: Men's Dress at the Accession of Henry VIII.* Surrey: Fat Goose Press, 2009.

Jones, Ann Rosalind, and Peter Stallybrass. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Landini, Roberta Orsini, and Bruna Niccoli. *Moda a Firenze, 1540-1580: Lo Stile de Eleonora Di Toledo e la sua Influenza.* Florence: Pagliai Polistampa, 2005.

Mentges, Gabrielle. "Fashion, Time, and Consumption of a Renaissance Man in Germany: The Costume Book of Matthaus Schwarz of Augsburg, 1496-1564." In *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, by Barbara Burman, & Carole Turbin, 12-32. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Mikhaila, Ninya, and Jane Malcolm-Davies. *The Tudor Tailor: Techniques and Pattens for Making Historically Accurate Period Clothing.* Hollywood: Quite Specific Media Group, Ltd., 2006.

Rosenthal, Margaret F., and Ann Rosalind Jones . *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni.* London: Thames & Hudson, Ltd., 2008.

Rublack, Ulinka. *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Rublack, Ulinka. "Maintaining a Sense of Proportion." *CAM: Cambridge Alumni Magazine*, 2011: 24-27.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

van Buren, Anne H. *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325-1515.* New York: Morgan Library & Museum in association with D. Giles Ltd., London, 2011.