

CLOTHING AS CULTURE: DELINEATING NATIONAL CHARACTER IN
COSTUME PRINTS, C. 1600-1650

Heather A. Hughes

A DISSERTATION

in

History of Art

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2017

Supervisor of Dissertation

Larry Silver

James & Nan Wagner Farquhar Professor of History of Art

Graduate Group Chairperson

Michael Leja, Professor of History of Art

Dissertation Committee

Renata Holod, College for Women Class of 1963 Term Professor in the Humanities

David Young Kim, Assistant Professor of History of Art

CLOTHING AS CULTURE: DELINEATING NATIONAL CHARACTER IN
COSTUME PRINTS, C. 1600-1650

COPYRIGHT

2017

Heather Ashley Hughes

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the guidance and generosity of a number of individuals. It would be difficult to overstate how grateful I am to my advisor, Larry Silver, for his mentorship and encouragement over the years. I thank him especially for his early support of the project and for his careful and prompt engagement with my writing. I am continually inspired by his dedication to his students and to the field of art history. It was with Renata Holod that I first contemplated the importance of clothing and textiles in the history of art and visual culture. Throughout my graduate studies, my research has benefited from her boundless expertise and vision. I would also like to thank David Kim, who was incredibly generous with his time and thoughtful in his feedback during the final stages of this project.

This dissertation required extended periods of research abroad, and I am very grateful for the support that enabled these essential excursions. My first year of research was funded by a Netherland-America Foundation/Fulbright Grant and a Hopkinson Fellowship from Penn's School of Arts and Sciences. During this year in Amsterdam, I had productive exchanges with Elmer Kolfin, Peter van der Coelen, Marjolein Leesburg, Robert Fucci, Maureen Warren, Erin Downey, and Carolyn Arena. I later returned to the Netherlands as a Dr. Anton C.R. Dreesmann Fellow at the Rijksmuseum, where I benefited from unparalleled access to the collection, and from the guidance and hospitality of Erik Hinterding, Huigen Leeftang, and Frits Scholten. I am especially grateful to Els Verhaak for welcoming my contributions to the exhibition *New for Now: The Origin of Fashion Magazines*. I also thank my fellow researchers in the Rijksprentenkabinet—Jeroen Luyckx and Brooks Rich—for their friendship and

collaborative spirit. As a fellow at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston I honed my curatorial and connoisseurship skills, and I thank John Ittmann and Dena Woodall for their mentorship during these fellowships and beyond.

I also wish to thank the staffs of the museums and libraries pivotal to this project, especially those at the British Museum, the Louvre, the Samuel Pepys Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the Lipperheidesche Kostümbibliothek, Vienna MAK, the Plantin-Moretus Museum, the Ashmolean, the Albertina, and the Dresden Kupferstich-Kabinett. Marja Stijkel at the Rijksmuseum, Anna Jolly at the Abegg-Stiftung, Ad Leerintveld at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Pauline Rushton at the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Claes Kofoed Christensen at the Statens Museum for Kunst, and Werner Arnold at the Herzog August Bibliothek were particularly forthcoming with their collections and their insights.

Writing this dissertation was not without its challenges—intellectual and otherwise. I am immensely grateful for the feedback, camaraderie, and mentorship from my colleagues at Penn, especially Marina Isgro, Delia Casadei, Charlotte Ickes, Iggy Cortez, Juliana Barton, Alex Kauffman, Nathaniel Prottas, and Miya Tokumitsu. I owe a special debt to Jeannie Kenmotsu, Emily Warner, and Olenka Horbatsch for their wisdom, humor, and support during the writing phase. I am also grateful to my supervisor at the Saint Louis Art Museum, Elizabeth Wyckoff, for her encouragement as I neared the finish line.

To my parents, I am eternally thankful for a lifetime of support and for nurturing my interest in the arts from the beginning. My deepest gratitude goes to Robert Hoffman, whose love, culinary skills, and unwavering confidence in this project sustained me for the past seven years.

ABSTRACT

CLOTHING AS CULTURE: DELINEATING NATIONAL CHARACTER IN COSTUME PRINTS, C. 1600-1650

Heather A. Hughes

Larry Silver

At the turn of the seventeenth century, European printmakers began issuing single-sheet series portraying how people dressed in different parts of the world. These works are only briefly acknowledged in artists' monographs—if such studies exist—or treated summarily in studies of fashion illustration, where their aims are insufficiently differentiated from those of fashion plates. This dissertation investigates the emergence and didactic functions of costume prints produced between 1600 and 1650, reframing them as artifacts of an era when clothing was considered the primary visual indicator of cultural difference. Collected in the albums of connoisseurs, affixed to the walls of alehouses, or incorporated into household objects, costume prints that pair national types with descriptions of customs and behaviors instructed viewers to read clothing as an index of civility, morality, and status. The project addresses the interplay between images and inscriptions, parallels with period texts, and the varied modes of reception. To acknowledge the fluid boundaries of early modern print culture, it encompasses a range of artists, audiences, and regions, chiefly the Low Countries, England, and France.

Arranged chronologically and according to the geographic scope of each costume series, the dissertation traces how Europeans' increasing knowledge of global sartorial diversity precipitated an intensified preoccupation with the role of dress in their own societies. In three chapters, the project considers how Pieter de Jode's series of European

costumes draw from the representational strategies of illustrated voyage accounts and from the principles of antiquarianism, cosmography, and geography; explores how allegories of the Twelve Months and the Four Continents rely on the premise of an inextricable bond between appearance and character to rank the peoples of the world; and examines the divergent attitudes toward luxury in English society by contrasting the demonization of French fashion in popular satires with Wenceslaus Hollar's sensuous depictions of women's attire. Through these studies, *Clothing as Culture* situates costume prints in the ongoing process of self-awareness about the capacity of clothing to constitute individual and collective identities in early modern Europe.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments III

Abstract V

List of Illustrations VIII

Introduction 1

Chapter One
Origins of the Costume Print 23

Chapter Two
Costume as Cultural Difference 93

Chapter Three
Luxury and Morality: Fashioning Englishness
in Seventeenth-Century Costume Prints 155

Illustrations 197

Bibliography 200

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Introduction

- Fig. 0.1** Nicolas Cochin, after Georges de La Chapelle, “Turkish princess,” *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la Porte du Grand Turc*, etching and engraving, c. 1648
- Fig. 0.2** Adriaen Matham, after Dirck Hals, “Standing Noblewoman,” *Habitus et cultus Matronarum Nobilu et Rusticarum apud Batauos*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 0.3** Esaias van de Velde, *An Outdoor Party*, oil on panel, 1615, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
- Fig. 0.4** *Tile Panel: Ladies and Men*, six tin-glazed earthenware tiles with blue decoration, 1625- 50, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Chapter 1

- Fig. 1.1** *Trachtenbuch of Matthäus Schwarz*, “Aged 29 years, 2 ½ months,” tempera on parchment, 1522, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig
- Fig. 1.2** *Trachtenbuch of Matthäus Schwarz*, “Dressed in the Spanish Manner,” tempera on parchment, 1524, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig
- Fig. 1.3** *Trachtenbuch of Matthäus Schwarz*, “Outfit to Please Ferdinand,” tempera on parchment, 1530, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig
- Fig. 1.4** Christoph Weiditz, “A Spanish woman from the front and back,” *Trachtenbuch*, pen, ink, and watercolor, c. 1530, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg
- Fig. 1.5** Christoph Weiditz, “Moorish Women in Granada,” *Trachtenbuch*, pen, ink, and watercolor, c. 1530, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
- Fig. 1.6** Christoph Weiditz, “African Holding Wine Skin,” *Trachtenbuch*, pen, ink, and watercolor, c. 1530, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg
- Fig. 1.7** Christoph Weiditz, “Aztec Nobleman,” *Trachtenbuch*, pen, ink, and watercolor, c. 1530, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg
- Fig. 1.8** Christoph Weiditz, “Prelate from Toledo,” *Trachtenbuch*, pen, ink, and watercolor, c. 1530, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg
- Fig. 1.9** Enea Vico, “Spanish Cleric,” *Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus*, ca. 1555-58
- Fig. 1.10** Pieter Coecke van Aelst, “Celebration of a Circumcision,” *Les moeurs et fachons de faire de turcz*, 1553
- Fig. 1.11** Pietro Bertelli, after Enea Vico, “Turkish Woman,” engraving, *Omnium fere gentium...*, 1563
- Fig. 1.12** Franz Hogenberg, after Joris Hoefnagel “Bourges,” hand-colored engraving, *Civitates orbis terrarium*, II, 1575
- Fig. 1.13** Enea Vico, “Flandrensis,” engraving, *Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus*, ca. 1555-58

- Fig. 1.14** Jost Amman and Hans Weigel, “Flemish Woman,” woodcut, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum...*, 1577
- Fig. 1.15** Enea Vico, “African Maiden,” engraving, *Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus*, ca. 1555-58
- Fig. 1.16** François Desprez, “Turkish Girl,” woodcut, *Recueil de la diversité des habits...*, 1562
- Fig. 1.17** Enea Vico, “Tartar Man,” engraving, *Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus*, ca. 1555-58
- Fig. 1.18** François Desprez, “Berber Man,” woodcut, *Recueil de la diversité des habits...*, 1562
- Fig. 1.19** Cesare Vecellio, “Maiden from Brabant,” *Degli abiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Venice, 1590
- Fig. 1.20** “Venetian Courtesan,” *Album amicorum* of Paul van Dale, c.1569-1578, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
- Fig. 1.21** “Woman Carried in Sedan by Servants,” *Album amicorum* of Jan van der Meyen, 1570-78, Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp
- Fig. 1.22** “Seated Turkish Woman,” *Album amicorum* of Bernardus Paludanus, 1575-1630, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
- Fig. 1.23** Abraham de Bruyn, “French Maiden,” *Album amicorum* of Bernardus Paludanus, 1575-1630, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
- Fig. 1.24** Pieter de Jode I, after Adam van Noort, “Italian Clothing,” engraving, *Fashions of the European Nobility*, c. 1595
- Fig. 1.25** Pieter de Jode I, after Adam van Noort, “French Clothing,” engraving, “*Fashions of the European nobility*,” c. 1595
- Fig. 1.26** Pieter de Jode I, after Adam van Noort, “German Clothing,” engraving, “*Fashions of the European nobility*,” c. 1595
- Fig. 1.27** Pieter de Jode I, after Jan Snellinck, “Flemish clothing,” engraving, “*Fashions of the European nobility*,” c. 1595-1600
- Fig. 1.28** Pieter de Jode I, “Flemish and Spanish Clothing,” engraving, “*Fashions of the European nobility*,” c. 1595-1600
- Fig. 1.29** Anonymous, after De Vos (?), *Woman Admiring Her Ruff*, engraving
- Fig. 1.30** Anonymous, *Ruff Workshop*, engraving
- Fig. 1.31** Pieter de Jode I, Courting couple, engraving, “*Fashions of the European nobility*,” c. 1595-1600
- Fig. 1.32** Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Garden Landscape with Courtly Figures*, 1605-10
- Fig. 1.33** Theodor de Bry, title page, from Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Founde Land of Virginia*, 1590, engraving
- Fig. 1.34** John White, “The aged man in his winter garment,” watercolor, British Museum, London
- Fig. 1.35** Theodor de Bry, after John White, “The aged man in his winter garment,” from Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Founde Land of Virginia*, 1590, engraving
- Fig. 1.36** John White, “Village of Pomeiooc,” watercolor, British Museum, London
- Fig. 1.37** “Habits of the Goan merchant, Cambayan, and Brahmin priests,” *Itinerario: Voyage of the Sailor Jan Huygen van Linschoten to the Portuguese East India*, Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596

- Fig. 1.38** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “Habits of Men and Women in Florence,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.39** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “Fashions of the Milanese Man and Woman,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.40** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “Habits of Roman Men and Women,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.41** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “German Habit,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.42** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “The French in a Variety of Clothing,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.43** “Englishman,” from Andrew Boorde, *Book of Knowledge*, woodcut, c. 1555
- Fig. 1.44** Gillis van Breen, after Sebastian Vrancx (?), *He Who Pays Too Much Attention to the Body Will Neglect the Soul*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.45** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “The Clothing of the Nobility in the Netherlands,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.46** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “The Clothing of the Netherlandish Merchant and his Wife,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.47** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “Spanish Men and Women in their Typical Dress,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.48** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “The Habits of Young English Men and Women,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.49** Pieter de Jode I, after Sebastiaen Vrancx, “The Special Clothing of the Portuguese,” *Variarum Gentium Ornatus (Fashions of Different Nations)*, engraving, c. 1605-10
- Fig. 1.50** Anonymous, after Pieter de Jode and Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Album amicorum* of Henricus Flück, 1605, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
- Fig. 1.51** Adriaen Collaert, “Teresa Entering the Convent,” *Life of Teresa of Avila*, 1613
- Fig. 1.52** Jodocus Hondius, *Nova Hispaniae Descriptio*
- Fig. 1.53** Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, after Joris Hoefnagel, “Granada,” *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. 1, 1572, hand-colored engraving
- Fig. 1.54** Willem Jansz. Blaeu, after Giovanni Antonio Magini, *Map of Italy*, ca. 1608-17
- Fig. 1.55** Claesz Jansz. Visscher, after Pieter Lastman, *Italian Costumes (3/12)*, etching, c. 1608
- Fig. 1.56** Pieter Lastman, *Standing figure in Eastern Dress*, 1603, pen, ink, and wash, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Chapter 2

- Fig. 2.1** Philips Galle, after Maarten van Heemskerck, “Autumn,” *The Four Seasons*, engraving, 1563
- Fig. 2.2** Jan Saenredam, after Hendrick Goltzius, “Winter,” *The Four Seasons*, engraving, c. 1600
- Fig. 2.3** Title Page, Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1570
- Fig. 2.4** Adriaen Collaert, after Maarten de Vos, “America,” *Four Continents*, engraving, 1586-91
- Fig. 2.5** Anonymous, after Marcus Gheeraerts, “America,” *The Four Continents*, engraving, 1590-1600
- Fig. 2.6** Crispijn van de Passe II, “January” (Muscovy), *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 2.7** Crispijn van de Passe II, “February” (Lapland), *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 2.8** Cesare Vecellio “Northern Christian Woman,” woodcut, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il Mondo*, 1598
- Fig. 2.9** Cesare Vecellio “How Northerners Travel over the Ice,” woodcut, *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il Mondo*, 1598
- Fig. 2.10** Gerrit de Veer, *Waerachtighe beschryvinghe van drie seylagien, ter werelt noyt soo vreemt ghehoort*, 1598
- Fig. 2.11** Theodor de Bry, after John White, “A weroan or great Lorde of Virginia,” *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 1590
- Fig. 2.12** Crispijn van de Passe II, “October” (Germany), *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 2.13** Crispijn van de Passe II, “April” (France), *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 2.14** Crispijn van de Passe II, “June” (Spain), *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 2.15** Crispijn van de Passe II, “July” (America), *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 2.16** Crispijn van de Passe I, “America,” *The Four Continents*, engraving, c. 1589-1611
- Fig. 2.17** Theodor de Bry, after John White, “A younge gentill woeman daughter of Secota,” engraving, *A Briefe and True Report* (1590)
- Fig. 2.18** Johann Froschauer (?), “Dise figur anzaigt uns das Folck und Insel die gefunden ist durch den christenlichen Kunig zu Portigal oder con seinen Underthonen” (“This Image Shows the People and Island Discovered by the Christian King of Portugal or His Subjects”), From Amerigo Vespucci, *Mundus Novus*, hand-colored woodcut, 1505
- Fig. 2.19** Hans Burgkmair, “People from Calicut” from *The Triumphal Procession of Emperor Maximilian (Triumph Des Kaisers Maximilian I)*, 1516-18
- Fig. 2.20** Jean de Léry, “Tupinamba Dance,” woodcut, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre de Brésil*, 1578

- Fig. 2.21** Hans Weigel, “Brazilian Habits,” woodcut, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum*, 1577
- Fig. 2.22** Inigo Jones, “Torchbearer,” *Memorable Masque*, 1613
- Fig. 2.23** Theodor de Bry, after Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, Plate 22, *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americai provincia Gallis acciderunt*, 1591
- Fig. 2.24** Crispijn van de Passe II, “July” (America), *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 2.25** Nicolas de Nicolay, “Turkish Woman Going to Town,” *Les Quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations Orientales*, 1568
- Fig. 2.26** Melchior Lorck, “A bearded archer,” woodcut, 1575
- Fig. 2.27** Nicolas de Nicolay, “Woman Dressed in the Syrian Manner,” *Les Quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations Orientales*, 1568
- Fig. 2.28** Cesare Vecellio, “Aga,” woodcut, *Degli abiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, 1590
- Fig. 2.29** Matteo Pagani, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, woodcut, 1540-50
- Fig. 2.30** Daniel Rabel, “Turkish Entry,” *Ballet Royal du grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut*, 1626
- Fig. 2.31** Jacques Callot, Title Page, *Il Solimano*, etching, 1619-20
- Fig. 2.32** Jacques de Gheyn II (workshop), *Masquerades*, engraving, 1595-86
- Fig. 2.33** Rembrandt van Rijn, *Bust of an Old Man with Turban*, oil on canvas, 1627-28, the Kremer Collection
- Fig. 2.34** Hans Lautensack, “The Emperor of the Turks presented us also with these robes,” Sigismund von Herberstein, *Gratae Posteritati*, woodcut, 1560
- Fig. 2.35** Erhard Schön, *Turkish Atrocities in the Vienna Woods*, woodcut, c. 1530
- Fig. 2.36** Robert Vaughan, “June” (Spain), *The XII Mounthes of the Yeare in the Habits of Severall Nations*, engraving, c. 1621-23
- Fig. 2.37** Robert Vaughan, “July” (Turkey), *The XII Mounthes of the Yeare in the Habits of Severall Nations*, engraving, c. 1621-23
- Fig. 2.38** Crispijn van de Passe II, *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, c. 1615-20 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, album pages 1-2
- Fig. 2.39** Crispijn van de Passe II, *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, c. 1615-20 Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, album page 3
- Fig. 2.40** Crispijn van de Passe II, *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, c. 1615-20, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
- Fig. 2.41** Crispijn van de Passe II, *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, c. 1615-20, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
- Fig. 2.42** Crispijn van de Passe II, *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, c. 1615-20, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
- Fig. 2.43** Crispijn van de Passe II, *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, c. 1615-20, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
- Fig. 2.44** Martin Droeshout, “Europa,” *The Four Continents*, engraving, c. 1635-40
- Fig. 2.45** Philips Galle, “Europa,” *Prosopographia*, engraving, c. 1585-90
- Fig. 2.46** Willem Jacobsz Delff, after Daniel Mytens, *Henrietta Maria*, engraving, c. 1625
- Fig. 2.47** Martin Droeshout, “Asia,” *The Four Continents*, engraving, c. 1635-40

- Fig. 2.48** Adriaen Collaert, after Marten de Vos, “Asia,” *The Four Continents*, engraving, 1586-91
- Fig. 2.49** Matteo Pagani, *Portrait of the Sultana Roxelana*, woodcut, 1540-50
- Fig. 2.50** Workshop of Titian, *Portrait of Cameria, Daughter of Süleyman the Magnificent, as Saint Catherine*, oil on canvas, 1560
- Fig. 2.51** Martin Droeshout, “Africa,” *The Four Continents*, engraving, c. 1635-40
- Fig. 2.52** Martin Droeshout, “America,” *The Four Continents*, engraving, c. 1635-40
- Fig. 2.53** Pictorial Embroidery of the Four Continents and The Sacrifice of Isaac, silk and metallic threads, glass beads, and wire on silk; raised work, 1649, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
- Fig. 2.54** Beadwork Panel with Lady and Cavalier surrounded by the Four Continents, silk thread; opaque and translucent glass beads on satin, 1651, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Fig. 2.55** Cesare Vecellio, “Ethiopian Soldier,” woodcut, *Degli abiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, 1590
- Fig. 2.56** Sir Peter Lely, “Elizabeth Murray, Lady Tollemache, later Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale (1626-1698) with a Black Servant,” oil on canvas, ca. 1651, Ham House
- Fig. 2.57** Paris and Pallas Athena with the Four Continents; raised work, after 1650, Lady Lever Art Gallery.
- Fig. 2.58** Needlework Mirror with the Four Continents, silk thread and seed pearls on silk; raised and purled work, ca. 1660, Private Collection.

Chapter 3

- Fig. 3.1** Anonymous (English), Title Page, Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, 1592, woodcut
- Fig. 3.2** Anonymous (English), “The Phantastick Age/ OR, / The Anatomy of Englands vanity, / In wearing the fashions / Of severall Nations [...]” woodcut, ca. 1634
- Fig. 3.3** Robert Vaughan, “April” (France), *The XII Mounthes of the Yeare in the Habits of Severall Nations*, engraving, c. 1621-23
- Fig. 3.4** Robert Vaughan, “September” (England), *The XII Mounthes of the Yeare in the Habits of Severall Nations*, engraving, c. 1621-23
- Fig. 3.5** Crispijn van de Passe II, “September” (England), *Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations*, engraving, c. 1615-20
- Fig. 3.6** Jacques Callot, “Bowling Gentleman,” *La Noblesse de Lorraine*, etching (1/12), 1620-23
- Fig. 3.7** Jacques Callot, “Pantalone,” *Three Comedians*, etching, 1618-20
- Fig. 3.8** Gillis van Scheyndel, *Standing Figures*, etching (3/12), 1649-53
- Fig. 3.9** Anonymous (German), “Die Neue umbgekehrte Welt,” letterpress and etching, ca. 1629
- Fig. 3.10** Jacques Callot, “A Cavalryman,” *La Noblesse de Lorraine*, etching (1/12), 1620-23

- Fig. 3.11** Abraham Bosse, *Jardin de la noblesse Française dans lequel ce peut Ceuillir leur manière de Vêtements*, title page, etching, 1629
- Fig. 3.12** Abraham Bosse, after Jean de Saint-Igny, *Jardin de la noblesse Française dans lequel ce peut Ceuillir leur manière de Vêtements*, etching (4/18), 1629
- Fig. 3.13** John Goddard, "Pride," *The Seaven Deadly Sins*, engraving, c. 1639
- Fig. 3.14** Jacob Matham, after Hendrick Goltzius, "Superbia," *The Seven Deadly Sins*, engraving, 1585-89
- Fig. 3.15** George Glover, "Superbia – Pryde," *The Seven Deadly Sins*, engraving, 1625-35
- Fig. 3.16** Abraham Bosse, *Jardin de la noblesse Française dans lequel ce peut Ceuillir leur manière de Vêtements*, etching (3/18), 1629
- Fig. 3.17** John Goddard, "Gluttony," *The Seaven Deadly Sins*, engraving, c. 1639
- Fig. 3.18** George Glover, "Sanguine," *The Fowre Complexions*, engraving, 1630
- Fig. 3.19** William Marshall, "Sanguine," *The Foure Complexions*, engraving, c. 1630-40
- Fig. 3.20** William Marshall, *Charles I and His Family*, engraving, c. 1637-40
- Fig. 3.21** William Marshall, "Melancholy," *The Foure Complexions*, engraving, c. 1630-40
- Fig. 3.22** Wenceslaus Hollar, *Bowing Gentleman*, etching, 1630-36
- Fig. 3.23** Wenceslaus Hollar, *Lady with Houppette*, etching, 1630-36
- Fig. 3.24** Anthony van Dyck, *Lady Mary Villiers, Later Duchess of Lennox and Richmond, with Charles Hamilton, Lord Arran*, oil on canvas, c. 1637, North Carolina Museum of Art
- Fig. 3.25** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Lady with Muff," *Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus*, etching, 1638-40
- Fig. 3.26** Martin Droeshout, "Springe," *The Four Seasons*, engraving, c. 1620-30
- Fig. 3.27** Abraham Bosse, "Air," *The Four Elements*, etching, 1630
- Fig. 3.28** Abraham Bosse, *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1635
- Fig. 3.29** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Spring," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1641
- Fig. 3.30** Hendrick Hondius, after Elias Verhulst, *Vase with Flowers*, engraving, 1599
- Fig. 3.31** Wenceslaus Hollar, after Anthony van Dyck, "Henrietta Maria," etching, 1641
- Fig. 3.32** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Summer," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1641
- Fig. 3.33** Wenceslaus Hollar, *Aula Veneris*, title page, etching, 1644
- Fig. 3.34** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Mulier ex Virginia/A Virginian Woman," *Theatrum Mulierum/Aula Veneris*, etching, c. 1644
- Fig. 3.35** Wenceslaus Hollar, *Muff with Lace Kerchief and Half Mask*, etching, 1642
- Fig. 3.36** Wenceslaus Hollar, *Still Life with Muffs and Accessories*, etching, 1647
- Fig. 3.37** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Winter," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1643
- Fig. 3.38** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Spring," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1643
- Fig. 3.39** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Summer," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1644
- Fig. 3.40** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Autumn," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1644
- Fig. 3.41** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Winter," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1644
- Fig. 3.42** Wenceslaus Hollar, "Spring," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1644

Fig. 3.43 Wenceslaus Hollar, "Summer," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1644
Fig. 3.44 Wenceslaus Hollar, "Autumn," *The Four Seasons*, etching, 1644

INTRODUCTION

On Saturday, March 12, 1678, John Locke wrote in his diary that he had sent a package of “12 cuts [prints] of Turkish habits for Mr. Anthony.”¹ “Mr. Anthony” was the seven-year-old Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, whose early education Locke would oversee when he returned to England the following year. Based on his whereabouts at the time of this diary entry—Paris—and the number of prints that he was sending, the English philosopher was very likely referring to the suite of etchings titled *Recueil de divers portraits des principales dames de la Porte du Grand Turc* (“Collection of Diverse Portraits of the Principal Ladies of the Gate of the Grand Turk”), first published thirty years earlier by Jean le Blond (fig. 0.1).² The series, which is attributed to Nicolas Cochin, does not portray the likenesses of specific women, as the title would suggest. Instead, the twelve full-length female figures represent the clothing and accessories—“habits”—of different ethnicities and classes of the Ottoman Empire, which itself is rendered through topographical views in the backgrounds of the prints. As the educational supervisor for the future philosopher and statesman, Locke evidently discerned that a glimpse into the customs and manners of this distant, foreign society possessed some pedagogical value.

¹ John Lough, ed., *Locke's Travels in France, 1675-1679: As Related in His Journals, Correspondence and Other Papers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 188. I am grateful to Maureen Warren for bringing this reference to my attention.

² Franz Joseph Lipperheide, *Katalog Der Freiherrlich von Lipperheide'schen Kostümbibliothek* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1963), Lb16. This series can also be found in the collection of the seventeenth-century diarist Samuel Pepys (1633-1703). The collection remains intact, in the original albums, at Magdalene College, University of Cambridge. For Pepys's interest in costume and fashion prints, see Diana de Marly, “Pepys and the Fashion for Collecting,” *Costume* 21 (1987): 34–43. See also Jan van der Waals, “The Print Collection of Samuel Pepys,” *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1984): 236–57.

The prints of the *Recueil de divers portraits* are examples of the early modern graphic genre known today as the “costume print.” Starting at the turn of the seventeenth century, European printmakers began issuing sets of such prints to convey how people dressed in different parts of the world. Although no artist dedicated himself exclusively to the genre, the series appeared with regularity for the following fifty years in the printmaking centers of Antwerp, Haarlem, Paris, London, and Amsterdam. As Locke’s diary entry demonstrates, however, they continued to circulate and appeal to print consumers throughout the century, prompting immediate questions about their purpose and viewership, as well as broader questions about their impact on the way people thought about clothing and cultural difference.

Intense curiosity about the global variation in sartorial practices first manifested itself in the sixteenth century, most visibly in the encyclopedic publications known as costume books. Between 1560 and 1610, upwards of fifteen of these publications were issued across Europe, specifically in the printmaking centers of Germany, Italy, France, and the Low Countries.³ While a small portion of costume books are limited to the clothing of a single region, the majority aspire to be as geographically comprehensive as possible. Through hundreds of woodcuts or engravings, costume books offered armchair travelers a glimpse into clothing practices around the world; and their accompanying passages delivered information about local customs, rituals, and behaviors. After putting thousands of new images of dress in circulation, the costume book declined in popularity

³ For further discussion and references, see Chapter One.

and novelty by the first decade of the seventeenth century, which coincides with the appearance of the first single-sheet costume print series.

While there have been recent critical studies of the costume book, costume prints have yet to receive critical scholarly attention as a coherent, historically contingent, and culturally significant phenomenon in the history of printmaking.⁴ This is not to suggest that these prints are unknown or unpublished. Because of similarities in subject and medium, historical surveys of fashion illustration often describe the seventeenth-century costume print as either a late derivative form of the costume book, or as a preliminary step in the development of the modern fashion plate.⁵ Such studies do not address how costume prints differ from costume books in audience, format, technique, and viewing experience, nor do they thoroughly interrogate how their aims differ from fashion plates.

⁴ For recent studies of costume books, see for example, J.A. Olian, "Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," *Dress* 3 (1977): 20–48; Ulrike Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, ed. Richardson, Catherine (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 29–47; Odile Blanc, "Images du Monde et portraits d'habits: Les recueils de costumes à La Renaissance," *Bulletin du bibliophile* 2 (1995): 221–61; Ann Rosalind Jones, "Habits, Holdings, Heterologies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book," *Yale French Studies* 110 (2006): 92–12; Bronwen Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," *Studies in Iconography* 25 (2004): 221–741.

⁵ Until recently, sixteenth-century costume books were frequently discussed in a similar manner: "[Fashion plates] originate in an earlier age in pictures of clothes and peoples of all nations, which engravers of the sixteenth century provided for those who wished to know more about suddenly expanding world." Madeleine Ginsburg, *An Introduction to Fashion Illustration* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1982), 3. See also John L. Nevinson, *Origin and Early History of the Fashion Plate* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1967); Raymond Gaudriault, *Répertoire de La Gravure de Mode Française Des Origines À 1815* (Paris: Promodis-Éditions du Cercle de la librairie, 1988); *Hollar to Heidelberg: An Exhibition of Fashion Prints Drawn from the Collections of Members of the Costume Society*. (London: Costume Society, 1979); B.L.D. Ihle and M. C. Jong, eds., *Van Wambuis tot Frac: Het Kostuum in de Prentkunst circa 1450 - circa 1800* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beunigen, 1977). More recent exhibitions acknowledge the differences between costume prints and fashion prints, but they nonetheless include examples of both. Georgette Koning and Els Verhaak, *New for Now: The Origin of Fashion Magazines* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2015); M.A. Ghering-van Ierlant, *Mode in Prent (1550-1914)* (The Hague: Nederlands Kostuummuseum, 1988).

Monographs devoted to the costume print's more prominent practitioners—Jacques Callot⁶, Abraham Bosse⁷, and Wenceslaus Hollar⁸—acknowledge the genre as one facet of an individual artist's oeuvre, but these discussions do not typically investigate the broader significance of costume imagery in this period. Similarly, exhibitions and studies of particular schools incorporate examples of costume prints, but the impulses for these objects, the nature of their consumption, and how they shaped perceptions of national and social identity are not the focus of such projects.⁹

⁶ Dena M. Woodall and Diane Wolfthal, *Princes & Paupers: The Art of Jacques Callot* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2013); Daniel Ternois and Paulette Choné, *Jacques Callot, 1592-1635* (Nancy: Musée historique Lorrain, 1992); Gerald Kahan, *Jacques Callot: Artist of the Theater* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976).

⁷ Carl Goldstein, *Print Culture in Early Modern France: Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print* (Cambridge University Press, 2011); Maxime Préaud, ed., *Abraham Bosse: Savant Graveur: Tours, Vers 1604-1676, Paris* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France).

⁸ Alena Volrábová, Michael Bath, and Michaela Brixova, *Wenceslaus Hollar, 1607-1677 and Europe between Life and Desolation* (Prague: National Gallery in Prague, 2007); Julie L. Biggs, Carol Brobeck, and Rachel Doggett, *Impressions of Wenceslaus Hollar* (Washington, D.C.: University of Washington Press, 1997); Jacqueline Burgers, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Seventeenth-Century Prints from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam* (Alexandria: Art Services International, 1994); Richard T. Godfrey, *Wenceslaus Hollar: A Bohemian Artist in England* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1994); Katherine S. van Eerde, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Delineator of His Time* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Folger Shakespeare Library, 1970). More recently, Hollar's costume images have been the subject of more interpretive analysis. See Joseph Monteyne, "Enveloping Objects: Allegory and Commodity Fetish in Wenceslaus Hollar's Personifications of the Seasons and Fashion Still Lifes," *Art History* 29, no. 3 (June 2006): 414–43.

⁹ See, for example, Sue Welsh Reed, ed., *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1998); Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum Press, 1998). Costume prints by Haarlem printmakers are briefly addressed regarding their shared content with merry company paintings in Elmer Kolfin, *The Young Gentry at Play: Northern Netherlandish Scenes of Merry Companies 1610-1645*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005), 107. They are discussed throughout Elizabeth Wyckoff's study of the Haarlem printmakers in relation to the costume book tradition, paintings of merry companies, and their potential use in the training of young artists. See "Innovation and Popularization: Printmaking and Print Publishing in Haarlem during the 1620s," Ph.D. thesis (New York: Columbia University, 1998).

This dissertation investigates the cultural functions of the costume print, which is recognized as a distinct genre that emerged in an era when clothing was considered the primary visual indicator of character. As a reflection of rank, nationality, and religious affiliation, clothing served as an important signifier of human difference for early modern Europeans. As Europeans increasingly turned their attention overseas, clothing was the most immediate means by which travelers perceived and judged the customs of the varied cultures they encountered. That clothing offered insights into interior character is signaled by costume prints that include captions that describe not only the apparel depicted, but also the behaviors and traits of the group represented. By addressing the interplay between image and text, I argue that costume prints further encouraged viewers to read clothing as an index of civility, morality, and status.

While costume books similarly paired image and ethnographic description, the single-sheet format of costume prints suited varied viewing conditions, assembled in the albums of connoisseurs, affixed to the walls of alehouses, or copied for use on household objects. Through its portability and relative accessibility, the costume print thus enabled the broader transmission of general principles about clothing and character, as well as more specific cultural stereotypes that circulated contemporaneously in period writings, such as voyage accounts and popular broadsides. By looking at fine engravings, popular prints, and the afterlife of these images in the applied arts, this dissertation is able to explore these questions in relation to different audiences.

Through a series of thematic case studies, I aim to establish the importance of visual representations of clothing for promoting the ideas about nation, morality, status, and consumption. To illustrate the didactic and social functions of seventeenth-century

costume prints, the project considers the following: how Pieter de Jode's series of European costumes draw from the representational strategies of illustrated voyage accounts and from the principles of antiquarianism, cosmography, and geography; how allegories of the Twelve Months and the Four Continents rely on the premise of an inextricable bond between appearance and character to rank the peoples of the world; and how divergent attitudes toward luxury in English society were expressed through popular satires of French fashion and through Wenceslaus Hollar's sensuous etchings of women's attire. Through these studies, *Clothing as Culture* situates costume prints in the ongoing process of self-awareness about the capacity of clothing to constitute individual and collective identities in early modern Europe.

The Costume Print: Definitions, Functions, and Limitations

This dissertation proceeds from certain assumptions about the costume print as a genre. Contrary to what the term suggests, the vast majority of costume prints do not represent clothing worn in theatrical productions, pageants, ballets, or masquerades.¹⁰ For the purposes of this dissertation, "costume" denotes clothing that is typical, or customary, for a particular time, place, or segment of a population. For these reasons, it is a term that historians of dress historically applied in contradistinction to fashion, which connotes clothing that is "designed primarily for its expressive and decorative qualities, related closely to the short-term dictates of the market, rather than for work or ceremonial

¹⁰ An exception would be *Masquerades*, after Jacques de Gheyn II (c. 1595). See Chapter Two of this study.

functions.”¹¹ Patrizia Calefato provides a useful distinction: “Dress is articulated by a sort of sociocultural syntax, which could be called ‘costume’ in the context of traditional societies and ritual functions, ‘fashion’ in the context of modernity and esthetic functions.”¹² Although the period presently under study predates the modern fashion system, the word “fashion” itself was indeed used to denote a *manner* of doing something that is variable by place and time.¹³ However, the phrase, “in fashion”—*à la mode*—was not in regular, widespread use until the second half of the century.

Following from this understanding of “costume,” the phrase “costume print” has historically been applied to any single-sheet print intended to deliver information about the clothing practices of a particular social group. In nearly all cases, this information is communicated by one or two full-length, standing figures situated in a town or landscape setting. These figures are not specific individuals, but rather anonymous, generic types who function as representatives of their gender, region, profession, or social rank. Beyond these minimal qualifications, there is some variability across costume series, particularly regarding the number of sheets, the geographic range, and the incorporation of text. With rare exception, costume prints were issued in sets, comprising as few as three sheets and as many as twenty-four.¹⁴ These sets may compare clothing across

¹¹ Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion. A New History of Fashionable Dress*, First Edition (Manchester University Press, 1995), 5.

¹² Patrizia Calefato, “Fashion and Worldliness: Language and Imagery of the Clothed Body,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 1 (1997): 70.

¹³ This is one of the premises of Eugenia Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).

¹⁴ The open-ended series of women’s costumes published by Wenceslaus Hollar—*Theatrum Mulierum* and *Aula Veneris*—are notable outliers. They recall the comprehensive, encyclopedic principles of the sixteenth-century costume book. For a discussion of these series, see Chapter Three of this study.

different regions or illustrate a range of ensembles from a single locale. Text plays an important role in designating the type of clothing portrayed and the type of person who would wear it, but printmakers incorporated text in varying degrees. On one end, are those that are completely absent of text, leaving scholars with the task of assigning an identity to the social types depicted.¹⁵ Some series limit the use of text to a title page that identifies the clothing worn throughout the plates, while others place labels on each sheet. Finally, a selection of costume series pair images of dress with longer descriptive passages, usually in verse.

Although costume prints often depicted the current styles favored by Europe's nobility and merchant elite, we have no evidence that they were used in the same manner as the fashion plates of later periods. Fashion plates—whether incorporated into a periodical or as a standalone “fashion print”—predict, advertise, or display new styles in clothing, accessories, hairstyles, and even makeup, targeting the social elite and those who aspired to dress like them. While fashion historians continue to debate the origins and limits of the early modern fashion print, the general consensus is that the first impulse to disseminate information about current styles—mentioned by name or material—appears in Paris in the closing decades of the seventeenth century, when French printmakers first collaborated with the court, dressmakers, and tailors to promote and advertise specific seasonal fashions.¹⁶

¹⁵ For an example of this quandary, see Chapter Three's discussion of Jacques Callot, *La Noblesse de Lorraine*, (1620-23).

¹⁶ Kathryn Norberg and Sandra Rosenbaum, eds., *Fashion Prints in the Age of Louis XIV: Interpreting the Art of Elegance*, Costume Society of America (Texas Tech University Press, 2014); Joan E. DeJean, *The Essence of Style: How the French Invented High Fashion, Fine Food, Chic Cafés, Style, Sophistication,* 8

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, fashion trends spread in other ways. Printed pattern books disseminated designs for lace and other textiles,¹⁷ and dolls outfitted in the latest fashions transmitted styles from court to court.¹⁸ Shifts in fashion were also facilitated by international travel and migration. For example, Italian fashions were brought North of the Alps by German- and Dutch-speaking university students, while Flemish refugees escaping the devastation of the Eighty Years' War introduced new styles to the Dutch Republic, Germany, and England.¹⁹ While it is possible that costume prints were used to keep abreast of current fashions, only in rare cases do they describe the clothing depicted. Furthermore, the professional artists who made them appear to have had no arrangements with the local cloth merchants. By documenting clothing practices, costume prints were descriptive, rather than prescriptive.

Because of their documentary aims, costume prints—like the costume books that

and Glamour (New York: Free Press, 2005), 46–59. The resulting prints were issued in open-ended series by the Bonnard brothers, Jean Dieu-de St. Jean, and Antoine Trouvain, or else they were incorporated into the short-lived lifestyle journal, *Le Mercure Galant*, where readers were further informed where they could purchase these new items. See Susannah Carson, “L’Économique de La Mode: Costume, Conformity, and Consumerism in *Le Mercure Galant*,” *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 27, no. 1 (June 1, 2005): 133–46; Monique Vincent, *Le Mercure Galant : présentation de la première revue féminine d’information et de culture 1672-1710* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2005); Reed Benhamou, “Fashion in the ‘Mercure’: From Human Foible to Female Failing,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 1 (1997): 27–43.

¹⁷ See Femke Speelberg, “*Fashion & Virtue: Textile Patterns and the Print Revolution, 1520–1620*,” Special issue of *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (Fall, 2015) (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015); Chandra Mukerji, *From Graven Images: Patterns of Modern Materialism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). See also chapter six, “Fashion across borders,” in Anna Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, for the Royal Collection Trust, 2013).

¹⁸ Yassana C. Croizat, “‘Living Dolls’: François Ier Dresses His Women,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (April 5, 2007): 94–130.

¹⁹ For the various cultural influences on Dutch fashion and their manner of transmission, see Bianca M. du Mortier, “Features of Fashion in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Anna Jolly and Johannes Pietsch, *Riggisberger Berichte* 19 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2012), 27, note 46.

preceded them—were consulted as visual sources for artists and artisans working in other media, in much the same way model books were used by medieval craftsmen. It is very likely that the printmakers had this function in mind when creating these series. In the city of Haarlem, for example, the clothing and gestures from costume prints by Jan van de Velde, Willem Buytewech, Gillis Scheyndel, and Cornelis Kittensteyn, and Dirck Hals appear—either exactly or in approximation—in paintings depicting the banquets of Holland’s wealthy elite.²⁰ One such series, *Habitus et cultus Matronarum Nobilu et Rusticarum apud Batauos* (“Clothing and Manners of Noble and Rustic Women of the Netherlands,” c. 1615-20), is composed of six engravings by Adriaen Matham; the rural women were designed by Buytewech and the six aristocratic women were designed by Dirck Hals (fig. 0.2).²¹ Though both Hals and Buytewech painted their own so-called merry companies, at least one figure from this series recurs in Esaias van de Velde’s *An Outdoor Party* (1615) (fig. 0.3).²² A noblewoman who is seen from behind carrying a folding fan reappears in Van de Velde’s outdoor banquet, peering over a gentleman raising a glass. Later in the century, she was copied once more for a Delftware tile (fig. 0.4).²³

²⁰ Although it is not always clear which came first, the prints or the paintings, Wyckoff points out that consulting prints was a common part of a young artist’s training, and that this may account for the recurrence of certain figures and motifs across different media within the visual culture of Haarlem in the 1620s. See “Innovation and Popularization: Printmaking and Print Publishing in Haarlem during the 1620s,” Ph.D. thesis (New York: Columbia University, 1998), 91-97 and *passim*

²¹ New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, *Jacob Matham*, part 3, nos. 458-69. In Matham’s edition, only Hals is listed as the inventor of the designs, but Buytewech’s authorship of the rustic women is known through the original drawings and through a separate print series etched by Gillis van Scheyndel for Jan Pietersz. Berendrecht. See Wyckoff, “Innovation and Popularization,” 153–55.

²² Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-1765

²³ Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1979-50-133,134,145—148.

Costume prints would also have been quite useful for stage designers as well. The costume books that immediately precede the objects of this dissertation were used in this manner, and we have no reason to believe that this practice did not continue after the development of the single-sheet series. One of the last encyclopedic costume books to be published, Zacharias Heyns's *Dracht-thoneel* ("Theater of Dress," 1601), was explicitly produced for the chamber of rhetoric (*rederijkerskamer*) Het Wit Lavendel in Amsterdam.²⁴ Similarly, Inigo Jones, the architect and designer for the masques produced during the rules of James I (r. 1603-25) and Charles I (r. 1625-49) of England, consulted prints of various genres, including the longer late-sixteenth-century costume books of Cesare Vecellio.²⁵ That printmakers anticipated that costume prints would serve this purpose is further suggested by the fact the several were stage designers themselves, such as Jacques Callot, Daniel Rabel, and Stefano della Bella.²⁶

If sixteenth-century costume books were already capable of fulfilling this need for artists and for satisfying the curiosity of armchair travelers, to what can we attribute the shift to unbound, single-sheet costume series? The costume-print format was likely

²⁴ For the use of costume books by Dutch stage designers, as well as the contributions of painters to these designs, see Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 237.

²⁵ Jones also used de Gheyn's *Masquerades*, see n. 3 above. For the visual sources of Jones's costume designs, see Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). For discussion of the Vecellio's costume books, see Chapter One.

²⁶ Callot and Della Bella were designers for the Medici entertainments in Florence; and Rabel was a costume designer for the royal ballet under Louis XIII of France. Toward the end of the seventeenth-century, Jean Berain, the costume designer for ballets under Louis XIV, also designed fashion-themed prints. For the relationship between Berain's ballet designs and his fashion prints, see Sarah R. Cohen, *Art, Dance, and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge University Press, 2000) especially chapter four, "The Universal Masquerade."

preferable for several reasons. In terms of aesthetics, single-sheet prints offered higher quality, more detailed renderings of dress through the techniques of engraving and, especially, etching; the most comprehensive costume books—and those with accompanying verses—had employed woodcuts. Furthermore, with hundreds of images per publication, costume book authors could not keep pace with shifts in fashion, a fact acknowledged by the authors themselves.²⁷ Often containing only four, eight, or twelve sheets, the print series could be executed more quickly and with greater regularity, thus reflecting more current modes of appearance. Artists and connoisseurs could also assemble costume prints from different artists or depicting different regions, thereby constructing their own *de facto* costume book. The extensive costume print collection of English diarist Samuel Pepys, which includes the series of Ottoman women with which we began, exemplifies such an approach.²⁸

Although this study acknowledges that costume prints served practical functions for artists—and in fact discusses several examples of such usage—I am primarily concerned with the understanding how early modern viewers used costume prints to understand the differences in national character. As outlined in Chapter One, the shift from costume book to costume print coincides with the single-sheet print's general rise in status as a source of knowledge. Both the format and subject matter of costume series made them attractive to collectors, who assembled them in albums alongside other types of edifying subject matter as part of an encyclopedic print collection. At the same time,

²⁷ See Ann Rosalind Jones, "'Worn in Venice and throughout Italy': The Impossible Present in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 511–44, and Chapter One of this study.

²⁸ See note 2.

these prints were used to decorate public and domestic spaces, where they were encountered by other populations besides the elite (typically male) connoisseur; this was particularly the case in England, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three. To discern how costume prints reaffirmed the notion that clothing was a vehicle through which to identify and categorize, this dissertation's most detailed case studies are series that include some form of descriptive or moralizing verse. These series, I argue, offer a model of how seventeenth-century audiences read character through dress. Throughout the dissertation, I also address how stereotypes in costume prints parallel—and further disseminate—those in travel literature, broadside ballads, polemical pamphlets, and conduct literature.

Other forms of text that have informed this project are the contemporary titles and inventory descriptions for costume prints. What we regard today as costume prints are described using terms that reflect that the clothing represented is customary, not necessarily a novel style: in Latin, *habitus*; in English and French, *habits*; and in Dutch, *drachten* or *klederdrachten*, occasionally preceded by *vreemde*, “foreign” or *allerhande*, “of all sorts.”²⁹ Though *habitus* is often translated as “clothing” or “costume,” one contemporary definition clarifies its dual meaning:

²⁹The print collection of Michiel van Hinloopen lists a series depicting “vreemde drachten.” See Jan van der Waals, *De prentschat van Michiel Hinloopen: een reconstructie van de eerste openbare papierkunstverzameling in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1988) 187, no. 52. The 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's estate lists “Een dito [boeck] vol curieuse minyateur teekeninge nevens verscheide hout en kopere printen van alderhande dragt” (no. 203). For the complete inventory, see Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Arch.no 5072, Inv. no. 364, fol. 29-38v, dd 25 and 26 July 1656. The inventory is also transcribed by Jaap van der Veen in Appendix II, *Rembrandt's Treasures*, Bob van den Boogert, ed. (Amsterdam: Museum Het Rembrandthuis, 1999). As discussed in Chapter Two, the 1639 and 1656 inventories of Crispijn de Passe the Elder's copper plates mention “Twaelv maenden in drachten in 12 plaetgen” and “12 platen de 12 drachgens,” respectively; this is assumed to refer to De Passe the Younger's *Twelve Months in the Habits of Different Nations*. For the inventories, see ²⁹ Ilja M Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and His Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publ., 2001), 453, no. 199 for the 1639 inventory; and 456, no. 32 for the 1653 inventory.

The outward attire of the bodie, whereby one person may be distinguished from another; as the habit of a Gentleman, is different from the habit of a merchant, and the habit of a Handi-crafts man differing from them both. Sometime it signifieth a qualitie in the bodie or minde, not naturall, but gotten by long custome, or infused by God.³⁰

From the second half of the century, the French phrase *à la mode* (“according to the fashion”), begins to appear on prints depicting fashionable dress, signaling a shift in the type of dress depicted (always expensive) and its diffusion across national boundaries. This linguistic and functional shift forms the basis for the chronological limits of this dissertation.

The premise that clothing had a constitutive function in early modern Europe draws on the work of Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones. In *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Stallybrass and Jones characterize early modern fashions as having the power to “inscribe themselves upon a person who comes into being through that inscription.”³¹ Arguing that clothing had the power to “shape [one] both physically and socially,” they examine circumstances in which the donning of certain apparel had a socially transformative power, such as livery, royal investiture, or robes of honor.³² The importance of dress in making one socially recognizable was also at the root of the period’s many sumptuary laws, which aimed to regulate which populations could wear which garments.³³ While such laws could prohibit the lower orders from donning particular textiles or accessories, the attire of the elite was also regulated, by both

³⁰ “Habit,” in John Bullokar, *An English Expositor* (London: Iohn Legatt, 1616).

³¹ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2.

³² Ibid.

³³ Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996).

unspoken social pressures and by explicit directives in the form of conduct books.³⁴ In the *Book of the Courtier* (1528), Italian diplomat Baldassare Castiglione once wrote that one “ought to consider what appearance he wishes to have and what manner of man he wishes to be taken for, and dress accordingly; and see to it that his attire aid him to be so regarded even by those who do not hear him speak or see him do anything whatever.”³⁵

Extending the idea that garments have the capacity to shape individuals and social relations, several scholars have examined how the representation of clothing in costume books has a similar function.³⁶ In *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity*, Bronwen Wilson contends that costume books helped construct new categories of collective identification. In contrast to the late medieval custom of associating oneself with a family, parish, guild, or confraternity, costume books encouraged readers to identify with others based on gender, ethnicity, and profession. This process was further aided, she writes, by the generalized nature of the costumed figures themselves, which “reduced a plethora of differences into recognizable types that would have encouraged a range of individuals to identify with same image.” Costume books made it easier to “see” oneself in the English gentlewoman or the London street merchant, for example. Ulinka

³⁴ Elizabeth Currie, “Prescribing Fashion: Dress, Politics and Gender in Sixteenth-Century Italian Conduct Literature,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 4, no. 2 (June 2000): 157–77; Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione’s Cortegiano* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy*.

³⁵ Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Charles Singleton (1959), II, XXVII, 89-90. For analysis of this passage, see Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy*, 61-62.

³⁶ Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Ann Rosalind Jones, “Habits, Holdings, Heterologies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book,” *Yale French Studies* 110 (2006): 92–121; Ulrike Ilg, “The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” in *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, ed. Richardson, Catherine (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 29–47; Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity*, *Studies in Book and Print Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy*.

Rublack and Ulrike Ilg describe costume books as “moral geographies,” which evaluate the propriety of certain garments and assess the character of those who wear them. This dissertation is informed by the approaches of Wilson, Rublack, and Ilg, as well as others who articulate how printed media can actively construct social reality rather than merely reflect it.³⁷ By examining the varied ways prints were viewed, this study further adds to ongoing conversations about the various ways by which people interacted with prints as physical objects.³⁸

This project also maintains that, like costume books, costume prints enabled a form of comparative viewing that anticipates comparative ethnography, or cultural anthropology. As scientific disciplines, anthropology and ethnography were formally established in the nineteenth centuries. Several scholars in the fields of history, literature, and sociology have argued, however, that the origins of these fields lie in sixteenth-century impulses to describe, classify, and differentiate the peoples of the world based on their manners and customs.³⁹ More recently historians of art and visual culture have

³⁷ Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Cohen, *Art, Dance, and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime*; Michael Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

³⁸ Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museums, 2011); Suzanne Karr Schmidt, *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011); David S. Areford, *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*, *Visual Culture in Early Modernity* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); J. van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: Van Kunst tot Kastpapier* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2006).

³⁹ Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*, *Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India Through European Eyes, 1250-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). For costume books, in particular, as examples of early ethnography, see Daniel Defert, “Un genre ethnographique

examined works in detail to argue for the role of early modern travel imagery—voyage accounts, maps, and paintings—for the history of ethnography and anthropology for establishing the categories by which to analyze and compare peoples.⁴⁰ In *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*, Stephanie Leitch analyzes Hans Burgkmair’s woodcut frieze relating the different ethnic groups that Baltasar Springer encountered during his voyage to India by way of Africa. Across the frieze, which follows the order of the voyage, Burgkmair consistently represents the groups as family units (mother, father and child) and identifies them with a label specifying what part of the world they live in, from the east coast of Africa to the west coast of India. Leitch argues that, by creating static categories of comparison as a basis for differentiation, Burgkmair anticipated the discipline of comparative ethnography. Virtually all the costume prints in this dissertation repeat the same type of composition within a series—which I argue allows the viewer to more readily identify difference.

profane au XVIe: Les livres d’habits (essai d’ethno-iconographie),” in *Histoires de L’anthropologie (XVI-XIXe Siècles)*, ed. Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (Paris: Klincksieck, 1984).

⁴⁰ Surekha Davies, *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Elizabeth A. Sutton, *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa, Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2012); Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Michael Gaudio, *Engraving the Savage: The New World and Techniques of Civilization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Rebecca Parker Brien, *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Ernst van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icons of Jan Huygen Van Linschoten* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Dawn Odell, “Clothing, Customs and Mercantilism: Dutch and Chinese Ethnographies in the Seventeenth Century,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, Exoticism in the Low Countries, 2003; Ann Rosalind Jones, “Ethnographer’s Sketch, Sensational Engraving, Full-Length Portrait: Print Genres for Spanish America in Girolamo Benzoni, the De Brys, and Cesare Vecellio,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 4, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 138–73.

Within the body of scholarship exploring the early modern origins of ethnography are those that examine the role of ethnographic publications in the racialization of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Americas.⁴¹ In *Dutch Prints of Africa*, Elizabeth Sutton, asserts that illustrated travel accounts and maps that pair images of black Africans with stereotypical behaviors contributed to the incipient belief in a biological basis for intellectual and moral inferiority. Customs traditionally attributed to religious or geographic difference, she writes, “came to be associated as inherent to and an essential part of a people with a certain kind of morphology.”⁴² By dissecting how Europeans regarded clothing as a major component in the demarcation between the civilized and uncivilized, particularly in Chapter Two, this dissertation will add to the growing body of literature that relocates the seeds of racialized thinking to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rather than the eighteenth, according to conventional wisdom.

This dissertation is also informed by the so-called global turn in the history of art and in the humanities more broadly.⁴³ For the early modern period, this approach has

⁴¹ Valerie Traub, “Mapping the Global Body,” in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Clark Hulse and Peter Erickson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Jean Michel Massing, *The Image of the Black in Western Art: Europe and the World Beyond* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); Ernst van den Boogaart, “Serialized Virginia: The Representational Format for Comparative Ethnology, c. 1600,” in *European Visions: American Voices* (London: British Museum Press, 2009); Elizabeth A. Sutton, *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

⁴² Sutton, *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa*, 91.

⁴³ Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (University of Chicago Press, 2004); Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall, eds., *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Mary D. Sheriff, *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration* (University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Jaynie Anderson, ed., *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, Melbourne University Publishing, 2009); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West* (London: Reaktion Books, 2005).

been particularly embraced among scholars of the art and material culture of the Dutch Republic, since the Netherlands was a major maritime power.⁴⁴ With trading posts and colonial settlements in Asia, Africa, and the Americas, the Dutch facilitated the production and dissemination of visual representations of foreign peoples, flora, and fauna.⁴⁵ I am also mindful, however, of the varied mechanisms of cross-cultural exchange within the European continent, particularly as a consequence of diplomacy, migration and the internationalization of the print trade. A number of Dutch and Flemish painters, printmakers, and publishers—such as the De Bry and De Passe families—immigrated to England, France, and Germany to escape the Eighty Years’ War. And, prints and books were dispersed internationally through the Frankfurt book fair. Since artists, publishers, and the prints themselves moved across the continent, the dissertation maintains an international perspective. Throughout the study, I also highlight instances of costume prints being copied, appropriated, and reinterpreted across national borders to emphasize the fluid boundaries of early modern European print culture. Moving away from the national divisions that still dominate the early modern field permits us to consider how prints were instrumental in creating a shared visual, intellectual, and popular culture in early modern Europe.

⁴⁴ Thijs Weststeijn, “Introduction: Global Art History and the Netherlands,” *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek Online*, Netherlandish Art in its Global Context, 66, no. 1 (October 22, 2016): 6–27; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Michael North, eds., *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014); Dawn Odell, “Porcelain, Print Culture and Mercantile Aesthetics,” in *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain* (Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 141–58; Michael North, *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010); Julie Berger Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age*, First Edition, First Printing. (Yale University Press, 2007).

⁴⁵ See also Benjamin Schmidt, *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe’s Early Modern World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

Plan of the Dissertation

Over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, the content of costume series follows a general trend. The series that compare the clothing of different nationalities tend to appear between 1600 and 1625. Those that focus on the customs of a single country proliferate from about 1620 until midcentury, at which point, they no longer claim to represent a regionally specific *habitus*, but rather the more temporally limited and internationally oriented *la mode*. The dissertation therefore proceeds chronologically, thereby charting how Europeans' increasing knowledge of global sartorial diversity precipitated an intensified preoccupation with the role of dress in their own societies.

Chapter One traces the multiple visual and conceptual vectors from which the single-sheet costume print emerges at the turn of the seventeenth century. Most accounts of the costume print begin and end with the costume book, but I argue that the motivations for the genre lie at the intersection of various artistic and social endeavors. The first half tracks the various modes of describing, collecting, portraying clothing in the sixteenth century. It discusses three types of costume imagery: private costume manuscripts, printed costume books, and the friendship albums of traveling university students. I propose that friendship albums, in particular, provide a useful framework for understanding the motivations for Pieter de Jode's first costume series, which is limited to costumes of European nobility and reflects a preoccupation with courtly manners and customs and fashion's role therein. In a more extensive analysis of De Jode's second, longer series, which adds elaborate backgrounds and Latin verses describing regional

mores et instituta, I examine how the series parallels the ethnographic impulse of contemporary travel writing, cosmography, and antiquarianism. I conclude by addressing the demise of the costume book and the overall rise in status of the single-sheet prints as a source of knowledge among connoisseurs and the urban elite.

Chapter Two interrogates how costume series contributed to perceptions of essential cultural differences within Europe, and between Europeans as a group against the inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and the Americas. After introducing the concept of the allegorical costume print, I analyze how the images and verses in Crispijn van de Passe II's of the *Twelve Months* (and an English copy by Robert Vaughan) draw from recent and longstanding stereotypes about European rivals, American Indians, and Ottomans. I also demonstrate how the verses incorporate climate-based humoral theories that suggest that, beneath clothing, lie more essential differences between the peoples of the world. I then turn to Martin Droeshout's *Four Continents*, which establishes a global hierarchy of civility and morality on the basis of sartorial, religious, and physical difference. By investigating how this series was used as a source for women's needlework, I illustrate how costume imagery reached viewers beyond the original target audience of scholars and gentlemanly print collectors.

Chapter Three examines prints that articulate the divergent attitudes toward foreign and luxurious fashion in English society. I discuss how Jacques Callot's and Abraham Bosse's depictions of the French nobility were appropriated by English engravers, such as William Marshall and John Goddard, to satirize the French and those who succumbed to their fashionable influence. Literary scholars have unearthed various texts that demonstrate the contemporary anxieties about foreign fashions, which were

condemned as not only traitorous, but also detrimental to the English character. I argue, however, how these prints—primarily through their combination of image and text—strove to stabilize and preserve English identity and morality. I then turn to Wenceslaus Hollar’s large-scale, meticulously etched prints of women’s clothing and accessories, which commemorate the material trappings of the English nobility and assert the validity of fashion as an aesthetic object. I attribute the Bohemian artist’s celebration of fine clothing to several factors, including his intended audience of print connoisseurs; his personal, social, and economic connections to the aristocracy; and his status as an emigré. Through these case studies, this dissertation investigates how the costume print, as a visual medium much like clothing, primed early modern viewers to make character judgments based on clothing and were active social agents in the development of a national consciousness.

CHAPTER ONE

Origins of the Costume Print

As an array of written sources of the era tell us, over the course of the sixteenth century, clothing was recognized as having the power to both make and mark an individual's social and geographic affiliations. Chroniclers and cosmographers alike established clothing as a category of comparative analysis when describing the peoples of the world. Courtesy books, most famously Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, pressed upon aristocratic readers the importance of appropriate dress as an expression of nobility and virtue.¹ And, as new economic forces gave rise to a professional class with the financial resources rivalling those of the traditional nobility, sumptuary laws sought to reaffirm the sartorial boundaries between the social ranks.²

In the same period, dress was also singled out as a subject of visual investigation in the form of costume miniatures, printed costume books, maps, voyage accounts, and the acquisition of actual garments. After surveying the myriad ways that artists, humanists, and the nobility valued, admired, and studied clothing in the sixteenth century, this chapter examines the single-sheet costume series by Pieter de Jode at the turn of the seventeenth. By situating dress as a contingent upon of local customs, these series

¹ Eugenia Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire* (Farnham, Surrey, UK England: Ashgate Publishing, 2014), 51–86; Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); and Elizabeth Currie, "Prescribing Fashion: Dress, Politics and Gender in Sixteenth-Century Italian Conduct Literature," *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 4, no. 2 (June 2000): 157–77. See also the Introduction of this study.

² Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

reinforce the contemporary objectives of geography, antiquarianism, and collecting that sought to organize the world both spatially and culturally.

**Painting Self and Other in Imperial Augsburg:
Matthäus Schwarz's *Kleidungsbüchlein* and Christoph Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch***

Not one, but two of the earliest attempts to observe and record contemporary dress both visually and systematically were initiated by residents of the thriving Imperial city of Augsburg, Germany. Beginning in 1520 and for the next four decades, the well-to-do bookkeeper Matthäus Schwarz maintained a clothing diary, in which he described his luxurious outfits and the occasions on which he wore them. For each entry, a miniaturist painted Schwarz's clothing and accessories in minute, full-color detail. The resulting collection is a testament to how dress was consciously used to preserve and advance one's social standing. A few years later, the Augsburg-based portrait medalist Christoph Weiditz applied his talent for distinguishing likeness to the task of documenting differences in clothing customs. While traveling through parts of Europe, he made sketches of the various peoples he encountered, including those with origins beyond Europe. With over 150 drawings, Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch* represents the most extensive, diverse compilation of ethnographic costume studies from the first half of the century, and it signals the burgeoning interest in the comparative study of societies within the humanist circles of Northern Europe. Although the Schwarz and Weiditz manuscripts were viewed by a select group of individuals, they nevertheless illustrate the growing awareness of the constitutive role of clothing in the construction of individual and collective identities.

Considering the political, cultural, and commercial position of Augsburg in the sixteenth century, it is not surprising that individuals were conscious of clothing's material and social value. Advantageously situated at a juncture of two rivers and offering a direct connection to the Alps, Italy, and the Mediterranean, Augsburg was claimed by the Romans, first as a fortress and later as the capital of their province of Raetia. In the early modern era, the city's Roman heritage was a source of pride for its citizens, and this sentiment only intensified when Italy's engagement with classical antiquity spread northward. In the 13th century, the city acquired the designation of Imperial free city, thus subjecting its citizens only to the laws of the Holy Roman Emperor, rather than to local princely authority. By the 15th century, Augsburg had become a thriving commercial center, with strong civic participation from the representatives from the city's many guilds and leading merchant families, especially the Fuggers, Welsers, and Hochstetters. Through these families, Augsburg was connected to European trade networks in Antwerp, Venice, and beyond, even to the Americas, India, and Africa.

Consequently, Augsburg also hosted a flourishing market for art and luxury goods, particularly textiles, armor, medals, fine art prints, illustrated books, and paintings in the early decades of the sixteenth century.³ Some of the most important German artists

³ For studies on the visual and intellectual culture of early modern Augsburg, see Gregory Jecmen and Freyda Spira, *Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings, 1475-1540* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012); Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Hans-Jörg Künast, *Getruickt zu Augsburg: Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997); John Roger Paas, *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas: Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit* (Augsburg: Wissner, 2001); Anja Schmidt, *Augsburger Ansichten: die Darstellung der Stadt in der Druckgraphik des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Augsburg: Wissner, 2000); *Welt im Umbruch: Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock.*, 3 vols. (Augsburg: Augsburgischer Druck- und Verlagshaus, 1980).

of the period either lived or participated in projects based in Augsburg, including: Daniel Hopfer, Hans Burgkmair, and Jörg Breu. There they enjoyed patronage from the imperial household⁴ and a local patriciate keen to project their prosperity and influence through the arts, particularly portraiture. While Maximilian I promoted himself and secured his legacy through large-scale visual campaigns in the media of print and public spectacle⁵, Augsburg citizens recorded their own commissioned portraits, in diverse media, including print, painting, and the increasingly fashionable portrait medal.

Matthäus Schwarz (1497-1574) enthusiastically embraced the arts of portraiture as he climbed the social and professional ranks of Augsburg society. In addition to panel paintings, bronze medals, and parchment miniatures for his personal prayer book, he had his likeness recorded in a completely novel medium: a visual diary of his clothes. Shortly after securing a position as the head accountant for the Fugger firm, Schwarz initiated what he referred to as his *Kleidungsbüchlein*, or “little book of clothes.”⁶ According to his preface, Schwarz was fascinated by how clothing styles changed over time, which he claims to have discussed with older individuals and to have observed when looking at

⁴ Larry Silver, *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Pia F. Cuneo, *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity, Ca. 1475-1536* (Leiden: Brill, 1998). See also Silver, “Shining Armor: Emperor Max, chivalry, and War,” in *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles*, ed. Cuneo (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

⁵ See Silver, *Marketing Maximilian*.

⁶ HAUM: Hs 27 N. 67a. In 1561, his son Veit Konrad started his own costume compilation, to add to his father’s (HAUM: Hs 27 N. 67b). Matthäus’s daughter passed books on to her daughter, who sold them to local book collector Jeremias Steiniger. His heirs sold them to Duke August the Younger of Brunswick in 1658. Museum Two copies of Matthäus’s manuscript were made in the eighteenth century, one held at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and the other at the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek in Hanover. For complete, color reproductions of the original manuscripts, with commentary, see Ulinka Rublack, Maria Hayward, and Jenny Tiramani, eds., *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthäus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), 49–372. All subsequent quotations of Schwarz’s text are taken from this edition.

“their drawings of costumes they had worn 30, 40, and 50 years ago.” Upon noticing that decades-old fashions now appeared “strange in [his] time,” for the next forty years, he accumulated 137 tempera paintings across 75 sheets of parchment. The collection begins with 36 childhood scenes, based on his own recollections and those of his parents, and it concludes with a representation of the outfit that he wore to Anton Fugger’s funeral in 1560. The vast majority of the entries, however, were completed by 1530. The images, mostly painted by manuscript illuminator Narziss Renner, document Schwarz’s enthusiasm for extravagant attire, which not only showed off his rank and wealth, but also his connections to the prosperous Fugger enterprise.⁷ His clothes were often richly colored and composed of luxurious materials, such as satin, taffeta, fur, and velvet—the very textiles and materials that were imported and traded by the Fuggers.⁸ Schwarz completed his outfits by accessorizing them with precious jewelry and an array of heraldic arms, both of which may have also been manufactured with the gems and metals sourced through the Fugger ventures. Schwarz had ample opportunity to show off these ensembles in public: weddings, state events, or simply in the everyday streets and city squares of early modern Augsburg.

Across the *Kleidungsbuchlein*, the dated entries generally follow a consistent format. Schwarz and his ensemble are displayed from head to toe, and a self-authored caption describes some particulars of the outfit, such as material, color, and geographic

⁷ After Renner’s death in 1536, Schwarz continued the project with other artists, not all of whom are known by name, apart from Christoph Amberger, Jeremias Schemel, and, and potentially, Renner’s wife, Magdalena, who also may have worked on it while her husband was still alive. *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸ Mark Häberlein, *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

origin. In many cases, the social occasions, notable events, or personal milestones that coincided with or motivated a specific ensemble are mentioned.⁹ In an entry dated May 2, 1522, when he was “29 years, 2 ½ months,” Schwarz notes that he “wore a thread caul for the first time,” referring to the costly head-covering woven with metallic threads that was popular at the time (I 52 recto) (fig. 1.1). The caul is visible in the painting itself, which portrays the bookkeeper sporting a vibrant outfit while standing in a domestic interior. When describing the rest of his outfit that day, he is particularly detailed about both colors and fabrics: “The jerkin was scarlet red, the doublet green velvet [and] scarlet red damask; the hose, green taffeta; the shirt with golden bands.” In other entries, he highlights the craftsmanship that went into his more elaborate commissions, such as the striking white doublet that he wore for his twenty-sixth birthday. In the inscription, he boasts that the doublet was accented with 4800 small slashes, a German fashion known as “pinking.”

Throughout the book, Schwarz demonstrates an awareness and even pride over the geographic provenance of a particular fashion or the raw materials used. In June 1524, he excitedly describes a new red beret that he wore to friend’s wedding. The beret, which was constructed from “super fine [material] from Valencia in Spain” and adorned with golden threads, gold buttons, and a black jewel, was gifted to Schwarz by a friend based in Antwerp. In another entry from that year, Schwarz is shown outdoors, standing

⁹ From 1519, Schwarz also kept a personal diary, which he cross-references throughout his book of clothes. It is presumed that his diary entries provided further elaboration on the outfits portrayed and events mentioned in the book of clothes. In what appears to be an attempt to put the adventures of his bachelorhood behind him, he destroyed the book on the occasion of his marriage. Rublack, et al, *The First Book of Fashion*, 8.

beneath a classicizing archway, dressed in what he calls the “Spanish manner”: a cape over a “doublet of silk satin,” riding gown “with silken edgings cut open in four ways,” and hose—all black, except for the white leather gloves and shirt that provide some contrast. He completed the look with a broad-brimmed “Netherlandish bonnet with 2 velvet gussets” (I 71 verso) (fig. 1.2).

The *Kleidungsbüchlein* also exemplifies how dressing in sixteenth-century Augsburg was an act of negotiation between individual preferences, group identity, and social demands. In February 1522, he and his friends made a public statement of their social bond by dressing similarly, possibly even identically. In one of the manuscript’s more dynamic compositions, Schwarz drives a sleigh while wearing a festive ensemble that consists of short black cloak over a deep orange doublet, with hose that are black and yellow striped on the left leg, and black and red striped on the right. “[U]s comrades looked like this at Sigmund Peitscher’s wedding,” he writes (I 51 verso). Social ambition was also a factor in Schwarz’s sartorial decisions. In advance of the Imperial Diet of 1630, he commissioned six outfits, including one “to please Ferdinand” (fig. 1.3) (I 102 and I 103 recto). Schwarz was hoping to be granted noble status by Ferdinand I, the recently announced heir to the title of Holy Roman Emperor, who would be accompanying his brother Charles V in Augsburg. In the words of Ulinka Rublack, this act of “bourgeois power-dressing” not only displayed the wealth and good taste that were required for the social position Schwarz sought.¹⁰ It also appealed to the new heir on an

¹⁰ Ibid., 14.

emotional level, since yellow was the outfit's predominant color, which was rumored to be Ferdinand's preferred color for joyous occasions.¹¹

The young accountant may have been singular in his devotion to memorializing his fashion statements. But his preoccupation with clothing served him well, since he succeeded in acquiring a title. In an era when appearance and comportment were central to the codes of civility that governed social conduct in the early modern court, dress was a tool to be wielded for social advancement.¹²

If time is the organizing principle of Schwarz's manuscript, place is the primary variable in the costume compilation of Christoph Weiditz.¹³ Today the work is referred to as his *Trachtenbuch* ("Book of Costumes"). The "book" is in fact a bound set of 154 pen, ink, and watercolor drawings of national, ethnic, and social types, based on the populations that Weiditz encountered during his travels, starting in 1529, when he traveled to Castile, Spain. Born and trained in Strasbourg as a formcutter, Weiditz relocated to Augsburg around 1526, where had a successful career carving the likenesses of statesmen, patricians, and self-made burghers. After several years, however, his right to engage in this practice was challenged by the city's goldsmiths, who retained the privilege to carve portrait medals. He therefore traveled to Castile in search of similar

¹¹ For a modern reconstruction of this outfit, see Tiramani, "Reconstructing a Schwarz Outfit," in Rublack, et al, *The First Book of Fashion*, 373-396.

¹² See note 1 above.

¹³ Germanisches Nationalmuseum: Hs 22474. For black and white reproductions of all entries, see Christoph Weiditz, *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance: All 154 Plates from the "Trachtenbuch"* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994). This is an English reprint of Theodor Hampe, *Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/32)* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1927). Included in the manuscript are portraits of the artist himself and of the Spanish conquistador, Hernan Cortés. The latter was likely the basis of Weiditz's portrait medal of Cortés.

opportunities within the imperial circles of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. While there, Charles invited Weiditz to join his retinue and eventually issued a decree granting the artist permission to make portrait medals.

Although Weiditz's journey was limited to European lands, he managed to capture the diversity of customs across the continent, especially within Spanish regions. The costumes of the *Trachtenbuch* reflect Weiditz's itinerary *en route* to Castile and back to Augsburg for the Imperial Diet of 1530, including France, the Low Countries, and Italy, as well as countries he did not visit, such as England, Ireland, Portugal, and Austria, presumably for purposes of comparison. Weiditz's extended stay in Castile allowed him to capture the regional diversity of dress across Spain. The drawings and inscriptions typically emphasize the appearance of certain groups. A Spanish noblewoman, for example, is illustrated in two full-length images, offering both side and rear views of her outfit and her long braid, which is covered with a jeweled bonnet, heightened with gold and silver pigment (fig. 1.4). A simple inscription, tells us, "Thus the women in Spain look from the front and rear." Variations in Spanish fashion are appreciated through similar pairs of images for noblewomen from Catalonia, Barcelona, and the Basque region.

Weiditz was not only interested in the clothing and manners of Spain's elite. Drawings of laborers and artisans at work paint a broader picture of Spanish society. Other scenes show a Castilian man selling water from the back of his mule, a Toledan transporting wine in goatskins, and a three-part sequence detailing how peasants thresh, clean, and sell corn. These drawings indicate that, despite the modern title of the

manuscript, Weiditz was interested in dress as part of a broader set of customs and routines of daily life. Weiditz gave extra attention to the costumes and activities of the Moriscos of Granada, a group descending from the country's Moorish population, who are depicted baking bread, sweeping their homes, and spinning thread.¹⁴ Drawings of women covering their face in public point to traditions that persisted beyond their forced conversion to Christianity (fig. 1.5).¹⁵ Spain's ethnic heterogeneity is further accounted for in images where enslaved Africans are portrayed filling barrels of water for ships and participating in Imperial processions, thus highlighting the varied functions they filled in this center of administrative and commercial activity (1.6). At the court of Charles V, Weiditz also had the opportunity to see Aztec Indians brought back to Spain by Hernán Cortés. Several drawings focus on the feather capes that would fascinate Europeans, while a male figure described as a "noble" suggests Weiditz's efforts to draw parallels between Aztec and European social structures (fig. 1.7)

The origins and purpose of the *Trachtenbuch* remain unclear. It is possible that Weiditz began sketching out of personal interest; he would not have been the first travelling artist to be fascinated by foreign customs, as the costume studies by other

¹⁴ The consensus among scholars is that he likely stayed in Castile and that his drawings of other Spanish regions, especially the Basque and Granada, are based on a prototype that has not been identified. See Rublack, *Dressing up*, 188; and Weiditz and Hampe, *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance*, 22.

¹⁵ Certain elements of Moorish dress, such as the platform shoes (*chapines*), were incorporated into Spanish dress and were worn by both Moriscos and Christians in the late medieval and early modern period without challenge. Other practices that were more strongly associated with their Muslim origins, such as the cloaks (*almalafas*) or the practice of veiling, were increasingly stigmatized from the early sixteenth century and especially in the years immediately preceding the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609. For an analysis of both the stigmatization and romanticization of Moorish material culture in Iberian literature, see Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), especially 60–87.

internationally-oriented artists, such as Albrecht Dürer or Gentile Bellini, demonstrate.¹⁶ Perhaps he was inspired by Schwarz's costume diary, of which he is likely to have been aware through their overlapping social and professional circles in Augsburg.¹⁷ Weiditz may also have been aware of the success of Hans Burgkmair's multi-block woodcut frieze depicting the inhabitants of coastal Africa and India, which was published to accompany Balthasar Springer's report of his travels to India.¹⁸ As Theodor Hampe points out, the careful labeling of each drawing, as well as the bold outlines, suggest that Weiditz had contemplated publishing the drawings as a series of woodcuts or as a book of costumes, either to be carved by himself or by another woodcutter.¹⁹ While the studies remained unpublished, they were nevertheless seen by other artists, who replicated Weiditz's project in manuscript and print, thus stimulating further interest in the diversity of global customs.

¹⁶ For Dürer's studies, see Jean Michel Massing, "Albrecht Dürer's Irish Warriors and Peasants," *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 10 (1994): 223–26; Jean Michel Massing, "The Quest for the Exotic: Albrecht Dürer in the Netherlands," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 115–19; Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (Totowa: Islamic Art Publications, 1982); Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, *Bellini and the East* (London; Boston: National Gallery; Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2005).

¹⁷ Weiditz knew Schwarz's first miniaturist, Narziss Renner. Rublack et al, *The First Book of Fashion*, 5.

¹⁸ Stephanie Leitch, "Burgkmair's Peoples of Africa and India (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print," *Art Bulletin* 91, no. 2 (June 2009): 134–59; Mark P. McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India," *Print Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (September 2003): 227–44; Jean Michel Massing, "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 27 (Spring 1995): 39–51. Larry Silver, "India Ink: Imagery of the Subcontinent in Early Modern Europe," in Liselotte Saurma-Jeltsch and Anja Eisenbeiss, eds., *The Power of Things and the Flow of Cultural Transformations* (Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag; 2010), 217–47.

¹⁹ Hampe also suggests that the pen and ink drawings that make up the book are actually based on quicker sketches that he completed during his travels, and that the inscriptions—written by a professional scribe—draw on his own notes. Weiditz and Hampe, *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance*, 9–10.

Clothing in Circulation: Costume Books and Curiosity Cabinets

The first encyclopedic series of costume images that was intended for public consumption was published decades later in Venice: Enea Vico's *Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus* (c. 1555-58).²⁰ Correspondences between the engravings and Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch* suggest that Vico was aware of the German manuscript, which he may have seen during his visit to Augsburg in 1550.²¹ Similar to most of the drawings in the *Trachtenbuch*, each plate displays a single standing figure, representing a social type from a particular geographic region. Removed from any narrative context and setting, except for the small patch of ground on which they stand, the figures are identified by a small plaque with brief titles, such as "Spanish woman." The preponderance of images of Spanish dress and custom—more than we might expect from an Italian engraver—also points to some form of contact between Vico and Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch*, as do the repetitions of specific figures, such the prelate from Toledo (figs. 1.8-9)

Vico's series focuses exclusively on costumes and appearances, without any further images or descriptions of other customs. We might therefore assume that this series was envisioned as a printed rendition of a model book for other artists and artisans. Yet, the representation of more distant regions, such as Turkey, Tartary, or Ethiopia,

²⁰ Because no complete edition is known to survive, what is mostly known of Vico's series is gleaned from Ferdinando Bertelli's *Omnium fere gentium...* (Venice, 1563), a costume book for which many of the plates are based on Vico's designs. Bertelli likely had access to Vico's original drawings. See Ghering-van Ierlant, *Mode in Prent*, 14-15.

²¹ Vico visited Augsburg in the summer of 1550 to propose an engraved series of triumphs for Charles V, though the project was never realized. See Rosemarie Mulcahy, "Enea Vico's Proposed Triumphs of Charles V," *Print Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (December 2002): 331-40. Aric Chen identifies this trip as the point of contact between Vico and the Weiditz *Trachtenbuch* in "Enea Vico's Costume Studies: A Source and a Sovereignty," *Art on Paper* 5, no. 2 (December 2000): 50-55.

suggests an attempt to appeal to a different type of print consumer. Vico did not travel to these locations, so he was dependent on pre-existing visual sources. For example, a festival scene from Pieter Coecke van Aelst's *Les moeurs et fachons de faire de turcz* (Antwerp, 1553), provided a model for the Turkish woman shown from behind, who appears in the lower right corner of "Celebration of a Circumcision" (figs. 1.10-11).²² Vico's desire to procure and include images of these regions speaks to the growing curiosity among Europeans about the inhabitants of distant lands, which was driven by overseas voyages and the resulting eyewitness accounts.

The so-called "armchair travelers" of the era would have been even better served by the more ambitious costume books that followed Vico's series. Between 1560 and 1610, upwards of fifteen of these publications were issued across Europe, specifically in the printmaking centers of Germany, Italy, France, and the Low Countries.²³ A small portion of costume books are limited to the clothing of a single region, gender, or

²² Bronwen Wilson, "Foggie Diverse di Vestire de' Turchi: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation," *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 97-139, here 109.

²³ Critical studies of the early modern costume book include, but are not limited to, J.A. Olian, "Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," *Dress* 3 (1977): 20-48; Ulrike Ilg, "The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, ed. Richardson, Catherine (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 29-47; Odile Blanc, "Images du Monde et Portraits d'habits: Les recueils de costumes à La Renaissance," *Bulletin Du Bibliophile* 2 (1995): 221-61; Daniel Defert, "Un genre ethnographique profane au XVIe: Les livres d'habits (essai d'ethno-iconographie)," in *Histoires de L'anthropologie (XVI-XIXe Siècles)*, ed. Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (Paris: Klincksieck, 1984); Ann Rosalind Jones, "'Worn in Venice and throughout Italy': The Impossible Present in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 511-44; Ann Rosalind Jones, "Ethnographer's Sketch, Sensational Engraving, Full-Length Portrait: Print Genres for Spanish America in Girolamo Benzoni, the De Brys, and Cesare Vecellio," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 4, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 138-73; Ann Rosalind Jones, "Habits, Holdings, Heterologies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book," *Yale French Studies* 110 (2006): 92-121; Bronwen Wilson, "Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books," *Studies in Iconography* 25 (2004): 221-74. For a catalogue of costume books and related publications, see René Colas, *Bibliographie général du costume et de la mode; description des suites, recueils, séries, revues et livres français et étrangers relatifs au costume civil, militaire et religieux, aux modes, aux coiffures et aux divers accessoires de l'habillement, avec une table méthodique et un index alphabétique*. (New York: Reprinted by Hacker Art Books, 1969).

occupation, The more specialized of the books might focus on a single gender, such as Jost Amman, *Gynaeceum, sive Theatrum Mulierum* (“The Theater of Women,” Frankfurt, 1586); a single region, such as Giacomo Franco, *Habiti d’huomeni et donne venetiane* (“Habits of the Men and Women of Venice,” Venice, 1610); or a single occupation, e.g. Abraham de Bruyn, *Diversarum Gentium Armatura Equestris* (“Knights of Various Nations,” Cologne, 1575) The majority, however, aspire to be as comprehensive as possible, by including examples of dress from all four known parts of the world: Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. When possible, further divisions by nation, town, ethnicity, profession, social rank, and even marital status are illustrated.

The global ambitions of costume book authors were not novel, and for this reason, sociologist Daniel Defert refers to the publications as “printed curiosity cabinets.”²⁴ The *Wunderkammer*, or curiosity cabinet, was an encyclopedic collection of natural specimens and exemplars of human artifice, global in scope and extending from antiquity to the present.²⁵ Conceiving their cabinets as a microcosm of the universe, acquired *naturalia*, such as coral, seashells, animal skeletons, and plants, and *artificialia*, including weapons, scientific instruments, ceramics. Though Defert does not note this, some of the

²⁴ “Ils se présentent au lecteur comme des cabinets de curiosité imprimés et des substituts aux voyages.” Defert, “Un egenre ethnographique,” 26.

²⁵ Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1908); Joy Kenseth, ed., *The Age of the Marvelous* (Hanover: Hood Museum Of Art, 1992); Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker, eds., *De Wereld Binnen Handbereik: Nederlandse Kunst- en Rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735* (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992); Horst Bredekamp, *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art, and Technology*, trans. Allison Brown (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1995); Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, 2nd ed. (London: House of Stratus, 2001); Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall, eds., *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). 36

most prominent sixteenth-century collections included physical examples of clothing and textiles. Even before the full conceptual development of the *Wunderkammer*, early palace collections housed articles of dress, particularly from the Americas; such objects were most likely to be located within the collections of rulers who had familial or diplomatic connections to the Habsburg dynasty, the leading sponsor of overseas expeditions. The origins of collecting exotica lie largely with “Moctezuma’s gift.” During his visit to Mexico in 1519, Hernán Cortés received a number of diplomatic gifts from the Aztec ruler.²⁶ Those objects were then presented to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who exhibited them in Toledo, Brussels,²⁷ and Valladolid before re-gifting about 170 items to Margaret of Austria, his regent in the Netherlands.²⁸ An inventory of Margaret’s possessions at the Palace of Savoy in Mechelen in 1524 lists a number of objects described as “Indian,” including twelve pieces of clothing sewn with gold, fur, and feathers, as well as four feather fans, three bracelets, and seven ceremonial headdresses. These feather headdresses, which were worn by Aztec priests during religious

²⁶ For the origins of the gift and the later fate of the individual items, see Christian F. Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures: Aztec, Mixtec and Tarascan Works from the Sixteenth Century,” *Archiv für Volkerkunde* 44 (1990): 1–64.

²⁷ During his travels through the Netherlands, Albrecht Dürer encountered the Aztec objects at the royal palace in Brussels between 27 August and 2 September 1520. He famously recorded in his diary his reactions upon seeing “all manner of wondrous weapons of theirs, harnesses and darts, very strange clothing, beds, and all kinds of wonderful objects of human use [...]” See Hans Rupprich, *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlass*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1956–1969), 1:155; Jan Albert Goris and Georges Marlier, *Albrecht Dürer: Diary of His Journey to the Netherlands, 1520–1521* (London, 1971), 64. For a discussion of this diary entry within the context of Europeans’ first encounters with the peoples and material culture of the Americas, see Jean Michel Massing, “Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach,” in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (Washington, D.C: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 515–20, here 515.

²⁸ Deanna MacDonald, “Collecting a New World: The Ethnographic Collections of Margaret of Austria,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 3 (2002): 649–63. Eleven Mexican items were also sent to Charles’s brother Archduke Ferdinand I of Austria in 1524, but Feest points out that these may have arrived in a later shipment of Mexican objects to Europe. See Feest, “Vienna’s Mexican Treasures,” 34.

ceremonies, were highly desirable collectors' items, as were the feather capes of the Tupinamba Indians in Brazil.²⁹ Displayed together with portraits, genealogies, and maps, in the palace library, the Mexican gifts served to advertise the power and territorial claims of the Habsburg dynasty.³⁰

Interest in collecting Native American clothing and textiles was not limited to political entities with direct colonial ambitions in the Americas. Diplomacy, trade, and intermarriage led to global exchange of ethnographic items.³¹ For example, the 1598 inventory of the ducal collections in Munich, established by Albrecht V in 1565, lists "feather artifacts, figures of deities clothing, jewelry, weapons, hammocks" among other items from Brazil, Mexico, and the Greater Antilles.³² The foreign objects acquired by Albrecht came from a variety of sources. Some were gifts, such as the Sinhalese and Aztec feather fans he received from the Medici.³³ Others were procured through

²⁹ Alessandra Russo, Gerhard Wolf, and Diana Fane, eds., *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe, 1400-1700* (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2015); Amy J. Buono, "Feathered Identities and Plumed Performances: Tupinambá Interculture in Early Modern Brazil and Europe." (University of California, Santa Barbara, 2007).

³⁰ MacDonald, "Collecting a New World: The Ethnographic Collections of Margaret of Austria," 663.

³¹ As early as 1539, the Cosimo I de' Medici, the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, had acquired several Mexican and Brazilian featherwork garments for his collection at the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. See Lia Markey, *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

³² Elke Bujok, "Ethnographica in Early Modern *Kunstkammern* and Their Perception," *Journal of the History of Collections* 21, no. 1 (2009): 17–32, here 24. See also Luran Toorians, "The Earliest Inventory of Mexican Objects in Munich, 1572," *Journal of the History of Collections* 6, no. 1 (1994): 59–67; Lorenz Seelig, "The Munich *Kunstammer*, 1565-1807," in *The Origins of Museums*, ed. Impey and MacGregor, 76–89.

³³ Bujok, "Ethnographica in Early Modern *Kunstkammern* and Their Perception," 24. Bujok suggests that some of the Americana in the Munich ducal collection may have been received as gifts from the Habsburgs since Duke Albrecht V was related to Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol by marriage.

merchants, especially Hans Jakob Fugger, who also was his librarian and coordinated his purchases.³⁴

Closer to the turn of the seventeenth century, royal collectors sought a more systematically encyclopedic approach to collecting, with an understanding that the *Wunderkammer* should represent a microcosm of the universe. While American objects remained popular throughout the century and into the next one, trade, territorial conquest, diplomatic exchange, and even war brought clothing, accessories, arms, and armor from around the world to European palace collections.³⁵ The *Kunstammer* of Ferdinand of Tyrol at Schloss Ambras (assembled between 1567 and 1595), which remains largely intact today near Innsbruck, Austria, contains the requisite feather headdress as well as samurai armor, Persian weapons, a Turkish sabre once belonging to the Ottoman sultan Suleiman I, and a pair of *chopines*, high-heeled shoes worn by Venetian women, among other items of international provenance.³⁶ From Africa, Raffia cloth from the Kongo seems to have been particularly desired by collectors in Italy, including Manfredo Settala, Ferdinando Cospi, and Athanasius Kircher.³⁷ The Munich inventory demonstrates that

³⁴ As early as a decade before Albrecht started his collection, wealthy burghers like Fugger, who were well connected to international trading networks in Asia and the Americas, collected rarities from abroad. See Mark Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jakob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 182–200.

³⁵ Barbara Karl, "On the Crossroads: Objects from the Islamic World in Habsburg Collections in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012): 114–26. See also Julian Raby, "Exotica from Islam" in *The Origins of Museums*, ed. Impey and MacGregor, 251–58.

³⁶ Robert Born, Michal Dziewulski, and Guido Messling, eds., *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art* (Brussels: BOZAR Books, 2015), 137, no. 47.

³⁷ Ezio Bassani and Malcolm McLeod, "African Material in Early Collections," in *The Origins of Museums*, ed. Impey and MacGregor, 245–50. There was also a small collection of African material in the Munich *Kunstammer*. See Elke Bujok, "Africana und Americana im Ficklerschen Inventar der Münchner Kunstammer von 1598," *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 8 (2003): 57–142.

“exotica,” could also come from regions that today we associate with Europe, but in the early modern period, they still remained “other” to Western and Central Europe. From Lapland—which covers parts of Finland, Norway, Sweden and Russia—came a pair of shoes, and at least twenty objects from Muscovy.³⁸ Foreign dress was also useful for scientific and anthropological inquiry, rather than displaying princely magnificence. Though the naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi did not collect ethnographic items himself, he studied items, such as feather headdresses, in the nearby collection of Antonio Giganti to understand the different applications of natural resources.³⁹

The encyclopedic aims of costume books also mirror those of the various genres of humanistic investigation that flourished from the middle of the sixteenth century. Universal histories, such as Johannes Boemus’s *Omnium Gentium Mores* (Augsburg, 1520), survey the everyday customs (including dress), political institutions, and religious practices from various regions across Europe, Asia, and Africa. Similar aims were evident in the cosmographic publications of the era, such as Sebastian Münster’s enormously successful *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1544), which combines cartography, chorography, math, astronomy, and natural history with information about customs and manners, for a truly all-encompassing description of the world.⁴⁰ Costume books also complemented global atlases, such as Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570) by introducing a concrete, human dimension to the abstract

³⁸ See Bujok, “Ethnographica in Early Modern Kunstkammern and Their Perception,” 17–18.

³⁹ On the collections of Ulisse Aldrovandi and Antonio Giganti in Bologna, see Laura Laurencich-Minelli, “Museography and Ethnographical Collections in Bologna during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *The Origins of Museum*, ed. Impey and MacGregor, 16–23.

⁴⁰ Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

representation of place.⁴¹ Indeed, the larger costume books, follow the structure of atlases; they are organized first by continent before moving to countries and towns.

The two subjects—geography and costume—were intertwined in Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg’s collection of city views and maps, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne, 1572-1617). This multi-volume collection of city maps and views (both bird’s-eye and topographical) was intended to supplement Ortelius’s world atlas.⁴² Following the example of its predecessor, the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* supplemented each view with a written description of the city. As editor, Braun solicited drawings and information from his vast network of scholars, publishers, artists, merchants, and civic leaders, while also consulting prior histories, cosmographies, and voyage accounts.⁴³ The project epitomized the sixteenth-century revival of chorography, the classical roots of which focused on the physical or topographical character of a specific place. In its early modern iteration, chorographic description was more “an epistemological approach rather than a strictly defined genre” that still encompassed topography “but also incorporates local history, sometimes genealogy, chronology, customs, and anecdotal material in different measures.”⁴⁴ This approach extends to the views in the *Civitates*, which represent not

⁴¹ Ulrike Ilg, “The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” in *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, ed. Richardson, Catherine (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 37.

⁴² For a full-color reproduction of the plates, see Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum = Cities of the World : 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World : Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617* (Cologne: Taschen, 2008).

⁴³ Stephan Füssel, “‘Natura Sola Magistra’ - The Evolution of City Iconography in the Early Modern Era,” in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne: Taschen, 2008), 8–41 especially 18-25; Tine Luk Meganck, “Erudite Eyes: Artists and Antiquarians in the Circle of Abraham Ortelius (1627-1598),” Ph.D. thesis (Princeton University, 2003), 140–189.

⁴⁴ Michelle Moseley-Christian, “Confluence of Costume, Cartography, and Early Modern European Chorography,” *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 9 (December 2013): 1–23, here 3.

only the physical contours of a town and its architectural structures, but also the appearances and activities of its inhabitants.⁴⁵

In many views by Braun and Hogenberg, costumed figures are statically positioned in the foreground, much like a costume book. The drawings supplied by Joris Hoefnagel, however, are more likely to integrate the figures into the landscape and engage them in interactive scenes. In the view of Bourges (vol. II, pl. 10, no. 2, 1575), for example, the contours of the city are shown in the distant background, where major monuments are visible and identified through a numbered key (fig. 1.12). Braun's description gives extra attention to the ancient Gallic wall, "which is so strongly fortified that no tools can pull it down." The rural outskirts of the city are populated with residents from different social groups. On the right, several pairs of figures in courtly attire converse along the winding paths. The end of the path shows two elegantly attired women facing the viewer, while lifting their outer skirts to reveal a farthingale and beneath that, a patterned petticoat. Their luxurious apparel is contrasted with the humble clothes worn by two shepherds and a woman spinning thread, likely made from the wool shorn from the nearby grazing sheep. Together, Hoefnagel's design and Braun's text create a picture of Bourges that accounts for its topography, architecture, history, customs, and industries, as well as a range of social class and gender.

Costume books also shared the scholarly aspirations of the aforementioned genres, as well as the classificatory aims of natural history. These ends are apparent in the

⁴⁵ Braun states in the preface that the figures were added to the maps to deter "bloodthirsty Turks" who "cannot bear to look upon carved or painted images" from looking at them, lest they use them for strategic purposes. Füssel, "'Natura Sola Magistra'," 15.

prefatory passages and through certain visual cues. Abraham de Bruyn described his costume book as a visual complement to the histories and cosmographies, where clothing was often described but not necessarily pictured. Just as those “sage individuals are engaged researching and describing the four principal parts of the world and the origins, habits, and conditions of the people who reside there for amateurs of science,” he has tried to “represent the true form and different appearance of their clothes” to appeal to “amateurs of science.”⁴⁶ In defense of their scientific objectives, nearly every costume book offers guarantees of the faithfulness of their representations. In the message “To the reader,” that opens *Habitus Variarum Orbis Gentium* (Cologne/Mechelen, 1581), for example, publisher Caspar Rutz, lauds the well-traveled “man of most elegant genius,” Jean-Jacques Boissard, the antiquarian and artist who furnished him with “many different strange styles of dress conscientiously observed from life [*ad vivum*].”

In the sixteenth-century, the phrase “ad vivum” and its vernacular variants were employed in natural history treatises to indicate that the images therein are straightforward documentations, based on eyewitness observation, thus without any interventions on the part of the draftsmen.⁴⁷ The compositional strategies of the costume plates also echo those of botanicals and zoological treatises.⁴⁸ Each dressed “specimen” is

⁴⁶ Abraham de Bruyn, *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Africae atque Americae gentium habitus* (Antwerp: 1581), preface.

⁴⁷ For the origins of this phrase in early modern natural history and its subsequent adoption in art theoretical discourse in the Dutch Republic, see Claudia Swan, “*Ad vivum, naer het leven*, from the life: Defining a mode of representation,” *Word & Image* 11, no. 4 (December 1995): 353–72. Similar claims to eyewitness observation were also tied to the usage of *contrafactum* (“counterfeited”). See Peter Parshall, “*Imago Contrafacta*: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance,” *Art History* 16, no. 4 (December 1993): 554–79.

⁴⁸ On early modern natural history, see Sachiko Kusukawa, *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany* (University of Chicago Press, 2012);⁴³

extricated from any spatial, geographic, or narrative context and placed close to the picture plane, so that the viewer's attention is directed only toward the composition of each figure's ensemble. Due to the limited use of modeling through hatching, the silhouettes of the figures are emphasized, and textile patterns and textures are clearly indicated. Finally, to encourage comparative looking, there is little variation in stance, gesture, or activity when moving from page to page in a costume book. Whereas Weiditz occasionally showed his figures working, dancing, or socially interacting, costume books repeat the same basic composition throughout, whether that consists of a single figure per page or a row of figures.

Despite promises of authenticity, inevitable limitations hampered the reliability of costume book illustrations due to the nature of the genre. When only a single figure is employed to represent an entire region, or even a social subset of that region, it is necessary to select which elements would constitute the most typical, identifiable costume for the group; consequently, local variations and individual preferences are necessarily obscured. Costume book artists therefore emphasized the general properties that would enable recognition and classification, while they downplayed deviations—again like natural historians.⁴⁹ Another complication arises from the premise that costume books are collections of apparel “in current use,” which François Desprez claimed

Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

⁴⁹ For discussions on the paradoxical necessity in early modern natural history to both copy and assert that images are based on eyewitness observation, see Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta,” 567–70; Bronwen Wilson, “Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity,” in *Sixteenth-Century Costume Books*, 240–242; Sachiko Kusukawa, “The Sources of Gessner’s Pictures for the *Historia Animalium*,” *Annals of Science, The Representation of Animals in the Early Modern Period*, 67, no. 3 (July 1, 2010): 303–28.

directly in the title of his work: *Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de present en usaige tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, et Affrique et Isles sauvages, Le tout fait apres le naturel*. In the time that it took to compile representations of clothing, to engrave or cut the plates, and to add captions, inevitably certain fashions might have run their course, even as slowly as such modes generally changed in this period.⁵⁰

In the message to the reader in his costume book *Degli habiti antichi e moderni* (Venice: 1590, 1598), Cesare Vecellio acknowledged this problem, though he adopts the moralizing tone typical of many costume book authors:

Costume as a subject allows no absolute certainty, for styles of clothing are constantly changing, according to the whim and caprice of their wearers. Add to this, if you will, that many regions of the world now are too far away for us to have news of them, although they are none the less being discovered; we hardly know the names of many places discovered within our and our fathers' memories, let alone their costumes and customs; and costume shares the mutability to which all worldly things are and have been subject (sig. B4r).⁵¹

These claims of authenticity and topicality are also challenged by the prevailing practice of copying. Like the compilers of cosmographies, costume book authors were often exactly that: compilers. Some of their material may have been gathered first-hand, but the majority was drawn from other paintings, prints, travel accounts, and earlier costume studies. As the first widely distributed costume series, Vico's plates were copied early and often. In her catalogue for the exhibition *Mode in Prent*, M.A. Ghering van Ierlant traces the long history of Vico's Flemish woman (*Flandrensis*) (figs. 1.13-14).⁵² The

⁵⁰ On this topic, see Ann Rosalind Jones, "'Worn in Venice and throughout Italy': The Impossible Present in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 511–44.

⁵¹ All citations of Vecellio's costume book are based on Margaret Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones's English translation of the 1590 edition, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas: Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008).

⁵² M.A. Ghering-van Ierlant, *Mode in Prent (1550-1914)* (The Hague: Nederlands Kostuummuseum, 1988), 14–20 cat. nos. 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 28, 35, 36, 38.

same cloaked figure was reproduced in virtually every costume book published between 1562 and 1601. The same phenomenon occurred with other figures, particularly the exotic types, for which current, trustworthy imagery was less likely to circulate.

Bronwen Wilson suggests that reusing earlier material was not simply a shortcut, but was instead another way that costume book authors complied with the conventions of scientific illustration, which privileged “substances rather than accidents”: “In contrast to drawing from life—a practice subject to a range of contingencies, viewpoints, and the particulars of specific models—copying prints brought forward general characteristics or essences.”⁵³ Nevertheless, even the copies cannot be taken at face value, since figures could be entirely recast to suit the needs of the costume book. Desprez took such liberties with Vico’s African maiden, who became a young Turkish woman (*La fille Turquoise*) (figs. 1.15-16). Similarly, his North African man (*Le Barbare*) was based on Vico’s image of a Tartar man (figs. 1.17-18).

Questions of anthropological accuracy notwithstanding, costume books were not solely dedicated to educating readers about clothing practices. As Ulrike Ilg argues, they also served a “regulatory function” regarding behavior.⁵⁴ From the outset, costume books promote the idea that there is a connection between the clothing of individuals—or a community—and their interior nature. This link is signaled with the word *habitus* and its vernacular variants in virtually every costume book title. As outlined in the Introduction to this dissertation, *habitus* is usually translated as “clothing” or “costume,” where

⁵³ Wilson, “Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books,” 242.

⁵⁴ Ilg, “The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” 43.

costume connotes clothing that is typical of a country or historical period. But “habitus” also referred to one’s manner, disposition, or quality, as resulting from nature or through custom. Thus, the German’s habit, or clothing, was an integral component of the specific German *habitus*, or way of life. The authors further imply that by simply looking at clothing, one can perceive the true character of an individual or group. On the title page for Jost Amman’s 1586 book of women’s clothing, *Gynaeeceum, sive Theatrum Mulierum* (Frankfurt, 1586), the publisher Sigismund Feyerabend states that the book would be appreciated by those who are “hindered from distant travel but [who] take pleasure in the costume of various people, which is a silent index of their character.”⁵⁵

This premise—that clothing is an outward expression of one’s nature—also guides the descriptions that accompany the plates of certain costume books. Desprez was specifically critical of those who dressed too extravagantly or were overly preoccupied with following the latest fashions.⁵⁶ In his dedication to Henry of Navarre—later Henry IV of France—he instructs the eight-year-old noble to look through the woodcuts of the *Recueil de la diversité* “for the sake of delightfully enlivening [his] mind.”⁵⁷ But the young heir and other readers were also to take away another message: that those who seek sartorial magnificence are often lacking in moral substance: “...many people are admired for the quantity and richness of their clothing, yet they are empty of virtue and a

⁵⁵ Quoted and translated in Jones, “‘Worn in Venice and throughout Italy’: The Impossible Present in Cesare Vecellio’s Costume Books,” 515.

⁵⁶ These themes are also typical of early modern anti-luxury tracts. For an overview of these and other moralizing texts on the subject of dress, see the first and second chapters of Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986).

⁵⁷ Citations and translations from Desprez’s *Recueil* are from Ann Rosalind Jones, “Habits, Holdings, Heterologies: Populations in Print in a 1562 Costume Book,” *Yale French Studies* 110 (2006): 92–121, here 96.

clear conscience (a3).” He compares such violators to the Pharisees or the “wicked rich man mentioned in St. Luke.” As Ann Rosalind Jones illustrates in her study of the book, the corollary to this claim is expressed throughout the quatrains accompanying the woodcuts: those who are modest and unchanging in their clothing habits display greater strength of character.⁵⁸ The French are chastised for their shifting fashions, while other nationalities are praised for their devotion to tradition. A woman from the Spanish city of Pamplona, wearing a towering cylindrical headdress and a cloak with long, flared sleeves, is commended thus:

Here is a woman who lives in Pamplona,
Her headdress and garments are always this way.
She’d never change costume, as the moon
And the people of France do every day. (D8v)

Despite the implied or stated connection between costume and character throughout these publications, few costume books actually discussed the clothing within the context of other regional behaviors. Cesare Vecellio’s costume book is one of the few that does. Each country is introduced by a one-to-two-page description of the political history, geography, resources or exports, and notable customs. For example, the opening entry for Flanders, “A Girl of Brabant, and Other Places Nearby, Especially Antwerp,” first mentions general facts about the region, such as that the “land is better suited for pasturing animals than for growing wheat, so the Flemish export a great amount of cheese,” before turning to more specific details about the courting rituals of young women (fig. 1.19) (359 r/v).⁵⁹ He notes that it is “the custom for unmarried girls to play

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Vecellio, Rosenthal and Jones trans., *The Clothing of the Renaissance World*, 411.

many games with their young lovers...in the winter on the ice and in the summer in lovely gardens.” Throughout the book, he provides detailed descriptions of clothing and uses specific terms whenever possible, though often using Italian words. The women in Antwerp, for example, “wear small *spalletti* [shoulder rolls], very prettily needleworked, and their sleeves come out of them, very close-fitting, so that they look altogether, charming.”

Costume in Miniature: The *Album Amicorum*

Developing roughly contemporaneously with costume books, the *album amicorum*, or “friendship album,” further illuminates the growing fascination with fashion and foreign customs in early modern Europe. First appearing in the 1540s in Luther’s Wittenberg, the *album amicorum* (*Stammbuch* in German and *vriendenboek* in Dutch) was a treasured possession of German- and Dutch-speaking students, scholars, and noblemen from the regions of Europe.⁶⁰ Albums could be purchased with the pages pre-bound before the traveler began soliciting autographs, or the owner could collect contributions on loose pages during his travels and have them bound together afterward. While abroad for work or study, album owners solicited friends and colleagues to make a contribution to their album, either in the form of a motto, poem, or proverb, typically drawn from classical or biblical sources; these entries were signed and dated by the contributor, whose coat of arms might also appear on the same or an adjacent page.

⁶⁰ *Alba amicorum* were primarily owned by men. Some women kept friendship albums as well, even if they did not travel or study formally; the few signatures are from close friends or family members; and the remaining pages could be filled with poems or songs, for example. June Schlueter, *The Album Amicorum and the London of Shakespeare’s Time* (London: British Library, 2011), 12.

Individually, the contributions displayed their authors' erudition, wit, and humanist *bona fides*, but the album as whole conveyed the owner's membership in an exclusive, international network of culturally sophisticated individuals. Although the form and content of the *album amicorum* were relatively standardized, each album was an individualized record of the places visited and the friends made during one's journey. Writing on the various merits of the albums, the Protestant theologian Philipp Melancthon noted that "above all, they remind the owners of people, and at the same time bring to mind the wise teaching which has been inscribed in them."⁶¹

Because friendship albums were often kept by—and signed by—many influential public figures, they have proved to be very rich sources for scholars interested in reconstructing the social, political, and intellectual networks of early modern Europe. Still underappreciated, however, is the prevalence and character of the illustrations found in many extant albums. Admittedly, most surviving albums are composed only of written messages, but others include visual documentation of one's travels: maps, famous landmarks, ceremonial processions or carnivals, and—for some, most abundantly—local costume.⁶² Typically painted in watercolor and gouache, costume miniatures appear in over 60 surviving albums;⁶³ some contain as many as one hundred images. Although the

⁶¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 8.

⁶² If contributions by famous easel-painters are taken into account (e.g. Rembrandt, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Jan de Bray, drawings and paintings of all kinds appear in albums: e.g. mythological subjects, portraits, landscapes, still-lives. For an overview of the various types of artistic contributions to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *alba amicorum*, see Kees Thomassen, *Alba Amicorum: Vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet: Album Amicorum en het poeziealbum in de Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage: Gary Schwartz/SDU Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, 1990, 13–70.

⁶³ As M.A. Katritsky notes, many albums that had images were unbound, and images could be sold off or separated from any evidence of who owned the album or contributed the entry. This gap poses a challenge to research on this subject. "Theatre Iconography in Costume Series: The 'New York' Friendship Album," in *European Theatre Iconography: Proceedings from the European Science Foundation Network* (Mainz, 50

practice may have developed out of the tradition of personifying cities with female figures, friendship albums could contain both male and female figures, who typically represented specific professions or social ranks, akin to printed costume books. Decades after John Nevinson first published a comprehensive list of albums featuring costume illustrations and some initial observations,⁶⁴ only a handful of studies have explored this phenomenon or closely examined specific examples.⁶⁵

In the first half-century of the *album amicorum*'s existence (i.e. c. 1550-1600), costume miniatures appear most frequently in the albums of German, Dutch, and Flemish students who had attended university in Italy.⁶⁶ For these young travelers, a driving factor behind such imagery was a desire to commemorate one's initial encounter with unfamiliar sartorial customs. In the vast majority of albums, however, the owners themselves were not responsible for these images. The miniature was either commissioned from a professional miniaturist by the album owner, or else it was

22-26 July 1998, *Wassenaar*, 21-25 July 1999, *Poggio a Caiano*, 20-23 July 2000 (Rome: Bulzoni, 2002), 171-196. here 173-74. For albums with 100+ costume images, see for example Beinecke MS 457, known as "Mores Italiae," or the album of Dutch physician Bernardus Paludanus, KB 133 M 63.

⁶⁴ J. L. Nevinson, "Illustrations of Costume in the *Alba Amicorum*," *Archaeologica, Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 106 (1979): 167-76.

⁶⁵ For more analytical studies, especially of specific albums, see Katritzky, "Theatre Iconography in Costume Series: The 'New York' Friendship Album"; Margaret F. Rosenthal, "Cutting a Good Figure: The Fashions of Venetian Courtesans in the Illustrated Albums of Early Modern Travelers," in *The Courtesan's Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2006); Margaret F. Rosenthal, "Fashions of Friendship in an Early Modern Illustrated Album Amicorum: British Library, MS Egerton 1191," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (October 1, 2009): 619-41; Maurizio Rippa Bonati and Valeria Finucci, eds., *Mores Italiae: costumi e scene di vita del Rinascimento = costume and life in the Renaissance: Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 457* (Cittadella (Padova): Biblos, 2007). For a discussion of the Paul Behaim's friendship album (British Library, MS Egerton 1192) see Rublack, *Dressing up*, 211-229.

⁶⁶ French, English, German, Flemish, and Dutch fashions appear in much greater numbers from about 1600 onward, though the vogue for costume miniatures ends half-way through the seventeenth century. For a list of albums and the type of costumes therein, see Nevinson 175-76.

sponsored by the person whose entry appears on the same or adjacent page.⁶⁷ By the turn of the century, the practice of acquiring costume images for one's *album amicorum* had become so commonplace that publishers issued pre-printed *alba amicorum* that already included images of clothing. Georg Straub's *Trachten oder Stammbuch* (St. Gallen, 1600), for example, included ninety woodcuts of costumes, derived from costume books and travel accounts; each costume was printed on the recto side of the page, which faced a blank verso, on which the owner's friends could write their message.⁶⁸

For the more traditional albums, certain social types or genre scenes were evidently commissioned more frequently than others.⁶⁹ Even though Northern European travelers to Italy were typically based in the university towns of Padua and Bologna, depictions of clothing from these cities are vastly outnumbered by those from Venice, where there was no university.⁷⁰ One image that was particularly in demand was that of the Venetian courtesan peeking out from beneath her veil. The album of the Flemish student Paul van Dale, who compiled his album between 1569 and 1578, contains one of the earliest images of this type (fig. 1.20).⁷¹ Beneath the caption "Corteggiana [sic]

⁶⁷ Margaret Rosenthal cites Anna Melograni's suggestion that the stationers acted as liaisons who connected the students with artists who painted the miniatures and then bound the books. "Fashions of Friendship," 619–20. For friends commissioning the miniatures, see 628–35, which lists several examples of mottoes that either comment directly on the miniature or indicate that they chose this miniature for a particularly reason. See two examples from MS Egerton 1191 that say painting was commissioned.

⁶⁸ Heinrich Wirre's *Stam und Wapenbuchlin* and Jan Baptist Zangrius's *Album amicorum habitibus mulierum omnium nationum Europae* (Leuven, 1599). For discussion of Wirre and Staub, see Katritzky, "Theatre Iconography in Costume Series: The 'New York' Friendship Album," 181–84. On Zangrius, see Wilson, "Social Networking," 209–11.

⁶⁹ John Nevinson has observed that some albums even contain examples of clothing from cities that were not visited by the owner of the album. "Illustrations of Costume in the Alba Amicorum," 169–172.

⁷⁰ The album of Nuremberger Sigismund Ortels, who studied law at the University of Padua from 1573–76, is an exception. The album contains 38 miniatures in total. British Library, MS Egerton 1191. See Rosenthal, "Fashions of Friendship," for an analysis of this album.

⁷¹ Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS Douce D.11

Venetiana,” the miniature portrays a young rosy-cheeked woman wearing a black gown with a low-cut, square-necked bodice, a tall scallop-edged lace collar, and golden sleeves, highlighted with metallic paint; she clutches her necklace with her left hand, and with her right, she reaches up to lift her veil to reveal the right side of her face.⁷² A similar image appears in the album of his contemporary, Sigismund Ortels, though here the courtesan’s face is in full view.⁷³ Other popular Venetian types include the veiled virgin, the widow in black, the bare-breasted noblewoman, the cardinal on horseback, a duo or trio of masqueraders, and the ruling doge. Some miniatures were more genre-like in character, such as the often-used woman bleaching her hair in the sun or the noblemen or -women being carried in a sedan by servants (fig. 1.21).

The repetition of figures—with almost identical clothing, body positioning, and gestures—across different costume albums indicates that the workshops responsible for churning out album miniatures were working from a printed source, such as a costume book. Yet many of these motifs, such as the image of a courtesan lifting her veil, predate their earliest representation in print. It is more likely that these workshops worked from internal prototypes. Nevertheless, printed costume imagery could and did supplement the miniatures paintings within an *album amicorum*. An album that combines both media belonged to Dutch physician Bernardus Paludanus (Berend ten Broeke, 1550-1633)

⁷² Because Venetian courtesans dressed very similarly to noblewoman, this gesture was how they made themselves recognizable to potential customers. See Rosenthal, “Cutting a Good Figure: The Fashions of Venetian Courtesans in the Illustrated Albums of Early Modern Travelers,” 62–63. For earlier prints of Venice costume, Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice. Print, the City, and Early Modern Identity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), especially the chapter “Costume and the Boundaries of Bodies,” 70-132.

⁷³ Another courtesan, almost identical to the van Dale image, is in the anonymous Yale album referred to as “Mores Italianae.” (46r). See notes 63 and 65 above.

during his student years.⁷⁴ Paludanus studied medicine in Padua from 1575, but he traveled throughout Italy and to Israel, Syria, Egypt, Malta, England, Lithuania, and Germany, and throughout Central Europe before settling in Enkhuizen. The Paludanus album contains 145 costume and genre miniatures, the bulk of which appear to have been commissioned in Italy; they include such archetypal characters as the masked carnival revelers, a Paduan student, a Venetian courtesan lifting her veil, and a woman bleaching her hair in the sun. Even miniatures of non-Italian figures—e.g. an Arab on horseback, a Turkish woman sitting on a carpet, and a Persian soldier—were likely painted in Italy; their captions are written in Italian (fig. 1.22).⁷⁵ At some point, however, Paludanus must have found his album wanting for not having any images of French dress. To rectify this absence, he cut out individual figures from the twenty-eighth page of Abraham de Bruyn's 1581 costume book (fig. 1.23).⁷⁶

Alba amicorum were conceived as personal mementos and were not intended for distribution as costume books were; instead, as a “[form] of social media that connected

⁷⁴ KB 133 M 63. See Thomassen, *Alba Amicorum*, cat. no. 12; Christopher Heesaakers and Kees Thomassen, “Die niederländischen Stammbücher aus dem 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 42 (Munich: Harrassowitz, 1989), 51–62; and Louise E. van Wijk, “Het album amicorum van Bernardus Paludanus (Berend ten Broeke),” in *Het Boek: Nieuwe Reeks*, ed. M.E. Kronenberg, et al. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), 265–286.

⁷⁵ Several of these can be connected to printed prototypes. For example, the seated Turkish woman and the Moorish slave originate in Nicolas Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations Orientales*, de N. de Nicolay, ... *Avec les figures au naturel tant d'hommes que de femmes selon la diversité des nations, & de leur port, maintien & habitz* (Lyon: G. Roville, 1568). For a discussion of Nicolay's account and its influence on European perceptions of Turkish culture and dress, see Chapter Two of this study.

⁷⁶ The *album amicorum* of University of Leuven student Nicolaas de Vries includes several sheets inserted from a printed costume book. This album is also noteworthy for its full-length portrait of a Chinese merchant, which is now thought to be the source for Peter Paul Rubens's “Korean Man.” See Thijs Westeijn and Lennert Gesterkamp, “A New Identity for Rubens's ‘Korean Man’: Portrait of the Chinese Merchant Yppong,” *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 66, no. 1 (2016): 142–169. The album's visual contents are described—but not illustrated—in Westeijn and Gesterkamp, Appendix 1, 162.

individuals to a network...that consisted not only of those already inscribed, but also future friends and readers,”⁷⁷ they helped disseminate information about the diversity of clothing within Europe. Each time an album was shared with friends or family was an opportunity to show—and potentially to discuss—images of clothing that the album owner may have encountered during his studies. Similarly, album contributors likely viewed previous entries and their accompanying illustrations, or wrote their own messages next to pre-existing illustrations. The costume miniatures in Paludanus’s album, for example, reached a very wide audience, since he used it as the guestbook for visitors to his internationally renowned collection of art and curiosities in Enkhuizen.⁷⁸ The *constcaemer* contained objects he acquired during his earlier travels, but he also solicited items, including a Tupinamba feather cape, from agents and associates who had traveled further afield.⁷⁹ Visitors were thus able to browse images of foreign dress as well as

⁷⁷ Bronwen Wilson, “Social Networking: The ‘Album Amicorum’ and Early Modern Public Making,” in *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe* (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 2012), 206.

⁷⁸ H.D. Schepelern, “Natural Philosophers and Princely Collectors: Worm, Paludanus, and the Gottorp and Copenhagen Collections,” in *The Origins of Museums*, ed. Impey and MacGregor, 121–27; Theodoor Herman Lunsingh Scheurleer, “Early Dutch Cabinets of Curiosities,” in *op. cit.*, 115–20; and Roelof van Gelder, “Liefhebbers en geleerde luiden: Nederlandse kabinetten en hun bezoekers,” in *De wereld binnen handbereik*, eds. Kistemaker and Bergvelt, 259–92. For the inventory of the Paludanus collection, see Schepelern, “Naturalienkabinett oder Kunstkammer. Der Sammler Bernhard Paludanus und sein Katalogmanuskript in der Koeniglichen Bibliothek in Kopenhagen,” *Nordelbingen: Beitrage zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte* 50 (1981): 157–182.

⁷⁹ One visitor, Duke Friedrich of Württemberg, would later purchase several capes from Paludanus, which were later worn by courtiers in his Queen of America procession Stuttgart (1599). For the Stuttgart pageant and the related watercolors, see Amy J. Buono, “‘Their Treasures Are the Feathers of Birds’: Tupinambá Featherwork and the Image of America,” in *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe, 1400–1700*, ed. Alessandra Russo, Gerhard Wolf, and Diana Fane (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2015), 179–88; Elke Bujok, *Neue Welten in europäischen Sammlungen: Africana und Americana in Kunstkammern bis 1670* (Berlin: Reimer, 2004), 181–186. The Dutch sailor Jan van Linschoten also supplied Paludanus with items from China, Japan, and India, after returning from his voyage to Portuguese Goa. See Schepelern “Natural Philosophers,” 126.

observe actual pieces. By the time that Paludanus stopped collecting signatures in 1630, the album contained entries from over 1900 people.

Recent commentators on the costume illustrations within friendship albums have offered several theories for the motivations behind this practice and why it was so enthusiastically adopted. Bronwen Wilson has argued that Northern students valued Venetian figures primarily for their emblematic functions, wherein certain social types represent abstract ideals or concepts such as domestic virtue (the *dogaresa*), chastity (the virgin), or desire (the courtesan).⁸⁰ On the one hand, the pairing of certain miniatures with didactic texts suggests that this interpretation was sometimes the motivation.

Margaret Rosenthal provides several examples of such emblematic entries in Sigismund Ortels's album. For example, a miniature of a courtesan (62r) faces the contribution from "Joannes Erffordiensis Darmstadius" (61v), who cites a passage from Propertius in which the male protagonist chastises his lover for supplementing her natural beauty with luxurious "finery" and foreign perfumes.⁸¹ Because the Venetian courtesan was renowned for attracting men with her sumptuous attire and cosmetic enhancements, this passage was likely selected with the miniature in mind, or vice versa. Another contributor, George Seutter, writes next to an image of a widow that his signature is a record of his "perpetual bond of fraternity" to Ortels.⁸² Ulinka Rublack posits that figures of high rank, like the Doge, operated as role models for young album owners, who

⁸⁰ Bronwen Wilson, "Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon," *Urban History* 33, no. 1 (May 2006): 61–62.

⁸¹ Rosenthal, "Fashions of Friendship in an Early Modern Illustrated Album Amicorum," 631–32.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 625.

“aspired to become something akin to these illustrious republican urban governors.”⁸³ A figure like the courtesan, however, could serve as both an “object of desire” and as an embodiment of sin. The miniatures are therefore intended to evoke actual social categories and their attendant qualities, and their meaning varied according to the viewing context.

Although cases are documented of Italian figures performing emblematic or moralizing functions in friendship albums, this line of thinking is not applicable to all early modern friendship albums or even to every miniature within a single album. It assumes that every miniature could carry—and was used for—symbolic meaning. Furthermore, this theory does not explain why some owners approached their albums like costume books, aiming for as complete a cross-section of Italian society as possible, rather than just seeking the most iconic figures. Nor does it account for albums of men who traveled to countries besides Italy; in the seventeenth century, miniatures of costume from England, France, Germany, and the Low Countries became increasingly common. Finally, even if true, this notion does not adequately address the question: why costume and not another type of image?

To solve this mystery, it might be productive to think about the *album amicorum* as a type of status symbol. First, simply owning one would place the owner within an exclusive group that consisted of young men who were (or would become) highly educated and wealthy enough to travel abroad. The album gained and offered additional

⁸³ Rublack, *Dressing up*, 223.

social currency when it contained signatures left by respected individuals. June Schlueter writes that keeping *and* contributing to an album were “acts of self-fashioning”:

Not only did the album owner receive praise of his contributors with satisfaction; so also was he pleased to have subsequent contributors read what earlier ones had written. And the contributor, who was honored, even humbled, to have been asked to sign, was pleased not only to have provided a literate or clever tribute but also to have inscribed a message that others would read and admire.”⁸⁴

If the contributions displayed the formal education and social connections accumulated while abroad, the costume miniatures signaled that one had also acquired a degree of cultural literacy. Familiarity with foreign customs—languages, fashions, art—signaled that one was a well-traveled and cosmopolitan individual.

Fashions of the European Nobility, c. 1591-95

Friendship albums provide a useful framework for understanding the motivations, target audiences, and potential applications for the first single-sheet costume series since Enea Vico’s from almost a half-century earlier. In its original configuration, the untitled series, to which I will refer as *Fashions of the European Nobility* (c. 1591-95), consists of three plates portraying the aristocratic fashions of France, Italy, and Germany (figs. 1.24-26).⁸⁵ Narrower in geographic and social scope than costume books, the series indicates a preoccupation with courtly manners and customs, and fashion’s role therein. A noteworthy omission, however, is a representation of Netherlandish aristocratic attire, given that the plates were engraved by Antwerp-based printmaker (and, later, publisher)

⁸⁴ Schlueter, *The Album Amicorum and the London of Shakespeare’s Time*, 28.

⁸⁵ Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. XIV, nos. 66-68 (69-71 likely added later), under the description “Different Fashions.” The series is not dated, but the plate depicting the Italian couple mentions that it was published by the widow of Gerard de Jode (d. 1591); she, Paschijnken van Gelre, continued publishing until her own death in 1601.

Pieter de Jode I after designs by fellow Flemish painter and draughtsman Adam van Noort (1561-1641?).⁸⁶ Instead, the series portrays habits from three of the most culturally influential regions in Europe, which also happened to be the most frequently visited by Netherlandish students. The series thus appears to have been designed for local consumers, students or otherwise. For those who did not have the means to travel internationally, these prints afforded the opportunity to accumulate images of aristocratic European dress outside the context of the *album amicorum*.

At first glance, it may not be apparent that clothing is the subject of these engravings, since they depart from the visual conventions of the costume book. Rather than presenting individual figures in isolation (i.e. Vecellio, *Habiti*, 1591) or in rows (i.e. De Bruyn, *Omnium*, 1581), each plate portrays a man and woman within a single image; the viewer can easily compare the male and female attire from the same nation. Furthermore, Van Noort has eschewed the scientific idiom of the costume book—blank backgrounds, an absence of narrative or spatial context—by introducing the theme of courtship. In the plate portraying an Italian couple, for example, the male figure plays a lute while glancing back at his female companion, who returns his seductive gaze. The hill on which they stroll overlooks an estate with a walled garden at the edge of the forest.

⁸⁶ Van Noort is best known as a teacher of Peter Paul Rubens and Jacob Jordaens. Scholarship on Van Noort is relatively scant. A useful summation of the extant primary and secondary literature can be found in Victoria Sancho Lobis, "Artistic Training and Print Culture in the Time of Rubens," PhD thesis (New York: Columbia University, 2010), 36-44. For his work as a draftsman, see Christian Dittrich, "Drawings by Adam van Noort," *Master Drawings* 10 (1972), 137-43; and Hans Mielke, "Einige Zeichnungen Adam van Noorts" in *Essays in Northern European Art Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Anne-Marie Logan (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1983), 173-77.

The romantic interaction, music-making, and outdoor setting all serve to make these compositions more visually dynamic than a typical costume book plate. These are not, however, a novel set of devices, since they also characterize the Garden of Love theme that dates to the later Middle Ages, particularly in luxury objects, such as tapestries and ivories. In the history of printmaking, scenes of courtly couples and garden parties appear as early as the second third of the fifteenth century, but the theme went through a revival toward the end of the sixteenth century among artists of various media, especially in Antwerp, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. Prints and paintings by—and after—Flemish and Dutch artists, such as Sebastiaen Vranckx, Crispian van de Passe, and David Vinckboons, depict members of the nobility or upper bourgeoisie promenading, dancing, playing music, or dining in lush gardens or carefully landscaped natural surroundings.⁸⁷ The references to “Garden of Love” imagery was apparently so legible to viewers that Van Noort’s designs were copied by Gillis van Breen and combined with additional amorous pairs for the series *Amantum aliquot paria adiumbrata*, published by Conrad Goltzius in Cologne in 1595.⁸⁸

Though deftly assimilating aspects of the Garden of Love genre, the de Jode series still aims to satisfy viewers’ curiosity about foreign dress. Inscriptions on each

⁸⁷ Roberta Smith Favis, “The Garden of Love in Fifteenth Century Netherlandish and German Engravings: Some Studies in Secular Iconography in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance” (University of Pennsylvania, 1974); Elise Goodman, *Rubens: The Garden of Love as “Conversatie à La Mode,”* Oculi: Studies in the Arts of the Low Countries (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1992); Elmer Kolfin, *The Young Gentry at Play: Northern Netherlandish Scenes of Merry Companies 1610-1645*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005).

⁸⁸ The four additional plates were designed by Olivier de la Court and engraved by Conrad Goltzius. See Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. VIII, 143, nos. 11-14. *Amantum aliquot paria adiumbrata* may have had ten plates total, according to according to Johann Jacob Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken kölnischer Künstler* (Köln: Commissions-Verlag: Heberle, 1850), 299–300.

plate also make clear that we should observe and compare the different fashions across the three engravings. In the plate captioned “See how the Italians dress themselves,”⁸⁹ the woman wears a low bodice, cut straight across on the top and ending in a deep, stiff “V” where it meets her skirt; this style of bodice was a common feature of clothing from the Veneto (see figs. 1.22, 1.24). Other aspects of her appearance that are characteristic of this region include her horned hairstyle and tall, double-layered lace collar. The French woman’s bodice and collar are quite similar to that of the Italian *gentildonna*, though the former wears a collar of a plainer textile, without a lace border (see fig. 1.25).⁹⁰ By contrast, the lady representing “the noble habit of the Germans” wears a high-necked dress topped with a ruff (see fig. 1.26).⁹¹ All three have very full skirts; though the French woman’s is created by a wheel farthingale, Italian and German women were more likely to create the shape with several layers of fabric.

A greater contrast across all three plates is the type of breeches worn by the men. The Italian man wears very short, padded trunk (or “round”) hose that cover just the upper thigh; the fashion for trunk hose, which showed off one’s legs, originated in Spanish court circles. By contrast, the German’s long, baggy hose, known as slop breeches or *Pluderhose*, extend to just above the knee. Similar to the Italian’s trunk hose, these are composed of strips of fabric (i.e. paned), but an underlying fabric pulled out between the panes lends even more volume to the *pluderhosen*. The Frenchman wears “Venetians,” a form of knee-length breeches that are padded at the upper thigh and grow

⁸⁹ “Italicos tali cultus sub imagine cernis.”

⁹⁰ “Sic habitum Galli picta sub imagine spectas.”

⁹¹ “Nobilis ista habitum Germani monstrat imago.”

slimmer towards the knee. Although these ensembles highlight regional differences in late sixteenth-century fashion, they also illustrate how certain trends crossed national borders. For example, all three men wear codpieces of varying degrees of prominence, as well as peascod-belly doublets, which were padded in the lower abdomen to create a rounded shape. In just three plates, De Jode and Van Noort's series underscored the variability of European dress and displayed the specific fashions about which most Netherlandish collectors were most curious.

Despite evidence that the series was primarily designed to appeal to local buyers, subsequent modifications to the series suggest that De Jode recognized the potential for international distribution for the series.⁹² Later editions of the series include three additional plates, which were most likely added sometime between 1595 and 1601.⁹³ The first, designed by Jan Snellinck (1548/9-1638), represents an elegant Flemish couple courting outdoors, much like the three original prints (fig. 1.27).⁹⁴ Wearing Venetian breeches, a slashed doublet, and a cloak thrown over his shoulder, the man's ensemble

⁹² Latin titles indicate, however, that the De Jodes (mother and son) recognized the potential for international distribution all along. Latin was the lingua franca for literate print consumers throughout early modern Europe. Though one might assume that only the most highly educated viewers would know the language, in fact, anyone who reached a basic level of schooling, even without some university, would have learned enough to comprehend these brief inscriptions. For the use of Latin text in Northern European prints, see E. de Jongh and Ger Luytjen, eds., *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genre Prints in the Netherlands, 1550-1700* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997), 34–35; Philipp Ackermann, *Textfunktion Und Bild* (VDG Weimar, 1994). On Latin as a component of early modern humanist education, see Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986); Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

⁹³ They were likely added sometime in or after 1595, since Breen's copies (see above and note 88) only include the first three plates, after Van Noort. The three newer engravings were likely published in or before 1601, the year of death for Gerard de Jode's widow, whose address appears on one of these later plates. There are two sets of the series in the Herzog-August Bibliothek; Graph A1: 1174-1179 includes all six prints in the later edition, and Graph A1:1156a-d has only Germany, France, Spain/Netherlands, and Italy. Museum Boijmans-Van Beuningen in Rotterdam has a set with all six.

⁹⁴ "Nobilis hic Belgi pulchram spectato figuram."

draws on fashions common throughout Europe. Certain aspects of the woman's outfit were especially common in the Low Countries, but they derive from Spanish fashions, for example, her elongated stomacher, ruff, and *bragoenen*, the disc-like padded rolls at the shoulder; these were modeled after the Spanish *bragones*, but the Netherlandish versions were more exaggerated in scale.⁹⁵

In the sixteenth century, Spain exerted the greatest influence on clothing throughout Europe, but this influence was especially pronounced in the Southern Netherlands, which were still under the rule of the Spanish Habsburgs. The second engraving added to the series—designed by an anonymous artist, likely Snellinck or De Jode himself—highlights this very influence on Netherlandish dress (fig. 1.28). A Spanish man and a Flemish woman walk arm-in-arm, and the caption reads: “This [Spanish] finery is desired by the Spaniard and the Fleming alike.”⁹⁶ One prominent example of this finery is the wide, tightly pleated cartwheel or millstone ruff (*molensteenkraag*) worn by both figures (and by the Flemish woman in the previous engraving). These large pleated ruffs invited the ire of moralists, who considered them to be extravagant accessories of the vain and proud. Several contemporary engravings satirize the ruffs, depicting those who succumb to the temptations of the fad as following the path to eternal damnation (fig. 1.29). One anonymous print (possibly after Maarten de Vos) depicts a luxuriously attired woman caressing her ruff as she looks into a mirror,

⁹⁵ Bianca M. du Mortier, “Features of Fashion in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Anna Jolly and Johannes Pietsch, Riggisberger Berichte 19 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2012), 17–39, here 23.

⁹⁶ “Hunc cupit Hispanus, talem sibi Belgica, cultum.”

which reflects her face as well as that of the jester peering over her back.⁹⁷ On the jester's shoulder stands a small demon, pointing his hindquarters at the woman's face. The caption below includes the verse:

The mirror is truly the devil's asshole
She who sets her ruff in it becomes the devil's hostess,
Or who makes tufts, has her hair curled or laid flat
She thinks she is seeing herself, but it is a fool she is
really looking at.

In another engraving, a couple visit a shop where devils are starching ruffs with hot irons, while the figure of Death—wearing a ruff—lurks outside the door (fig. 1.30). One of the verses reads:

Because people do not wear their ruffs
Unless they have been starched and set.
So the devil shall plague and assail them
And stiffen the soul with fire, water and pain.

In the plate titled *Superbia* ("Pride") in Karel de Mallery's series *Circulus vicissitudinis rerum humanorum* (after Maarten de Vos), ruffs actually become attributes of Pride; two lie at her feet, and she strokes the one around her neck. If Jode's engraving intended to criticize the ruff, the tone is much less stringent here, and the ruff's perceived foreignness is underscored, rather than its extravagance.

The final addition to the series is also designed anonymously, though it lists De Jode as the engraver and his mother (Gerard de Jode's widow) as the publisher; it would therefore have been published on or before her death in 1601 (fig. 1.31). The image seems to have little to do with the subject of costume, so it allows the theme of courtship

⁹⁷ For an excellent study of the anti-ruff engravings, see Ger Luijten, "Frills and Furbelows: Satires on Fashion and Pride around 1600," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, no. 2/3 (1996): 140–60.

to take center stage. Abandoning completely the format of typical costume imagery, the protagonists are now seated at a table indoors, staring deep into each other's eyes as the gentleman entertains the lady with a lute. In contrast to the fairly innocent couples promenading through gardens, this image is far more suggestive. Having placed his hat on the table, the man's head is examined by a chained monkey, a reference to (restrained) lust. As she listens to her companion's song, the woman feeds a bird with her left hand. In early modern Dutch, the word for bird (*vogel*) could also refer to the male sexual organ; the bird, perched on the table in front of the bottom edge of the man's doublet, leans his beak suggestively towards the bottom edge of the lady's stomacher.⁹⁸ Because the primary theme in the print is about seduction and courtship, it is possible that this print was not necessarily designed for this series.

Though costume books are typically identified as the inspiration for single-sheet prints, De Jode's first series suggests that the idea came—at least partially—from elsewhere: the *album amicorum*. This alternate origin story is particularly likely, since this series depicts only costumes from Europe and therefore targets a different audience from those curious about the customs of newly “discovered” cultures of Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Similar to most costume books, however, the series provides little cultural context for the costumes portrayed. In his subsequent costume series, De Jode would use both image and text to build a world around his costumed figures.

⁹⁸ E. de Jongh, “Erotica in Vogelperspectief. De Dubbelzinnigheid van een Reeks 17de Eeuwse Genrevoorstellingen,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 3, no. 1 (1969 1968): 22–74. 65

Variarum Gentium Ornatus: Fashions of Different Nations, c. 1605

Within a few years of his collaboration with Adam van Noort and Jan Snellinck, Pieter de Jode engraved and published a second series of costumes after designs by painter Sebastiaen Vrancx. Vrancx, who painted mostly battles, banquet scenes, and other genre subjects, was an apt choice, with a talent for rendering the components of aristocratic dress in fine detail (fig. 1.32). Although the motif of courting couples was retained from the prior series, the ten engravings of *Fashions of Different Nations* (c. 1605-1610) prioritize cultural information over themes of love, courtship, and elegant society.⁹⁹ Each plate follows the same compositional template: a man and woman from a particular European country or city stand in the foreground, before a geographically identifiable landscape, village, or city, where markets, festive gatherings, leisure activities, or battles are visible. Four to eight lines of Latin verse thread together romantic themes with descriptions of the local inhabitants and noteworthy aspects of their environment or history.

Framing clothing as an explicit product of regional mores and manners occurs in other genres of the period that may have informed De Jode's second approach to the costume print genre. As we have already seen, dress was one of the categories of cultural analysis for chroniclers, antiquarians, and cosmographers in the prior century, and the most ambitious costume book, Cesare Vecellio's *Degli Habiti et Antichi*, paired each

⁹⁹ Hollstein *Dutch & Flemish*, vol. IX, nos. 237-246. Only the third state, published by Claes Jansz. Visscher, is described. The series was first published by De Jode himself, followed by Hendrick Hondius in the Hague before the third state issued by Visscher. The Latin title *Variarum Gentium Ornatus* appears to be assigned by Hollstein, since the title is not used anywhere on the prints, and an archival source has yet to be identified. A forthcoming Hollstein volume on the De Jode family compiled by Marjolein Leesberg may clarify the origins of this title.

woodcut with a full page of commentary, describing other local characteristics such as commerce, art, religious practice, cuisine, warfare, or politics. As the son of a cartographer, De Jode was also likely to be familiar with Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (Cologne, 1572-1617). Yet this precise format of placing monumental figures before a localized setting is a representational and didactic strategy that was applied in another, more recent type of publication which is worth examining before returning to *Fashions of Different Nations*.

The turn-of-the-century appearance of single-sheet print series coincides with an important phase in the history of the overseas travel narrative. The role of images in the voyage accounts was transformed by the Frankfurt-based publishing firm of Theodor de Bry, a Protestant refugee from the Spanish Netherlands. Between 1590 and 1634, De Bry and his sons—Johann Theodor and Johann Israel—reissued almost fifty travel accounts that had previously been published individually and by other publishers across Europe.¹⁰⁰ The accounts were divided into two subscription-based series: the thirteen-volume *India Occidentalis* (also known as the *America* series) and the twelve-volume *India Orientalis* (voyages to Africa and Asia). In his quest to elevate the prestige of the travel genre and market the volumes to scholars, learned amateurs, and aristocratic book collectors throughout Europe, De Bry made several strategic decisions.¹⁰¹ He issued the volumes in

¹⁰⁰ The first three *America* volumes were published by Sigmund Feyerabend in Frankfurt. Groesen, *Representations of the Overseas World*, 89-90.

¹⁰¹ For an analysis of the literary content, imagery, and marketing strategies of De Bry's Voyages, see the comprehensive study Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). See also Susanna Burghartz, ed., *Inszenierte Welten: Die West- und Ostindischen Reisen der Verleger De Bry, 1590-1630 = Staging New Worlds: De Brys' Illustrated Travel Reports, 1590-1630* (Basel: Schwabe, 2004).

the large folio format and translated the original editions from the vernacular to Latin and German. The most significant aspect of the De Bry enterprise, however, was that each account was filled with high quality, detailed, illustrations, achieved by shifting from the woodcuts more common in earlier, cheaper volumes, to copper engraving. The basis for these engravings varied by report. Most famously, the engravings of Thomas Harriot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Founde Land of Virginia* (1590) were based on the watercolors of John White, who had accompanied the Harriot's exploratory mission to Roanoke Island, North Carolina. In other situations, De Bry created new compositions based on earlier woodcuts, invented new designs based on the text, or did a combination of the two.¹⁰²

Ethnographic representations of local dress appeared throughout both the De Bry volumes, but they were the anchor of the first volume, Thomas Harriot's description of the English expeditions to Roanoke, *A Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*. Harriot's work was first published in London in 1588 without illustrations. At the encouragement of Richard Hakluyt, a fierce advocate of the English exploration and an editor of travel reports himself, De Bry re-issued the report in 1590, with engravings based on White's watercolors. During his time in North Carolina and Virginia, White made drawings of local plants, animals, topography, and the Algonquian community.¹⁰³ White's ethnographic studies of the Algonquian were likely based on

¹⁰² Groesen provides an extremely useful table listing the sources for the engravings illustrating each travel account in the series. See Appendix III in Groesen, *Representations of the Overseas World*, 509–22.

¹⁰³ White's studies, and their relationship to De Bry's finished engravings, are discussed at length in the essays in Kim Sloan, ed., *A New World: England's First View of America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007); and in the published proceedings of the related conference: Kim Sloan, ed., *European Visions: American Voices* (London: British Museum Press, 2009). See also Paul H. Hulton and 68

individual people, but by assigning titles like “*A younge gentill woeman daughter of Secota*” (see Chapter Two), Harriot and White presented them as representatives of their gender, age, and social position. Viewers would be able to differentiate the types by studying their clothing, jewelry, hairstyle, tattoos, and implements such as hunting tools and weapons.¹⁰⁴ Though the whereabouts of the original drawings are unknown, it appears that once White returned to England, he made several albums of finished watercolors that were likely distributed to different parties invested—financially or intellectually—in the prospect of an English colony in the New World.

Although White’s albums would have been of interest to botanists, physicians, cartographers, most of De Bry’s engravings in *A Briefe and True Report* focus on the manners and customs of the Carolina Algonquian. That the Algonquians would be the visual centerpiece of the publication is established at the outset through the title page (fig. 1.33).¹⁰⁵ Flanking the sides of the title are two of the costumed figures that are also

David B Quinn, *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590, with Drawings of European and Oriental Subjects*. (London: Trustees of the British Museum; University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

¹⁰⁴ By using the term ethnographic, I do not mean to imply that these are completely authentic reproductions of the Indians and that there was no intervention on behalf of John White. Although the traditional historiography of the relationship between the drawings and engravings heralded the watercolors are closer to “reality” because White observed the Algonquians himself, more recent studies have pointed out that even the watercolors subscribe to Mannerist conventions and classicizing tendencies. See Stephanie Pratt, “Truth and Artifice in the Visualization of Native Peoples: From the Time of John White to the Beginning of the 18th Century,” in *European Visions: American Voices*, ed. Kim Sloan, 33–40; and Henry Keazor, “Theodore De Bry’s Images for America,” *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1998): 131–49. Nevertheless, these images fall within contemporary understandings of natural history illustration, as evidenced by the title of the BM portfolio: “The pictures of sondry things collected and counterfeited according to the truth in the voyage made by Sr: Walter Raleigh knight, for the discovery of La Virginea. Regarding the title, Michael Gaudio observes that the use of term “counterfeited” directly places his pictures within a special class of Renaissance images intended to provide immediate access to the world of facts.” See Gaudio, “Counterfeited According to the Truth’: The Truth in Clothing: The Costume Studies of John White and Lucas de Heere,” in *European Visions: American Voices*, ed. Kim Sloan (London: British Museum Press, 2009), 24–32, here 25. For contemporary usage of the phrase “counterfeit” in natural history, see Parshall, “Imago Contrafacta.”

¹⁰⁵ For analysis of the title pages throughout the *India Occidentalis*, see S. M. Christadler, “Die Sammlung zur Schau gestellt: die Titelblätter der ‘America’-Serie” In: S. Burghartz, ed., *Inszenierte Welten. Die west- und*

featured in the body of the work; on the left, the “great Lorde of Virginia” and on the right, “A cheiff Ladye of Pomeiooc.” Hovering over them is the idol, to whom two additional figures venerate: on the right, “On[e] of the Religeous men in the towne of Secota,” and on the left, the “Conjurer.” De Bry would devote whole plates to each of these figures in in the report in plates that recall the representational strategies employed in costume books by placing a single—and occasionally paired—full-length, upright figures in the foreground. In a departure from costume books, however, the figures are situated in a specific, local environment, eschewing the blank backgrounds that aligned traditional costume books with natural history. In the plate captioned, “The aged man in his winter garment,” for example, an elderly man stands on a ridge overlooking maize fields and the longhouses of Pomeiooc (1.34-36). By combining the White’s figure study with a topographical view, De Bry attempts to recreate the experience of the European observer encountering the Carolina Algonquians. Furthermore, the pairing localized settings and activities with regionally specific clothing creates a more overt visual connection between geography and customs than was heretofore made in costume imagery. De Bry, who was an astute marketer of his voyage accounts, appears to have recognized the appeal these works had for readers curious about the habits of the American Indians. Despite the other types of images available to De Bry, such as White’s drawings of plants and animals, he focused the visual component of his volume on the customs of an ethnic group heretofore unknown to European audiences. The remaining engravings in the volume show various aspects of Algonquian daily life, such as their

longhouses, hunting and fishing practices, dances, and religious ceremonies. Following a second volume on the Timucua of Florida, his third volume on the Brazilian Tupinamba opens with a preface stating that these additional volumes would together demonstrate “the variety that exists among the savages, as much in their customs and their way of living as in their manner of dressing and adorning themselves.”¹⁰⁶ Someone who owned all volumes of America could therefore compare the dress of tribes across the America.

Four years after the De Bry initiated the America series, Amsterdam-based printmaker, cartographer, and publisher Cornelis Claesz began printing illustrated accounts of Dutch overseas voyages in which costume imagery featured prominently.¹⁰⁷ Claesz already had a thriving business devoted to selling geographic works and travel reports, both those he printed himself and those published by others such as De Bry. Images played a minor role in his own travel accounts and consisted primarily of maps and charts. When presented with the opportunity to publish the first report of an overseas voyage by a Dutchman, *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten...* (1596), Claesz aspired to create a publication that, like De Bry’s works, would have a similarly broad appeal to the typical sailors and merchants, as well as scholars, physicians, and armchair travelers.

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in Patricia Gravatt, “Rereading Theodor de Bry’s Black Legend,” in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), 225-43, here 238.

¹⁰⁷ For a study of Claesz as a publisher of travel accounts, see Elizabeth Anne Sutton, “Economics, Ethnography, and Empire: The Illustrated Travel Series of Cornelis Claesz, 1598-1603” (University of Iowa, 2009).

After a period of working as a merchant in Spain, the Haarlem-born Linschoten joined an expedition to Goa, the capital of the Portuguese colonial territories in Asia; there he served as secretary to the Archbishop of the colony. Throughout his journey to India via Guinea, the Cape of Good Hope, Mozambique, and Madagascar, Linschoten kept a diary in which he surreptitiously compiled navigational information and details about the commercial activities of the Portuguese, which they had fiercely guarded from other Europeans for the better part of a century. Additionally, he recorded observations about local plants, animals, and ethnic groups he encountered. Upon his return to the Netherlands, he collaborated with Claesz and a circle of scholars—including Bernardus Paludanus in Enkhuizen¹⁰⁸—to issue a series of publications that would supply Dutch merchants with the enough information to initiate their own overseas ventures.¹⁰⁹

Motivated in part by the successes of De Bry’s heavily illustrated America series, Claesz issued the Linschoten’s account in a large folio format with full-page engravings by Johannes and Baptista van Doetecum that depicted, as the title page proclaims, “the manner of apparel of the Portingales’ inhabiting Asia and the appearance of ‘the natural borne Indians, their Temples, Idols, houses, trees, Fruites, Herbes, Spices, and such like: Together with the customes of those countries, as well as their manner of Idolatrous

¹⁰⁸ See discussion of Paludanus’s curiosity cabinet and *album amicorum* above and notes 74-79.

¹⁰⁹ The *Itinerario* consists of three separate publications. The first, from which the whole set takes its name, also titled “Itinerario,” recounts Linschoten’s experience with the Portuguese trading operation in Asia, as well as the properties of that region, its natural resources, and the customs of the local inhabitants. The second part, (*Beschrijvinghe van de gantsche custe van Guinea, Manicongo, Angola...*), is a description of western coast of Africa. Because the final section, *Reys-Gheschrift vande navigatien der Portugaloyers in Orienten*, held the highly valuable sailing instructions, it was published in 1595, a year ahead of the other two. It had an immediate impact on Dutch overseas maritime trade, with the first fleet leaving later that year. See Ernst van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen Van Linschoten* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003). 72

religion and worshipping of Images, as also for their policie and government of their houses.” Although this description mentions only the appearances of the Portuguese merchants in Goa and the local Indian population, the account also included images of Chinese, Malaysian, Javanese, Moluccan, and Mozambiquan dress that were based on a combination of sketches, manuscript sources, and Linschoten’s recollection.¹¹⁰ Following De Bry’s lead, the Doetecums’s costume plates feature full-length figures—usually four—before a local landscape, with both Latin and Dutch captions. In 1604, Claesz issued the first thirty plates of the *Itinerario*, under the title *Icones, habitus gestuque Indorum ac Lustranorum per Indiam viventium*, which contained mostly costume plates and scenes of rituals and practices, as well as the natural history engravings. As Claesz’s readership was extending from sailors and navigators to curious amateurs and scholars at the nearby, recently established, Leiden University the *Icones* seems to have been marketed to the print collector or reader who was primarily interested in the ethnographic information accumulated by Linschoten, rather than the commercial or navigational information.

In the *Fashions of Different Nations*, the visual strategy for depicting the Carolina Algonquian and the various ethnicities in and around Portuguese Goa are applied to the ethnographic study of various European groups. Each plate, designed by Vrancx and

¹¹⁰ Aside from the Indian and Mozambiquan figures, the others are likely not the product of firsthand experience, nor do they seem to be based on any printed material produced in Europe. Boogaart suggests that that he could have consulted images or a costume album, like the Codex Casanatense 1889 in Rome, which was made around 1550 by an Indian, Luso-Indian, or Portuguese craftsman and contains about 50 costumed types from these regions. Manuscripts and books of Chinese figures were also sold to Europeans in Manila and Macao. Linchoten may have purchased or consulted one in Goa or Lisbon. See Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia*, 7-9; Luis de Mtos, ed., *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI* (Lisbon, 1985); Oltremare, *Codice Casanatense 1889* (Milan: Ricci, 1984).

engraved by De Jode, highlights different aspects of the city or country depicted, indicating what Flemish audiences considered most notable about these locations and their inhabitants. The three couples wearing Italian costumes—from Florence, Milan, and Rome—are each set against backdrops with recognizable landmarks. In “Habits of Men and Women in Florence,” the flirtatious pair stands above the Piazza della Signoria, where several signature works of art and architecture are visible—the Palazzo Vecchio, Bartolomeo Ammanati’s *Fountain of Neptune* (commissioned 1565), and the Loggia dei Lanzi (fig. 1.38).¹¹¹ Similarly, the Milanese pair wander through a forest just outside the city, where Santa Maria delle Grazie—home of Leonardo’s *Last Supper*—rises over the wooded horizon line (fig. 1.39). In the far distance of “Habits of Roman Men and Women,” Trajan’s column can be seen on the right, and, closer to the foreground on the left a building closely resembles the Palazzo Farnese (fig. 1.40).¹¹² A stage is erected just in front of it, where a musical or theatrical production is taking place, while a *commedia dell’arte* troupe entertains locals in the middle of the square.

For early modern Flemish artists, Italy represented the epitome of artistic production in Europe, so much so that a visit was considered almost mandatory for one’s artistic development. Thus, like many before them, both De Jode and Vrancx had traveled there at least once during their careers. This travel might explain, then, the focus on artistic pursuits in the images, as well as in the texts, which consist of four lines of verse divided into two columns. They boast, for example, that the dramatic arts have

¹¹¹ “Viri atque mulierus apud Florentinos habitus.”

¹¹² “Romanorum viri et feminae habitus.”

supplanted military prowess in Rome,¹¹³ and they admire the eloquence of the Tuscan language.¹¹⁴

The plates for Germany and France, two countries that are geographically, linguistically, and culturally closer to Flanders, prioritize everyday customs and the national personality traits over famous landmarks or artistic accomplishments. The “German Habit” is represented by a German soldier and his wife strolling hand-in-hand through a village filled with familiar half-timbered houses, overlooked by a thickly forested mountain (fig. 1.41). While they appear very refined in their elegant attire, the more modestly attired villagers behind them are enjoying the fruits of the local wine harvest. One man steadies himself on a wine barrel, next to a bar stool that was carelessly knocked on its side. Behind him, several figures merrily raise glasses and jugs, while a couple engages in an amorous embrace. Eight lines of verse—twice as long as those for Rome, Florence, and Milan—mention the “torn clothes” of the “fierce German,” who relieves the stresses of combat with food and wine. The “torn clothes”—the only reference to a specific clothing style throughout the series—refer to the eccentric but enduring fashion for slashed clothing that was popularized by Landsknechts, the flamboyantly dressed German infantry soldiers.¹¹⁵ Though the fashion for slashed or

¹¹³ “Marte satum genus Aeneadûm victicibus armis / Per mare, per erras condidit imperium. / Nunc iuuat infestis pro signis scena Quirites, / Pro clangore tubae tibia, Marte Venus.”

¹¹⁴ “Oblectant vitreo rigui vos murmure fontes, / Ripa vel Hetruscos qua lauat Arnus agros./ Accedit patriae nitor, et facundia linguae, / Et stimuli Veneris delitiaeque sales.”

¹¹⁵ German Landsknechts borrowed their costume cues from Swiss mercenaries, but the clothing came to be associated with the Landsknechts throughout Europe, which can be seen in costume books and descriptions of countries. The elaborate dress and exploits of these mercenary soldiers were the subject of prints by Daniel Hopfer, Jörg Breu, and Urs Graf. J. R. Hale, *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 67-100; Larry Silver, “The Landsknecht: Summer Soldier and Sunshine Patriot,” in *The Plains of Mars: European War Prints, 1500-1825, from the* 75

pinked clothing appeared in other parts of Europe, pulling the fabric through the slits (as in the doublet shown here) or through the paned *Pluderhose* that was more typical in German-speaking regions. Though the series' creators likely knew that this was an intentional style, the impression of rent cloth was utilized to serve as a sign of the brutish aggressiveness of the stereotypical German.¹¹⁶

Clothing also factors in the stereotypical description of the French in “The French in a Variety of Clothing” (fig. 1.42). In another lengthy poem, the French are first described as masters of dance, humor, conversation, and good taste.¹¹⁷ Their penchant for elegant sociability is visualized on the right, where a group of well-dressed townsfolk dance and make merry. The final line of the text reproduces the widely accepted perception that the French crave “novelty” in dress, that is, they endeavor always to wear the latest fashions.¹¹⁸ Their supposed preoccupation with fashion does not seem emphatically moralized when considering the text alone. The image, however, tells a different story. Behind the couple on the left, a naked figure holds a pair of scissors in one hand and a bolt of unfinished cloth over his shoulder.

This decades-old motif originated in Andrew Boorde's *Book of Knowledge* (c. 1555) (1.43). The first part of the publication is a guide to clothing, customs, languages, and currencies of Europe and parts of Africa and the Middle East, with each section illustrated by a somewhat crude woodcut of a local. The section on England describes the

Collection of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, ed. James Clifton and Leslie M. Scatone (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2008), 17-29.

¹¹⁶ On contemporary satires of *pluderhosen*, see Luijten, “Frills and Furbelows,” 147, note 20.

¹¹⁷ “Gallica in vestitu varietas.”

¹¹⁸ “Gallis est proprium: mores, variumque frequenti / Ingenium vestis qui nouitate probunt.”

typical citizen, who cannot decide what to wear because, rather than having a fixed style of national dress, he prefers to wear whatever is fashionable at a particular moment.¹¹⁹ In the face of indecision, he remains naked and is illustrated as such, holding a pair of scissors and bolt of cloth. This motif was copied by a number of artists in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and served to illustrate and criticize sartorial inconstancy, disloyalty, apishness, vanity, or all of the above.¹²⁰

The perception that the French were exceptionally fashion-consciousness was so pervasive that the mere depiction of a French person could elicit this association. Gillis van Breen relied on this familiar stereotype when designing his four-plate series, *He who pays too much attention to the body will neglect the soul* (c. 1605-1610).¹²¹ The first three plates in the series concern pleasures of the body (fashion, food, dance), and the fourth shows a doctor tending to the body of a sick person, as his soul succumbs to the devil in the background. The inscription on the first plate begins, “The worthless Body is magnificently adorned, the / noble soul is left unclothed,” and the body in question is an almost exact copy of the French woman from *Fashions of Different Nations* (fig. 1.44).

¹¹⁹ “I am an English man, and naked I stand here, / Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were;/For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that; / Now I wyl were I cannot tel what./All new fashyons be plesaunt to me/I wyl hauo them, whether I thryue or thee.”

¹²⁰ One prominent example is the frontispiece of Jost Amman and Hans Weigel’s costume book, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (Nuremberg: 1577). The frontispiece includes four male figures representing the Four Continents, and the naked figure represents Europe. For discussion, see J. M. Massing, *Image of the Black in Western Art*, volume 3, part 2, 51.

¹²¹ Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. III, nos. 42-45, described as *The life of young libertines*. Ger Luijten has rightly assigned a new title, due to its association with an earlier series with similar iconography, which was published first by Joannes Galle as *Animae incuria ob nimiam corporis curam* and then by Theodore Galle as *Die voor 't lichaem al te veel besorgh is, sal cleyne sorghe voor de siele draeghen* (“He who pays too much attention to the body will neglect the soul”). I disagree, however, with Luijten’s dating of Van Breen’s version to 1595. If it appeared after the costume series by De Jode and Vrancx, as I believe, since it includes an adaptation of their Frenchwoman, then it would date after c. 1605. See Luijten, “Frills and Furbelows,” 156–60.

Breen has made the figure wealthier and more alluring by lowering her neckline and adding a pearl necklace and an open-front, lace-trimmed Medici collar. The most characteristically French detail across both images, however, is what is known as a French farthingale, also referred to as a drum, wheel, or great farthingale. Although the style was adopted in other European countries—notably at the English court—it had originated in France, of which Vrancx was clearly aware.

In the two plates devoted to the Netherlands, Vrancx demonstrates his understanding of the nuances that distinguish the clothing of the aristocracy from the merchant class. As a pair, both plates—“The Clothing of the Nobility in the Netherlands” and “The Clothing of the Netherlandish Merchant and his Wife”—advertise two sources of pride for the Low Countries: warfare and trade.¹²² In the former, a couple walks past a military encampment, hand-in-hand, illustrating, as the verses claim, that “the Netherlandish nobleman is as good at fighting as he is at loving” (fig. 1.45) The woman he stares at so lovingly is most likely his wife, since she is wears a *vlieger*, an open-fronted overgown worn only by married women. The *vlieger* is pulled back to reveal an embroidered bodice, adorned with a three-tiered chain. A long, rounded stomacher curves over a skirt that moves outward from around the waist and then falls straight down, with the outer layer fastened by a row of ribbons running down the front. The drum-like shape of the skirt is created by a French farthingale. Both her double-layer ruff and sleeve cuffs are trimmed in lace. Finally, in her right hand, she carries a handkerchief, an accessory that was both functional and fashionable.

¹²² “Nobilium in Belgio utriusque sexus ornatus” and “Mercatoris Belgae eiusque coniugis vestitus.”

The merchant's wife in the companion engraving wears a very similar outfit, with some slight variations to demonstrate her lower rank (1.46). She, too, wears a *vlieger* over a similar type of elongated bodice, the Spanish origins of which are visible in the plate "Spanish Men and Women in their Typical Dress." (fig. 1.47). The *vlieger* is secured behind her back and reveals a full skirt. The skirt appears, however, to be supported by hip rolls instead of a drum farthingale; these stuffed tubes of fabric are tied around the hips. Several of her textiles would have been less expensive, such as the plain fabric covering her bodice and her ruff, which is only a single layer and is not trimmed with lace. She also does not carry a handkerchief. In the late sixteenth century, visible handkerchiefs were fashionable among wealthy women, who displayed them to distinguish themselves from those who blew their noses into their hands or sleeves. By the early seventeenth century, they were luxury items in their own right, as they were often incorporated lace and embroidered decorations.¹²³ A noteworthy addition to the merchant wife's ensemble, however, is the *huik*, which was a long black cloak topped with a circular disk-like cap. Costume historians place the *huik*'s origins in North Africa, before it was transferred to the Iberian Peninsula by Moorish settlers and subsequently to Northern Europe.¹²⁴ The Netherlandish woman depicted here has removed her *huik* and

¹²³ Paolo Peri, *The Handkerchief* (Modena: Zanfi, 1992), 10. For analyses of the handkerchief as a woman's attribute in seventeenth-century Dutch portraiture, see E. de Jongh, *Portretten van Echt en Trouw: Huwelijk en Gezin in de Nederlandse Kunst van de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Waanders: Zwolle, 1986), 16; and Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 79–82.

¹²⁴ On the *huik*'s cultural origins, see Mortier, "Features of Fashion in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century," 23–26.

carries it over her right arm, but several figures in the market behind her demonstrate how it would be worn over the head and body.

Although the merchant's wife is dressed more modestly, her fashions still indicate that she and her husband have profited from Low Countries' prominent position in the global marketplace. According to the verses, the Netherlands trades with "all countries," whose goods are brought home from overseas by their famed fleets.¹²⁵ At the right side of the picture, several ships are docked, where they would have unloaded any number of goods, such as spices, textiles, or jewels. On the left, a woman runs her own market stand, illustrating the role that women played in the country's commercial activities. This aspect of the Flemish economy may be alluded to in the final line of the inscription, which notes that "both sexes profit from their intelligence." What is unclear about this image is whether a specific city is represented. Antwerp would be the logical assumption, and the architecture would suggest this.¹²⁶ Yet international trade had all but ceased after the Siege of Antwerp in 1585. After succumbing to the Spanish troops, the city's access to the sea remained blocked by Dutch ships stationed in the Scheldt River. In the aftermath of the Siege, tens of thousands of Flemish religious refugees—including merchants and skilled craftsmen—fled northward to the seven independent provinces that comprised the Dutch Republic, where they contributed to Amsterdam's new position as the epicenter of global commerce.

¹²⁵ "Omnibus in terris faciunt commercia Belgae, / Aduerit externas per mare classis opes./ Interea placidi non contemnentur amores, / Callidus ad quaestum sexus vterque suum."

¹²⁶ The market is a recurring theme in Vrancx's painted oeuvre, which may be connected to his coming from a family of merchants. See Elizabeth A. Honig, *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 1, 141-150.

The Netherlands was not alone in its pursuit of global domination in maritime trade, as the plates for England and Portugal illustrate. “The Habits of Young English Men and Women” contrasts the innocent courtship between a young couple with the turmoil of battling ships in the distance, which is likely an allusion to the English-Spanish conflicts at sea (fig. 1.48). In “The Special Clothing of the Portuguese” sailors unload merchandise acquired in China and South Asia. These mercantile endeavors not only supported the local economy but also created the unique material culture of Portugal, where Chinese silks were incorporated into both clothing and furniture. Although manufactured by Chinese craftsmen, by the second half of the 16th century, these patterned silks were designed according to European specifications and combined European and Chinese motifs. De Jode may have suggested this type of hybrid ornamentation in the fabrics worn by his Portuguese couple (fig. 1.49).

Though De Jode’s *Fashions of Different Nations* takes some thematic and compositional cues from costume books and *alba amicorum*, his series introduces a significant departure that would come to characterize the seventeenth-century costume print. Rather than representing clothing in the format of a scientific specimen—against a blank or minimal background—in this series, dress is embedded into a set of customs, institutions, and economic circumstances that are specific to a particular nation (as oversimplified or stereotypical as their representation may be).

Judging by the number of states and the extant number of impressions, this series offered a more successful formula than that employed in his earlier collaboration with

Snellinck and Van Noort.¹²⁷ After the series was first published by De Jode himself in Antwerp, the plates evidently moved northward to the Dutch Republic, as evidenced by impressions bearing the address of Hendrick Hondius in the Hague.¹²⁸ Claes Janz Visscher, who published the third state, likely acquired the plates when he purchased a large share of Hondius's stock, following the latter's death in 1650; either Visscher or Hondius added sequential numbers to the lower right corner of each plate.¹²⁹ Finally, at some point, Hendrick Laurensz published a version of the series that is so faithful to the original that it is possible that he had access to Vrancx's drawings, since the series is in the same orientation as De Jode's.¹³⁰ The series also seems to have inspired other printmakers in the North Netherlands to create similar sets of romantic, promenading couples from different countries, such as Cornelis van Kittensteijn's *European Costumes* (c. 1620) and Crispijn van de Passe II's *Twelve Months in the Habits of Different Nations*

¹²⁷ Collections with at least one complete or partial edition of the series (or copies by Hendrick Laurensz, see note 131 below) include, but are not limited to, RPK, BM, MMA, HAUM, HAB, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ashmolean, the Albertina, Lipperheidesche Kostümbibliothek, Museum für angewandte Kunst (Vienna), Museum Plantin-Moretus.

¹²⁸ Nadine Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, *Studies in Prints and Printmaking*, v. 1 (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1996), 203, nos. 448-457. What Orenstein identifies as a single plate from the second state by Hondius (in the RPK) is actually a sheet from a complete edition of the third state published by Visscher. It appears that Hondius only added his imprint to the image of the Netherlandish nobility (no. 8), thus leaving all remaining sheets with the original "Pet. de Iode sculp. et excud." Visscher left Hondius's and De Jode's signatures intact, with the exception of the Germany plate (no. 1), to which he added "CJVisscher excudebat." I do not know of any complete, extant editions of Hondius's third state.

¹²⁹ The 1680 stocklist of Visscher's grandson Nicolaes Visscher II does not list the series, suggesting that the plates were too worn for publication by this point. On Visscher's purchase of Hondius's stock in 1650, *ibid.*, 58.

¹³⁰ The only discernible differences between the Laurensz editions and those by De Jode, Hondius, and Visscher are that the titles are occasionally in different locations. For example, the title describing the Florentine couple is inscribed below the figures, rather than above them. For Laurensz's editions, MMA 2009.476.7 and the Albertina HB 57.3, fols. 30-32, nos. 109-118.

(c. 1615-20).¹³¹ Jan van de Velde may also have intended his *Elegant Couples* to represent different countries, or at least different cities. Beneath each image, within the plate margins, there is a blank space where a title or inscription would have been written.¹³²

Another yardstick for measuring the series' success—and by extension, the utility of costume prints in general—is the varied ways that the individual plates were mined by other artists. While in Cologne, the *album amicorum* owner Henricus Flück received an inscription from Jacobus Flodorff, dated March 13, 1605.¹³³ On the page opposite the message is a gouache drawing of a nobleman serenading a lady with his lute on a small patch of grass beneath a tree (fig. 1.50). The lute player is a faithful copy of the male figure from Vrancx's design for the "Habits of Roman Men and Women" (see fig. 1.40). His companion, who is dressed in Netherlandish attire, was either the miniaturist's invention or else modeled after a different source. Adriaen Collaert consulted the *Fashions of Different Nations* when designing his twenty-five-plate sequence, *The Life of Teresa of Avila*, which he co-published with Cornelis Galle I (1613).¹³⁴ In the scene depicting the Spanish martyr's entry into a convent, the fine clothing and jewelry that she is about to renounce are based on those worn by Vrancx's Spanish noblewoman (see figs. 1.47 and 1.51).

¹³¹ For Kittensteyn, see Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. IX, nos. 1-6. See chapter two of this dissertation for references and a detailed description of the De Passe series.

¹³² Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. XXXIII, nos. 159-166.

¹³³ KB 74 H 43, fol. 183 v-184r. Entries date from 1604 to 1619.

¹³⁴ Third plate after the title. New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, *The Collaert Dynasty*, no. 1018.

In Flück's *album amicorum* and Collaert's series, Vrancx's figures have shed their role as specified national and social types. By contrast, this is the precise function they serve when they appear in cartographic material, such as Amsterdam-based Flemish cartographer Jodocus Hondius's map of the Iberian Peninsula, *Nova Hispanae Descriptio* (fig. 1.52). In an effort to market maps to audiences beyond navigators and merchants, map publishers added decorative elements, such as portraits, personifications, city views, monuments, local flora and fauna, and figures in local dress to their maps to enhance their aesthetic appeal; maps with the latter form of decoration were known as *cartes à figures*.¹³⁵ When republishing Gerard Mercator's map of the Iberian Peninsula, Hondius added views of important Spanish and Portuguese cities (six along the top border, four along the bottom), as well as columns of costumed figures on the left and right borders. On the left border, from top to bottom, appear a Spanish nobleman, a Portuguese merchant, and a Spanish farmer (*rusticus*), each with Latin captions that explicitly state that these represent the *clothing* worn by those belonging to specific national and social categories. Their female equivalents are on the opposite border: a Spanish noblewoman, a Portuguese merchant's wife, and a Spanish countrywoman. The rural figures were plucked directly from Braun and Hogenberg's view of Granada (after Hoefnagel), where they occupy opposite sides of an elaborate cartouche floating above the city (fig. 1.53);

¹³⁵ James Welu, "The Sources and Development of Cartographic Ornamentation in the Netherlands," in *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, ed. David Woodward, The Kenneth Nebenzahl Jr. Lectures in the History of Cartography (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Cassandra Bosters, Jan Frederik Heijbroek, and Marijn Schapelhouman, *Kunst in kaart: decoratieve aspecten van de cartografie* (Utrecht: H & S, HES uitgevers, 1989); K. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, Plans, and Topographic Paintings and Their Role in Dutch Overseas Expansion During the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International, 1998).

drawn in 1563, the view was published in the first volume of the *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572).¹³⁶ For the map's aristocratic fashions, which would have evolved more rapidly than those of the lower ranks, Hondius consulted the Spanish and Portuguese figures from the more recent *Fashions of Different Nations* (see figs. 1.47 and 1.49). Borrowing from this series, when he could have just as easily used the *Civitates*, suggests that Hondius was concerned with both cartographic and ethnographic accuracy.

While Hondius turned to pre-existing costume prints to enrich his *Nova Hispaniae Descriptio*, there is evidence that these figures could be commissioned specifically for cartographic projects. Willem Jansz. Blaeu's map of Italy (c. 1608-17), based on that of Giovanni Antonio Magini, features border illustrations of local dress designed by Dutch painter Pieter Lastman and likely etched by Claes Jansz. Visscher (figs. 1.54).¹³⁷ With aristocratic fashions and provincial costumes drawn from twelve different cities, the decorative borders highlight the variation in customs across the distinct duchies and territories that comprised seventeenth-century Italy (1.55). Two images—one representing a Venetian lady and her maidservant, the other an elegant Neapolitan pair—appear to be copied from a costume album or book, such as Vecellio's or Pietro Bertelli's. The remainder, however, may be based on eyewitness experience during Lastman's stay in Italy between 1603 and 1607, where he is known to have executed similar figure studies, such as the two sketches of turbaned figures in the

¹³⁶ Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, vol. 1 (Cologne: 1572), pl. 5. According to the cartouche, the drawing itself dates from 1563.

¹³⁷ Astrid Tümpel and Peter Schatborn, *Pieter Lastman: leermeester van Rembrandt = the man who taught Rembrandt* (Amsterdam: Museum Het Rembrandthuis, 1991), 176–79; Bosters et al, *Kunst in kaart*, 54–5785

Rijksprentenkabinet (fig. 1.56).¹³⁸ Capitalizing on the growing interest for printed costume imagery, Visscher also published Lastman's costumes as a stand-alone series.¹³⁹

As the aforementioned examples illustrate, artists considered costume series by their contemporaries to be reliable source material for their own work. Yet, they were not the only—or even the primary—intended audience. Multi-sheet series that combine finely engraved images with informative text were usually published with another destination in mind: the print collector's album. By the time this series was created, preserving prints in albums as part of a conscious effort to build a comprehensive collection was a firmly established practice. This phenomenon did not, however, coincide with the medium's fifteenth-century origins. From the beginning, artists and artisans who consulted prints for design inspiration—e.g. metalsmiths, manuscript illuminators, glassworkers, weavers—collected impressions for use by workshop members and to train apprentices; in this way, prints functioned similarly to the model books of medieval workshops.¹⁴⁰ Outside this context, the methods for storage and display were as varied as the motivations for acquiring prints in the first place, if the prints were retained at all.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ RPK: RP-T-1887-A-1166 and RP-T-1887-A-1165. Tümpel and Schatborn, *Pieter Lastman*, 142–44, 24 and 25.

¹³⁹ New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. X, nos. 11–22. For a complete edition, see BM: D,5.117–128. Several prints from the series are also bound in an album with Jean-Jacques Boissard's *Mascarades*, Jacques de Gheyn II's *Masquerades*, and plates from Francesco Bertelli's *Il Carnevale Italiano Mascherato* (BM: 1855,1208.21–62). Johannes Covens and Cornelis Mortier republished the series in the eighteenth century (RPK: RP-P-1960-241–52). Tümpel and Schatborn noted that Covens and Mortier added Lastman's name to the series, but it appears on the earlier Visscher edition, which was not described in Tümpel and Schatborn or Hollstein.

¹⁴⁰ David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 64–65, 81–102; R.W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1963); Rainer Schoch and Peter Parshall, eds., *Origins of European Printmaking Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

¹⁴¹ For discussions of printed ephemera and popular imagery in the early modern period, see Jan van der Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp, the Introduction of Printmaking in a City: Fifteenth Century to 1585* 86

Prints could be inserted before, within, or after the pages of a book or manuscript.

Though the images need not relate directly to the text, this method of preservation likely developed as an extension of the recent publishing practice of adding woodcut illustrations to books, wherein image and text enhanced reader comprehension or, in the case of religious subject matter, devotional experience.¹⁴² Others displayed their prints in a fashion similar to paintings, i.e. framed or mounted, or affixed them to three-dimensional objects, such as caskets, cabinets.¹⁴³

These applications of the printed image would continue through the early modern period, but from the early decades of the sixteenth century, a small, elite group of collectors began to appreciate prints on their own terms and to acquire them in large numbers.¹⁴⁴ The most well-known of these early collectors was Ferdinand Columbus, whose 3000-plus print collection was the first to exist as a separate entity within his

(Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998); Kevin Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll, *Studies in Ephemerata: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013); Sheila O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England: 1550-1850* (London: British Museum, 1999); Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives*; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁴² In a series of case studies of individuals inserting woodcuts into books and manuscripts, David Areford emphasizes the viewer’s agency over his or her devotional experience. See “The Image in the Viewer’s Hands: The Reception of Early Prints in Europe,” *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003): 5–42. A notable early example of storing prints in books is Hartmann Schedel; portions of his library (and prints) are preserved in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel* (Munich: Prestel, 1990). See also Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 64–65.

¹⁴³ On the varied ways viewers displayed, handled, and manipulated printed images, see Suzanne Karr Schmidt, *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011); David S. Areford, “Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation,” *Studies in the History of Art* 75, Symposium Papers LII: The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe (2009): 118–53; and J. van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: Van Kunst tot Kastpapier* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2006). Other prints were expressly made to be affixed to objects such as globes, compasses, and mathematical instruments. See Susan Dackerman, ed., *Prints and the Pursuit of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard Art Museums, 2011).

¹⁴⁴ Ilja M. Veldman, “From Indulgence to Collector’s Item: Functions of Printmaking in the Netherlands,” in *Images for the Eye and Soul: Function and Meaning in Netherlandish Prints (1450-1650)* (Primavera Pers, 2006); Peter Parshall, “Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe,” *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994): 7–36.

extensive book library.¹⁴⁵ The prints, now dispersed, were organized into albums, the contents of which were recorded in an inventory. The earliest surviving document of its kind, the inventory provides some hints into early print collecting practices. For example, the prints were organized by size, subject, and artist, though the majority of his prints were religious in nature, which corresponds to what was mostly available on the print market. Inventory entries note the size, general subject, the number and gender of figures, and whether they were clothed or nude; only occasionally is the artist mentioned. Finally, the haphazard method of acquisition and storage—e.g. incomplete series, duplicate impressions—suggests minimal forethought or oversight in the long-term building and maintenance of the collection.

The character and configuration of Columbus's print collection stands in contrast to those of his peers in the second half of the century, King Phillip II of Spain and Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, the only sixteenth-century print collections that actually survive intact.¹⁴⁶ Philip's collection of about 7000 prints at El Escorial and Ferdinand's collection of about 5000 prints at in his *Kunstkammer* at Schloss Ambras are primarily thematically arranged into appropriately titled albums. Religious subjects are still well represented, but so are newer secular themes, such as cartography, ornament prints, ancient ruins, topical events, and popular subjects. Both the contents and organization of

¹⁴⁵ Mark P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector* (London: British Museum Publications, 2005).

¹⁴⁶ Mark P. McDonald, "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial," *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1998): 15–35; Peter Parshall, "The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol," *Jahrbuch Der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien / Kunsthistorische Sammlungen Des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 78 (1982): 139–90; Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge," 16–27.

their collections encompass several overlapping phenomena in the realms of print production, Renaissance humanism, and collecting principles in general.

Over the course of the century, the leading print publishers in Antwerp and Haarlem, particularly Hieronymus Cock, Philips Galle, and Gerard de Jode, shaped collecting practices by meeting and creating demand, primarily by expanding the range of [secular] subjects, hiring exceptionally skilled designers and engravers, and producing multi-sheet cycles suited for storage in albums.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, intellectual topics, once the purview of book publishing, were now reimagined in prints of the highest artistic quality, such as moralizing allegories, ancient monuments, and natural history, often in consultation with the humanists who helped crafted the learned inscriptions that accompanied the images. By joining together the era's greatest artistic talent and learned commentary, "Cock and his successors provided... a rationale for book-oriented intelligentsia to consider a collection of images as a project of properly liberal value."¹⁴⁸

That prints were regarded as an effecting means of generating and accumulating knowledge is illustrated by their explicit inclusion in Samuel Quiccheberg's classification system for the ideal "theater of knowledge": *Inscriptiones: vel, tituli theatri amplissimi* ("Inscriptions; or, Titles of the most ample theater") (1565).¹⁴⁹ After helping to advising

¹⁴⁷ Joris van Grieken et al., *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Stock, *Printing Images in Antwerp*; Timothy A. Riggs and Larry Silver, *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540-1640* (Evanston: Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, 1993).

¹⁴⁸ Parshall, "Art and the Theater of Knowledge," 13.

¹⁴⁹ Samuel Quiccheberg, *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg's Inscriptiones, 1565*, trans. Mark Meadow and Bruce Robertson, The Getty Research Institute: Texts and Documents (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2013), V.3. All citations from Quiccheberg's treatise are from this edition. See also Elizabeth M. Hajós, "The Concept of an Engravings Collection in the Year 1565: Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones Vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi*," *Art Bulletin* 40, no. 2 (1958): 151–56.

on the collections of both Hans Jacob Fugger and Albrecht V, Quiccheberg, a Flemish physician, created this practical guide for creating a princely *Wunderkammer* and organizing its contents for optimal use.¹⁵⁰

In his Fifth Class—along with oil paintings, tapestries, and coats of arms, among others in the “collection of images”—Quiccheberg calls for

Images imprinted from copper, as well as other prints, on large or small sheets of paper, carefully laid out in cases and in their own individual groups as if in their own library. Among these are also entire volumes and booklets of images, produced and bound in various ways. These have also been separated into their own cases.¹⁵¹

While Quiccheberg acknowledges the artistic skill exhibited in the prints of the day, his justification for building a print collection lies in their pedagogical value:

[It] seems possible to acquire knowledge of the greatest number of disciplines from these images alone, for sometimes the simple examination of any picture stands out more in the memory than an extended reading of many pages. And thus scholarship will gradually gain much through these sources, provided that Netherlandish and other artists and engravers continue to enrich our world with their work.¹⁵²

In terms of the actual contents of the collection, Quiccheberg applies the same principles of encyclopedic breadth that guide his recommendations for a collector’s cabinet in general; the collector should aim to acquire the best quality possible, in all subject areas. Subject-matter, he recommended, should also guide the organization of one’s print collection, and for this he devised thirty-two thematic categories, divided into three “regions.”

¹⁵⁰ See note 34 above and Meadow, “Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the *Wunderkammer*.”

¹⁵¹ Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones*, V.3.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

Just as Quiccheberg identifies examples of foreign dress—especially “[garb] belonging to Indians, Arabs, Turks, and the more exotic peoples”—as a worthwhile addition to one’s collection, representations of dress also had a dedicated place in his vision of universal knowledge.¹⁵³ The second region of his ideal collection included “Images of apparel and deportment” alongside other secular subjects, such as ceremonial processions, classical history, mathematical charts, scientific discoveries, and “lewd and lighthearted scenes.” In the 1560s, “images of apparel” would primarily come from costume books, which could have been purchased unbound if one preferred to integrate them within his larger print collection. Alternatively, Enea Vico’s *Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus* (1558) was already issued as a series, and this express work was acquired by Philip II’s librarian and agent, Benito Arias Montano, for the Escorial collection.¹⁵⁴

While we can only speculate about the direct influence of Quiccheberg’s manual in building princely cabinets and print collections, his principle of encyclopedism and his system of organizing prints by theme have parallels in the collections of Phillip II and Ferdinand of Tyrol, and they would continue to characterize print collecting in the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵ Collections that were either inventoried or remain together, such as those of Michel de Marolles, Samuel Pepys, or Michiel van Hinloopen included

¹⁵³ Quiccheberg, *Inscriptiones*, VI.10.

¹⁵⁴ Album 28-III-2, 38 folios (2 blanks at front and 2 at back), with 33 prints each bound on their own paper. See appendix of McDonald, “The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial.”

¹⁵⁵ William W. Robinson, “Passion for Prints: Collecting and Connoisseurship in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), xvii–xlvi; Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw*; Veldman, “From Indulgence to Collector’s Item”; Véronique Meyer, “Collectors and Collecting Prints,” in *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, ed. Peter Fuhring (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2015), 36–44.

costume and fashion prints, both from their own period and from earlier in the century.¹⁵⁶ Evidence indicates that *Fashions of Different Nations* would have found a place in such a collection. For one, it was issued in multiple sheets, a format that was specifically intended for an album or portfolio, a practice encouraged by publishers who issued such series, including De Jode's own father Gerard de Jode. Second, the verses are written in Latin, which as noted above, was for those who had attained a certain degree of formal education. Finally, the very fact that so many complete editions of the series survive, demonstrates that they were stored in such a manner.¹⁵⁷ Through its engagement with these humanistic disciplines, *Variarum Gentium Ornatus* exemplifies the type of series that targeted learned print consumers who sought to create visual encyclopedias to stimulate both eye and mind.

¹⁵⁶ The collections of Marolles and Hinloopen applied two forms of organization to their prints; "fine art prints" were arranged by artist, while others were organized by subject. Michel de Marolles published two catalogues of his collection during his lifetime, before donating the collection to the state. It forms the basis of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. See *Catalogue Des Livres d'estampes, et de Figures en Taille-Douce...* (Paris: Chez Frédéric Leonard, 1666); and Michel de Marolles, *Catalogue de Livres d'estampes et de Figures en Taille-Douce. Fait à Paris en l'année 1672* (Paris: Jacques Langlois, 1672). For the Hinloopen collection, see Jan van der Waals, *De prentschat van Michiel Hinloopen: een reconstructie van de eerste openbare papierkunstverzameling in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1988). For the Pepys collection, see Jan van der Waals, "The Print Collection of Samuel Pepys," *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1984): 236–57. Diana de Marly discusses his Pepys's particular interest in foreign fashions. See De Marly, "Pepys and the Fashion for Collecting," *Costume* 21 (1987): 34–43.

¹⁵⁷ See note 128 above for extant editions of the series. Certainly, individual sheets from this series could have been purchased and framed, used to decorate a personal item, or copied for a work in another medium (see note 145 for studies of this type of print consumption). However, those methods of consumption would not have resulted in the complete series surviving in libraries and collections presently, some of which are still bound together.

CHAPTER TWO

Costume as Cultural Difference

Among the genres that flourished in the sixteenth-century print publishing market of Antwerp—and subsequently throughout Northern Europe—were allegorical sequences. In such series, moralizing, cosmo-astrological¹, or abstract themes, such as the Twelve Months, the Four Winds, the Four Seasons, the Four Elements, Five Senses, or the Four Temperaments were portrayed either by single personifications or by multi-figure scenes over the course of several sheets, in a format that encouraged print collecting practices (see Chapter One). What these themes also have in common is that they illustrate how changes in the cosmos affect human experience.

For most of the sixteenth century, single-figure personifications emulate the stances and costumes of antique statuary, and are identifiable through classical attributes associated with mythological figures. Moving towards the seventeenth century, however, more of these series overlap visually, sartorially, and ideologically with printed costume imagery. In these “allegorical costume prints,” as I refer to them, clothing is presented as a visual indicator of a specific set of manners and character traits that gain additional, explicit significance through the allegorical framework surrounding the series. This chapter investigates how allegorical costume prints of the Twelve Months and the Four

¹ I borrow this term from Ilja M. Veldman, “Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 11, no. 3/4 (1980): 149–76.

Continents contributed to perceptions of cultural difference between Europeans as a group and the inhabitants of Asia, Africa, and the Americas.

Cosmos, Climate and Customs

The foundations for allegorical representations of the Twelve Months lie in classical representations of the Four Seasons. The Four Seasons were first personified by female *horae* or male *genii* adorned with specific, seasonally appropriate attributes: flowers for spring; ears of corn for summer, grapes and other fruits for autumn; and twigs, a duck, or a hare for winter. In the Middle Ages, however, the Four Seasons fell out of favor and were replaced by the Twelve Months. Often appearing in Romanesque and Gothic church decoration, the allegorical representation of Chronos—which pairs the months with the signs of zodiac—typically included scenes of peasants engaged in various agricultural labors of the months or the seasonal pursuits of the nobility; all together, these scenes demonstrate how the God-driven celestial cycle governs life on earth throughout the year.²

In sixteenth-century print culture, however, the Labors of the Month were re-incorporated into the Four Seasons.³ Maarten van Heemskerck's designs for Philips Galle's 1563 engravings, for example, present the seasons as four male personifications, whose classical attributes accord with those described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*—a frequent source for depictions and descriptions of the subject. From this source,

² Colum Hourihane, *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

³ For an overview of the various approaches to the Four Seasons in Netherlandish printmaking, see Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments," 149–63.

Heemskerck also likely drew his inspiration to represent the seasons as men of advancing age, beginning with the young boy as Spring and an old bearded man as Winter. Behind each personification, however, figures are engaged in the labors associated with the three months that fall within each season. Autumn is personified by a middle-aged man carrying a cornucopia, and wearing a crown of grapes vines, robes, and sandals (fig. 2.1). In the background, beneath the signs of Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius (from right to left), figures sow grain, pick grapes, make wine, and butcher cattle. Other print cycles center entirely on multi-figured scenes of seasonal labors, such as Pieter van der Heyden's 1570 engravings for print publisher Hieronymus Cock after drawings by Pieter Bruegel and Hans Bol. Another tradition running parallel to these was the personification of the seasons by classical deities, typically Venus (with or without Cupid), Ceres, Bacchus, and Aeolus. This organization is exemplified by Lambert Lombard's series for Cock in 1568.⁴ Hendrik Goltzius blended multiple traditions in his 1594-5 series engraved by Jan Saenredam, where the classically-inspired personifications participate in or else oversee seasonal activities of everyday people.⁵

In the first half of the seventeenth century, artists in the Netherlands and abroad drew from these varied traditions in their visual interpretation of the Four Seasons and the Twelve Months. From the last decades of the sixteenth century, however, allegories with obvious inspiration from classical allegories and mythologies were supplanted by scenes of everyday life. Goltzius's last version of the Four Seasons (c. 1600), also engraved by

⁴ Similar examples include suites by Jan Sadeler (after Dirck Barendsz), Crispijn van de Passe I (after Maarten de Vos), Adriaen Collert (after De Vos), and De Passe I, after his own invention

⁵ Christiane Lauterbach, "Masked Allegory: The Cycle of the Four Seasons by Hendrick Goltzius, 1594-95," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 31, no. 4 (2004): 310-21.

Saenredam, revives Bruegel's preference for the scenes grounded entirely in real life, but focuses on two recurring figures. From Spring to Winter, the series follows romantic excursions of a Dutch boy and girl. Aging through adulthood as the year progresses, they gather flowers; harvest corn; pick fruit; and go ice skating hand-in-hand (fig. 2.2). Allegorical scenes—or single figure personifications—with figures in contemporary dress in contemporary situations would further ground these cosmological phenomena in human experience.

The Four Continents

Clothing was always a significant, meaningful aspect for the allegorization of the Four Continents, since they were first conceived as a group in sixteenth-century Antwerp. Personifications of the four known continents first appeared together in print on the frontispiece of Abraham Ortelius's world atlas, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp: 1570) (fig. 2.3).⁶ In designing his allegory, Ortelius most likely drew from his knowledge of the 1564 civic procession in Antwerp, where an empress from each continent carried those products that her home contributed to the global marketplace, where Antwerp occupied the center. In keeping with the commercial underpinnings of the 1564 personifications, Ortelius's figures are assigned various attributes that symbolize the natural, material, and cultural wealth of each continent. As Ernst van den Boogaart has

⁶ For the iconographic origins of the personifications and their attributes, see Ernst van den Boogaart, "The Empress Europe and Her Three Sisters," in *America: Bride of the Sun*, ed. Paul Vandenbroeck (Antwerp: Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 120–29; Elizabeth McGrath, "Humanism, Allegorical Invention, and the Personification of the Continents," in *Concept, Design and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550 - 1700)*, ed. Hans Vlieghe and Arnout Balis, *Museums at the Crossroads 5* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 43–7196

argued, the title page also issues a Eurocentric proclamation on the relative civilization of the inhabitants of each continent, which is indicated by the arrangement of the figures on the page and through their clothing and attributes.⁷

Europe sits enthroned above the other figures, outfitted in an *all'antica* dress, which emphasize her Greco-Roman heritage. In her right hand she holds a scepter, while her left hand grasps a cross-shaped helm, a sign of the maritime prowess that facilitated both mercantile activity and the spread of the Christian faith. The resourcefulness of Europeans is symbolized by the grape vines winding around the arbor, evidence of the continent's sophisticated agriculture. Wearing an imperial crown, she visually expresses Ortelius's claim concerning Europe's destiny to reign over the other parts of the world. In the atlas, he writes, "Above all people, the Europeans had always possessed sharp minds and bodies [...]. Thus, it is clear that the inhabitants of this part of the world have been born to rule over the others."⁸

Asia is placed below Europe, but on the latter's more favorable *dexter* side. She is dressed in the very materials that made her valuable to European traders: luxurious, bejeweled textiles, evoking the silks that European merchants had imported for centuries. A diadem, secured with precious gems, adorns her hair, evoking at once the continent's comparable ancient heritage and its precious resources. With a slight tilt of her head, she

⁷ Boogaart, "The Empress Europe and Her Three Sisters, 122–123.

⁸ Quoted from the 1571 Dutch edition in *ibid.*, 121. A poem by humanist Adolf van Meeke further explains the allegorical meaning of the frontispiece in the 1570 Latin edition. The 1571 Dutch edition has a similar poem by Peter Heyns, and Gerard du Vivier wrote a French poem for the 1572 French edition. For transcriptions and translations of these poems, see the appendices of Werner Waterschoot, "The Title-Page of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*," *Quaerendo* 9, no. 1 (January 1, 1979): 43–68.

draws our attention to the censer that fills the air with incense, another import from the Middle East.

Africa stands opposite Asia and below Europe's left side. Even though the continent supplied Europe and its colonies with ivory, gold, and slave labor, the figure's only attribute is a branch of Egyptian balsam.⁹ Her distinguishing features are those that highlight physical and cultural differences between Europeans and Africans. Africa turns her head in profile to permit viewers to perceive her physical difference. A sunburst emanating from her head reminds viewers of the source of her blackness, which would have been indicated in hand-colored versions.¹⁰ A loosely draped cloth hangs from her shoulders, wrapping around her hips from the front, while leaving her torso exposed. Her partial nudity may suggest the realities of living in extreme climates. Since anthropological accuracy was not Ortelius top priority, however, her limited clothing likely refers either to the supposed moral laxity of Africa's inhabitants or to the perception that the continent lagged Europe and Asia in commercial, industrial, and cultural development, including the etiquette of polite dress that comes with "civilization."

⁹ On variants of the personification of Africa, with classical roots, see Joaneath Spicer, "The Personification of Africa with an Elephant-Head Crest in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603)," in *Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion*, ed. Walter S. Melion and Bart Ramakers. *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 677–715.

¹⁰ The notion of black Africans being "burnt" or "charred" by the sun dates back to antiquity, and is the meaning of the Greek word "Aethiopia." Pliny the Elder writes, "There can be no doubt, that the Ethiopians are scorched by their vicinity to the sun's heat, and they are born, like persons who have been burned, with the beard and hair frizzled [...]" *The Natural History*, book 2, chapter 80. Quoted in Joaneath Spicer, ed., "European Perceptions of Blackness as Reflected in the Visual Arts," in *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012), 35–59, here 36.

In the lowest register, farthest away from Europe, two more personifications appear. A bust of a naked woman personifies Magellanica, the hypothetical fifth continent, believed to lie south of the Americas and to extend across the entire polar south. The plinth on which she rests bears a flame, denoting the Tierra del Fuego, the lone known part of this theoretical landmass. To her right lies the recumbent figure of America. Like Africa, this figure places less emphasis on natural resources than on cultural difference. In America's case, that difference is centrally rooted in the ignorance of Christianity. Distilled in this image are the two primary sins of the indigenous Americans that Europeans attributed to their heathenism: a lack of shame regarding nudity; and cannibalism. Wearing only a feather bonnet and a circle of dried-fruit rattles around her calf, she holds a human head, a metonymic victim of the cannibalistic practices described by early explorers to Brazil¹¹ and depicted in the sensationalistic fashion in broadsheets, maps and voyage accounts published in Germany, France, and the Low Countries.¹² Although this title page is ostensibly about the commercial

¹¹ Cannibalistic practices were described by Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Hans Staden, André Thevet, and Jean de Léry. Waterschoot points out, however, that Ortelius was specifically reading Staden's *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner landschafft der Wilden acketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen* ("True Story and Description of a Country of Wild, Naked, Grim, Man-eating People in the New World, America") (1557). Staden was the first to describe the ceremonial leg ornaments, and the feather-tipped club is illustrated in Christophe Plantin's 1558 edition of the account. See Waterschoot, "The Title-Page of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*," 51–55.

¹² The bibliography on early European representations of American Indians is extensive. Comprehensive studies include Rachel Doggett, Monique Hulvey, and Julie Ainsworth, eds., *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700* (Washington, D.C: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1992); Paul Vandenbroeck, ed., *America, Bride of the Sun: 500 Years Latin America and the Low Countries* (Ghent: Inschoot, 1991); Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991), especially Jean Michel Massing, "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach," 515–20; Susi Colin, *Das Bild des Indianers im 16. Jahrhundert* (Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1988); Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975); Honour, *The European Vision of America: A* 99

contributions of the different parts of the world, the only direct evocation of the commodities that excited the earliest European travelers to the New World—silver and gold—is the jeweled pendant that descends from America’s bonnet. Her remaining attributes—the oval-tipped club, bow and arrow, and hammock—exemplify aspects of Brazilian material culture that aroused curiosity among Europeans, and, like featherwork, found their way into collector’s cabinets (see Chapter One).

Personifications based on these designs were adopted in a range of print media for decades, especially on the frontispieces of other globally-oriented publications, such as costume books, travel anthologies, and natural histories.¹³ Concurrently, a number of Netherlandish printmakers, such as Adriaen Collaert (after Maarten de Vos), Johann Sadeler, and Crispijn van de Passe the Elder, made the Continents the focus of four-plate suites that expand depth of information originally offered by each personification (fig. 2.4).¹⁴ Benefiting from a larger compositional space, each personification resides in her home landscape, filled with an array of local signifiers: architecture, plants, animals, historic monuments, weaponry.¹⁵ Nevertheless, these series remain faithful to Ortelius’s

Special Exhibition to Honor the Bicentennial of the United States (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975).

¹³ On the reuse of the theme in pageants, engravings, and title pages within the context Antwerp’s humanist circles, see McGrath, “Humanism, Allegorical Invention, and the Personification of the Continents.” For a broader survey of the visual representation of the Four Continents, see Sabine Poeschel, *Studien zur Ikonographie der Erdteile in der Kunst des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Scaneg, Verlag R.A. Klein, 1985).

¹⁴ New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, *The Collaert Dynasty*, nos. 1314–1317; Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. XXI, nos. 493–946; Hollstein Dutch and Flemish, vol. XLVI, nos. 1400–1403; Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. XV, nos. 597–600.

¹⁵ Collaert’s engravings after Maarten de Vos also helped popularize the convention of pairing the continents with geographically specific animals. In this case, an armadillo with America, a camel with Asia, and a crocodile with Africa. McGrath, “Humanism” 57–58; and Larry Silver, “World of Wonders: Exotic Animals in European Imagery,” in Pia Cuneo, ed., *Animals and Early Modern Identity* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), 294–295.

original attributes and his symbolic use of clothing and physical appearance to render each Continent as geographically—and culturally—distinct.

Through repetition in frontispieces and print series, certain attributes became essential to personifications of each continent: Europe’s imperial crown, scepter, and classicizing garments; Asia’s crown (which acquired a veil), luxurious gown, and smoking censer; Africa’s seductive *déshabille*; and America’s feathered accessories, nudity, and cannibalism. A suite of ornament prints published by Philips Galle is an outlier among this early group. Designed by Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, each plate features a personification drawing, based on Ortelius’s title page, surrounded by ornate grotesques and strapwork. The personifications are accompanied, however, by two to four figures intended to deliver further information about the local customs of each continent’s inhabitants, drawing from contemporary costume studies and prints. In “Africa,” for example, the continent is personified by a nude, statuesque woman holding her familiar balsam branch, but in the corners, she is joined by so-called “African Indians” evidently borrowed from Jean Jacques Boissard and Abraham de Bruyn’s costume book, *Habitus variorum orbis gentium* (1581).¹⁶ Two very similar figures accompany the personification of “America,” but their fantastic exoticism is countered by the more accurate depiction of an Inuit man and woman (with child) in the two bottom corners of the image (fig. 2.5). Dressed in sealskin coats and pants, the figures are based on John White’s watercolors of the captive Inuits that Martin Frobisher brought from

¹⁶ Abraham de Bruyn and Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Habitus variorum orbis gentium. Habitz de nations estranges (par J. J. Boissard). Trachten mancherley Völcker des Erdsckreytz*, 1581.

North America to England.¹⁷ Rather than solely rehearsing the archetypal nude figure in a feather headdress, Gheeraerts used the Four Continents as an occasion to bridge the ornamental, the allegorical, and the ethnographic.

Twelve Months in the Habits of Various Nations

The ethnographic content of the Four Continents is paired with the cosmological themes of the Twelve Months in a Dutch series, *Twelve Months in the Habits of Different Nations* (c. 1615-20).¹⁸ The series, which has bears no title plate, has been attributed to Crispijn van de Passe II on the basis of two estate inventories of the vast printmaking and publishing enterprise of the elder De Passe.¹⁹ The 1639 inventory of the firm's copperplates, compiled by Hague engraver and print publisher Hendrick Hondius and Rotterdam painter Gerrit Virulij, lists the following item: "Twelve months in habits in 12 plates." If this is indeed the same series, this written description—ostensibly written by the executor—illustrates that this was indeed primarily considered a Twelve Months series, but also that the second most salient visual detail was the clothing. As briefly

¹⁷ See Sloan K., *A New World: England's First View of America* (Chapel Hill: 2007) 168–169, no. 36.

¹⁸ Daniel Franken, the first to describe and attribute the series, only knew six of the plates. He did not offer a basis for his attribution. Daniel Franken, *L'Oeuvre gravé des Van de Passe* (Amsterdam: Frederick Muller, 1881), nos. 359-64; Franz Joseph Lipperheide, *Katalog Der Freiherrlich Von Lipperheide'schen Kostümbibliothek* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1963), no. 526. The series is not described in Hollstein. I know of only five complete editions: Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford: Douce Collection, album 138, nos. 602-14; RPK RP-P-2002-686/697; Lipperheidesche kostümbibliothek; HAB 36.16 Geom 2; and set held in a private collection.

¹⁹ Ilja M Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and His Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publ., 2001), 453, no. 199 for the 1639 inventory, "Twaelf maenden in drachten in 12 plaetgen." The plates were valued at fifteen pounds (= 15 guilders). In the 1653 inventory, drawn up by Dordrecht engraver Hendrik Davids, Utrecht doctor and "connoisseur" Quirinus van Wee, painter Francois Verwilt of Vlissingen, and Rotterdam stained-glass painter Willem Jansz. Thibout, the series is described as "12 platen de 12 drachgens," thus eliminating all reference to the allegorical subject. See p. 456, no. 32, valued at fifteen guilders.

noted in Chapter One, De Passe's series follows Pieter de Jode's *Fashions of Different Nations* in its general composition: each month is personified by a romantic couple from a specific nation or geographic region. From January to December, the regions included are: Muscovy, Iceland, the Netherlands, France, Rome, Spain, America, Turkey, Britain, Germany, Austria, and Hungary. Rather than working or harvesting the land in a manner typical of allegories of the Twelve Months, these figures take leisurely strolls, pausing to allow the viewer to study their dress.²⁰

Despite the absence of the traditional Labors, the series still communicates how the cosmos affects activities on earth by pairing each couple with a zodiac sign and a month that corresponds to their local climate. These pairings are clearly imagined from the perspective of a Northern European.²¹ For example, Spain is paired with July, because it is warm-to-hot year-round, and England is assigned to the more temperate September, since its climate is generally moderate throughout the year. The seasonal theme is also instructive, since local climate is implicitly offered as one explanation for the diversity of clothing customs around the world. As the verses for *January* note, "when winter reigns," Muscovites "conquer the cold" by covering themselves in the thick, sable fur-lined robes and hats portrayed in the plate (fig. 2.6).²²

²⁰ An interesting precedent for combining the zodiac, months, and "exotic" figures (in this case Pliny's monstrous races of India and Africa) is the "Zodiac pillar" (ca. 1130-150) from the Cluniac priory of Souvigny. See Neil Stratford, *La pilier roman de Souvigny* (Souvigny: Musée de Souvigny, 2005); Zehava Jacoby, "Le Chapiteau allégorique et le sermon: deux voies parallèles dans le processus créateur de l'imagérie romane," in *Romanico padano, Romanico europea: Introduzione di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle* (Parma: S.I., 1982), 384; and Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France: Étude sur les origines de l'iconographie du moyen âge*, 2nd ed. (Paris: A. Colin, 1924), 323-326.

²¹ This is distinct from Wenceslaus Hollar's renditions of the Four Seasons, which show the changing fashions of one group (Englishwomen) over the course of the year. See Chapter Three of this study.

²² "Tum genialis Hyems regnat, cum frigora MOSCVS / Vincere conatur tectisque, excludere tentat."

The connection between climate and dress is most explicitly made in *February*, which is personified by the Sami, a group indigenous to parts of Scandinavia and Russia (fig. 2.7). The Sami, or “Laplanders” as they were then called, are affectionately portrayed as a mother, father and child, all three covered from head to toe in animal skins, as described by the verse: “The Lapp and the Icelander cover themselves in fox furs to conquer the icy frigidness of February.”²³ The canoe leaning behind the Sami father, as well as his curved bow and quiver of arrows, provide further information about the tools used by the Sami for hunting and fishing. Their striking clothing, the baskets women carried their children in, and their distinctive shoes—used for traversing snow- and ice-covered land—had been a subject of interest for travelers to this area, and were pictured by Vecellio in a section on Nordic groups in the second, expanded edition of his costume book (1598) (fig. 2.8-9). Shortly thereafter, several images of the Sami were included in Gerrit de Veer’s account of the Dutch voyage to find a Northern passage to the East Indies; the account was published first by Cornelis Claesz and subsequently incorporated in Theodor de Bry’s collection of Asian and African voyages (fig. 2.10).²⁴ De Veer’s description of the ill-fated journey was supplemented by maps and illustrations portraying the adventures of the ship crew, such as their disastrous encounter with a polar bear. The edition also contains a plate depicting Sami dress from the front and back, which clearly takes inspiration from the De Bry’s costume plates for Thomas Harriot’s *A Brief and True Report*, such as that of plate titled “*A weroan or great Lorde of Virginia*”

²³ “LAPPIVS et denso tegitur qui vellere vulpis / ISLANDVS glacem et Februari frigora [frigora] vincunt..”

²⁴ Gerrit de Veer, *Waerachtighe beschryvinghe van drie seylagien, ter werelt noyt soo vreemt ghehoort* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1598).

(fig. 2.11). Here, and in other engravings in the publication, the Sami practice of reindeer herding is highlighted, which draws attention to a central component of their way of life and also appeals to those curious about local fauna around the world. In *February*, De Passe visually synthesizes the type of ethnographic information available in De Veer's account and Vecellio's costume book: how they dress; how they care for their young; what they eat; and how they hunt.

February is the only plate that directly addresses the clothing represented; the remaining verses range in content and tone, from impartial descriptions of the local climate and customs to ruthless judgments of morality, based on enduring stereotypes. As in De Jode's *Fashions of Various Nations*, one notices a slight tendency for neutral or complimentary descriptions about European countries at a farther distance from the Low Countries, such as those accompanying the Muscovite couple. When describing neighboring countries or political rivals, there is a greater tendency to reference cultural stereotypes by way of seasonal metaphors. *October*, for example, rehearses the sentiment of the wine-loving, fierce German that we have already seen in *Fashions of Various Nations* (fig. 2.12). The German couple stand before a group of vineyard workers during the autumn harvest. According to the inscription, this is the one time of year when Germans, indulging in wine, shed their otherwise harsh demeanor.²⁵ With her right hand, the woman grasps both a handkerchief and her partner's hand, and with her left, she offers him a bunch of grapes.

²⁵ "Temperat austero tristis GERMANIA mores / Fundit vbi october dulcia vina lacis."

Similarly, the French are subject to the longstanding stereotypes about their romantic proclivities (fig. 2.13). Given their fashionable dress and elegant bearing, it might be expected that the verses would comment on the widely-accepted notion that the French were exceptionally devoted to staying ahead of the fashion curve. Both figures wear styles that would spread through the court circles of Western Europe. The French woman is fashionably attired in cuffs and standing collar trimmed with *reticella* lace, the latter style known as a Medici collar, curled hair, and low-cut bodice. Her companion wears a stiff *rebatos* collar of Spanish origin, billowing breeches tied at the knee with long, garters fashioned into a bow; additionally, the tops of his shoes are adorned with rosettes. How he wears his cloak was also of the moment, with only one arm through the sleeve, and the rest of the cloak wrapped around his waist. Rather than speaking to the couple's self-conscious performance of their noble status, the verses link the fecundity of the season with the sexual appetite of the French: "April is sacred to Venus and to her fertile offspring / Gaul, who joins with others, or alone."²⁶

The description of *June*'s Spanish couple is less generous: "Because of his proximity to the ocean and to dark Africa, Spain enjoys being burned by the sun in July" (fig. 2.14).²⁷ In terms of their attire and surroundings, there is little to distinguish the couple from their European peers in the series. They are attired according to fashions of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Spanish court dress. In the background, a

²⁶ "Aprilis veneri sacer est, foecundaque prole / GALLIA, conueniunt ille, vel illa solo."

²⁷ "Proximus Oceano fuscis quoque proximus Afris / QVINTILI gaudet mense perustus Iber." I should also note that the verses say "July", but the zodiac sign at upper left is Cancer. The month of July is more likely personified by the American Indian couple pictured under the sign of Leo, in the following sheet. Those verses do not mention a month by name, but they describe the heat of "middle" of summer. Similarly, the Turkish couple are paired with Virgo, so they likely personify August.

farmer plows grain, and a Gothic cathedral towers in the distance. Despite the reference to “darkness,”²⁸ De Passe has not made any attempts to darken the figures’ skin color in relation to the other European couples. This omission is not unusual, since many engravers seem to have found this difficult to achieve without making the figures appear to be covered in shadows; many avoided this type of shading in allegorical depictions of Africa, for example.

The question remains, however, about why Spain’s proximity to Africa is singled out in this limited space. The reference speaks to several, overlapping perceptions about the Spanish character that circulated in Protestant Europe from the second half of the sixteenth century. By pointing out the Iberian peninsula’s proximity to Northern Africa, the verses likely are invoking the former’s Moorish past. As much as Spain tried to rid itself of all remaining traces of this past, they were still seen as being “tainted” by North African influences. The notion of Spain’s essential difference from the rest of Europe was part of the propagandistic discourse known today as the Black Legend.²⁹ The Legend’s origins lie in the stories of atrocities committed by the *conquistadors* against American Indians. Ironically, the primary vehicle for this narrative was by one of Spain’s own, the Dominican missionary Bartholomé de las Casas in his *Brevísima relación de la*

²⁸ Alternatively, “fuscis” can be translated as “brown” or “tawny.” Therefore, I have taken “dark” literally, rather than metaphorically. Nevertheless, references to “darkness” or “fairness” were often made regarding one’s character. For a discussion on the theological and racial implications of this discourse, see Hall K.F., *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: 1995) 107–116.

²⁹ The term “Black Legend” is of twentieth-century origin. It was used by the Spanish journalist Julián Juderías to describe the manner in which other European countries represented Spain as culturally backward and overly superstitious. For a discussion and translation of this work, see Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York: Knopf, 1971), 8-9, 193-95. See also Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds., *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

destrucción de las Indias (1552). The *Brevísima relación* resonated with Protestant readers across Europe who saw echoes of their own violent persecution by Spanish Catholics.³⁰ This resonance was particularly pronounced among Netherlandish Protestants who saw parallels with their own victimization under Philip II and his representative in Flanders, the Duke of Alba.³¹ The analogy was not subtle. For example, among the many translations and reprintings of the accounts in the Low Countries was *Le Miroir de la Cruelle, & horrible Tyrannie Espagnole perpetree au Pays Bas, par le Tyran Duc de Albe, & Aultres Commandeurs de par le Roy Philippe le deuxiesme* (Amsterdam: 1620), which combined French translations of Johannes Gysius's history of the Dutch Revolt, *Oorsprong en voortgang der Nederlandtscher beroerten* (1616), and De las Casas's *Brevísima relación*, to make an explicit parallel between Spanish tyrannies at home and abroad.

While Catholicism has traditionally been cited as the locus of Spanish alterity in the origins of the Black Legend, several scholars have observed contemporaneous

³⁰ As the product of a Protestant, Flemish refugee, Theodor de Bry's collection of voyages is regarded as another contributor to the Black Legend, through both its images and De Bry's editorial choices. See Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Frank Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et Le Sauvage: l'Amérique et La Controverse Coloniale en France, Au Temps Des Guerres de Religion (1555-1589)* (Paris: Diffusion, Klincksieck, 1990). Recent studies have re-evaluated the extent of De Bry's anti-Spanish rhetoric. See Patricia Gravatt, "Rereading Theodor de Bry's Black Legend," in *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, ed. Margaret R. Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), 225–43; Michiel van Groesen, *The Representations of the Overseas World in the De Bry Collection of Voyages (1590-1634)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 249-280.

³¹ In the Dutch Republic, the brutality of the conquistadors was also used to delegitimize Spanish claims to the Americas and to justify their own imperial ambitions. On the Dutch reception of De las Casas, see Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 95–122.

conflation of Spanish cruelty with that historically attributed to “the Moor.”³² Anti-Spanish tracts that were produced and translated for circulation in France, England, and the Netherlands often remind readers of the country’s Moorish influences.³³ Edward Daunce’s “Brief Discourse of the Spanish State” (1590) implies that the modern Spanish character can attributed to the fact their ancestors “mingled with the Mores cruell and full of trecherie.”³⁴ The English translation of Antoine Arnauld’s “The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard” implies a certain injustice at the thought of France being ruled by religious and cultural outsiders. After recounting the “execrable cruelties” that Spain committed against “those poore, naked, and innocent Indians,” he asks, “Shall France be added to the titles of this King of *Maiorica*? Of this demie Moore, demie Jew, yea demie Saracine?”³⁵ Finally, he implores the rest of Europe to help France “abate the pride and insolencie of these Negroes, who through our negligence have a feweaes since so saucely or rather savagely insulted upon the countries bordering round about us, making us...the subject of their mirth & triumphes.”³⁶ Though the verses describing Spain in the Twelve Months are brief, the invocation of Africa’s proximity to the Iberian peninsula would have reminded the viewer—especially an early seventeenth-century Dutch

³² See, for example, Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), especially the chapter “The Spanish Race,” 115-138; and Eric Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). For range of approaches to the roles of race and religion in the construction of the Black Legend, see Greer, Mignolo, and Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend*.

³³ Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain*, 27–48.

³⁴ Quoted in Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 123.

³⁵ Antoine Arnauld, *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard, Made at Paris by a Frenchman, a Catholique. Wherein Is Directly Proued How the Spanish King Is the Onely Cause of Al* (London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, 1590), 9. For discussion of this work, see Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 123.

³⁶ Arnauld, *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard*, 35.

viewer—of both the nation’s Moorish history and the perceived consequences for the Spanish character.

The Dutch antipathy towards Spain and relative empathy toward the American Indians, may explain De Passe’s surprisingly un-sensationalistic portrayal of the New World, within the context of the visual tradition (fig. 2.15). As discussed above, for decades following the first European voyage to the Americas, one of the principal motifs of visual and literary representations of the indigenous populations was cannibalism. The anthropophagic rituals that were witnessed or merely recounted by travelers were specifically practiced by the Brazilian Tupinamba, against their vanquished enemies.³⁷ Nevertheless, the practice was effectively attributed to all tribes through allegorical depictions of America, starting with this image and in the adaptations that followed, including most of the four-sheet suites by Netherlandish engravers. In the background of Adriaen Collaert’s *America* (c. 1586-1591), for example, a naked Indian raises an axe over a table covered in severed human body parts, while a woman next to him roasts an arm on a spit over a fire (see fig. 2.4). In Crispijn van de Passe the Elder’s *America* (c. 1589-1611), the body parts boil in a cauldron, as America herself triumphantly raises the head of her victim (fig. 2.16).

De Passe the Younger opted for a more peaceful representation of American Indians. Not only are they stripped of any reference to cannibalism, but the iconic

³⁷ The consensus among anthropologists and historians is that these observations were probably grounded in actual practices, but that they were limited to specific tribes and ceremonial occasions. See Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen, eds., *Cannibalism and the Colonial World* (Cambridge University Press, 1998); Rodney Shirley, *Courtiers and Cannibals, Angels and Amazons* (Hes & De Graaf Publishers, 2009); Neil L. Whitehead, *Of Cannibals and Kings: Primal Anthropology in the Americas* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

references to warfare—clubs, bows and arrows—are also absent. Nevertheless, the plate distinguishes the Indian couple from the Europeans in other ways. Both figures cover only their lower bodies with simple, untailed loin cloths that, by European standards, would indicate both the moral laxity of non-Christians and the rudimentary craftsmanship of a “primitive” society. Along the river are two additional women who are completely nude. The verse does not, however, draw attention to clothing customs, but to their physical characteristics. Comparing the natural skin color of the American Indians to that of a European’s seasonal tan, they note, “Those who are colored by the warm rays of the rising sun / In the middle of summer, become similar to those in the New World.”³⁸

One point of reference for De Passe’s gentler approach to depicting American Indians was Theodor de Bry’s engravings of the Carolina Algonquians in his edition of Thomas Harriot’s *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590). As discussed in the previous chapter of this study, the drawings provided by John White focused on the everyday customs of the Algonquians, which, in this case encompassed clothing, diet, religion, and lodging. Although the representation of “*A weroan or great Lorde of Virginia*” acknowledges that warfare was part of Algonquian life, White did not portray any violent encounters (see fig. 2.11).³⁹ That De Passe consulted this volume is suggested by some correspondences between his image of an Indian woman and those

³⁸ “Qui solis radijs calido colorantur ab ortu / Aestate in media similes nouo in orbe feruntur.”

³⁹ White’s and Harriot’s decision to avoid representing the frequent violent clashes between tribes was almost certainly a conscious one. Since the motivation for the publication was to convince readers to invest in and settle in a North American colony, Harriot and White had a mandate to create a picture of a plentiful land occupied by relatively docile people. See Ute Kuhlemann, “Between Reproduction, Invention, and Propaganda: Theodor de Bry’s Engravings after John White’s Watercolours,” in *A New World: England’s First View of America*, ed. Kim Sloan (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 78–92; Joyce E. Chaplin, “Roanoke ‘Counterfeited According to the Truth,’” in *A New World: England’s First View of America*, 51–63; Groesen, *Representations of the Overseas World*, 107–38.

depicted in *A Brief and True Report*, such as the plate captioned “*A younge gentill woeman doughter of Secota*” (fig. 2.17) Both figures are covered from the waist down with a piece of cloth folded over the top, although De Passe’s lacks the specificity and detail of the Algonquian’s fringed, apron-like skirt. Both are accessorized with beaded necklaces and pendant earrings; in Harriot’s account, the necklace and earrings would have been made of pearls, stone beads, and pieces of bone. Where the Algonquian maiden has tattooed design—around her calves, wrists, and upper arms—however, however, De Passe’s figure has more beaded jewelry.

Unexpectedly, De Passe’s Indian woman does not wear the feather accessories that were practically obligatory for personifications of America. Instead this attribute has been transferred to her companion in the form of a two-tiered crown that very closely resembles that worn by America in the elder De Passe’s allegorical suite. Like cannibalism, radial feather crowns of this sort appear to have been worn by the Tupinamba and were depicted in prints by European artists with varying degrees of accuracy in the years immediately following first contact, and throughout the century in the travel accounts and costume books. The earliest surviving visual representation is a woodcut attributed to Johann Froschauer of a cannibalistic feast, which accompanied a German edition of Amerigo Vespucci’s *Mundus Novus* letter (Augsburg 1505) (fig. 2.18).⁴⁰ However, the general consensus among scholars is that this image was not based

⁴⁰ Friedrich W. Sixel, “Die Deutsche Vorstellung vom Indianer in der Ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Annali Del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico* 30 (1966): 9–230; Rudolf Schuller, “The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians,” *Indian Notes* 7 (1930): 484–97; Wilberforce Eames, “Description of a Wood Engraving Illustrating the South American Indians (1505),” *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 26, no. 9 (1922): 755–60.

on either eyewitness observation, but on second-hand descriptions and the iconographic precedents of the European “Wild Man.”⁴¹ More detailed and reliable images resulted from direct contact with either Tupinamba objects or the people themselves. An example of the former would be Hans Burgkmair’s Brazilian warriors in “The People of Calicut” from *The Triumphal Procession of Maximilian I* (1518), which scholars believe was informed by access to Brazilian clothing and weapons held in European collections (2.19).⁴² Similarly, the feather accoutrements were depicted and described by the Protestant minister Jean de Léry, whose report *Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil* (1578) recounted the years he lived among the Tupinamba (2.20). Most costume books, such as Jost Amman and Hans Weigel’s *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (1577), were specific when attributing feathered objects to Brazilians, rather than to Americans more broadly (fig. 2.21).

In most allegorical representations of America, however, the idea of “America” included the capes, crowns, bustles, and skirts associated with the Tupinamba, even after

⁴¹ Susi Colin, “The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustration,” in *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, ed. Christian F. Feest (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 5–29. See also Timothy B Husband, ed., *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan museum of art, 1981); Roger Bartra, *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994). William Sturtevant suggests that the artist responsible for the woodcut consulted objects sent to Europe by Portuguese explorer Pedro Alvarez Cabral. See Sturtevant, “The Sources for European Imagery of Native Americans,” in *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700* (Washington, D.C: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1992), 27. Peter Mason and Christian Feest believe that the woodcut is based entirely on second-hand information. See Mason, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 17; and Feest, “The People of Calicut: Objects, Texts, and Images in the Age of Proto-Ethnography,” *Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 9, no. 2 (2014): 287–303, here 298.

⁴² The same has also been said about Albrecht Dürer’s drawing of a Brazilian man in the prayer book of Maximilian I (folio 41, recto) in the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, München. See Feest, “People of Calicut”; Massing, “Early European Images of America.”

the De Bry volumes circulated the costumes of other American tribes.⁴³ This was true not only for printed allegories, but also in paintings, applied arts, and public processions, and courtly spectacles.⁴⁴ For example, among the costumes designed by Inigo Jones for *The Memorable Masque* (1613) was a torchbearer whose costumes were “of the Indian garb...all showfully garnished with several-hued feathers” (fig. 2.22).⁴⁵

Some details in the *July* print suggest, however, that De Passe was denoting something more specific than the generalized notion of “America.” Just as the female figure evokes representations of the Carolina Algonquian, her companion might be intended to act as a representation of an actual Brazilian. Another feature that distinguishes him, aside from the feather crown and leg band, is his facial modification. De Léry, among others, described and illustrated the Tupinamba practice of setting pieces of bone or stones into the face. The landscape in which the figures are set also has

⁴³ Sturtevant has famously dubbed this phenomenon the “Tupinambization” of North American Indians. See Sturtevant W.C., “La Tupinambisation des Indiens d’Amérique du Nord”, in Thérien G. (ed.), *Les Figures de l’Indien*, Les Cahiers du Département d’Études Littéraires 9 (Montreal: 1988) 293–303. He also points out that artists also applied Tupi-style featherwork indiscriminately to representations of African and Asian groups. A good example of this occurrence is the Rijksmuseum delftware tile panel showing black Africans wearing feather skirts against in a Chinese landscape, c. 1700 (inv. no. BK-NM-12400-443). See Jean-Michel Massing, “Panel with Chinoiserie and Eckhoutian figures,” in *Black is Beautiful: Rubens to Dumas*, Esther Schreuder and Elmer Kolfin, eds. (Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk), 224-25, no. 32.

⁴⁴ Virginia Mason Vaughan, “‘Savages and Men of Ind’: English Theatrical Representations of American Indians, 1590-1690,” in *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700*, ed. Rachel Doggett (Washington, D.C: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1992); Steven Mullaney, “The New World on Display: European Pageantry and Ritual Incorporation of the Americas,” in *New World of Wonders* (Washington, D.C: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1992); McGrath, “Humanism, Allegorical Invention, and the Personification of the Continents”; Suzanne Boorsch, “America in Festival Representations,” in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 503–15.

⁴⁵ Stephen Orgel and Roy C Strong, eds., *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, vol. 1 (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet; University of California Press, 1973), 256; Kathryn Schwarz, “Amazon Reflections in the Jacobean Queen’s Masque,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 35, no. 2 (April 1, 1995): 293-319. Jones frequently consulted printed material, such as Vecellio’s costume book, when designing his costumes. On his sources, see John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume, and Music* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2009).

specific tribal associations, though not to the Algonquians or the Tupinamba. The round structure on the riverbank is strikingly similar to the Timucuan granaries along the St. John's River in Florida in Jacques le Moyne de Morgues's *Brevis narratio eorum quae in Florida Americai provincia Gallis acciderunt* (1591) (fig 2.23).⁴⁶ By consulting various visual sources, De Passe thus attempts to encompass the diversity of New World inhabitants in a single image, rather than aiming for ethnographic specificity.

In contrast to the multiplicity of references in the American Indian costume, we get much more detail in the clothing worn by the couple personifying August (fig. 2.24). The plate does not name a specific nation of origin as the others do, but an educated contemporary viewer would immediately recognize certain signature elements of Turkish dress that were part of the codified image of "the Turk" for almost a century, especially the male figure's large, round turban. Virtually every costume publication included at least one plate of Turkish apparel; Vecellio alone had over thirty woodcuts devoted to that region. European curiosity about the appearance and customs of inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire was manifested in other print genres, from which costume books drew their information on Turkish dress.⁴⁷ Among the woodcuts illustrating Breydenbach's

⁴⁶ The publication recounts the French expedition to Floriday by Jean Ribault and René Laudonnière. De Bry claims that his engravings were based on drawings recreated from memory by Le Moyne, who allegedly lost his original drawings before returning to Europe. See Paul Hulton, ed., *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues a Huguenot Artist in France, Florida and England* (London: British Museum Publications, 1979).

⁴⁷ For studies covering the range of European representations of Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Robert Born, Michal Dziewulski, and Guido Messling, eds., *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art* (Brussels: BOZAR Books, 2015); Charlotte Colding Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453-1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014); James G. Harper, ed., *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism, Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011); Alexandrine N. St. Clair, *The Image of the Turk in Europe* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1973); For an overview of the Netherlandish printed material, see Michiel Roding, "'Die met dit soort van Volk wil verkeer...' het beeld van de Turk 115

pilgrimage to the Holy Land are representations of Turks, based on studies by the draughtsman who accompanied him, Erhard Reuwich. Pieter Coecke van Aelst's ten-block woodcut frieze *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (Customs and Fashions of the Turks) (1553) was posthumously published two decades after the artist visited Istanbul in 1533.⁴⁸ Although the panoramic frieze focuses on large processions or groups, rather than single-figure studies, the work was still mined for costume publications beginning with Enea Vico (see Chapter One).

Another reference for Turkish dress was the publications that resulted from diplomatic envoys to the Sublime Porte, particularly at moments of heightened tension between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Roman Empire. In 1551, the geographer Nicolas de Nicolay accompanied the French diplomat Gabriel d'Aramon to Istanbul.⁴⁹ During his tenure with the envoy, Nicolay recorded details about the various populations that he encountered during their sojourn through Algiers, Malta, and Tripoli. These experiences were compiled and illustrated with woodcuts in the 1568 publication *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales*.⁵⁰ Perhaps hoping to capitalize on the success of François Desprez's costume book, *Recueil de la diversité des*

in de Nederlandse grafiek," in *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1990), 54–74; and Larry Silver, "East Is East: Images of the Turkish Nemesis in the Hapsburg World," in Harper, ed., *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye*, 185–215.

⁴⁸ The finished designs may have been intended for a tapestry project that was never completed. See Nadine Orenstein, "Customs and Fashions of the Turks," in *Grand Design*, 176–186, and cat. no. 45.

⁴⁹ D'Aramon hoped to encourage the sultan to launch a counterattack on their mutual enemy, the Holy Roman Empire, after its recent invasion in Tunisia. On the Franco-Ottoman alliance against the Habsburgs, see Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the Infidel: The Ottoman and French Alliance in the Sixteenth Century* (Tauris Academic Studies, 2011).

⁵⁰ Nicolas Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations Orientales*, de N. de Nicolay, ... *Avec les figures au naturel tant d'hommes que de femmes selon la diversité des nations, & de leur port, maintien & habitz* (Lyon: G. Roville, 1568).

habits (1562), many of Nicolay's woodcuts follow the format of costume plates, and they cover a range of social ranks, occupations, and ethnicities.⁵¹ The plate inscribed, *Femme Turcque allant par la ville*, exemplifies the predominant compositional format employed throughout the book, wherein a single figure stands before a simple, outdoor background, excised from any narrative or architectural context (fig. 2.25).

In 1555, Danish draughtsman Melchior Lorck accompanied Habsburg ambassador Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecque to Istanbul, where he documented a range of subjects, including rituals, architecture, and the topography of the city (fig. 2.26). Though he, too, discerned that the European public would be curious about the particularities of Ottoman culture and social structure, best articulated through costume studies, his extensive coverage of the Sultan's armed forces nevertheless demonstrates the political motivations for his participation in the Hapsburg envoy. Lorck died before he was able to transform his drawings and observations into a written account of his experiences in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the final product, *The Turkish Publication* (1626) contains only the 128 woodcuts after his drawings.⁵² While most of the figure studies follow the

⁵¹ Chandra Mukerji, "Costume and Character in the Ottoman Empire: Dress as Social Agent in Nicolay's Navigations," in *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800*, ed. Paula Findlen (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013), 151-69. See also Ilg "Vom Reisebericht zum ethnographischen Kompendium: zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Nicolas de Nicolays *Quatre premiers livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales* (1567)" in *Text und Bild in Reiseberichten des 16. Jahrhunderts : westliche Zeugnisse über Amerika und das Osmanische Reich*, Ulrike Ilg, ed. (Venice: Marsilio, 2008), 161-92.

⁵² Melchior Lorck, *Dess Weitberühmbten, Kunstreichen Und Wolerfahrnen Herren Melchior Lorichs, Flensburgensis. Wolgerissene Und Geschnittene Figuren Zu Ross Und Fuss, Sampt Schönen Türckischen Gebäwden, Und* (Hamburg: Michael Hering, 1626). Even without the planned text, the images proved captivating enough for armchair travelers, scholars, and artists, since it was published on three additional occasions throughout the seventeenth century and subsequent artists poached it for imagery up through the eighteenth-century. Most or all of the plates were published again in 1646 under the original title; across several issues of Eberhard Werner Happel's *Krieges-Bericht* newspaper in 1683-84; and again in Happel's *Thesaurus Exoticorum* (1688) Erik Fischer, "On the Different Editions of the Turkish Publication," in *Melchior Lorck*, vol. 3 (Copenhagen: Vandkunsten, 2009), 7. An eighteenth-century series that borrows from Lorck's woodcuts is Charles Ferriol's, *Recueil de cent estampes representant différentes nations du* 117

costume-book formula present in Nicolay's book, the Danish artist also included a section of portraits of the great women of the Ottoman court, as well as interior scenes of the harem, demonstrating that the impossibility of producing such portraits was not enough to discourage an artist from giving readers privileged access to an inaccessible component on Ottoman society.

Despite their mid-sixteenth-century origins, the publications of Coecke van Aelst, Nicolay, and Lorck still shaped seventeenth-century perceptions of Turkish dress through the seventeenth century. Peter Paul Rubens's album of costume sketches, compiled between 1609 and 1612, includes figures based on these works, as well as on costume albums produced in Turkey for European travelers.⁵³ The 1656 inventory of Rembrandt van Rijn mentions both the Lorck and Coecke van Aelst volumes.⁵⁴ When composing the ensemble for *August's* Turkish woman, De Passe also relied on the sixteenth-century

Levant (1712), known more commonly as the *Recueil Ferriol*. That series, etched by Gerard Jean-Baptiste Scotin I and several others after designs by Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, was itself the visual basis for eighteenth-century *turquerie*. See Olga Nefedova-Gruntova, *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: The Art of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour (1671-1737)* (Milan: Skira, 2009). Maria Elisabeth Pape, "Turquerie im 18. Jahrhundert und der 'Recueil Ferriol,'" in *Europa und Der Orient: 800-1900* (Berlin: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 305–23.

⁵³ For Rubens's collection of over 250 studies of historical and exotic dress, and its sources, see Hilde Kurz and Otto Kurz, "The Turkish Dresses in the Costume-Book of Rubens," *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 23 (1972): 275–90; and Kristin Lohse Belkin, *The Costume Book*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 24 (Brussels: Arcade, 1980). For costume albums produced by Turkish artists, see Leslie Meral Schick, "Ottoman Costume Albums in a Cross-Cultural Context," in *Art Turc: 10ème Congrès International D'art Turc, Genève, 17-23 Septembre 1995*, ed. François Déroche (Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1998), 625–28; and Bronwen Wilson, "Foggie Diverse di Vestire de' Turchi: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation," *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 97–139.

⁵⁴ "Een dito vol Turcxen gebouwen, Melchior Lorich, Hendrick van Aelst en andere meer, uytbeeldende het Turcxen leven." (fol. 35, no. 234). For the complete inventory, see Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Arch.no 5072, Inv. no. 364, fol. 29-38v, dd 25 and 26 July 1656. The inventory is also transcribed by Jaap van der Veen in Appendix II, *Rembrandt's Treasures: Bob van den Boogert*, ed. (Amsterdam: Museum Het Rembrandthuis, 1999). Marieke Winkel does not detect any works by Rembrandt that suggest that he referred to the Melchior and Coecke van Aelst publications for his own representation of "oriental" dress, at least not overtly. See *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 260.

visual tradition. He either consulted Nicolay's woodcuts, or else one of the costume books that incorporated the older designs.⁵⁵ Similar to Nicolay's *Femme Turque allant par ville*, De Passe's Turkish lady wears a short cap, which is covered by a veil that drapes around her shoulders to fasten together under her chin (see fig. 2.25). Some Turkish women attached a separate piece of cloth to their veils that would cover their eyes when they went out in public or raise when they were indoors, which Nicolay illustrates in the woodcut of a woman dressed in "the Syrian manner" (fig. 2.27); and De Passe seems to suggest this accessory with a piece of horizontal fabric across the figure's forehead). Beneath the veil she wears a loose floor-length overgarment (*feraçe*), which women would wear in public, over the inner robe (*entari*), which is also depicted here.⁵⁶ Although the *feraçe* would normally be black or dark-colored, De Passe's version is constructed from a floral-patterned fabric that indicates that De Passe was only familiar with Turkish design motifs in the most general sense. The four-petaled flower that appears throughout might be a reference to the carnation, which, along with the pomegranate and tulip, was a common element in Turkish material culture. Nevertheless, his inclusion of the *fleur-de-lis* on both figures' garments confirms that he was not working from actual textiles.

Whether De Passe intended this or not, his version of male Turkish dress was informed by representations of high-ranking Ottoman officials, such as the sultan or the general of the janissaries (*Aga*) (fig. 2.28). Over a long-sleeved, patterned kaftan, the

⁵⁵ Nicolay also probably referenced Cocke van Aelsts's frieze for these outfits.

⁵⁶ Jennifer M. Scarce, *Women's Costume of the Near and Middle East* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1987). 119

male figure wears a simpler short-sleeved, open-fronted robe fastened with a multiple rows of buttons and loops (“frogs”). Wrapped around his waist and knotted at the front is a sash, from which hangs a curved *kilij* saber. As mentioned above, he wears a round turban wrapped around a short baton that is accented with a jeweled aigrette. An aigrette with black or white heron feathers was the privilege of the sultan and the *Aga* and may have familiar to viewers from general representations of such figures in costume books, such as Vecellio’s, or from earlier, more specific images of Sultan Suleiman “the Magnificent,” such as Matteo Pagani’s from 1540-50 (fig. 2.29).⁵⁷ This and many other printed portraits of sultans would have also offered Europeans a glimpse of Turkish sartorial practices.⁵⁸

Well after his rule, caricatured versions of Suleiman also appeared in court ballets, masques, tournaments, and processions that relied on—and reinforced—the accepted signifiers of “Turkishness” within Europe.⁵⁹ The sultan was still a point of reference in seventeenth-century performances. In 1626, Louis XIII hosted the *Ballet Royal du grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut* on the occasion of a visit from the

⁵⁷ For the range of images of the sultans, both imagined and based on eyewitness observation, see Born et al, *The Sultan’s World*, 171-206; and Selmin Kangal, ed. *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, 2000); and Alberto Saviello, “El Gran Turco als ‘maskierter’ Tyrann. Ein Topos druckgraphischer Darstellungen osmanischer Sultane,” in Catarina Schmidt and Gerhard Wolf, eds., *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World: Trade, Gift Exchange, and Artistic Transfer* (Venice: Marsilio, 2011), 217-03. See also Gülru Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (1989): 401–27.

⁵⁸ Portraits of Ottoman sultans were also collected in Jean-Jacques Boissard’s publication *Vitae et icones sultanorum Turcicorum*, published by Theodor de Bry in 1596.

⁵⁹ Confrontations with “Turkish” soldiers were a recurring motif in Habsburg tournaments. See Smith, *Images of Islam*, 146-149; Alfred Auer and Wilifried Seipel, eds., *Wir sind Helden: Habsburgische Feste in der Renaissance* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2005); and Braden Frieder, *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court*. Sixteenth century essays & studies, 81 (Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2008), *passim*.

Dowager of Bilbao, first performed at the Louvre and then restaged for the public at the town hall.⁶⁰ The ballet delivered a series of entrances, in which professional dancers and courtiers represented the various nations of the world including American Indians, Africans, and Persians. Preserved costume drawings by Daniel Rabel reveal that the representation of Turks was highly stereotypical, and orchestrated to mock the culture and appearance of their sometime allies (fig. 2.30).⁶¹ The Turkish *entrée* was led by the Sultan on horseback, leading a train of many wives. The courtier who played the sultan wears a mask with a prominent nose, an exceedingly wide, curled mustache, and a disproportionate turban, decorated with multiple aigrettes.⁶² Despite sporting a comparatively modest turban, the title character in Jacques Callot's frontispiece for Bonarelli's *Il Solimano* sports a comparatively modest turban (fig. 2.31). Instead, the artist exaggerates the hallmark multi-layered aesthetic of Turkish dress, by overwhelming a diminutive sultan with several voluminous robes, which are prominently decorated with many rows of frogging.

⁶⁰In France, representations of "exotic" cultures had been a common occurrence in royal festivities and entrances since the 16th century, but especially in the 17th-century court ballets under Louis XIII and Louis XIV. See Sarah R. Cohen, *Art, Dance, and the Body in French Culture of the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 138; for the *Ballet Royal du grand bal de la douairière de Billebahaut*, see Margaret McGowan, *L'art Du Ballet de Cour En France, 1581-1643* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1963), 124, 130–32.

⁶¹ These events did not reflect any genuine attempt to authentically represent Turkish dress, since "the Turk of masques, ballets, and drama was merely a foil for European heroism." Clair, *The Image of the Turk in Europe*, 10.

⁶² Not all ceremonial incorporations of Turkish dress intended to disparage or mock Turkish culture. On Bernardo Buontalenti's Turkish-inspired costumes for the 1589 wedding between Ferdinando de Medici and Christine of Lorraine within the context of Ferdinando's interest in Turkish science, culture, and history, see Christopher Pastore, "Bipolar behavior: Ferdinando de' Medici and the East," in Harper, ed. *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye*, 129-154; and David Alexander, ed., *From the Medicis to the Savoias. Ottoman Splendor in Florentine Collections* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2003).

A series of engravings attributed to Jacques de Gheyn II suggests that Suleiman's facial features and dress (based on European representations) also formed the basis of masquerade costumes and stock Turkish characters (fig. 2.32). Among the common masquerade costumes in de Gheyn's *Masquerades* is that of a "Turk," whose costume consists of a mask with the requisite curled mustache, turban, aigrette, and frogged kaftan.⁶³ Also within the realm of fanciful representations of Turkish dress are a number of painted and etched *tronies*⁶⁴ by Rembrandt van Rijn and Jan Lievens in the 1620s and 30s, where anonymous figures don turbans and thick brocade robes (fig. 2.33). Marieke de Winkel demonstrates that these outfits are typically amalgams of Turkish, Persian, and European dress, yet these works were usually designated as "Turkse" in early inventories.⁶⁵ For many European viewers, knowledge of Turkish dress was thus mediated by secondhand images and exaggerated costumes.

A wealthier or more cosmopolitan viewer, however, may have had direct experience with Turkish textiles. Sultans also gifted textiles and robes of honor (*khil'a*) to

⁶³ On the interest in, and representation of, Turkish and Persian dress in the Low Countries, see Wanda Den Boer, "Oriëntalisme En Het Kostuum," in *Oostersche Weelde: De Oriënt in Westerse Kunst en Cultuur*, ed. Jef Schaeps, Kasper van Ommen, and Arnoud Vrolijk (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005), 31–48. De Gheyn's *Masquerades* also features an "American" costume, composed of a feather cape, skirt, and headdress.

⁶⁴ Jaap van der Veen, "Faces from Life" in Albert Blankert, *Rembrandt: A Genius and His Impact* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1997), 69–90; Dagmar Hirschfelder, "Portrait or character head? The term 'tronie' and its meaning in the seventeenth century" in Ernst van de Wetering and Bernhard Schnackenburg, eds., *The mystery of the young Rembrandt* (Kassel: Staatliche Museen Kassel, 2001), 82–90; and Franziska Gottwald, *Das Tronie: Muster—Studie—Meisterwerk: Die Genese einer Gattung der Malerei vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zu Rembrandt* (Kunsthistorische Studien 164) (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011).

⁶⁵ Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 255–70. For "Oriental" motifs in Rembrandt's work, see also Leonard J Slatkes, *Rembrandt and Persia* (New York: Abaris Books, 1983); and Blaise Ducos, "The Orient and Rembrandt's Redefinition of Christ Iconography," in *Rembrandt and the Face of Jesus*, ed. Lloyd DeWitt (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2011), 161–77. In his practice for etching turbaned heads, Rembrandt was later followed by Stefano della Bella.

foreign diplomats, merchants, and rulers.⁶⁶ Some of these woven gifts ended up in royal collections or treasuries (see Chapter One). Others were commemorated in portraits, as in the case of Sigismund von Herberstein, an ambassador for the Holy Roman Empire. Von Herberstein's account of his diplomatic career, *Gratae Posteritati* (Vienna: 1560), includes woodcuts by Hans Lautensack that portray the various ensembles he either wore or received as gifts during official visits, including the *khil'a* he received from Suleiman (fig. 2.34).⁶⁷ Acquiring Turkish textiles was not, however, exclusive to rulers and their agents. Because of its centuries-old trading relationship with Turkey, Venice was a principal entry point for rugs and velvets for the rest of Europe.⁶⁸ In the Dutch Republic, where we can assume most editions of *The Twelve Continents* of the series resided,

⁶⁶ The gifting of robes was also practiced in the Persian courts. On the gift culture throughout the Islamic world, see Linda Komaroff et al., *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011). In Russia, Persian and Turkish textiles were incorporated into ceremonial court attire or in the robes of the Orthodox patriarchs. See Guy Walton, "Diplomatic and Ambassadorial Gifts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Gifts to the Tsars: 1500 - 1700: Treasures from the Kremlin*, ed. Barry Shifman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 74-95.

⁶⁷ Lautensack's depiction of the robes' patterns was precise enough that dress historians have identified the inner textile as a Turkish velvet and the outer textile as Italian-produced silk using Ottoman design motifs. See Jennifer Wearden "Sigismund von Herberstein: An Italian Velvet in the Ottoman Court," *Costume* (Leeds) 19 (1985), 22-29. For the dynamics of giving and receiving a robe from the sultan, see Tim Stanley "Ottoman Gift Exchange: Royal Give and Take" in *Gifts of the Sultan*, 149-166. Anthony van Dyck's portrait of Sir Robert Sherley (1622) also depicts the sitter in a robe of honor, but in this case, the robe was Persian and it was gifted by the Shah. Working as a diplomatic agent of on behalf of the Shah, Shirley wore the robe when meeting with European leaders, including James I. See Gary Schwartz, "The Sherleys and the Shah: Persia as the Stakes in a Rogue's Gambit," in *The Fascination of Persia*, 78-99; and Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 55-58.

⁶⁸ See Walter B. Denny, "Oriental Carpets and Textiles in Venice," in Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 174-9; Deborah Howard, "Cultural Transfer between Venice and the Ottomans in the 15th and 16th Centuries," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. IV, Forging European identities 1400-1700 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 138-77; Marika Sardar, "Silk along the Seas: Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran in the Global Textile Trade," in *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*, ed. Amelia Peck (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 66-81; and Halil Inalcik, "Mutual Political and Cultural Influences Between Europe and the Ottomans," in Halil Inalcik and Günsel Renda, eds., *Ottoman Civilization* (Ankara: Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture, 2002), 1048-1089.

objects from Turkey found their way into the collections of merchants, burghers, and scholars, especially with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries with the appointment of Cornelis Haga as ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in 1612.⁶⁹ Though some individuals kept such items in a separate cabinet, the many paintings featuring Turkish rugs covering dining tables demonstrate that these objects were also incorporated into the domestic interiors.⁷⁰

If the clothing worn by August's couple did not provide enough information for a viewer to identify their country of origin, the verses would have supplied additional hints: "Although he burns within from his own cunning deceitfulness, the sly Barbarian burns externally from the heat."⁷¹ Following the Ottoman victory in Constantinople in 1453, "barbarian" was the epithet that early modern Europeans most frequently applied to the Ottoman Turks, replacing the Crusading insults of "infidel" and "enemy of the faith."⁷²

⁶⁹ On the collecting and domestication of objects from Persia and the Ottoman Empire in the Dutch Republic, see Claudia Swan, "Lost in Translation: Exoticism in Early Modern Holland," in *The Fascination of Persia: The Persian-European Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Art and Contemporary Art of Tehran*, ed. Axel Langer (Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2014), 100–117; and Jan van der Waals, "Exotische Rariteiten: Afbeeldingen en Voorwerpen van Vreemde Volkeren," in *De Wereld Binnen Handbereik*, 153–68. For an overview of the diplomatic, economic, and cultural relationship between the Netherlands and Turkey, see the essays in Hans Theunissen, Annelies Abelmann, and Wim Meulenkamp, eds., *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen sinds 1600* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989).

⁷⁰ Onno Ydema, "Turkse Tapijten op Nederlandsche Schilderijen," in *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600*, ed. Hans Theunissen, Annelies Abelmann, and Wim Meulenkamp (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989), 140–47. For the depiction of Islamic carpets in Italian paintings, see David Carrier, "Islamic Carpets in Christian Paintings: An Alternative Theory of the Origin of the Public Art Museum," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 25, no. 1 (2005): 1–5; David Young Kim, "Lotto's Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 98:2 (2016), 181–212.

⁷¹ "Arte vafer fallaxque suâ licet aestuat intus / BARBARVS, externo non minus igne calet."

⁷² Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Building on Bisaha's work, Margaret Meserve sees the "barbarian" as part of a larger attempt to delegitimize the political and territorial claims of the Ottoman Empire, and to distinguish them from the "good" Islamic empires who, like the Persians, should be cultivated as allies. See Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

While the former focused on religious difference, the latter focused on a difference of character. In addition to the stories alleging Ottoman violence toward innocent women and children, which echoed centuries-old stereotypes of bloodthirstiness and brutality, were those that accused the Turks of indifference to history, art, and scholarship. This lack of appreciation for Western civilization was rooted in the destruction of monuments, libraries, churches, and monasteries, and the precious manuscripts and works of art preserved therein. In calls for a new crusade against the Ottomans—which circulated first in manuscript and later in print—scholars and theologians resurrected the classical rhetoric of barbarism, which reframed the opposition between Europeans and Ottomans as an issue of civilization, rather than simply one of faith. This view of the Ottomans as an uncultured, savage people still held currency through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, despite the ever-increasing European appreciation for Turkish material culture. Even Nicolay, who had spent years in the Ottoman Empire, still spoke of the “brutish Barbarians” of Turkey. Nevertheless, a crescent-mounted mosque along the Bosphorus in the background (a loose interpretation of either the Sultan Ahmed Mosque or the Hagia Sophia) reminds the viewer of the original, religious source of conflict between Ottomans and European Christendom.

To assign deceitfulness as the primary character trait of the Ottomans also demonstrates the enduring currency of the image of the “treacherous Turk,” who allegedly ignored the rules of war and broke diplomatic agreements. This image was bolstered in the years surrounding the Battle of Mohács (1526) and the Siege of Vienna (1529) by prints depicting the Turks torturing women and children, such as Erhard

Schön's *Turkish Atrocities in the Vienna Woods* (c. 1530) (fig. 2.35).⁷³ In the first two decades of the seventeenth-century, European fears of the Ottomans were stoked anew by the activities of the North African privateers.⁷⁴ The verse accompanying the Turkish couple may even play on the linguistic similarity between "Barbary corsairs" (named for the Berber population) and "barbarian" (*Barbarijse zeerover* and *barbaar*, respectively, in Dutch). Despite De Passe's visual acknowledgement of the Ottomans' richly decorated, luxurious textiles, the unnamed author of the inscriptions nevertheless prefers to rehearse the stereotypes of duplicity and incivility.

An English copy of De Passe's *Twelve Months* highlights how widespread certain other cultural prejudices were within Europe.⁷⁵ Visually, Robert Vaughan's *The XII Mounthes of the Yeaere in the Habits of Severall Nations* (c. 1621-23), mostly follows the source material.⁷⁶ Except for England and France, for which new compositions were

⁷³ Smith, *Images of Islam*, 41–68; Silver, "East Is East: Images of the Turkish Nemesis in the Hapsburg World."

⁷⁴ Hans Theunissen, "Barbaren En Ongelovigen: Turcica in de Nederlanden 1500-1800," in *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600*, ed. Theunissen, et al. (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989), 37–53.

⁷⁵ To the best of my knowledge, this study is the first to confirm the connection between these two series, though portions of this research will appear in my forthcoming essay, "Fashion, Nation, and Morality in the English Allegorical Costume Print, c. 1620-40," in Tara Zanardi and Lynda Klich, eds., *Visual Typologies from the Early Modern to the Contemporary: Local Practices and Global Contexts* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2018).

⁷⁶ Hind, vol. III, no. 113. The address listed on the first edition, "are to be sold at the Globe over against the Exchange," was the address of Compton Holland's publishing firm during these years. His wife continued the business after his death in 1621. Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689*, 312, no. 75. Subsequent editions were published by Thomas Geele, Thomas Booth, and Peter Stent (who added the title). For Holland: BM 166 c.23: 1931-11-14-625 (1-12); Geele: Huntington Library, bound with Nicholas Breton, *Fantasticks* (London: Miles Flesher, 1626); Booth: BM 166 c.1(1); and Stent: BM 169 b.1: 1901-10-14-94 to 105 (first appearance of the current title). John Overton, who purchased Stent's stock in 1665, secured a license from the state censor to publish the series in 1672. The license is attached to the Stent edition in the British Museum. See Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 312, no. 75; Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent: London Printseller, ca. 1645-1665* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press), 154, no. 548.

drawn, all the compositions are reversed copies of the original plates.⁷⁷ The original Latin inscriptions, however, were replaced entirely by lengthier verses—now in the more accessible English vernacular—that are attributed to Abraham Holland.⁷⁸ Some of Holland’s verses describe characteristic components of the costumes portrayed, such as the Austrian’s “shagglin’d garments,” and Icclander’s “fox-furr’d coates.” Others focus on national character, and we encounter some familiar stereotypes, like the “swilling German.” Clothing and character explicitly come together in the verse for *August*, where Holland invites the viewer to recognize how American Indians are sartorially and morally distinct from the English: “Indians goe nak’d, and were it not for shame / Our selves like them would naked shun the flame.”⁷⁹

The verses for the Spanish and Turkish couple, however, foreground another dimension to the climatic themes observed earlier. Once more connected to the warm temperatures of June is the “hot fiery-spirited Spaniard” (fig. 2.36). Rather than connecting Spain to the dark-skinned peoples of Africa, however, Holland prays, “God

⁷⁷ For an analysis of the changes made to the French and English couples personifying April and September, respectively, see Chapter Three of this study and Hughes, “Fashion, Nation, and Morality.”

⁷⁸ Malcolm Jones connects the “AH” signature on the plate to Abraham Holland, the poet brother to the print’s publisher, Compton Holland. See *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2010), 44. Regarding the series’ connection to an earlier Continental series, he writes, “Amongst Douce’s prints in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, survives a unique copy of *October* from this series but with a Latin couplet [...], which perhaps suggests that Vaughan was, in fact, merely copying some Continental series, and Holland translating, rather than copying.” The quatrains are in fact Holland’s own invention, and the Ashmolean edition of De Passe’s *Twelve Months in the Habits of Different Nations* contains all twelve sheets.

⁷⁹ The series also differs in that July is paired with Turkey and August is paired with America instead of the other way around.

grant that we may well their canker misse.”⁸⁰ In early modern medical texts, cancer was characterized primarily by its “malignancy,” not only in the sense of its virulence, but also its malevolence; words such as “evil,” “cruel” and “terrible” were used to describe the malady.⁸¹ As such, the disease was a potent metaphor in non-medical writings in early modern England, where writers applied it to situations of “treachery, treason and moral failure” in general, and to insidious, indomitable, or mutinous disruptions to political entities, specifically.⁸² With tales of Spain’s violent and cruel domination of the New World, and its conflicts with the England’s Protestant peers in the Netherlands well known, to call their nature “cancerous” would have been timely.

Another defining feature of cancer, according to Hippocratic-Galenic humoral theory, was its connection to an overabundance of black bile in the body.⁸³ Black bile, along with yellow bile, blood, and phlegm, comprise the four humors that, ideally, were balanced in the human body. An excess of one over the others, would result in certain temperaments (or “complexions,”) that subjects a person to specific ailments, character traits, and physical appearance: melancholic (black bile), choleric (yellow bile), phlegmatic (phlegm), and sanguine (blood). Like all the temperaments, the melancholic disposition was associated with the hotter, more southern parts of the world, where the sun was said to draw warmth, moisture, and black bile to the body’s surface, leaving the

⁸⁰ “Canker” here was originally spelled “cancer,” but whoever was responsible for the lettering changed the “c” to a “k” in the plate, most likely to clarify that this term is used in reference to the disease and not the constellation.

⁸¹ Luke E. Demaitre, “Medieval Notions of Cancer: Malignancy and Metaphor,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72, no. 4 (December 1, 1998): 609–37; Alanna Skuse, *Constructions of Cancer in Early Modern England: Ravenous Natures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁸² Skuse, *Constructions of Cancer in Early Modern England*, 90.

⁸³ Demaitre, “Medieval Notions of Cancer,” 618.

interior cold and dry.⁸⁴ Thus, heat of Spain produced both the “cancerous” character of its people, and by implication, the dark coloring of the melancholic physiognomy.

The Turkish couple of *July* are similarly afflicted by the hot weather, but the biological and cultural differences are more explicitly intertwined (fig. 2.37). Despite their attire, however, they have been reinterpreted as “Moors” and presumably relocated to North Africa.⁸⁵

Julies hot scorching month is figur'd by
the “Sun-tann'd Moores” black Physiognomy.
The signe is Virgo, which may be expresst
A naked Virgins bewty flames the best.

As Robert Burton writes in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), following Jean Bodin before him, “Southern men...can hardly contain themselves in these hotter climes, but are most subject to prodigious lusts.”⁸⁶ He continues with more geographic specificity, citing writers and geographers before him: “Leo [Africanus] telleth incredible things almost of the lust and jealousy of his countrymen of Africa...and so doth every geographer of them in Asia, Turkey, Spaniards, [and] Italians.” The Moor’s “black Physiognomy” is thus an

⁸⁴ Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 67-88.

⁸⁵ Depending on the context, the term “Moor” was applied to different ethnic groups. It was used to refer generally to Muslims, to the *moriscos* of Spain and Portugal, sub-Saharan Africans, and the peoples of North Africa (Barbary), which encompassed modern-day Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya. Because of the references to Islam, the Turkish dress (cite conflation of Ottomans and Berbers), and the lack of the conventional visual markers for sub-Saharanans, I would say that Holland’s verse here refers to the “Moors” of North Africa. For discussions and debates about the usage and limits of this term in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, see Daniel J. Vitkus, “Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe,” in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 207–30; Emily Carroll Bartels, *Speaking of the Moor: From Alcazar to Othello* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Emily C. Bartels, “Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1990): 433–54.

⁸⁶ Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 670

outward, visible manifestation of his uncontrollable and excessive sexual appetite. By emphasizing the role of climate in determining custom and character, the English version of the *Twelve Months* suggests that, beneath their clothing, lie even more essential differences between the nations.

Viewing the Twelve Months

De Passe's *Twelve Months in the Habits of Different Nations* is one of a small number of single-sheet costume series of this period that are still bound together, rather than excised from their original viewing context. These editions allow us to recapture some of the original experience of seeing and, more importantly, of comparing these costumes. For the first of these, from the Rijksmuseum, the series is mounted to folio-sized three sheets of paper pasted together as a booklet, but no longer bound to an album (fig. 2.38-39). Each sheet measures approximately 14 x 8.5 cm, which is slightly smaller than an average-sized hand and roughly half the size of De Jode's *Fashions of Different Nations*; while the latter was likely mounted in albums as individual plates or in pairs, the Rijksmuseum *Months* are grouped in sets of four, allowing up to eight to be seen at one time.

Despite the tendency for studies on costume illustration to discuss both costume books and single-sheet prints together, the act of engaging with these prints would be quite different. Costume books might devote several sequential pages to the same country or city. By contrast, each sheet of the *Months* is devoted to a different part of the world, and as is visible from the Rijksmuseum album pages, multiple plates could be grouped

together on a single album page. This format permits a side-by-side appraisal of clothing from multiple countries and an immediate impression of the global diversity of habits. As the viewer moves through the calendar, he might notice, for example, the sharp distinctions between the Spaniards and the American Indians. At the initial encounter, one immediately contrasts the amount of coverage; the former are decked in luxurious attire from the neck downward, while the latter cover only their lower halves. Similarly, the type of material and degree of tailoring or finish would be strikingly different, as the eye moves from the elaborate lace trimmed ruffs or the embroidered silk stomachers to the raw edges of the loincloths.

At the same time, similarities between different cultures become more apparent when viewing costume prints in this manner. Ear-piercing, for example, was practiced by numerous cultures simultaneously, across the globe; both the Spanish and Indian women wear earrings through pierced ears. As the viewer takes in the eight plates that are viewable across the first two album pages, she might also observe how common it is to cover one's head around the world, and yet how varied the styles and materials are. Also discernible are the correspondences between countries with a political relationship—as contested as they were—such as the wide wheel ruffs worn by the Spanish and the Netherlandish couples, or the frogged clasps that secure the robes of the Turkish and Hungarian men.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Veronika Gervers, *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe, with Particular Reference to Hungary*, History, Technology, and Art Monograph 4 (Toronto, Canada: Royal Ontario Museum, 1982).

The comparison Daniel Defert makes between costume books and curiosity cabinets is worth restating and extending to De Passe's *Twelve Months*. With its cosmological theme and international scope, the series is analogous to the organizational principles of the ideal *Wunderkammer*. De Passe even includes the types of objects that were highly sought after by collectors: Tupinamba feathered accessories, seashells, like that held by the Indian woman, Russian sable hats, Sami footwear, and Turkish weapons. It is fitting that another edition of the series, this time still bound in its original album, is connected to the owner of a *Kunst- and Wunderkammer*: August the Younger, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who owned the largest library north of the Alps, with over 135,000 books across twenty thematic categories (figs. 40-43).⁸⁸ Situated in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, the Bibliotheca Augusta sought to consolidate information on every subject in a single space. Alongside works of theology, economics, medicine, arithmetic, and poetry, the library had extensive holdings in travel anthologies, costume books⁸⁹, and atlases, as well as a cabinet of scientific instruments, ethnographica, and prints.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ August's attempt to create a "universal" library by acquiring books from all areas of studies, parallels the collecting patterns of curiosity cabinet owners. For a discussion of August's classification system, see Maria von Katte, "The Bibliotheca Augusta as a Growing Universe from 1586 until 1666," in *A Treasure House of Books: The Library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel*, ed. Helwi Schmidt-Glitzner, *Ausstellungskataloge Der Herzog August Bibliothek 75* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1998), 53–64.

⁸⁹ August's library includes the following costume books: Bertelli 1563; Sluperius 1572; Weigel 1577; De Bruyn (1577); Boissard 1581; Amman, *Gynaecium, Sive Theatrum Mulierum* (1586); Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti Antichi, Et Moderni di Tutto il Mondo* (both 1590 and 1598 editions); and Giacomo Franco, *Habiti d'huomeni et donne venetiane* (1610). The books were given the *Geometrica* classification, except for Weigel (1577) and Sluperius (1572), which are in *Quodlibetica* and *Poetica*, respectively. August also had an extensive collection of travel accounts, including three complete editions of Theodor de Bry's *Voyages*: two in German and one in Latin. For his interest in the Americas, see Yorck Alexander Haase and Harold Stein Jantz, ed., *Die Neue Welt in Den Schätzen Einer Alten Europäischen Bibliothek: Ausstellung Der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel = The New World in the Treasures of an Old European Library: Exhibition of the Duke August Library Wolfenbüttel*, *Ausstellungskataloge Der Herzog August Bibliothek 17* (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1976).

⁹⁰ Although no inventory was taken of August's *Kunstkammer*, invoices from the purchase of items from Philipp Hainhofer's cabinet show that he owned such items as a pair of Turkish boots and an ebony sword 132

The album containing De Passe's *Twelve Months* displays a similar diversity of subjects. In a departure from most of his print collection, however, this album was previously owned and compiled by another German nobleman; it was acquired for August by the book and art agent Philip Hainhofer, who was a major collector in his own right.⁹¹ Spread across four album pages, three plates per page, the Wolfenbüttel edition shares the album with engravings of antique statuary and architecture, ornament prints, a Passion sequence, portraits of Hebrew kings, the Nine Worthies, the Seven Liberal Arts, and a more traditional version of the Twelve Months, where the months are personified by contemporary figures engaged in the traditional labors. Though the original owner of the album is not known, he or she evidently considered the clothing and manners of different cultures to be worth close study alongside the fine and applied arts, history, theology, and allegory. August's ownership of the series, and several other costume publications, demonstrates how early modern intellectuals viewed the study of dress as critical for understanding the world and its various peoples.

from India. See Wolf-Dieter Otte, "The Unknown Collector: Duke August and His Cabinet of Art and Curiosities," in *A Treasure House of Books*, ed. Schmidt-Glintzer, 173–92.

⁹¹ August was very involved with his purchases, and typically approved them by letter before his agents made purchases. On his acquisition process, see Helmar Härtel, "Duke August and His Book Agents," in *A Treasure House of Books*, ed. Schmidt-Glintzer, 105–18. For correspondence between August and Phillip Hainhofer in particular, see Ronald Gobiet, ed., *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d. J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984).

England in the World: The Four Continents in Print and Design⁹²

By their very nature, allegorical series of the Four Continents provided information about different parts of the world. When they were first designed in the humanist and mercantile context of Antwerp, the Four Continents visualized the commercial interdependence among the Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. They were therefore distinguished primarily by what they could contribute to the global marketplace. Subsequent print series on the theme, however, introduced more information about cultural customs through both image and text. The following discussion considers what appears to be the earliest known version of the Four Continents by an English engraver. The series, which was published in the second half of the 1630s, bears the address of John Stafford on the first plate but lists no engraver.⁹³ Recently, however, Malcolm Jones has connected the series to the engraver Martin Droeshout, whose Four Seasons are likely those entered by John Stafford in the *Stationers' Register* together with these Four

⁹² Portions of the following segment have been published in “The Four Continents in Seventeenth-Century Embroidery and the Making of English Femininity,” in Walter S. Melion and Bart Ramakers, eds. *Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 716-749.

⁹³ Not described in Hind. Together with a series of the Four Seasons, this set was first entered into the Stationers' Register in 1635, by Robert Allot, to whom John Stafford was apprenticed. The entry included a note, “This was entred in trust for John Stafford.” The two series were re-submitted by Stafford himself in 1638. Neither entry names the engraver(s). See Malcolm Jones, “Engraved Works Recorded in the ‘Stationers’ Registers,’ 1562-1656: A Listing and Commentary,” *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 64 (2002): 37–38, nos. 204-205. The series survives uniquely in the British Museum (1870,0514.1176 to 1179), as part of four bound volumes of seventeenth-century allegorical series acquired by the museum in 1870 from the dealer Boone (166 c.1 to 4). For a description of the volumes' contents, see Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 307–313.

Continents.⁹⁴ Unlike Robert Vaughan's *Twelve Months*, Droeshout's *Four Continents* is an original invention, despite obvious reference to the Netherlandish precedents.⁹⁵

As a set of three-quarter length figures, this version of the Four Continents technically falls outside the parameters of the costume print, as defined earlier in this study. Nevertheless, I include it here for several reasons. Its global scope articulates how Europe—here in the guise of an English queen—positioned itself at the top of a global hierarchy—morally, intellectually, economically, and even physically. Furthermore, the series distills several shared beliefs about non-Europeans into single image and several lines of verse. Finally, and most importantly, clothing forms a significant thematic presence across all four plates, where it is deployed as a measure of civility.

Akin to what the Ortelius frontispiece achieves through its visual layout, the sequence of the plates signifies the Eurocentric ranking of civilizations; Europe introduces the series, and is followed by Asia, Africa, and America. With long flowing hair and an ornate, voluminous gown Europe sits atop a cushion resting on a semi-circular ledge lined with a richly brocaded fabric (fig. 2.44). She is immediately identifiable by her familiar imperial crown and scepter, as well as by the multiple

⁹⁴ An edition of the Four Seasons signed "Martin Dro sculp" can be found in the Boone volumes at the British Museum described in the note above (1870,0514.1168 to 1171). No publisher is listed. See Hind, vol. II, 366, no. 21; Malcolm Jones, "English Broadside — I," *Print Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (June 2001): 149–63, here 152–54. See also Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, 17–18; and Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 308, no. 8. For a discussion of the difficulties distinguishing between the oeuvres of Martin Droeshout and that of his father Michael, see June Schlueter, "Droeshout," *Print Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (September 2010): 253–62.

⁹⁵ As Anthony Wells-Cole illustrates, suites of the Four Continents by Netherlandish printmakers—such as those after Marcus Gheeraerts and Maarten de Vos—were available in England and supplied the iconography for stained-glass windows, chimneypieces, overmantels, and staircase newel posts. See Wells-Cole A., *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: the Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 113–114, 180.

references to Christianity, wealth, and abundance scattered throughout the composition. With her left hand, she props up a book on her knee, the pages of which are spread open to reveal the words “Biblia Sacra” written across the pages. A celestial globe rests on the ledge beside her, and a cornucopia leans against her leg. Directly above her scepter a radiant sun bathes the surrounding land in a divinely approved light, beginning with the church immediately beneath it. Opposite the church a pair of vignettes illustrate Europe’s mastery over both land and sea. The first is a farmer herding his cattle through his fields—a deceptively humble detail that alludes to Europe’s adoption of agricultural practices. Farther in the distance is a fleet of ships.

The verses, written by poet George Wither, attribute Europe’s exalted status to its intellectual and artistic heritage, to its adoption of the Christian faith, and to its ability to spread these accomplishments to other lands through successful overseas warfare, trade, and colonization:

For Arms and Arts, I have obtained my Crown,
I breed rare wits, and men of great renown,
Throughout the world my Fleets dispersed be.
All useful things are treasured up in me.
And in my Realms, the word of truth hath place,
Though sects and schisms my glory much deface.⁹⁶

Despite ongoing internal religious and political conflict, Europe remains a model for the other continents to follow, particularly because its people have made the best use of its natural resources—their “useful things.”

⁹⁶ For the sake of clarity, I have modernized Wither’s spelling throughout chapter, though I have retained the original pattern of capitalization.

Although many of the textual themes and attributes are common to earlier renditions of the Four Continents, without the title “Europa,” one could justifiably read this image as an allegory for England, rather than all of Europe. Aside from the crown and scepter, little else about the figure’s physical appearance specifically denotes “Europe.” Rather than the timeless *all’antica* styling of previous images, her ensemble exemplifies the aristocratic fashions of England in the 1630s, much of which was borrowed from the French. Furthermore, Droeshout reproduces these fashions completely and with painstaking specificity, unlike artists who merely added ruffs and collars to their classicizing personifications, as in the case for Galle’s *Europa* in the *Prosopographia* (c. 1600) (fig. 2.45). “Europa” wears a low-cut bodice, framed by a needle- or bobbin-lace falling band and adorned with two strands of pearls. Equally characteristic of the period are her voluminous sleeves and her many pearl accessories—the double-stranded necklace attached to her bodice, her choker, and her earrings, and the large teardrop pearl brooch fastened beneath her breasts.

While these styles had been prevalent among the French nobility since the late 1620s, Droeshout was likely looking at an example closer to home—Henrietta Maria, queen consort to King Charles I. To some extent, Europe’s outfit reflects a sort of pan-European aristocratic fashion, but to a local, contemporary viewer it would invite comparison to images of the current queen, such as Willem Delff’s bust portrait after a lost painting by Daniel Mytens (fig. 2.46). Clothing—specifically the ornate attire of a queen—was an important part of conveying Europe’s civility. This specific iteration of clothing—made of fine silk and linen textiles, embellished with pearls—visualizes

Wither's assertion that Europe transforms nature's "usefull things" into objects of aesthetic and economic value.

Clothing is addressed directly in the text for Asia (fig. 2.47). Asia and Europe share a certain degree of sartorial sophistication, which intimates that the peoples of Europe and Asia have achieved comparable levels of cultural achievement, surpassing those of Africa and America. Yet the overall likeness between the two plates throws their small but significant differences into greater relief. Like Europe, Asia is luxuriously attired, since she resides in a land rich in "Sweet Gums, rich Gems, and every wholesome spice." Yet her ensemble is far more fanciful. The deep scalloping at the bottom edge of the bodice harkens back to classicizing dress of allegorical illustration. This connection also consequently reaffirms the claim in costume books and travel accounts that the peoples of Asia were less subject to the whims of fashion than Europeans (see Chapter One). Despite the archaizing dress, her headdress—a tall, conical turban with crescent moon in front and floor-length veil descending from the top—reflects European attempts to convey the actual fashions of elite Ottoman women. This detail indicates Droeshout's dependence on the single-sheet personifications of Asia, such as Collaert's *Asia* (fig. 2.48), or the sixteenth-century portraits of Suleiman's wife, Haseki Hürrem Sultan—known popularly as 'Roxelana' or the "Sultana"—by European painters, medalists, and printmakers, such as Matteo Pagani, Titian, and Theodor de Bry (fig. 2.49); a similar headdress is also portrayed in portraits of Mihrimah (known as Cameria), the daughter of Suleiman and Roxelana (fig. 2.50)⁹⁷ Yet these portraits have no basis in the actual

⁹⁷ Haseki's rise from Christian slave to favorite wife of Suleiman "the Magnificent" was the subject of many European works of literature, drama, music, art, and dance. See Galina Yermolenko, *Roxolana in*

representation of Roxelana, and though elite Ottoman women covered their faces in public, there is no evidence that this combined form of veil and crown actually existed. As Heather Madar observes, “Given the lack of images of [elite] women within the sixteenth-century Ottoman context, their total inaccessibility to outsiders, and the fact that the majority of the artists responsible for these images never traveled to Istanbul, this genre must be understood as wholly Western European.”⁹⁸ Nevertheless, though largely imagined, the headdresses appear to be the products of artists endeavoring to convey an elite status within a specific cultural realm.

Wither describes Asia as a place of abundance and great wealth, but one that remains morally inferior to Europe owing to pride, vanity, and ongoing resistance to Christianity. He may have also used Roxelana’s story of religious conversion as a fruitful metaphor for the supplanting of Judeo-Christian faiths with Islam in the Levant:

I was the first to whom Redemption came,
And I was first that forfeited the same,
But yet of this (though vainly) I can boast,
I keep my Fashions, though my Faith I lost.

Visually it is presented as an anti-Europe: a mosque stands where there was a church in “Europe,” and instead of the Bible, she holds open a book that reads, “Orbis effigiem in distender[e].” While luxurious dress is a rightful source of pride for Europe, Wither implies that it encourages vanity among the peoples of Asia.

European Literature, History and Culture (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010). For further discussion of visual representations of the “Sultana,” see Smith, *Images of Islam*, 99-122; and Born et al, *The Sultan’s World*, cat. nos. 100-105.

⁹⁸ Heather Madar, “Before the Odalisque: Renaissance Representations of Elite Ottoman Women,” *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6 (2011): 11.

By contrast, Africa is nude except for a piece of cloth draped across her lap (fig. 2.51). She is, however, accessorized with objects made from the “pure gold [and] choice pearls,” described by Wither. However, “unhappie” Africa did not exploit her resources—“the promises and means of being blessed”—to their fullest extent, like the more “advanced” continents. In the absence of clothing, Africa’s “habit” is defined by another aspect of her physical appearance that serves as an index for her character: her skin color. While some earlier allegories of Africa comment upon the dark skin of black Africans or apply dark pigments, Droeshout has suggested a darker skin tone through stippling and hatching. Following the example set by Ortelius, Africa is presented in profile to call attention to the shape of her nose and her tightly coiled hair. Within the image, two competing explanations for her skin color are implied. The first is the burning heat of the sun, which is also the subject of her veneration. While pointing to its intense rays, she utters, the “Sun is my goddess” (*Sol mihi numen erit*).

In the verses, however, another popularly held reason is given for her black sin: the curse of Ham (or, Cham). As the earliest accounts reveal, the cause of dark skin was a mystery to writers, and authors posited a range of theories. Was it a persistent sunburn? Or, as one traveler asked, was it a sign of the ‘natural infection’ that allegedly marked all descendants of Noah’s son Ham as punishment for gazing upon his drunken father’s naked body?⁹⁹ The former theory was ultimately disproved by both the increased travel

⁹⁹ George Best, “A True discourse of the late voyage of discoverie,” in *The principall nauigations, voyages, traffiques and discoueries of the English nation*, ed. Richard Hakluyt, 2nd edition, vol. 1 (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newberie and Robert Barker: 1598) 52. On the curse of Ham and its significance for early modern perceptions of blackness, see Benjamin Braude, “The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 103–42.

of Englishmen to Africa and the arrival of Africans in England.¹⁰⁰ Wither's description of Africa demonstrates, however, that the latter theory still held currency into the seventeenth century, at the very least as a poetic device. He writes, "By Cham's black issue I at first was man'd / And for his blushless Fact, my Face was tann'd." In these two short lines, however, Wither assimilates several threads of thought about the moral deficiencies of Africans and their appearance. Many historians of the period have argued that the moral shortcomings of Africans were not racialized in the modern sense of the term, whereby physical appearance is perceived to be the signifier of immutable intellectual or moral characteristics. Instead, these differences were attributed to different cultural practices, namely the absence of Christianity and its attendant moral codes. But by invoking Ham's "blushless" response to his father's nakedness, we can detect parallels with contemporary commentaries on the apparent shamelessness of Africans, particularly their women. Jennifer Morgan observes that travel writers "looked to socio-sexual deviance to indicate savagery" and were particularly critical of perceived sexual deviance

¹⁰⁰ Prior to England's successful entry into the Atlantic slave trade, the African presence in the country was minimal. This absence did not preclude their representation in early modern drama and art, thereby introducing English audiences to the dark-skinned peoples they had only heard about in tales of ancient 'Ethiopia' or in more recent descriptions assembled by Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas. The representation of Africans in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English drama and literature has been the subject of many major studies since the middle of the twentieth century. Anthony Barthelemy, Ania Loomba, Emily Bartels, and Kim Hall are only a few of the key contributors to this rich field. For imagery of the same period, see David Bindman, Henry Louis Gates, and Karen C.C. Dalton, eds., *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 3: *From the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition*, 3 parts (Cambridge, MA – Houston, TX 2011); and Peter Erickson, "God for Harry, England, and Saint George": British National Identity and the Emergence of White Self-Fashioning in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, eds. Peter Erickson and Clarke Hulse (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 315-45. On the participation of Africans in English pageants, see Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The history of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984) 9–10, 25–32, 79–88.

among women.¹⁰¹ As Elizabeth Sutton asserts, the visual representation of blacks alongside descriptions of their inferiority may be implicated in the eventual “integration of culture with nature and with the physical externalization of difference.”¹⁰² On the legacy of travel images akin to those in the De Marees account, she writes:

Black skin, not initially a feature justifying discrimination in [the] 16th century, became emblematic of the cultural difference that Europeans used to rationalize African inferiority. Difference later understood as race was first distinguished by cultural behavior in these accounts and these actions came to be associated as inherent to and an essential part of a people with a certain kind of morphology.¹⁰³

If Africa once had an opportunity to be “blessed” by Christian morality, America is portrayed as tragically ignorant of God’s word yet potentially available to receive it (fig 2.52).

Though to my sisters long unknown I lay
I am as rich, and greater far then [sic] they.
My barbarous rudeness doth at full express,
What Nature is, till we have Graces dress.
But where the gloomy Shades of Death yet be
The Sunshine of God’s love I hope to see.

Like many verbal and visual representations before this one, the two most salient aspects of America are those signs of the apparent “barbarity” of the continent’s indigenous populations, according to European perception. The first, of course, is cannibalism, which is illustrated here by the severed leg that America carries in her left hand while

¹⁰¹ Jennifer L. Morgan, “‘Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder’: Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500–1770,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54 (1997) 167–192, here 170.

¹⁰² Elizabeth A. Sutton, *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 91. A similar point is made by Peter Erickson, “Representations of Blacks and Blackness in the Renaissance,” *Criticism* 35:4 (1993) 499–527.

¹⁰³ Sutton, *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa*, 91.

triumphantly brandishing her stereotypical bow and arrow in her right. Behind her, a naked male figure raises an axe over the severed head and limbs of his victim, while a woman roasts a leg on a spit over a fire. The reference to cannibalism is somewhat surprising in this context, since the colonial efforts of the English were largely focused on North America, where no such practices were described. Nevertheless, this trope persisted as the primary marker of difference of American Indians from not only Europeans, but Asians and Africans as well.

The second barbarous trait is her relative lack of clothing, compared to her “sisters.” Only a loose piece of fabric is draped across her leg, which functions as mere gesture of modesty, rather than as an actual piece of clothing. As Wither puts it, this “barbarous rudeness” is attributed to her lack of “Grace’s dress”: the civility and virtue that accompanies an adoption of Christianity, for which clothing is used as a metaphor.

The Four Continents in Embroidery

Droeshout’s series attained significant afterlife in English craft, which allowed its ideologies to persist for decades and to reach audiences beyond the typical, male print collector. Variants of his designs adorn the vast majority of extant English embroideries depicting the Four Continents, which were primarily created by women for household use.

Beginning in the sixteenth century, needlework was promoted in religious and pedagogical manuals as a way to instill the values of industriousness, patience, and humility in young noblewomen, while simultaneously preparing them for their later roles

as wives, mothers, and stewards of aristocratic households.¹⁰⁴ Yet women did not practice needlework merely to stave off idleness or create functional objects like bed linens and undergarments. Worked textiles—such as tapestries, cushion covers, bed testers, valances, and wall panels—were also integral to the decoration of noble estates, where they provided insulation, comfort, and adornment.¹⁰⁵ Under the stabilizing influence of the Stuarts, however, seventeenth-century England witnessed the expansion of a merchant class that aspired to a level of material comfort approximating that of the aristocracy: Largely made by the girls and women of the household,¹⁰⁶ embroidered

¹⁰⁴ As an art form practiced primarily by women in the domestic sphere, needlework has largely been relegated to the margins of critical accounts of seventeenth-century visual culture. Only in the past two decades have historians of art, design, and literature recognized the medium as a pivotal entry point into the mental and material lives of everyday women in early modern English society. On the cultural context of English needlework, see especially Susan Frye, *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); Andrew Morrall, "Representations of Adam and Eve in Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century English Embroidery," in *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700*, eds. Walter S. Melion, Celeste Brusati, and Karl A.E. Enekel. *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture* 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 313–351; Andrew Morrall and Melinda Watt, eds., *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580–1700: 'Twixt Art and Nature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 134–172; and Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, 2nd ed. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

¹⁰⁵ Professional craftsmen typically supplied the more complicated of these objects, supplemented by textile furnishings created by the female members of the family, even including those with royal status. Mary, Queen of Scots was an avid needleworker, particularly during her imprisonment at Carlisle Castle and Chatsworth. At the latter, she collaborated with Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury on bed testers, cushions, emblems, and panels, including the extensive series "Noble Women of the Ancient World." Santina M. Levey, *The Embroideries at Hardwick Hall: A Catalogue* (Aylesbury: National Trust, 2007). For an analysis of the political and diplomatic functions of Mary's and Elizabeth I's embroidery, see Frye, *Pens and Needles*, 30–74.

¹⁰⁶ As early as age seven, girls received embroidery lessons from family members, governesses, or at one of the growing number of schools devoted to educating young girls. After practicing different stitches and pictorial motifs on samplers, they advanced to working more complex designs on household objects and personal accessories. For furnishings, the embroidered panels would be brought to a professional upholsterer to be mounted. See Kathleen Staples, "Embroidered Furnishings: Questions of Production and Usage," in *English Embroidery*, eds. Morrall and Watt, 23–37, here 23.

mirror frames, cabinets, caskets, and trays now embellished the homes of England's professional classes, advertising their newly acquired wealth and refined taste.¹⁰⁷

The popularization of the craft was further supported by the greater diversity and availability of the type of printed imagery—produced both locally and abroad—that had fueled the imaginations of professional craftsmen and their noble patrons in the prior century. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Old Testament themes were the most common source of inspiration for needlework pictures. Later in the century, embroiderers who preferred nonreligious themes profited from the explosion of publications devoted to circulating secular knowledge, such as botanicals, emblem books, and illustrated editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹⁰⁸ Finally, embroiderers could consult pattern books, which provided readymade designs based on sheet prints that were already translated for the medium of needlework.

¹⁰⁷ In seventeenth-century parlance, “needlework” encompassed a range of techniques that involved using thread to stitch designs on a linen “canvas.” The specific term “embroidery” was reserved for the stitching of more luxurious silk or metallic threads, as well as pearls and beads, on a silk or velvet foundation for the ultimate purpose of embellishing home furnishings and fine clothing. In modern-day academic literature, the terms are used somewhat interchangeably. Since the majority of the objects discussed in this chapter do indeed fall into the category of “embroidery,” I will do the same, unless a more precise term is required for the sake of clarity.

¹⁰⁸ For the motifs of plants, animals, and insects, works of natural history by Conrad Gessner, Rembert Dodoens, Pierre Belon, and Pietro Andrea Matthioli were perennially popular, whether in the original or through English adaptations. Emblem books of George Wither, Henry Peacham, and Cesare Ripa were reliable sources for personifications and allegorical programs. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* provided the basis for representations of classical mythology. Margaret H. Swain, *Figures on Fabric: Embroidery Design Sources and Their Application* (London: A & C Black, 1980); John L. Nevinson, “Peter Stent and John Overton, Publishers of Embroidery Designs,” *Apollo* 24 (1936): 279–83. Publishers also capitalized on this growing demand for designs by repackaging groups of prints and marketing them as potential sources for needlework. For example, a 1671 notice by Peter Stent offers “Four hundred new sorts of Birds, Beasts, Flowers, Fruits, Fish, Flyes, Worms, Landskips, Ovals, and Histories, etc. Lively coloured for all sorts of Gentlewomen and School-Mistress Works.” See Globe, *Peter Stent*, 141, nos. 525–32.

Given this reliance on imagery drawn from natural history, classical mythology, and the Bible, Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass correctly point out the irony of needlework's ultimate role as an intermediary between the private and public spheres:

Any clear distinction between public and private, inner and outer spaces, was undone in material ways by English needlewomen. Whatever repressive and isolating effects stitchery as a disciplinary apparatus might have been intended to produce, women used it to connect to one another within domestic settings and to connect with the outer world as well.¹⁰⁹

For English embroiderers, the Four Continents proved to be a versatile allegory, suitable for a variety of decorative and thematic contexts. In some cases, the personifications play a supporting role for a central, primary composition, as in the case of the embroidered panel depicting the Old Testament story, the Sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 2.53).¹¹⁰ Although the most skilled and creative embroiderers might choose to invent their own compositions, most embroiderers or pattern drawer combined motifs from different printed sources. The main image of this panel is a simplified version of Gerard de Jode's engraving of the same subject, but the personifications of the Four Continents contain obvious elements from Droeshout's suite, such as the book inscribed "Biblia Sacra" on Europe's lap and the armillary sphere of global navigation that accompanies the figure of Africa.

¹⁰⁹ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing*, 148.

¹¹⁰ Boston MFA 47.1032. As a model for the "virtue of obedience to parental authority and faith in divine love," this The Sacrifice of Isaac was a popular subject for needlework; at least thirty versions survive today. Mary M. Brooks, *English Embroideries of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: In the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2004), 36. Another Biblical subject, the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba was also combined with the Four Continents in embroidery, perhaps because the two motifs share the theme of the presentation of foreign goods to a sovereign. For examples, see Christie's, London, South Kensington, 14 November 2000, lot. 30; and Christie's, London, South Kensington, 20 November 2001, lot 123.

This panel, dated and initialed *1649 EN* across the sphere, also illustrates how these personifications could contribute to the educational mandate of domestic needlework. In their embroidered form, the personifications are largely stripped of allusions to the global marketplace. Africa is regularly pictured with a single balsam branch, but only Asia carries her incense consistently. What remains, however—elaborate headdresses, primitive weaponry, exotic flora and fauna—helped convey the spectacular diversity of peoples, plants, and animals across the world. When paired with religious content, as here, they could elicit wonder and appreciation for the vast complexity of God’s creation. When framed by the Four Continents, the Christian moral takes on universal significance, reminding the viewer that all are subject to God’s will and, should they choose to accept it, his love.¹¹¹

The Continents serve a similar cosmological purpose, even when encircling representations of romantic couples. This theme plays up the pastoral tranquility of the English countryside as a favorite decoration for objects commemorating a betrothal or marriage.¹¹² The genre is typified by the finely executed beadwork panel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, initialed and dated *AH 1651* (fig. 2.54).¹¹³ Enclosed in an

¹¹¹ A virtually identical representation of the Four Continents (down to the coloring of their dresses and drapery) appears on a panel in the Ashmolean Museum (WA2014.71.55), where they surround a pastoral scene. In a slight variation, these Four Continents are paired with the Four Elements on the borders of another scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac in the collection of the Cooper-Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, where the Four Continents are accompanied by the Four Elements (1981–28–116).

¹¹² On the Biblical allusions of “companionate couples,” see Morrall, “Representations of Adam and Eve,” 348–349.

¹¹³ MMA 59.208.68. This panel was acquired from the collection of James Hazen Hyde, who had amassed an extensive collection of works representing allegories of the Four Continents, created ca. 1600–1900. The collection of prints, drawings, and decorative arts is currently divided between the New-York Historical Society, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Brooklyn Museum, and the Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum. See Louise Arizzoli, “James Hazen Hyde and the Allegory of the Four Continents: A

oval cartouche, an aristocratic couple, dressed according to the current fashions of the Caroline court, stands at the edge of their estate. A sun and moon above them announce the cosmic approval of their union and the macrocosmic echo of their gendered hierarchy, the rewards of which are made evident by the natural abundance surrounding them. Their rural paradise seems to burst with botanical and zoological diversity, where certain motifs—the lemon tree, dog, rabbit—also symbolize aspirations for a successful marriage: love, fidelity, fertility. Positioned at the corners of the panel, the Four Continents exist in a separate realm; their spatial and temporal remove is encoded by their exclusion from the cartouche and by the unadorned silk satin ground from which they emerge. Noting the auxiliary role of the personifications, Andrew Morrall observes that the couple’s “harmonious domestic world [...] stands at the eye of the greater macrocosm and maintains the latter's orbit by its centrifugal pull.”¹¹⁴ As in analogous panels that pair such couples with the Five Senses, the Four Elements, or the Four Seasons, the Four Continents serves a higher iconographic purpose—to designate the exalted status of marriage within God’s universe.¹¹⁵

Nevertheless, this panel also epitomizes how the Four Continents can act as agents in the transmission of knowledge about foreign cultures that circulated in travel reports and maps. In all the embroideries that follow the model provided by the Droeshout set, bare-chested Africa wears only a knee-length skirt. By contrast, the

Research Collection for an Amateur Art Historian,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 25, no. 2 (July 1, 2013): 277–86.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, Morrall and Watt, *English Embroidery*, 284–285, no. 83; and Xanthe Brooke, *Lady Lever Art Gallery: Catalogue of Embroideries* (Bath: Bath Press, 1992), 64–65, inv. no. LL5259.

designer of the beaded cabinet lid opted to render Africa in a belted tunic, secured with buttons and loops, though curiously topped by a flat English collar. Brandishing a bow and arrow, Africa has also now become an archer whose gender is ambiguous.¹¹⁶ The figure draws on images of Ethiopian soldiers, examples of which can be seen in the sixteenth-century costume books of Cesare Vecellio (fig. 2.55) and Jean-Jacques Boissard (fig. 2.55).¹¹⁷ The strictest personifications of America—such as the Netherlandish and English examples cited in this chapter—might wear little more than a feather headdress and a piece of fabric draped modestly across her hips. On the beaded panel, however, she wears a skirt composed of several layers of blue, green, yellow, and other feathers.

Reclining on the grass, extending their bare legs, America and Africa practically mirror one another, inviting inevitable comparison. Proudly brandishing their bows and arrows and assigned the attire of a nobleman and soldier, they assume the masculine *habitus* of the Brazilian and the Ethiopian, respectively. These common traits establish their shared difference from the royal feminine splendor of Europe and Asia, whose mutual courtly sophistication intimates that they have achieved comparable levels of cultural achievement. Furthermore, their books signify that they belong to societies that

¹¹⁶ Claire Le Corbeiller's study of this panel proposes that Africa's bow and arrow resulted from confusion over the proper attributes for America and Africa. While this was in fact a very common occurrence in early modern representations of Africans, she was likely unaware of the images of Ethiopian archers that informed this particular object. See "Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 19:8 (1961): 209-23, here 219.

¹¹⁷ Bruyn, *Habitus variarum orbis gentium* (Mechelen: Caspar Rutz: 1581), fol. 59r; Vecellio, *Habiti antichi, et moderni di tutto il mondo* (Venice, Appresso i Sessa: 1598). The pattern maker may have been familiar with Renold Elstrack's title page for Pierre d'Avity's *The estates, empires, & principallities of the world* (London: Adam Islip for Mathewe Lownes and Iohn Bill: 1615), which also uses an Ethiopian archer to represent Africa.

follow organized religions. Yet in a departure from the print source, Asia's book is closed. In the beadwork panel there are no direct invocations of Europe's earthly achievements (i.e. art, agriculture, maritime trade, warfare). The basis for her ultimate outranking of Asia thus rests on one foundation: her adherence to the one true faith.

Despite the power imbalance, Europe and Asia share still another quality that ensures their legibility as Africa's and America's moral and cultural superiors: whiteness. The faces and hands of Asia and Europe are composed of pearlescent ivory beads, and a range of yellow and ocher tones suggest their medium blonde hair. If these figures almost blend into the panel's cream-colored silk foundation, the two dark-skinned continents boldly announce their alterity—not only from Asia and Europe, but from the two English figures as well.

For virtually all embroideries featuring the Four Continents, skin color was a salient feature in representations of the “lesser” continents, particularly Africa.¹¹⁸ Whether this tinting was done at the suggestion of a pattern drawer or a teacher, or else was the result of the embroiderer's own knowledge, this act has implications broader than the simple reproduction of an established visual convention. It contributed to the increasingly intertwined moral and aesthetic discourses on blackness in seventeenth-century England. Portraits of aristocratic Englishwomen and their black servants were

¹¹⁸ The only exception I have encountered is a beadwork basket depicting Charles II and his Portuguese consort, Catherine of Braganza (MMA 39.13.1). Somatically and sartorially, here the Four Continents are virtually identical; for the face and hands of all four figures, the embroiderer left the silk ground unworked. Compared to the beadwork panel discussed above, there is minimal concern for ethnographic description or differentiation in the costume or attributes. All wear classically-inspired European gowns. According to Morrall and Watt, the basket is likely the work of a professional workshop. See *English Embroidery*, no. 13.

another, more public, medium through which blackness was framed negatively, but in this case, as an aesthetic counterpoint to English beauty and “fairness.” Originating in sixteenth-century Italy, this portrait motif became especially popular in the second half of the seventeenth century in England and the Dutch Republic, where wealth was increasingly dependent on foreign trade, settlement, and slave labor.¹¹⁹ As Kim Hall and others have argued, paintings such as Peter Lely’s portrait of Elizabeth Murray (ca. 1651, fig. 2.56) serve two functions: first, to advertise one’s connection to overseas enterprises, and second, to assign a positive value to whiteness.¹²⁰ By using a black figure to underscore the sitter’s fair skin, these paintings contributed to the new role that whiteness played in demarcating English aristocratic identity.¹²¹

Within the context of embroidery, the notion of English moral and aesthetic superiority was made more explicitly when the Four Continents adorned mirror frames. Mirrors were still relatively expensive luxury objects. When they were further enhanced with frames embroidered with silk threads, pearls, and beads, these mirrors became true material representations of status and refinement. However, they remained fraught with gendered anxieties about vanity, frivolity, and unbridled sexuality. To offset such

¹¹⁹ On the Continental origins of black page motif in portraiture, see Jane Fair Bestor, “Titian’s Portrait of Laura Eustochia: The Decorum of Female Beauty and the Motif of the Black Page,” *Renaissance Studies* 17, no. 4 (December 2003): 628–73. For the motif in British portraiture, see David Bindman, “The Black Presence in British Art: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *The Image of the Black in Western Art: Artists of the Renaissance and Baroque*, ed. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates, vol. 3, Part I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 235–70. For images of slaves and slavery in the early modern period more broadly, see Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal, eds., *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing, eds., *The Slave in European art: from Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem* (London: Warburg Institute, 2012).

¹²⁰ Hall, *Things of Darkness* 10.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* 253.

concerns, frames often would have morally edifying content, like one unfinished mirror at the Lady Lever Art Gallery (fig. 2.57).¹²² The final product would have depicted the Four Continents on each corner, busts of Athena and Paris on the top and bottom borders, and, along the sides, the full-length figures of Aphrodite and Hera, dressed as English noblewomen. The narrative of the mirror would have therefore been the Judgment of Paris, the contest in which Zeus called on the Trojan prince to select the ‘fairest’ or most beautiful, among Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. Turning down Hera’s offer of political power, Athena’s offer of wisdom and military strength, Paris ultimately chooses Aphrodite, swayed by her promise to provide him with the most beautiful woman in the world as his wife—the already-married Helen of Sparta. The designer’s intent in selecting this story for a mirror may have alluded to the pitfalls of favoring beauty above all else, a powerful lesson, especially to place on a mirror. The pairing of these mythological figures with the Four Continents, however, underscores the beauty—and fairness—of European women. Next to the shorthaired, dark-skinned, and scantily dressed African and American, it would be impossible not to perceive Europe’s similarity to the ivory-skinned goddesses Hera and Aphrodite, whose magnificent ensembles were composed by applying embroidered silks, lace, and woven textiles onto the figures. Likewise, had the mirror been finalized, the owner would have recognized both her own likeness staring back at her, as well as her affinity to these exemplars of beauty, sophistication, and civility.

¹²² Both sections of the mirror are described and illustrated separately in Brooke, *Lady Lever Art Gallery: Catalogue of Embroideries*, 66–67, inv. no. LL5260 and 70–71, inv. no. LL5265. The Lever Gallery also has a completed mirror representing the Four Continents and a pastoral scene. Brooke, *op. cit.*, 193, inv. no. LL5219.

A mirror that *was* completed illustrates how the Four Continents could function as an instructive motif, even in isolation (fig. 2.58).¹²³ In the mirror, no other narrative or genre scene detracts from the Four Continents and their world of assorted plants and animals. Unlike the beaded panel discussed above, America and Africa are very legible as women, their bare breasts very clearly outlined in black thread. Yet, if embroidery was intended to be a morally edifying experience—both the process of making it and the beholding of its final product—what could be gained from their isolated presence on this mirror frame? In the very medium tasked with providing women with paragons of virtuous behavior, the beholder instead encountered the dark, naked heathens, their more civilized counterparts, and her own reflection.

When adorning household objects, the Four Continents furnished young well-to-do women with an armchair travel experience that was more readily accessible to their male counterparts through travel literature. Like most written and visual material about foreign peoples, these representations were filtered through a Eurocentric lens. Nevertheless, we can regard them as pathways to contemporary discussions about national and cultural difference, which were circulating through written and visual culture. Beyond this function, however, these embroidered personifications of the Four Continents invited viewers to reflect—literally—on their identities as Englishwomen in the increasingly global context of early modern England. Following England's increased involvement in the global trade and colonization, the basis of this ideal was in the process

¹²³ Private collection. Illustrated and described in Bonhams, *Fine English Furniture and Works of Art, including the Richmond Collection of Early English Needlework*, sale 18761, 2 March 2011, lot 54: "A needlework mirror, English, ca. 1660."

of evolving from cultural values, such as civility or Christian virtue, that were readable through dress, to an increased prioritization of visible markers—namely whiteness.

CHAPTER THREE

Luxury and Morality: Fashioning Englishness in Seventeenth-Century Costume Prints

In 1616, English poet and dramatist Ben Jonson published *Epigrams*, a collection of neo-Latin poems that alternate between praising specific individuals and satirizing recognizable social types in his country. In the eighty-eighth epigram, “On English Monsieur,” he begins,

Would you believe, when you this monsieur see
That his whole body should speak French, not he?
That so much scarf of France, and hat, and feather,
And shoe, and tie, and garter should come hether.

Pondering how an Englishman could appear so French, Jonson muses that he inherited the “French disease” (i.e. syphilis) from his father at conception. More likely, his protagonist was one of a growing number of fashionable English citizens who turned to France for sartorial inspiration in the seventeenth century. Whether securing clothing while traveling abroad, patronizing local French tailors, or shopping for imported goods at London’s New and Royal Exchanges, the well-heeled members of English society were embracing *la mode* in everything from footwear to hair.

Other writers were less amused by their compatriots’ adoption of foreign mores, which they considered both immoral and unpatriotic. In ballads, pamphlets, and essays, authors accused those who incorporated French fashions, composed of sumptuous materials like satin and lace or decorative accents like ostrich plumes and ribbons, of vanity and frivolity for their pursuit of fashion; of profligacy for their preference for

costly clothing over humble English woolens; and of disloyalty for turning their backs on local custom. Though anti-luxury polemics had long been a staple of moralistic tracts, the addition of a nationalistic rhetoric appears to coincide with the increase in commercial and cultural exchange with Continental Europe at the turn of the century.¹ From the turn of the seventeenth century onward, intensified engagement with the Continent produced culturally heterogeneous developments in such diverse facets of English life as politics, court culture, the arts, education, cuisine, and, of course, fashion.² Amid this flood of foreign ideas, practices, and products, moralists feared the loss of English identity—its character as well as its traditions.

Several recent studies in English literature and history have fruitfully analyzed the literary works expressing these sentiments.³ Yet these views also circulated in printed imagery, such as engravings, broadsheets, and book illustrations, which have received only passing, if any, attention. To broaden the understanding of the attitudes toward cultural exchange in early modern England, this chapter examines prints that combine visual representations of French fashion with verses that frame these styles as incompatible with English virtue, temperance, and humility. Together with contemporary

¹ On anti-fashion texts from the sixteenth century (and forward), see Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986).

² See, for example, Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Malcolm Smuts, *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Gesa Stedman, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013).

³ Stedman, *Cultural Exchange*; Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013); Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*.

moralistic writings, these objects sought to regulate English nationality and morality in a period when both were believed to be under threat.

Fashion was not demonized by all sectors of English society, however. The etchings of Wenceslaus Hollar provide a counterpoint to the moralizing tone of the aforementioned series and to the rhetoric of anti-luxury tracts. His finely etched costume prints, fashion still lives, and personifications of the Four Seasons revel in the sumptuous ensembles and elegant lifestyles of the English nobility, with whom he was personally and professionally involved. Serving a clientele of local and Continental connoisseurs, Hollar endorses fashion as a subject worthy of aesthetic appreciation rather than disapprobation.

Cultural Exchange and Textual Resistance

After a period of economic decline and cultural isolation in the latter decades of the sixteenth century, the reign of James I (r. 1603-25) introduced a new era of prosperity and offered the English more occasions than ever before to interact with the rest of Europe. Peaceful relations with Spain (formalized in 1604) enabled English citizens—mostly men—to travel abroad for trade, diplomacy, art acquisition, and, increasingly, to round out their social education.⁴ At the same time, England received diplomats and

⁴ See Edward Chaney and Timothy Wilks, *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe* (I.B. Tauris, 2013); John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (Yale University Press, 1989). For the history of collecting in early modern England, see Malcolm Smuts, “Art and Material Culture of Majesty,” in *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); David Jaffé, *The Earl and Countess of Arundel: Renaissance Collectors* (London: Apollo Magazine, 1995); Peck, *Consuming Splendor*.

travelers from abroad, as well as those who settled permanently. This second group was largely made up of French Huguenots fleeing persecution, as well as emigrants of various faiths escaping the turmoil of the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish. Many of the most influential artists working during the reigns of Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I originated from these countries, most notably the Gheeraerts and De Passe families, Isaac Oliver, John de Critz, Peter Paul Rubens, and Anthony van Dyck.⁵ Finally, the queen consorts Anne of Denmark (r. 1603-19) and Henrietta Maria of France (r. 1625-49) brought their Continental tastes in food, fashion, and the arts, as well as the entourages that helped them maintain their foreign lifestyles: tailors, cooks, dance masters, cobblers, and language instructors.⁶ Cultural engagement with the Continent was not limited to the court, however. Linda Peck points out that even members of the merchant class “increasingly identified themselves as cosmopolitan through the appropriation of Continental luxuries... in what they read, how they lived, what they wore, where they went, what they built, and who they imagined themselves to be.”⁷ Across English society, habits and customs were being reshaped through these varied opportunities for interaction with the rest of Europe.

⁵ See, for example, Mary Bryan H. Curd, *Flemish and Dutch Artists in Early Modern England: Collaboration and Competition, 1460-1680* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010).

⁶ For Henrietta Maria as a “cultural ambassador,” see Stedman, *Cultural Exchange*, 23–62. See also Erin Griffey, ed., *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2008). For other studies on the role of consorts in cross-cultural exchange, see Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena Sánchez, eds., *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer, Transculturalisms, 1400-1700* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2016); Leeds Barroll, *Anne of Denmark: A Cultural Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

⁷ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 18.

While many, especially at the upper ranks of society, eagerly assimilated novel customs into English culture, others were anxious about the consequences of “trafficking with the contagious corruptions, and customs of forreine nations,” as John Deacon wrote in 1616.⁸ In *Tobacco Tortured*, a treatise on both the physically and spiritually corruptive properties of tobacco, Deacon warned that copying the customs of a foreign culture rendered one vulnerable to its moral failings. With disgust, he laments that

so many of our English-mens minds are thus terrible *Turkished* with *Mahometan* trumperies; thus ruefully *Romanized* with superstitious relickes; thus treacherously *Italianized* with sundry antichristian toys; thus spitefully *Spanished* with superfluous pride; thus fearefully *Frenchized* with filthy prostitution; thus fantastically *Flanderized* with flaring net-works to catch English fooles; thus greedily *Germandized* with most glutenous manner of gormandizing; thus desperately *Danished* with a swine-like swilling and quaffing; thus sculkingly *Scotized* with Machiavillan projects; thus inconstantly *Englished* with every new fantasticall foolerie.⁹

Deacon attributes a range of bodily, material, religious, and social practices to imported influences.

In many other xenophobic writings of the period, however, clothing received special attention. To explain the overwhelming concern with fashion above other sites of foreign influence, Gesa Stedman notes in her study of cross-cultural exchange between England and France:

As both a material practice centered on the body and a symbolic strategy for self-fashioning and display, fashion becomes one of the central cultural phenomena for authors who reflect on cultural transformation. More so than music, dance, and food, [it] is a visible sign that some kind of cultural encounter or exchange has taken place.¹⁰

⁸ John Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured, or the Filthie Fume of Tobacco Refined* (London: Richard Field, 1616), 10.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Stedman, *Cultural Exchange*, 159–60.

If, in early modern England, clothing was the most visible indication of one's national or ethnic origin, then wearing the clothing of another nation confused and subverted the social order—hence Jonson's satirical cognitive dissonance when encountering a man in French attire who spoke no French.

A more alarmist tone is taken by other moralists who, variously, cast imported styles as unnatural, corrupting, or corrosive. In Thomas Dekker's pamphlet, *The Seven Deadly Sins of London* (1606), "Apishnesse" is one of the sins blamed for the city's recent plague epidemic. According to Dekker, Londoners striving to follow current clothing trends "fall into the disease of pride: pride is infectious, and breedes prodigality."¹¹ The fact that new styles were typically of foreign origin compounded the offense, leading Dekker to compare the current state of English fashion to a punishment specifically assigned to perpetrators of high treason: "[A]n English-mans suite is like a traitors bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set up in severall places: his Cod-peece is in *Denmark*, the collar of his Duple and the belly in *France*: wing and the narrow sleeve in *Italy*," and so on.¹²

Hyperbolic though it may seem, Dekker's invocation of betrayal was not without merit, at least from an economic perspective. For centuries, wool cloth was one of the country's major sources of wealth. Thus, the increasing popularity of imported textiles, such as silk, lace, or velvet, jeopardized England's domestic cloth trade, as well as the

¹¹ Thomas Dekker, *The Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (London: Printed by E.A. for Nathaniel Butter, 1606), 31.

¹² *Ibid.*, 32.

moral integrity of its citizens.¹³ Late in the previous century, the writer Robert Greene expressed these concerns through a contentious dialogue between a pair of English woolen breeches and a pair of Italian velvet breeches in *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592). The contrast in fashions is helpfully illustrated by a woodcut frontispiece portraying an Italian courtier facing off with an English peasant (fig. 3.1). In the dialogue, the woolen breeches curse the interloper’s popularity in England, because he “camest not alone but accompanied with a multitude of abominable vices, hanging to thy bumbast nothing but infectious abuses, as vaine-glorie, selfelove, sodomie, and strang[e] poisonings, wherewith [he] hath infected this glorious Iland.”¹⁴ In this pamphlet, novel fashions are not simply signs of foreign contamination; they are the very medium by which foreign vice entered the nation.

An anonymous broadside ballad composer declared the state of English dress to be such an affront to the natural order of things that it was monstrous (fig. 3.2). “The Phantastick Age/ OR, / The Anatomy of Englands vanity, / In wearing the fashions / Of severall Nations [...],” (c. 1634) conjures images of creatures who possess body parts from multiple animals, one verse reads:

An English man or woman now
 Ile make excuse for neither,
 Composed are I know not how,
 of many shreds together:
 Italian, Spaniard, French, and Dutch,
 of each of these they have a touch.
O monsters,
Neutrall monsters,

¹³ On English cloth as a source of national pride and a symbol of humility, see Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth*, 1-15, 103-125.

¹⁴ Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier: Or, A Quaint Dispute Betwveen Veluet Breeches and Clothbreeches* (London: Iohn Wolfe, 1592), line 227.

*leave these apish toyes.*¹⁵

The ballad goes on to attribute the demand for imported clothing to a lapse in collective humility, which in typical moralistic rhetoric, is said to have once been in abundance:

When meeknesse bore in England
sway
and pride was not regarded,
Then vertue bore the bell away,
and goodnesse was rewarded
Now our phantastick innovations,
doe cause prodigious
transmutations

Though ballads were intended to be sung¹⁶—this one to the tune of a song called “O women monstrous”—they also had a visual component. In fact, for many ballad consumers, especially poor and illiterate, the woodcuts were a large part of the broadside’s appeal, since these objects decorated the walls of modest households, inns, and alehouses.¹⁷ “The Phantastick Age” is illustrated by four somewhat crudely executed

¹⁵ The Phantastick age: / OR, / The Anatomy of Englands vanity, / In wearing the fashions / Of severall Nations, / With good exhortations, / Against transmutations. British Library, Roxburghe 1.476-477. Accessed at <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30318/xml>.

¹⁶ Claude Mitchell Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966).

¹⁷ Costing only a penny, ballads were especially aimed toward the “middling” classes, but they reached all segments of urban English society. The diarist Samuel Pepys, for example, was especially fond of them and amassed a large collection. It was not necessary to purchase them to encounter their content, however; they were affixed to street posts, performed by the peddlers selling them, and sung in groups in public and private settings. On the social dimensions of the early modern print market (including broadside ballads) and relationship between orality and literacy, see Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1994); Alexandra Halasz, *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1997). For ballads in particular, see Patricia Fumerton, “Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 3 (November 15, 2002): 493–518; and Fumerton, ed., “Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550-1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture,” special issue of the *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Summer 2016). For Pepys’s ballad collection, see Fumerton, ed., *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, v. 421 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012). The English Broadside Ballad Archive hosted by the University of California, Santa Barbara, under

woodcuts that were likely based on a sixteenth-century source: a pair of French courtiers, a Spanish noblewoman, and a knight – derived in turn from sixteenth-century costume book illustrations (see Chapter One). In the process of singing along to the ballad, participants could see the very habits under attack, as outdated as they may be.¹⁸

Picturing French Fashion in England

With some exceptions—such as “A Phantastick Age” and *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier*—most literary attacks against imported clothing were not accompanied by visual representations of the fashions that were believed to undermine both individual virtue and collective English identity. Since assessments of another’s apparel is based primarily on visual perception, such admonitions against specific clothing surely were more effective when paired with images. As in other Protestant countries (particularly the Dutch Republic), allegorical series were ubiquitous in England’s burgeoning print market, and the allegorical costume prints produced there projected particular ideas about clothing and national character.¹⁹

the direction of Fumerton, is an excellent resource for digitized ballads from the holdings of the Pepys Collection, Huntington Library, British Library, and University of Glasgow. New ballads and collections continue to be added: <https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu>.

¹⁸ The interplay between image and text in early modern broadside ballads has received only modest attention until recently. See Megan E. Palmer, “Picturing Song across Species: Broadside Ballads in Image and Word,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (June 28, 2016): 221–44; Christopher Marsh, “A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (June 28, 2016): 245–62; Alexandra Franklin, “Making Sense of Ballad Illustrations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, ed. Kevin Murphy and Sally O’Driscoll (Bucknell University Press, 2013), 169–93; and Patricia Fumerton, “Mocking Aristocratic Place: The Perspective of the Streets,” *Early Modern Culture: An Electronic Seminar*, Special Issue: Vagrant Subjects, no. 7 (2008), <http://emc.eserver.org/1-7/fumerton.html>.

¹⁹ For a list of allegorical series from this period—both surviving editions and those known only from printer advertisements and entries in the Stationers’ Register—see Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689* (London: British Museum, 1998), 307–313.

One such series is Robert Vaughan's *The XII Mounthes of the Yeare in the Habits of Severall Nations* (c. 1621-23).²⁰ Following the source material, in an almost identical series, attributed to Dutch printmaker Crispijn van de Passe II (c. 1615-20), each month is personified by a man and a woman from one of twelve regions: Russia, Iceland, the Netherlands, France, Rome, Spain, Turkey, America, England, Germany, Austria, and Hungary.²¹ Rather than working or harvesting the land—in accordance with conventional representations of the Twelve Months—the figures take leisurely strolls, pausing to allow the viewer to study their dress. Apart from the plates personified by the English (September) and the French (April), all the compositions are copies (in reverse) of the original series.

In Chapter Two of this study, I highlight how Abraham Holland's English verses describe the moral shortcomings of various nationalities, especially Spaniards and "Moors."²² Among the Europeans, however, the French receive the most specific, scathing indictments of moral depravity, putting them on par with—or even below—the godless Native Americans and the lustful Ottomans (fig. 3.3):

This youth-full Month of April by the French

²⁰ Hind, vol. III, 89, no. 113. The address listed on the first edition, "are to be sold at the Globe over against the Exchange," was the address of Compton Holland's publishing firm during these years. His wife continued the business after his death in 1621. Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 312, no. 75. Subsequent editions were published by Thomas Geele, Thomas Booth, and Peter Stent (who added the title). For Holland: BM 166 c.23: 1931-11-14-625 (1-12); Geele: Huntington Library, bound with Nicholas Breton, *Fantasticks* (London: Miles Flesher, 1626); Booth: BM 166 c.1(1); and Stent: BM 169 b.1: 1901-10-14-94 to 105 (first appearance of the current title). John Overton, who purchased Stent's stock in 1665, secured a license from the state censor to publish the series in 1672. The license is attached to the Stent edition in the British Museum, according to Griffiths, *op. cit.* See also Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent: London Printseller, circa 1645-1665* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press), 154, no. 548.

²¹ See Chapter Two of this dissertation for an extensive analysis of the Dutch series, as well as the published references.

²² As noted in Chapter Two, the verses in Robert Vaughan's version are the invention of Abraham Holland. See note 78 for details.

Why is it showne? Is 't cause they love to wench?
The Suns in Taurus now which may descry
Them given to Bulling, Hornes, and Cuckoldry.

Accused of rampant adultery and consorting with prostitutes, the couple conforms to Deacon's earlier enumeration of national stereotypes.²³

Holland's colorful commentary accompanies one of two original compositions by Vaughan. In an apparent effort to conform more closely with French aristocratic attire of the 1620s compared to De Passe's engraving (see fig. 2.13), Vaughan dressed the male figure in slimmer breeches and a shorter, broad-brimmed hat, which is accented with an ostrich plume.²⁴ The figure's stiff, wired *rebato*s collar (of Spanish origin) is now trimmed with Italian-made *reticella* lace, which also adorns the new sleeve cuffs. The new look is finished off with knee-high, spurred leather boots, and new facial hair. By contrast, the female figure's ensemble was left intact, even though her drum farthingale was no longer fashionable by this point. Vaughan may have left it in place because of its legibility as French and its infamous reputation. During the style's heyday, Puritan satirist Stephen Gosson placed its origins in French brothels, where it protected women's gowns from their syphilis-ridden undergarments: "When whoores in stewes had gotten poxe, / This French devise, kept coats from smocks."²⁵ Echoing the sentiments of Spanish writers complaining about their own version, the *verdugado*, this "device" could also be

²³ Holland's sharp condemnation strikes a different tone than the playful verses written for De Passe's "April": "Aprilis veneri sacer est, foecundaque prole / GALLIA, conueniunt ille, vel illa solo" (April is sacred to Venus and to her fertile offspring / Gaul, who joins [copulates] with others, or alone).

²⁴ To redesign the outfit, Vaughan may also have consulted French costume prints, such as Jacques Callot's *La Noblesse de Lorraine* (c. 1620-23) or Abraham Bosse's *Le Jardin de la noblesse Francaise* (1629), which circulated abroad. See further discussion of these series below.

²⁵ Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes for an Upstart Newfangled Gentlewoman: Glass, to view the pride of vainglorious women*, 2nd ed. (London: Richard Iohnes, 1595).

used to obscure an out-of-wedlock pregnancy: “And that when paunch of whoore grew out, / these hoopcs did helpe to hide their sinne.” Against this backdrop, Vaughan’s image and Holland’s verses work together to elicit the viewer’s association between this apparel and the stereotypical lasciviousness of the French.²⁶

In contrast to the vices ascribed to the French population, the verses for “September” celebrate English temperance: “Septembers temperate season heere is showne / By the well temper’d English Nation” (fig. 3.4).²⁷ Yet the poem concludes with a warning to the presumed English audience to remain vigilant against moral degradation: “Autumne now comes, pray God it not divine, / That as the yeare, so we begin decline.”²⁸ Holland’s concern about spiritual deterioration may allude to the couple’s new attire, which Vaughan modified from De Passe’s original design to reflect the current taste for French clothing among the English (fig. 3.5). Over the course of the previous two decades, France had gradually usurped Spain as the leading foreign influence on aristocratic fashion throughout Western Europe. In England, this influence further intensified when Henrietta Maria, consort to Charles I (r. 1625-49), arrived from France

²⁶ On contagion (especially the “French Disease”) as a metaphor for the infiltration of French vice, and fashion as the specific medium through which physical and spiritual “disease” entered England, see Roze Hentschell, “Luxury and Lechery: Hunting the French Pox in Early Modern England,” in Kevin Patrick Siena (ed.), *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria University, University of Toronto, 2005).

²⁷ The connection Vaughan makes between the English disposition and the climate is based on humoral theories that had originated in Classical medicine and were revived in the early modern era. The “geohumoral” theory, as Mary Floyd-Wilson phrases it, holds that the climate of a specific region affects the temperaments of the local inhabitants by affecting the balance of the four humors of the body. The English believed that their moderate climate encouraged humoral balance and, consequently, a “balanced” disposition. See Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), and Chapter Two of this study.

²⁸ The verse accompanying De Passe’s “September”: “Non calor immodicus nec frigora soeua BRITANNOS / Vrunt, Septembreis moderantur ab aere campi” (The Britons are afflicted neither by extreme heat nor extreme cold / their fields are regulated by September’s temperate air).

in 1625, along with a retinue of several hundred attendants. In dress, the queen remained loyal to her heritage. She brought French apparel in her marriage trousseau and afterwards continued to employ French tailors and to import certain items directly from France.²⁹ Locally, the court's demand for wide-brimmed hats, lace collars, ostrich plumes, and satin ribbons was met by the drapers, haberdashers, and milliners of London's Royal Exchange and the New Exchange. These merchants exploited their connection to the queen to sell their wares to English citizens, thereby facilitating the further spread of the imported fashions.³⁰

As French fashion rose in status, it received a disproportionate amount of criticism in the anti-fashion discourse. In *The Truth of Our Times* (1638), poet and essayist Henry Peacham muses, "I have much wondered why our *English* above other nations should so much doat upon new fashions...[and] when one is growne stale runne presently over into *France*..."³¹ At the same time, he accused the French of seducing English citizens "with a thousand such *fooleries*, unknowne to our many forbears," namely "your slashed doublets...and your halfe skirts, pickadillies..., your long breeches, narrow towards the knees...: the spangled Garters pendant to the Shoe, your perfumed perrukes or periwigs, to shew us that lost haire may bee had againe for money."³²

²⁹ Erin Griffey, *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 49–51, 81–82.

³⁰ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 56–57; Griffey, *On Display*, 82.

³¹ Henry Peacham, *The Truth of Our Times Revealed out of One Mans Experience, by Way of Essay. Written by Henry Peacham.* (London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for Iames Becket, and are to be sold at his shoppe at the middle Temple gate, 1638), 73.

³² *Ibid.*, 74.

Peacham would likely have objected to Vaughan's literal refashioning of the English couple in "September." The woman's transformation illustrates the transition from the stiff and sober Spanish-derived styles of the Tudor court. In the original engraving, the figure wore an open-fronted gown over an elongated, stiff stomacher and a skirt supported by a bell-shaped farthingale. Vaughan's figure sports a new short-waisted bodice that was inspired by the cut of men's doublets. In a departure from the high-necked styles of late Tudor England, the bodice features a plunging neckline, trimmed with lace and accented with a bow beneath the cleavage. The updated accessories include: an ostrich plume tucked into the figure's curly bouffant, a folding fan in place of a feather fan, and linen handkerchief instead of a glove. Despite all these changes, Vaughan embellished the surface of her gown with floral embroidery, a defining and enduring attribute of English textiles.

Similar to his counterpart in "April," the Englishman has traded baggy slop breeches for a slimmer cut, and he now dons the more modishly plumed cavalier style, complete with long, curving ostrich feather. Other aspects of "the new fashion" illustrated here include a lace falling ruff and ribbon garters, as well as the mustache, goatee, and a single lock of hair, known as a lovelock, falling in front of the figure's shoulder.³³ Lovelocks were the subject of much ridicule and scorn when they were in vogue. The Puritan lawyer and politician William Prynne found them so abhorrent that he devoted an entire treatise to this hairstyle, which he considers unseemly and unbecoming of

³³ "The new fashion" was shorthand for French styles worn in England in the 1620s and 30s. Griffey, *On Display*, 81.

“Heroicall, Generous, and true-bred Englishmen.”³⁴ In *The Unloveliness of Lovelocks* (1628), he lashes out against “French-English Subjects” who were “ashamed of our English Guise.” He further opined that lovelocks are “Out-landish, Womanish, and Unchristian,” and that by wearing them, Englishmen “disclaime our very Nation, Countrey, and Religion.” Prynne’s ideal Englishman not only assumes all aspects of the national habit, but also obeys gender norms. As a Puritan, he regarded fashions worn by both men and women as sinful, because they undermined God’s prescribed gender roles. Earlier in the decade, fashionable Englishwomen were the target of a similar attack for wearing men’s hats and bodices modeled after men’s.³⁵

Vaughan’s other alterations to De Passe’s “September” composition extend beyond the clothing and serve to emphasize the shared nationality between the couple and the series’ intended audience. In the earlier version, the two figures turn toward one another, engaged in lively conversation as they walk alongside the Thames. In the English print, they have been relocated to a platform overlooking a country estate, and their gazes are now shifted outward in acknowledgment of their audience. As the only couple in the series to acknowledge the viewer—who is presumed to be English—they

³⁴ William Prynne, *The Vnlouelinesse, of Loue-Lockes* (London, 1628), A3v.

³⁵ This was the premise of the anonymous pamphlet *Hic-Mulier* (1620). Prynne himself revisited this subject in his anti-theater polemic *Histriomatix* (1628), which included a critique of male actors portraying female characters. See Susan Gushee O’Malley, “‘Custome Is an Idiot’: Cross-Dressing and Custom,” in *Custome Is an Idiot: Jacobean Pamphlet Literature on Women* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 251–306; Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially ch. 5; and Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*, 80–81, 83–84.

seem to invite their compatriots to heed Holland's plea to remain true to the national character.³⁶

Satirical Citations: Appropriating French Costume Prints Abroad

Paralleling the spread of French fashion across Europe in the 1620s and 30s was the international dissemination of French costume etchings—that is, costume prints made by French artists dedicated solely to contemporary fashions of their countrymen and – women.³⁷ The first of these—and the model for subsequent suites—was a set of twelve etchings of elegant gentlemen, ladies, and cavalrymen by Jacques Callot, which is known today as *La Noblesse de Lorraine* (fig. 3.6).³⁸ In each of the plates, a single monumental figure poses animatedly on a platform-like ground, before a range of backgrounds: small villages, gardens, battlefields, and city square. The relationship between the lightly etched backgrounds and the boldly outlined figures, achieved through multiple acid bitings of the plates, echoes the presentation of his earlier theatrical figures that he etched during his tenure as the stage designer for the Medici, such as the *Three Italian*

³⁶ We can safely say that this series was created with an English audience in mind. The English language was not widely studied on the Continent (compared to Latin), and there is little evidence that English engravings of this period circulated outside the country, aside from those by Wenceslaus Hollar.

³⁷ For description of these series, as well as later fashion prints and publications through nineteenth century, see Raymond Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode Française des origines à 1815* (Paris: Promodis-Editions du Cercle de la librairie, 1988).

³⁸ Lieure nos. 549-560. The series was published without a title page. In a 1635 post-mortem inventory of Callot's estate, the series is described as "les bourgeois nobles." Scholars continue to debate whether the series depicts the old nobility (*Noblesse d'épée* or *Noblesse ancienne*); the "new" nobility, who had acquired their title through government service or purchase (*Noblesse de robe*); or the local bourgeoisie emulating the fashions and manners of the aristocracy. See Dena M. Woodall and Diane Wolfthal, *Princes & Paupers: The Art of Jacques Callot* (Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2013), 50, no. 4; Sue Welsh Reed, ed., *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1998), 51–53, nos. 4-6; Daniel Ternois and Paulette Choné, *Jacques Callot, 1592-1635* (Nancy: Musée historique Lorrain, 1992).

Comedians (1618-20) (fig. 3.7). Over the following decade, Callot's inspired similar series by Abraham Bosse, Daniel Rabel, and Isaac Briot that portrayed the lively gestures and attire of French society. That these suites, as well as Callot's, circulated abroad is evinced both by their presence in foreign publisher's inventories and stocklists—e.g. Clement de Jonghe in Amsterdam and Peter Stent in London—and by the numerous costume series either directly quoting specific figures or simply emulating the formats, such as Gillis van Scheyndel's fanciful renderings of Ottoman dress, *Standing Figures* (c. 1649-53) (fig. 3.8).³⁹

Although we have no evidence that other Europeans used the French costume etchings as source of inspiration for their own attire, the prints at least fostered an awareness that certain styles originated in France, such as wide-brimmed cavalier hats, lace-trimmed falling bands, and lovelocks.⁴⁰ They also provided publishers abroad with useful models for works that satirize these same fashions. In Germany, this took the form of a succession of broadsheets mocking those who abandon local custom for French novelties.⁴¹ The “Ala modo monsie[u]rs,” as they are referred to across the broadsheets,

³⁹ The series was advertised by Stent as “J. Callot, 12 Costume Plates,” in 1653, 1662, and 1673 (Overton) Globe, *Peter Stent*, no. 540. Clement de Jonghe's 1679 inventory mentions “P. 128, Fijne quarteren: 13 fol. dto. monseurtjen Callot.” For a transcription of the inventory, see J. van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: Van kunst tot kastpapier* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2006), appendix III. For Scheyndel's *Standing Figures*, see Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, vol. XXIV, nos. 19-30; and Wyckoff, “Innovation and Popularization,” 94.

⁴⁰ As outlined in the Introduction of this study, the scholarly consensus is that, in the era before the fashion periodical, styles spread internationally through transcontinental travel (diplomacy, trade, tourism, education); the influence of foreign consorts and their entourages; and through fashion dolls.

⁴¹ See Thomas Lüttenberg and Andreas Prever, “...Hergegen macht das kleyd oft einen Mann und Helden’: Deutsch Alamode-Flugblätter des 17. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext,” in eds. Adelheid Rasche and Gundula Wolter, *Ridikül!: Mode in der Karikatur, 1600 bis 1900* (Berlin: SMB, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2003), 53-68; and Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 164-175. Gundula Wolter explores the type of information fashion satires can—and cannot—offer dress historians. See “Satirising Seventeenth-Century Fashion: Edification and Entertainment,” in *Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Anna Jolly and Johannes Pietsch, vol. 19, Riggisberger Berichte (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2012), 153-64.

are often based on prototypes by Callot or Bosse. In one such satire, *Die Neue umbgekehrte Welt* (“The New Topsy-Turvy World”), old and new fashions are illustrated by figures adapted from earlier costume prints (fig. 3.9). At the center of the image, a cavalier, wearing only his undergarments, stands on his head while balancing a luxuriously plumed hat on one foot. He points to a couple on his right, who are dressed according to the “brand new fashions” (*Nagel neu ALA MODO*). Both figures—including the woman—adopt the look of the cavalier, but the man is modeled closely after one of Callot’s cavalrymen from *La Noblesse de Lorraine* (fig. 3.10). Opposite the *ala modo* pair, another couple—taken from Pieter de Jode’s *Fashions of Different Nations*—demonstrates “the old German fashion” (*Der Alten Teutschen ALA MODO*) (see fig. 1.41).

In England, Abraham Bosse’s *Le Jardin de la noblesse Française* (1629) was the preferred series for making moralizing statements about fashion. *Le Jardin de la noblesse Française* consists of eighteen etchings representing aristocratic figures set in country estates or gardens, the latter of which had become a recent site for aristocratic leisure (fig. 3.11).⁴² Although Bosse may have intended to poke fun at the excesses of the French nobility, he was exceptionally attentive to the finer details of clothing, perhaps because he was the son of a tailor. Regardless of his motives, the series is one of the more reliable detailed records of seventeenth-century dress.⁴³

⁴² Elizabeth Hyde, *Cultivated Power: Flowers, Culture, and Politics in the Reign of Louis XIV* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005); Mirka Beneš and Dianne Suzette Harris, *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁴³ Bosse’s other costume series include *La Noblesse à l’église* (“The Nobility at Church”) (1629), after Jean de Saint-Igny; and *Les Gardes françaises* (“The French Guards”) (1632). The former exhibits the

One series to draw inspiration from Bosse's *Noblesse* was John Goddard's *The Seaven Deadly Sins*, which was printed by an unknown publisher at some point after he finished his apprenticeship with Robert Vaughan (1639), and then later by Thomas Jenner. More often than not, the personifications in English allegorical series were women, but Goddard only selected noblemen from Bosse's series. Since the seven cavaliers were copied directly from the Bosse's compositions, the personifications sport the hallmarks of French aristocratic dress of the 1620s-30s: the lovelocks, slashed doublets, long breeches, and "spangled garters" condemned by Peacham and Prynne.⁴⁴ To these figures—Pride, Lust, Envy, Gluttony, Wrath, Sloth, and Avarice—Goddard added the animals traditionally associated with the vices, as well as verses by an anonymous author. This is a novel visualization of a theme whose origins lie in with fourth-century Christian theologians, who believed these were the sins that would lead to eternal damnation.⁴⁵

Pride and Gluttony, in particular, emphasize the connections between fashion, sin, and Frenchness. For the personification of Pride, which opens the series, Goddard selected an image from Bosse's series of a frontally-facing nobleman who strides

fashions of the French nobility during worship in Catholic churches, and the latter, those of the king's guard.

⁴⁴ Hind, vol. III, 337, no. 14. The two surviving editions of the series (BM 1854-8-12-53 to 59 and Huntington Library 479697) list the address of Thomas Jenner, but signs of erasure beneath the imprint suggest that another publisher preceded him. Jenner continued to advertise the series as late as 1662. See Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, 40; and Antony Griffiths, "'The Print in Stuart Britain' Revisited," *Print Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2000): 115-122, here 118. As Griffiths points out, these impressions indicate extensive plate wear, which itself suggests many repeat printings. *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 110-111, no. 65.

⁴⁵ Morton W. Bloomfield, *An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*. (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952); Jennifer O'Reilly, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland Publications, 1988).

confidently with his pouf-covered shoes (fig. 3.12-13). Extending his right hand, Pride invites the viewer to appreciate his elegant attire, much like the vain peacock beside him, who fans his tail feathers to display their beauty. His avian companion connects Goddard's plate to earlier printed representations of the subject, such as Hendrick Goltzius's *Superbia* (engraved by Jacob Matham, 1585-89), where Pride walks beside a peacock and carries a fan made of its feathers (fig. 3. 14).⁴⁶ As in virtually all visual allegories of the Seven Deadly Sins, Goltzius's embodiment of *Superbia* places a strong emphasis on vanity and the temptations of fashion by personifying the sin with a luxuriously dressed woman admiring herself in a mirror.⁴⁷

A preoccupation with fashion was such a conventional attribute of Pride that the verses propose an alternative image: "The Taylors sheeres I should have held in hand, / For how to shape my Clothes, I studying stand."⁴⁸ These lines likely reference the well-worn visual trope of a naked figure brandishing a pair of scissors in his right hand and a bolt of cloth thrown over his left arm, in a manner similar to how Bosse's cavalier carries his cane and cloak.⁴⁹ In England, the figure appears in Andrew Boorde's *Book of Knowledge* (c. 1555), in a section on English customs. According to the text, he cannot

⁴⁶ New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish, *Jacob Matham*, vol. 3, no. 328-1.

⁴⁷ In the Northern Europe, there was significant overlap in visual motifs between anti-fashion satires and personifications of Pride. See Ger Luijten, "Frills and Furbelows: Satires on Fashion and Pride around 1600," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24, no. 2/3 (1996): 140–60. See also E. de Jongh, "The Changing Face of Lady World," in *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting*, trans. Michael Hoyle, trans. (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000), 59–82, and Walter S. Gibson, "Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man: The Authorship and Iconography of the 'Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins,'" *Oud Holland* 87, no. 4 (1973): 205–26.

⁴⁸ Andrew Boorde, *Book of Knowledge* (c. 1555) 3v.

⁴⁹ See Chapter One of this study for discussion of this motif in art and literature.

decide what to wear, because, rather than following a fixed style of national dress, he prefers to wear whatever is fashionable at a particular moment (see fig. 1.43).

In Goddard's *Pride*, the poem continues with a humorous justification for *Pride*'s leading position in the series: "Why am I pictur'd first, and first in Letters? / The Proud man allways goes before his betters." In fact, the sequence of the Goddard's personifications is typical of early modern representations of the Seven Deadly Sins; it was believed that love for oneself above all else—especially God—led to the subsequent evils.⁵⁰ Vainglorious self-presentation by way of French fashion is lambasted in George Glover's *Seven Deadly Sins* by (c. 1630) (fig. 3.15).⁵¹ *Pride* is a woman dressed according to the latest French-influenced fashions and leaning against a chair, while she caresses her hair with one hand and holds a feather fan with the other. She further accessorizes with a plume in her fashionably curly hair, and vainly covers her facial blemishes with small black patches of fabric known as *mouches*. She is clearly enamored with pearls, wearing them around her neck, wrists, ears, and even in her hair. In certain visual contexts, pearls could signify the virtue of chastity. Here, however, they document contemporary jewelry trends while simultaneously adding a layer of *vanitas* symbolism. Both exceptionally fashionable and very expensive in the seventeenth century, pearls were fragile and prone to discoloration over time, making them a riskier investment than

⁵⁰ The ranking of the sins from most to least detrimental to the soul was established by Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540-604). Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 72–74.

⁵¹ Hind, vol. III, p. 248, no. 66 (BM 1870,0514.1131 to 1137).

other gems.⁵² According to the verses, Pride—and by extension, the women who dress similarly—is indifferent to how her indulgences are affecting her household finances:

Curl'd trammells Feather, and the Courtly dress,
Pearle, chaine, Fanne, penants, ribbands, all express.
(Weigh'd wth her husband) if ye skale bee right,
His heart prooues heavy, hers Some graines too light.

As in Goddard's *Pride*, Glover makes it clear that fashion is the expression of her sinfulness.

Goddard's personification of Gluttony warns against both sartorial and gustatory excess. In Bosse's original etching, the figure props his right hand atop a croquet mallet, as if pausing from the match in the distant background (fig. 3.16). Goddard substitutes noble poise and aristocratic leisure with overindulgence of various kinds (fig. 3.17). Several skinned chickens are tied to the man's wrist, and his mallet is replaced by a wine glass, which will likely be replenished by the flask at his waist. As in Bosse's design, the lower half of the figure's doublet is unfastened, revealing the shirt underneath. The partially-open doublet was a popular style among cavaliers, who embraced an aesthetic of careless elegance. In Goddard's rendition, however, an unbuttoned doublet also helps accommodate this figure's larger, protruding belly—a consequence of his insatiable appetite, which is also signified by the boar to his left. The verses describe Gluttony's epicurean weaknesses, and the toll they take on his body:

The Smoakey-Pipe makes Mounseurs head sing trim,

⁵² On the instability of pearls as symbols in visual art, literature, and real life, see E. de Jongh, "Pearls of Virtue and Pearls of Vice," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 8, no. 2 (76 1975): 69–97; and Karen Raber, "Chains of Pearls: Gender, Property, Identity," in *Ornamentalism*, ed. Bella Mirabella (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), 159–81. For an overview of the early modern global pearl trade, see Molly A. Warsh, "Adorning Empire: A History of the Early Modern Pearl Trade, 1492-1688," PhD thesis (Johns Hopkins University, 2009).

A cupp of Nimis makes his Braynes to swim;
Cram'd Capons his unbutt'ned-Belly fill:
Thus being sett his Graceless grace (Nihil.)⁵³

The motif of decadence also applies to Gluttony's apparel. Delicate and subtle in Bosse's etching, the figure's needle-lace trimmed collar has now grown to comical proportions, extending from the outer edge of one shoulder to the other. Furthermore, the ratio of the expensive, finely wrought lace to the linen plain woven garment is much greater; in real life, such a collar would be exceptionally expensive. Although it is ambiguous whether "mounseur" Gluttony and his fellow personifications are French citizens or merely English emulators, Goddard's series attributes the full spectrum of sinful behaviors to those who adopt the latest French fashions.

An insatiable hunger for the latest French luxuries is also associated with faulty character in English representations of the four humoral temperaments, or "complexions," that were believed to result from an overabundance of bodily humors and to manifest themselves in both character and physical appearance: melancholic (black bile), choleric (yellow bile), phlegmatic (phlegm), and sanguine (blood). Traditionally, however, earthly pleasures like courtship, music, food, and fashion were attributed to Sanguine alone. In Glover's *The Fowre Complexions* (c. 1630), which follows his usual format of three-quarter-length female personifications, Sanguine is accused of being subject to the whims of fashion (fig. 3.18). Dressed in the "ladys late garbe," she wears an ensemble that includes the recognizably French "fether, lock, rose": an ostrich plume, lovelock, and ribbons tied in bows around her waist and below her neckline. Sporting "a

⁵³ *Nimis* and *nihil* are Latin for "excess" and "nothing" or "nothingness," respectively.

beaver,” she also displays the recent mode for adopting certain aspects of male attire. “Beaver” was shorthand for the brimmed hats composed of beaver-fur felt, which were both exorbitantly priced and highly coveted by well-dressed men from England to Holland.⁵⁴ Too Englishwomen were fond of these hats as well, which greatly displeased moralists.⁵⁵ The sanguine character, who “cocks her beaver,” is both sartorially and sexually promiscuous, always “aym[ing] at the Fashion,” regardless of its appropriateness for a female English citizen.

Around the same time, William Marshall engraved his own version of the subject. Marshall’s *Four Complexions* were first published by Thomas Jenner (one-time publisher of Goddard’s *Seaven Deadly Sins*) and then later by John Garrett, who acquired the latter’s business in 1674; the series received further distribution in the form of an anonymous copy, sold first by Peter Stent, and later advertised by John Overton, who acquired Stent’s stock by purchase in 1665.⁵⁶ In this rendition, Marshall followed Goddard’s example and appropriated four noblewomen from *Le Jardin de la noblesse Française*, adding only the attributes companions associated with each temperament: a

⁵⁴ The preference for hats made of beaver felt depleted the beaver population in Western Europe. Thereafter, the pelts were acquired from Russia and North America. See Timothy Brook, *Vermeer’s Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010), 42–45; Janet Martin, *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁵⁵ See note 35 above.

⁵⁶ Hind, vol. III, 190, no. 252. I know of two complete editions by Jenner: *Kunstsammlungen der Fürsten zu Waldburg-Wolfeg*, album 238; and *Galerie Wittert*, Université de Liège, 24723-24726. Three plates from the Garrett edition can be found at the British Museum (BM 1863-8-8-87 to 89, missing “Cholerick,”). The anonymous copy, in reverse can be found at the Folger Shakespeare Library, (M368.2, nos. 1-4) with the address of Peter Stent. This is likely the series listed in Stent’s 1662 and Overton’s 1673 advertisements under the title, “The 4 Complexions, Long and Lazy, Little and Loud &c.,” which Globe presumed to be printed from Marshall’s original plates. See *Peter Stent*, 124, no. 455. Referring to this advertisement, Griffiths (*The Print in Stuart Britain*, 309, no. 33) correctly surmised that Stent’s edition was a piracy, but, to the best of my knowledge, a surviving edition had not been located or described in the literature until this present study.

cat (Melancholic), a fish (Phlegmatic), string instruments (Sanguine), and a rooster (Choleric). In doing so, he impugns all French fashion victims as morally imbalanced, rather than only those of the sanguine temperament. These women lack the physiological and moral constancy that English writers were trying so hard to preserve among their citizens. According to the inscriptions framing their bodies, their humoral imbalances have rendered these well-dressed ladies “Long and Lazie,” “Little and Lowd,” “Faire and Foolish,” and “Black and Proud.”⁵⁷ Further elaboration is given in the form of two lines of verse below each image, written from the perspective of each personification. Sanguine, for example, boasts: “I was not at my Birth with beautie blest / But I as coy and proud am, as the best” (fig. 3.19).

Unlike Vaughan’s couples and Goddard’s cavaliers, however, neither the women nor their fashions are verbally associated with a particular nationality.⁵⁸ Yet, even if viewers had limited personal interaction with French fashion, they would have recognized the apparel from portraits of their famously French queen, which circulated in print. Prints after a now-lost painting by Daniel Mytens portray the queen in a low-cut bodice, a lace falling band, and puffed virago sleeves tied with ribbons at the elbow to create two large puffs, all of which are worn by Sanguine (see fig. 2.46).⁵⁹ Henrietta

⁵⁷ These four descriptions derive from an English proverb, first published in William Vaughan’s *Naturall and Artificiall Directions for Health* (London: 1600). They were also recorded in a slightly different version in the diary of Thomas Whythorne (1570). See Jones, *Print in Early Modern England*, 22.

⁵⁸ A set of four plates was published by Thomas Booth and attributed to Josse or Jeremias van Winge personifies the four temperaments with half-length male figures from four different countries (Bibliothèque nationale de France). This series may be the same as the “4 Complexions in Habits of 4 Nations” advertised by Peter Stent in 1653 and 1662. See Globe, *Peter Stent*, no. 538.

⁵⁹ For example, Willem Jacobsz. Delff, after Daniel Mytens, *Henrietta Maria*, c. 1627-30. On this and other images after the lost Mytens portrait, see Griffey, *On Display*, 83-84, 87. A print by Pieter de Jode II after a portrait of the queen holding a rose in her lap by Anthony van Dyck (c. 1632) shows a very similar outfit (Private Collection; copy in the Armand Hammer Collection at the Fisher Museum, University of

Maria was so tied to her French identity that, for his own representation of the queen (*Portrait of Charles I and Family*, c. 1637-40), Marshall copied the same figure from Bosse's *Le Jardin* that he used for Melancholy, rather than consulting an actual portrait of the queen (fig. 3.20-21). By appropriating Bosse's figures for the *Four Complexions*, Marshall impugns fashion victims as (hu)morally unbalanced, lacking the character believed to characterize the English.

Viewing Allegorical Costume Series

Vaughan's, Goddard's, and Marshall's series were all first published around 1630 and represent fashionable dress from roughly the second quarter of the century. Yet, as publisher stocks were transferred through sale or bequest throughout the century, all three remained in continuous print for decades.⁶⁰ These subjects therefore continued to resonate with English viewers well after most of the styles portrayed were obsolete. Paradoxically, only a handful of editions survive today: only four editions of the *Mounthes*, three of the *Complexions* (plus one copy), and two of the *Sins*. This present-day rarity confirms what we know about how prints of this type were used, viewed, and experienced.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the practice of collecting prints in

Southern California). See Susan J Barnes, *Van Dyck: The Complete Catalogue of the Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), no. IV.113. Van Dyck's later portraits of Henrietta Maria would take a more generalizing approach to costume, leaving out certain details that would have characterized courtly fashion of this period such as lace falling bands, panned sleeves, and embroidered textiles. See Emilie E.S. Gordenker, *Van Dyck and the Representation of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

⁶⁰ See notes 20, 44, and 56 above for the publication history of the *XII Mounthes*, *Seaven Deadly Sins*, and *Four Complexions*.

albums was far less common in England compared to the Low Countries, France, and Germany (see Chapter One), and still less common for locally produced engravings on the lower end of the market like the allegorical series discussed here.⁶¹ Whereas Crispijn van de Passe II's version of the Twelve Months might have been pored over by an amateur in the privacy of his study—perhaps with friends and family members—these English series were more likely to be found lining the walls of alehouses, inns, and taverns, where the verses might be read aloud, much like ballads. After serving their purpose of edification and entertainment, the series were likely discarded with little thought.

The “popular” classification and the relative scarcity of these moralizing print series might explain why they play such a minimal role in studies of early modern English culture and society, especially when compared to scholarship on English literature or to the print cultures of France, Germany, and the Low Countries of same period. As the above discussion illustrates, however, the visual demonization of French fashion played an integral role in the multimedia discourse surrounding the ideal English character. For writers like Peacham, Prynne, and Dekker, the stereotypical decadence of the French was the antithesis of English temperance and modesty, virtues that could be displayed by adhering to the native *habitus*. As fashions from across the Channel threatened to blur the moral and sartorial distinctions between these two cultures, these

⁶¹ English prints of this period that do survive must have been preserved in albums and are therefore the exception, rather than the rule. See Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850* (London: British Museum Press, 1999), 167-180. A substantial number of the surviving allegorical series are contained in four volumes at the British Museum (166 c.1 to 4). They have a nineteenth-century binding, but were likely preserved in a similar manner since the seventeenth century. See Griffiths, *Print in Stuart Britain*, 307-13, and Chapter Two, note 94 of this study.

authors urged their countrymen to resist the temptations of foreign luxury and remain loyal to their nation. Complementing these written ideologies, the series by Vaughan, Goddard, and Marshall combined image with text to disparage the faulty character of the French as well as the fashion-forward locals who emulated them. By incorporating visual representations of the offending styles, the prints confronted viewers with an immediacy and legibility of message that only images of dress can provide.

Luxury and Allegory in the Costume Prints of Wenceslaus Hollar

While the allegorical costume series in the preceding section were aimed toward a broad swath of the print-buying public, Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77) viewed this genre as an opportunity to appeal to the more discerning print collector in England and on the Continent, where he had traveled and worked extensively before settling in London. Born in Bohemia (modern-day Czech Republic), Hollar spent the first twenty years of his life in Prague, before working with publishers, in Stuttgart, Strasbourg, Frankfurt, and Cologne, Matthias Merian the Elder and Abraham Hogenberg among them. While in Cologne, Hollar joined the diplomatic retinue of Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel, and followed him to Regensburg, Vienna, Prague, and The Hague, before ultimately returning to London.⁶² There, Hollar accepted a position, drawing and etching works in

⁶² During his time traveling with Arundel, Hollar made over a hundred watercolors and drawings, many of which became the basis for later topographical and costume etchings. For an account of the journey and a catalogue of the drawings, see Francis C. Springell, *Connoisseur and Diplomat: The Earl of Arundel's Embassy to Germany in 1636 as Recounted in William Crowne's Diary, the Earl's Letters and Other Contemporary Sources with a Catalogue of the Topographical Drawings Made on the Journey by Wenceslaus Hollar*. (London: Maggs, 1963).

the Earl's and Countess's famed collection of art and antiquities at Arundel House in London.⁶³

During his time in London—and for a period in Antwerp during the Civil War—his extensive oeuvre crossed a number of thematic boundaries: architecture, still life, topography, landscape, natural history, portraiture, and book illustration. Among his most inventive and technically impressive works are those focused on women's apparel: still-lives of fur muffs; miniature costume prints; and allegories of the Four Seasons. In monographic studies and exhibition catalogues, these works are typically grouped together under discussions of the artist's apparent "fascination with fashion, costume, and accessories"⁶⁴ or else his "enraptured contemplation of the feminine world,"⁶⁵ thereby framing such works as the product of an obsessive, fetishistic interest in clothing. The present analysis considers his costume studies, especially his treatment of the Four Seasons, in light of his social alliances, his sensitivity to the preferences of his economically and culturally diverse clientele, and his self-fashioning as an artist and gentleman.

⁶³ The Arundels had an exceptional collection of antique marbles (now at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), as well as drawings by Italian masters such as Leonardo, and paintings by German, Dutch, and Flemish painters, including Hans Holbein, Peter Paul Rubens, and Anthony van Dyck. For the Arundels as collectors, see David Jaffé, *The Earl and Countess of Arundel: Renaissance Collectors* (London: Apollo Magazine, 1995); David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). Hollar's drawings were intended to be the basis of etchings that would publicize the collection. See Richard Godfrey, "Hollar's Prints for the Earl of Arundel: Copies of Lost Works from the Arundel Collection," *Apollo* 144, no. 414 (August 1996): 36–38; Arianne Faber Kolb, "The Arundels' Printmakers: Four Approaches to the Reproduction of Drawings," *Apollo* 144, no. 414 (August 1996): 57–62.

⁶⁴ Rachel Doggett et al, *Impressions of Wenceslaus Hollar* (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1997), 24.

⁶⁵ Richard Godfrey, *Wenceslaus Hollar: A Bohemian Artist in England* (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1994), 14.

Hollar published his first complete set of (non-allegorical) costume prints in London, but he may have been planning for these series as much as a decade earlier. In the early 1630s, he published two figures with Abraham Hogenberg in Cologne. As a pair, *The Bowing Gentleman* suggests that he was familiar with the cavaliers of Callot and Bosse, while *Lady with Houpette* documents his observant curiosity about the particularities of regional dress (fig. 3.22-23).⁶⁶ The *houpette*, together with the black body-length veil known as a *huik*, was a headdress worn by women in Flanders (especially the Brabant region) and Cologne. From his Cologne base, he traveled up the Rhine, passing through various Dutch cities where he sketched landscapes, city views, and costumes. The drawings that he made during this trip—and during his travels through Central Europe, Germany, and Austria both before and after meeting Arundel—would form the basis of etchings in some of his later costume series in London and, later, Antwerp.

Despite, or because of his secure position with Arundel, once in London Hollar was free to etch and self-publish works of his own interest and invention; this was a privilege most English printmakers did not have, since they were subject to the desires of both publishers and local demand. His approach to costume prints suggests that he was not only producing work for the same audiences as those targeted by publishers of the *Seaven Deadly Sins* or *Foure Temperaments*, but also for true connoisseurs—in England

⁶⁶ Pennington nos. 1997, 1998.

and abroad—who would store them in albums, such as those of John Evelyn and Michel de Marolles, both of whom collected Hollar’s etchings.⁶⁷

These ambitions are evident from the number and scale of the constituent plates for his costume series, beginning with the first set completed in London. *Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus—or—The Severall Habits of English Women from the Nobilitie to the Country Woman, as They are in These Times* (1638-40), consists of twenty-six etchings of English women, primarily the elaborate ensembles of the ladies of the Caroline court, as well as the more sober outfits of London’s merchant class.⁶⁸ Several plates are based on portraits by Anthony van Dyck, to which slight changes in accessories or facial features were made.⁶⁹ Hollar copied, for example, the smooth sheen of Lady Mary Villiers’s silk gown, as well as the soft fur stole around her neck (fig. 3.24-25). At only 5 ½ inches tall, each plate in the series invites a close, intimate viewing to fully appreciate and compare these different textures across the series, with fur clearly being one of the artist’s favorite motifs. Taking the opportunity to further exhibit his skills at rendering the material, he added muffs to several figures; in the etching based on the Villiers portrait, a muff covers the hand that holds the stole in place in the original canvas.⁷⁰ The repetition of the same muff throughout the costume series suggests that

⁶⁷ Antony Griffiths, “John Evelyn and the Print,” in *John Evelyn and His Milieu*, ed. Frances Harris and Michael Cyril William Hunter (British Library, 2003), 95–113; Robert Harding, “John Evelyn, Hendrick van der Borch the Younger and Wenceslaus Hollar,” *Apollo* 144, no. 414 (August 1996): 39–44; Michel de Marolles, *Catalogue des Livres d’estampes, et de Figures en Taille-Douce...* (Paris: Chez Frédéric Leonard, 1666); Michel de Marolles, *Catalogue de Livres d’estampes et de Figures en Taille-Douce. Fait à Paris en l’année 1672* (Paris: Jacques Langlois, 1672).

⁶⁸ Pennington nos. 1778-1803.

⁶⁹ Hollar likely had repeated access to Van Dyck’s studio for several years. See *ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁰ By copying these paintings, Hollar is also transmitting Van Dyck’s particular manner of depicting clothing in his portraits of aristocratic women in England. See note 59 above.

Hollar kept his own in his studio or had regular access to those belonging to the women in Arundel household.⁷¹

The luxurious materials depicted in his early costume prints received larger, more detailed treatment in the first of his *The Four Seasons* (1641).⁷² Through this century-old print theme, Hollar capitalized on the current craze for costume imagery and introduced a new way of demonstrating how cosmological phenomena govern human experience. Although there were local examples, Hollar took his cues from Continent. In England, the sole surviving set of the Four Seasons before Hollar's is by Martin Droeshout, who assimilates the various iconographical traditions from both antiquity and the more recent past.⁷³ Spring and Summer are represented as personifications bearing classical attributes (1635) (fig. 3.26). Spring wears a headdress made of flower blossoms, while holding a flowers and a shepherd's crook; Summer carries a basket containing fruit and wears a headdress composed grain, flowers and fruit. Autumn, however, is personified by Bacchus, who holds a glass of wine and wears a headdress of grapes and vines. Rounding off the series is Winter, an old man wearing a headdress of root vegetables, warming his hands over a fire. Apart from the lace collar, satin sleeves, and

⁷¹ One particular muff—a double-muff made of two different colors of fur—appears frequently throughout his costume prints and allegories, for example in “Mulier Generosa Anglica” from *Theatrum Mulierum*; “Nobilis Mulier Anglica,” from *Aula Veneris*; the stand-alone print *The Winter Habit of an English Gentlewoman*; and “Winter” from the full, three-quarter-, and half-length *Four Seasons*.

⁷² Pennington nos. 611-613; New Hollstein German nos. 332-335.

⁷³ Hind, vol. II, 366, no. 21. An edition of the Four Seasons signed “Martin Dro sculp” can be found in the bound volumes at the British Museum described above (1870,0514.1168 to 1171). No publisher is listed. See Malcolm Jones, “English Broadside — I,” *Print Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (June 2001): 149–63, here 152–54. See also Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England*, 17–18; and Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 308, no. 8. For a discussion of the difficulties distinguishing between the oeuvres of Martin Droeshout and that of his father Michael, see June Schlueter, “Droeshout,” *Print Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (September 2010): 253–62. For a discussion of a set of the Four Continents attributed to Droeshout, see Chapter Two of this study.

lace sleeve cuffs accenting Spring's classical gown, these figures occupy a different realm of space and time from Droeshout.

Hollar brings personifications of the Seasons back down to earth, specifically to the world of his aristocratic viewers by incorporating elements of portraiture, genre, still-life, landscape, and topography. Aside from the three-quarter format, Hollar's series has little in common with Droeshout's or with the Netherlandish sixteenth-century precedents that incorporate the labors of the month.⁷⁴ The most salient difference is that all four seasons are represented by a single female figure, and each wears the now-familiar fashions of the Caroline era.

Having traveled extensively on the Continent before arriving in London and, Hollar was no doubt aware of the more recent allegories that revel in the fashions and lifestyles of the social elite and that abandon overt symbolic attributes and classical attire. Abraham Bosse, for example, had etched a four-plate series of the Four Elements in which Air and Earth, Fire and Water are personified by three-quarter-length figures: two ladies and two gentleman, respectively (fig. 3.27). He also created a fan design featuring four well-dressed female personifications of the Seasons, who carry several of the same weather-appropriate "attributes" depicted in Hollar's version, such as a dark veil and folding fan for Summer and a fur muff for Winter (fig. 3.28).⁷⁵

⁷⁴ For an overview of the Netherlandish iconography of the Four Seasons, see Chapter Two of this study and Ilja M. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 11, no. 3/4 (1980): 149–76.

⁷⁵ Blum no. 1333

Spring, which opens the series, exemplifies how Hollar used the subject of the Four Seasons as an opportunity to exhibit his art-historical knowledge, his exceptional technical skills, and his versatility as an artist (fig. 3.29). The series still does make nods to tradition, especially the Ages of Mankind: Spring is personified by a young, perhaps even adolescent, woman, who holds a bundle of striated tulips in one hand. With the other, she points to a vase that explodes with myriad blooms, a detail that is reminiscent of flower still lifes by Dutch and Flemish artists, which were reproduced in print (fig. 3.30).⁷⁶ The verses here and throughout the series echo this blend of tradition and innovation, describing how the shift in climate affects both the natural world and how people dress:

Furrs fare you well, the Winter is quite gone
And beauty's quarter now is coming on
When nature striueth most to shew her pride,
Our beauty's being the cheefe we must not hide.

Nevertheless, the flowers and her youthful appearance are the only references on this woman to Seasons tradition; not a scrap of classical attire remains. Instead, she wears an ensemble reflecting recent variations on the aristocratic fashions of 1640s. Replacing the puffed sleeves and wide flat collars visible in Bosse's *Jardin de la Noblesse*, she wears a narrower sleeve, whose shoulders are edged in scalloped-shaped bobbin lace. Each sleeve ends in a double-layer lace cuff, which echoes the double layers of lace created by the sheer kerchief, folded and fastened around her neck and shoulders. Though not entirely visible in this print, her skirt also appears to be filled out by a more

⁷⁶ Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw*, 148–51.

streamlined farthingale. As Henrietta Maria fell increasingly out of political favor, this more restrained silhouette became increasingly popular, even among supporters of the Stuarts, such as the Arundels.

A characteristic feature of personifications, e.g. Droeshout's *Four Seasons*, is their generalizing approach to faces and dress. It is unlikely that a viewer perceives that, for example, Droeshout was basing his "Spring" on an actual person or on actual clothing before him. By contrast, Hollar revels in specificity. Hollar's devotion to reproducing the textures of the various textiles and materials depicted here demonstrates at least a very close study of the individual elements: the lace trims; the ostrich feather fan at her hip; the satin for her skirt and the ribbon at the bottom edge of her bodice; the fur muff tucked in the wooden chest beside her—a nod to the recently departed season of winter; and even the curls of her hair, which alternate in size and texture.

Hollar extends this specificity to the faces of each of the Seasons and to their surroundings, both of which reveal how embedded Hollar was in the world of the English nobility, and where his allegiances lay as tensions rose between Royalists and Parliamentarians. Hollar was able to make such detailed depictions of Englishwomen's court dress during his time in London because he was able to observe the ladies of the Arundel household, and he eventually married one of the Countess's ladies-in-waiting, Margaret Tracy, in 1641. The faces in the series exhibit a portrait likeness, suggesting that he also modeled them on Margaret or some of the other ladies. Spring, however, appears to be based on a portrait of Henrietta Maria; the two share similarly long noses and small, pursed mouths, and both wear their shoulder length hair in curly locks, with

the top portion pulled up around the crown of her head.⁷⁷ The same year he published the three-quarter length *Four Seasons*, Hollar etched a portrait of Henrietta Maria after van Dyck, which has been said to be a surprisingly flattering image of the queen, given her declining support (fig. 3.31).⁷⁸ Hollar had earlier tried to earn the queen's favor by etching a view of Greenwich composed of two sheets (1637). The print, which included a representation of Inigo Jones's Queen's House, had a very long dedication to the Henrietta Maria.⁷⁹

The backgrounds for *Spring* and *Summer* have been easier to identify than Hollar's models. Autumn and Winter are placed against a solid wall, but the window for *Summer* looks out over the Thames and Westminster Abbey (fig. 3.32). As the site of coronations and royal burials, the Abbey had strong associations with Tudor and Stuart dynasties; shortly after the series was published, it would come under attack at the hands of both Puritan iconoclasts and Parliamentarians. The background of Spring also had courtly allusions. The country estate, with its orderly English gardens is likely Tart Hall or Albury Hall, Arundel properties that appear in in the backgrounds for the full-length versions of *Spring* and *Autumn*, respectively.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Doggett et al., *Impressions of Wenceslaus Hollar*, 23–24.

⁷⁸ Jacqueline Burgers, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Seventeenth-Century Prints from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam* (Alexandria: Art Services International, 1994), no. 39.

⁷⁹ To gain the favor of Charles I, Hollar dedicated an etching of the 14th-c. *Wilton Diptych* (1639), which had been recently acquired for the royal collection. That he achieved some degree of success in gaining royal approval is hinted at by the privilege granted to him for several works between 1638 and 1642, which was not a common practice in England. He was also named drawing instructor to the Prince of Wales in 1640. Godfrey, *Wenceslaus Hollar*, 10–13.

⁸⁰ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, 112–113.

Hollar's ambitions for the series are further suggested by his publishing strategy. After initially self-publishing the series, he sold the plates to Robert Peake, whose imprint appears on the second state.⁸¹ Peake was the son of printmaker William and grandson to Robert Peake the Elder, James I's serjeant-painter. Because he sold prints at the higher end of the market and had Royalist sympathies,⁸² Peake would have been a better fit than his competitor Thomas Jenner, whose Puritanical tracts and moralizing prints (such as Goddard's *Seaven Deadly Sins* and Marshall's *Foure Complexions*, above) served a more conservative, and ultimately Parliamentarian, customer base. The third state of the series bears the imprint of the important Paris-based publisher, François Langlois, who had published several costume print series by Abraham Bosse, including *Le Jardin de la noblesse Française* (1629). Because the plates for *The Four Seasons* remained in England, Hollar must have printed editions with Langlois's name while the French publisher was traveling in London. Though principally a print publisher, Langlois was also the primary supplier of drawings to Arundel, and he made regular trips between England and the Continent. The connection between Arundel, Hollar, and Langlois explains how the *Four Seasons* came to be one of the very few print series made in England and marketed in Continental Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁸³ Unlike his subsequent versions of the Seasons, the verses in the 1641 series are in both

⁸¹ Ibid., 110, no. 66.

⁸² Peake closed his shop in 1642 to serve in the Royalist army. He was later imprisoned and exiled after refusing to swear an oath of allegiance to Oliver Cromwell. Ibid., 125.

⁸³ The 1679 inventory of Clement de Jonghe (Amsterdam) mentions thirteen editions of Hollar's *Four Seasons* ("4 getijden"), with the first entry likely referring the three-quarter length version and the second referring to the full-length: "P. 142, Gebondene boecken als ook ongebondene : 1 portefoly met 9 mael de 4 getijden Hollar; P. 144, Groot fijn goedt: 3 mael de 4 getijden Hollar." See Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw / Druk I*, appendix III.

Latin and English, indicating that Hollar anticipated foreign distribution from the beginning; this is further suggested by the addition of “London” to his signature, a tendency of Hollar’s that was not common to other printmakers of the period.

With civil war on the horizon, Arundel left England for Antwerp in 1642, bringing his collection with him. Hollar’s own departure did not occur until two years later. Thus having lost his primary means of support, Hollar established relationships with other publishers such as Jenner and Stent, who commissioned more mass-market works from the artist, including political subjects. He nevertheless continued to self-publish his more collector-driven series. These include his second and third costume print series, which offer greater geographic diversity, but are even smaller in scale. The first series was published in London under the title *Theatrum Mulierum* (“The Theater of Women,” 1643), perhaps in emulation of Jost Amman’s book of women’s costumes, *Gynaeceum, sive theatrum mulierum* (“*Gynaeceum*, or The Theater of Women,” Frankfurt: 1586). He appears to have planned the series to be open-ended and issued the plates—which measure 3 ½ x 2 inches each—as he made them, since no modern collection has the same combination. He continued the series in London and later in Antwerp under the title *Aula Veneris: sive, Varietas foeminini sexus* (“The Court of Women: or, the Variety of the Most Feminine Sex,” 1644), with a title page featuring a pile of women’s accessories spilling over the edge of a table (fig. 3.33). Although the plates were not sold as bound books, their global range recalls the encyclopedic objectives of the sixteenth-century costume book. To achieve this international breadth, he supplemented his studies from the previous decade with copies after earlier

publications, which allowed him to include, for example, “A Virginia Woman” (after Theodor de Bry, after John White) (fig. 3.34).

The textiles and materials so meticulously rendered in *The Four Seasons* became subjects in their own right in a series of nine etchings of women’s accessories. Muffs of various kinds, some of which appearing in his other prints, are piled on tabletops, either alone or with other women’s accessories (1642, fig. 3.35). At the time, Hollar’s muff etchings were exceptionally novel in several respects. Still life as a genre was largely limited to painting and was not a popular genre in England. More importantly, he was the first to use clothing and accessories as the basis for still life. Nevertheless, like Dutch “breakfast pieces,” his accessory still-life etchings offered Hollar the best opportunity to display his talent for reproducing distinct textures.⁸⁴ Perhaps inspired by the increasingly elaborate banquet pieces made in Antwerp, Hollar produced his largest fashion still life while exiled in that city (1647) (fig. 36). For this still life, he piles together no fewer than five muffs, a feather whisk, two lace kerchiefs, silk gloves, and a velvet face mask. Perhaps setting up a *paragone* between printmaking and painting, Hollar triumphantly signs the work “WHollar fecit Aqua forti [etching] 1647 Antwerpiae.”

Before he left for Antwerp, Hollar completed two additional versions of the Four Seasons that demonstrate the divisions within the print market. The full-length Four Seasons was etched between 1643 (Winter and Spring) and 1644 (Summer and Autumn)

⁸⁴ Hanneke Grootenboer, *The Rhetoric of Perspective: Realism and Illusionism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Celeste Brusati, “Natural Artifice and Material Values in Dutch Still Life,” in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne E Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

(figs. 3.37-40).⁸⁵ Hollar published the series himself. By adopting some of the visual strategies of earlier costume series by De Jode, Callot, and Bosse, for example, Hollar's full-length-seasons move further away from allegory and, instead, record the sartorial realities of particular time and place. Each season is represented by a woman, standing on a platform, who now displays her ensemble in its entirety. This format, paired with the increased scale, provided Hollar more space to display his technical abilities in rendering the different materials favored by women according to the temperature and climate changes throughout the year. It is now possible, for example, to observe the lustrous surface of the silk skirt worn by Spring; the shimmering black velvet covering the gowns of Summer and Winter; and the soft plush fur of Winter's stole and muff. At the same time, however, some symbolic attributes have fallen by the wayside, such as the fruit basket beside Autumn. Having been emptied of virtually all symbolic attributes of the seasons—except for Spring's handful of tulips—the four women can scarcely even be called personifications, nor the images allegories.

Accompanying the shift in compositional format, Hollar expanded the topographical views, which now occupy the backgrounds of all four plates. Given the iconographic history of the subject, one might expect that Hollar would use the landscapes to reintroduce agricultural themes, by portraying laborers at work in the fields at different points in the year. Instead, Hollar now emphatically recommits himself to the aristocratic supporters of his work, at a point when tensions between Royalists and Parliamentarians have escalated to the point of civil war. *Autumn* and *Spring* portray the

⁸⁵ Pennington nos. 606-609.

two Arundel residences, Albury and Tart Hall. Behind the figure of Summer, members of fashionable London society promenade through St. James Park. Farther in the distance is Inigo Jones's the Italianate Banqueting House for Whitehall Palace. *Winter* has the most urban of backgrounds, which represents the Royal Exchange and the bustling streets of Cornhill, the central commercial neighborhood of London, where citizens pass through on foot, horseback, and carriage.

Whereas the print series by Marshall, Goddard, and Glover combined fashion and allegory as a means to caution against vice and sartorial treason, Hollar's *Four Seasons* delight in the beauty of luxurious clothing and the women who wear it. The verses—composed by an anonymous writer—invite viewers to contemplate each female figure as an object of romantic interest and erotic consumption. The verses—composed by an anonymous writer—for *Spring* and *Autumn* invoke themes of the Four Ages of Woman. *Spring*'s verses contain nods to the fertility of both the season and the youthful woman personifying it: “Welcom sweet Lady you doe bring / Rich presents of a hopefull Spring / That makes the Earth to looke so greene / As when she first began to teeme.”⁸⁶ The optimistic tone of this text finds its opposite in those of *Autumn*, which suggests the temptations that await an aging, unmarried woman: “As Autumes fruit doth mourne and wast / And if not pluckt it dropps at last / So of herself (she feares) she shall, / If not timely gather'd, fall.” *Summer* and *Winter* are not only more explicit in their eroticism. *Summer* cheerfully celebrates the extra skin on display during the hotter months of the year: “Now Phoebus, crowns our Sumer dayes / With stronger heate and brighterrayes”

⁸⁶ A 1617 English dictionary defines “teeme” as, “To bear children; to emptie.” Robert Cawdrey, *A Table Alphabetical, or the English expositor*, 4th ed. (London: J. Roberts and E. Weaver, 1617)

and "Her louely neck, and brest are bare / Whilst her fann doth coole the Ayre." The suggestive verses culminate in *Winter*: "The cold, not cruelty makes her weare / In Winter, furrs and Wild beasts haire / For a smoother skinn at night / Embraceth her with more delight."

When he was in more desperate financial circumstances, Hollar etched a final series of the Seasons on commission for Peter Stent (1644).⁸⁷ Stent was the most successful print seller of the period, and supplied prints, maps, and pamphlets of all subjects to the general public.⁸⁸ Hollar's half-length Seasons, commissioned by Stent, are markedly different from his previous two versions (figs. 3.41-44). While they are still very detailed representations of contemporary costume, the relatively flat compositions do not exhibit his skill at the naturalistic rendering of figures or materials in space. Aside from the clothing, all references to English royalty or aristocracy have been eliminated, just as that segment of his clientele had escaped to the Continent. Hollar himself eventually left England in 1644 amidst political tensions. Following the path set by Arundel, he settled in to Antwerp. The Earl, however, departed for Padua shortly thereafter, leaving his wife to sell off parts of their collection.

In the Low Countries, Hollar profited from the established networks of his new publishers: Jan Meyssens and Francis van den Wyngaerde in Antwerp and Cornelis Danckers in Amsterdam. Through them, his costume works found a ready audience in a region with a longer history of print connoisseurship than England. Most of his fashion

⁸⁷ Pennington nos. 614-617.

⁸⁸ For an annotated catalogue of works published and sold by Stent, as well as transcriptions of his advertisements, see Globe, *Peter Stent*.

still lifes were etched during his exile, and he continued to etch new plates for the *Aula Veneris* series, which he published with Meyskens through 1649; for his new audience, he substituted German titles for the English. That he remained actively engaged with this project is suggested by a 1645 letter written by Hendrick van der Borch, another artist who worked as keeper of the Arundel collection.⁸⁹ From Antwerp, Van der Borch wrote to the collector and amateur artist John Evelyn while he was traveling in Padua: “If you can send mee anie little draftes of yr owen of the habits of gentlewomen of severall Places mr Hollar will make them in Print, and make mention that you are the designer of them.”⁹⁰ Although we do not know if Evelyn ever complied with this request, he seems to have served as an intermediary for the dissemination of the finished prints. In 1651, Samuel Tuke wrote to Evelyn from the Dutch Republic requesting a number of them on behalf of the princess and artist Louise Hollandine, daughter of Frederick V, Elector Palatine and Elizabeth Stuart. Among the exiled English gentlemen, Hollar’s costume prints appear to have been well known.

When Hollar was back in England in 1652, costume was no longer a major part of his output. Nevertheless, in the 1662, the minute etchings of the *Theatrum Mulierum* and *Aula Veneris* were given new life by an anonymous Parisian etcher in a series of 28 costume prints published by Balthazar Moncornet under the title *Livre curieux contenant la naifve representations des habits des femmes des diverses parties du Monde comme elles s’habillent a present*. Illustrating the endurance of the standard created by Jacques

⁸⁹ See Kolb, “The Arundels’ Printmakers.”

⁹⁰ Harding, “John Evelyn, Hendrick van Der Borch the Younger and Wenceslaus Hollar,” 41. Unfortunately, we do not know if Evelyn sent any drawings, Hollar’s Italian costumes do not have attributions.

Callot's *Noblesse de Lorraine*, Hollar's figures are enlarged and set on platforms overlooking rural landscapes, villages, and seascapes. As an international artist with Continental origins who, throughout his career, actively negotiated between local and foreign tastes, Hollar appears to have accurately assessed the taste for his sensuously rendered depictions of clothing and textiles on both sides of the Channel.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Due to copyright restrictions, the figures for this dissertation have been redacted from this edition.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abegg, Margaret. *Apropos Patterns for Embroidery, Lace and Woven Textiles*. Bern: Stämpfli, 1978.
- Ackermann, Philipp. *Textfunktion Und Bild*. VDG Weimar, 1994.
- Alpers, Svetlana. "The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art." In *Art and Cartography*, edited by Woodward, David. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and extended ed., 2nd ed. London: Verso, 1991.
- Archer, Michael. "'Beest, Bird or Flower': Stained Glass at Gorhambury House." *Country Life* 159 (June 1976): 1451–54, 1562–64.
- Areford, David S. "Multiplying the Sacred: The Fifteenth-Century Woodcut as Reproduction, Surrogate, Simulation." *Studies in the History of Art* 75, no. Symposium Papers LII: The Woodcut in Fifteenth-Century Europe (2009): 118–53.
- . "The Image in the Viewer's Hands: The Reception of Early Prints in Europe." *Studies in Iconography* 24 (2003): 5–42.
- . *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe*. Visual Culture in Early Modernity. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.
- Arizzoli, Louise. "James Hazen Hyde and the Allegory of the Four Continents: A Research Collection for an Amateur Art Historian." *Journal of the History of Collections* 25, no. 2 (July 1, 2013): 277–86.
- Arnauld, Antoine. *The Coppie of the Anti-Spaniard, Made at Paris by a Frenchman, a Catholique. Wherein Is Directly Proued How the Spanish King Is the Onely Cause of Al*. London: Printed by Iohn Wolfe, 1590.
- Arnold, Janet. "Costumes for Masques and Other Entertainments c1500-1650." *Historical Dance* 3, no. 2 (1993): 3–20.
- Atasoy, Nurhan, ed. *İpek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*. London: Azimuth Editions, 2001.
- Auer, Alfred, and Wilfried Seipel, eds. *Wir sind Helden: habsburgische Feste in der Renaissance*. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2005.
- Baadj, Nadja. "A World of Materials in a Cabinet without Drawers: Reframing Jan van Kessel's The Four Parts of the World." In *Meaning in Materials: Netherlandish Art*,

- 1400-1800. Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 2012 62. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Barbour, Richmond Tyler. *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Barker, Francis, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen, eds. *Cannibalism and the Colonial World*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Barnes, Susan J. *Van Dyck: The Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Bartels, Emily C. "Making More of the Moor: Aaron, Othello, and Renaissance Refashionings of Race." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (1990): 433–54.
- Bartra, Roger. *Wild Men in the Looking Glass: The Mythic Origins of European Otherness*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Baskins, Cristelle Louise, and Lisa Rosenthal, eds. *Early Modern Visual Allegory: Embodying Meaning*. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
- Bassani, Ezio, and Malcolm McLeod. "African Material in Early Collections." In *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, 2nd ed., 245–50. London: House of Stratus, 2001.
- Beam, Sara. *Laughing Matters: Farce and the Making of Absolutism in France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Beik, William. *A Social and Cultural History of Early Modern France*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- . *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Belkin, Kristin Lohse. *The Costume Book*. Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 24. Brussels: Arcade, 1980.
- Benedict, Philip. *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Beneš, Mirka, and Dianne Suzette Harris. *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Benhamou, Reed. "Fashion in the 'Mercure': From Human Foible to Female Failing." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 1 (1997): 27–43.

- Bennett, H. S. *English Books and Readers 1603-1640: Being a Study in the History of the Book Trade in the Reigns of James I and Charles I*. Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Berg, Maxine, and Helen Clifford. *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*. Manchester University Press ND, 1999.
- Bergvelt, Ellinoor, and Renée Kistemaker, eds. *De Wereld Binnen Handbereik: Nederlandse Kunst- En Rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735*. Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1992.
- Bethencourt, Francisco. *Racisms: From the Crusades to the Twentieth Century*. Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Biggs, Julie L., Carol Brobeck, and Rachel Doggett. *Impressions of Wenceslaus Hollar*. Washington, D.C: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1997.
- Bindman, David, Henry Louis Gates, and Karen C.C. Dalton, eds. *The Image of the Black in Western Art: Volume III: From the "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition*. 3 Parts. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010-11.
- Bisaha, Nancy. *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Blanc, Odile. "Images du monde et portraits d'habits: les recueils de costumes à la Renaissance." *Bulletin Du Bibliophile* 2 (1995): 221–61.
- Blanks, David R, and Michael Frassetto. *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Bleichmar, Daniela. *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment*. University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Blum, André. *L'œuvre gravé d'Abraham Bosse*, 1924.
- Boogaart, Ernst van den. "Serialized Virginia: The Representational Format for Comparative Ethnology, C. 1600." In *European Visions: American Voices*, edited by Kim Sloan. London: British Museum Press, 2009.
- . "The Empress Europe and Her Three Sisters." In *America: Bride of the Sun*, edited by Paul Vandebroek, 120–29. Antwerp: Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992.
- Boogert, Bob van den, ed. *Rembrandt's Treasures*. Amsterdam: Museum Het Rembrandthuis, 1999.

- Born, Robert, Michal Dziewulski, and Guido Messling, eds. *The Sultan's World: The Ottoman Orient in Renaissance Art*. Brussels: BOZAR Books, 2015.
- Bosters, Cassandra, Jan Frederik Heijbroek, and Marijn Schapelhouman. *Kunst in kaart: decoratieve aspecten van de cartografie*. Utrecht: H & S, HES uitgevers, 1989.
- Bostoen, K. J. S., Elmer Kolfin, and Paul J. Smith. *Tweelinge eener dragt: woord en beeld in de Nederlanden, 1500-1750*. Uitgeverij Verloren, 2001.
- Braude, Benjamin. "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 103–42.
- Braun, Georg, and Frans Hogenberg. *Civitates Orbis Terrarum = Cities of the World : 363 Engravings Revolutionize the View of the World : Complete Edition of the Colour Plates of 1572-1617*. Cologne: Taschen, 2008.
- Brayman Hackel, Heidi. *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Breitenberg, Mark. *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Brennan, Gillian. *Patriotism, Power and Print*, n.d.
- Breukink-Peeze, Margaret. "Eene Fraaie Kleeding, van den Turkschen Dragt Ontleent. Turkse Kleeding en Mode à la Turque in Nederland." In *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600*, 130–39. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989.
- Breward, Christopher. "Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning a Cultural Approach to Dress." *Fashion Theory* 2, no. 4 (November 1, 1998): 301–13.
- . *Fashion*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2003.
- . *The Culture of Fashion. A New History of Fashionable Dress*. First Edition. Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Brienen, Rebecca Parker. "Albert Eckhout and Frans Post: Two Dutch Artists N Colonial Brazil." In *Brazil: Body & Soul*. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2001.
- . *Visions of Savage Paradise: Albert Eckhout, Court Painter in Colonial Dutch Brazil*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.
- Brooke, Xanthe. *Lady Lever Art Gallery: Catalogue of Embroideries*. Bath: Bath Press, 1992.

- Brooks, Mary M. *English Embroideries of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: In the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum*. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum in association with Jonathan Horne Publications, 2004.
- Brusati, Celeste. "Natural Artifice and Material Values in Dutch Still Life." In *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, edited by Wayne E Franits. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Bruyn, Abraham de, and Jean-Jacques Boissard. *Habitus variarum orbis gentium. Habitz de nations estranges. Trachten mancherley Völcker des Erdsckreytz*. Mechelen: Caspar Rutz, 1581.
- Bucher, Bernadette. *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry's Great Voyages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Bujok, Elke. *Neue Welten in europäischen Sammlungen: Africana und Americana in Kunstkammern bis 1670*. Berlin: Reimer, 2004.
- Buono, Amy J. "Feathered Identities and Plumed Performances: Tupinambá Interculture in Early Modern Brazil and Europe." University of California, Santa Barbara, 2007.
- . "Feathered Identities and Plumed Performances: Tupinambá Interculture in Early Modern Brazil and Europe." University of California, Santa Barbara, 2007.
- Buono, Amy J. "'Their Treasures Are the Feathers of Birds': Tupinambá Featherwork and the Image of America." In *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe, 1400-1700*, edited by Alessandra Russo, Gerhard Wolf, and Diana Fane, 179–88. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2015.
- Burgers, Jacqueline. *Wenceslaus Hollar: Seventeenth-Century Prints from the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam*. Alexandria: Art Services International, 1994.
- Burke, Peter. *The Fortunes of the Courtier: The European Reception of Castiglione's Cortegiano*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996.
- Calefato, Patrizia. "Fashion and Worldliness: Language and Imagery of the Clothed Body." *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 1, no. 1 (1997): 69–90.
- Campbell, Julie D., and Anne R. Larsen. *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009.
- Cañizares Esguerra, Jorge. "New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650." *American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (n.d.): 33–68.

- Carboni, Stefano, ed. *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.
- Carson, Susannah. "L'Économique de La Mode: Costume, Conformity, and Consumerism in Le Mercure Galant." *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 27, no. 1 (June 1, 2005): 133–46.
- Chaney, Edward, and Timothy Wilks. *The Jacobean Grand Tour: Early Stuart Travellers in Europe*. I.B.Tauris, 2013.
- Chaplin, Joyce E. "Roanoke 'Counterfeited According to the Truth.'" In *A New World: England's First View of America*, edited by Kim Sloan, 51–63. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Charlton, Kenneth. *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England*. London [etc.]: Routledge, 1999.
- Chen, Aric. "Enea Vico's Costume Studies: A Source and a Sovereignty." *Art on Paper* 5, no. 2 (December 2000): 50–55.
- Clark, Sandra. *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers: Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580-1640*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 1983.
- Colas, René. *Bibliographie général du costume et de la mode; description des suites, recueils, séries, revues et livres français et étrangers relatifs au costume civil, militaire et religieux, aux modes, aux coiffures et aux divers accessoires de l'habillement, avec une table méthodique et un index alphabétique*. New York: Reprinted by Hacker Art Books, 1969.
- Colin, Susi. *Das Bild des Indianers im 16. Jahrhundert*. Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1988.
- . "The Wild Man and the Indian in Early 16th Century Book Illustration." In *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays*, edited by Christian F. Feest, 5–29. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987.
- Conan, Michel. *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550-1850*. Dumbarton Oaks, 2002.
- Corbeiller, Clare Le. "Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World." *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 19, no. 8 (April 1961): 209–23.
- Cottret, B. J. *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement C.1550-1700*. Cambridge University Press, 1991.

- Cressy, David. *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- . “Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England.” In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, 305–19. Abingdon: Routledge, 1993.
- Crowston, Clare Haru. *Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France*. Duke University Press, 2013.
- Cuneo, Pia F. *Art and Politics in Early Modern Germany: Jörg Breu the Elder and the Fashioning of Political Identity, Ca. 1475-1536*. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Curd, Mary Bryan H. *Flemish and Dutch Artists in Early Modern England: Collaboration and Competition, 1460-1680*. Ashgate, 2010.
- Curran, Andrew S. *The Anatomy of Blackness: Science and Slavery in an Age of Enlightenment*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.
- Currie, Elizabeth I. “Prescribing Fashion: Dress, Politics and Gender in Sixteenth-Century Italian Conduct Literature.” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture* 4, no. 2 (June 2000): 157–77.
- Daston, Lorraine. “Epistemic Images.” In *Vision and Its Instruments: Art, Science, and Technology in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Alina Alexandra Payne. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015.
- Davies, Surekha. *Renaissance Ethnography and the Invention of the Human: New Worlds, Maps and Monsters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Davis, David J. *Seeing Faith, Printing Pictures: Religious Identity During the English Reformation*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975.
- De Grazia, Margreta, Maureen Quilligan, and Peter Stallybrass, eds. *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 8. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Deacon, John. *Tobacco Tortured, Or, The Filthie Fume of Tobacco Refined*. London: Printed by Richard Field dwelling in Great Woodstreete, 1616..
- Demaitre, Luke E. “Medieval Notions of Cancer: Malignancy and Metaphor.” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72, no. 4 (December 1, 1998): 609–37.

- Den Boer, Wanda. "Oriëntalisme En Het Kostuum." In *Oostersche Weelde: De Oriënt in Westerse Kunst En Cultuur*, edited by Jef Schaepe, Kasper van Ommen, and Arnoud Vrolijk, 31–48. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005.
- Dewald, Jonathan. *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570-1715*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Dudley, Edward, and Maximillian E. Novak. *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972.
- Eames, Wilberforce. "Description of a Wood Engraving Illustrating the South American Indians (1505)." *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 26, no. 9 (1922): 755–60.
- Erickson, Peter. "Representations of Blacks and Blackness in the Renaissance." *Criticism* 35, no. 4 (1993): 499–527.
- Fabian, Claudia. *Die Fugger im Bild: Selbstdarstellung einer Familiendynastie der Renaissance*. Darmstadt: Quaternio-Verl., 2010.
- Favis, Roberta Smith. "The Garden of Love in Fifteenth Century Netherlandish and German Engravings: Some Studies in Secular Iconography in the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance." University of Pennsylvania, 1974.
- Featherstone, Mike. "The Body in Consumer Culture." *Theory, Culture & Society* 1 (1982): 18–33.
- Feest, Christian F. "European Collecting of American Indian Artefacts and Art." *Journal of the History of Collections* 5, no. 1 (1993): 1–12.
- . "The People of Calicut: Objects, Texts, and Images in the Age of Proto-Ethnography." *Boletim Do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Humanas* 9, no. 2 (2014): 287–303.
- . "Vienna's Mexican Treasures: Aztec, Mixtec and Tarascan Works from the Sixteenth Century." *Archiv Für Volkerkunde* 44 (1990): 1–64.
- Floyd-Wilson, Mary. *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Floyd-Wilson, Mary, and Garrett A. Sullivan, eds. *Environment and Embodiment in Early Modern England*. Early Modern Literature in History. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Franken, Daniel. *L'oeuvre Gravé Des Van de Passe*. Amsterdam: Frederick Muller, 1881.

- Franklin, Alexandra. "Making Sense of Ballad Illustrations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." In *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*, edited by Kevin Murphy and Sally O'Driscoll, 169–93. Bucknell University Press, 2013.
- Freist, Dagmar. *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion, and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645*. London; New York; New York: Tauris Academic Studies ; Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1997.
- . "Popery in Perfection? The Experience of Catholicism: Henrietta Maria between Private Practice and Public Discourse." In *The Experience of Revolution in Stuart Britain and Ireland: Essays for John Morrill*, 33–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Frieder, Braden. *Chivalry and the Perfect Prince: Tournaments, Art, and Armor at the Spanish Habsburg Court*. Truman State Univ Press, 2015.
- Frye, Susan. *Pens and Needles: Women's Textualities in Early Modern England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- . "Sewing Connections: Elizabeth Tudor, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth Talbot and Seventeenth-Century Anonymous Needleworkers." In *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens : Women's Alliances in Early Modern*, n.d.
- . "Staging Women's Relations to Textiles in Shakespeare's Othello and Cymbeline." In *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, n.d.
- Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- . "The Spanish Race." In *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, edited by Margaret R. Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, 88–98. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007.
- Fuhring, Peter, Louis Marchesano, Remi Mathis, and Vanessa Selbach, eds. *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*. Getty Publications, 2015.
- Fumerton, Patricia, ed. *Broadside Ballads from the Pepys Collection: A Selection of Texts, Approaches, and Recordings*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, v. 421. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012.
- . *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

- , ed. “Living English Broadside Ballads, 1550-1750: Song, Art, Dance, Culture.” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Summer 2016).
- . “Mocking Aristocratic Place: The Perspective of the Streets.” *Early Modern Culture: An Electronic Seminar*, Special Issue: Vagrant Subjects, no. 7 (2008). <http://emc.eserver.org/1-7/fumerton.html>.
- . “Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads, and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England.” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, no. 3 (November 15, 2002): 493–518.
- Fumerton, Patricia, Anita Guerrini, and Kris McAbee, eds. *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*. Farnham, Surrey ; Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.
- Fumerton, Patricia, and Simon Hunt, eds. *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*. New Cultural Studies. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Gelder, Roelof van, and Jaap van der Veen. “‘A Collector’s Cabinet in the Breestraat,’ Rembrandt as a Lover of Art and Curiosities.” In *Rembrandt’s Treasures*, edited by Bob van den Boogert, 33–89. Amsterdam: Museum Het Rembrandthuis, 1999.
- Gervers, Veronika. *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe, with Particular Reference to Hungary*. Royal Ontario Museum, 1982.
- Ghering Van Ierlant, M.A. *Vrouwenmode in prent: modeprenten 1780 - 1930*. Utrecht: Ghering Books, 2007.
- Gibson, Charles. *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New*. New York: Knopf, 1971.
- Gobiet, Ronald, ed. *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d. J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984.
- Godfrey, Richard T. “Hollar’s Prints for the Earl of Arundel: Copies of Lost Works from the Arundel Collection.” *Apollo* 144, no. 414 (August 1996): 36–38.
- . *Wenceslaus Hollar: A Bohemian Artist in England*. New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 1994.
- Goodman, Elise. *Rubens: The Garden of Love as “Conversatie À La Mode.”* Oculi: Studies in the Arts of the Low Countries. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1992.
- . “Rubens’s Conversatie a La Mode: Garden of Leisure, Fashion, and Gallantry.” *The Art Bulletin* 64, no. 2 (June 1982): 247.

- Gordenker, Emilie E. S. *Van Dyck and the Representation of Dress in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture*. Pictura Nova 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.
- Göttler, Christine. “‘Indian Daggers with Idols’ in the Early Modern Constcamer: Collecting, Picturing, and Imagining ‘exotic’ Weaponry in the Netherlands and beyond.” *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 66, no. 1 (2016): 80–111.
- Grafton, Anthony. “The New Science and the Traditions of Humanism.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, 203–23. Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Grafton, Anthony, and Lisa Jardine. *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Gravatt, Patricia. “Rereading Theodor de Bry’s Black Legend.” In *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, edited by Margaret R. Greer, Walter Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, 225–43. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007.
- Greene, Robert. *A Quip for an Vpstart Courtier: Or, A Quaint Dispute Betweene Veluet Breeches and Clothbreeches Wherein Is Plainely Set Downe the Disorders in All Estates and Trades*. London: Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe, and are to bee sold at his shop at Poules chayne, 1592.
- Greer, Margaret R., Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds. *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Grendler, Paul F. *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- Grieken, Joris van, Ger Luijten, Jan van der Stock, Belgium) M (Museum : Louvain, and France) Institut néerlandais (Paris. *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print*. Brussels, Belgium; New Haven, Connecticut: Mercatorfonds ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2013.
- Griffey, Erin, ed. *Henrietta Maria: Piety, Politics and Patronage*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2008.
- . *On Display: Henrietta Maria and the Materials of Magnificence at the Stuart Court*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Griffin, Eric. *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

- . “From Ethos to Ethnos : Hispanizing ‘the Spaniard’ in the Old World and the New.” *CR: The New Centennial Review* 2, no. 1 (2002): 69–116.
- Griffiths, Antony. “Print Collecting in Rome, Paris, and London in the Early Eighteenth Century.” *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin*, Spring 1994.
- Grimes, Kristen Ina. “Dressing the World: Costume Books and Ornamental Cartography in the Age of Exploration.” In *A Well-Fashioned Image : Clothing and Costume in European Art, 1500-1850*. Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2002.
- Groebner, Valentin. “Inside Out: Clothes, Dissimulation, and the Arts of Accounting in the Autobiography of Matthäus Schwarz, 1496-1574.” *Representations* 66 (Spring 1999): 100–121.
- Grootenboer, Hanneke. *The Rhetoric of Perspective: Realism and Illusionism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Häberlein, Mark. *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
- Hailwood, Mark. *Alehouses and Good Fellowship in Early Modern England*, 2014.
- Hajós, Elizabeth M. “The Concept of an Engravings Collection in the Year 1565: Quicchelberg, Inscriptiones Vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi.” *Art Bulletin* 40, no. 2 (1958): 151–56.
- Halasz, Alexandra. *The Marketplace of Print: Pamphlets and the Public Sphere in Early Modern England*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Hale, J. R. *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Harding, Robert. “John Evelyn, Hendrick van Der Borch the Younger and Wenceslaus Hollar.” *Apollo* 144, no. 414 (August 1996): 39–44.
- Harper, James G., ed. *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism*. Transculturalisms, 1400–1700. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.
- Härtel, Helmar. “Duke August and His Book Agents.” In *A Treasure House of Books: The Library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel*, edited by Helwi Schmidt-Glitzner, 105–18. *Ausstellungskataloge Der Herzog August Bibliothek 7*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1998.
- Harth, Erica. *Ideology and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.

- Harvey, L. P. *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*. University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Heesaakers, Christopher, and Kees Thomassen. "Die niederländischen Stammbücher aus dem 16. Jahrhundert." In *Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 42. München: Harrassowitz, 1989.
- Hennings, Jan. *Russia and Courtly Europe*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Hentschell, Roze. "Luxury and Lechery: Hunting the French Pox in Early Modern England." In *Sins of the Flesh: Responding to Sexual Disease in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Kevin Patrick Siena. Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria University, University of Toronto, 2005.
- . *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity*. Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013.
- Hodgen, Margaret T. *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.
- Honig, Elizabeth A. "Desire and Domestic Economy." *Art Bulletin* 83, no. 2 (June 2001): 294–315.
- . *Painting & the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Hourihane, Colum. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.
- Howard, Deborah. "Cultural Transfer between Venice and the Ottomans in the 15th and 16th Centuries." In *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, IV, Forging European identities 1400-1700:138–77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Howarth, David. *Lord Arundel and His Circle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Hull, Suzanne W. *Chaste, Silent & Obedient: English Books for Women, 1475-1640*. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982.
- . *Women according to Men: The World of Tudor-Stuart Women*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1996.
- Hulton, Paul. *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues a Huguenot Artist in France, Florida and England*. London: British Museum Publications, 1979.

- Hulton, Paul H., and David B Quinn. *The American Drawings of John White, 1577-1590, with Drawings of European and Oriental Subjects*. London: Trustees of the British Museum; University of North Carolina Press, 1964.
- Hunt, Alan. *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Husband, Timothy B, ed. *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1981.
- Hyde, Elizabeth. *Cultivated Power: Flowers, Culture, and Politics in the Reign of Louis XIV*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.
- Impey, Oliver, and Arthur MacGregor, eds. *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*. 2nd ed. London: House of Stratus, 2001.
- Ingram, Kevin. *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond: Volume Two: The Morisco Issue*. BRILL, 2012.
- Iyengar, Sujata. *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern England*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Jaffé, David. *The Earl and Countess of Arundel: Renaissance Collectors*. London: Apollo Magazine, 1995.
- Jecmen, Gregory, and Freyda Spira. *Imperial Augsburg: Renaissance Prints and Drawings, 1475-1540*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2012.
- Johnson, Carina L. *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe: The Ottomans and Mexicans*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Johnson, Christine R. *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous*. University of Virginia Press, 2008.
- Jones, Ann Rosalind. "'Worn in Venice and throughout Italy': The Impossible Present in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books." *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 511–44.
- Jones, Ann Rosalind, and Peter Stallybrass. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Jones, Malcolm. "English Broadsides — I." *Print Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (June 2001): 149–63.

- . “Engraved Works Recorded in the ‘Stationers’ Registers,’ 1562-1656: A Listing and Commentary.” *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 64 (2002): 1–68.
- Jongh, E. de. “Erotica in vogelperspectief. De dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de eeuwse genrevoorstellingen.” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 3, no. 1 (1969 1968): 22–74.
- . “Pearls of Virtue and Pearls of Vice.” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 8, no. 2 (76 1975): 69–97.
- . “The Changing Face of Lady World.” In *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting*, translated by Michael Hoyle, 59–82. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2000.
- Karl, Barbara. “On the Crossroads: Objects from the Islamic World in Habsburg Collections in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.” *Ars Orientalis* 42 (2012): 114–26.
- Katritzky, M. A. “Theatre Iconography in Costume Series: The ‘New York’ Friendship Album.” In *European Theatre Iconography: Proceedings from the European Science Foundation Network (Mainz, 22-26 July 1998, Wassenaar, 21-25 July 1999, Poggio a Caiano, 20-23 July 2000, 52–74*. Rome: Bulzoni, 2002.
- Katte, Maria von. “The Biblioteca Augusta as a Growing Universe from 1586 until 1666.” In *A Treasure House of Books: The Library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel*, edited by Helwi Schmidt-Glitzner, 53–64. Ausstellungskataloge Der Herzog August Bibliothek 7. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1998.
- Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, and Michael North, eds. *Mediating Netherlandish Art and Material Culture in Asia*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2014.
- Keazor, Henry. “Theodore De Bry’s Images for America.” *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (1998): 131–49.
- Kelley, Donald R. “‘Second Nature’: The Idea of Custom in European Law, Society, and Culture.” In *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair, 131–72. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
- Kendrick, A. F. “Embroideries in the Collection of Sir Frederick Richmond, Bart.” *The Connoisseur* 95 (May 1935): 282–89.
- Kim, David Young. “Lotto’s Carpets: Materiality, Textiles, and Composition in Renaissance Painting.” *The Art Bulletin* 98, no. 2 (April 2, 2016): 181–212.

- . *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, and Style*. Yale University Press, 2014.
- Klein, Bernhard. “Randfiguren. Othello, Oroonoko und die kartographische Repräsentation Afrikas.” In *Imaginationen des Anderen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, edited by Ina Schabert and Michaela Boenke. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 97. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002.
- Klein, Lisa M. “Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1997): 459.
- Klesse, Brigitte. *Glassammlung Helfried Krug*, n.d.
- Kolb, Arianne Faber. “The Arundels’ Printmakers: Four Approaches to the Reproduction of Drawings.” *Apollo* 144, no. 414 (August 1996): 57–62.
- Kolfin, Elmer. “Omphalos Mundi: The Pictorial Tradition of the Theme of Amsterdam and the Four Continents, circa 1600-1665.” In *Aemulatio: Imitation, Emulation and Invention in Netherlandish Art from 1500 to 1800: Essays in Honor of Eric Jan Sluiter*, 382–92. Zwolle: Waanders, 2011.
- Koning, Georgette, and Els Verhaak. *New for Now: The Origin of Fashion Magazines*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2015.
- Kuhlemann, Ute. “Between Reproduction, Invention, and Propaganda: Theodor de Bry’s Engravings after John White’s Watercolours.” In *A New World: England’s First View of America*, edited by Kim Sloan, 78–92. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.
- Künast, Hans-Jörg. *Getruckt zu Augsburg: Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997.
- Kupperman, Karen Ordahl. *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*. UNC Press Books, 1995.
- . *Indians and English: Facing off in Early America*. Cornell University Press, 2000.
- . “Presentment of Civility: English Reading of American Self-Presentation in the Early Years of Colonization.” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Constructing Race: Differentiating Peoples in the Early Modern World, LIV, no. 1 (January 1997): 193–228.
- Kurz, Hilde, and Otto Kurz. “The Turkish Dresses in the Costume-Book of Rubens.” *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 23, no. 1 (1972): 275–90.

- Kusukawa, Sachiko. *Picturing the Book of Nature: Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany*. University of Chicago Press, 2012.
- Langer, Axel, ed. *The Fascination of Persia: The Persian-European Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Art and Contemporary Art of Tehran*. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2014.
- Laurencich-Minelli, Laura. "Museography and Ethnographical Collections in Bologna during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, 2nd ed., 16–23. London: House of Stratus, 2001.
- Lauterbach, Christiane. "Masked Allegory: The Cycle of the Four Seasons by Hendrick Goltzius, 1594-95." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 31, no. 4 (2004): 310–21.
- Leitch, Stephanie. "Burgkmair's Peoples of Africa and India (1508) and the Origins of Ethnography in Print." *Art Bulletin* 91, no. 2 (June 2009): 134–59.
- . *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- . "The Wild Man, Charlemagne and the German Body." *Art History* 31, no. 3 (June 1, 2008): 283–302.
- Lestringant, Frank. *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997.
- . *Le Huguenot et Le Sauvage: l'Amérique et La Controverse Coloniale En France, Au Temps des Guerres de Religion (1555-1589)*. Paris: Diffusion, Klincksieck, 1990.
- Levenson, Jay A., ed. *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991.
- Levey, Santana M. *The Embroideries at Hardwick Hall: A Catalogue*. Aylesbury: National Trust, 2007.
- Lipperheide, Franz Joseph. *Katalog Der Freiherrlich Von Lipperheide'schen Kostümbibliothek*. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1963.
- Lobis, Victoria Sancho. "Artistic Training and Print Culture in the Time of Rubens." PhD thesis. Columbia University, 2010.
- Lugo-Ortiz, Agnes, and Angela Rosenthal, eds. *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

- Lunsingh Scheurleer, Theodoor Herman. "Early Dutch Cabinets of Curiosities." In *The Origins of Museums*, edited by Impey and MacGregor, 2nd ed., 115–20. London: House of Stratus, 2001.
- Madar, Heather. "Before the Odalisque: Renaissance Representations of Elite Ottoman Women." *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6 (2011): 1–41.
- Magendie, Maurice. *La Politesse Mondaine et Les Théories de L'honnêteté, En France Au XVIIe Siècle, de 1600 À 1660*. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970.
- Markey, Lia. *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016.
- Marolles, Michel de. *Catalogue de Livres e'estampes et de Figures en Taille-Douce. Fait À Paris En L'année 1672*. Paris: Jacques Langlois, 1672.
- . *Catalogue Des Livres e'estampes, et de Figures en Taille-Douce...* Paris: Chez Frédéric Leonard, 1666.
- Marsh, Christopher. "A Woodcut and Its Wanderings in Seventeenth-Century England." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (June 28, 2016): 245–62.
- Martin, Janet. *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Massing, Jean Michel. "Albrecht Dürer's Irish Warriors and Peasants." *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* 10 (1994): 223–26.
- . "Early European Images of America: The Ethnographic Approach." In *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, edited by Jay A. Levenson, 515–20. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991.
- . "Hans Burgkmair's Depiction of Native Africans." *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 27 (Spring 1995): 39–51.
- . "The Quest for the Exotic: Albrecht Dürer in the Netherlands." In *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, 115–19. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991.
- Matar, Nabil. *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Age of Discovery*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- Mayer, Jean-Christophe. *Representing France and the French in Early Modern English Drama*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008.

- McDonald, Mark. *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector*. London: British Museum, 2005.
- McDonald, Mark P. "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India." *Print Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (September 2003): 227–44.
- McDonald, Mark P. "The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial." *Print Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (1998): 15–35.
- McGrath, Elizabeth. "Humanism, Allegorical Invention, and the Personification of the Continents." In *Concept, Design and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550 - 1700)*, edited by Hans Vlieghe and Arnout Balis, 43–71. Museums at the Crossroads 5. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
- McGrath, Elizabeth, and Charles Hope. "Artists and Humanists." In *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, edited by Jill Kraye, 161–88. Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- McGrath, Elizabeth, and Jean Michel Massing, eds. *The slave in European art: from Renaissance trophy to abolitionist emblem*. London: Warburg Institute, 2012.
- McLean, Dr Matthew. *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007.
- Meadow, Mark. "Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer." In *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, 182–200. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Meganck, Tine Luk. "Erudite Eyes: Artists and Antiquarians in the Circle of Abraham Ortelius (1627-1598)." PhD thesis. Princeton University, 2003.
- Mendelson, Sara Heller, and Patricia Crawford. *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Menninger, Annerose. *Die Macht der Augenzeugen: Neue Welt Und Kannibalen-Mythos, 1492-1600*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1995.
- Merlo, Johann Jacob. *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken kölnischer Künstler*. Köln: Commissions-Verlag: Heberle, 1850.
- Merritt, J. F. *Westminster 1640-60: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

- Meserve, Margaret. *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Thought*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Meyer, Véronique. "Collectors and Collecting Prints." In *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715*, edited by Peter Fuhring, 36–44. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2015.
- Mirabella, Bella, ed. *Ornamentalism*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011.
- Montandon, Alain. *Moeurs des uns, coutumes des autres: les Français au regard de l'Europe : une anthologie*. Clermont-Ferrand: Université Blaise Pascal, Centre de recherches sur les littératures modernes et contemporaines, 1995.
- Monteyne, Joseph. "Enveloping Objects: Allegory and Commodity Fetish in Wenceslaus Hollar's Personifications of the Seasons and Fashion Still Lifes." *Art History* 29, no. 3 (June 2006): 414–43.
- Morgan, Jennifer L. "'Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Constructing Race: Differentiating Peoples in the Early Modern World, 54, no. 1 (January 1997): 167–92.
- Morrall, Andrew. "Representations of Adam and Eve in Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century English Embroidery." In *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700*, 313–51. Intersections 20. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Morrall, Andrew, and Melinda Watt, eds. *English Embroidery From the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700: 'Twi'xt Art and Nature*. New York: Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture, 2008.
- Mortier, Bianca M. du. "Fashion in Prints." *Print Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (September 1990): 323–25.
- Moseley-Christian, Michelle. "Confluence of Costume, Cartography, and Early Modern European Chorography." *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 9 (December 2013): 1–23.
- Motley, Mark Edward. *Becoming a French Aristocrat: The Education of the Court Nobility, 1580-1715*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Moxey, Keith. *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Mukerji, Chandra. "Costume and Character in the Ottoman Empire: Dress as Social Agent in Nicolay's Navigations." In *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800*, edited by Paula Findlen, 151–69. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.

- Mulcahy, Rosemarie. "Enea Vico's Proposed Triumphs of Charles V." *Print Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (December 2002): 331–40.
- Murdock, Graeme. "Dressed To Repress?: Protestant Clerical Dress and the Regulation of Morality in Early Modern Europe." *Fashion Theory* 4, no. 2 (May 1, 2000): 179–99.
- Murphy, Kevin, and Sally O'Driscoll. *Studies in Ephemera: Text and Image in Eighteenth-Century Print*. Bucknell University Press, 2013.
- Museum of Islamic Art (Dawhah, Qatar, and Orientalist Museum (Dawhah, Qatar. *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: [The Catalogue]*. 1. ed. Milano : New York, NY: Skira ; Distributed in North America by Rizzoli International Publications, 2010.
- Müzesi, Topkapı Sarayı. *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*. Işbank, 2000.
- Necipoglu, Gülru. "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry." *The Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (September 1, 1989): 401–27.
- Nevinson, J. L. "Illustrations of Costume in the Alba Amicorum." *Archaeologica, Or, Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 106 (1979): 167–76.
- Nevinson, John L. "English Domestic Embroidery Patterns of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *The Volume of the Walpole Society* 28 (1940 1939): 1–13.
- . "Peter Stent and John Overton, Publishers of Embroidery Designs." *Apollo* 24 (1936): 279–83.
- Newman, Karen. *Cultural Capitals: Early Modern London and Paris*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.
- Nicolay, Nicolas de. *Les Quatre Premiers Livres Des Navigations et Pérégrinations Orientales : De N. de Nicolay,... Avec Les Figures Au Naturel Tant D'hommes Que de Femmes Selon La Diversité Des Nations, & de Leur*. Lyon: G. Roville, 1568.
- Norberg, Kathryn, and Sandra Rosenbaum, eds. *Fashion Prints in the Age of Louis XIV: Interpreting the Art of Elegance*. Costume Society of America. Texas Tech University Press, 2014.
- O'Connell, Sheila. *The Popular Print in England: 1550-1850*. Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1999.

- Odell, Dawn. "Porcelain, Print Culture and Mercantile Aesthetics." In *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, 141–58. Farnham, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, n.d.
- O'Malley, Susan Gushee. *Customs Is an Idiot: Jacobean Pamphlet Literature on Women*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- O'Reilly, Jennifer. *Studies in the Iconography of the Virtues and Vices in the Middle Ages*. New York: Garland Publications, 1988.
- Otte, Wolf-Dieter. "The Unknown Collector: Duke August and His Cabinet of Art and Curiosities." In *A Treasure House of Books: The Library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel*, edited by Helwi Schmidt-Glitzner, 173–92. Ausstellungskataloge Der Herzog August Bibliothek 7. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1998.
- Paas, John Roger. *Augsburg, die Bilderfabrik Europas: Essays zur Augsburger Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit*. Augsburg: Wissner, 2001.
- Pagden, Anthony. *European Encounters with the New World from Renaissance to Romanticism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- . *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*. Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- , ed. *The Idea of Europe: From Antiquity to the European Union*. Woodrow Wilson Center Series. Washington, DC : Cambridge ; New York: Woodrow Wilson Center Press ; Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Palmer, Megan E. "Picturing Song across Species: Broadside Ballads in Image and Word." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (June 28, 2016): 221–44.
- Palos, Joan-Lluís, and Magdalena Sánchez, eds. *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*. Transculturalisms, 1400-1700. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2016.
- Parker, Rozsika. *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Parshall, Peter. "Art and the Theater of Knowledge: The Origins of Print Collecting in Northern Europe." *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* 2, no. 3 (1994): 7–36.
- . "Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance." *Art History* 16, no. 4 (December 1993): 554–79.

- . “The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol.” *Jahrbuch Der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien / Kunsthistorische Sammlungen Des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* . 78 (1982): 139–90.
- Paulicelli, Eugenia. *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire*. Farnham, Surrey, UK England: Ashgate Publishing, 2014.
- Paxson, James J. “(Re)Facing Prosopopeia and Allegory in Contemporary Theory and Iconography.” *Studies in Iconography* 22 (January 1, 2001): 1–20.
- Peacham, Henry. *The Truth of Our Times Revealed out of One Man’s Experience, by Way of Essay. Written by Henry Peacham*. London: Printed by N[icholas] O[kes] for James Becket, and are to be sold at his shoppe at the middle Temple gate, 1638.
- Peacock, John. “Inigo Jones as a Figurative Artist.” In *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture C. 1540-1660*. London: Reaktion Books, 1990.
- . *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Peck, Amelia, ed. *Interwoven Globe: The Worldwide Textile Trade, 1500-1800*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013.
- Peck, Linda Levy. *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Peri, Paolo. *The Handkerchief*. Modena: Zanfi, 1992.
- Pettegree, Andrew. *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Phillips, Henry. *Church and Culture in Seventeenth-Century France*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Poe, Marshall. *A People Born to Slavery: Russia in Early Modern European Ethnography, 1476-1748*. Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Poeschel, Sabine. *Studien zur Ikonographie der Erdteile in der Kunst des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts*. Scaneg, Verlag R.A. Klein, 1985.
- Préaud, Maxime, ed. *Abraham Bosse: Savant Graveur: Tours, Vers 1604-1676, Paris*. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2004.
- Pullins, David. “Dezallier d’Argenville’s Recueils of Costume Prints Rediscovered.” *Print Quarterly* XXXIII, no. 2 (June 2016): 147–55.

- . “The State of the Fashion Plate, circa 1727: Historicizing Fashion between ‘Dressed Prints’ and Dezallier’s Recueils.” In *Prints in Translation, 1450-1750: Image, Materiality, Space*. Routledge, 2017.
- Quiccheberg, Samuel. *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg’s Inscriptiones, 1565*. Translated by Mark Meadow and Bruce Robertson. The Getty Research Institute: Texts and Documents. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 2013.
- Raber, Karen. “Chains of Pearls: Gender, Property, Identity.” In *Ornamentalism*, edited by Bella Mirabella, 159–81. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011.
- Randonis, Jennifer L., and Arizona State University. *Masquing Cultural Difference: Cross-Cultural Encounters in Early Modern Theatrical Pageantry*. ProQuest, 2009.
- Rasche, Adelheid, and Gundula Wolter, eds. *Ridikül!: Mode in der Karikatur, 1600 bis 1900*. Berlin: Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2003.
- Raymond, Joad. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Reed, Sue Welsh, ed. *French Prints from the Age of the Musketeers*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1998.
- Reynolds, Anna. *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion*. Royal Collection Trust, 2013.
- Richardson, Catherine, Tara Hamling, and David R. M Gaimster. *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 2017.
- Riggs, Timothy A., and Larry Silver. *Graven Images: The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem, 1540-1640*. Mary and Leigh Block Gallery, Northwestern University, 1993.
- Rippa Bonati, Maurizio, and Valeria Finucci, eds. *Mores Italiae: costumi e scene di vita del Rinascimento = costume and life in the Renaissance: Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 457*. Cittadella (Padova): Biblos, 2007.
- Ritsema van Eck, Pieter Cornelis. “Early Wheel Engraving in the Netherlands.” *Journal of Glass Studies* 26 (1984): 86–101.
- Robey, Jessica Chiswick. “From the City Witnessed to the Community Dreamed: the ‘Civitates Orbis Terrarum’ and the Circle of Abraham Ortelius and Joris Hoefnagel.” PhD, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2006.
- Robinson, William W. “Passion for Prints: Collecting and Connoisseurship in the Seventeenth Century.” In *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*, xvii–xlvi. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981.

- Roche, Daniel. *A History of Everyday Things: The Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- . “Between a ‘Moral Economy’ and a ‘Consumer Economy’: Clothes and Their Function in the 17th and 18th Centuries.” In *Luxury Trades and Consumerism in Ancien Régime Paris: Studies in the History of the Skilled Workforce*. Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 1998.
- . *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Roding, Juliette. *Dutch and Flemish Artists in Britain, 1550-1800*. Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2003.
- Roding, Michiel. “‘Die Met Dit Zoort van Volk Wil Verkeeren...’ het Beeld van de Turk in de Nederlandse Grafiek.” In *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600*, 54–74. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1990.
- Rodini, Elizabeth, and Elissa B. Weaver, eds. *A Well-Fashioned Image: Clothing and Costume in European Art, 1500-1850*. Chicago: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2002.
- Rosenthal, Angela. “Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture.” *Art History* 27, no. 4 (n.d.): 563–92.
- Rosenthal, Margaret F. “Cutting a Good Figure: The Fashions of Venetian Courtesans in the Illustrated Albums of Early Modern Travelers.” In *The Courtesan’s Arts: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2006.
- . “Fashions of Friendship in an Early Modern Illustrated Album Amicorum: British Library, MS Egerton 1191.” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (October 1, 2009): 619–41.
- Ross, Elizabeth. *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach’s Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014.
- Rublack, Ulinka, Maria Hayward, and Jenny Tiramani, eds. *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthäus and Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Russo, Alessandra, Gerhard Wolf, and Diana Fane, eds. *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe, 1400-1700*. Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2015.
- Scarce, Jennifer M. *Women’s Costume of the Near and Middle East*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1987.
- Schalk, Ellery. *From Valor to Pedigree: Ideas of Nobility in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

- Scheller, Robert W. "Rembrandt En de Encyclopedische Kunstkamer." *Oud Holland* 84 (1969): 81–147.
- Scheller, R.W. *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*. Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1963.
- Schepelern, H.D. "Natural Philosophers and Princely Collectors: Worm, Paludanus, and the Gottorp and Copenhagen Collections." In *The Origins of Museums*, edited by Impey and MacGregor, 2nd ed., 121–27. London: House of Stratus, 2001.
- Schick, Leslie Meral. "Ottoman Costume Albums in a Cross-Cultural Context." In *Art Turc: 10ème Congrès International D'art Turc, Genève, 17-23 Septembre 1995*, edited by François Déroche, 625–28. Geneva: Fondation Max Van Berchem, 1998.
- Schlosser, Julius. *Die Kunst- Und Wunderkammern Der Spätrenaissance*. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1908.
- Schlueter, June. "Droeshout." *Print Quarterly* 7, no. 3 (September 2010): 253–62.
- Schmidt, Anja. *Augsburger Ansichten: die Darstellung der Stadt in der Druckgraphik des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*. Augsburg: Wissner, 2000.
- Schmidt, Benjamin. *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . *Inventing Exoticism: Geography, Globalism, and Europe's Early Modern World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.
- . "Inventing Exoticism: The Project of Dutch Geography and the Marketing of the World, circa 1700." In *Merchants & Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Schmidt, Catarina, and Gerhard Wolf. *Islamic artefacts in the Mediterranean world: trade, gift exchange and artistic transfer*. Venezia: Marsilio, 2011.
- Schmidt, Suzanne Karr. *Altered and Adorned: Using Renaissance Prints in Daily Life*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2011.
- Schmidt-Glitzner, Helwi, ed. *A Treasure House of Books: The Library of Duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel*. Ausstellungskataloge Der Herzog August Bibliothek 75. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1998.
- Schoch, Rainer, and Peter Parshall, eds. *Origins of European Printmaking Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Scholten, Frits. "Quellinus's Burgomasters: A Portrait Gallery of Amsterdam Republicanism." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, n.d.
- Schuller, Rudolf. "The Oldest Known Illustration of South American Indians." *Indian Notes* 7 (1930): 484–97.

- Schwartz, Gary. "Jan van Der Heyden and the Huydecopers of Maarsseveen." *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983): 197–220.
- Schwarz, Kathryn. "Amazon Reflections in the Jacobean Queen's Masque." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 35, no. 2 (n.d.): 293–319.
- Seelig, Lorenz. "The Munich Kunstkammer, 1565-1807." In *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, 2nd ed., 76–89. London: House of Stratus, 2001.
- Sheriff, Mary D. *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Shifman, Barry, ed. *Gifts to the Tsars : 1500 - 1700: Treasures from the Kremlin*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
- Shinn, Abigail, Matthew Dimmock, and Andrew Hadfield. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2014.
- Silver, Larry. "The Face Is Familiar: German Renaissance Portrait Multiples in Prints and Medals." *Word & Image* 19, no. 1–2 (2003): 6–21.
- . "The Landsknecht: Summer Soldier and Sunshine Patriot." In *The Plains of Mars: European War Prints, 1500-1825, from the Collection of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation*, edited by James Clifton and Leslie M Scatone. Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2008.
- . *Marketing Maximilian: The Visual Ideology of a Holy Roman Emperor*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- . "East Is East: Images of the Turkish Nemesis in the Hapsburg World." In *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450-1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism*, edited by James G. Harper, 185–215. Transculturalisms, 1400–1700. Burlington: Ashgate, 2011.
- . "The Face Is Familiar: German Renaissance Portrait Multiples in Prints and Medals." *Word & Image* 19, no. 1–2 (2003): 6–21.
- Simpson, Claude Mitchell. *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966.
- Sixel, Friedrich W. "Die Deutsche Vorstellung Vom Indianer in Der Esten Hälfte Des 16. Jahrhunderts." *Annali Del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico* 30 (1966): 9–230.
- Skuse, Alanna. *Constructions of Cancer in Early Modern England: Ravenous Natures*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- . "Wombs, Worms and Wolves: Constructing Cancer in Early Modern England." *Social History of Medicine* 27, no. 4 (November 1, 2014): 632–48.
- Slatkes, Leonard J. *Rembrandt and Persia*. New York: Abaris Books, 1983.

- Sloboda, Stacey. *Chinoiserie: Commerce and Critical Ornament in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 2014.
- Smith, Charlotte Colding. *Images of Islam, 1453-1600: Turks in Germany and Central Europe*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014.
- Smith, Jay M. *The Culture of Merit: Nobility, Royal Service, and the Making of Absolute Monarchy in France, 1600-1789*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Smith, Pamela H., and Paula Findlen. *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Smuts, Malcolm. *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*. Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Spicer, Joaneath, ed. "European Perceptions of Blackness as Reflected in the Visual Arts." In *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe*, 35–59. Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012.
- , ed. *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe*. Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2012.
- . "The Personification of Africa with an Elephant-Head Crest in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603)." In *Personification: Embodying Meaning and Emotion*, edited by Walter S. Melion and Bart Ramakers, 677–715. *Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- Spiller, Elizabeth. *Reading and the History of Race in the Renaissance*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Springell, Francis C. *Connoisseur and Diplomat: The Earl of Arundel's Embassy to Germany in 1636 as Recounted in William Crowne's Diary, the Earl's Letters and Other Contemporary Sources with a Catalogue of the Topographical Drawings Made on the Journey by Wenceslaus Hollar*. London: Maggs, 1963.
- Staden, Hans. *Hans Staden's True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil*. Translated by Neil Whitehead and Harbsmeier. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Staples, Kathleen. "Embroidered Furnishings: Questions of Production and Usage." In *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700: 'Twixt Art and Nature*, 23–38. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008.
- Stedman, Gesa. *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England*. Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate, 2013.
- Stearn, Patrick, and Peter McNeil. "The Medium of Print and the Rise of Fashion in the West," n.d.

- Stoye, John. *English Travellers Abroad, 1604-1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics*. Yale University Press, 1989.
- Sturtevant, William C. "La Tupinambisation Des Indiens d'Amérique Du Nord." In *Les Figures de l'Indien*. Les Cahiers Du Département D'études Littéraires 9. Montreal: Université du Québec à Montréal, 1988.
- . "The Sources for European Imagery of Native Americans." In *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700*, 25–33. Washington, D.C: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1992.
- Sutton, Elizabeth A. *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa*. Transculturalisms, 1400-1700. Farnham, Surrey; Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2012.
- Sutton, Elizabeth Anne. "Economics, Ethnography, and Empire: The Illustrated Travel Series of Cornelis Claesz, 1598-1603." University of Iowa, 2009.
- Swain, Margaret H. *Figures on Fabric: Embroidery Design Sources and Their Application*. London: A. and C. Black, 1980.
- . *The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots*. Crowood Press, 2014.
- Swan, Claudia. "'Ad Vivum, Naer Het Leven,' from the Life: Defining a Mode of Representation." *Word & Image* 11, no. 4 (December 1995): 353–72.
- . "Lost in Translation: Exoticism in Early Modern Holland." In *The Fascination of Persia: The Persian-European Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Art and Contemporary Art of Tehran*, edited by Axel Langer, 100–117. Zurich: Scheidegger & Spiess, 2014.
- Swann, Marjorie. *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Ternois, Daniel, and Paulette Choné. *Jacques Callot, 1592-1635*. Nancy: Musée historique Lorrain, 1992.
- Theunissen, Hans. "Barbaren En Ongelovigen: Turcica in de Nederlanden 1500-1800." In *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600*, edited by Hans Theunissen, Annelies Abelmann, and Wim Meulenkamp, 37–53. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989.
- Theunissen, Hans, Annelies Abelmann, and Wim Meulenkamp, eds. *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600*. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989.
- Thomassen, Kees. *Alba Amicorum: Vijf Eeuwen Vriendschap Op Papier Gezet: Album Amicorum En Het poëziealbum in de Nederlanden*. 's-Gravenhage: Gary Schwartz/SDU Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, 1990.
- Toorians, Lauran. "The Earliest Inventory of Mexican Objects in Munich, 1572." *Journal of the History of Collections* 6, no. 1 (1994): 59–67.

- Traub, Valerie. "Mapping the Global Body." In *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England*, edited by Clark Hulse and Peter Erickson, 44–97. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- Tümpel, Astrid, and Peter Schatborn. *Pieter Lastman: leermeester van Rembrandt = the man who taught Rembrandt*. Amsterdam: Museum Het Rembrandthuis, 1991.
- Vaughan, Alden T. "People of Wonder: England Encounters the New World's Native Americans." In *New World of Wonders: European Images of the Americas, 1492-1700*, 11–24. Washington, D.C: Folger Shakespeare Library, n.d.
- Veldman, Ilja M. *Crispijn de Passe and His Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production*. Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publ., 2001.
- Veldman, Ilja M. "From Indulgence to Collector's Item: Functions of Printmaking in the Netherlands." In *Images for the Eye and Soul: Function and Meaning in Netherlandish Prints (1450-1650)*. Primavera Pers, 2006.
- . "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints." *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 11, no. 3/4 (1980): 149–76.
- Vincent, Monique. *Le Mercure Galant : présentation de la première revue féminine d'information et: de culture 1672-1710*. Honoré Champion, 2005.
- Vitkus, Daniel J. "Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe." In *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, 207–30. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Waals, J. van der. *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw: Van Kunst Tot Kastpapier*. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2006.
- Waals, Jan van der. *De prentschat van Michiel Hinloopen: een reconstructie van de eerste openbare papierkunstverzameling in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1988.
- . "Exotische Rariteiten: Afbeeldingen en Voorwerpen van Vreemde Volkeren." In *De Wereld Binnen Handbereik: Nederlandse Kunst- En Rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735*, 153–68. Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1992.
- . "The Print Collection of Samuel Pepys." *Print Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (1984): 236–57.
- Walton, Guy. "Diplomatic and Ambassadorial Gifts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Gifts to the Tsars: 1500 - 1700: Treasures from the Kremlin*, edited by Barry Shifman, 74–95. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
- Warsh, Molly A. "Adorning Empire: A History of the Early Modern Pearl Trade, 1492-1688." Johns Hopkins University, 2009.

- Waterschoot, Werner. "The Title-Page of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*." *Quaerendo* 9, no. 1 (January 1, 1979): 43–68.
- Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- . *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Weiditz, Christoph, and Theodor Hampe. *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance : All 154 Plates from the "Trachtenbuch"*. New York: Dover Publications, 1994.
- Wells-Cole, Anthony. *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Influence of Continental Prints, 1558-1625*. New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1997.
- Welu, James. "The Sources and Development of Cartographic Ornamentation in the Netherlands." In *Art and Cartography: Six Historical Essays*, edited by David Woodward. The Kenneth Nebenzahl Jr. Lectures in the History of Cartography. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- West, Ashley. "Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473-1531) and the Visualization of Knowledge," 2006.
- Weststeijn, Thijs. "Introduction: Global Art History and the Netherlands." *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art / Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek Online, Netherlandish Art in its Global Context*, 66, no. 1 (October 22, 2016): 6–27.
- Wheeler, Roxann. "Colonial Exchanges: Visualizing Racial Ideology and Labour in Britain and the West Indies." In *An Economy of Color: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World, 1660-1830*, edited by Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz, 36–59. Critical Perspectives in Art History. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003.
- . *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*. New Cultural Studies. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- White, Michelle A. *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2006.
- Whitehead, Neil. "The Ethnographic Lens in the New World: Staden, De Bry, and the Representation of the Tupi in Brazil." In *Early Modern Eyes*. Intersections 13. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Whitehead, Neil L. *Of Cannibals and Kings: Primal Anthropology in the Americas*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- Wilson, Bronwen. "Foggie Diverse Di Vestire De' Turchi: Turkish Costume Illustration and Cultural Translation." *Journal of Medieval & Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 97–139.

- . “Reproducing the Contours of Venetian Identity in Sixteenth-Century Costume Books.” *Studies in Iconography* 25 (2004): 221–74.
- . “Social Networking: The ‘Album Amicorum’ and Early Modern Public Making.” In *Beyond the Public Sphere: Opinions, Publics, Spaces in Early Modern Europe*, 205–26. Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 2012.
- . “Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon.” *Urban History* 33, no. 1 (May 2006): 39–64.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. *Adorned in Dreams*. London: Virago, 1985.
- Wolter, Gundula. *Teufelshörner und Lustäpfel: Modekritik in Wort und Bild, 1150-1620*. Marburg: Jonas-Verlag, 2002.
- Woodall, Dena M., and Diane Wolfthal. *Princes & Paupers: The Art of Jacques Callot*. Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2013.
- Woodward, David, ed. *Art and Cartography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Würzbach, Natascha. *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Ydema, Onno. “Turkse Tapijten op Nederlandsche Schilderijen.” In *Topkapi & Turkomanie: Turks-Nederlandse Ontmoetingen Sinds 1600*, edited by Hans Theunissen, Annelies Abelmann, and Wim Meulenkamp, 140–47. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989.
- Yermolenko, Galina I. *Roxolana in European Literature, History and Culture*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010.