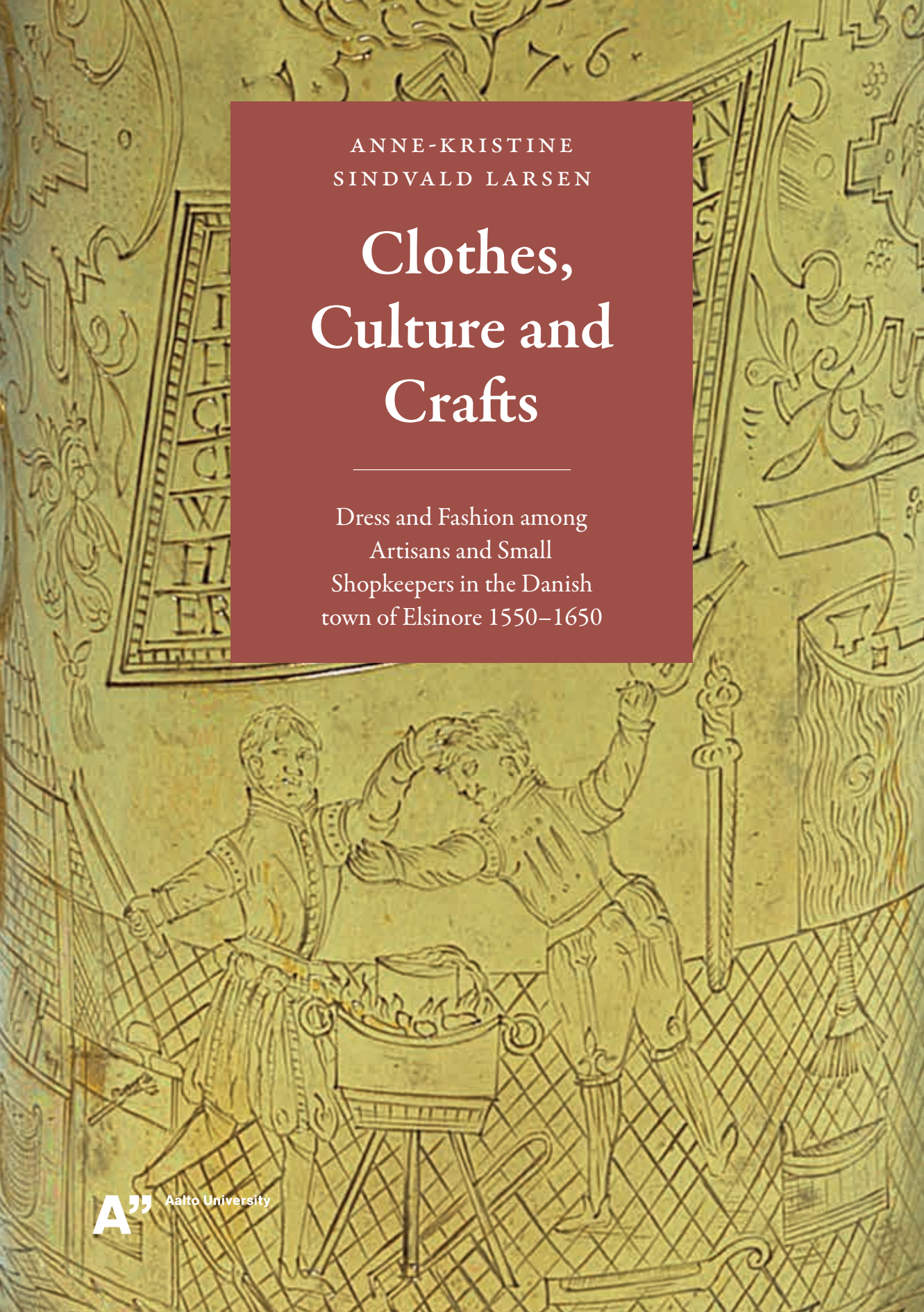

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SINDVALD LARSEN

Clothes, Culture and Crafts

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Aalto University

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the sixteenth and seventeenth-century clothing culture in relation to men and women of artisanal status. It investigates what clothing artisans and their wives wore in everyday lives and on festive occasions and how they connected with contemporary codes of fashion. Based on a study of 294 inventories from the Danish port town of Elsinore from 1573-1650, the dissertation provides a unique insight into what people of lower social status wore.

The dissertation is divided into three parts. The first part of the study looks into the most common garments, accessories, materials and colours of their wardrobe, as well as considering what options men and women of lower rank had for acquiring and commissioning clothing. Moreover, it explores how articles of clothing were not only seen as personal items but were used and circulated as an economic currency that could be turned into cash.

Part two deals with the more practical sides of clothing and how clothes were used in local society to reveal ambitions and professional achievements. It explores how local artisans in Elsinore wore and produced linen and how they engaged in the processes of laundering and mending their clothes to keep themselves well-groomed for themselves and for the public. Furthermore, it investigates clothes in relation to work and weather, examining the durability and practical aspects of their wardrobe. Lastly, it shows how clothes mattered socially, professionally and economically in everyday life and in public, and how they could be important in relation to one's future ambitions, rank, reputation and social identity.

Part three considers how clothing was used to express status and social ambitions and fashion knowledge at public and festive events. This includes a study of how artisans and their wives wore fine silks, expensive fur and leather as well as costly jewellery and dress ornamentations of gold and silver, to show off their social aspirations. It moreover explores the role of clothing and accessories at festive and social occasions in town, such as weddings and churchgoing, that were also important life events for people of the artisanal levels of society. Lastly, it illustrates how men and women incorporated novelties, small accessories such as hats, stockings and sleeves into their wardrobe, but also fashionable expensive and low-cost clothing items such as trimmings and garments made of materials that mimicked the properties of their superiors.

The study aims to demonstrate that fashion and the desire to dress well was not limited to the wealthy elites of the society, but that common skilled artisans such as people working in the textile, metal or wood trades or producing food or services in local society, also used garments made in fine and innovative materials and adorned themselves with accessories and trimmings as a cheaper way of engaging with popular trends.

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Notes on money, weights and measurements[1]

Typical weights and measurements

Alen /ell – a measure of length. An ell was before 1683 officially the equivalent of between 63.6 cm and 63.4 cm today.

Kvarter /quarter – a measure of length equalling 1/4 of an ell

Stykke / piece – a measurement of textile that could be between 10.5 and 52 ells.

Pund or *skålpund* /pound – a measure of weight equivalent to 499.75 grams today

Lispund – a measure of weight equalling 16 pounds

Currency

(According to a monetary ordinance from 1625)

Daler or rigsdaler – a coin equalling 6 marks or 96 shillings

Sletdaler or halvkrone – a coin equalling 4 marks or 64 shillings

Ort or rigsort – a coin equalling 24 skillings

Mark – a coin equalling 16 skillings

Skilling / shilling – a coin of low value used in Denmark from the Middle Ages until 1875

Money and material goods

In the 1640s, 1000 bricks could be bought for about 7 to 10 *rigsdaler*. An ox cost 8–13 *daler*.

20 eggs could be bought for 8 *skilling* and a goose for *20 skilling*.

In 1592 a new doublet made of English broadcloth was valued at two *daler*.

In 1625 three new linen shirts were valued at thee *daler* and three *mark*.

In 1641 a pair of new shoes was valued at one *daler*.

1 This is based on Rasmussen, *Mål Og Vægt*, Thestrup, Mark, Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger'.

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INTRODUCTION:
Artisans on the fringe of European clothing culture?

On 14 September 1616 in a house in Elsinore, four men were gathered to draft an inventory of a wooden chest belonging to the deceased young tailor Anders Poulsen. As they opened the chest, they found an abundance of materials for making clothes. It contained: costly and luxurious silk velvets such as a quarter of black plain velvet and lengths of blue 'printed' and black caffa and more affordable lower-grade silks, including some brown atlas and bright flesh-coloured taffeta; a range of woollen broadcloths dyed black and green; fabrics of linen and mixed fibers, including some coarse black linen, and lengths of white and grey serge; and bombazine dyed in a novel 'silver colour' (probably a light grey and a yellow-brown colour). Besides these textiles, which could be sewn into fashionable garments to satisfy his customers' desire for fashion, the chest contained a wide range of trimmings, including small pearls, silver buttons, shimmering gold braids, and plain 'wide' braids. The content of the chest reveals a snapshot of both common, novel and luxuries materials of fashion in the period.[1]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the wide circulation of goods and new inventions in materials and techniques offered a range of novelties on the market, such as lighter and brighter fabrics, tight-fitting garments and gowns decorated with ribbons, embroidery and pinking. This fashion context fostered new ways of dressing.[2] Early modern records and paintings suggest that, although Denmark and the other Nordic countries were at the geographical periphery of Europe, Denmark participated actively in this development.[3] Seventeenth-century accounts demonstrate that, at least at courts and among the nobility, Danish men and women were well aware of the importance of appearance and international fashions.[4] For example, when the French diplomat Chaude de Mesmes visited Denmark with his secretary Charles Ogier during the royal wedding of the prince elect of Denmark, Christian (1603–1647), to Princess Magdalena Sibylla of Saxony in 1634, one noble Danish woman approached Ogier to find out whether her dress and hair-do conformed with the current French fashions. 'Does one really use these neck collars?' she asked, 'and is this gown suitable? And what do you think about these colours?' Ogier, it appears, replied that he did not know much about the decorations and adornments but reassured her by approving her dress.[5]

Denmark was far from the major fashion courts of Europe such as Italy, France and Spain, which set the standards of fashion in this period. However, the demand for foreign goods in Denmark grew rapidly in the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth century. Better trading connections,

developments in printing techniques and new forms of marketing ensured wider dissemination of information and fashionable goods from one part of the continent to others.[6] The circulation of foreign goods in early modern Denmark becomes clear, for example, from the travel accounts of a German agent named Bernhardt Wusenbencz who worked for a member of the influential German mercantile family, Johan Jacob Fugger. When he visited Denmark in 1597, he noted that a wide range of foreign textile goods were imported into Denmark, including woollens and silks that could be sewn up into fashionable garments. Denmark imports 'salt and cloth, all kinds of silk, and wine, shortly said, all what Denmark does not produce themselves,' he remarked.[7]

For the rich and wealthy, better access to the European markets made it possible to engage with European fashions. This can be traced from letters and personal accounts, such as the clothing accounts of the Danish King Christian IV (1588–1648). He acquired clothes and fabrics from all over Europe. On 20 March 1618, for example, he commissioned some French *canifas,* a type of linen fabric, and on 12 November 1619 he noted in his diary that he sent one of his servants to England to acquire some pairs of gloves.[8] He also commissioned lace from the Netherlands and silk from Paris; and in 1633 he bought a range of gold embroidered fabrics, as well as fine damask, lightweight atlas and taffeta in red, fire yellow and green colours and patterned with flowers. Finally, he bought fine knitted silk stockings from Hamburg.[9]

European fashion goods were desired not just by the king but also by the nobility. A letter dated 1571 reveals that in this year a Danish noblewoman named Birgitte Gøye received lengths of yellow Venetian silk, brown woollen broadcloth, and trimmings such as gold borders, gold studs and black silk fringes from a trader in Flensburg.[10] The inventory of another Danish noblewoman, Ingeborg Rosenkrands, who died in 1638 at the age of 36, demonstrates that she owned a number of clothing items and accessories that conformed to current European fashions. These included green and black silk stockings, collars, cuffs, caps and handkerchiefs made from fine linen and lace, a range of costly silk caps and silk ribbons, perfumed gloves, aprons of black and black floral caffa velvet, and cloaks made of fine black broadcloth or black velvet. She also had a skirt and a number of decorated doublets (*trøjer*) made from precious black and floral velvet.[11]

FIGURE 1. Remmert Pietersz (probably), *Dansen hos Rud´erne,* ca. 1630. Oil on canvas, 123.2 x 200.6 cm. Photo Hans Petersen, The Museum of National History, Frederiksborg Castle.

Visual images confirm the richness of Danish noble dress in the period. A painting from around 1630, probably portraying a wedding feast, depicts a group of noblemen and women dressed in garments made from colourful and rich fabrics (figure 1). The women wear red and black gowns with gold borders, fine metal head-pieces adorned with jewels and pearls and large ruffs edged with delicate lace points. Two of them carry fine linen handkerchiefs with lace edgings in their hands – a novel accessory in this period.[12] The young men are dressed in red, green and white gold-trimmed breeches, doublets and jerkins, and lustrous black overgarments, probably made of fine black wool. They wear ornamental sashes and colourful stockings tied with fringed garters. Their shirts are embellished with falling linen collars, some with delicate lace trimmings. While illustrating how the elite in Denmark dressed to show off power and affluence, the painting also reveals how they incorporated some of the key items of European dress fashions such as ruffs, silk stockings, lace-edged handkerchiefs and ribbons into their clothing to demonstrate knowledge of contemporary international fashions.

This evidence indicates that the flow of foreign goods into Denmark fostered international fashions at least among the wealthy elites. However, what living at the far end of the European fashion markets meant for the broader

ordinary Danish population is yet to be explored. How did ordinary Danish people dress and to what extent did they engage with European fashion ideas and clothing culture? What kind of fashion manufactures that suited the more popular demand were imported into Denmark in the early modern period, and how did the Danish population use, understand and shape existing fashion trends in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries?

Fashion among artisanal groups in Denmark

Foreign travellers from England, Germany and France visiting the country seemed to think that the Danish population did not have a sense of fashion. When describing ordinary people's dress, the most common adjectives assigned were 'old-fashioned', 'simple', 'modest' and 'humble', or at best 'fine' or 'graceful'. For example, the Englishman Andrew Boorde, who travelled in Europe and Scandinavia in the 1530s, noted that the ordinary Danes typically dressed in humble rough fryce, a coarse woollen fabric.

> In my apparel I was neuer nyce,
> I am content to were rough fryce;
> I care not if euery man I do tel,
> Symple rayment shal serue me ful wel;
> My old fashion I do vse to kepe,
> And in my clothes dyuers tymes I slepe.[13]

Other travellers agreed with Boorde. The Fugger agent Bernhardt Wusenbencz, for example, wrote in 1567 that, although the clothes of Danish people were beautiful, they appeared old-fashioned. He claimed that men were dressed in short, soft and wide suits, narrow mantles and large gold chains around the neck, while women wore high slippers, head cloths and narrow gowns similar to those that were 'used here [in Germany] in the old days'.[14] A couple of decades later, Fynes Morrison, an English gentleman who visited Denmark in 1593, commented on the appearance of Danish men and women, noting that 'in generall, the Danes are apparrelled like the Germans and especially like the Saxons constantly and modestly, and they so abhorre from strange fashion'.[15]

Archival evidence from early modern Denmark, however, contradicts the travellers' accounts, suggesting that an interest in fashion and dressing

well was not limited to the Danish court or wealthy nobility. Records such as household or post-mortem inventories preserved in archives show that at least some artisans and small local shopkeepers were able to dress in costly garments according to the current fashions. Tightly sewn and shorter garments that highlighted sexual differences, as well as lighter and brighter textiles and a range of accessories and trimmings – introduced especially after 1550 – are all recorded in inventories at the lower social levels.[16] For example, an inventory of the tailor journeyman Søren Knudsen included a grey 'short' doublet made of woollen cloth, a black mantle, black and ash-coloured breeches, and a range of accessories such as a pair of knitted stockings, a hat, and a linen collar and a kerchief.[17] An inventory of Christian Menge, a saltmaker who lived in the Danish town of Elsinore, drawn up after his death in 1628, mentioned a mantle that belonged to Christian himself, a pair of men's breeches and a doublet made of a fine quality wool known as *hernsayen*, a girdle mounted with silver and a precious diamond ring, as well as two women's skirts, one made from silk grosgrain and the other dyed bright red.[18] The inventory of the carpenter Carsten Tømmermand, made in the same town a few years earlier, reveals that the craftsman owned a mantel, one pair of breeches, a leather jerkin and two doublets, one of which was made of leather and adorned with contrasting sleeves of *trip* – a new type of woollen velvet that imitated the effect of more expensive silk velvets. The inventory also mentioned some silver buttons.[19]

Archival evidence such as this indicates that interest in personal adornment and the ability to dress well were not confined exclusively to the highest ranks of society. However, since not much is known about dress and fashion or cultural aspects among the general population in early modern Denmark, it is difficult to evaluate how typical it was for artisans to own such fine items of dress and accessories. Did the travellers' observations about outmoded dress reflect the way the broad Danish population dressed, or could ordinary townspeople, such as craftsmen and local shopkeepers who formed the largest bulk of the town population, engage with fashion and follow the aristocratic and court-driven tastes?

Even though this was a period of change, the aim of this study is not so much about identifying overall changes in fashion from 1550-1650. The specific features, such as the cut and fit of the garments, as well as who precisely wore them and what the garments exactly looked like, are not always identified clearly in the sources. Moreover, the sources themselves are not spread out evenly over the period. This study is aimed at shedding light on

the overlooked culture of dress among Danish communities of local artisans, small shopkeepers and service providers, such as goldsmiths, bakers, butchers, barbers, smiths, shoemakers, carpenters and coopers and painters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Based on an extensive number of household inventories and other archival records from the Danish town of Elsinore, an important port and trading town in this period, this study explores what kind of clothing and accessories artisans and small shopkeepers and their wives owned and wore, and what clothing meant to men and women of their rank. Moreover, it studies what social, economic and cultural values and meanings might have been associated with fashion in the daily lives and during public and social occasions at this social level. These questions are especially important in the context of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Denmark because, although dress has become an important area of historical investigation, little is known about dress and culture beyond wealthy Danish aristocratic and bourgeois families or the royal court.

The study of non-elite clothing in Scandinavia and Europe

In his book *Civilisation and Capitalism*, the French historian and founder of the Annales school, Ferdinand Braudel, claimed that 'poor people had few possessions'.[20] According to his study, furthermore, 'fashionable whims only affected a very small number of people, but they made a great deal of noise and show, perhaps because the rest, even the most wretched, looked on an encouraged them in their extravagance'.[21] The underlying assumption that dress at the lower levels of society was immobile has until recently, with some important exceptions, been largely shared in historical scholarship of early modern clothing.[22] The limited interest in what local artisans, shopkeepers and service providers below the wealthy elites wore is notable, considering that the artisanal population was so numerous.[23]

One reason for the limited attention to dress among this social group, as Phillis Cunnington, Catherine Lucas and Alan Mansfield highlight in their book on occupational dress in England from 1967, is that documentation on the clothing worn and owned by working population is scant.[24] As Paula Hohti notes in her monograph on the material culture of the 'middling classes', artisans and small shopkeepers did not record their lives and preserve documentation in the same way as their elite counterparts, even though accounting skills and at least semi-literacy were fairly widespread even among the artisanal population. In addition, she also notes how there has been a long-standing belief among historians that ordinary artisans with low economic and social status were unable to acquire fine clothing and follow dress fashions.[25] For instance, Cecil Willet Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington argue in the context of late sixteenth-century England that the clothes worn by working people, being simpler and based on outmoded fashions, differed sharply from those worn by the elites of society. Prosperous urban artisans and tradesmen might have formed an exception. According to Phillis Cunnington, Cathrine Lucas and Alan Mansfield, tailors and textile traders, for example, often followed current dress fashions so carefully that they could be mistaken for members of a higher estate. [26]

However, more recent studies on dress and fashion at artisan levels, especially in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy, have suggested that

the material culture could be surprisingly rich. Such studies have shown that men and women from artisan ranks often enjoyed a relatively comfortable lifestyle, with houses that were well-furnished and decorated, owning significant quantities of linen, bedding and clothes, even though their taxable wealth was modest.[27] Paula Hohti's studies of artisans and shopkeepers such as barbers, shoemakers, tailors, innkeepers and butchers in Renaissance Italy in particular show the extent to which artisans and small shopkeepers were receptive to fashion change, and had the personal desire as well as the financial capacity to adopt some of the essential elements of fashion that we traditionally associated only with the nobility and ruling elites. These included new types of garments and fabrics in a range of new colours, including silks trimmed with fine ornaments or embroidery.[28] Similarly, Michele Robinson has recently shown that clean linen and hygiene played a key role in fashion and the construction of respectable appearance at all levels of society. Her study shows that the Italian artisanal population owned a wide variety of fine linen clothing items, including lace-trimmed shirts that were made of the finest linen and well taken care of.[29] Patricia Allerston, in turn, shows that many types of fashion items, including expensive garments and textiles, could be acquired by people of modest fortune and low social status without having large outlays of cash, for example through purchasing clothing from the second-hand market or by borrowing items from friends of relatives.[30] Finally, John Styles illustrates in his important work on everyday clothing in eighteenth-century England that clothing held a prominent position among ordinary people. His book demonstrates that even among the working poor, clothing was an area of consumption with 'relative abundance', arguing that men and women often possessed duplicates of garments.[31] Isis Sturtewagen's study of the clothes of burghers in Bruges also investigates the use of garments among craftsmen in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Her study illustrates, importantly, that the labourers and craftsmen implemented elements of fashion into their wardrobes in various ways. For instance, doublets worn by labourers and craftsmen in Bruges were tight-fitting, as prescribed by contemporary fashion, though less extreme in shape than those worn by their social superiors. Moreover, she points out that the inventories of thriving craftsmen contained many types of garments made from fine materials and decorated with trims, most likely used for special occasions.[32]

These studies are important because they illustrate the rich clothing culture in early modern European and Scandinavian towns. They provide a wealth of evidence on how ordinary people of artisanal status dressed, how

clothing was acquired and what clothing might have meant to individuals and families below the wealthy elites.[33]

However, most studies on non-elite dress are limited to the important European centres of trade and fashion, such as England, Italy or Bruges. Much less is known about the culture of dress among artisanal and working population in the more peripheral areas, such as in early modern Scandinavia.[34] Eva Andersson's study of burghers at artisanal levels in Stockholm in the seventeenth century suggests that men and women on the lower social levels typically owned far fewer garments than their social superiors, often made of cheaper new materials that had recently entered the market.[35]

Previous studies of sixteenth and seventeenth-century dress in Denmark – the subject of this dissertation – also shed some light on what people of lower social status wore.[36] Most recently, Mikkel Venborg Pedersen's study of fashion in Denmark in the period 1660–1720 argues that the clothes of burghers followed fashion in their cut. However, while the nobility often dressed in silk, burghers tended to dress generally in wool. He argues, furthermore, that the clothes of the lower social orders did not differ much from those worn by peasants, while lower-ranked burghers in the urban setting occasionally wore black clothes and white linens for festive occasions, just like their social superiors. Servants and apprentices wore practical clothes that were, to a certain extent, influenced by fashion but they were 'easy to recognize as exactly commoners' clothes'.[37] Thus, even though Venborg Pedersen does not study artisan's clothes in detail, he does not reject the notion that fashion had an impact on lower-ranked people's clothing. The Danish historian Camilla Luise Dahl has explored what women wore in Elsinore and Malmoe from 1545 to 1610. Her study reveals that women married to shoemakers and other artisans sometimes had expensive, decorative and colourful clothing items. For example, Oune, a wife of a smith who died in Malmoe in 1580, owned a cloak lined with brown damask; while a shoemaker's wife also from Malmoe, whose name is unknown, owned a fine bright parrot-green overgown.[38] Dahl's study suggests, importantly, that fine clothing that enabled artisans to dress well according to society's norms, at least on public occasions and festive days, was not out of the reach of craftsmen's wives. Archaeologists and conservators have also studied early modern Danish textiles and clothing, using the wealth of surviving archaeological objects found in Copenhagen. The most relevant of these for the topic of this dissertation is Charlotte Rimstad's study of popular clothing. Examining 370 textile items that were found among a total of over 2000 fragments in a moat

under the Copenhagen City Hall Square in 2011 to 2012, she has studied what types of fabrics and clothes the broader population of Copenhagen found desirable in the seventeenth century, and how the archaeological evidence corresponds with the objects that are recorded in written sources, such as archival inventories.[39] She discovered that typical items of the period, such as knitted and felted hats and caps, garments for the upper and lower body, gloves, mittens and stockings, were been worn by at least some seamen or craftsmen 'whose clothes are not present in museum collections and only rarely depicted in paintings'.[40]

Such studies are important because they indicate that clothing and fashion might have played an important role in the everyday life and culture of Danish artisans. However, the only Danish study that focuses on craftsmen's social and cultural history in the period 1550–1650, carried out by Ole Degn and Inge Dübeck, does not recognise the importance of clothing in the lives of this social group. Based on a limited selection of shoemakers' inventories from the town of Ribe from 1650, Degn and Dübeck argue that the most typical items of clothing for male artisans included mantles made of broadcloth, breeches of a coarse woollen cloth known as *wadmol* or leather, doublets and shirts finished with collars, as well as kerchiefs, caps, black hats, black or white stockings, and shoes or boots. Their wives dressed in woollen cloaks, shirts made of caffa, a type of silk velvet, or woollen or mixed fabrics such as borato, camlet or bay, as well as doublets, skirts, caps and stockings. None of the wives owned any jewellery. This evidence, according to Degn and Dübeck, indicates that the wardrobes of craftsmen were far less valuable than wardrobes belonging to burgomasters, merchants and councilmen.[41] Although this conclusion is probably correct, Degn's and Dübeck's study, however, does not recognise the cultural meanings and values that were associated with some of the garments and materials listed in these shoemakers' inventories. For example, it is worth noting that a shirt made of silk caffa, owned by some of the shoemakers' wives, was so fine that even King Christian IV wore a doublet made of this material in the battle of Kolberger Heide in 1644 (figure 2).[42]

Even though all these studies have revealed important aspects about the garments and materials of ordinary urban Danish people in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, many questions still remain to be explored. This study, therefore, provides a new contribution to the field of fashion and everyday life in early modern Denmark at the lower social levels from the cultural historical point of view. The intention is not only to illustrate what types of

FIGURE 2. A doublet made of caffa, worn by King Christian IV at the naval battle at Kolberger Heide in 1644. The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

textiles, garments and accessories ordinary Danish people owned, but also to provide a deeper understanding of how clothing mattered socially, culturally and financially at artisanal levels in early modern Denmark. Based on the previous scholarship on early modern dress, it is obvious that not just the wealthy elites but also ordinary craftspeople and their spouses adopted European fashion ideas through textiles, fine items of clothing and novel accessories. But did artisans and small shopkeepers and service providers such as butchers, barbers, smiths and tailors and their wives in early modern Denmark enjoy a similar material wealth as for example in Italy?

Drawing on 294 inventories from the town of Elsinore, this dissertation explores how the ordinary artisanal population dressed in this urban trading town in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, what their clothes were made of and where these were acquired, and what this information tells us about how the Danish artisanal population used clothing in different occasions to shape their identities and realise their ambitions. By exploring these aspects of clothes, the study aims to contribute to a better understanding of how the culture of dress and fashion developed and was disseminated in early modern Danish society, not just at the Danish court and among the wealthy elites, but also among lower social groups.

Elsinore – a thriving trading town

This study focuses on Elsinore, a trading town in the Kingdom of Denmark. This location was chosen, first, because Elsinore was a lively port town with an extensive international population and trading connections. Second, a large body of archival material documenting the daily life and cultural activities of the population has survived in Elsinore.[43] These include a large collection of household inventories, which provide an insight into the lives of the broader population, and what dress and dressing up meant for ordinary artisans and craftsmen in this period. What was Elsinore like?

In the sixteenth century, Elsinore was a relatively small town, but its population grew in the seventeenth century, reaching 5,000-8,000 inhabitants.[44] Although this made Elsinore one of the larger trading towns in the Danish Kingdom, compared to Copenhagen, the capital city and the largest town of the kingdom, the town was small.[45] Its size was also noted in a contemporary account, written by the Frenchman Charles Ogier who visited Elsinore in August 1634. However, he noted that the town had wide and straight streets, decent houses outside and inside, with glass windows and red bricks.[46]

Elsinore was located by the sea north of Copenhagen alongside Oresund, the sound between Denmark and Sweden, as seen in the map from 1629 (figure 3). It was an international and flourishing trading town. The strategic location of Elsinore on the east coast of Denmark facing towards the Baltic Sea meant that it was one of the first towns in Denmark to engage in European economic and cultural developments through trade.[47]

Trade in Elsinore was fostered by the sound-toll – a system which required that all ships that passed Oresund had to pay a tax before entering the harbour in Elsinore.[48] The Englishman Fynes Morrison, who visited Denmark in 1593, noted that 'Betweene the Castle Cronembirg in Seland, and the Castle Helsenburg in Scandia, is the famous straight of the Sea, called Der Soundt, by which the ships enter into the Baltick Sea, and returning from Dantzk and Righa, laded with precious commodities, pay great tributes to the King of Denmarke, both at the entrie and going fourth of that Straight'.[49] As depicted in a engraving from the first part of the seventeenth century (figure 4), Elsinore's ideal geographical location meant that, together with Copenhagen, Malmoe and Elsingburg, it formed a rich and thriving trading and production centre.[50] A flow of goods entered the town through the port. On 30 May 1625, for example, a sound-toll protocol noted that a ship from Amsterdam entered the harbour in Elsinore and with it a cargo loaded with

FIGURE 3. Joannes Keere, Pieter van den Janssonius, map of Denmark with its Scanian Provinces and Dutchies, 1629. Royal Library of Denmark.

tartar, sugar, raisins, glue, soap, sirop, pepper, Spanish wine, almonds, starch, cochineal, cloves, cinnamon, anis, Rhine whine, *tiromtej*, a mix of wool and linen, and some English cloth and caffa.[51]

Besides being an international exchange point of goods and a melting pot for many nationalities and languages of Europe, Elsinore probably had the largest share of foreigners among all Danish towns. These included inhabitants especially from Northern Europe such as Germany, Scotland and the Netherlands.[52] Moreover, building projects such as the construction of the castle of Kronborg in 1574–1584 in Elsinore and its restoration after a fire in 1629–1638, attracted many German and Netherlandish artisans into the town.[53] By the end of the sixteenth century, a lively metal industry also flourished in Elsinore; in the period between 1597 and 1601, King Chris-

FIGURE 4. Georg Braun, Frans Hogenberg, Simon Nouellanus, *Prospect of Elsinore*, 1612-1618. Hand-coloured engraving. Royal Library of Denmark.

tian IV established several metalworks outside and in the centre of Elsinore, where a foundry was established in 1599. These industries were important for the kingdom, because they provided canons for the military and bells for churches in Denmark. Even more than this, the industries attracted specialised artisans working in the building and metal trades.[54]

The blend of locals and foreigners living amongst each other, and the exchange and flow of foreign goods from Europe made the town of Elsinore a potentially prosperous place for European fashions, possibly even reaching down to the artisanal population. However, before looking at what artisans, small traders and their wives wore, it is essential to define what is meant by local urban 'artisans and traders' or 'middling classes', and to outline some key features of their social and occupational background and the place they occupied in the social hierarchy in early modern Elsinore and Danish society at large.

Artisans and their social position in Danish society

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were many artisan guilds in Elsinore. These included, for example, shoemakers', tailors', bakers', butchers', smiths', glovemakers', weavers', bricklayers', goldsmiths' and barbers' guilds.[55] Each guild formed an independent occupational community with its own culture, set of skills, occupational clothing or even work-songs, and gave the city's artisans a civic visibility and a sense of identity.[56]

One of the challenges of this study is to provide a precise category for the group that consists of urban artisans, small shopkeepers and service providers. According to a definition by James R. Farr and many other historians,

artisans were members of the guild or skilled people who fashioned artefacts. Thus, as Farr points out, artisans formed a diverse group, including young apprentices and journeymen working for little wages at one end, and shopkeepers or entrepreneurial artisans at the other end who mostly managed their own businesses.[57] According to the historian Ruth Mazo Karras, artisans were masters in their own craft. They were 'a middle stratum in late medieval urban society. They owned their own workshops and tools; many sold directly to consumers'.[58]

Most recently, Paula Hohti has shown that the middling class of artisans, shopkeepers and small local traders was a complex, and dynamic group, composed of men and women of many different degrees of economic, social and professional status.[59] Research carried out by historians of seventeenth and eighteenth-century England has regarded artisans as part of the middling sort or middling classes, being part of a larger group with shopkeepers, notaries who were ranked below the aristocracy and gentry, but above workers.[60] According to historian Margaret Hunt, the middling sort, middling classes, trading classes and commercial classes included shopkeepers, manufacturers, better-off independent artisans, civil servants, professional, lesser merchants and the like.[61]

The varied nature of artisans as a social group has been pointed out by numerous European scholars.[62] According to the historian Povl Eller, Danish artisan constituted practically their own estate. Artisans were ranked lower than merchants and officials but the group included both prosperous artisans and those who lived a plain or poor life.[63] Historians Margaret Pappano and Nicole Rice note that one's status tended to corelate with one's refinement of skills or rarity of materials that turned into wealth and influence.[64] The historian Heather Swanson highlights how the 'artisan class' in York: 'embraced at one extreme the wealthy and prestigious pewterers and goldsmiths, and at the other indigent and even destitute members of textile and building crafts. Whilst at the bottom end of the scale, semi-skilled and underemployed artisans merge into the mass of the urban poor, the most prosperous among them aspired to join the merchant class.'[65] In the context of Denmark, some occupations were also higher-ranked than others.[66] For example, as Alex Wittendorf highlights, 'Few master artisans, especially goldsmiths, could obtain wealth and a social position that made it possible for them to aspire to the ranks of the prominent burghers'.[67] Even within the same craft, wealth and status could vary and apprentices, journeymen and higher-ranked master artisans possessed different statuses within a craft. This could be reflected in income, wealth and property, power and pres-

tige within the immediate social group and wider community.[68] Therefore, as Paula Hohti points out, defining 'artisans' or the 'middling sort' is not solved with a single answer.[69]

In early modern Danish society, the population was divided into four official estates, consisting of the nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants. Artisans were officially part of the burgher estate together with merchants and other townspeople.[70] For a master artisan to perform his craft legally in a town, he had to obtain citizenship and become a burgher and a member of a guild. The artisan would then need to pay a fee, make an oath to pay his loyalty to the town and town council, settle in town, pay taxes and carry a weapon and sword for the town guard. With these responsibilities, he became financially independent and could establish his own household and workshop.[71]

However, although ordinary artisans were officially part of the same estate as other burghers, artisans and other lower-ranking artisans were ranked socially, economically and politically way below merchants. For instance, according to a law from 1422, only merchants could become members of the town magistracy and only the wealthiest merchants became councilmen or mayors. This meant that merchants controlled the quality and prices of artisan work.[72] The social difference between ordinary artisans and merchants is also pointed out in sumptuary laws. The statutes regulating clothing underlined that brides of artisans and commoners were of lesser status than brides of mayors, councilmen or merchants.[73] Degn and Dübeck argue that, although artisans were a 'eye-catching and dominant element' within town populations, their income from manual work was not enough to compete with the merchants.[74]

Many artisans owned shops or operated a small-scale workshop, but some also made products and/or sold services on a smaller scale.[75] The close relationship between production and retailing, buying raw material and selling products at the local markets was essential to the artisan identity, but laws banned craftspeople from engaging explicitly with commerce – the privilege of merchants. In turn, merchants were banned from performing a craft.[76] One of the requirements to perform artisan work was also to join a guild, which according to Margaret Pappano and Nicole Rice, 'represented a primary avenue to economic stability and civic visibility'.[77] The purpose of the guilds was to limit the number of artisans in specific crafts and to regulate the prices and quality of products. Moreover, the guild also acted as social and financial insurance for the artisans.[78]

Contemporaries also viewed artisans through the guilds or their skills.[79] A group of affluent burghers, namely merchants, defined the roles of the different estates in 1629, highlighting that 'artisans in trading towns [should nourish themselves] by their craft and the work of their hands'.[80] Even gifted artisans who aspired to work for the higher ranks were defined socially by their skills.[81] For instance, a letter sent to the king's treasurer in 1579 noted that a talented passementerie maker, named Robert Heralt, who was employed by the king, should be paid 'as soon as possible, while he is a poor man, who has to live by the use of his craft, and cannot wait'. [82]

Danish artisans formed a diverse group of urban artisans, small shopkeepers and service providers. The group included individuals from many different occupations and ranks, from young journeymen and master artisans to more prosperous members who enjoyed elevated status due to their successful business or prestigious craft. The precise occupations considered as 'artisans' in this thesis are discussed in more detail later on in this introduction. Some were better-off socially and financially than others, yet archival evidence suggests that, whether an artisan was poor or better-off, clothes were an important basic need. Through the study of artisans and their wives of different occupations and varying wealth, it will be possible to see to what extent wealth and social position mattered in terms of people's sartorial choices.

Even though artisans and their families were a lower-ranked group within the burgher estate, the town and guild provided them with a framework and a social network to perform their craft, while citizenship established a set of norms, expectations and obligations towards society. However, how artisans' social identity, everyday life and culture were shaped by such norms, and how clothing and fashion helped them to express their values and social position, are yet to be explored.

Clothing and hierarchy

On 26 January 1618, the notary in Elsinore wrote in the town court protocol that three Ordinances were read and published on the meeting. These included '1 About Wise women, 2 About Locations, 3 About Dress'.[83] The letter on dress, read aloud, emphasised that the earlier decrees and regulations about weddings and funerals, and the useless and harmful expenses associated with these such as gold and silver embroidered cloth, jewels and pearls,

did not show the expected results because the officials who were responsible for the surveillance of people's dress did not do enough.[84] A sumptuary law issued in August 1621, for example, complained that burghers dressed far above their estate and their ability and expressed lavishness in their dress.[85]

Clothes were integrated into a system of social and cultural codes subject to ongoing political, economic, religious and social change. In a largely preliterate society, as Margaret Rosenthal points out, 'people were read by, and learned to "read," the value of textiles and cut of clothing as fixed signs of profession, wealth, social status, and geographical provenance'.[86]

Clothing was important in constructing identities. It was an important way in which people could 'acquire and communicate attitudes towards life and construct visual realities in relation to others,' at least when it came to sumptuous clothing.[87] Individuals claimed their place within the social hierarchy through clothing fashions and communicated conformity, imitation and differentiation.[88] Besides being an indicator of one's place in social hierarchy, clothes could reveal an individual's occupation or denote group identity.[89] For example, Cunnington and Cunnington argue that apprentices wore blue and butchers, smiths, tanners and cobblers wore distinctive features such as caps or aprons.[90]

One of the central rules in early modern Danish society, like elsewhere in Europe, was that people who performed a craft should be ideally distinguished from their social superiors by wearing materials of lower value and fewer adornments than the town elite or nobility. For example, on 11 October 1641, the king and his council received a petition from the nobility, stating that all estates 'loathe God [with their] abundance in dress, because everyone dresses in what his estate does not demand, [this is] a friendly request, [...] that his Majesty with all his power will banish all abundance in dress, which is in opposition to one's estate and position'.[91]

What the authors of the petition wanted to achieve was to maintain the appropriate social order by dressing people according to their position in society. They justified their claim by referring to an almost 100-year-old set of ordinances, such as one issued in 1558 which regulated that 'no unfree person either burgher or peasant or unfree man's wife or their children [can] wear velvet, damask or silk'.[92] More importantly, it indicates that all estates, including the burgher estate, which included artisans, were engaged in sartorial expressions that clashed with the existing understanding of social hierarchy.

Sumptuary laws issued in this period targeted the increasing expenses at important family occasions, such as weddings, funerals and baptisms or

other public events such as going to church on Sundays.[93] Some laws were only concerned with food, drink and appropriate behaviour, while others included regulations on dress and adornments. As a result, the Danish king sought to enforce appropriate moral and social order by regulating dress through many sumptuary laws, issued between 1550 and 1650; such as in 1558, 1576, 1586, 1603, 1615, 1617, 1618, 1621, 1622, 1624 and 1643.[94]

The laws from 1558, 1621, 1618, 1624 and 1643, which will be discussed throughout the thesis, specifically included rules about the clothes and adornments of burghers and townspeople. [95] The sumptuary law issued on 1 May 1624 (reiterated in 1643) including 'burghers and ordinary burghers', organised members of society into different hierarchies.[96] The section on 'Engagement gifts', for example, ranked clergy, burgomasters, councilmen and merchants with an income over 2,000 *daler* above lesser trading people and prosperous artisans; and the latter above ordinary artisans.[97] This indicates that the laws referred to the general town population, not only those who had sworn the burger oath and the wealthiest burghers who were considered the greatest threat to the nobility.[98]

Sumptuary laws were also aimed at town populations by town magistrates, regulating mostly jewellery and wedding adornments and sometimes clothes.[99] For instance, in Ribe in 1561, servant maids were banned from wearing short capes in velvet and marten and velvet slippers, as well as gold trimmings and pearls.[100]

Although sumptuary laws did not necessarily succeed in regulating dress in daily life, as several scholars have shown, and as this thesis study also will demonstrate, the ideals associated with dress meant that dressing well was not just a matter of wealth and sartorial choices.[101] Appearance was also dictated by the social position one occupied in society.

Methods and sources

Inventories from Elsinore

The main body of evidence for this study consists of household inventories: legal documents that listed all the clothes and other goods that belonged to the artisanal household.[102] Post-mortem inventories have been widely used by dress historians.[103] They are useful for the study of dress and the role clothing and accessories played in daily life, because they allow us to enter the material world of individual artisans and their families and to gain a basic understanding of what clothing artisanal people clothing owned.[104]

Household inventories were drawn up for a variety of legal and administrative purposes in Early Modern Europe. These functioned as financial documents for the purpose of paying debts or dividing the property among the heirs, or they were drafted in the event of bankruptcy, divorce, separation or death. The most common inventories, however, were post-mortem inventories drawn up when the property owner died.[105] Even though in Denmark it was not until 1683 that a common jurisdiction on inventories was established, several laws concerning inheritance were nonetheless enforced in various Danish towns before this date.[106] In Elsinore, there is a continuous series of inventories from as early as 1571 until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[107]

The process of making an inventory followed specific conventions. Normally the town bailiff, treasurer and notary, heirs and guardians, as well as a number of local craftspeople were appointed to assess a deceased person's goods. Household goods could be recorded in the place they were found, which gives insight into where textiles and dress were kept in the household. Alternatively, clothing (*gangklæder)* was recorded by material, listing garments made of wool, mixed fibres, silk, or leather and fur. Usually, jewellery was recorded with other items of gold and silver, and clothes were recorded separately from linens. Typically, debtors and credits were mentioned in the inventory, providing additional information about the family's financial situation and professional and social relations. The process of making an inven-

tory could take several months, and in a case where one inventory did not make matters clear for the heirs or creditors, several inventories could be drawn up.[108]

The inventories of this study focus on a diverse group of both modest and more prosperous artisans, shopkeepers and service providers.

To keep the focus on the artisans and small shopkeepers, the inventories were selected using specific criteria. Firstly, the dissertation includes only inventories where the owner's occupation could be identified.[109] Secondly, in order to make sure that the occupational titles referred to actual work – and not for example an adapted family name – additional information about artisans' occupational and professional activities was examined from the inventory, such as the tools of his trade or his social and business relations. All inventories belonging to the higher ranked burghers, such as mayors, merchants, or councilmen, and clergymen were excluded. Occupations that ranked below artisans or did not require artisanal skills or guild membership, such as carriers, waggoners, boatsmen, shippers, fishermen, soldiers, day labourers and servants were also left out. This left 294 inventories of artisans from the 1570s to the 1650s. The majority of these belonged to the ordinary middling-ranked artisans and their wives, but some were also made from young journeymen or prosperous court artisans and their families.

All inventories were made when either the artisan or his wife, or both, died.[110] In cases where several inventories exist for one person, the first inventory or the version with most clothing is included. If several inventories were made for a household, the most recent was selected. The table below shows the range of inventories by decade (table 1). The high number of post-mortem inventories in the 1620s might be related to the plague that raged in Elsinore in 1601–1602, 1619, 1625 and 1629.[111]

TABLE 1. Number of inventories per decade.

1570s	1580s	1590s	1600s	1610s	1620s	1630s	1640s	1650s
4	8	33	26	28	79	53	47	16

The 294 inventories represent 58 occupations. These include 83 inventories (28.2%) relating to occupations in the field of textiles and clothing; 60 (20.4%) in building and construction; 47 (16%) in food production; 46 (15.6%) in iron and metal; 36 (12.2%) in other groups; and 22 (7.5%) in the wood sector (table 2).

Fields of occupations	**%**
Textiles and Clothing	28.2%
Building and Construction	20.4%
Food Production	16.0%
Iron and Metal	15.6%
Other	12.2%
Wood	7.5%

TABLE 2. Inventories and fields of occupations. Based on 294 inventories.

The largest occupational groups are tailors, bakers, carpenters, shoemakers, millers, barbers, bricklayers, joiners, weavers, butchers and coopers (table 3).

The inventories identified for artisans were all transcribed (using contemporary ways of spelling) and the information about their clothes, accessories, trimmings, textiles and jewellery, grooming and textile tools were organised in an Excel spreadsheet entailing in total 12,389 items.[112] Only items listed in artisans' personal inventories were included in the dataset, while pawned items – common in inventories – were only included as long as they belonged to the family or individual. In addition, objects that were mentioned in credit or debit lists, or additional inheritance lists in inventories, were excluded, even if they were relevant. This is because these were often repetitions or the owners were unknown.[113]

TABLE 3. Inventories and occupations. Based on 294 inventories.

Occupation	Number of inventories	Occupation	Number of inventories
Tailor	34	Blacksmith	2
Baker	23	Glovemaker	2
Carpenter	23	Passementerie maker	2
Shoemaker	14	Strapmaker	2
Miller	13	Tanner	2
Barber	11	Armourer	1
Bricklayer	11	Bowl painter	1
Joiner	11	Bowlmaker and bellman	1
Weaver	11	Brushmaker	1
Butcher	10	Buttonmaker	1
Cooper	10	Clockmaker	1
Potter	9	Copperbeater	1
Smith	8	Coppersmith	1
Locksmith	7	Fabric cutter	1
Painter	7	Foundry master	1
Stonemason	6	Ironfounder	1
Gunsmith	5	Lamp maker	1
Hookmaker	5	Layer of waterpipes	1
Turner	5	Linen weaver	1
Goldsmith	4	Organ builder	1
Glazier	4	Pearl embroiderer	1
Plasterer	4	Pipemaker	1
Tinker	4	Portrait painter	1
Wheelmaker	4	Potfounder	1
Cobbler	3	Saltmaker	1
Furrier	3	Sawyer	1
Hatmaker	3	Sculptor	1
Kettlesmith	3	Spinning wheel maker	1
Paver	3		
Ropemaker	3		

Clothes and textiles in inventories

Inventories provide a wealth of information on the family's material culture and possessions the owner left behind when they died. They include detailed information about the family's clothing and furniture, where the family lived, the social standing, occupations, and often also financial assessments of the objects.[114]

Inventories are a valuable source of information for many aspects of artisans' material lives, but they are especially useful for studying clothing because, as the household's most valuable category of movable goods, textiles and garments were often recorded in detail. Inventories can therefore reveal information about both textiles and garments, such as where these were produced or the type of weave, colour and decoration, as well as about the owner's engagement with the culture of dress. The modest shoemaker Poul Fønboe's inventory below, for example, shows that he owned a mantle, a doublet made from bombazine (a fabric made in a mix of cotton, linen, silk or wool), an old red woollen waistcoat, six linen shirts, three of them newly acquired, two pairs of breeches of broadcloth and woollen velvet known as 'trip', three collars, and cap and a hat (figure 5).[115] This type of information is valuable because, in the absence of a surviving material record, the written words are often the only proof of existence of such textile objects in the homes of artisans and small shopkeepers.[116]

Sometimes items recorded in documents are provided with a financial estimation of their value. Since this required specialised knowledge and familiarity with the objects, assessments were usually made by professional

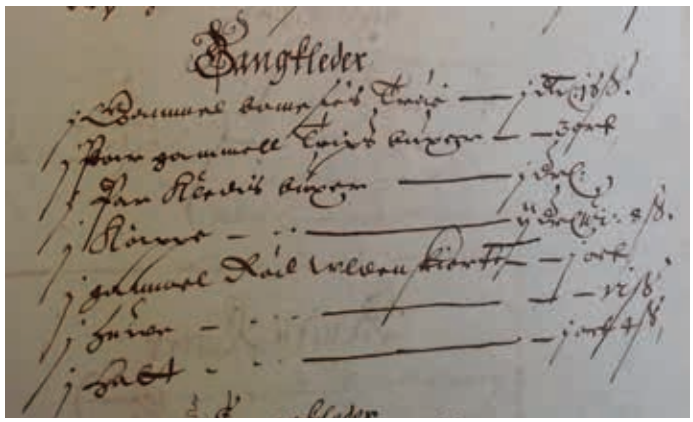


FIGURE 5. Clothes listed in the 1620-inventory of shoemaker Poul Fønboe. Photo Anne-Kristine Sindvald Larsen. Rigsarkivet.

tailors and local women who were familiar with textiles and clothing and took care of them at a workshop or at home. However, because an inventory was primarily a financial document in order to enable the division of goods to heirs or creditors, the descriptions and assessment of value often favoured the features that made items valuable.[117] In consequence, modest and plain textile and clothing items appear with much less information about the materials, weaves, colours or decoration than their more precious counterparts. Similarly, the recording practice also rarely provides evidence of the full garment, such as layers between the outside layer and the inside lining, while visible linings are often recorded.

Descriptions of the types of garments, colours and decorations found in the inventories of artisans and small shopkeepers open up a more detailed understanding of clothing at the artisanal levels. Estimations of financial value are also useful because they give a sense of what specific clothes and textiles were worth, which were considered expensive or cheap, and how the values related to one another. However, one needs to be cautious when using these assessments, because the values associated with textiles and garments did not necessarily reflect the exact value of the object (the goods were often valued lower).[118]

Inventories also provide knowledge on how clothing was stored and found in the house. For example, an old blue skirt made of bay, a light woollen fabric, an old black woollen doublet and an old brimmed women's cap, recorded in the Elsinore painter Povl Maler's inventory, probably made because his wife Kirsten Christensdatter had recently passed away, noted that the garments were found in one of the chambers in the family's dwelling.[119] Since inventories only register one moment in time of the 'social life' of clothing, it is in most cases not clear whether all the items were present at home, how families had acquired their possessions or what happened to them afterwards.[120] It is possible that some clothing items were given to children or heirs of the deceased already before the inventory was made. This can possibly explain why children's clothing is almost absent.[121]

However, inventories also provide many challenges. Analysing and interpreting the clothing items can be difficult since the notary's descriptions of people's wardrobes were written more than 400-years ago. Often, the descriptions focus more on the materials than on the style or shape of the object.[122] This means that it is difficult to imagine what the objects looked like. However, studies of dress among the Swedish and Danish kings, queens and courtiers provide comparative evidence of fabrics, garments, trimmings and surviv-

ing objects, both in terms of surviving garments and archival evidence.[123] For example, a fine cassock, a pair of breeches and a mantle that used to belong to the Prince Elect Christian, today in the Royal Danish collection, was described in 1648 as a 'liver coloured suit of woollen cloth embroidered along the edges with gold and silver' (figure 6).[124] This provides a sense of how the colour of a 'liver coloured skirt [of] cloth' listed among the possessions of the smith Jens Pedersen and his wife Kirsten Hansdatter could have appeared.[125]

Despite the high level of detail in artisan inventories, it is also challenging to identify what artisanal people in Denmark actually wore. Even though

FIGURE 6. Prince Elect Christian's liver brown suit made of fine broadcloth. Seventeenth century. The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

inventories usually contained clothing that belonged both to the deceased as well as their spouse, it is not usually specified to whom the garments belonged.[126] This means that it is often difficult to identify whether the items were men's or women's garments.[127]

Finally, the lists of people's possessions, written in Gothic handwriting, are complex and difficult documents to decipher. According to Giorgio Riello, inventories are 'forms of representation that are time specific'. But while the terminology is challenging, inventories provide a unique insight into the textile vocabulary that existed and changed in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.[128] To cope with the challenge of translating Danish clothing terms into English, the original Danish translation are provided in the footnote when mentioning specific items. If terms appear in the original language, they are emphasised in italics and clarification in English is given when the term is first mentioned. A glossary is also provided at the end of the book.

In sum, despite many challenges, inventories offer a unique insight into the rich clothing culture of lower levels of early modern Denmark, previously unexplored. In shedding light on the material components of clothes, accessories, jewellery, fabrics, grooming items and textile tools owned by craftspeople and small shopkeepers, they allow a better understanding of what clothing and fashion meant for people of lower levels of society. Knowing some of the benefits and limitations of inventories, it is important to cross-reference the information from inventories with other visual, archival and material evidence from Danish towns (Elsinore Copenhagen, Odense, Ribe and Aalborg) as well as from towns elsewhere in Europe.[129] This helps to fill gaps in knowledge of terminology and other issues associated with the use and function of clothes and questions of value.

Additional historical evidence

In order to gain a better understanding of artisanal clothing, inventories are complemented with a range of other archival evidence from the period, as well as with printed written sources. These shed further light on the types of clothes worn by artisans, as well as the social, political and economic conditions in which they lived.[130] This includes, for example, legislative material, such as sumptuary laws, which allow one to understand what types of fabrics and jewellery were found precious at the time, and to examine ideas about

who was allowed to wear them. The dissertation also studied guild statutes and court records from the town and council courts of Elsinore which highlights the many contexts in which clothes and textiles were important.

Personal accounts of artisans, such as a diary of the seventeenth-century butcher from Elsinore, Tue Jensen and his son Rasmus Tuesen, also a butcher, as well as accounts by travellers and members of the elites, reveal issues of daily life and how clothes were used among the higher echelons of society.[131] In addition, printed pamphlets and tracts, prescriptive sources, advice manuals and books of secrets are valuable sources because they tell something about society's attitudes towards clothing and fashion and how one should dress. They also provide information about how clothing was made, dyed or cleaned.

The study, moreover, includes visual images and material evidence to gain an understanding of what clothing looked like and how it was used. Visual depictions appear on paintings, woodcarvings, windows and objects, especially those in the possession of the guild. Surviving items of clothing, either dug up by archaeologists from the ground or found in museum collections, can reveal visual and material aspects of clothing that documents cannot provide. The same is true of material reconstructions. Having been part of the ERC-funded Refashioning the Renaissance project, based at Aalto University and led by Prof. Hohti, where one of the project goals was to explore how historical reconstruction and practical hands-on methods can be used as a methodology in cultural studies of dress, the dissertation contains examples from hands-on workshops and reconstruction experiments to highlight specific points about artisan fashion.[132]

This study investigates the sample of clothes worn by non-elite people living in the international town of Elsinore. By drawing on existing secondary studies within the field of Danish and international cultural, social and dress history, as well as on a wide range of sixteenth and seventeenth-century visual images, material evidence and printed sources, it will shed new light on, on the one hand, how artisans, small shopkeepers and their wives far away from the courts and textile trading centres of Europe connected with fashion, and, on the other, what dress, clothing and dressing up meant to them.

Structure of the dissertation

The study is divided into three parts. Part one explores what Danish artisans and small shopkeepers and their wives wore in the port town of Elsinore in 1550–1650, how they commissioned their clothes and what purposes clothes had for this social group, especially from the economic point of view. Based on the data on garments and accessories from artisans inventories' containing in total 4,661 (37.6%) items out of the 12,389 items, chapter one presents what this group of people commonly wore: the sartorial choices, and the garments, accessories, materials and colours of clothing worn by artisans.[133] Chapter two investigates what options men and women of lower rank had for acquiring and commissioning clothing from tailors. By examining artisans' credits to the local tailors and ways of acquiring clothing, the aim is to contribute to our understanding of to what extent artisans in Elsinore were able to translate their fashion knowledge into fashionable or functional creations. Chapter three discusses clothing as an economic asset. It shows that clothes were not only seen as personal items but they were also used and circulated as an 'economic currency' that could be turned into cash or exchanged. Studying how clothes were not only worn but also used as economic savings or methods of payment illustrates that investing in good-quality clothing might function as an important future economic investment for a family.

Part two discusses practical and professional aspects of clothing. It argues that by wearing clothes that were practical yet still respectable, an artisan and his wife could present themselves as trustworthy, skilled and successful. Chapter four explores how artisans and local shopkeepers made, wore and mended their clothes to keep themselves respectable, clean and healthy. The chapter demonstrates that artisan families were well aware of the significance of clean linen and hygiene and the importance of looking clean. Chapter five, in turn, discusses practical properties of clothes and accessories, focusing on clothes in relation to work and weather. It examines to what extent artisans' clothes were made of durable and practical materials that were useful in everyday life and in changing seasons. It shows that artisans' clothes were not only important for practical reasons, such as protecting them at work or from weather. Instead, by exploring how clothes were used at different stages, from apprentice to master artisan, the following chapter demonstrates that clothes tell something about the artisans' personal and professional aspirations. Garments were used in public spaces to fashion a social identity as a trustful and respectful tradesman.

In part three, the discussion then moves on to consider how clothing was used to create a visual and social identity at public and festive occasions, focusing on how some clothing items were worn to express social rank, ambitions and fashion knowledge. Chapter seven explores to what extent artisans wore expensive garments made of, for example, lustrous silks, expensive furs and soft leather, jewellery made of gold and silver and precious stones or other objects associated with status. Chapter eight shows that wearing decent and good-quality clothes was especially important at festive and social occasions, such as weddings and at church, personally, socially and culturally. Attending such events required people to dress in their best clothes, which differed markedly from their everyday garments. However, as the ability to dress up depended on one's financial means and place in the artisanal hierarchy, Chapter nine investigates what options those who could not afford fine silks and gold jewellery had. It focuses especially on expensive and low-cost materials and the use of small fashion accessories, such as ruffs, headwear, ribbons and trimmings, exploring how these were used by artisans to appear fashionable or respectable, and why such novel fashion accessories were criticised and condemned by contemporary moralists. The aim is to understand to what extent the ordinary Danish population was aware of contemporary fashions and latest trends in dress.

The objective of this dissertation is to show that dress and fashion was increasingly important in early modern Danish towns throughout the period studied here, at all levels of society. New innovations and ways of dressing were continuously introduced from Europe. Moreover, it wishes to demonstrate that fashion and the desire to dress well was not limited to the wealthy elites of society. As the evidence of how artisans and small shopkeepers from Elsinore working in the food sector or the textile, metal and wood trades used garments shows, even relatively ordinary families were able to, at least sometimes, dress in fine and innovative materials and adorn themselves with fashion accessories and trimmings as a means of engaging with popular trends.

Notes

1 'i quarter sorrtt fløyell';' i støeke blaae prendted Kapff, noget lidet, Mere end i allen';' 3 ½ quarter sorrtt Capff;'i stub bruntt atlash Vngefehr i alen';'i lidett støeke Liffarue Tafft;'½ alen grofft sorrt Klede';'2 smaastøcher grøndtt Indsprengt Klede, som kan verre til en huve;'i stub duelligh veed 3 Alne;'i Stub duelligh vngefehr i ½ alen';'i Stub huid sardug Vngefehr 3 alen';'3 Allen Graae sardugh';5 quarter Phillemuett Farbe Bomsi';'2 stuber sølffarbe Bomsie ved 2 ½ allen';'Nogen Perler haffe verit ett smøge i en Hatt';'i gamel sølffknap';'3 støeker Guldsnorer';'i ½ alne brede snorer': Rigsarkivet, Helsingør Byfoged, Skifteprotokol: (hereafter RAHBSP): 1612-1619, Anders Poulsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 14 September 1616, pp. 186 r – 186 v.

2 Welch, 'Introduction', pp. 6-8. For innovations and change in sixteenth and seventeenth century fashion see Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination'; Currie, 'Fashion Networks'; Styles; 'Fashion'; Belfanti and Giusberti, 'Clothing'.

3 The Danish realm, or the Danoe-Norwegian Kingdom ruled by the Danish King consisted in the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries of The Kingdom of Denmark with the geographical area of Jutland, Funen and Zealand and the provinces Scania (until 1658), Blekinge and Halland (until 1645). Moreover, it consisted of the Kingdom of Norway together with the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland and the duchies Schleswig and Holstein in what is now northern Germany. The study uses the term 'Denmark' or 'Danish' to refer to geographical area of the Kingdom of Denmark.

4 Venborg Pedersen, 'Prologue', pp. xiii-xv.

5 Translated by the author. Quoting Orgier, *Det Store*, pp. xvi-xvii, 101.

6 Dahl and Lempiäinen, 'The World', p. 1, Venborg Pedersen, 'Prologue', pp. xiii-xv.

7 Authors own translation. Quoting Fabricius, 'Et Besøg', p. 249.

8 Nyerup, *Kong Christian*, pp. 17, 73.

9 Johansen, *Ti Kongers Tøj*, pp. 19-20, Bricka and Fredericia, *Kong Christian 1632-1635*, pp. 152-154.

10 Wad, *Breve Til*, pp. 115-117.

11 'Arvelod', pp. 61-64.

12 On handkerchiefs as accessories see Mirabella, 'Embellishing'.

13 Quoting Boorde, *The Fyrst*, p. 163.

14 Translated by the author. Quoting Fabricius, 'Et Besøg', pp. 250. Another German, a student named Michel Franck who visited Denmark in the summer of 1590, characterised the clothing worn by the residents of Copenhagen as fine, humble and graceful, and looking like Austrian style. Quoting Lund, 'Michael Francks', pp. 264, 268.

15 Translated by the author. Quoting Morrison, *An Itinerary*, p. 215.

16 On new dress fashions, that were introduced in Denmark around 1550, see Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*.

17 'Enn graa Stackett kledetrøye Fire par smaa sølhecter vdi ij dr';'Enn sortt Klede kappe i dr';Ett Par Ashe farffue buxer med i Form Vdj i dr';'Ett Par sortte buxer i dr'; Ett Par Leerstrømper: och i par gammell Knøtt strømper i dr';'Enn gammel Hatt i ort';'Enn Gammel Schiortte i krarffue i tørkledtt i ort ij sk': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Søren Knudsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 2 September 1592, pp. 90 v - 91 r.

18 'i hernsayens kledning troye och, buxer for i 2 dallr';'i groffgrøns skiørtt, i Rødt klede skiørtt';'S: christians kappe';'i demanntz Rinng';'i Liffgiortell med søllff beslaegett': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Christian Menge Saltsyder's inventory, 25 January 1628, pp. 9 r, 10 v. The diamond ring, two skirts and girdle,

was at the time of his death pledged to a goldsmith named Bastian.

19 'i Trøye med i par buxer 3 dr';'i sort Kabbe 4 dr';'i Ledder Liffstøck 2 ½ mk';'i ledder Troie med Trips Ermer for 3 dr';'Item fandz nogenn sølff knappr for 2 dr 12 sk': RAHBSP:1621-1625, Carsten Tømmermand's inventory, 13 February 1623, pp. 180 r-180 v. Trip was made of a mix of wool and hemp or linen. For further discussion, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 9.

20 Braudel, *Civilization*, p. 283.

21 Braudel, *Civilization*, p. 315.

22 Since most studies from this period have dealt with clothes owned by wealthy and privileged groups, and how European elites and royals, were engaged with fashion. Italy: Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, McCall, *Brilliant Bodies*, Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, Currie, 'Fashion Networks', Currie, 'Diversity and Design'. England: Hayward, *Rich Apparel*; Hayward, *Luxury*, J. Vincent *Dressing*, Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction*. For important exceptions: Italy: Allerston, 'Clothing', Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', Germany: Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, Rublack, *Dressing Up*, Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book*. England: Styles, *The Dress*, France: Roche, *The Culture*, Sweden and Denmark: Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers", Dahl, 'Dressing'.

23 According to Degn and Dübeck, people living in towns comprised approximately 112,000 individuals in around 1672. Of those artisans and their families represented around 30,000 individuals, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 11.

24 Cunnington, Lucas, and Mansfield, *Occupational Costume*, p. 11. On the lack of source material for the lower levels and why lower social groups such as artisans have received less attention than the elite see Marshall, *The Local Merchants*, p. 9, Andersson, 'Women's Dress', pp. 24-25.

25 Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, pp. 30-51, Hohti, 'Conspicuous' Consumption'. pp. 654-657.

26 Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English*, pp. 189, 193. Cunnington and Cunnington argue that that the appearance of urban artisans was more up to date than that of those living in the countryside, Cunnington, Lucas, and Mansfield, *Occupational Costume*, pp. 111-112.

27 Hohti, 'Conspicuous' Consumption', p. 660.

28 On this see esp. Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', Hohti, 'The Art', Hohti, 'Power, Black Clothing'. The Refashioning the Renaissance -project, led by Paula Hohti, has collected extensive archival evidence of fashion dissemination among the early modern Italian artisanal population in Florence, Venice and Siena and Elsinore in Denmark (1550-1650). Nearly 100,000 items of dress, textiles and accessories transcribed from artisanal inventories demonstrate that the ordinary population in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Europe engaged extensively with European fashions, and wore silks, fine woollens and novel fashion accessories, among other goods. The Refashioning archival data were published online in September 2022 at https://refashioningrenaissance.eu/database.

29 Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry'.

30 Allerston, 'Clothing', Allerston, 'Wedding Finery'. Other studies have explored how clothes and accessories were acquired and circulated from 1500–1700, see Welch, *Shopping*, Lemire, *Dress, Culture*; Lemire, 'The Theft'; Lemire, 'Consumerism', Zander-Seidel, *Ready-to-Wear*.

31 Styles, *The Dress* pp. 322-323. For recent studies focusing on clothes worn by the 'middling' or 'common sort' in England, see Spufford and Mee, *The Clothing,* Bendall, *Shaping Femininity*, pp. 87-115.

32 Sturtewagen, 'All Together', pp. 52-53, 255. In studying Antwerp burghers' clothes, Sturtewagen also argues that inventories of middling

groups, whether prosperous merchants, innkeepers or thriving artisans, contained similar fine materials and decorations when it came to garments used for special occasions, Sturtewagen, 'Clothing Rubens' p. 26. Studies focusing on European urban dress in the sixteenth and seventeenth century often give a glimpse into artisanal people's wardrobes, even though this is not their main focus, see Roche, *The Culture*; Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*.

33 The forthcoming book and the outcome of the Refashioning the Renaissance project will provide an important contribution to an understanding of fashion of the lower levels, investigating the topic geographically widely and by many authors. See Paula Hohti (ed.), *Refashioning the Renaissance: Everyday dress and the reconstruction of early modern material culture, 1550–1650* (Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2024).

34 Recent contributions to the study of Scandinavian dress have shown that even though Scandinavia was on the fringe of Europe, the clothing culture was rich, see Engelhardt Mathiassen et al., *Fashionable Encounters*. Early studies by Troels Lund and Riitta Pylkkänen collected and disseminated valuable information on the culture of dress and textiles in early modern Scandinavia, focusing mainly on the elite of society, see Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, Pylkkänen, *Renessans-sin Puku*. An extensive collection of surviving garments from Danish and Swedish kings, their family and liveries have also led to a focus on clothes of the Scandinavian elite, see especially, Aneer, *Skrädderi*, Rangström, *Modelejon*, Johansen, *Ti Kongers Tøj*, Flamand Christensen, *De Danske Kongers*.

35 Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers", pp. 176-177, 179-180, 186. Astrid Pajur's study on the dress of the population in Tallinn (then part of Sweden) from 1600 to 1700, in turn, shows that artisanal inventories varied greatly, containing between three and 140 pieces of clothing, Pajur, *Dress Matters*, p. 126.

36 Studies from the 1960s and 1970s focus broadly on clothes worn by different social groups, see Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, and Frøsig, 'I Fløjl'. This also include a focus on rural people's clothing see Andersen, *Danske Bønders*.

37 Translated by the author. Quoting Venborg Pedersen, *Moden*, pp. 32-33.

38 Dahl, 'Dressing', pp. 145, 156. On women's clothes in sixteenth century Sweden see, Andersson, 'Women's Dress'.

39 Translated by the author. Quoting Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger', pp. 10-11, 403. Most garments can be dated to the 1650s or 1660s, but some dates from the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. On knitted items and shoes from sixteenth and seventeenth-century Denmark, see Ringgaard, 'Silk Knitted Waistcoats', Ringgaard, 'Framing Early', Andersen, 'Mellem Brosten', Ringgaard, 'To Par Strixstrømper'.

40 Translated by author. Quoting Rimstad, pp. 400-401.

41 Degn and Dübeck, Håndværkets Kulturhistorie *Kulturhistorie*, pp. 118-120. The point that their wardrobes were of lower value is also pointed out in Degn, *Rig Og Fattig*, pp. 296-297.

42 Johansen, *Ti Kongers Tøj*, p. 54.

43 On source material from Elsinore see Pedersen, 'Renæssancens Helsingør', pp. 68-76. Copenhagen was the largest town and capital of the kingdom, but no inventories have survived from this period.

44 Population growth occurred from the beginning of the sixteenth century into the seventeenth century. Historian Alex Wittendorf argues that the population in 1640 counted 800,000 people, and he assumes that around 1500 it would have counted 600,000 individuals, Wittendorff, *På Guds*, pp. 23-24. Using tax protocols, the historian Thomas Riis calculates the population numbers in Elsinore, arguing that it was most prosperous between 1590 and 1650. In 1567 he estimates

the population at 1,740, in 1577, 2,540, in 1587, 3,640, in 1597, 4,825, in 1607, 4,870, in 1617, 5,600, in 1628, 5,190, and in 1637, 4,675. The population increase between 1577 and 1587 could be explained by the building of Kronborg. Riis, *Should 2*, pp. 9-16. Historians Lone Hvass and Torben Bill-Jessen estimate a population of around 6,000 in the first part of the seventeenth century, Hvass and Bill-Jessen, *Christian 4.*, p. 57. Based on calculations of baptisms, Laurits Pedersen calculates the population number in 1641 to be 8,160, 7,620 in 1646 and 6,271 in 1651, Pedersen, 'Renæssancens Helsingør' pp. 195-198. Povl Eller claims that the town had a population around 5,000 and was one of the larger trading towns, Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*, p. 13.

45 Wittendorf argues that Copenhagen was the largest town of 10,000 to 15,000 people in the sixteenth century: other larger trading towns included Malmoe, Aalborg, Ribe and Odense, Wittendorff, *På Guds*, pp. 46, 48. According to historian Grethe Jacobsen, the largest towns in 1588 included Copenhagen with a population of 7,000, while towns such as Malmoe kept a population of 3,000-5,000. Elsinore was smaller with a population of 1,000-5,000, Jacobsen, *Kvinder, Køn*, p. 99.

46 Quoting Orgier, *Det Store*, p. 15.

47 Thomas Riis, *Should 1*, p. 157, Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*, pp. 72-73.

48 Tønnesen, *Helsingørs Udenlandske*, pp. 15, 25. The sound toll was one of the main incomes for the Danish King, Jensen, 'Øresunds Strategiske', p. 46, Gøbel, 'Øresundstolden', p. 44. On the significance of the toll and an overview of the literature on the toll see Degn, *Tolden i Sundet*, pp. 9-26.

49 Quoting Morrison, *An Itinerary*, p. 65.

50 Dahl, 'Dressing', p. 132.

51 http://dietrich.soundtoll.nl/public/advanced.php?id=4018058. (Accessed 2 December 2022) The University of Groningen and Tresoar, Frisian Historical and Literary Centre at Leeuwarden have digitalized and made the Soundtoll-protocols available in a database: http://www.soundtoll.nl/index.php/en/onderzoek/zoek-en-in-de-sonttol-database.

52 Thomas Riis, *Should 1*, p. 155, Tønnesen, *Helsingørs Udenlandske*, pp. 25-67

53 Pedersen, *Haandværksskik* p. 1, Tønnesen, *Helsingørs Udenlandske*, pp. 53-54, 59-60, 64. Pedersen, 'Renæssancens Helsingør', p. 248.

54 Hvass and Bill-Jessen, *Christian 4.*, pp. 355-359.

55 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 239, Pedersen, 'Renæssancens Helsingør', p. 249.

56 Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 36-37, Pappano and Rice, 'Medieval and Early', p. 476

57 James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, p. 3.

58 Mazo Karras, *From Boys*, p. 111.

59 For a general discussion of the term artisan see Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, pp. 31-33. Dennis Romano points out how Italian artisans as part of the *populani* were a group of people who enjoyed no special privileges or legal rights, but what distinguished them from each other was their occupation. The more prosperous commoners, who kept workshops or employed workers, were members of the *popolo grande,* Romano, *Patricians and Popolani*, pp. 27-38.

60 For an overview of these discussions see Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, pp. 31-32.

61 R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, p.15.

62 Pappano and Rice, 'Medieval and Early', p. 575, Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 2. Sandra Cavallo argues in her study of barbers in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Italy, that occupations, such as barbers, wigmakers, surgeons, tailors, jewellers, and upholsters seemingly unconnected, constitute a culturally homogeneous occupational milieu. 'They all strive to make the body healthy, attractive and comfortable by their care and treatment of the figure', Cavallo, *Artisans of the*, p. 82.

63 Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*, p. 40.

64 Pappano and Rice, 'Medieval and Early', p. 575.

65 Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 2.

66 Degn and Dübeck argue that goldsmiths were close to the merchant group, but prosperous crafts also included shoemakers, smiths, bakers and butchers, who could run larger businesses or provided food products that were necessities, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 98-99. The historian C. Nyrop mentions how brewers and retailers were the highest ranked in sixteenth and seventeen-century Copenhagen. In 1525 the rank of guilds was goldsmiths, bakers, smiths, shoemakers, tailors, strap-makers and wallet-makers, butchers, barbers, furriers and tanners. In 1650 goldsmiths, barbers, bakers, smiths, shoemakers and tailors were still ranked highest, followed by butchers, passementerie makers, painters, furriers, joiners, bookbinders, coopers, carpenters, bricklayers and weavers, Nyrop, *Om Lavenes*, pp. 4-5.

67 Translated by the author. Quoting Wittendorff, *På Guds*, p. 46.

68 On this see esp. Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, p. 33, but also James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, p. 114, Marshall, *The Local Merchants*, p. 27.

69 Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, p. 33.

70 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 15-17, Scocozza, 'Danskerne i Renaissancen' pp. 48-52.

71 Degn, *Rig Og Fattig*, pp. 70-71. Moreover, Degn argues that the fee for becoming a citizen in Ribe could be significant for a artisa, adding up to almost three weeks of salary.

72 Scocozza, 'Danskerne i Renaissancen', p. 49, Wittendorff, *På Guds*, p. 46.

73 A law from Elsinore issued on 8 June 1606 distinguished between brides or daughters of a mayor, councilman or merchant and brides or daughters of artisan and commoners, Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp. 211-212. A law from 1624 (repeated in 1643) illustrates a town hierarchy of clergymen, mayors, councilmen, trading merchants, followed by prosperous artisans, and ordinary artisans, Secher, *Corpus 1622-1638*, pp. 157-158.

74 Author's own translations. Quoting Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 9, 109. They estimate the wealth of an artisan on average was one-quarter the wealth of a merchant.

75 Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, p. 32.

76 Pappano and Rice, 'Medieval and Early', pp. 475-476, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 12, 16-17.

77 Pappano and Rice, 'Medieval and Early', p. 476.

78 Scocozza, 'Danskerne i Renaissancen', p. 50, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 19.

79 Henrik Smith's Danish-Latin dictionary *Libellus Vocum Latinarum* from 1563 explains *embedsmand,* a common term for a artisan as: 'every artisan who does and uses some craft', http://renæssancesprog.dk/renaissance/ordboger/Smith1563/185/text?query_id=3715, (Accessed 30 September 2019). Similarly Poul Jensen Colding's dictionary *Dictionarium Herlovianum* from 1626, explains the term *håndværkere* a term for artisan as: 'Artisans who have their guild', http://renæssancesprog.dk/renaissance/ordboger/Colding1626/229/text?query_id=3713, (Accessed 30 September 2019). The same dictionary links artisans to a working context: 'artisans on Wood/ Stone and Ore', http://renæssancesprog.dk/renaissance/ordboger/Colding1626/229/text?query_id=3713, (Accessed 30 September 2019).

80 Translated by the author. Quoted from Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 9.

81 Degn and Dübeck, p. 99.

82 Translated by the author. Quoted from, Laursen, *Kancelliets 1576-1579*, pp. 483, 688-689.

83 Authors own translation. Quoting Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Trolddom* , pp. 21-22.

84 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 516.

85 Translated by the author. Quoting Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 644.

86 Quoting Rosenthal, 'Cultures of Clothing', pp. 460. See also 473.

87 Quoting Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p. 25.

88 McCall, 'Materials for Fashion', p. 1455.

89 Rosenthal, 'Cultures of Clothing', p. 470. Alan Hunt argues that there was an absence of rules on occupational clothes, focusing on expensive and sumptuous items of clothing but eventually symbols of recognisability such as headwear, Hunt, *Governance* , pp. 113-115.

90 Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English*, pp. 193-195.

91 Translated by the author. Quoting Erslev, *Rigsraaders II*, p. 577.

92 Erslev, *Rigsraaders II*, p. 557, Translated by the author. Quoting Secher, *Corpus 1558-1575*, p. 30.

93 Jespersen, 'At Være' p. 31. In 1570 the mayor of Elsinore proclaimed how 'people practice new habits with unusual costs and un-necessary expenses and at weddings, confinements and other festivities'. Translated by the author. Quoting Tønnesen, *Helsingørs Udenlandske*, p. 19.

94 Jespersen, 'At Være', p. 35. Few of the laws focus specifically on clothes of lower levels, but many target clothes and adornments worn by the nobility, such as laws from 1576, 1586, 1603, 1615, 1617 and 1622. For more on sumptuary laws issued in the period 1550–1650, see for instance, Secher, *Corpus 1558–1575*, p. 30, Secher, *Corpus 1576-1595*, pp. 39-40, 447, Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp, 158-159, 444, 516, 643-654, 665-667, Secher, *Corpus 1622-1638*. pp. 14, 155-165, Secher, *Corpus 1639-1650*, 278-283. On the history and an overview of the research on sumptuary laws, see Riello and Rublack, 'Introduction' pp. 4-7. See also Riello and Rublack, *The Right To*, Hunt, *Governance*, Howell, *Commerce Before*. Owen Hughes, 'Sumptuary Law', Muzzaerelli, 'Reconciling' Andersson, 'Dangerous Fashions' Pajur, *Dress Matters*.

95 The 1558 law issued on 13 December was a reiteration of a law issued in 1547. Two laws were issued in 1621, on 20 February and 23 August. The content of a law from 1 May 1624 was repeated in a law issued on 27 February 1643.

96 The law discusses artisans and engagement gifts, but also servants and dishonest women's wedding clothes and adornments. The general clothes of 'bridal people' are mentioned. The term burgher used in sumptuary laws is problematic, since the burgher estate included both ordinary artisans and more affluent merchants and many other occupations, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 16. But it appears that the laws might refer to the broader town population. The 1558 law and the law issued on 20 February 1621 are aimed at 'burgher people' and 'people of the burgher estate' and women. The law issued in August in 1621 uses the term 'burghers' but emphasises that this is people below the nobility. A law issued in Copenhagen in 1610 aimed at burghers illustrates a hierarchy of mayors, councilmen and merchants, followed by artisans. Below artisans were groups such as workers, day labourers and others, Jespersen, 'At Være', pp. 40-41.

97 Secher, *Corpus 1622-1638*, pp. 155-158.

98 Swedish sumptuary laws permitted some items for higher-ranked burghers. For instance in 1664 a law allowed only the better of burghers to wear velvet, indicating that the term burgers covered a wider social range, Andersson, 'Foreign Seductions', p. 17, Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers'', p. 180. In Tallinn sumptuary laws did not distinguish between burghers who were artisans or merchants. It appears that people's occupation did not matter: a burgher was a person who had sworn the burgher's oath or was engaged

in town politics. In the case of women, the term 'burgher' seem to refer to only merchants, Pajur, *Dress Matters*, p. 68.

99 A law issued in Aalborg in 1560, for instance dealt with adornments of brides, Wulff, 'Magistratsvedtægter', p.155. In 1561 and 1607 dress and adornment was regulated in Ribe dealing with clothes worn by 'Danish women', poor women, servant maids and widowers in church, at weddings and in public, 'Anordning', pp. 273-274, 276. Kinch, *Ribe*, pp. 94-96, 262. In 1606 in Elsinore a law regulated bridal adornments of daughters or brides marrying a mayor, merchant, councilman, artisan and commoner, Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp. 211-212. In 1610 a law on weddings in Copenhagen contained regulations on adornments of burghers' daughters and servants, Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Diplomentarium I*, pp. 585-586. In Ringkøbing in 1611 a law mentioned dress worn by women in public, Storgaard Pedersen, *P.N. Frosts*, p. 25.

100 Translated by the author. Quoting 'Anordning', p. 274. According to Eva Andersson, sumptuary laws targeted clothes of servants, infamous women and women of low status, because they threated the social order, Andersson, 'Dangerous Fashions', p. 157. A law from Aalborg issued in 1556 noted that prostitutes were banned from wearing clothes of plain silk, velvet, satin, atlas, camlet, say, *skellert*, a think silk, or headwear of fine linen, that honest 'Danish women' wore. Girdles in silver, gold or other jewellery and dress ornamentations of precious metals were also banned, Wulff, 'Magistratsvedtægter', p. 145.

101 Ranking populations by allowing them to wear certain clothes or fabrics was, according to Riello and Rublack: 'a utopic project that relied on ideas of past times when hierarchies had existed untouched and unchallenged,' Riello and Rublack, 'Introduction', p. 12. On problems of enforcing sumptuary laws, see also Kovesi Killerby, 'Practical'.

102 Previously scholars have studied inventories from Elsinore to examine material culture and possessions of paintings, see Olrik, *Borgerlige Hjem*, Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*. On inventories in Denmark see Jørgensen, *Skifter Og Testamenter*, Andersen, *Selv Dødsboer*, Degn, 'Skifters Repræsentavitet', Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*, pp. 13-16.

103 For recent studies exploring sixteenth and seventeenth-century dress that have used inventories as a primary source, see, for example, Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers'', Dahl, 'Dressing', Sturtewagen, 'All Together', Pajur, *Dress Matters*.

104 In addition, inventories include descriptive paragraphs on the families' particular conditions, and provide access to artisans' property and household wealth inheritance, and the actions of the people who made the inventory, Riello, 'Things Seen', p. 127.

105 Riello, 'Things Seen', p. 127, Kuuse, 'The Probate', p. 22, Andersen, *Selv Dødsboer*, p. 5. From Elsinore the protocol from 1571–1582 have been transcribed and published, see Dupont, *Helsingør*. Inventories from the sixteenth and seventeenth century have survived from towns such as Aalborg, Grenaa, Holbæk, Kalundborg, Køge, Nakskov, Nyborg, Odense, Randers, Ribe, Rudkøbing, Varde and Vordingborg, from Scania, Landscrona, Malmoe, and Norway, Væ-Christianstad, and Ystad. Camilla Luise Dahl has transcribed inventories from many of those towns, focusing on articles of dress. https://ctr.hum.ku.dk/research-programmes-and-projects/previous-programmes-and-projects/early-modern/postdocproject/extracts/.

106 Andersen, *Selv Dødsboer*, p. 5. In 1605, a law was issued in Elsinore to prevent people from drawing up inventories and dividing property among the heirs without the presence of the town bailiff, treasurer and notary. For an overview of laws issued in Danish towns before 1683, see Jørgensen, *Skifter Og Testamenter*, p. 12.

107 From 1556, few inventory documents exist, and inventories can be included in town court protocols, but none from artisans or their wives. It can be assumed that most people had

their property drawn up. For instance from 1637 to 1648, Dahl has compared the number of inventories with the number of burials that took place in Elsinore, noting that almost all adults from both low and higher levels of society had their possessions valued and recorded in an inventory, Dahl, 'Dressing', p. 134. Other scholars have noted the absence of inventories from lower levels. Riello for instance notes the lack of inventories from the lower strata of society, Riello, 'Things Seen' p. 36. Ole Degn also notes that in Ribe people with lower incomes were underrepresented, Degn, 'Skifters Repræsentavitet', p. 108.

108 Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*, p. 14. Eller notes that if numerous inventories were made, the first inventory was usually made when the home was sealed off. A second inventory was made when the house was re-opened. Additional inventories could be made to record and pay creditors. In cases where more than one inventory exists for a person, the first inventory or the one with most clothing is included.

109 Artisans are usually recorded with their first name and family name, but also their occupation. A person's occupation could also be his surname. Artisans' wives are often identified by their husband's name. Being in an international environment we should consider that names change meaning in translation. The English name Smith, for instance, refers in Danish to the occupation of a smith.

110 The inventories studied for this dissertation consist of 280 post-mortem inventories; in addition, a further 14 inventories that were made to recover debts, or because the owner ran away, was banished from the town or left goods in the possession of others, are also used. When an inventory was made for a couple, it is not always clear who died first, but it appears that the entire household's clothing was recorded. On 15 February 1578, the joiner Oluf Snedker and his wife Elline Pedersdatter's goods were made up because they had both passed away. Also, when one person died it appears that the entire household goods could be made up. When Sine Olufsdatter, wife to the hook maker Hans Hansen, died, all their household goods were made up in her inventory dated 9 March 1629.

111 Riis, *Should 2*, p. 15.

112 This total number reflects the number of objects, such as garments or accessories, as well as units of lengths and weights for textiles, trimmings, raw materials and jewelry. Most of these data are accessible online: https://refashioningrenaissance.eu/database/. A pair was recorded as one item. If an entry indicated that there were more than one of an object, but the precise number is unknown it was given a value of two. Within the group of textiles, trimmings, and jewellery and fabric items in inventories were recorded by the number of items, weights and lengths. This type of information is not suitable for quantitative analysis.

113 But the information is used throughout the study to elaborate on artisanal clothing culture.

114 Riello, 'Things Seen', pp. 127-129. On the process of making an inventory see also pp. 130-135.

115 'i Kappe ij dr cur 8 sk';'i Gammel bomsies Trøye i dlr i8 sk';'i Gammel Rød vlden Skiort i ort';' '3 Nye skiorter till i slet dr - 2 dr i ort i2 sk'; 3 gammele Skiorter 2 dr';'i Par gammell Trips buxer 3 ort';'i Par Kledis buxer 1 dr';'3 Kraffuer 3 ort';'i Huve i2 sk';'i Hatt i ort 4 sk': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Poul Fønboe Skomager's inventory, 11 August 1620, pp. 220 v – 221 r.

116 Ertel and Karl, 'Introduction-Inventories', p. 22.

117 Kuuse, 'The Probate', p. 22.

118 Jan Kuuse argues how valuations in Swedish probate inventories in general were low, Kuuse p. 22. In Ribe, inventories from 1650 to 1660 also reveal that values assigned to goods were lower than what could be offered at auction, Degn, 'Skifters Repræsentavitet', p. 110.

119 'i g: blaa bai shiørt 2 mk';'i g: sort kledis Trøie i ½ mk';'i g: Cuinde hue med Bremmer for 8 sk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Povl Maler's inventory, 27 September 1649, p. 77 r.

120 Ertel and Karl, 'Introduction-Inventories', p. 22.

121 Iull, *Fællig Og Hovedlod*, p. 288. Only 19 (0.4%) items of children's clothing are recorded. According to Degn, not recording children's garments was a way of saving time, because the children would inherit it in any case, Degn, 'Skifters Repræsentavitet', p. 111.

122 Ertel and Karl, 'Introduction-Inventories', pp. 15-16, 22.

123 See esp. Aneer, *Skrädderi*, Johansen, *Ti Kongers Tøj*, Flamand Christensen, *De Danske Kongers*.

124 Translated by the author. Quoting Johansen, *Ti Kongers Tøj*, pp. 89-91.

125 'i Leffuerbrunt klede shørt 10 mk': RAHBS: 1648-1650, Jens Pedersen Smed and Kirsten Hansdatter's inventory, 20 February 1649, p. 22 v.

126 Dahl, suggests that these were clothing items that had to be divided between the heirs to even out the inheritance portions between the widow or children or other heirs, or leftover garments from a previous spouse that had not yet been sold or altered, Dahl, 'Dressing', p. 138

127 12.8% of all clothing items were specified to be men's garments and 9.7% women's garments.

128 Riello, 'Things Seen', p. 127, Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers'', pp. 172-174.

129 On how to investigate artisan clothing in this period see Sindvald Larsen, 'Artisans and Dress'.

130 Scholars studying sixteenth and seventeenth-century dress have within the last two decades combined archival evidence, inventories, printed literature, account books and court protocols with visual and material evidence, this includes studies such as Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, Currie, 'Clothing', Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', North, *Sweet and Clean*.

131 The diary of the butcher family residing in Elsinore has been published and discussed by Torben Bill-Jessen and Lone Hvass, see Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*.

132 I participated in numerous hands-on experiment workshops from 2019–2020. The workshop focused on reconstructing textiles and getting a material and visual knowledge of early modern textiles and textile practices. For instance, I participated in the Historical Bobbin Lace Making Workshop held in New York on 23 March 2019 and the Dirty Laundry workshop, held on 11–12 April 2019 at Aalto University. I also participated in a wool and linen fibre preparation workshop held in Trelleborg in Sweden 11–12 June 2019. The workshop Making Invisible Colours Visible, Natural Dyes and the Methodology of Historical Colour Reconstruction was held on 19–21 September 2019 at Aalto University, the workshop Fake it 'till you Make it: Imitation in Early Modern Clothes and Accessories, was held on 10–12 March at Aalto University.

133 In total fabrics: 5,062 items (40.9%), trimmings: 1,715 items (13.8%), arms: 453 items (3.7%), textile tools: 247 items (2%), jewellery: 131 (1.1%), grooming: 121 items (1%).

PART I.

The wardrobe of Danish artisans – owning, commissioning and ways of using clothing

FIGURE 7. Govert Camphuysen, *Town Inn,* 1664–1665. Oli on canvas, 47x47 cm. Malmoe Art Museum.

Chapter 1. Common garments and textiles

The basic wardrobe

A seventeenth-century painting by the Netherlandish artist Govert Camphuysen presents a scene of a group of informally dressed people gathered at a town inn, probably in Scania (figure 7). Most men wear linen shirts with collars and a combination of stockings, breeches, doublets, caps or broad-brimmed hats, and slippers, boots or shoes of leather. The women are dressed in stockings, skirts, doublets, white linen partlets, caps and slippers and shoes. The image shows one of the essential features of early modern dress: the sumptuous layering of clothes.[1] But in strong contrast to some of the fashions of the time, the clothes are bulky and loose, seemingly made of out coarse or plain materials, usually in brown and grey or sometimes in red or blue.[2]

The garments worn by both men and women at the town inn seem to represent typical basic garments of the ordinary people of the time.[3] The inventories examined for this study show that the most common type of garments for men and women from artisan ranks were shirts, shifts, woollen waistcoats, bodices and vests, doublets, gowns and tunics, skirts, breeches, hose and stockings, or suits.[4] Their outerwear included cloaks and mantles, and they often owned a range of small accessories, especially collars, caps and hats, linen scarves and partlets and kerchiefs worn by both men and women, aprons (table 4).

FIGURE 8. A woman's white linen smock, 1603–1610. Museum of London.

FIGURE 9. Govert Camphuysen. *Town Inn,* 1664–1665. (detail) Malmoe Art Museum.

TABLE 4. Common types of dress and clothing items.[5]

Type of clothing item	%	Number
Shirt	13.1%	609
Collar	10.5%	489
Doublet	9.6%	448
Cloak/mantle	9.4%	438
Cap/hat	9.1%	426
Skirt/petticoat	6.7%	310
Breeches	5.3%	248
Shift/smock	5.0%	233
Lining	3.9%	181
Bodice/vest	3.8%	177
Scarf/partlet	3.6%	166
Apron	3.1%	146
Gown/tunic	3.1%	144
Suit	2.5%	116
Hose/stockings	2.3%	108
Kerchief	2.3%	109
Waistcoat/overshirt	1.1%	51

FIGURE 10. The castle notary Jens Madsen's wife Pernille Otisdatter. Painted epitaph from Our Lady church in Nyborg 1654. Erik Fjordside/www.livinghistory.dk.

Shirts, shifts. Artisans and their wives wore shirts or shifts as underwear closest to the skin. Shirts and shifts, usually of linen, were the most common pieces of clothing, representing 18.8% of all clothing items. The hookmaker Tønnes Condert, for example, represents a relatively typical case: he owned five shirts and five shifts.[6] Shirts and shifts were straight-sided garments and, as surviving items indicate, they could be decorated on the neckband, sleeves or in the area between the shoulder and the chest, like an English smock from the first part of the seventeenth century (figure 8). Shirts and shifts were usually worn with separate collars, but sometimes other types of linen were worn around the neck area, such as scarves or partlets, as seen in the details of a depiction from a town inn (figure 9).[7]

Woollen waistcoats. Some garments occupied the space between a linen shirt or smock and a doublet or bodice.[8] The inventory of the strapmaker Hans Vagner, for example, included a woollen waistcoat (*uldenskjorte*) which was probably cut as an open-fronted simple overshirt or jacket. This was worn underneath the coat or tunic with a pair of leather breeches.[9] Most often such garments were made of wool, such as broadcloth, kersey, bay or a wool twill called perpetuana, but a costly black shirt belonging to the shoemaker Christoffer Steffensens's wife Mette Hansdatter was made of fine grosgrain.[10] Woollen waistcoats recorded in artisanal inventories were often red, and these could be lined, indicating that they were worn for

FIGURE 11. The noblewoman Hillebrandt Daa. Painted epitaph from Tjele Church ca. 1583. Erik Fjordside/livinghistory.com.

FIGURE 12. Unknown man, probably sixteenth century. Tombstone from Lund Carhedral. Erik Fjordside/livinghistory.com.

warmth as well as for show when visible.[11] Knitted waistcoats in particular were a costly novelty. The conservator Maj Ringaard notes that such waistcoats appear in a painted epitaph in Nyborg Church, from 1654. The image portrays a castle notary's wife, wearing a fine green knitted waistcoat (*nattrøje*) with gold and silver embroidery (figure 10).[12] Although probably not as elaborate, a knitted waistcoat was recorded in the carpenter Falentin von Hartz's inventory.[13]

Gowns and tunics. Both men and women wore gowns and tunics (*kjortel, kjol*). These included various types, such as plain gowns and tunics, over and undergowns and gowns for travelling, riding and parading with the military.[14] The inventory of the butcher Poul Slagter, and his wife Kirstine Mads Krogemager, for instance, shows that Poul dressed in a black tunic (*livkjortel*) made of fine English broadcloth, a type of gown reserved for men, whereas Kirstine owned two undergowns, one black and one brown.[15] The epitaph of the noblewoman Hillebrandt Daa and an unknown man on a tombstone gives insight into what such gowns may have looked like (figures 11 and 12). Depending on the material of the garment, it was worn indoors or outdoors. Heavy cloth and linings would make a gown suitable for an outer garment, while thin fabrics and linings were suitable for indoor use and special

occasions.[16] Wives also particularly wore a zimarra (*sammari*), a long overgown usually open at the front. The joiner's wife Kirstine Søren Snedker, for instance, recorded a black zimarra made from fine wool.[17]

Bodices and vests. The records also mention a range of upper body garments, worn by both men and women, such as vests, bodices or jerkins, made of leather, fine silks, wool and mixed materials.[18] The brushmaker Jost Clemmedsen, for instance, owned a brown vest or jerkin (*livstykke*) worn with a pair of brown breeches and another of made of caffa silk.[19] These upper body garments could be worn with or without sleeves and fastened with eyes or hooks of silver.[20] For instance, the hookmaker wife Sine Olufsdatter's clothing drawn up in her inventory included a bodice adorned with 12 pairs of silver eyelets.[21]

Doublets. In addition to gowns, doublets (*trøje*) were one of the most common upper body garments worn by both men and women.[22] Men wore this tight-fitting garment over a shirt or waistcoat. Doublets were complex garments. They could be padded or stiffened with bombast or buckram, wool or horsehair.[23] The miller journeyman Abraham Ber, for instance owned a doublet padded with cotton.[24] Although doublets were more common for men, women also wore doublets over a shirt or sleeveless bodice for special occasions.[25] For instance Birgitte Madsdatter, wife to the master bricklayer Christen Nielsen, owned four doublets made of wool and *fifskaft* (likely a mixed fabric), some dyed brown, perhaps similar in shape to the red doublet seen in the image of the town inn (figure 9).[26] A large proportion of the doublets recorded in the inventories were made of materials that were considered valuable, such as fine broadcloth, a range of mixed materials and luxurious silk fabrics.[27] For instance, the inventory of the tailor Laurids Rasmussen included a man's doublet made of fine grosgrain.[28] Some were also lined or trimmed with fur, adorned with trimmings and closed with hooks or eyes, showing that doublets even at the lower social levels could be ornate garments.[29] Although doublets were usually recorded separately, they often formed part of a suit (*klædning*), usually worn by men. A suit consisted of a doublet and a pair of breeches for men and a doublet and a skirt for women.[30]

Breeches. Artisans often wore a pair of breeches (*bukser*) with the doublet, typically knee-length by the seventeenth century.[31] Ordinary men's breeches, perhaps typical for the century, can be seen the image of the inn (figure 13). Within the artisanal wardrobe, breeches were typically made of grey, brown or black woollen cloth, leather, trip or coarse linen.[32] For example, the modest carpenter Claus Horn had two pairs of breeches, one made of

FIGURE 13. Govert Camphuysen. *Town Inn,* 1664-1665. (detail) Malmoe Art Museum.

brown woollen cloth, another from coarse linen, which he could wear with his red woollen waistcoat, a linen collar and a hat.[33]

Hose and *stockings*. Breeches were usually combined with a matching pair of tight-fitting knitted or cloth stockings, According to Paula Hohti, knitted stockings in the early modern period were 'not just among the privileged rich but also at the lower ranks of society'.[34] The data reveal, however, that knitted stockings – then a novelty – were not yet common among artisans: only 14 pairs of stockings in the entire sample were specified as being knitted.[35] Instead, a range of traditional tailored hose (*hoser, strømper*) made of wool, linen, leather or silk are recorded.[36] For instance, the tailor journeyman Søren Knudsen owned a pair of knitted stockings as well as a pair of leather hose.[37]

Skirts. Women usually wore a skirt (*skørt*) with the bodice or doublet.[38] These were often colourful and made of wool or mixed materials. Some were trimmed or lined and closed with hooks, eyes or lacing.[39] The inventory of the passementerie maker Jacob Bild, for instance, included a black skirt with three rows of cords.[40] This might have looked similar to the skirt worn by the 'Danish woman' in the engraving made by Jan van Craenhals, printed in 1643 by Wenceslaus Hollar (figure 14). Several skirts could be layered upon each other, either for warmth or to provide volume and show off the inner layers

FIGURE 14. Jan van Craenhals, *Mulier Danica*, 1643. Engraving from the book *Theatrum Mulierum And Aula Veneris*, by Wenceslaus Hollar. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

FIGURE 15. Mayor of Horsens Anders Jørgensen. First part of seventeenth century. Painted epitaph from Horsens Abbey Church (detail). Erik Kjærside/www.livinghistory.dk.

and colours of clothes.[41] For instance, the inventory of the turner Axel Drejer listed one blue underskirt, which could have been worn underneath the other black, brown or grey skirts mentioned in the inventory.[42]

Overgarments. The outer layer of clothes was usually the most lavishly decorated with linings, facings or trimmings.[43] Outer garments, such as cloaks and mantles, were usually made of black wool. They played an important role in the artisanal wardrobe that could and could be worn in daily life and for special occasions.[44] Cloaks worn by women were either pleated, possibly similar to the Danish woman depicted in the Craenhals print, or straight; and they could be long or short (figure 14). Practical cloaks were also common among artisanal people.[45] For instance, the inventory of Marine Lauridsdatter, wife of the baker Erik Bager, show that she owned a practical cloak, a pleated cloak and a fine cloak that was adorned with printed velvet.[46] Danish male artisans, in turn, wore often black woollen mantles of varying length.[47] The glazier Rasmus Jensen's, for example, owned a black mantle with a velvet collar, in addition to a cheap old black mantle.[48] A fine male artisan's black mantle may have been similar to the mantle worn by the mayor in the town of Horsens named Anders Jørgensen (figure 15).

Accessories. The inventories of Danish artisans and their wives also include a range of small accessories such as bags, pouches, girdles, shoes, gloves and hats. Moreover, as many as 19.6% of all items owned by the artisans and their wives consisted of linen accessories such as collars, scarves, partlets, caps and hats. This shows that small accessories were important in artisans' appearance. The modest tinker Hans Jørgensen, for example, could finish his plain outfit, made of a pair of breeches, doublet and a brown woollen mantle, with one of his five linen collars, a black hat and a pair of boots.[49] Linen collars were recorded in numerous styles, such as shirt collars, straight (*slet*), ruffled *(ru*), thick (*tyck*), and sky (*sky*) collar. Such collars were used to express personal taste, or their style varied depending on the occasion they were worn.[50] Collars and ruffs were appreciated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because they extended the body shape beyond its natural limits and drew the onlooker's attention to the face.[51]

FIGURE 16. A felted hat. Late seventeenth century. Excavated from Rådhuspladsen in Copenhagen. Photo Charlotte Rimstad.

Headwear was a particularly significant feature of artisanal dress. According to the early modern historian Evelyn Welch, hats were a way to construct 'visible communities' and to express status, connection, superiority or subordination.[52] Whether made of wool, fur, rich silk or linen, caps were essential for an artisan's outfit both on everyday and fine occasions.[53] Black, grey or brown hats, some of them felted, seem to be especially suited to fine occasions.[54] A black felted hat was listed among the clothes of the kettlesmith named Oluf Tygesen. This could have been similar to the surviving felted hat excavated from the underground of Rådhuspladsen in Copenhagen (figure 16).[55]

Materials and colours

The painting of the people at the inn shows ordinary people dressed in brown, grey, red and blue linens and other fabrics (figure 17). These colours are also recorded within the archival clothing data. The skirts, doublets, cloaks and mantles, gowns and suits of clothes of artisans and their wives were most often dyed black, brown, red, grey and blue.[56] Black was the most common colour, making up 41.4% of all dyed items. In this sense it is notable that, despite their frequency among Elsinore artisans, black clothes are entirely absent in the illustration that depicts ordinary people at the inn.[57] This sug-

FIGURE 17. Linum usitatissimum as depicted in Simon Paulli's *Flora Danica*, 1648. Royal Library of Denmark.

FIGURE 18. Fine woollen broadcloth. (detail) Seventeenth century. The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

gest that at least the finest black clothes, which were expensive, were reserved among common people for fine occasions.[58]

The colour and type of the fabric one wore mattered.[59] The lower-middling groups were expected to dress to reflect their lower status in society. According to a sumptuary law from 1558, neither burghers nor peasants or their children were allowed to wear velvet, damask or silk. This left the ranks below the nobility the option to wear wool, found in many varieties and in fine and humble qualities.[60]

Archival records show that most clothing items of Elsinore's artisans and local small traders were made of linen or other plant fibres. These were followed by items of wool, then silks, mixed fabrics, leather and fur. Nearly a third of all clothing items did not specify the material at all, indicating that these were made of inexpensive and common materials.[61]

That so many clothing items were made of linen, mainly of unspecified fibre composition, reflects the frequent use of linen as underwear, and caps, aprons, neckwear, and headwear were common. Many of these were made of flax or coarse linen. The fibres were usually prepared from the flax plant

(linum usitatissimum) which produced a thick and strong fibre with little elasticity (figure 17).[62] In 1634, the Frenchman Charles Ogier, who visited Elsinore in the same year, noted that there was no abundance of flax or hemp in this country, presuming that linen was probably imported.[63] This is confirmed by inventories. For instance, the miller Jens Sørensen owned two costly shirts made of fine Dutch imported linen.[64]

Wool was the second most frequent material. Plain and coarse wool suited people of middling status because ordinary wool was considered modest and was a durable material.[65] Wool came in many qualities and grades. According to a 1556 sumptuary law from Haderslev, a town located in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in the Duchy of Schleswig, higher-ranked artisans such as goldsmiths could wear doublets either of a light woollen twill known as say, a coarser woollen fabric known as *makej*, or camlet (a mixed fabric made of wool, hair or silk), and broadcloth could be used for gowns (*kjortel*). Ordinary artisans, on the other hand, could wear gowns of just English cloth, bombazine for doublets and use say or serge (*sardug*) only for their hose.[66]

Based on their inventories, the clothing cupboards of artisans included both heavy and light wool fabrics. Plain cloth (*klæde)* and fine English broadcloth (*engelsk*), either imported or woven of English wool, were particularly frequently mentioned in artisanal inventories, likely because woollen fabrics were permitted by sumptuary law.[67] Broadcloth was expensive because of its soft and fine quality, created by its fine long woollen fibres, even weave and fine finishing of fulling and napping that created a surface which was 'shiny as a mirror' (figure 18).[68] Such highly valuable fabrics were found in the possession of the joiner Oluf Snedker and his wife Elline Pedersdatter, for example. They had a range of garments made of fine English cloth, including a black man's tunic, a black mantle and black cap, and a women's brown gown, black cloak and cape (a short overgarment).[69]

Lighter woollen fabrics, such as say (a woollen twill) or bay (a loose woven fabric with a napped surface) were also popular in artisanal wardrobes. The sawyer Oluf Marsing's clothing items included a floral patterned say doublet, an old cloak made of *hundskot* (likely a fine lightweight twill woven say fabric produced in the Flemish town of Hoondscoote), and an old red doublet made of bay.[70] Say was popular because it was lighter and cheaper fabric than traditional broadcloth, but it was by no means cheap. To acquire enough Hoondscoote single say for a man's suit, a master mason had to work, according to John Munro, for almost 14 days.[71]

Even though silk was rare and heavily regulated by sumptuary law, garments of silk were also found in artisan inventories and not limited to the wealthier groups of society.[72] For most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most silks were banned for people below the nobility. Some sumptuary laws, such as those issued in 1621, allowed people below the nobility to use lower-grade silks in certain parts of their outfit.[73] The laws issued on 20 February stated that, in addition to fine woollen cloth, burghers could use silk 'on their heads' and 'on their cloaks and doublets', as long as the silk was not velvet, caffa or other silk fabric of a similar high value.[74] A few months later, in another law issued on 23 August, the laws permitted burghers to wear silk manufactured in Denmark but not velvet, atlas, silk, grosgrain, and taffeta.[75]

Despite sumptuary regulations, artisanal inventories included in total fourteen different types of silk, many of which were formally forbidden from them. These included velvet, grosgrain, damask, atlas, *sindeldort* and caffa used especially to make outerwear, gowns, doublets, breeches, vests, suits, bodices, skirts, caps, linings, or facings that would only be included in the visible part of a garment.[76]

Because of the high cost, heavy fabrics such as velvet were mainly used in items that required small amounts of fabrics. For instance, 20.4% of all silk items were small velvet caps. This shows how people with limited financial means could gain access to expensive silks and might sometimes rather put their money into one fine object than owning many clothing items that were of inferior or cheaper silks. Few of the artisan ranks, however, were able to afford large garments in velvet.[77] Some inventories especially noted the plush effect that made these items so conspicuous. The inventory of the master barber Adam Raider showed he owned a pair of breeches that were described as made of 'hairy' velvet.[78] In comparison to the heavy silk velvet and caffa, silks like grosgrain, plain damasks, atlas and *sindeldort*, a lower-grade silk, were lighter.[79] Because these were cheaper than heavy velvets and caffa, their use was more flexible, and they could be used for doublets, cloaks, skirts, bodices or vests.[80]

A range of mixed fabrics, many of which were a novelty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, provided an alternative to broadcloth or other woollen fabrics. Many mixed fabrics were originally produced in the sixteenth century in Flanders, but the flourishing manufacture spread to Holland, England, France and Italy, and transformed the market with a new range of textiles.[81] The novelty of the new mixed fabrics was that they often mixed silk or wool with linen or goat hair.[82] Mixed fabrics were commonly

used by artisans, especially in doublets, skirts, breeches, sleeves, cloaks but entire suits of clothing were also made of mixed materials.[83]

Especially popular mixed fabrics included the coarse wool or half woollen fabric known as *firtråd*, a woollen velvet *trip,* and a relatively good-quality wool or half-wool fabric *fifskaft*.[84] The inventory of the baker Samuel Hansen, for example, included in addition to his garments of broadcloth a red skirt made of woollen kersey, a bodice of *trip*, an old cloak and old skirt both made of *firtråd*, and an apron and doublet both old and made of *fifskaft*.[85]A range of artisanal clothes were also made from borato, a silk and wool fabric, and from bombazine (a mix of fibres of cotton, linen, silk or hair). Some of the garments made of bombazine were possibly from Bruges, being recorded as *brix* bombazine.[86]

A considerable number of artisan's clothing items were made of leather.[87] Leather was a functional and practical material but well-prepared leather had a variety of other desirable characteristics, too: it was soft and contained high levels of elasticity and could be sewn, dyed, slashed, pinked or stamped with patterns.[88] A range of items were also made of warm fur: squirrel (*gråværk*), sable, fox and marten were used in artisanal clothes, as well as lambskin.[89] For instance, the inventory of the miller Rasmus Torkilsen included a grey men's coat with lambskin and a skirt made of silk borato lined with a unspecified belly fur (*bugfoer*) belonged to his wife Boeld Jensdatter.[90] Fur was also used as a trimming, which will be discussed in more detail in chapter seven. Therefore, leather and fur garments could be both practical as well as objects of status and wealth at once.

The data on artisans' clothing and fabrics inventories reveal that men and women from artisan ranks wore a range of garments made of both traditional and new fabrics, according to what fitted their needs, social standing and economic circumstances. By using the correct materials and colours and draping them on the body in many layers of fabrics, artisans and their wives were able to construct a respectable appearance and show a degree of social standing and wealth.[91]

Notes

1 When fully outfitted, men and women wore up to four layers of clothes according to Frick, Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, pp. 159-160.

2 According to Maria Hayward, blue was a colour often worn by servants, apprentices and the poor. For apprentices' livery this colour was affordable and respectable, Hayward, 'Dressed in Blue', p. 176. Carole Collier Frick, suggest that 'light blue, brown, grey or undyed linens and woollens, were colours and materials associated with working ranks, artisans and shopkeepers, whereas bright colour was not part of their sartorial vocabulary', Frick, 'Body and Clothing', p. 101, Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, p.149.

3 The calculations in this chapter are based on 4,661 items of clothing and accessories included in the categories clothing and accessories. Materials of trimmings are discussed separately in chapters seven and nine.

4 A suit consisting of a pair of hose or breeches, or a skirt worn with a doublet. The category suits only contain suits that gave no information on the types of garments it consisted of. If a suit consisted of a pair of breeches and doublet, it was recorded as breeches and doublet.

5 With more than 50 items out of a sample of 4,661 clothing items and accessories.

6 '2 skiorter 7 mk';'2 skiorter 3 mk';'5 sercke 7mk';'i shiorte 1 mk': RAHBS: 1612-1619, Tønnes Condert Krogemager's inventory, 18 April 1614, p. 73 r.

7 Arnold, Tiramani, and M. Levy, *Patterns*, pp. 9-11, 13. Such details are not recorded in inventories, which could argue that undergarments were plain.

8 These include the garments *uldenskjorte* (90.2%), *nattrøje* (5.9%), but also a few *foderhemming* (2%) and *skjorte* (2%).

9 Ringgaard, 'Silk Knitted Waistcoats', p. 84. 'i Vldenshiortte 2 mk';'i kiortell 2 dl';' 1 Paar Ler buxsser i dl': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Hans Vagner Remmesnider's inventory, 9 June 1608, p. 310 v.

10 'i soertt groffgrøns skiortte For 7 dr'': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Christoffer Steffensen Skomager and Mette Hansdatter's inventory, 22 September 1636, p. 81 v. Few waistcoats were made of woollens such as broadcloth, kersey and perpetuana, and bay.

11 The passementerie maker Willum Dirichsen owned a lined woollen waistcoat. 'i Forit Vlden shiorte 2 d': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Willum Dirichsen Possmentmager's inventory, 10 July 1643, p. 409 r. Waistcoats were generally red (47.1%), blue (39%), white (undyed?) (2%) and black (2%).

12 Ringgaard, 'Silk Knitted Waistcoats', p. 82.

13 'En Knøttet foder hemnit': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Falentin von Hartz Tømmermand's inventory, 31 March 1601, p. 162.

14 These include the garments, *kjortel* (73.6%), *kjol* (15.3%), and zimarra (11.1%). Wearing a gown or tunic (*kjortel*) was common in the sixteenth century, but seems to become less frequent in inventories of the seventeenth century: possibly the garment was old-fashioned, see Rangström, 'Gustav', 64, Venborg Pedersen, *Moden*, p. 36.

15 'Sortt enngilsk liffkiortell – 1';'Vnnderkiortle, enn brun, en sort, wore – 2': RAHBSP: 1571-1583, Poul Slagter and Kirstine Mads Krogemager's children's goods, 15 February 1581, p. 178 v.

16 Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, pp. 22, 32-34, Rangström, 'Gustav', p. 64.

17 'En sortt Sayens Summarj 3 dallr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Peder Snedker's inventory, 30 May 1592, p. 9 r.

18 The terminology makes it difficult to distinguish if these were worn by men or women, since they both refer to a man's or women's garment, but 14.1% were worn by men and 11.9% worn by women. These include linen upperparts (*oplod*) (48%), *livstykke* (29.4%), *snøreliv* (11.9%). Other terms include *liv* (2.8%) *bindeliv* (2.8%), *form* (2.8%) and *overliv* (2.3%). Because of the many upperparts worn as underwear, most of these were made in plant fibres (42%), but also a range of silks (11%), mixed fabrics (8%) and wool (5%).

19 'i bruunt liffstøcke med i par gamle brune buxer 2 dr';'i gamell Caps liiffstøcke for ij mk': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Jost Clemmedsen Børstenbinder's inventory, 29 July 1625, pp. 449 r - 449 v.

20 The tailor Jens Skrædder owned a vest or jerkin of leather and a similar garment with sleeves.' Item ett Lyffstyck aff Leer';'och ett andit liffstøcke, me Ermer': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Jens Skrædder's inventory, 5 March 1696, p. 521 v.

21 'i klede Trøie 2 dr';'i brun klede Trøie i dr';'i snørreliff med i2 par Sølff Maller vdi For 2 dr i mk': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Sine Olufsdatter's inventory, 9 March 1629, p. 165 r.

22 Tight-fitting doublets became popular from the second half of the sixteenth century, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 35-38.

23 Paresys, 'The Body', p. 66, Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English*, p. 88

24 'En Trøi aff vllen boradt, stopped med Bomvld ij dall': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Abraham Ber Møllersvend's Inventory, 20 February 1599, p. 31 v. According to Hayward, cotton was commonly used as padding, Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 22.

25 Andersen, *Danske Bønders*, pp. 44-45.

26 'i Klede Trøye 3 d';'i Brun klede Trøye 2 d';'i fiffshaffts Trøye iiij mk';'i g: brun klede Trøye i mk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Christen Nielsen Murermester and Birgitte Madsdatter's inventory, 20 April 1641, p, 210 r.

27 75% of all doublets were made in a material that was valuable enough to be recorded. Doublets were mostly made of wool (34%), silk (14%), mixed fabrics (14%), leather (12%) and plant fibres (1%).

28 'i groff grønns Mande Trøye 3 dr'; RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Laurids Rasmussen Skrædder's inventory, 29 August 1632, p. 87 r.

29 Hayward, 'Introduction II', p. 30.

30 The inventory of Potter Jeronmus Pottemager, mentioned a suit made of black cloth for a woman, consisting of a skirt and a doublet. 'i sortt klede kledninng till en quinnde shiørtt och Trøye 2 dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Jeronimus Pottemager's inventory, 05 May 1637, p. 285 r. In comparison, Rasmus Thomsen a tailor owned a leather suit that consisted of a pair of breeches and a doublet. 'Enn Leer kledningh, trøi och Boxer v dallr': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Rasmus Thomsen Skrædder, 05 July 1599, p. 83 v.

31 Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers", p. 176.

32 Breeches were primarily made of wool (34%), leather (12%), mixed fabrics (10%), a few were made in silks (6%) and plant fibres (6%) 34% were unspecified. They were mainly black (10.1%), grey (8.1%), brown (4%), but also blue (3.2%), green (1.6%), red (1.6%), yellow (0.6%) and white (undyed?) (0.6%).

33 'i par brune kled buxer 2 ½ dr';' i par g. Lerritz buxer 8 sk';'i Rød Vldennshiørt 1 dl';'5 g. krauffer 3 mk';'i g. hatt ij mk': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Claus Horn Tømmermand's inventory, 23 May 1619, p. 339 r.

34 Hohti, 'Knitting History', no page number.

35 The material the knitted stockings were made of is not specified.

36 These terms are used interchangeably. Many of them were made in woollen fabrics (13%) being described as 'woollen' or made of cloth, plant fibres (13%) such as coarser linen, and silk (6%), especially velvet. A few were also made of leather (2%).

37 'Ett Par Leerstrømper och i par gammell Knøtt strømper i dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Søren Knudsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 2 September 1592, p. 91 r.

38 These include the garments, *skørt* (95%), *nederdel* (4%), *vennike* (2%).

39 Especially woollen fabrics (47%) and mixed fabrics. A few skirts (*nederdel*) were worn as undergarments and were therefore made of plant plant fibre, (6%) and only a few skirts were made of silk fabrics (4%).

40 'i sort skiørt med 3 raad snorer 4 dr': RAHBSP:1621-1625, Jacob Bild Possementmager's inventory, 22 October 1623, p. 283 r.

41 Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, p. 26.

42 'i gamell blaa vndershiørtt i d';'i sorrt quinde shiørdt 3 d';'i brundt shiørtt 2 d';'i graae shiørdt 3 d': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Axel Drejer's inventory, 27 July 1616, p. 238 r.

43 Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book*, p. 30.

44 32% of cloaks and mantles were made from woollen fabrics and 22.1% were specified as black.

45 On different types of cloaks see Dahl, 'Dressing', p. 145.

46 'i Age Kaabe';'i Liden Faalud Kaabe';'Thend beste kaabe me Prendz Fløyell': RAHBSP:1603-1610, Marine Lauridsdatter's inventory, 28 August 1606, p. 211 v.

47 Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers", pp. 178-179.

48 'i g: sortt Kape 3 dlr';'i sortt Kappe med fløiels kraffue for 8 dlr': RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Rasmus Jensen Glarmester's inventory 29 October 1633, p. 158 v.

49 'i bruun kledis kappe';'i par støffle';'i par buxer';'i troye';'5 Kraffuer';'i sort hatt': RAHBSP:1628-1631, Hans Jørgensen Kandestøber's inventory, 15 December 1629, p. 254 r.

50 Especially straight collars (26.6%) and ruffs or ruffled collars (12.7%).

51 Paresys, 'The Body', pp. 64-66.

52 Welch, 'Art on the Edge', p. 256.

53 Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, pp. 19, 31.

54 According to Lorentzen, hats of unspecified material were most likely felted, Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, p. 31. Hats could be made from felted wool or beaver hair, which was more costly than woollen versions, Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger', p. 44.

55 'i sort fylt hatt': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Oluf Tygesen Kedelsmed's inventory, 19 June 1609, p. 355 v.

56 13.6% of all items of clothes and accessories are specified in terms of colour. The fact that so few items are assigned a colour is probably because many of the items were made of linen and were therefore undyed. Out of the garments recorded with a colour black (41.4%), brown (16.2%), red (15.6%), grey (12.7%), blue (5.5%), green (2.8%), white (2.4%) and yellow (1.7%) were most common. Skirts (21.5%), doublets (14.6%), cloaks and mantles (13.2%), suits (8.8%), breeches (8.6%) gowns and tunics (8.3%) and hats and caps (8.1%) were frequently dyed.

57 These colours match what other scholars have found for this period. In seventeenth-century Stockholm, Anderson argues that artisans wore grey as well as colourful clothes, while black was more dominant among higher-ranked burghers, Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers", p. 179. In Bruges, black was the most common colour, followed by various shades of red, blue and grey, brown, green and white, Sturtewagen, p.157. In Tallin, among artisans, merchants, professionals, and town councilors, black was even more popular than grey and brown combined, Pajur, *Dress Matters*, pp. 140-141.

58 Data from artisans living in Venice, Florence and Siena also show that black was by far the most common colour. For instance between 1550 and 1650 40.2% of all artisans clothes were black, Hohti, 'Power, Black Clothing'.

59 Mainly woollen fabrics (44%) were dyed, followed by unspecified fabrics (41%), silk (7%) and fabrics of mixed fibres (4%). Some items of leather (1.6%) were also dyed. The

colour of leather indicatse a dye or the type of leather.

60 Secher, *Corpus 1558-1575*, p. 30.

61 Only 69.4% of artisanal clothing items and accessories were assigned a material. The data show that people mostly had items in plant fibres (38.8%), wool (15.2%), silk (5.4%), mixed fibres (4.5%), leather (3.1%) and fur (1.5%). The unspecified items (30.6%) could be made from mediocre or cheap woollen fabrics, cheap canvas or fustian, Sturtewagen, 'All Together', p. 117.

62 Hayward, 'Textiles', pp. 21 - 22. The most common types of fabrics of plant fibres (with more than 10 items) were recorded as 'linen cloth' (*linklæde*) (88.8%) a term that does not reflect the fibre composition. More frequently items were recorded as *flax* linen (4.7%) and tow (produced from waste fibres of flax), as well as canvas (*lerred*) (2.2%), which could have been a heavier and coarser linen, Dahl, 'Dressing', p. 165.

63 He also noted the presence of fine and costly sheets and towels in Elsinore in the stalls of barbers for the use of artisans and workers. Translated by the author. Quoting Orgier, *Det Store*. p. 15. According to Lund, linen had been previously limited to the wealthier people in Scandinavia but, due to cheaper prices which allowed more people to acquire linen, the use of linen increased in the north through the sixteenth century, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 130-132. Between 1450 and 1650, linen was predominantly produced in Western Europe, Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 22.

64 'To skiorter, aff Hollandts Lerfftt ij daler'; RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Jens Sørensen Møller's inventory, 9 October 1597, p. 618 v.

65 Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 20.

66 Mackeprang, 'En Luxusforordning', pp. 229-232.

67 As noted in a sumptuary law from August 1621, see Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 665. The most common types of woollen fabrics (with more than 10 items) were recorded as cloth (*klæde*) (66.1%), English cloth (*engelsk*) (8.2%), say (7.3%), bay (3.5%), *hundskot* (2.3%) a say fabric, 'wool' (2.1%), felt (2%), perpetuana (1.8%), a lighter woollen twill fabric, and *rask* (1.5%), a coarser light woollen fabric.

68 Quoting Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, p. 9, Munro, 'Three Centuries Of', pp. 4-6,

69 'Enn sortt Engilsk kappe, wederet for 12 mk';'Enn sort engilsk liff kiortell for 6 mk';'Enn sortt klede hue, vnder foridt, for 1 mk';'Enn bron engilsk offuer kiortell for 20 mk';'Enn sortt engilsk kaabe for 15 mk';'Enn sortt Enngilsk kraue for 12 sk': RAHBSP: 1571-1583, Oluf Snedker and Elline Pedersdatter's inventory, 15 February 1578, p. 84 r.

70 Such as two doublets and a pair of breeches made in plain and coarser cloth. 'i Nye Rød klede trøye for ij dr'; i Mandetroye aff klede med brix bomsies Ermer for 2 ½ dallr';' i par groffue klede buxer for ij dr';'i blommit sayens troye for ij dr';'i gamell hundsgott stackitt kaabe for 2 dr';'i gamell Rød bays troye for i dr': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Oluf Marsing Savskærer's inventory, 3 November 1624, p. 432 r.

71 Munro, 'Three Centuries Of', p. 16.

72 The most common types of silk fabrics were velvet (32.8%), grosgrain (30.4%), damask (8.8%), atlas (6.8%), *sindeldort* (6.8%) and caffa (4.4%). Studies from Scandinavia and Europe reveal how silk was disseminated to broader social levels including artisans, see Scocozza, 'Christian 4.s', pp. 145-146, Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers", p. 180, Sturtewagen, 'All Together', pp. 132-134. In Italy, Luca Molá illustrates how silks became more common among lower ranks of society: a Venetian weaver owned at the time of his death in 1565 clothing made of ormesin silk, samite and satin, Molá, *The Silk*, p. 91. Paula Hohti moreover shows how silk was highly present in Italian artisanal wardrobes, Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', pp. 155-157.

73 The sumptuary laws issued in 1621 were much influenced by Christian IV's idea of stipulating a trade in Danish silk produced in

Copenhagen, production that was initiated in 1619. The idea was to overall produce all the fabrics imported from abroad. About silk manufacture in Copenhagen, see Scocozza, 'Christian 4.s', pp. 144-145.

74 Translated by the author. Quoting Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 645.

75 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp. 665-666. This left burghers with the privilege to wear lesser silk and mixed fabrics. It appears that some of these fabrics were also produced by Copenhagen silk manufacturers. For instance from 1620 to 1621, 14 bombazine weavers and 9 borato weavers were employed, Nyrop, *Niels*, p. 19.

76 For instance, doublets (25.6%), caps and hats (23.6%), linings (8%), bodices or vests (8%), breeches (6%), cloaks and mantles (5.6%), skirts (5.2%) and suits (3.2%), gowns (2.4), and hose and stockings (2.4%) were some of the more common silk items.

77 Such as velvet suits, doublets, breeches, coats, bodices and vests that make up in total 4.4% of all silk items.

78 'i paar Buxer aff en haarig fløiell': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Mester Abraham Raider Bardskærer's inventory, 4 February 1605, p. 105 v.

79 That the increased use of cheaper and lighter silks reflects a change in fashion is for instance pointed out Currie, 'Diversity and Design', pp. 160-161, see also Styles, 'Fibres, Fashion'.

80 For example out of types such as atlas, grosgrain, and plain damask, doublets (43.2%), cloaks (10.6%), skirts (8%), bodices and vests (6.8%).

81 Styles, 'Fashion', p. 38. On innovations in textiles, see Van Der Wee, 'The Western European', Munro, 'Medieval Woollens', Munro, 'Three Centuries Of', p. 3.

82 Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 23.

83 Doublets (30.2%) skirts (15.6%), sleeves (11.3%), breeches (11.3%), cloaks and mantles (9.9%), bodices and vests (7.1%) and suits (6.1%), were frequently made of mixed materials.

84 Mixed fabrics especially include *firtråd* (21.2%), *trip* (20.8%), *fifskaft* (16.5%), borato (11.3%) *brixbommesi* (9%), bombazine (8%).

85 'i Røtt kirsei shørt med Trips Snørliff me 8: par Sølff Maller, Tilsammenn 5 dr';'i gammell Firtraads kaabe i dr';' i g: Firtraads shiørt 3 d';'i g: fiffshaffs forklede i ½ mk';'i g. fiffshaffts Trøi 2 d': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Samuel Hansen Bager's inventory, 4 December 1650, p. 332 r.

86 Aneer, *Skrädderi*, p. 226. Borato was also recorded in woollen and silk versions and could be changeable.

87 Especially the term 'leather' (79.3%) and the generic term 'skin' (5.5%).

88 Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 26.

89 For instance (*gråværk*) (17.1%), sable (15.7%) fox (14.3%), marten (12.9%), wolverine (8.6%), cat (8.6%), ferret (5.7%), ermine (4.3%), lambskin (4.3%).

90 'i gammel grae Kiortell med Lamskind vnder 1 ½ mk';'i sielcke boratz skiort med bugfoeder vnder 4 dlr': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Rasmus Torkilsen Møller's inventory, 20 July 1615, p. 130 r.

91 Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, p. 90.

Chapter 2. Commissioning and acquiring clothing

Commissioning tailored garments

In Elsinore, the tailors' guild had a monopoly on the making of clothes and 'no small traders or other people' were allowed to make clothing, such as hose or other items, which were against the guild statues.[1] In general, the guild was concerned about people who performed crafts outside the guild structures. For instance, in 1572, the tailor guild complained about some people (*fuskere)* that performed the craft in secret.[2] Moreover, on 24 November 1612, the tailor guild Alderman Thomas Friis and the guild members complained over a tailor and a fellow guildsman named Peter Woltersen. According to the tailors, he had housed illegal workers the previous summer, including a Dutch tailor who had worked for a Captain named Thomas Noll and his soldiers and sold a suit to the captain.[3]

The most traditional way to commission clothes was from a tailor. However, due to the high cost of clothing, it has been questioned whether the ordinary Danish population could afford tailor-made clothes.[4] The historian Ole Degn, for example, argues that individuals at the lower social levels in the Danish town of Ribe could only afford to wear homemade clothes.[5]

At least some of the garments owned by artisan and their wives were presumably made by professional tailors.[6] Evidence found in the credit lists in artisanal inventories confirm that the clothing of artisans and their wives in Elsinore was not limited to homemade or second-hand garments and textiles. Inventories for furriers, bakers, smiths, joiners and their wives include money owed to tailors.[7] The inventory of the smith Peter Smed, for instance, notes that according to the tailor Marchus Skrædder's account book he owned four *daler*, one *mark* and four *skilling* for some tailor's work.[8] The inventory made when Kirstine the wife of the joiner Søren Snedker died even informs us of a bill of one *ort* needing to be settled with the tailor Anders for having made a doublet, possibly the one listed in the deceased wife's wardrobe made of fine English wool and valued at three *daler*.[9] The clothes commissioned from tai-

FIGURE 19. Jacob van Doordt, *Sophie* (1557-1631), 1626. Oil on canvas, 115 x 102 cm. Kit Weiss, The Museum of National History, Frederiksborg Castle.

lors might be newly made, but such a description could also refer to tailoring services for mending old clothes or altering them so that they were up to date with current fashions.[10]

Some individuals were able and willing to spend large sums on tailor-made clothes, suggesting well-made clothes also meant a great deal for individuals at lower social levels. One example of this is the substantial bill recorded in the inventory of the well-off furrier Laurids Mogensen. It demonstrates that this artisan spent large sums on tailor services for himself and his wife Marinna Christensdatter. When his debts were settled, the tailor Peder Pedersen forwarded a copy of his account book to prove that Laurids owed him 43 *daler*, two *mark* and 14 *skilling*. In addition, going through his records, the tailor Hans Sandersen proved that the furrier owed him a work salary of 10 *daler* and two *skilling*.[11] What garments or services Laurids and his wife Marinna commissioned from the two tailors is not elaborated, but their wardrobe contained 19 garments made from woollen cloth, fur, say, bombazine, costly and luxurious velvet, and leather, some of them lined.[12]

Although tailors often provided the models, to have a new item of clothing made by a tailor required some knowledge on the part of the customer about garment design and current trends.[13] In times of war, soldiers with uniforms together with foreigners, either inhabitants or visitors, with a distinctive style, could give artisans and their wives new ideas to apply in their own dress.[14] In Elsinore, ideas of dress could also be formed when the king and royal family visited Kronborg Castle. The local butcher Tue wrote in his diary how on 29 September 1623 the queen dowager Sofie (1557–1631), the Prince Elect Christian and his brothers visited Elsinore. For this occasion, the butcher noted, Sofie was carried around town to the stables and to the gardens in a small chair with a canopy by eight meticulous dressed boatsmen. This tells us that the butcher paid attention to what the boatsmen wore, possibly also noting what the queen dowager wore.[15] A portrait of the queen widower from 1626 portrays the kind of items the butcher Tue could have observed and adapted into his wife's wardrobe. The queen is dressed in rich black silk (possibly patterned velvet or silk damask), a fine linen undercap with a lace trim, a sheer silk veil, a black cap adorned with pearls, lace-trimmed ruffs and rich jewellery with dark precious stones (figure 19).

Tailors in Elsinore were aware that the labour for having a certain garment made should be the same for every tailor. For instance, the town court book noted on 14 January 1572 that tailors agreed to set a cheap and fair price for gowns, cloaks and other garments to prevent any complaints.[16] Because the main cost of the garment lay in fabric and trimmings, not the labour of the tailor, everyone who was in a position to buy the fabric could probably also afford to have the garment made up by a tailor, at least on occasion.[17]

The data from artisan inventories contained a range of clothing and accessories that were explicitly described as new, indicating that these had been acquired recently, possibly from tailors. The included a range of skirts, costly mantles and cloaks, doublets, skirts, woollen waistcoats made of fine English cloth, plain broadcloth, borato, velvet and lighter *hundskot* say.[18] It is likely that at least some of these garments were made by a tailor.[19]

Some of the garments defined as 'new' were extremely costly.[20] The inventory of Ane Jørgensdatter, the wife of the baker Christen Michelsen, for instance, included a new skirt dyed bright red and valued at a high sum of 10 *daler*.[21] This was as valuable as the shoemaker Samuel Skomager's 'new' fine black woollen mantle with a velvet collar.[22] Even more expensive were the new garments listed among the clothing of the seemingly well-off miller and overseer at the town fields, Claus Møller: a skirt of borato and a fine suit

made of woollen cloth were each worth 14 *daler*.[23] However, the most expensive among the 'new' garments were the garments listed in the inventory of the carpenter Hans Laursen and his wife Kirsten Hansdatter. Their clothing included a new pleated cloak, probably black and likely worn by Kirsten, worth 16 *daler* and two *mark*.[24]

While most inventories do not provide any information about how artisans and their wives acquired their clothing, these examples nonetheless show that artisans did buy or commission new garments, even though it was extremely costly, and selected the styles and fabrics of their newly made garments.

FIGURE 20. Manuscript illumination. A shopping street. Early sixteenth century. From *Livre du Gouvernement des Princes,* Gilles de Rome, France. Paris, Arsenal, manuscript 5062, fol. 149v. National Library of France.

Acquiring and owning fabrics and textile materials

Buying fabrics and materials for clothes involved considerations of personal taste and wealth. The fabric acquired depended on the intended garment and how it was to be used; whether it was for an outer fabric, interlining, lining and padding.[25] In Elsinore, textiles and clothing materials could be bought from small traders (*kræmmere*) and merchants, from the marketplace on fair days, workshop windows of shopkeepers, or from small traders' homes where they operated and had a stall.[26] The inventory of the small trader Niels Kræmmer, drawn up after his death in 1632, reveals that his stall in Elsinore included a large amount of woollen, mixed and silk fabrics, a range of imported linens, as well as ready-made garments, such as knitted and sewn stockings, 'Icelandic' breeches and 'Icelandic', 'German' and 'Scottish' hose, and a range of trimmings. He sold plain broadcloths in red, green, brown, grey and blue imported from Meissen, Brandenburg, Gottingen and England, as well as a range of black, blue, red, floral patterned and multicoloured says, bays and kerseys and *rask,* a woollen that could be glazed; a range of mixed fabrics from bombazine to borato, camlet and trip; and sumptuous and expensive silks, including blue grosgrain, plain silk, damask, silk camlet, floral patterned velvet, caffa, and the lower-grade silk *sidendort.*[27] The stall of the small trader Niels Kræmmer might have looked something like the sixteenth-century French market scene (figure 20). His stall was stocked with fabrics designed to satisfy any customer, from those with limited means to the rich and wealthy looking for lustrous silks for their garments.

The acquisition of new clothes was not undertaken lightly, because textiles were expensive.[28] For instance, the inventory of the carpenter Jens Tømmermand's wife, Karen Jacobsdatter, made up when she died, shows that a piece of two ells of coarse black cloth listed among their possessions was worth two *daler* while a piece of mottled cloth of the length of four and three quarter ells was worth seven *daler* and one and a half *mark*.[29] Acquiring such lengths of fabric represented a considerable part of an artisan's income.[30] Customers were often responsible for acquiring the materials they required for the tailor's work: fabrics, linings, buttons and other haberdashery.[31] The modest carpenter Niels Rasmussen acquired during his lifetime quantities of cloth, bays, and bombazine from traders and small traders that he could have given to the local tailor. His accounts specify that he had bought two ells of red cloth for a red woollen waistcoat and bombazine for a bodice of vest for himself or his wife.[32]

Numerous inventories reveal how artisans like the carpenter Niels acquired fabrics from small traders and merchants. For instance, on 27 May 1608, the barber Jacob von Alden bought one ell of brown English wool and two quarters of red English wool from a merchant, according to the account book of the merchant's wife Karen Johan von Førdens.[33] The higher-ranked barber Hans Pedersen spent no less than 15 *daler* on lengths of expensive brown cloth for a skirt, three *daler* on one ell of cloth for a doublet, and seven for some bright lavender-coloured cloth for his daughter Pernille's gown.[34] Even an ordinary artisan could occasionally buy relatively expensive woollen fabrics. According to the inventory of a shoemaker, named Augustinus Jørgensen, he had bought six ells of cloth from one Johan Hansen, owing him still the high sum of 32 *daler* for the fabric when he died.[35] Besides woollen cloth, artisans purchased mixed fabrics, such as borato and bombazine, from merchants and small traders.[36] For instance, before he died in 1626, the turner Hans Simensen bought *brix* bombazine for three *daler* from the small trader Henrich Jostesen, possibly for a suit.[37]

Commissions such as these give an indication of where and how people of lower social status acquired their fabrics. It required the ability to judge the quantity, quality, value and the suitability of the fabrics for the intended garment.[38] A German miniature from 1467 depicts a cloth merchant measuring and cutting cloth for a customer (figure 21).

Inventories reveal that artisan families in the Danish town of Elsinore were not only able to buy fabrics but also had stocks of woollens, mixed and silk fabrics and linen fabrics in their houses. For instance, the successful miller

FIGURE 21. A wool draper. From *Schachzabelbuch* des Konrad von Ammenhausen, by Hans Schilling, 1467, Stuttgart. Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Inventar-Nr. Cod. poet. fol. 2, p. 244r. Photo Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

Claus Marckmand Møller and his wife Maren Rasmusdatter had numerous types of fabrics in their house, including coarse linen, three ells of red kersey, some ormesine (a silk similar to taffeta), five pieces of cheap old taffeta and two pieces of old bay.[39] Most of the fabrics stored in artisan homes were probably intended for garments. The inventory of the baker Niels Sørensen, who ran away from town because he had been unfaithful with his servant maid, a close relative of his wife, specified that he left for his wife Margrete Sandersdatter seven ells of *huerken,* a mix of wool and linen, for a skirt.[40] Young journeymen also had fabrics in their household. For instance, the joiner journeyman Envolt Snedkersvend owned a quarter of coarse linen and enough atlas to make a fine garment.[41]

Some of the most prosperous artisans, such as the master barber Hans Schrøder and the sculptor Gert von Egenn, both working at the royal court,

had valuable stock of fabrics. The barber's goods included three ells of black and six ells of red English broadcloth, seven ells of serge and a variety of precious silk fabrics such as three ells of 'new' *sindeldort*, 11 ells of brown silk caffa, and four ells of high-priced velvet, all of which amounted to more than 33 *daler*.[42] The sculptor Gert von Egenn and his wife Levicke Jorisdatter's estate, in turn, listed more than 34 ells of black and red fine English broadcloth and some plain broadcloth, as well as a large quantity of blue and black cloth for lining, brown bay, some coarse woollen *makej*, fine and coarse linen and some sewing thread.[43]

Some stores of fabric also included additional materials that could be applied to new garments or attached to old ones to update their style. The master bricklayer Poul Andersen, whose estate was made up in 1594, shows that he and his wife Anna had not only bought fine broadcloth but had also bought from a small trader named Kresten Kræmmer lengths of precious decorative border of silk and *sindeldort* that could be applied to his or his wife's clothes, paying nine *daler* for the trimmings.[44] Some inventories included cheaper trimmings, such as 14 ells of ribbon owned by the goldsmith Bastian Krammer, or the cheap old braids made of wool and five ells of lace owned by a butcher named Ludvig Krause.[45] The master bricklayer Andreas and his wife Magrete had over 12.5 ells of lace, both in fine and coarse qualities and of different worths.[46] Such decorative details reveal that people of lower social status had the interest and the financial means to acquire not only dress fabrics but also trims and ribbons that enhanced the quality and set their best garments apart from common clothes.

Notes

1 Translated by the author. Quoting Petersen, *Helsingørske*, pp. 15-16.

2 Petersen, pp. 45, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 90, 93, 95-95.

3 Rigsarkivet, Helsingør Rådstue, Rådstueprotokol (hereafter RAHRRP): 1612-1613, pp. 7 v- 8 r. On the 28 January 1613 some tailor journeymen were caught making clothes and were taken to trial in the council court of Elsinore. RAHRRP: 1613-1614, p. 24 v.

4 Clothing was expensive because of all the manual procedures that were involved in producing textiles and garments, including the production of raw materials, weaving the fabrics with human-powered looms, dying the cloth, and tailoring and decorating the garment with hand stitches and ornamentation, Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, p. 96. On tailors and the process of making clothes, primarily among the elites see Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, pp. 95-114, Vincent, 'Production and Distribution' ,Currie, 'Diversity and Design', Currie, 'Fashion Networks'.

5 Degn, *Rig Og Fattig*, pp. 176. Susan Vincent argues that the professional service of tailors, extended way beyond the elite, Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', p. 40. In Italy, two seventeenth-century tailor's workshop books show that builders, barbers, cobblers, and soldiers commissioned clothes made of middle-range or cheap woollen cloth, linen or a mixed cloth. These were often cheaply dyed in turquoise, pink and blue. Quoting Currie, 'Diversity and Design', p. 155.

6 Linen garments were usually made by women in the household, whereas garments of woollens and other materials often were made by professional tailors, usually men. Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', pp. 37-39. On acquiring clothes in a sixteenth-century bourgeois household see Rublack, *Dressing Up*, pp. 211-229.

7 According to Hans Sørensen Væver's wife Mette Simmensdatter's inventory, the household owned the tailor Lou Gertsen two *s*letdaler.'Bortskyldig gæld... Lou gertsen shreder 2 sd': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Mette Simmensdatter's inventory, 9 April 1650, p. 162 v.

8 'Bortschylldig Gielld... Marcus Shreder for Arbeid epter hanns boeg 4 dr i mk 4 sk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Peter Smed's inventory, 28 March 1627, p. 368 r.

9 'Anders Skreder for i trøi att giøre i ortt';'En Engelst trøie 3 dallr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Peder Snedker's inventory, 30 May 1592, pp. 9v.

10 Currie, 'Diversity and Design', p. 157.

11 'Peder pedersen skreder Fremsende en vdshrifft aff hanns boeg att Laurdds vaar hannum shyldig bleffue til dennd 6 obris 1627 er 43 dl 2 mk 14 sk';'Hanns Sandersen shreder arbeids Løn epter hans Register io dr 2 sk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Laurids Mogensen Buntmager's inventory, 9 May 1627, p. 388 r.

12 The garments included two mantles, two women's cloaks, a lined gown, a buff-coat, a lined cassock, a suit, two doublets, one of them a women's lined doublet, a vest, a pair of breeches, two women's skirts and one cap. Linen items included seven shirts, six old ruffled collars and two aprons'. i kappe med en floyells Kraffue 14 dlr';'i gammell kappe 3 dlr';'i slett klede kaabe 8 dlr';'i Gammell kaabe ij dlr';'i Lanng foederitt Kiortell 8 dlr';'i foederitt Casiack 4 dlr';'I Ledder Cøllertt 2 ½ dlr';'i kledning aff soert klede 6 dlr';'i brixbomsies troye med sayenns buxer 7 dlr';'i foederit klede Troye 2 ½ dlr';'i Liffstøcke aff soert klede 2 mk';'i Filemut farffue skiørtt aff klede 7 dlr';'i sayenns skiørtt 2 ½ dlr';'i fellfrossis Hue 6 dlr';'No 20 - 7 skiorter 1 dlr 3 dlr';'11 - 6 gamle Ruekraffuer 3 mk';'19- 2 forrekleder i mk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Laurids Mogensen Buntmager's inventory, 9 May 1627, pp. 391 v – 392 v.

13 Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', pp. 44. Currie, 'Diversity and Design', pp. 163-164, Currie, 'Fashion Networks', pp. 493-496.

14 In sixteenth and seventeenth-century Stockholm, foreigners were exempted from sumptuary law, and for almost 90 years they could dress as they pleased, but were expected to dress as their estate in their home countries, which led many people to dress above their station, claiming that this was the custom in their home country. Andersson, 'Foreign Seductions', p. 26.

15 Quoting Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, p. 53.

16 Petersen, *Helsingørske*, p. 46.

17 Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', p. 40.

18 10.5% of inventories lists 'new 'clothing items. Of these these garments, linen shirts (49.1%) (presumably made at home by women of the household), but skirts (11.3%), doublets (7.5%), mantles (5.7%), cloaks (3.8%), suits (1.9%), mantle collars (1.9%), sewn hose (1.9%), and woollen waistcoats (1.9%) could have been tailored. These items were specified to be made of English broadcloth (26.3%), unspecified fabrics (26.3%), plain broadcloth (21.1%), borato (10.5%), linen (5.3%), velvet (5.3%), *hundskot* (5.3%). Other new items include knitted stockings (3.8%), caps (3.8%), spurs (1.9%), boots (1.9%), shoes (1.9%) and hats (1.9%) were also new items in the artisanal wardrobe

19 Smaller items such as shoes and boots and hats that would have been commissioned at the shoemaker. The master bricklayer Christen Nielsen and his wife Birgitte Madsdatter's inventory included a pair of new shoes.' i Par Ny shoe i dr': RAHBSP: 1639-1644 Christen Nielsen Murermester and Birgitte Madsdatter, 20 April 1641, p. 210 r. The journeyman miller Peder Clemmedsen had before he died just acquired a pair of new boots. 'i par Ny støffler': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peder Clemmedsen Møllersvend, 17 April 1650, p. 163 r.

20 For instance, the tailor Jacob Robertsen's mention that a man named Jacob Konnardt owed him a work salary for two suits, in total four and a half *daler*, which illustrates some of the costs in having new clothes made.' Tilsta-aendis gield Jacob Konnardt Arbejdslønn for 2 Kledninger 4 ½ dr': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Jacob Robertsen Skrædder's inventory, 20 July 1625, p. 522 v.

21 '1 Nytt Purpur farfue Skiørtt Vurderit for x dl': RAHBSP:1603-1610, Ane Jørgensdatter's inventory, 6 November 1605, p. 167 r.

22 'i sort klede kappe med i slet fløyels Kraffue er Ny for 10 dr': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Samuel Skomager's inventory, 7 March 1620, p. 80 r.

23 '24 i Ny borratis shiørt i4 d';'28 och 29 i Ny kledis kledning i4 d': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Claus Marckmand Møller and Maren Rasmusdatter's inventory, 10 January 1645, p. 301 v.

24 'i Ny Follit Kaabe for i6 dr 2 mk': RAHBSP:1619-1621, Hans Laursen Tømmermand and Kirsten Hansdatter's inventory, 6 December 1619, p. 35 v.

25 Hayward, 'Textiles', pp. 19-20, Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', pp. 42-44.

26 Pedersen, *Helsingør i Sundtoldstiden 1426-1857*, pp. 210-213, Dahl and Lempiäinen, 'The World', p. 3. On shopping and retailing in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, see Welch, *Shopping*, Blondé et al., *Buyers*.

27 For an overview of the goods he sold: RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Niels Kræmmer's inventory, 2 February 1632, pp. 398 r - 493 v.

28 Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', p. 37,Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, p. 96.

29 '2 aln soert grofft klede 2 d';'4 ¾ aln Indsprengt klede til 6 mk er 7 d i ½ mk': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Karen Jacobsdatter's inventory, 6 March 1615, p. 112 r.

30 According to Degn and Dübeck, the average income per day around 1650 for a Danish artisan was about 0.3 *rigsdaler* daily. In comparison, a merchant would earn around 3

rigsdaler daily, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 102.

31 Currie, 'Fashion Networks', pp. 484-485,Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', p. 41.

32 Niels's inventory listed one old red woollen waistcoat only valued at one *daler*, which suggest that this was bought long ago. 'Bortshyldig Gielld...Claus vildshøtt for 2 allen Røtt Klede till en vldenshiort 2 dr i ort i2 sk';'Henrich Kremmer for 1 dyne vor och Klede 6 ½ dr 2 sk';'Johann Kruse for 4 Alen bay 2 dr 3 ort 4 sk';'For bomsie till ett snøreliff i dr 8 sk';'i gammel Rød vldenshiortt i dr': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Niels Rasmussen Tømmermand's inventory, 4 April 1622, pp. 102 v, 103 r – 103 v.

33 'Karen Johan V. Førdens kreffr epter hendis regbg bogs indholde p 20 Ao 1608 den 27 May for i aln brunt Engelst x mk och for ij qter Rød Engelst 30 sk': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Mester Jacob von Alden Bardskærer's inventory, 12 October 1615, p. 135 v.

34 Moreover, he had commissioned some broadcloth from a woman named Margrethe M. Frederich that was imported from the Netherlands. The garments for his daughter Pernille were returned to the estate to benefit his wife and remaining children. 'Item betald ieg Trun Tomis Tønerckens brunt Klede, till hendt till et shiørt Kostede penge xv dl';'Nock i allen klede till en Trøye kostede 3 dl Summa 31 ½ dl';' Witterlig gield effter S. Mester Hans Peders som epterfølge...Noch hende [Margrethe M. Frederich] er Jeg shyldig for nogit Klede hun herinførde med sig frae Holland';'Hendrich Sturchmanden Jeg shyldig for Lauendell blaa Klede vij dr'; i Lauendell blaa kiortell for 8 daler: RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Hans Pedersen Bardskærer's inventory, 3 September 1610, pp. 405 v - 406 v.

35 'Bortschylldig Gielld.... Johan Hansen for 6 Allen Klede a iiij Rdr ehr xxxij dr': RAHBSP:1635-1639, Augustinus Jørgensen Skomager's inventory, 16 May 1637, p. 291 v.

36 The household of hookmaker Hans Hansen Krogemager and his wife's Sine Olufsdatter's show that they acquired two quarters of borato from Hans Kruse. 'Bortskyldig Gield... Johan Krusse for ij quartier Borrat ij mk 6 sk': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Sine Olufsdatter's inventory, 9 March 1629, p. 167 r.

37 His inventory specified that he owned an old suit made of *brix* bombazine valued at two *daler*. 'Fremdels skyldig....Henrich Jostensen Kremmer for brix bomsie iij dlr'; i gammel brixbomsie kledning trøie och buxer for 2 dlr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Hans Simensen Svarver's inventory, 21 April 1626, pp. 167 r, 168 r.

38 Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', p. 42.

39 '8 Allen blaargarns lerrit a 8 sk er i dr':'27 – 3 allen Røtt kersey 3 d';'i støcke Armesim i mk 4 sk';'1 støche g: Tafft i2 sk';'2 g: støche dito i mk';'2 g: støche tafft i2 sk';'i støcke g: bay (i2 sk) 20 sk';'i støcke dito 6 sk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Claus Marckmand Møller and Maren Rasmusdatter's inventory, 10 January 1645, pp. 301 r – 302 r.

40 '7 allen Huereken till ett skiørtt': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Niels Sørensen Bager's inventory, 16 January 1636, p. 9 v.

41 'i støcke atlash i Kørter smaa Lerritt For 1 ort 4 mk': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Envoldt Snedkersvend's inventory 2 August 1626, p. 219 r.

42 The velvet and caffa was located at Johan Bubberts place, possibly a vitner.'Tre allne nøit Sindeldortt till 20 mk al – i 1/2 dr ij ortt';'Siuff Allne Sardug i/2 dr ij ortt';'Tre allne Sourt Engelst 3 daler';'Sex allne Rhøtt engelst 6 daler';'Endnu Findis hos Johann Bubbertt, iiij alnne Fløyell Regnes allenn for iij dr er x dr';'Ochsaa Findis brun siden Caffe xi allenn, regnis allenn for i dr er xj dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Mester Hans Schrøder Bardskærer's inventory, 15 July 1592, pp. 38 r, 40 v.

43 'i Støcke Sordt Klede holder iiij al huer allen iij dr Er 8 dr 3 mk';'i Andett støcke sortt Engelst holder 5 alne Huer allne 9 mk Ehr xi

dr i mk';'Noch itt støcke holder 3 alne huer allen 2 dr,Er vj dr';'Nock 3 Kortter klede i dr';'xiij allen Røtt klede huer allen 5 rix mk Ehr xv dr iij mk';'viij allenn Røtt klede huer allen i dr Er 8 dr';'(Blaa fordug) ij Støcker Ehr Vurderit for x dr';'fordum xj allenn blaa for dug for xi mk';'xv allen Sort Fordug for xv mk';'vij allenn Sort Fordug vij mk';'xxix allen Fordug for xx?x mk';'(Brunt Bay) ix allen Huer allen ij mk Er iij dr ij mk';'(Mackey)14 allen er Vurderitt for iij rix dr';'Lerred xxvij allen for xiiij daller';'ij støcker Lerrid paa xxxviij allen huer allen 4 sk Er x mk';'i støcke Lerrid på viij allen vij mk';'iij støcker paa 5 allen for x mk';'iij allen kammer dug iij dr';'i pund en fierring Sygarn i dr';'xij Laad huit garn i dr i mk';'Adtshellige gammel støcker Klede i dr: RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Gert von Egen billedhugger and Levicke Jorisdaatter's inventory, 28 February 1612, pp. 110 r-112 v.

44 'En Købinghaffns Borger for Klede 4 dallr';'Niels Nielssen y Købinghaffn, for Bergerfish oc Klede 5 dallr';'Kresten Kremmer for Sindeldortt border och Silcke 9 dallr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598 Poul Andersen Murermester's inventory, 26 August 1594, p. 382 v.

45 'i4 allen Lister for 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Bastian Krammer Guldsmed's inventory, 4 July 1627, p. 432 r.'i støche ny groffgrøn i5 d';'grøn Tafft til it par Puder i dr';'Nogle g: klede Snorer 8 sk';'5 Allen knipling a 2 mk - io mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, pp. 158 r.

46 '4 Allenn groff kniplinng a 4 sk er i mk';'i Allenn knipling 6 mk';'4 Allenn kniplinng groffue a 3 sk - 12 sk';'3 ½ Allenn kniplinng, berettis at vere pannttsatt': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Andreas Has Murermester and Margrette Andreas Has's inventory, 24 April 1637, p. 280 v.

Chapter 3. Circulating and investing in clothes and textiles

Circulating clothing assets

Clothes were valuable assets that were circulated from one generation to another as family wealth.[1] When Anne, the wife of the tailor Jesper Skrædder, died, her clothes were bequeathed to her granddaughter Margrete. She received her grandmother's black cloak made from fine English cloth, a gown of brown say and a brown say skirt with a lambskin lining.[2] Similarly, when Marie Clausdatter, the wife of the tailor Herman Hartmand, died, her sister Marie inherited her clothes, made of various fabrics such as broadcloth, bay and silks. Because Marie was under-aged, the clothes were taken into care by her step-father David Nagel, also a tailor, and her mother. The legal document noted that since the 'girl is now 15 years old [the clothes] should not be sold, but saved for her future inheritance'.[3] The 18 garments she inherited included two cloaks, six doublets, five colourful skirts in black, red and a combination of red and blue, two pairs of stockings, a blue waistcoat (*nattrøje*) and two velvet caps – garments that could be useful when starting her life as a married woman.[4] It was common that children inherited their parents' clothes. When the master bricklayer Jorn Svendsen passed away, his wife Ingeborg Andersdatter received his mantle and some silver buttons, but their son Anders Jornsen inherited most of his father's garments, as well as some silver buttons and a silver spoon.[5] The clothes of the prosperous foundry master Wullf Entfelder were also given to his three daughters, Lisebeth, Anneke and Martha, after his death. These included an expensive black mantle, two tunics or coats for travelling, another similar long coat made of fleece, two doublets made of yellow atlas and cloth, two pairs of breeches made of trip and wool, two hats and a cap.[6]

In addition to their transmission to family members, clothing assets were sometimes bequeathed outside the family, for example, as a reward for loyal service or to show love or gratitude.[7] According to his inventory from 1592, the baker Hans Van Kulen, for example, bequeathed a collar and a shirt to

his servant.[8] The tailor Anders Stabro, who died in Elsinore in 1619, and who were associated with the king, bequeathed all his old garments to a plasterer named Laurs Rasmussen.[9] Taking care of people's loved one during illness was also a reason to bequeath clothing to people outside the family. An old skirt and a doublet belonging to the deceased Krestine Nielsdatter, the wife of the joiner Henrich Gise, was given to the women who took care of her during her illness.[10] Because Maren Lauridsdatter, the daughter of the baker Laurits Christensen, had taken care of their father during his illness prior to his death, she was given two mantles of cloth that were of considerable value. Such bequests show that help was also appreciated within the family.[11]

The high financial value associated with textiles and clothing meant that these were an easy target of theft. The inventory of the baker Morten Lytke, for example, reveals that all his clothes except a pair of breeches, a doublet and a coat used for the town militia had been stolen.[12] Even small objects of low value were attractive to thieves. In 1630, some soldiers in Elsinore stole a cap and a hat from the wheelmaker Jacob Hoppe.[13] Town court protocols reveal numerous occasions of the theft of clothing. On 6 July 1590, a carpenter named Jens Ågesen accused a woman named Anne Nielsdatter, who had lived in his household, of having, stolen his wife's gown and a black cloak made of fine English wool. It appears that in this case the clothes were redeemed and Anne was pardoned, but when clothes were not returned, it was a huge economic loss for the household.[14] This was the case of the personal account of the Icelander Jon Olafson, who eventually came to Copenhagen to enrol in the service of the king. On his journey from Iceland to Denmark, he made a stop in England. There he lost 20 *daler* after he had lent a suit, a pair of gloves and shoes and a psalm book to a man who said he wanted to go to church but who never returned the clothes.[15]

The clothes of the deceased could be also sold on the second-hand market if families needed cash. The seemingly plain clothes worn by the carpenter Mogens Tømmermand – an old black tunic, two pairs of breeches and a new red woollen waistcoat – were sold for the support of his children.[16] Even old worn-out items had value on the second-hand market. For instance, an old mantle, old breeches made of cloth and a doublet belonging to the tailor Jost Hansen, valued at eight *daler* in total, were sold for seven *daler*. This sum was worth almost one quarter of an artisan's yearly income. This illustrates that selling used clothes could be profitable for the heirs and family.[17] According to the German historian Jutta Zander-Zeidel, selling off a deceased person's clothes usually took place outside the family's lodg-

ings, and enabled families with limited economic means to pay off debts.[18] Inventories show that artisan families sold clothes to generate cash to benefit the children. The fine and new mantle made from fine English cloth and a damask suit, a tunic and breeches, worn by the well-off stonemason Herman Stenhugger, was intended to be sold and the cash shared among the heirs, his four children, Gert, Katrine, Jesup and Peder.[19] The glazier Morten Glarmester's clothes were also sold. One of the officials, Jørgen Lichthart, who was present when the inventory was made, bought the glazier's gown made of black English cloth and a pair of breeches for three *daler.* He also bought a felted hat, which also presumably belonged to Morten. In addition, some of the couple's clothes were bequeathed to close family members, for no cost it seems. A pair of leather stockings, two leather vests, and a pair of leather breeches were granted to the children's grandfather on their mother's side.[20]

Money from clothing sales could also provide cash to pay for the funeral. Such is the case with the turner Henrik Fann. Prior to his inventory was made, his wife sold some of his very poor clothing to pay for the funeral. When the shoe-mender's wife Else Mogensdatter died, her apparel was sold to cover the expenses of her illness and her funeral.[21]

These examples show the extent to which clothes were regarded not just as garments for dressing up but also economic assets and family wealth that could be distributed after the owner's death to family members and friends, or sold to pay debts or cover funeral costs.

Fabrics and clothes as economic resources

Since clothes were so expensive, the artisan's wardrobe could function as a significant financial investment which could be used if the family needed extra income.[22] Degn and Dübeck point out that it is hard to determine the actual wealth of artisans, because the goods they owned were often tied to debts.[23] In such cases, clothing assets were, for instance, used as payments instead of cash. This was the case after the death of the carpenter Falentin von Hartz in 1601. His yellow damask doublet, a red velvet buff-coat and two red velvet breeches, in total worth three *daler*, were given after his death to the host Thomas von Barlebo, likely for rent.[24] Some artisans' clothing was also given to servant's maids for debts, such as two doublets owned by Kirstine, the wife of the glazier Morten Glarmester.[25]

Indebtedness was common. After the death of the householder, it was normal that creditors were paid back first. Creditors looked to take whatever they could from the inheritance and forced the estate to make a full or partial repayment.[26] On 3 June 1650, for example, the creditors of the late shoemaker Peder Iffersen required payments. One of the creditors was the joiner Johan Rader to whom the shoemaker owed 9 *daler*. To pay off this debt, the joiner received a black doublet with a cat lining, worth eight *daler*, and a Flemish cushion. In addition, the shoemaker had other creditors. They were given two borato doublets, linen kerchiefs, breeches, a grosgrain cloak and a black mantle, as well as a costly caffa skirt and a bodice with silver eyelets for the debts owed.[27]

The possibility to use clothing to pay unsettled bills was especially important when debts were extensive. This is illustrated with the inventory of the prosperous goldsmith Bastian. His records from 1627 shows that even a well-off goldsmith by his death could be so indebted that his wife rejected the inheritance and left the keys in the door.[28] His clothing was valued at the high sum of 40 *daler*, a considerable sum, but his debts were far more extensive. The goldsmith owed one Johan Mortensen an enormous amount of 202 ½ *daler.* To settle the bill, Johan was given a diamond ring as a contribution to the payment. The goldsmith also owed 30 *daler* to Mads Sørensen, who was given two woollen mantles; six *daler* and one *mark* to Willum the shoemaker, who was given a linen shirt; Dirich Hesselsen received a gold ring as a pledge for the money owed him. To settle the debts to many other individuals, the family gave linen shirts, yarn, kerchiefs, gold rings, three mantles, a black feather, a brown suit, a black suit of woollen cloth, a pair of gloves, a sable cap and some flax. They even had to give away the coat which the late goldsmith had worn when parading with the town militia.[29]

Textiles and clothes could also be used as security against loans and lending money. As historians have shown, this was common in Early Modern Europe at all social levels.[30] Evidence from inventories shows that artisans often pawned their personal goods to their creditors.[31] For instance the inventory of the smith Morten Mortensen noted that the family pawned a black skirt of woollen cloth to 'good people for debts.'[32] When the household goods of the gunsmith Christen Bøssemager and his wife Margrete Trometers were made up, their creditor, a man named Niels Madsen, even carried some of their pawned goods into their house to be recorded in the inventory. These included a bright red skirt, a blue woollen mantle and 58 ells of unbleached and 43 ells of bleached linen.[33]

Some scholars have shown that pawnbroking could also provide additional income to families of modest means and help them to obtain items that were normally out of their reach.[34] Pawns were commonly used as guarantees of payment because, as Evelyn Welch has shown, it was common that customers could not pay the whole price at once.[35]

Artisan inventories from Elsinore show that some individuals received pawns and extended credit to their customers either to gain extra cash or as security.[36] Debtors were common in the clothing trade. The inventory of the tailor Mattis Mortensen and his wife Bendte Mortensdatter shows that the couple extended credit and took pledges from customers to secure payments. Their inventory from 1636 noted that 'there was a bundle of notes of finished work [that needs to] be investigated in case there is something to collect'.[37] To secure payment for their work, the couple received numerous articles of clothing and other household items as pledges from their both high- and low-ranked customers, including tailors, butchers, glovemakers, carriers, brewers, goldsmith, hatmakers, boatsmen and halberdiers. A halberdier named Jens Pedersen, for example, had given a pair of fine velvet breeches and a red woollen mantle as pawns, while the carrier Peder Svenske had pawned his fine mantle with velvet facings to the tailor. Pawns from fellow artisans included clothing items and accessories. The butcher named Peder Slagter had pawned a black woollen mantle and a brown *vennike* (a type of skirt); the glovemaker Anders Flek some gloves, 24 skins, six silver spoons and a piece of gold; the fellow tailor Jacob Burkov had pawned a practical cloak, ten caps with facings, and some cords which were wrapped in paper; the hatmaker Peder Hattemager a grey mantle; and the goldsmith Mogens Guldsmed a girdle.[38] This shows that, in addition to being used to settle debts, clothes could be also used as pawns or objects of exchange to acquire new items of clothing.

Notes

1 On the circulation of clothes and how clothes could be circulated as heirlooms, gifts, thefts and sales see Allerston, 'Clothing', pp. 375-379, Vincent, 'Production and Distribution'. pp. 48-56, Fontaine, 'Introduction', pp. 2-3, Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, pp. 21-26.

2 'i Sortt Engelsk kaabe, i Brunn Sayenns Vnderkiortell';'i Bruntt Engelsk skørt me Lamskinndt': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Anne Jesper Skrædders's inventory, 22 June 1586, pp. 81ur – 81 uv.

3 'Disse forne: Kleder Annamede Steffaederenn Dauid Naegell och Moederenn i forvarinng epter udi forne Piige er nu 15 Aar gammell ey att shall sellgis mennd giemmis hende till fremdt Arff': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Marie Clausdatter's inventory, 25 August 1629, pp. 226 v – 227 r.

4 'i slett klede kaaebe 20 dl';'i gammell fiirtraeds kaabe 3 dlr';'i troye aff Tersenelle 3 dlr';'i Tørsh groffgrønns troye 4 dlr';'i groffgrønns troye 2 dlr';'i fiin Klede Troye 8 dlr';'i klede troye 2 dlr';'i sayenns bomsies troye 2 dlr';'i grofgrønns skiortt i3 dlr';'i sorett fiirtraaeds skiørtt 9 dlr';'i'Rødt och Blaaett Fiirtraeds skiørtt i2 dallr';'2 Røede bays skiortt 3 ½ dlr';'2 par strømper 5 mk';'i Blaae natttroye ij dlr';'2 floyells huver 3 dlr: RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Marie Clausdatter's inventory, 25 August 1629, pp. 226 v – 227 r.

5 'Quinden beholdt hendis S. Mannds Kappe och nogle sølffknapper sambt hendis gangkleder.'Sønnen beholtt de anndre sin Faders gangkleder och nogen Sølffknapper Item fich huer en sølffshee': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Jorn Svendsen Murermester's inventory, 20 June 1626, p. 229 r.

6 'Gangkleder: Tilfaldt børnnen emod quindens Kleder'; i soertt Kappe 16 dr';'i Reise Kiortell io dr';'i Siid Vlffskindtz Kiortell 12 dr';'i gull: Atshelash trøye 2 ½ dr';'i Klede trøye med sayen bomsies Ermer 4 dr';'i par trips buxer 4 dr';'i par Klede buxer 4 dr';' 2 Hatte 3 dr';'i Foederitt huve 5 mk': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Mester Hans Wullf Entfelder Geitmester's inventory, 16 June 1616, p. 176 v.

7 Dennis Romano shows how precious objects and clothes could be donated from wealthy people to servants to show these intentions, Romano, 'Aspects of Patronage', pp. 714-718.

8 'Beuilg Hans Van Kulen bachers tienner At maat de Bekome udi Epther ne gouds';'i Skiorter';'i kraffue': RAHBSP: 1583-1592 Hans von Kullen Bager's inventory, 16 April 1592, p. 294 r.

9 'Huis hanns gamble gangkleder belanger berette Jeinns Rasmuss at forne: affdøde haffuer giffuett Laurs Rasmussen Kalckslaer': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Anders Stabro Jagtskrædder' inventory, 2 November 1619, p. 22 v.

10 'Berettendis att hun derforuden haff de et gamellt skiørt och en troye huilcket hun gaff den som vaar hos hende i hendis Siugdomb': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Krestine Nielsdatter's inventory, 6 June 1624, p. 396 v.

11 '2 klede Kapper bleff aff arffuigerne Maren Lauritz daatter bevilget at motte haffue for huis opvartning vmage och besuaring hun med hendis S: Fader I hans Siugdom hafft haffuer': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Laurids Christensen Bager's inventory, 27 July 1648, p. 417 v.

12 'Mandens gangkleder Trøie och buxer 4 dr';'i Munster Kioll for i dr';'Huis viidere Mandens gangkleder var belangende er bortstollen': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Morten Lytcke Bager's inventory, 3 August 1625, p. 538 v.

13 'i hue och en hatt, som quinden berette at verre borttstollen aff Solldatterne': RAHBSP:1628-1631, Jacob Hopper Hjulmand's inventory, 16 January 1630, p. 272 v.

14 Rigsarkivet Helsingør Byfoged, justitsprotokol (hereafter RAHBJP): 1587-1592, p. 312 r. It was moreover highlighted that because

Anne Nielsdatter was descended from respectable people, who were well reputed and not earlier punished for theft, the burghers interceded for her, and she was pardoned but should leave town and never come back.

15 Olafsson, *Islænderen Jon*, p. 19.

16 'Item, Fandis nu af salig Monnsis Kleder til stede thisse efterskrevne: Enn gamill sortt liffkiortell, thu par buxer, enn ny rød wullenskiorte, som lagdis i børnsenns kiiste, att selgis till theris beste oc ther for giøre wergenne rede for':RAHBSP: 1571-1583, Mogens Tømmermand's inventory, 4 July 1582, p. 190 v.

17 'Mantz Gangkleder i gammel Kappe 4 dr i gammel Klede buxer ij dr i Trøie 2 daler Soltt for 7 Dr': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Jost Hansen skrædder's inventory, 11 August 1612, p. 208 r. At least if we assume that the yearly salary for an artisan was 40 daler as proposed by Degn, *Rig Og Fattig*, p. 184.

18 Zander-Seidel, *Ready-to-Wear*, p. 14.

19 'Om Salige Hermans gangkleder som vor en ny Engilsk Kappe, Och en Damask Kledning Kiorttil och Buxer, Er Som om forhanndlett och ssambtøchtt att formynderne shal dennum anvende vdi pendinge och denum shiffe och delle Emellum alle fire børn: RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Hermand Stenhugger's inventory, 2 December 1592, p. 251 r. In 1576 Herman is hired to build a double gate, in connection to the building of Kronborg, Laursen, *Kancelliets 1576-1579* p. 89.

20 A different pair of leather stockings was also donated to a woman who had watched the corpse. 'Kiøffe Jørgen Eihtt Harrt aff Salig Morttenns Gannge Kleder, i Sort Enngelst Keordill, i par Buxer, shal Betallis som Børnnennes kommr och till Skiffte iij daller';'Jørgenn Eichtt Hartt Kiøbtte en Filtt Hatt for xxiiij sk och Bleff quitæridt y gieldt til Hannum som Hannum tii stodt xi sk saa gaff hanndt der till xiij sk der medt er hattenn Sin';'i par Leerstrømper ij Leer Liffstøcker i par Leerbuxer dedt Bleff Beuilgett att Børnnennes Moder Fader motte haffue';'i par stømper fick enn quinde som vogede offuer Ligett': RAHBSP: 1583-1592 Morten Glarmester and wife's inventory, 15 October 1591, pp. 240 v-241 r.

21 'Gangkleder Huis henrichs Kleder belanger som vaar megit ringe haffr quinden soldt till hans begraffuelse': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Henrik Fann Lademager's inventory, 24 May1622, p. 110 v. 'Gangkleder berette hand at haffe soldt till Quindens siugdom och begraffuelse': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Else Mogensdatter's inventory, 7 May 1629, p. 187 r.

22 Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', p.48, Cavallo, 'The Artisan's', p. 73. On how clothes could act as a monetary currency see Ago, 'Using Things', Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, pp. 17-33. On how Italian artisans acquired goods through credit transactions and barter, see Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, pp. 184-190.

23 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 109. Farr also notes how debt was a general feature for artisan, James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, pp. 107, 108, 116.

24 'En gull Damash Trøi En rødt Flouels kollert Tho røde Flouels boxer iij daler Bekom verten Thomas V. Barlebo': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Falentin von Hartz Tømmermand's inventory, 31 March 1601, p. 162 r.

25 'Items fanndtz der ij trøyer som haffde verrett kierstinns de bleffue vdgiffuen y gieldt til hindiis tienneste piiger': RAHBSP: 1583-1592 Morten Glarmester and wife's inventory, 15 October 1591, p. 240 v.

26 Welch, *Shopping*, p. 92.

27 'Johan Rader Snidker 9 dr Derfor vdlagt i Sort Klede Trøy med katte foder vnder 8 dr i Flamsh hiønde no – 7 i dr 9 dr';'Dauid V. der Heide 38 dr 4 sk Derfor vdlagt 1 Borattis Trøy 5 dr';'Christoffer Klit Vrmager 13 dr i borattis Quinde Trøy 5 mk';'Jeremias Hoffman 27 dr 3 mk Derfor vdlagt 2 Tørkleder 2 dr';'Poul Justsen 24 dr Derfor Vdlagtt i par buxer i ½ mk'; Berendt shoemager i6 dri groffgrøns kaabe i6 dr';'Mariche Johansdaater 6 dr Vdlagt i Sort klede kappe 6 dr';'Karn

Terebens 10 dr i brun Kaffis shiørt med Kaffis Snøreliff och 8 par Sølffmaller 10 dr': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peder Iffersen Skomager and children's inventory, 14 May 1650, pp. 200 r -202 v.

28 A widower could reject the inheritance, by leaving the keys in the door to her home after the funeral; however, this was a great loss of dignity as a housewife, Lund, *Daglig Liv XIV* pp. 312-313.

29 'Johan Mortensen i35 Specie dlr: er 202 ½ dlr Haffuer derforre till panndt en demanntz Rinng som bleff hannum tillagtt i betal ling huorforre dett iche regnis Summen';'Mads Søffrennsen 30 dr Derforre i pandt 2 Klede Kapper';'Dirich Hessellsenn 4 Rdr In Specie er 6 dlr Derforre i pandt en gulld Rin-ng';'Willum shoemaeger Kreffr 6 dlr i mk tilkommer derforre Per Atuenant 7 mk i3 sk i Skiortte 7 mk i3 sk 7 mk 13 sk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Bastian Krammer Guldsmed's inventory, 4 July 1627, pp. 434 r – 434 v, 438 v. For an overview of all his creditors and the objects that were exchanged see, pp. 345 r – 439 r.

30 See, for example, Fontaine, 'Introduction', pp. 6-7.

31 On artisan and pawnbroking see especially Hohti, 'Artisans, Pawnbroking', Hohti, 'The Innkeeper's', Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, pp. 162-165. 6.8% of all artisan inventories included personal items that were pawned.

32 'i Sort klede shiørt bleff beret at verre Ipant Hos Gotfolck for Gield': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Morten Mortensen Smed's inventory, 21 February 1642, p. 276 r.

33 According to the inventory, he kept the pawned goods 'B: Niels Madsen loed Bære i husitt som hannum var pandsett for 38 dr 20 sk slette i purpur farffue shiørt 5 dr i blaa klede kappe 8 dr 58 Allen vblegt hørlerrit til 14 sk er 10 dr i2 sk 43 allen blegit hørgarns lerrit til 12 sk 6 dr i mk i6 sk, beholt pantz.': RAHBSP:1619-1621, Christen Bøssemager and Margrete Trometers's inventory, 14 March 1620, p. 95 r.

34 Hohti, 'Artisans, Pawnbroking', p. 6. For instance, the brushmaker Jost Clemmedsen possessed pledges from the higher ranked brewer Erik Brøgger, including a black mantle with a velvet collar worth 10 *daler,* and an old black suit made of *brix* bombazine worth three *daler*, 'i Sortt Kappe med Fløiels Krafffe for 10 dlr i sort g: brix bommesie Kledning 3 dlr Erich brøgers Panndt': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Jost Clemmedsen Børstenbinder's inventory, 29 July 1625, p. 361 r. Some also possessed velvet items that were pawned by others, such as a small blue velvet cap that was 'told to be pawned goods' among the household goods owned by the master brick-layer Andreas Hansen and Margrette Andreas Has. 'i sort Klede hue i blaa Trinnd Fløyells hue, sigis at Vehre Panntte goedts': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Andreas Has Murermester and Margrette Andreas Has's inventory, 24 April 1637, p. 280 r.

35 Welch, *Shopping*, p. 90. For instance, when the prosperous locksmith Henrich Klejnsmed, passed away, a man named Tønnis Thommisen claimed, on behalf of his deceased brother, the shoemaker Frantz Skomager, two *ort* and four *skilling* from Henrich, for a pair of slippers. 'Tønis Thomissens, Paa Hans broders Szallige Frantz Schomagers vegne, for ett par Toffell 2 ortt 4 sk': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Klejnsmed's inventory, 7 November 1592, p. 138 v. The master barber Abraham Raider owed the shoemaker Willum Rhosse 2 *daler* for shoes and hatmaker Johan Hattemager two *daler* for a hat. 'Willum Rosse for Sko ij daler';'Johan Hattemager for en hatt ij daler': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Mester Abraham Raider Bardskærer's inventory, 4 February 1605, p. 106 r.

36 The shoemaker Mickel Lauridsen, for instance, received a doublet from a customer in return for a pair of shoes.'Er i Trøye i pant for i par shoe 2 ½ mk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Mickel Lauridsen Skomager's inventory, 16 November 1644, p. 20 v.

37 Translated by the author. 'Itt Knippe Seddeler som er paa Arbeid giortt skall epter-

forshes om dennom, om derer Nogett epter Att Bekomme': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mattis Mortensen skrædder and Bendte Mogensdatter's inventory, 18 October 1636, p. 103 v
To collect debts was usually a task for a crafts wife, see, Flather, 'Gender' p. 134, James R. Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, p. 108.

38 'Jens pedersen drabant i par Fløyels Buxer, och i Rød kledde Kappe i7 ½ dr';'Peder suenshe drager en Kappe med Fløiell vnder for i4 dr';'Peder Slachter, i soertt Klede Kappe och en Brun Venniche for 6 dr';'Anders Fleek Handshemagr, 6 Sølffskieder, i støcke Guld, Nogle Handsher 2 døsin Skind 33 dr';'Jacob Burkou shredder, i Aggekaabe, i0 huffuer med opslag, och Nogle snorer i papir Indlagt i5 dr';'Mogens Guldsmed i Liffgiørdell for 2 dr';'Peder Hattemagr: i Graa Kappe i0 ½ dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mattis Mortensen skrædder and Bendte Mogensdatter's inventory, 18 October 1636, pp. 102 r – 102 v.

PART II.

Clothes and crafts – Being clean, practical and respectable

Chapter 4. Clean and respectable: Caring for clothes

Cleanliness and linen

Being clean and wearing clean clothes was important for both personal and social reasons. It was a way for men and women to show neighbours, customers and business associates that they were respectable and trustworthy. Besides being attentive towards one's clothes, a groomed and clean body would further enforce the good impression. This involved cosmetic processes, such as combing and washing. The Danish children's conduct book *Children's Mirror* (*Børnespejlet)* from 1572, written by Niels Bredal, a former monk who became the schoolmaster and principal of the Latin school in Vejle, for instance, highlights that the first thing to do after one wakes up in the morning is to 'dress oneself, comb [one's] head [and hair and] wash [the] hands and mouth'.[1] Objects for performing such morning routines were found in artisan inventories. The inventory of the goldsmith Bastian Krammer, for example, included two head brushes and a small case to store personal grooming items such as combs, a mirror and brushes.[2]

Home provided the space for dressing, undressing and taking care of appearance before going out in public. For that purpose, transportable or integrated mirrors, which were relatively new but became more widespread in this period, were useful and revealed that an individual cared about keeping a good and clean appearance.[3] Two mirrors – a large gilded and a small mirror – were found in the home of the shoemaker Samuel Skomager; the passementerie maker Willum Diderichsen and his second wife Bendte Jensdatter had mirrors in their living room and the bed chamber. These enabled the shoemaker, the passementerie maker and their wives to assess whether they looked well-dressed and clean.[4]

One of the most important signs of respectability was to dress in clean white linens. In Early Modern Europe, bathing was perceived as dangerous. In consequence, it became common to rub off sweat and wipe the skin with clean and perfumed linen cloth, or to sprinkle scented powders onto

the body. Linen underwear and the ability to change body linens played an important role in cleaning routines. The most important step to create a practical yet respectable appearance was to wear white linen underwear, which was usually visible beneath the outer garments. This was important, since it was believed that linen absorbed the dirt and impurities of the skin and protected the wearer by removing the dangerous matters the body expelled.[5]

Wearing clean and fine linen shirts was a great concern at all social levels. An ordinance from 1621 concerning a disciplinary house and orphanage, *Tugt- og Børnehuset*, where convicts produced textiles and orphaned and poor children were taught textile crafts in Copenhagen, reveals a concern for the cleanliness of children and convicts. They should be 'clothed warm and well, with clothes and shoes, [and be kept] clean in [their] beds, two or three in each, and every week [they] get clean shirts'.[6] However, the extent to which people of lower income and social status could engage in the culture of cleanness has been a matter of debate.[7]

Recent studies have confirmed that fine linens were not limited to the upper echelons of society. Michele Robinson's study of artisan inventories from sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy, conducted as part of the *Refashioning the Renaissance* project, shows that artisans families were in possession of a range of linen, concluding that 'there is ample evidence to show that those from the lower social orders were interested in and capable of keeping their bodies and households clean'.[8] Town court protocols from Elsinore suggest that even destitute people were aware of and cared for the hygienic and respectable properties of linen. On 23 May 1550, a young boy named Peder was charged in Elsinore for having stolen some linen from a carrier, because a prostitute had promised him sexual favours if the boy would provide her with the amount of linen she needed for a smock.[9]

Inventories from Elsinore from the same period suggest that wearing white linen garments was important for the working population. Shirts and shifts in particular were essential, because they protected the outer garments from sweat or grease and prevented itching caused by coarse woollen clothes.[10] Based on those inventories that listed linen garments, it seems that most artisans owned more than one linen item, indicating they were able to change their shirts and shifts.[11] Some could afford many more linen shirts and shifts. The property of the cooper Peter Bødker, recorded when his wife Estrid Lauridtsdatter died, included no less than 30 linen shirts and 29 shifts.[12] This made it possible for the couple to keep their bodies and exterior garments clean by changing their underwear daily. The clothing data also

indicate that these items were used extensively, since they were frequently described as 'worn-out' or 'old'.[13] Consequently, all linen garments in the stonemason Hans Landscrona's inventory, namely six shifts and seven shirts, were noted to be mostly worn out and almost worn.[14]

Small linen items such as handkerchiefs were also useful since they were used to remove dirt as well as mucus, tears, blood and sweat. At the same time, they were also symbols of beauty and cleanliness.[15] The prosperous armourer Zacharias Plattenslager owned as many as 10 handkerchiefs made of fine white linen.[16] Some of these linen items could also be decorative: the ropemaker Peder Rebslager, for example, owned a blue-striped handkerchief.[17]

The conduct book *Children's Mirror* gives instructions on how to use linen when eating and coping with bodily fluids to prevent clothes from becoming dirty. It advised children 'when you [want to] cleanse or dry your nose, then have a special nose cloth for this,' highlighting that such body fluids should not be smeared on the clothes.[18] Such items were also used by modest artisans. For instance, the potter Henrich Pottemager and his wife Engel owned two 'nose cloths,' while the miller Jens Sørensen had six valuable nose cloths that were valued at two *daler*. This made the nose cloths almost as expensive as his grey woollen mantles and lined tunic.[19]

If one could not afford entire clean linen garments, cleanliness could also be suggested by wearing other items of linen, such as neckwear, caps and aprons.[20] Wearing fresh linen on the visible areas of the body for the sake of appearance might have been important for the lower social groups, providing a way of 'cheating', as Susan North puts it.[21] An excellent example of this practice is the brushmaker Jost Clemmedsen, who was able to present himself as clean through small details of linen. Besides his three new and three old shirts and four shifts, his linen items included three aprons, a linen night cap, three neckcloths, eight kerchiefs, and 12 collars in different styles.[22]

Bodily cleanness also involved smell. Scented clothing and perfumed accessories were widely used in Europe from the second part of the sixteenth century in order to prevent bad smells.[23] In 1629, King Christian IV ordered some plain perfumed linen which could have been used for a shirt. This practice, however, was not limited to the higher ranks.[24] For instance, the coppersmith Gabriel Riis had a green box in his bed chamber with some bathing herbs inside.[25] Small perfumed bags were often placed in coffers between linen undergarments or outer garments, and perfumes were also used in accessories and jewellery. Because perfumes had aromatic

virtues and had hygienic and prophylactic properties, storing linen clothes with nice-smelling herbs was a way to keep clothes fresh without having to change them daily.[26] According to numerous authors, placing herbs in a chest of linen added a pleasant scent, made the garments fresh, and protected them from vermin so that it was not necessary to acquire new clothes too often. A Danish household calendar, *Diarium sive Calendarium*, from 1648, written by the bookseller Jens Lauridsen Wolf, recommended to use valerian in clothing chests during the summer against worm and moths and advised, 'If you want to protect your clothes from mosquitoes, cloth worms, moths and other alike, smear this [anis] oil on all sides of the chest'.[27] The herbal book *Flora Danica* from 1648, written by Simon Paulli, a Danish doctor, botanist and anatomist, recommends numerous remedies for 'the common man' to prevent moth and worms from eating and harming clothes. These included dried origanum, probably wild marjoram, *strand malurt,* a type of wormwood, together with trifolio odoratum, most likely a trefoil that smelled nice.[28] Linen and woollen garments were often kept separate. The ropemaker Peder Rebslager's linen clothes – four shirts, five shift, six aprons, a handkerchief, 13 neckcloths and nine linen hats – were stored in a chest in the living room of his dwelling. His remaining clothing made of good-quality broadcloth, fine English cloth and lighter woollens were stored in a different Danziger chest, so that the linen clothes were kept clean and fresh.[29] This indicates that wearing clean linen was important for artisans and their wives, both in order to maintain personal hygiene and to construct a respectable appearance.

Production of linen at home

Linen, unlike wool and silk fabrics, was mostly prepared and spun at home by women, both for the family's own use and for the market to create additional income.[30] Preparing flax was a demanding and time-consuming process and required tools, and some also appear to have grown flax themselves at home. This is suggested by the inventory of the cooper Hans Johansen and his wife Boild Nielsdatter. Besides some textile tools for linen production, their inventory also included a brass comb to riddle and clean flax seeds.[31] The household manual *Economia* (*Oeconomia*) from 1648, originally written in German by Caspar Jugel, provides instructions in Danish on how to sow, prepare and make yarn of flax and hemp.[32]

Producing and preparing linen required continuous attention throughout the year. In September, the flax and hemp should be broken, hackled and spun. It was recommended that the yarn should be spun in February, then treated with lye and put outside into the frost to make the yarn whiter and more flexible to weave.[33] Evidence from inventories, however, shows that raw material for linen was also supplied in town.[34] For instance, the master barber Abraham Raider owed two men money for two *lispund* of flax, while the smith Peter Smed owned the tailor Peder Skrædder money for flax.[35]

The ability to produce and work with textiles was seen as an important virtue of a good housewife. In 1648, Johan Spangenberg, a German theologian and reformer the author of the book *Marriage Order Mirror and Rules* (*Ecteskabs Ordens Speyel oc Regel),* originally written in German but translated into Danish, noted that married women should not be wandering on the streets, go to fests, gaze out the windows and doors talking to everyone.[36] Instead, they should carry out women's work so 'that she occupies [herself] with flax and wool, spins, winds, weaves, [makes] lace and sews.'[37]

In his *Histories of the Nordic People*, published in 1555, the Swedish historian, cartographer and writer Olaus Magnus suggest that Nordic women were very skilled in the production of linen.[38] In Elsinore, women of artisan rank were also engaged in linen production. Inventories contain a range of tools for preparing and making linen; combs (*hegle*) for preparing the raw material, spinning wheels, reels (*haspe*) to spin the threads into bundles and winders (*garnvinde*) to wind the thread into balls.[39] These were found in many different areas of the house, such as the attic, kitchen, scullery, basement, workshop, stall, living room or bed chamber. All these could function as spaces for housework and textile production. The inventory of Kirstine Clausdatter, who was married to the potter Gregers Heigner, mentions that three wheels, a heckle and two hasps were in the family's bedroom.[40]

Raw linen fibres, hackled, winded, spun and unspun, together with bleached or unbleached linen thread, give insight into the processes of making linen in artisan homes.[41] For instance the inventory of Marine Jensdatter, the wife of the baker Hans Olsen, mentioned two *pund* of combed flax and three *pund* of spun yarn.[42] The finished yarn was then woven, probably by professional weavers, since weaving tools in inventories only appear among professional weavers.[43] Some clearly delivered their spun thread to the professional weavers.[44] The potter Philip Bocher and his wife Anne Phillips, for example, sent 40 ells of tow for a weaver;[45]the baker's wife Marine Lauridsdatter and her husband Erik Bager's inventory mentioned 60 ells of linen

made by a weaver and a long green and yellow blanket of 14 ells.[46] Some owed money to linen weavers.[47] The master barber Jacob von Alden owed money to a weaver named Hans Christopersøn for making him 21 ells of coarse tow diaper linen for the use of his household.[48]

Women often made and sewed the linen garments and applied decorations such as embroidery and lace.[49] The miller Claus Markmand Møller and Maren Rasmusdatter's inventory, for example, included an embroidered linen kerchief, probably made by Maren or one of their four young daughters.[50] The prosperous royal locksmith Gothard Ran and his wife Anne Pallisdatter, in turn, had a bobbin chest with a board for making lace and some bobbins in their living room, which Anne could have used to make bobbin lace for the family's linen garments.[51]

Laundering and cleaning

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when printing techniques became developed, a range of books of secrets and advice manuals were circulated in Europe which included instructions for cleaning textiles.[52] In Denmark, such recipes were also published in printed books, suggesting that the information was available and affordable for families of all social ranks.[53] The herbal book *Flora Danica* (Flora Danica) was published to 'the common man living in the countryside, who does not always have the remedies and [can] afford to pursue doctors'. It gives advice, for example, about how to remove stains from linen, cloths and other linen garments by applying lemon juice (malus limonia) on stains such as ink, cherry juice or similar.[54] 'Then spread it [the fabric] out', he advises, 'and keep some lit Sulphur matches underneath, and if the spots are not too old, then they will vanish with this Art'.[55]

Shirts, shifts, collars, caps and aprons were not one-time investments. To maintain its whiteness, linen had to be laundered and bleached regularly. Collars needed to be starched and ruffs set. This required not only money but also time, skill and knowledge. Laundering linen was therefore integral to the garments' social and economic value.[56] Taking care of clothes – washing, bleaching starching, and ironing linens – was a task performed primarily by women either at home or by professional washerwomen.[57] Most washing at artisanal homes was probably carried out at home.[58] The cooper Hans Johansen and his wife Boild Nielsdatters, who also owned tools for growing flax and spinning, owned a basin and a bucking tub used to boil and

FIGURE 22. Jacob Isaacksz van Ruisdael, c. 1650-1682, *View of Haarlem from the Northwest, with the Bleaching Fields in the Foreground.* Oil on canvas, 43 x 38 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

wash linen in lye.[59] Two old bucking tubs were also present in the house of the butcher Ludvig Krause when he died.[60] When linen items were made or trimmed with lace, however, there was a higher risk of damaging the item by washing. To make sure that lace was not damaged, the shoemaker Jens Iffersen had a washing board specifically for lace. [61]

Sometimes artisan inventories singled out dirty laundry that needed to be washed. Such a comment was given on two old shirts, four old linen upperparts (*oplod*) for a shift and four old tow sheets found in the workshop of the coppersmith Gabriel Riis.[62] Some inventories also mentioned whether the listed garments were 'clean' or 'dirty'. The furrier Anders Rasmussen's household goods included two dirty shirts, three dirty shifts and one upperpart of a shift.[63] In comparison, the baker Kristen Bager's list of clothing declared that four of his shirts were soiled and six of them clean, as well as recording sixteen litres of soap.[64] Occasionally, artisans used the services of professional laundresses. For instance, two young journeymen, the barber journeyman Mickel Beckman and the tailor Journeyman Erich Lauridsen, both owed money to laundresses for washing their clothes.[65]

Since the majority of artisans' linen clothes found in the inventories in Elsinore were plain and without decoration, they could be washed alongside other household linen.[66] When the home of the butcher Ludvig Krause was sealed off on 28 March 1650 in order to secure the valuables, it was noted that four flax sheets, a tow sheet and two pillowcases were soaking in a tub and nine further shirts hung in the attic to dry.[67]

When linen had been washed, the next step was to dry and bleach the fabric. This could also be done outside in the sunshine. This made it subject to theft and any linen left outdoors had to be carefully watched.[68] On 12 December 1629, an inventory was made in the council hall because some soldiers had stolen precious linen from Kirstine Bernt's bleachfield in Elsinore. The linen bleacher Jens Andersen, who reported the theft, had lost a shirt and some of his wife's and children's linen clothing; another woman named Citse Villums had 78 ells of flax linen at the field but had lost 42 ells; while the wagoner Hans Reckersen had lost 12 out of his 42 ells at the bleachfield. The brewer journeyman Søren Jensen had 4 ells at the fields but, luckily for him, none of his linen had been stolen by the soldiers. In addition, a flax linen sheet and two shirts were also found among the stolen goods, but the owners of these were not found.[69]

Bleaching was important and the household calendar Economia, mentioned above, highlights that linen should be bleached in April. It emphasised

that the weaver should finish the woven fabric when the trees are blooming so as 'not [to] miss the best weather to bleach'.[70] Bleaching was a laborious process and it could take months to bleach linen. Usually the linen was laid out on the grass and fastened to the ground where it was turned every day and sprinkled with water or an alkaline solution such as potash or lye.[71] The 1648 herbal book Flora Danica recommended not to 'hang your [linen] Goods under Walnut Trees to bleach or dry: while the drops that fall down from the Walnut Trees [on the linen], will stain the linen garments, and the same stains will not go away easily. It can therefore be concluded that Walnut trees are not beneficial in bleach fields.'[72] Artisans might have bleached their own line in their gardens, but when there was a large amount to be bleached, the job was done on bleaching grounds by professionals, such as in the image of the Harlem bleaching fields painted by Jacob Isaacksz van Ruisdael (figure 22).

This process is also alluded to in artisans' inventories. The baker Adam Ditzer, for example, owed at the time of his death in 1605 an unsettled bill of two *mark* to Marten at the bleach field.[73] The master bricklayer Andreas Has and his wife Margrete Andreas, in turn, owed Anneke the bleacher woman five *mark* and four *skilling* for having bleached 84 ells of linen. Each ell, it was stated, cost one *skilling* to bleach.[74]

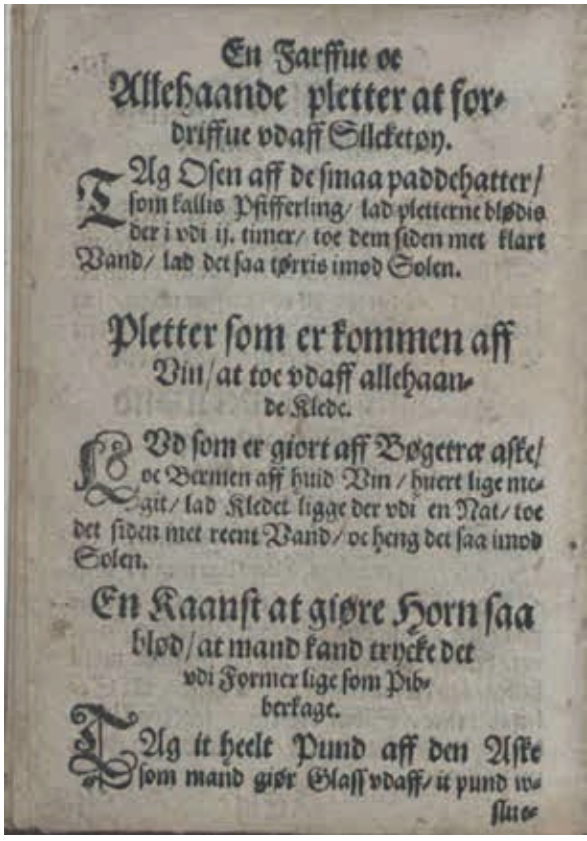
Some families had linen on the bleachfield at the time of their death. The shoemaker couple Christoffer Steffensen and Mette Hansdatter had 50 ells of unbleached flax linen bleaching at the bleachfield.[75] Similarly, when the shoemaker Peder Iffersen's wife Kirstine Clausdatter passed away, the family had 93 ells of tow yarn on the bleachfield.[76] Some of the most prosperous artisans, had their own bleachfields. The locksmith Gothardt Ran and his wife Anne Pallisdatter had two properties, one of which included a bleachfield. This might have been set up for the family's own use or as a business to gain extra income.[77]

When linen was white, few other processes were needed to get a smooth and gleaming surface. Linen worn as clothing was smoothed by ironing, while starching helped to smooth out wrinkles from washing and formed a protective layer so that stains sat on the layer of starch instead of penetrating the fabric.[78] The shoemaker Knud's possessions included a small round box with white starch.[79] Starching was especially important and time-consuming in the case of ruffs, that needed constant maintenance and care. Ruffs needed to be remade after each wash, then starched, ironed, shaped with a poking stick, and pinned. This was often done by the laundress, who had the skills and specialised knowledge.[80]

Linen collars were costly and delicate items. They were often stored in linen bags or wooden boxes, possibly like the bandbox in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum (figure 23).[81] The kitchen of the lamp maker Claus Rode contained, for example, a painted box with a collar inside.[82] Sometimes artisans had locks attached to the boxes in order to keep the treasured items safe.[83] Therefore, to own a large number of ruffs, like the miller Rasmus Torkilsen who had as many as 12 ruffs, was not just a financial investment but also required investment in time to care for them.[84]

Garments made of other materials than linen, such as wool, silk, leather or fur, were not washable in the same way as linen garments. Woollen and silk garments dyed with natural dyes or finished with glazing or hot-pressing techniques in particular could not be immersed in water and scrubbed in the same way as linen, hemp or cotton. Another way to freshen clothes of wool, silk, fur or leather was to air them between wearing.[85] Dirt could also be removed from garments made from heavy woollens, fine silks and decorations by brushing the clothes with clothing brushes.[86] The organ builder Johan Lorentz, a citizen of Copenhagen and appointed in 1649 by Christian IV to rebuild the organ in St. Olaf church in Elsinore (unfortunately, he died

FIGURE 23. Band box with samples of bobbin lace. Britain, seventeenth century. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



En Farffue oc
Allehaande pletter at for-
driffue vdaff Silcketoy.

TAg Ofen aff de ſmaa paddehatter/
ſom kallis Pfifferling/ lad pletterne blødis
der i vdi ij. timer/ toe dem ſiden met klart
Vand/ lad det ſaa tørris imod Solen.

Pletter ſom er kommen aff
Vin/at toe vdaff allehaan-
de Klede.

TAg Vd ſom er giort aff Bøgetræ aſke/
oc Bærmen aff huid Vin/huert lige me-
git/ lad Kledet ligge der vdi en Nat/ toe
det ſiden met reent Vand/ oc heng det ſaa imod
Solen.

En Kaanſt at giøre Horn ſaa
blød/at mand kand trycke det
vdi Former lige ſom Pib-
berkage.

TAg it heelt Pund aff den Aſke
ſom mand giør Glaſſ vdaff/ it pund w-
ſlue

FIGURE 24. Two clothing brushes, possibly a wedding gift for Christian IV and Anna of Brandenburg. Made of gilded silver, silk and pighair. The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

FIGURE 25. Recipe for how to remove stains from silk, from the book *Many Artful Crafts*, 1578. Royal Library of Denmark.

before he finished the work), had an old clothing brush at his workshop in the church. He probably used the brush to clean his black clothes made of broadcloth *fiſkaft* and grosgrain.[87] Although such brushes were not as fine as the some of the fine gilded clothing brushes used by the Danish kings and queens, they allowed artisans to ensure that their clothes appeared clean during and after work (figure 24).

For those fabrics that could not be washed, there were some books that included recipes for stain removal, surface cleaning and re-dying if the colours had worn out.[88] The Danish recipe book, *Many Artful Crafts* (*Mangehånde Artige Kunstner*) from 1578 instructed the reader, for example, on how to make water to remove all kinds of stains from gold embroidered cloth and velvet or spots of wine from a woollen cloth (figure 25).[89]

The book also gave instructions on how to clean stains from silk fabrics. The reader was instructed first to take the top of small mushrooms (*pfifferelinger)*, likely chanterelles, then soak the fabric in a solution with water and mushrooms for two hours; and finally rinse it with clear water and leave it in the sun to dry (figure 25).[90] It is unclear how well such stain-removal recipes worked. A test experiment using this recipe for removing spots of ink, wine

and oil from silks, carried out by the *Refashioning the Renaissance* at Aalto University in 2019 showed that the recipe for cleaning spots with a solution of chanterelles and water had little effect. Instead, it turned the white fabric yellow (figure 26).[91]

FIGURE 26. Results of stain removal experiment based on a recipe with chanterelles. Piia Lempiänen, The Refashioning the Renaissance project.

Mending and re-using clothing

Many clothes in the inventories of Elsinore's artisans were recorded as 'old', 'old and worn', 'half-worn', 'poor' or 'torn', giving a sense of their condition.[92] For instance, seven out of thirteen garments recorded among the possessions of the passementerie maker Willum Dirichsen were considered old. Even his fine coloured suit which he wore for important occasions was, according to the assessors, old. However, despite the outfit being slightly worn out, the suit was the second most valuable garment recorded in his inventory, suggesting that wear and tear to a certain extent was regarded as acceptable in ordinary people's clothes.[93]

Since commissioning new garments from local tailors was costly and mostly connected with special occasions such as weddings and funerals, taking good care of clothes and protecting the investment was necessary. If necessary, old garments were transformed into new ones. Tailors offered a range of low-skill services, including the maintenance and refashioning of old garments, but many people did repairs and maintenance themselves.[94] Protecting one's garments was important for financial reasons but it was also essential to look as good as possible. The guild regulations of Elsinore baker's and shoemakers' guild from 1559 and 1586 shows that a neat appearance was something to be protected. The regulations stated with disapproval that guild brothers were not allowed to damage each other's clothing if they got into a fight.[95]

Within artisan households, repairs and small alterations were daily carried out at home to lengthen the lifespan of an old dress. Mending, patching and darning were crucial needlework skills that constituted good housewifery.[96] The goldsmith Bastian Krammer's goods, for example, included an item that might have been a sampler – a significant learning tool for girls that exposed their skills in needlework and acted as a rite of passage to more demanding techniques in finer materials.[97] The inventory of Erik Bager's wife

FIGURE 27. Cornelis Bisschop, *The Seamstress*, late 1650's. Oil on canvas 45 x 53 cm. Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design, The Fine Art Collections.

Margrete and her son included, in turn, a silver thimble. Besides being practical in sewing tasks, wearing such a fine thimble would show Margrete as a devoted artisan wife who cared for the family's clothes.[98]

Some also owned mending boxes that contained needles and thread for repairing clothes when necessary. The house of the ropemaker Frederich Petersen and Bendte Gudmandsdatter included a wooden mending box, perhaps similar to the wooden box located in the right corner in the painting by Cornelis Bisschop (figure 27). Tools like this made sure that Bendte could keep the couple's clothes suitable for wear.[99]

The miller journeyman Abraham Ber and the shoemaker Mickel Lauridsen also had each a pair of tailor's scissors, suggesting that at least some clothes were made and remade at home.[100] Because thrift and being economical were seen as the essence of good household management and important virtues for the women running the household, it was important to keep offcuts and leftovers of fabrics for future use.[101] The inventory of the furrier Aske Pedersen contained an old mantle that was cut into pieces, probably saved to be used for a new purpose later on.[102]

Altering and repairing existing garments was an easy way to give a new life to old clothes and save money. The archaeological discoveries from Rådhuspladsen in Copenhagen demonstrate how much clothes were appreciated and used to the fullest before being discarded. The finds include several mended and reused garments that were used as soles, small rags or integrated into other garments.[103] Inventories also illustrate how large clothing items could change form with some adaptions and serve a new purpose. The pearl embroiderer journeyman Jacob Pedersen's most expensive garment – a grey suit consisting of a doublet and breeches – for instance, was made from an old mantle.[104] Alteration of clothes often took place when a child inherited the clothes of their deceased parent. Altering a garment was not only cheaper than acquiring a new one, but it also preserved the previous owner's memory, being 'material mnemonics' according to Stallybrass and Jones.[105] This materialised bonds of affection and of family obligation across generations.[106] In 1626, when the plasterer Peder Olborg died, his blue suit was made into clothes for his son Daniel, and his woollen waistcoat was transformed into a doublet for his daughter Karine.[107] Some linen garments recorded among the belongings of the tailor Jost Hansen were bequeathed to his three sons, Hans, Niels and Jacob, to make linen garments.[108]

Some of the best clothes worn by artisans in public were, too, old and mended, such as the brushmaker Jost Clemmedsen's only black suit.[109] Prac-

FIGURE 28. A pair of mended breeches, seventeenth century. From the excavation of Rådhuspladsen in Copenhagen. Photo Charlotte Rimstad.

tical garments used daily made out of coarse and practical canvas or rough linen were often repaired several times to extend their use. Two linen shirts found among the goods of the modest cobbler's wife Else Mogensdatter were, for instance, patched;[110] while the young miller journeyman Abraham Ber had a pair of relatively cheap patched everyday breeches of canvas – probably worth little. However, such items retained enough value to be donated to 'a poor thing', as becomes clear from his inventory. This shows that even worn-out garments were always worn by someone.[111] An extant pair of patched breeches from the seventeenth century, likely of coarse wadmol, excavated from Rådhuspladsen in Copenhagen, gives a sense of what mended and heavily worn-out breeches looked like (figure 28).[112]

Another, slightly more complicated way of extending the life of the garments was to reverse the fabric by disassembling the garment and 'turning' the fabric inside out so that the faded and worn side would remain hidden against the linings. This was probably done by tailors in connection with altering old garments into new ones. This technique could not be used on

fabrics that were non-reversible, such as brocaded damasks or velvets, but according to the clothing data, woollen and some mixed fabrics such as borato were suitable for this, especially in outerwear such as cloaks, mantles, suits, skirts, doublets and breeches.[113] The carpenter Niels Rasmussen's inventory mentioned two 'turned' garments, a women's cloak, and a red skirt made of broadcloth. Both of these garments were likely to have been worn by his wife Kirstine Andersdatter.[114] This demonstrates that there were many ways in which families at the lower social levels could care for their clothes and appear relatively well-dressed, even though most of their clothes were not new.

Notes

1 Quoting Bredal, *Børnespejl*, p. 1.

2 '2 hoffuidbørster for i mk';'i Kam foeder 2 mk';' i speigell 2 dlr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Bastian Krammer Guldsmed's inventory, 4 July 1627, p. 432 r.

3 Esdahl-Schou, 'Spejle i'pp. 155, 175, Paresys, 'The Body', p. 72. 15% of inventories include mirrors.

4 'i Stoer forgylt spegell for 3 dr';'i Liiden spegell for i2 sk': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Samuel Skomager's inventory, 7 March 1620, p. 78 r. 'i Stuen trævarer... i Speigell 2 mk';' i Senge Cammerit... i Spigell 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Willum Dirichsen Possmentmager's inventory, 10 July 1643, p. 408 r.

5 Sarti, *Europe* pp. 196-197, Vigarello, *Concepts Of*, pp. 58-62, M. Brown, *Foul Bodies* p. 26-27. On cleanness and wearing linen see North, *Sweet and Clean*, Paresys, 'The Body', Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry'.

6 Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', p. 387, Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621* p. 721. Scocozza, *Ved Afgrundens*, p. 91.

7 Melanie Brown argues that the habit of frequently changing linen underwear was slow to spread beyond the aristocracy, although medical advocacy, the association with civility and advances in production that made linen more affordable helped to spread the 'couture' of cleanness to the upwardly mobile. Moreover, she argues that poor people could not engage in opulent displays of clean linen and lace, which created boundaries between rich and poor, M. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, pp. 30-31. Raffaella Sarti argues that being clean became a privilege of those who could afford to buy enough items to change their linens often or at least clean what little they had. Due to the high cost of fine white linen shirts Sarti argues that a laborer had to work about two weeks to earn such a sum. If he managed to put a little money aside, he would therefore have to be happy with a canvas shirt, which would often be yellowish and cost the equivalent of about three or four days of work', Sarti, *Europe*, p. 198.

8 Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 5.

9 Quoting Kroman, *Helsingør Stadsbog*, pp. 53-54. The boy was sentenced to forced work in Landscrona and banned from Elsinore for at least ten years.

10 Arnold, Tiramani, and M. Levy, *Patterns*, p. 9, Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', pp. 37-38, Sturtewagen, 'All Together', p. 42. Shirts or shifts made of plant fibres are included in 44.6% of inventories.

11 Out of those inventories that lists shirts and shifts 5.3% list one item, 19.8% two items, 15.3% three items, 8.4% four items, 13% five items, 5.3% six items, 19.2% seven items, 4.6% eight items, 4.6% nine items, 4.6% ten items, 5%. 9.9% of the inventories list more than 10 shirts and shifts. This is similar to Susan Vincent's claim that people from modest circumstances in England in the early modern period had on average one shirt and smock to wear and just one extra to wash, whereas the wealthier would have several sets of linen items to wear fresh linens every day. Vincent, 'From the Cradle', p. 167.

12 '30 shiorter a i dr - 30 dr';'29 serher a i dr - 29 dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Estrid Lauridsdatter's inventory, 9 February 1637, p. 215 r.

13 3.2% of shirts and shifts were new or in a good state while 23.7% were noted as old and worn, half worn, mostly worn or useless.

14 '6 sercke mesten forsledenne i dr i6 sk';'7 Skiorter och nest forsledene i dr i6 sk': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Hans Landskrona Stenhugger, 3 July 1620, p. 206 v.

15 Mirabella, 'Embellishing', pp. 59.

16 '1 par handuge 1 dr';'Noch 1 par 1 dr';'Noch 1 par handuge 1 dr';'Noch 2 par 1 dr';'End 1 par 1 dr';'1 par 1 dr';'2 handuge 1 dr';'1 handug

1 mk': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Zacharias Plattenslager's inventory, 14 October 1612, p. 228 r – 228 v.

17 'en blastribit Handugh': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Peder Rebslager's inventory, 18 May 1592, p. 1 r.

18 Author's own translation. Quoting Bredal, *Børnespejl*, p. 19.

19 'ij Nesseduge vj sk': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Henrich Pottemager and Engel's inventory, 4 April 1592, p. 286 v. 'Sex Neseduge ij dr';'En gra kled kappe ij daler';'En fourit Lyffkiortell ij dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Jens Sørensen Møller's inventory, 9 October 1597, pp. 618r - 618 v.

20 The household of the shoemaker Mogens Skomager and his wife Karen, included in addition to a shift, two aprons, four neckcloths or scarfs, eight collars in various styles and two linen caps: 'i Liden Serck for i ort 4 sk';'i gammell Forklede for 10 sk';'i Forklede for 16 sk';'4 halskleder for i ort 4 sk';'6 slette kraffuer for i ort 4 sk';'2 kraffuer 8 sk';'i Linhue i Liin 4 sk': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Mogens Skomager and Karen's inventory 15 March 1620, pp. 99 v – 100 r.

21 North, *Sweet and Clean*, p. 138. Sarti argues that items like collars showcased the wearer's cleanliness, but since collars were detached from the shirt, they say little about the cleanliness of a person, Sarti, *Europe*, p. 197-198.

22 '3 Nye skiortter for 3 dr 3 mk';'3 gamle skiorter for 3 mk';'4 sercke for 3 dr';'2 Forrekleder for 3 mk';'i Forreklede for i mk';'i Natthuffue 1 mk';'5 tørrekleder for 2 ½ mk';'3 gamle tørrekleder for 1 mk';'2 skiortekraffuer for 3 ½ mk';'2 quindekraffuer for 2 ½ mk';'10 gamle slettekraffuer i mk 4 sk';'3 Dannshe halskleder 2 mk'; RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Jost Clemmedsen Børstenbinder's inventory, 29 July 1625, p. 500 r.

23 Paresys, 'The Body', pp. 71-72, Welch, 'Scented Buttons', p. 13. On perfumed textiles see also, Johansen, 'Perfumed Textiles'.

24 Quoting Bricka and Fredericia, *Kong Christian 1626-1631*, p. 180. That perfumed items were not limited to the elite is noted by Evelyn Welch, Welch, 'Scented Buttons', pp. 14-15, 18. In England Henry VIII's robes and doublets were perfumed, as well as his sheets and shirts, Hayward, *Luxury* p. 150.

25 'Vdi Senge Cammerit....i Grøn Eshe med Nogle bad Vrter Vdj': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Gabriel Riis Kobbersmed's inventory, 20 April 1646, p. 197 v.

26 Paresys, 'The Body', pp. 71-72, Vigarello, *Concepts Of*, p. 85.

27 Author's own translation. Quoting Lauridsen Wolf, *Diarium Sive Calendarium*, pp. 79, 296.

28 Paulli, *Flora Danica*, pp. 306 G, 345 K, 368 H.

29 The garments included two cloaks, a mantle, two gowns, two skirts and a doublet. 'Fire Skiorter';'fem Serke';'Sex forrekleder';'en blastribit Handugh';'tretten Halsekledr';'Ni Hatte';'En sortt Engelst kabe';'En gammell kabe';'En sort Engelst kappe, tilhørde Peder Reffslager';En sort Engelst kiortell'; En brun klede kiortill';'En brun Sayens Skørtt';'Ett Bruntt klede skørt';'En sortt engelst trøye':RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Peder Rebslager's inventory, 18 May 1592, p. 1 r.

30 Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', pp. 38-40, Sarti, *Europe*, p. 192, Styles, 'The Rise', p. 201.

31 Such as a spinning wheel and a haspel. 'i Hiuffle Roch och i haspel 3 mk'; i Messing Rib Jern i2 sk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Hans Johansen Bødker and Boild Nielsdatter's inventory, 1 May 1646, p. 201 r.

32 Full title: O*economia eller Nødvendige Beretning oc Anleding / hvorledis en fandske Huusholdning paa det nytteligste oc beste (saa fremt Gud allermæctigste giffuer sin Velsignelse) kand anstillis.* The household manual states that in January flaxseeds from the last harvest should be prepared and cleaned from weeds, the piece of land to grow flax or hemp should be prepared and soiled in March, and in May, flax and hemp should be sown, in May and

June. Quoting Jugel, *Oeconomia*, pp. 16, 18, 20-21.

33 Quoting Jugel, pp. 17, 24

34 On ways of sourcing linen's raw material see Styles, 'The Rise', p. 201.

35 'Borttskyldig gieldt som Aff Boiit shall betallis..Dauid Hanssen for it Lispund hør vj mar';'Chrstian Davidsenn for i Lispund Høer ij daler': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Mester Abraham Raider Bardskærer's inventory, 4 February 1605, p. 106 v. ' Bortschylldig Gielld....Peder Skreder for hør i dl 3 ½ mk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Peter Smed's inventory, 28 March 1627 p. 368 r.

36 Full title: *Ecteskabs Ordens Speyel oc Regel. Hvor vdi mand seet/huo Ecteskabs Stat haffuer indskicket: hvad den er; Oc huorledis mand der vdi skal leffue oc skicke sig Oc delis i Ti Capitler. Tilsammen screffuer paa Tydske*.

37 Author's own translation. Quoting Spangenberg, *Ecteskabs Ordens* pp. 52-53.

38 Magnus, *Historia Om*, p. 88.

39 Processing tools were recorded in in 26.9% of inventories.

40 'I Sengekammersitt... i Rock 3 mk';i Rock ij mk';'i Rock i mk';'i Hegell for 1 mk';'2 Hasper i mk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Kirstine Clausdatter's inventory, 28 December 1626, pp. 320 r – 321 r.

41 Raw materials such as flax and tow unprepared or specified as yarns are recorded in 23.8% of inventories.

42 'ij pund heglit hør for 24 mk';'3 pund spondit garn a: 11 sk - ij ort 16 sk': RAHBSP:1621-1625, Marine Jensdatter's inventory, 23 February 1624, p. 354 r.

43 17.3% of inventories included finished linen fabrics.John Styles also notes that weaving was a professional task undertaken by men, see Styles, 'The Rise', p. 201.

44 Weaving tools are only included in inventories of weaver occupations.

45 In addition, they kept three wreaths of flax in the livingroom. These were probably combed and ready to be spun or hung as decoration. '40 Allen Blaargarn hoss Veffueren';'3 Krandser med Hør 4 pund a 6 sk - 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Philip Bocher Pottemager and Anne Philips, 9 October 1636, p. 87 r – 87 v.

46 51 ells of finished linen fabrics were also located in the home. 'lx Alne Lerrit till Veffuerens';'xiiij allne skiffue tecken Grøntt och guld hors Veffuerenss';'xiij alne Lerit allen till iij marc';iij alne Lerit allenn till xxviij sk';'vij allne Lerit allens till ij marc';'3 allenn Leritt allenn till i daller';'iij Alne Lerit allen till i marc';'xix alen Lerit allen xij sk';'iij alne Blargarns Lerit allen till viij sk': RAHBSP:1603-1610, Marine Lauridsdatter's inventory, 28 August 1606, pp. 211 r, 212 r.

47 The potter Jørgen Pottemager owed the weaver Hans Væver a salary of one *daler* and one *mark* for having woven some textiles. 'Bortskyldig gield ..... Hans Veffr Veffue Lønn i dr i mk': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Jørgen Pottemager's inventory, 10 October 1616, p. 188 v.

48 'Hans Christophersøn veffer for 2i aln groff blargarns drel aln 5 sk er 6 1/2 1 sk': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Mester Jacob von Alden Bardskærer's inventory, 12 October 1615, p. 135 v.

49 Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', pp. 37-39.

50 'i g: udsyed Tørklæde 5 mk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Claus Marckmand Møller and Maren Rasmusdatter's inventory, 10 January 1645, p. 301v. His daughters Anne, Margrete, Else and Kirsten was 11, nine, four and five years old when the inventory was made.

51 'i Kneppelskriin med nogenn Knpell stocke i dr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Gothardt Ran Klejnsmed and Anne Pallisdatter's inventory, 2 March 1626, p. 114 v.

52 For an overview of the common books of Secrets in Italy, Germany and Scandinavia, see Ohrvik, *Medicine, Magic* pp. 32-37, see

also Eamon, *Science*, On advice literature in general see Bell, *How To*.

53 The first printed Danish book of this genre were medical literature, especially Henrik Smed's medicinal book that appeared in the sixteenth century and was reprinted several times, Ohrvik, *Medicine, Magic*, p. 35. Henrik Smed's medicinal book was found in the household of shoemaker Peder Iffersen, Kirstine Clausdatter and their children. 'i Henrich Schmeds Legebog 2 mk 8 sk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peder Iffersen Skomager and children's inventory, 14 May 1650, p. 197 v.

54 Full title: *Flora Danica, det er: Dansk Urtebog: udi huilcken efter ....Christiani IV. ... Befaling ... icke alleeniste Urternis historiske Beskrifvelse, Krafter oc Virckninger med ziirligste Figurer andragis, men endocsaa Lægedomme til alle Siugdomme gafnlige, korteligen ocklarligen antegnis, saa at den er baade en Urtebog oc Lægebog med største Flid oc Umage elaborerit aff Simone Paulli*

55 Translated by the author. Quoting Paulli, *Flora Danica*, pp. introduction, 279 y. This recipe was tested in 2020: https://refashion-ingrenaissance.eu/to-remove-ink-cherry-juice-and-other-stains/. If it was easy for artisans to get hold of exotic lemons are not clear. An account from the noblewoman Sophie Brahe shows that in 1631, 50 oranges were bought for one *daler* and 25 lemons for five *mark*. In 1631, 12 *daler* was spent on oranges and lemons in Copenhagen and on 20 May 1633, 50 lemons were bought for two *rigsdaler*, Paulsen, *Sophie Brahes*, pp. 32, 57, 90.

56 Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 5,

57 Arnold, Tiramani, and M. Levy, *Patterns*, p. 14. Sarti, *Europe*, p. 198, Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 5-7. On washing linens see also North, *Sweet and Clean*, pp. 208 - 258.

58 Michele Robinson shows that Italian innkeepers, butchers, bakers and sausage makers owned a surprising number and variety of linen garments and accessories as well as tubs, jugs and ladles for laundry, Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 5. Items for washing were also fairly common among the population in Bruges by the end of the sixteenth century. Sturtewagen, 'All Together', pp. 44-45.

59 'i Byge Tønde och i belge 8 sk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Hans Johansen Bødker and Boild Nielsdatter's inventory, 1 May 1646, p. 201 r.

60 '2 gamble bygtønder a 10 sk er 20 sk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, p. 155 r.

61 Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 7. 'I stifffiell 4 sk': RAHBSP:1635-1639, Jens Iffersen Skomager's inventory, 9 October 1638, p. 276 v. Susan North also argues that lace trimmings from linen garments could be unpicked and washed separately, North, *Sweet and Clean*, p. 232.

62 'Vdj Verckstedet...4 g blaaegarns Lagen';'2 g shiorter';'4 g oploder';'Dette shulle vashis': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Gabriel Riis Kobbersmed's inventory, 20 April 1646, p. 198 v.

63 '2 skiiden skiortter i dlr i mk';'3 skiiden sercker och i Opled 2 dlr i mk': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Anders Rasmussen Buntmager's inventory, 9 May 1628, p. 70 v. The hatter Hans Hattemager's linen clothes contained numerous soiled linen garments. 'Adskellige Skiden Lindkleder er Taxerit for i dr': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Hans Hattemager's inventory, 5. February.1612, p. 84 r.

64 'Hans Skiortter som Renne var vj';'Skorter Skidne iiij skiorter';'En Halff Fiering Siebe: RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Kresten Hermansen Bager's inventory, 27 June 1594, pp. 372 v, 373 r . According to Sarti, soap was considered expensive up until 1800, instead lye or urine was rubbed and beaten. Sarti, Europe, pp. 198-199. Lye, a caustic alkaline agent, was produced by soaking ashes of hardwood or marine plants in water and then drawing off or filtering the remaining solution to use for laundry. Michele Robinson finds material evidence among Italian artisans that they used and possibly also produced lye, Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 8.

65 It appears that it was common for male students, travellers, bachelors and widowers without a woman available to do the laundry to hire someone to wash their clothing, see Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 6. 'Borttschylldig Giel...Thill sin Vaskerske Margrette 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mickel Beckman Bardskærersvend's inventory, 27 June 1636, 57 r. 'Herimod angaffis effter ne: Bortshyldig Giel...Noch for Vasher lønn Vdi It Fiering aar 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Erich Lauridsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 18 January 1640, p. 14 r.

66 Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 7.

67 '4 Hørgarns Lagen';'i Blaargarns Lagen';'2 Pudis vor';'Disse Kleder var i blød';'9 shiorter Hengendis paa Lofftit': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 28 March 1650, pp. 152 v-153 r. The estate was opened on 9 April. This second inventory is included in the database. According to Lund the loover-hole (a hole in the attic roof) was suitable to dry laundry because it prevented moths and provided a durable temperature that protected clothing from mould. Lund, *Daglig Liv II*, p. 196.

68 North, *Sweet and Clean*, p. 222.

69 'End Fandtis aff Jenns Andersenns eget goets i sortt Kaabe i Lagenn i krauffe Berette at haffue mist en skiorte nogle aff quindens Linnkleder och nogle børne kleder';'Saa befandds Citze Willums att haffue der i blandet 78 Allenen Hørgarn Berette noch att haffue mist 42 Allen';'Hanns Reckersen vognnmand fich 42 Alen Hørgarn Berette at haffue mist 12 Alen';'Søffren Madsen brøggersuend 4 allen Haffde intett mist';'Ennd fandtis som ingen Eyermand vaar till i hørgarns Lagenn och 2 skiorter';'End fands som tilhørde Lenne Anders klockers 32 allen blaargarn som vaar stollen i Christen dauidsens bleghauve': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, inventory on linen and other goods that were stolen from people in town by some soldiers, 12 December 1629, pp. 246 r – 247 r.

70 Translated by the author. Quoting Jugel, *Oeconomia* p. 20. Linen could also be bleached in May.

71 Arnold, Tiramani, and M. Levy, *Patterns*, p. 14, Østergaard, 'Glimt Fra Hørrens', p. 9.

72 Authors own translation. Quoting Paulli, *Flora Danica*, p. 94 y.

73 'Bordtskyldig giel...Martten i Blege Haffuen ij marc': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Adam Ditzer Bager's inventory, 21 March 1605. p. 124 r.

74 'Bortschyldig Giel och Vdgifft...Anneeke Blegequinde for 84 allen Lerritt at Blege a i sk er 5 mk 4 sk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Andreas Has Murermester and Margrette Andreas Has's inventory, 24 April 1637, p. 281 v.

75 '50 Allen Vblegt hørgarns Lerrit, Som er Paa Blegen a i4 sk - io dr 3 ½ mk 4 sk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Christoffer Steffensen Skomager and Mette Hansdatter's inventory, 22 September 1636, p. 82 v.

76 '93 Allen blaargarns paa blegdammen a 6 sk er 8 ½ dr i4 sk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peder Iffersen Skomager and children's inventory, 14 May 1650, p. 196 r. The modest cobbler Jørgen Statsius had 30 ells of linen that were cared for by the bleacher woman Lisbet. '30 Allen Lerrit som ehr hoes Lisebet Bleg quinnde et blegis': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Jørgen Stabius Skolapper's inventory, 16 September 1638, p. 449 v.

77 '2 boliger med 2 hauver den ene en bleghaffue liggendis ved Lundegaard vurderit de tilsammen for 230 dr Cur: 239 dr Current.': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Gothardt Ran Klejnsmed and Anne Pallisdatter's inventory, 2 March 1626, p. 117 r.

78 North, *Sweet and Clean*, pp. 223, 225.

79 'i Liden trinnd Eshe fulld med huid stiffuellse': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Knud Skomager's inventory, 22 October 1637, p. 341 v.

80 Arnold, Tiramani, and M. Levy, *Patterns*, pp. 10, 14, J. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, p. 32. Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', pp. 10, 12

81 Like the potter Ambrosius Pottemagers three shirt collars that were placed in a bag:'iij Skiorttekraver, med Possen de ligger vdi ij ortt': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Ambrosius Pottemager's inventory, 19 July 1592, p. 40 v.

82 'i Malid Eshe med i kraffue vdj': RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Claus Rode Lygtemager's inventory, 6 October 1634, p. 246 v.

83 A similar green collar box located in the living room of the house of the master bricklayer Christen and his wife Birgitte had a lock that prevented other from wearing or stealing the collar. It is not clear whether this only stored one collar or if there was space to store all his five collars. 'trævare vdu stuffuen… i grøn Kraffue Eshe med laas for ij mk';' 5 Kraffuer 6 mk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Christen Nielsen Murermester and Birgitte Madsdatter's inventory, 20 April 1641, pp. 210 v, 212 r. In comparison, the butcher Ludvig Krause owned three collar boxes.'3 krauff Esher 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, p. 154 v.

84 'i2 Ruekruuer i ½ dlr': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Rasmus Torkilsen Møller's inventory, 20 July 1615, p. 129 r.

85 North, *Sweet and Clean*, p. 209, M. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, p. 26,

86 Johansen, *Ti Kongers Tøj*, p. 39, Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 133.

87 His clothes included five shirts, two pairs of linen stockings and seven collars, a mantle, two suits, a doublet, a pair of breeches for hose, a sable cap and a pair of woollen stockings: 'Paa Wercket i Kircken…i g. Klede kost';'5 shiorter';'2 g: par lerris Strømper';7 Kraffuer';'i Sort kledis kappe';'i g: sort kledis kledning';'i g: fifshafftis kledning';'i par buxer til offuertog';'i sort groffgrøns Trøy'; 'i g: Sabels Huffue';'i par Vlden strømper': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Johan Lorentz Orgelbygger's inventory, 19 June 1650, p. 236 r – 236 v. He was buried in Elsinore, On the life of Johan, see, Friis, 'Johan Lorentz'. https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Johan_Lorentz_-_orgelbygger.

88 Drea Leed illustrates this in her study of recipe books, see Leed, 'Ye Shall Have'. The Danish recipe book *En liden dog Konstrig bog om adskilling slags Farve of Blæk,* from 1648, for instance included a recipe on how to dye silk with kermes, Piemontese', *En Liden Dog*. p. 18. The book was attributed to Alessio Piemontese, the pseudonym of the venetian Girolamo Ruscelli, who was the author of the popular book of secret *Il Secreti* originally published in 1555, Eamon, 'How to Read', pp. 25-26.

89 *Mange haande Artige,* pp. 19r-19v. Full title: *Mange haande Artige Kaanster at berede gaat Blick oc alle haande Farffue, Oc at schriffue met Guld, Sölff oc alle Metal aff Feyre: Met mange andre nyttige Kaanster at farffue schriffue feyre oc Pergament met alle haande Farffue, Oc huor mand skal lade Schrifft ædzis paa Staal eller Jern oc Vaaben. Alle Schriffuere, Breffmalere, Kniffuesmeder oc andre som slig Kaanster bruge gantske nyttige at vide.*

90 *Mange haande Artige,* p. 19 v. The recipe originates from the German recipe book *The Allerley Matkel* from 1532, the earliest recipe book on spot removing and dying. In this version the reader was instructed to use the juice of chanterelles to remove stains from silken veils, advising how to: 'Take juice of chanterelles, soak the stains therein for two hours, rinse with clear water, and allow to dry, Edelstein, 'The Allerley Matkel', p. 316. The book *Mange haande Artige* also contained recipes on how to dye yarns and linen blue or brown, see pp. 18 r – 18 v.

91 The recipe contained no instructions on how the fabric should be soaked with the chanterelles, the mushrooms were boiled with water to make a paste, and then applied to the stained fabric. After this it was rinsed and left to dry inside. For a blog post from the workshop: https://refashioningrenaissance.eu/dirty-laundry-in-aalto-university/.

92 25.5% of all clothing items were at least considered 'old'.

93 His costliest garment was a mantle made from black cloth. 'i Affarffue gammel klednig 8 d';' i Sort klede kappe i2 d': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Willum Dirichsen Possmentmager's inventory, 10 July 1643, p. 409 r.

94 Currie, 'Diversity and Design', p. 157.

95 *Diplomentarium*, p. 51, Petersen, *Helsingørske*, p. 30

96 Fennetaux, 'Sentimental', p. 129.

97 Ilmakunnas, 'Embroidering Women', p. 308-309. 'i hiyndes blaed och 1 syeklud for i dlr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Bastian Krammer Guldsmed's inventory, 4 July 1627, p. 432 r.

98 'Tho, Lodt i Quintin, sølff, fingerbell och andit ix dall': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Margrete Erik Bager of Henrich Hansen's inventory, 16 October 1602, p. 445 v. The miller Claus Markmand Møller also list a thimble of silver. '7 maler i liden Nøgel i finger bølle 3 ½ lod a 2 ½ mk – 2 dr i2 sk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Claus Marckmand Møller and Maren Rasmusdatter's inventory, 10 January 1645, p. 289 v.

99 'i Syeshrin 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Fredrich Petersen Rebslager and Bendte Gudmandsdatter's inventory, 12 October 1648, p. 434 v.

100 'En Skreder sax i ortt': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Abraham Ber Møllersvend's Inventory, 20 February 1599, p. 31 v.'i Schreder sax i ½ mk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Mickel Lauridsen Skomager's inventory, 16 November 1644, p. 20 r.

101 Fennetaux, 'Sentimental', p. 129. Reuse and refurbishment was also common among the elite, Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', p. 49-50. A cap worn by King Christian IV had an early form of tapestry, incorporated as an interlining, Johansen, 'Christian IV's Huer', pp. 94-95.

102 'i g: Kappe shoren i støcker 10 mk': RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Aske Pedersen Buntmager's inventory, 11 October 1633, p. 151 r.

103 Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger', pp. 382-388.

104 'i graae Kledning buxer och Trøye vaar aff en gammell kappe giort 2 dr': RAHBSP:1621-1625, Jacob N. Perlestikker's inventory, 13 March 1624, p. 364 v.

105 Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 14,

106 Vincent, 'Production and Distribution', p. 52, Fennetaux, 'Sentimental', p. 234.

107 'Faederens Gangkleder som vaar ... i blaae kledning shall giøres drengen kleder aff och i klede Liifstøcke som er giortt piigen en trøie aff': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Peder Olborg Kalkslager's inventory 9 March 1627, p. 357 v.

108 'Linkleder belangendis haffuer for mynderenn Enn huer Annamed sin anpartt dennem att lade giøre nogle lind Kleder for': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Jost Hansen skrædder's inventory, 11 August 1612, p. 209 r

109 'i gammell lappet soertt kledning i dr i mk': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Jost Clemmedsen Børstenbinder's inventory, 29 July 1625, p. 499 v.

110 '2 gamle Lappet skiorter i mk': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Else Mogensdatter's inventory, 7 May 1629, p. 187 r.

111 'En koffte Aff klede Ing Ermer iij mk';'Ett par Lappid boxer aff lerffuit i ortt';' Item fands nogle andere hans Daglige Kleder bevilligis At giffue Stackeln Thi de vare ei møgit Verd': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Abraham Ber Møller svend's Inventory, 20 February 1599, pp. 31 v – 32 r.

112 Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger', pp. 208-212. Rimstad argues that these could possibly be worn by a seamen or artisan.

113 Fennetaux, 'Sentimental', pp. 127-129. Only 0.9% of clothing items were 'turned', but out of all turned garments cloaks (30.2%), mantles (16.3%), suits (14%), skirts (11.6%), doublets (7%), and breeches (9.3%). Many of these garments were made of broadcloth.

114 'i quinde kaabe som er Vendt 3 dr';i Rødt klede shiørtt som er vendt ij dr': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Niels Rasmussen Tømmermand's inventory, 4 April 1622, p. 102 v.

FIGURE 29. Dircksz van Oudenrogge, *A Weavers Workshop*, 1652. Oil on panel 41 x 56 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Chapter 5. Functional clothing

Workwear

The workday of an ordinary artisan started early in the morning and ended late in the evening, only being interrupted by Sundays and holidays. Everyday clothes were therefore important; they were worn most of the time.[1] Daily clothes had to be simple and functional and meet the requirements of both manual labour and physical work both at the workshop and at home, but they were still expected to wear well, according to Maria Hayward.[2]

As highlighted in the previous chapter, most of the clothing listed in artisan inventories seems to be plain and ordinary. About a quarter of the garments listed were considered old, meaning that these were either worn out, of a certain age or of the past and possibly old-fashioned.[3] The case of the painter Søren Jensen illustrates this well. The inventory drawn up for him and his three-year-old daughter after his wife Margrete Hansdatter died listed seven items of clothing. These included a plain black cloak made of broadcloth and a skirt of black *fifskaft*; All the remaining five garments – a cloak, three doublets and an apron – were described as either old or 'turned'.[4]

At the same time, everyday clothes worn by artisans were not ragged. They showed signs of regular use and were simpler than Sunday clothes.[5] Only few inventories described clothing explicitly as 'daily garments'. But a few examples did. For instance, the coppersmith Gabriel Riis had an old red chest with some old clothes belonging to his wife Anne Gløckstat that 'she wears [in] everyday life'.[6] Some inventories show that some practical and relatively humble cloaks and mantles were also described as 'everyday garments'.[7] The modest 'everyday' cloak worn by the joiner Oluf Snedker's wife Eline Pedersdatter, for example, lined with a practical canvas lining, was valued much less than her cloak made of fine English cloth.[8] The inventory possibly made when the baker Erik Nielsen's wife Gese Frandsdatter died included a 'daily cloak' and a 'daily mantle' worn by her husband, in addition to garments that were valued much higher and worn for special occasions, such as

a good-quality cloak and mantle.[9] Fine garments such as these, unlike simple daily clothes, were often decorated or made of fine fabrics.[10]

Simple and plain clothes were used for work.[11] This means that daily clothes had to be made from durable materials, such as hard-wearing woollens or practical linens, and cut in a way that allowed the body to move.[12] One of the common items worn both at home and at work was a washable linen apron. Together with shifts and shirts, an apron supported good hygiene and provided a protective layer, preserving the clothes under it.[13] The painting 'A Weavers Workshop', painted by Dircksz van Oudenrogge in 1652, shows a modest workshop of a weaver and his wife. The artisan's wife wears a practical linen apron wrapped around her skirt so that the linen would protect her clothes during housework (figure 29). The inventory of the miller Peder Hansen also included two aprons made of flax and two aprons made of coarse tow linen for practical purposes; two skirts that were described as protective were also useful when Kirstine Clausdatter, the wife of the potter Gregers Heigner. needed to clean the house or help her husband at the work-

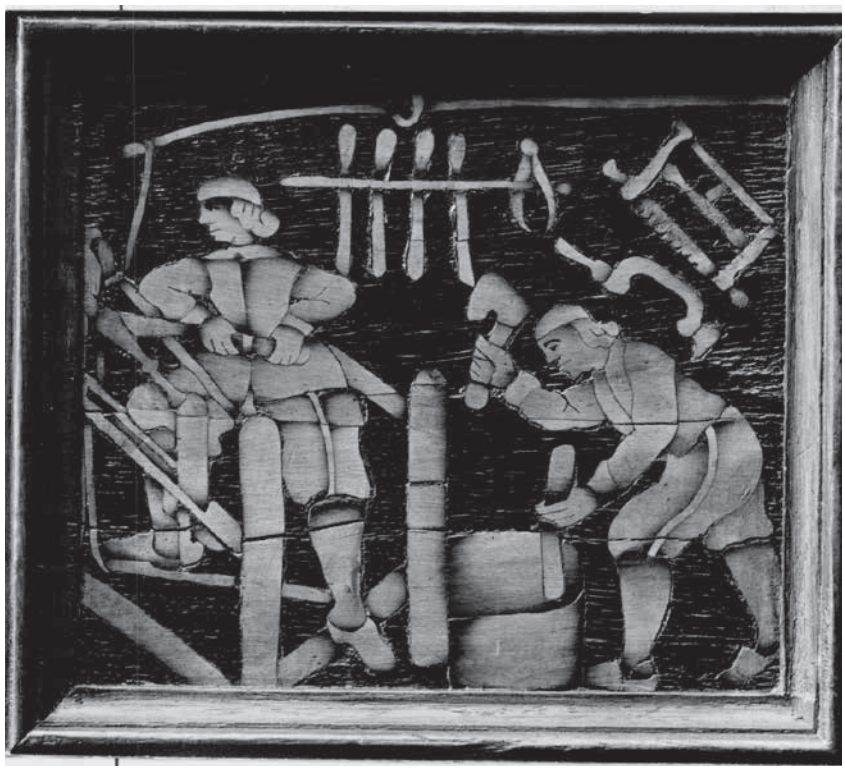


FIGURE 30. Turners working in a workshop. Depiction on a guild chest belonging to the turner's guild of Copenhagen, ca. 1658. National Museum of Denmark.

shop.[14] A linen apron, likely used to protect the clothes from being stained or getting dirty, also hung in a cabinet in the house of the smith Jens Pedersen and his wife Kirsten Hansdatter.[15]

Protective garments like this might have been reserved specially for working. Historian Jutta Zander-Seidel notes in the context of Nürnberg that an inventory from 1538 belonging to a smith who made fine tools contained specific work garments, such as a woollen shirt and a well-worn and old gown that protected his remaining clothes. Other inventories from Nurnberg artisans also revealed work shirts, cloaks and doublets.[16] A chest from the Copenhagen Turners Guild from around 1658 depicts two turners wearing simple doublets or jackets, bulky breeches, slippers and caps (figure 30). Similar clothing was owned by the Elsinore turner Axel Drejer, whose wardrobe included some practical linen shirts, ordinary doublets of leather, a modest grey doublet, a woollen waistcoat, as well as a pair of leather breeches and caps lined with fox fur that would keep his head warm in the workshop.[17]

Like their wives, artisans could also protect their clothes by wearing aprons of fabric or leather.[18] Although leather was sometimes expensive, some of the practical aprons were of very low value. The tailor journeyman Anders Poulsen's chests, contained some old 'linen rags and [an] old linen apron which are not worth writing about'.[19] Leather could also protect the wearer against fire or hot materials and sharp objects.[20] The locksmith Henrick Duncker's clothes included, for instance, an old but expensive suit made of brown woollen cloth and one cheaper old leather suit that could have served him well in the workshop.[21] It also appears that the shoemaker Willum Roes and the plasterer Johan Carstensen owned frock-like garments in serge and heavy coarse linen (likely canvas) that might have been used for the protection of their other clothes when working. Johan's frock was worn over a pair of white canvas breeches and a white doublet made of the same coarse material.[22]

Some images, such as an engraving from around 1589 depicting a building site, also highlight how important it was that the fit and material of clothes allowed movement so that artisans could chop wood, carry bricks, build structures and climb ladders (figure 31). These men wear bulky hose or breeches and plain doublets with no outer garments. Such clothes could be similar to the only clothes that the carpenter Cort von Lichtenberg's owned. These consisted of one coarse linen shirt, a coarse woollen wadmol doublet, a pair of practical linen breeches, and a vest – in other words, all made of durable and practical materials that served him best during his work.[23]

FIGURE 31. A building site. Second part of sixteenth century. Print made by Frans Hogenberg. From the book *Res gestae. Friderici II. Daniae, Norvegiae, Gottorum Wandalorumque regis, ducis Slesvici, Holsatiae,* published in 1589.

Adjusting to the climate

It was also important that the clothing worn by artisans was well-suited for the weather and changing seasons. The weather was exceptionally cold in Denmark in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. This period has later been termed 'the little ice age', which culminated in the sixteenth century.[24] In his diary, the butcher and resident of Elsinore Tue Jensen reported that in 1615 fourteen days after Easter, a snowstorm was raging in his town for more or less eight days 'which was as massive as [the snowfall] that occurred around Christmas time'.[25] In 1646, his son Rasmus Tuesen, also a butcher, who continued the diary after his father's death, wrote that the weather was so cold that the sound between Elsinore and Elsingburg (*Helsingborg*) had frozen, making it possible to cross the sound by feet and horse.[26] The diary does not mention anything about garments worn in the winter, but cold weather must have dictated people's choice of clothing, since hypothermia, colds and illnesses could be avoided with suitable clothing.[27]

Due to the cold climate in the sixteenth century, according to the historian Wolfgang Behringer, new types of heavy materials and garments, such as warm undergarments, felted hats and ruffs, were introduced into the wardrobes. He even argues that the cold climate was one reason why the Spanish style became so widespread among the elites in Europe, since this fashion first and foremost covered the body in heavy dark woollen fabrics, especially black cloaks, including the visible areas such as legs, neck, hands and head, which were protected by linen underwear and large collars, gloves, muffs, hats and headgear made of woollens and fur protected the body, although this has never been proven.[28]

While this view can be debated, it was important, nonetheless, to dress according to the outside temperature and protect the entire body against weather factors such as cold and heat.[29] The Danish household calendar *Diarium sive Calendarium Ecclesiasticum* from 1648 even advised that in December, it is important to 'keep yourself warm in clothes and on the head,' highlighting the importance of warm clothes and caps and hats.[30] Unfortunately, inventories of artisans and their wives leave no traces of information about summer and winter clothes, but they demonstrate that the artisans' wardrobes were often multifunctional. The garments were made of materials that could be used for both cold and warm climates and they had a range of practical accessories that could protect well against harsh weather or be worn for warmth, such as caps, hats, stockings, and gloves.[31]

Records of the elites suggest that cloth in different qualities as well as mixed serge were much used for winter garments. In 1582, King Frederik II ordered a length of plain cloth for some winter garments for his court servants, and some black English cloth for winter suits for the queen's maids.[32] An equestrian employed by the king who resided in Abramstorp north of Copenhagen was given in 1571 a court livery with 'all accessories', as well as four ells of English cloth, four ells of serge (*sardug*) and four ells of linen for a winter suit. Similar fabrics were given in 1573 to a stableboy at Nyborg castle. He was given a suit (hose, doublet, tunic) made of English cloth, as well as some English cloth, coarse cloth, serge and linen for a winter suit.[33]

A letter from the wife of the historian Anders Sørensen Vedels to her son, probably from the first part of the seventeenth century, suggests that broadcloth, such as English cloth, was suited for garments all year. She notes that her son Lauge needed some clothes and writes: '[I] will first and foremost give him a good apparel made of English cloth for five rd [per] ell, this he can also use in winter,' indicating how this could be used all year around.[34]

Broadcloth was practical because it was warm. Moreover the finishing process of fulling made it very durable.[35] Woollens could also be finished by felting, a process of smoothing and compressing the fibres, which gave the textiles a smooth and shiny surface that made them resistant against wind and water.[36] Among artisans, hats especially were often felted, but other items such as skirts could also be felted. The wife of the hatter Peter Holst, Doritte Jørgensdatter, had a red felted skirt that must have been useful on cold and stormy days.[37]

In addition to cloth, leather and fur were suitable for changing weather and seasons.[38] In 1576, the governor of Schleswig Henrik Rantzau noted in his book *De Conservanda Valetudine Liber* that 'During summer I recommend especially a suit of deer leather [...]. I also use such garments during winter, but then naturally under a different suit. During winter suitable clothing [are] lined with marten, wolf, or fox skin. However, such may not be advised when there is plague, as [the] hair easily catch and keeps the contagious air'.[39] The stonemason Henrich Stenhugger owned one fine and soft deer hide doublet – a useful garment because he could wear it during cold and warm weather.[40]

Leather was especially important for artisans working outdoors, since it was durable, flexible and provided good heat insulation. Moreover it was resistant to wind and water.[41] Some artisans had several leather garments, such as the master bricklayer Christen Nielsen, who worked outside and owned many garments of leather.[42]According to his and his wife Birgitte Madsdatter's inventory, he had six garments (*benforskind*) of leather that could be worn as undergarments and a range of leather garments: a pair of yellow leather breeches, a pair of leather underbreeches and a leather jerkin, an old suit of leather and two leather doublets, one of which was yellow.[43] The leather doublets worn by Christen Nielsen might have looked similar to the surviving buck leather doublet worn by the Dutch Huguenot Hugo Grotius when he imitated the look of a bricklayer as he escaped prison in 1621 (figure 32).[44]

In addition to his leather garments, the master bricklayer owned a range of woollen garments: an old suit made of grey broadcloth, a pair of old breeches, an old blue woollen waistcoat and a green chest cloth (*brystdug*) that he could wear on top of the waistcoat. He also had small practical accessories, including two lined caps, a sable cap, two old hats, a thick woollen hood (*kabuds*), two pairs of heavy woollen mittens and stockings.[45] The master carpenter's wardrobe appears very similar to the winter and daily

FIGURE. 32. Hugo de Groot's leather doublet. Rotterdam Museum.

garments worn by working people, seamen and fishermen who worked outside, identified by Charlotte Rimstad in her study of everyday clothes of the Danish population. The archaeological finds excavated from Rådhuspladsen in Copenhagen include items such as knitted and felted caps and hats, knitted gloves and mittens, sleeveless upper garments and woollen breeches. An interesting observation is that gloves and mittens are almost absent from the inventories.[46] This might indicate that the mittens were worn out and of such low value that they were thrown away. Alternatively, as Charlotte Rimstad proposes, not everyone necessarily wore gloves; some might have been able to adapt to the cold.[47]

Linings made from fur could transform a summer garment into a winter garment. In 1632, King Christian IV, for instance, instructed the governess of his youngest children that the children's fur linings should be delivered to the furrier to be preserved when the garments were not in use.[48] Fur, and especially fur linings, were vital during winter months to wear outside but also at home.[49] As noted in chapter two, a range of plain and more expensive furs were often found in artisans' homes, used primarily as linings in headwear, gowns, cloaks, doublets and skirts.[50] For instance, the hookmaker Jacob Krogemager's garments included one large black overgown lined with black lambskin and two gowns lined with fox, as well as a marten cap.[51] A letter from the sixteenth century shows how important it was to protect oneself against cold weather. A German student wrote to his mother that he wanted to acquire a lined coat, likely of fur, because 'winter is almost here'.[52]

Linings could also be of wool. The blacksmith Peder Grovsmed owned, according to his inventory, a woollen lining for a tunic which could be inserted in colder seasons.[53] Even old linings were attached into new garments. Kirsten Bertelsdatter, who was married to the locksmith Peter Fett, for instance, had an old cloak lining that could be inserted into one of the three cloaks recorded.[54] This shows that separate linings could transform a garment from a light summer clothing into a warm winter garment.

Heavy luxury fabrics, such as velvet, were also suitable for winter clothes.[55] In 1571, the Danish noblewoman Anne Skram wrote a letter to the electress Anna of Saxony, informing that she had sent her daughter Dorothea her a brown velvet cap that she could wear in the winter when it was cold.[56] On 14 November 1643, Christian IV also wrote a letter asking to have some devil grey velvet sent for winter apparel.[57] Even though velvet caps were treasured and expensive personal items for artisans and their wives (these are discussed more in detail in chapter seven), it is unlikely that velvet was widely worn for practical reasons among artisans. However, muffs made of velvet could keep some artisans' hands warm outside. For instance, both the shoemaker's and miller's wives, Mette Hansdatter and Maren Rasmusdatter, wore black velvet muffs, one of them lined.[58]

Inventories from sixteenth-century Bruges show that summer garments, some worn by merchants and artisans, were made of cloth or lined with lighter fabrics such as buckram, bay, fustian or canvas. Some summer garments were probably also made from these lighter fabrics.[59] Mixed fabrics, such as borato, could also be used.[60] The clothing list drawn up when Alken Gritsdatter, the wife of the tailor Claus Skrædder died, contained two old

doublets of borato and another doublet of borato, the latter recorded with a pair of breeches.[61] The tailor Henrich Jansen's wardrobe also included a practical jacket and a vest in borato, as well as a doublet and mantle made of and lined with lightweight *hundskot,* which he could have worn during warmer months.[62] Light fabrics such as bay were also used for linings in mantles or gowns.[63] The inventory of tailor Mattis Mortensen and his wife Bendte Mogensdatter, included, for instance, a brown gown lined with red bay, which was pawned at the time the inventory was made.[64] Some tunics, caps, mantles and skirts, some of woollen cloth, were also noted to be without a lining, making them lighter and more suitable for summer.[65]

Particularly popular in the warm summer weather in Denmark in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was linen hose, because it was light and cooling.[66] Linen and canvas breeches, stockings and hose were recorded among the body linen and clothing of artisans. The bowl painter Oluf Nielsen, for example, owned a pair of linen hose, while the master barber Peder Tygesen had a pair of linen stockings. Such items were practical, easy to clean and comfortable.[67] Thus, a canvas-lined cloak worn by the joiner's wife Elline Pedersdatter, mentioned earlier in this chapter, was not just a practical item, but the light lining also made it suitable for summer weather.[68]

Notes

1 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 31. According to Degn and Dübeck there were about 70 holidays in this period.

2 Hayward, 'A Shadow Of', p. 110. According to Sandra Cavallo The clothes artisans wore in daily life were also important because it produced prestige and status according to Sandra Cavallo, see Cavallo, 'The Artisan's', p. 73.

3 Sturtewagen, 'Clothing Rubens', p. 16. In total, 71.6% of all clothing items were not considered to be in any condition, suggesting they were plain.

4 'i Sort klede kaabe i2 dr';'i Sort fiffshaffs shiørt 2 dr';'i g: ventt klede kaabe io mk';'i g: blommid fifshaffts forkled 8 sk';'i g Sort venntt klede Trøy i mk';'i g kaffis forslitt Trøi i mk';'i g: klede Trøy 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Søren Jensen Maler and child's inventory, 10 September 1650, p. 286 r.

5 Sturtewagen, 'All Together', p 248, Sturtewagen, 'Clothing Rubens', p. 17.

6 'i g Rød Kiste, der vdi Fandtis nogle Quindes gamble gangkledr, som hun daglig bruger, saa och 4 Pund Reen hør': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Gabriel Riis Kobbersmed's inventory, 20 April 1646, p. 197 r.

7 If people owned more than one cloak or mantle, the garment used daily was usually valued less, probably because of the regular use that influenced the state of the garment.

8 'Enn gammill sortt huerdags kaabe mett leridt wnder 2 1/2 mk';'Enn sortt engilsk kaabe for 15 mk': RAHBSP: 1571-1583, Oluf Snedker and Elline Pedersdatter's inventory, 15 February 1578, p. 84 r.

9 'En dagelige kaabe iiij dall';'Enn dagelige kappe iij dr';'Thend beste kaabe vj dallr';'En kappe vj daller': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Erik Nielsen Bager and child's inventory, 19 August 1600, p. 334 v.

10 Sturtewagen, 'Clothing Rubens' p. 17. Such as the potter Ambrosius Pottemager's two black mantles, one with velvet and the other old. 'Fandez ij Sortte kapper, dend ene med Fløyell dend andenn gammel Tilsammen iij dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Ambrosius Pottemager's inventory, 19 July 1592, p. 40 v.

11 Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, p. 274, 275.

12 Hayward, 'A Shadow Of', p. 110.

13 Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, pp. 26-26, Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 7. 86.3% of aprons were made of plant fibres.

14 'Tho hørgarns Forrekled, 2 blagarns': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Peder Hansen Møller's inventory, 21 August 1600, p. 245 r. 'ij Offuertrechtt Skiørtt ij dlr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Kirstine Clausdatter's inventory, 28 December 1626, p. 318 r.

15 '58 - i hørgarns Forklede paa shabet 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Smed and Kirsten Hansdatter's inventory, 20 February 1649, p. 21 r.

16 Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, pp. 274-275.

17 '4 skiorter 2 d';'i graae trøye 3 mk';'i Leddertrøye i d';'i Vldenshiorte 2 mk';'i par Vnder buxer, och i par Ledderbuxer i d';'i par Ledderbuxer ij dr';'i Ræffskindtz huve i dr': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Axel Drejer's inventory, 27 July 1616, pp. 238 r-238 v.

18 Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English*, p. 193-194, Burke, *Popular Culture*, p. 37, Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*, pp. 274-275.

19 'Herforuden nogen Klude och gamlt Forklede som icke er verdtt att skriffue': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Anders Poulsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 14 September 1616, p. 186 v.

20 Leather garments are frequently recorded in inventories from bricklayers (14%), carpenters (11.7%), millers (7%), stonemasons (5.5%), tailors (5.5%) and locksmiths (4.8%).

21 The woollen suit was valued three times as much as the leather suit. 'i g: Brun klede kledning 6 d';'i g: ledder kledning 2 d': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Henrich Duncker Klejnsmed's inventory, 30 November 1639, p. 565 r.

22 'i sarrdugs Offuertrecksell i dr': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Willum Roes Skomager's inventory, 20 May 1623, p. 232 r. 'i Offuertechsell aff Lerret ij mk';'i huid Lerridts troie 3 mk';'i par huide Lerridts buxer 4 sk':: RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Johan Carstensen Kalkslager's inventory, 6 September 1637, p. 330 v. On such garments see De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, p. 349.

23 'i blaargarns skiorte for i mk';'i Vadmels troye i par lerriz buxer och i Liffstøcke i gamell hatt for 3 mk': RAHBSP:1621-1625, Cort von Lichtenberg Tømmermand's inventory, 15 December 1624, p. p. 441 v.

24 Behringer, *A Cultural*, p 85, Hybel, 'Klima', p. 267, Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger', p. 38.

25 Translated by the author. Quoting Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, p. 63.

26 Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, p. 70.

27 Behringer, *A Cultural*, p 136.

28 Behringer, *A Cultural*, pp. 137-138. Behringer also argues that clothing was made of lighter material around 1500, than it was later on.

29 Paresys, 'The Body', 57. An English author claimed in 1631 that 'Cloathing keeps the body warme two ways: By keeping in the naturall heat of the body; keeping out the accidentall could of the Ayre,' Quoting North, *Sweet and Clean*, p. 43.

30 Lauridsen Wolf, *Diarium Sive Calendarium* pp. 241-242. Full title: *Diarium sive Calendarium Ecclesiasticum, Politicum et Oeconomicum perpetuum. Det er en evigvarende Eircke, Politisk oc Huuszholdings Caiender*.

31 Sources from the elite suggest that there was a difference on winter and summer garments, but how these garments were different from each other are not highlighted. A cook and henchman employed in 1598 as servants of Danish Queen Anna Catharina were each given a summer suit and a winter suit, Laursen, *Kancelliets 1596-1602*, p. 241. At the Swedish court, summer suits made in 1620 and 1621 were made of light terzenelle, and a winter suit made in 1621 was made in cloth and serge, Aneer, *Skrädderi*, pp. 248, 256.

32 Quoting Laursen, *Kancelliets 1580-1583*, p. 571.

33 Quoting Laursen, *Kancelliets 1571-1575*, pp. 63-64, 329-330.

34 Molbech, 'To Breve', p. 46.

35 Munro, 'Three Centuries Of', pp. 5-6.

36 Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 26.

37 ' i Fiffshaffts shiørt, i groffgrøns kaabe, i groffgrøns Trøy, i Røt Filtis shørt Tilsammen for 20 i ½ d': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Peter Holst Hattemager and Dorite Jørgensdatter's inventory, 21 October 1646, p. 244 v. Of all hats, 10.4% were felted.

38 Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, p. 70.

39 Translated by the author. Quoting Lund, p. 202.

40 'En leer troy, och i Par leder Buxer iij dr Aff Hiortte hvd': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Henrich Stenhugger's inventory, 16 August 1593, p. 292 v.

41 Thomson, 'The Nature', p. 1. Scholars have noted how leather was commonly worn by artisans or used as work clothing, see De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, p. 279, De Marly, *Working Dress*, p. 7, 11 Spufford and Mee, *The Clothing*, p. 72, Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers", p. 176.

42 Before he died, he was commissioned to build a wall next to the German church in Elsinore.

43 '6 Been for shind a i2 sk 4 ½ mk';'i par g: gulle Ler buxer ij mk i leder';'Liffstøche och i par Vnder Leder Buxer ij mk';'i g: Leder kledning i rd';'i g: Ledder Trøye 2 d';'i Gull Leder Trøye 2 d': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Christen Nielsen Murermester and Birgitte Madsdatter's inventory, 20 April 1641, pp. 209 v – 210 r.

44 De Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy*, p. 279.

45 Such as an old suit made of grey broadcloth, a pair of old breeches, an old blue woollen waistcoat, a green chest cloth (*brystdug*) that he could wear on top of the waistcoat. 'i graa Klede Klednnig 4 d';'i par g: graa Buxer 3 mk';'i gammel blaa Vldenshiorte 2 mk';'i grøn Brystdug 2 mk';'2 g: forrit huer 2 mk';'i forrit Sabbels hue 3 d;'2 g: hatte 3 mk';'i Sort Klede Chabutz i mk';'2 g: Vanter i mk';'i Par brune klede vanter i2 sk';'2 par Vldne strømper ij mk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Christen Nielsen Murermester and Birgitte Madsdatter's inventory, 20 April 1641, pp. 209 v – 210 r.

46 Gloves and mittens make up 0.4%.

47 Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger', pp. 236, 369. The shoemaker Knud Skomager owned a pair of finger gloves. 'i par finger Handshe': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Knud Skomager's inventory, 22 October 1637, p. 341 v. A pair of lined brown gloves made of cloth and another pair of lined gloves were listed in the goldsmith Bastian's inventory. 'i par bruune klede vanter foederitt For 3 mk';'i par foederitt handsher for 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Bastian Krammer Guldsmed's inventory, 4 July 1627, p. 431 v.

48 Quoting Bricka and Fredericia, *Kong Christian 1626-1631*, p. 352.

49 Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 172. The terminology does not specify if a garment was fully lined or partly lined. It is also possible that fur items recorded as trimmings could resemble linings. The trading goods of the furrier Aske Pedersen, who lived and died in Elsinore, gives information about the types of fur it was possible to buy in Elsinore. Firstly, his goods contained a range of caps made from the belly fur of a wolverine, the rump of a marten and an Icelandic fox, whereas cheaper caps were made from ordinary fox skins. His stock also counted a range of caps made from woollen cloth, grey, black and even trimmed with cords, that was not yet lined or brimmed. He also had a stock of linings, including cheaper belly linings of unknown animals, more expensive linings of cat, and even more costly but unspecified, back linings. In addition, he had skins from 18 French foxes, 40 ordinary foxes, and over 100 cats. In his basement, he had a knife that he used to prepare 280 squirrel skins and the skins of two Icelandic foxes, also located in the basement. For an overview of his stock of fur see, RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Aske Pedersen Buntmager's inventory, 11 October 1633, pp. 152 v-153 v.

50 50% of linings were unspecified, but 26% of linings were fur. Such linings were applied to caps, gowns and tunics, cloaks, doublets and skirts.

51 'Enn stor foriides offeurkiordhell, me sorte lambskindtt';'ij forede Reffshindts';'Liiffki-ortle';' i Maarskinndtz hue': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Jacob Krogemager's inventory, 20 August 1585, p. 71 r.

52 Quoting Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p. 214.

53 'Vlff for till en kiortell i mk';' i gammell Ler Kiortell med 5 Par Søll hecter': RAHBS 1571-1583, Peder Grovsmed's inventory, 4 April 1592, p. 283 r.

54 'I g: Kobbe Foer, For 3 dlr': RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Kirsten Bertelsdatter's inventory 17 July 1635, p. 349 r.

55 Monnas, *Renaissance Velvets*, p. 13.

56 Wad, *Breve Til*, p. 93.

57 Quoting Skovgaard, *Kong Christian 1584-1648*, pp. 282-283.

58 'i gl: sort Fløiels Muffe for i dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Christoffer Steffensen Skomager and Mette Hansdatter's inventory, 22 September 1636, p. 82 r. 'i Sort fløyels Muffe med foeder io mk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Claus Marckmand Møller and Maren Rasmusdatter's inventory, 10 January 1645, p. 301 v.

59 Sturtewagen, 'All Together', pp. 124-125. Sturtewagen illustrates how the wife of a carpenter living in Bruges owned a tawny-coloured summer gown lined with a light worsted fabric and how a mercer and passementerie maker named Jan owned a summer coat of

buckram trimmed with velvet. Other lighter linings suitable for summer garments included fustian, *half osset* (a light wool) and bays.

60 Munro, 'Medieval Woollens', p. 298. This was also the case in warm climates in Southern Europe, where borato was considered a light garment for the summer, see Molá, *The Silk*, p. 184.

61 '2 gammell Boratz trøier ij dr';';i boratz trøie i par buxer 7 dr': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Alken Gritsdatter's inventory, 25 January, 1620, pp. 45 v – 46 r.

62 'En koffte aff Borass';'Ett Lyffstøcke, aff Borradt';'En sourtt Engelst kappe, med Hvndeskodten forunder';'En trøi aff Hundeskodten': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Jansen Skræder af Svolle's inventory, 1 June 1598, p. 675 v.

63 For instance, linings of bay (6.7%) were especially used to line mantles.

64 'i Brun Kiortell med Røtt Baj vnder Ehr Pandtegoedtz 2 dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mattis Mortensen skrædder and Bendte Mogensdatter's inventory, 18 October 1636, p. 98 v.

65 A tunic recorded in the hookmaker Jacob Krogemager's inventory was unlined. i sort vfoerdtt Liiffkiortell': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Jacob Krogemager's inventory, 20 August 1585, p. 71 r. The journeyman miller Abraham Ber also had an unlined gown of English broadcloth. 'En kappe aff Engelst klede med Ingen foder vnder iij dr i ortt': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Abraham Ber Møllersvend's Inventory, 20 February 1599, p. 31 v. Ane Jørgensdatter, wife of Christen Michelsen a baker, would have worn an unlined red skirt. 'i Rødt Skiørtt Vdenn foder for iij dl': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Ane Jørgensdatter's inventory, 6 November 1605, p. 167 r. The prosperous barber Jurgen von Breda owned an unlined old black cap of woollen cloth. 'i g: sort klede hue Vden for 20 sk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Mester Jurgen von Breda Bardskærer's inventory, 18 August 1641, p. 236 v.

66 Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 70-71. During winter, these could according to Lund be worn underneath a pair of hose made from cloth or leather.

67 'i par Linhoser i2 sk': RAHBSP: 1621-1625. Oluf Nielsen Skålefarver's inventory, 9 March 1620, p. 360 r.'i par strøfplinger i mk': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Mester Peder Tygesen Bardskærer's inventory, 13 April 1630, p. 350 r.

68 'Enn gammill sortt huerdags kaabe mett leridt wnder 2 1/2 mk': RAHBSP: 1571-1583, Oluf Snedker and Elline Pedersdatter's inventory, 15 February 1578, p. 84 r.

Chapter 6. Fashioning a professional identity

Clothes and artisan hierarchy

Clothing was essential in fashioning a professional identity throughout one's career. In order to become a master artisan, one had to learn the craft through apprenticeship.[1] This was a subordinate position that emphasized the young age of an artisan. All apprentices learning a craft was expected to eventually become a master and obtain a full artisan maturity and masculinity. This meant becoming economically independent, owning a workshop and overseeing subordinates, belonging to the guild, and being able to marry and participate in civic life.[2] When Gert, the son of the stonemason Herman Stenhugger and his first wife Margrete, was sent to stay with his mother's sister and her husband, who was a goldsmith in Aarhus, they promised to 'take Gert Hermand's home to Aarhus [and] to support him with food, beer, clothing, and school and give him an honest upbringing during four years until it is shown whether he can be useful either in the craft of being a goldsmith or any other craft.'[3] It was common that sons inherited the occupation of the father or even the father in-law.[4] Four out of five sons of the successful sculptor Gert von Egenn and Levike Jorrisdatter were trained as artists. One of them, Peter, was a sculptor, Dirich a painter, Abraham a goldsmith, and the youngest son, Isack, still under-aged, was trained to become a portrait painter.[5]

The contract for an apprenticeship was negotiated between the master and the parents.[6] An inventory from 1593 shows that, while Hans Henrichsen, the eldest son of another stonemason named Henrich Stenhugger, was trained as an apprentice by the tailor Rasmus Skrædder, he lived at the tailor's house while his own mother, Anna Stenhugger, provided him with clothing and shoes.[7] Provisions of clothing could also be negotiated as part of the apprenticeship contract. According to a contract drawn up in 1645 in the town of Faaborg, an apprentice of a hatter was entitled to have two pair of canvas breeches per year. Contracts were not always respected, however. The

boy's father complained that his son had only received one pair of breeches in three years. In addition, he claimed that the son had not learned the craft because he had been forced to do hard manual work.[8]

Laws were issued in early modern Denmark, regarding the conditions of artisans, apprentices and journeymen. An ordinance issued by the king in 1621, for example, stated that if the child's parents were too poor, the master could provide him with food and clothes, provided that the child served the master in return for a certain period after the apprenticeship. The same ordinance stated that clothes could be provided as donations for poor apprentices by burghers from the 'two-colored collecting box' at the church. If these were sponsored, they should be made of two-colored wadmol so that the children could be recognised if they ran away from their master.[9] Being an apprentice and ranked lowest in the artisanal hierarchy often meant, as the examples above indicate, that clothes given to apprentices were usually quite modest. [10] Young trainees were probably not entitled to have their own opinion on the choice of clothes.

More attention was paid on the kind and quality of clothes when the apprentice became a journeyman. Becoming a journeyman meant rising in rank both socially and economically, but the journeyman was still living under the roof and jurisdiction of the master and his wife.[11] At this point of his life, journeymen were yet not perceived fully adults. Ruth Mazo Karras argues that due to the 'lack of civic and guild participation, the lack of economic independence, and the regulation of living arrangements, journeymen remained, in a significant sense, still not fully men, no matter what their age'.[12] When entering adolescence and late teenage years, men became more fashion-conscious; they bought their own clothes and wore accessories that showed their masculinity.[13] In 1561, the Danish theologian Peder Palladius proclaimed that, in Denmark, young people aspire to all vanity 'whatever they see [is] new, whether it is honest or dishonest'.[14]

Young journeymen who had finished a four-year apprenticeship at *Børnehuset,* mentioned in chapter four, were given some clothing. These included a suit (breeches and doublet) and a mantle of plain cloth, hat, shoes and a linen collar and shirt. Receiving a complete outfit at the end of the apprenticeship provided a good start for looking for a position in a workshop outside textile manufacture at the orphanage.[15]

After the period of apprenticeship, many young men travelled to other places in Denmark or abroad.[16] The seventeenth-century account from the Icelander Jon Olafson notes that, during his travels from England to Copen-

hagen, he met a Danish journeyman who had been abroad to learn new skills as a passementerie maker. He was 'named Jacob Pedersen, [and] had been seven years in London to learn how to weave gold- and silver-woven bands and other alike, that they call Passementerie'.[17] Going abroad was a way to become independent and establish social bonds beyond geographical borders, and to acquire and refine one's skills.[18] One who did this was the court artisan and art turner Jacob Jensen Nordmand, who was appointed by Frederik III (1648-1670). When the king enquired at one point how come he was so experienced in his craft, Jacob replied, according to his own personal accounts, with humbleness that it was because 'he had been abroad'.[19] Moreover, spending time in a foreign country gave young artisans insights into foreign cultures and fashions which they could adopt.[20]

Archival evidence shows that many journeymen in Elsinore had good knowledge of how to dress well. One of these was the tailor journeyman Cornelis Thiesen, probably a travelling journeyman who worked and lived in the household of the local tailor Albert Skrædder. Even though the inventory stated that his goods were inferior, he owned a range of fine items of dress and accessories that could be used to display his professional ambitions, aspirations and personal taste in public. The list of his clothing included two suits, one black reversed suit with trimmings which he wore with a pair of black knitted stockings, and another green suit, worn with a pair of boots with spurs, a hat, two linen shirts, eight old kerchiefs, a lace collar and two flat or straight collars. Moreover, he had a range of grooming items that enabled him to take good care of his looks, such as a container for a mirror, brush and comb. He also had arms that made him look respectable when he went outside, including a sword, and girdle to hang around his waist.[21] Dressing up in such fine clothes and accessories gave a good impression of the journeymen – a factor that was highly important because he had to secure his future. Clothing played an important role in this period in defining reputations, careers, marriages, wealth and public influence.[22]

Fashioning professional ambitions and skills

Artisans are typically portrayed in visual depictions working rather than recognising their rank as individual artisans. However, in this period it became common for shoemakers and butchers in Europe to demonstrate their social and cultural aspirations through portraits. One famous example is the por-

FIGURE 33. Giovanni Battista Moroni, *The Tailor,* 1565–1670. Oil on canvas, 99.5 × 77cm. National Gallery.

trait of a tailor by Giovanni Battista Moroni from around 1570. The pair of scissors – as a sign of his craft – reveals his occupation as a tailor (figure 33) but he does not wear practical work clothes. Instead, he is dressed in a fine cream colour pinked doublet, a pair of red slashed breeches, a fine ruffled collar and cuffs and a gold signet ring. [23]

Having a portrait painted also became more common in Denmark in the seventeenth century. It has been noted that, by the beginning of the 1600s, many burghers in Elsinore had their portraits painted.[24] The prosperous master barber Jurgen von Breda, for instance, owned a portrait (*contrafey*) of himself and his wife, which could have been a double portrait. This suggests that artisans were aware of the social and cultural importance of fashioning a visual identity.[25] Clothing played an important role in the construction of a visual identity and presenting a successful image of oneself and one's social place in society. People were likely to wear their best garb in public. Visual depictions of craftspeople can, therefore, reveal meanings that are not visible in written sources.[26]

One example of this from Denmark is a stained-glass window from 1583, from the collection of Museum Odense, originally bequeathed to the shoemakers' guild in Odense by the master shoemaker Jesper Pedersen.[27] The window shows the master shoemaker Jesper Pedersen and his wife, dressed up for several different occasions. The couple uses fashionable dress to communicate messages about their professional identity, social standing, achievements and ambitions (figure 34).[28] The centre of the illustration shows the shoemaker in his workshop with two employees, possibly a journeyman and a young apprentice.[29] The master artisan himself sits on a red pillow decorated with tassels, supervising his employees and cutting leather, while the workers are making shoes. The hierarchy of their work is reflected in their positions as well as their appearances. The journeyman and the apprentice are dressed in more practical clothes, including stockings and black breeches, practical linen shirts with a frilled neck and a black leather apron which protected their clothes during the work.[30] In comparison, the master shoemaker Jesper's appearance is refined. His well-trimmed beard, conveying a message of masculinity, is combined with a fine tight-fitting Spanish-inspired black woollen suit, with a row of buttons, a frilled ruff, stockings and a tall black hat.

His black appearance is designed to impress. Black was the most desired colour in official portraits in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, from Southern to Northern Europe, including Scandinavia. The fashion was inspired by the Spanish court during the reign of Charles V and his son Phillip II.[31] Good black was also one of the most expensive and complex colours to dye. It was connected to respectability, fashion and luxury, values that the shoemaker also seemingly wanted to connect with.[32] Moreover the black outfit linked the shoemaker with the desirable 'intrinsic' qualities of black: trustworthiness, honesty, and loyalty. When the image hung in the shoemakers' guild house in Odense, it associated him with good civic and religious morals, wealth, and social aspiration, confirming his masculinity and justifying his place in the guild hierarchy as an important member of the guild a successful master artisan, workshop owner and a town citizen.[33]

It is not possible to know whether the shoemaker Jesper Pedersen actually owned or wore these types of clothes at his workshop, because his inventory does not survive and he disappears from the records altogether after 1589.[34] However, the fact that he had himself depicted in fine clothes reveals that he was aware of dress as a tool to 'secure professional achievement and privilege,' as Ulinka Rublack puts it.[35] His clothes made him appear a successful and ambitious entrepreneur.

FIGURE 34. The master shoemaker Jesper Pedersen his wife and his workshop, 1583. Stained glass. Museum Odense.

Other art works suggest, too, that artisans were aware of the power of clothing to transmit ideas about their professional success and that the ability to dress well could also reflect one's achievements. In her study of barbers in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Italy, Sandra Cavallo argues that a person's social value and status was subject to change throughout his or her life; an individual's status depended upon the social circles he or she was accepted into and on the degrees of proximity to the wealthy and powerful.[36] A portrait painting of the art turner Jacob Jensen Nordmand from

FIGURE 35. Wolfgang Heimbach, *Portrait of Jacob Jensen Nordmand,* 1654. Oil on wood. The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

1654, painted by Wolfgang Heimbach, shows a man with long red hair and a well-trimmed red beard (figure 35).

He wears a lustrous black silk satin doublet, a velvet jerkin closed with black silk buttons and a decorative velvet sash tied at the shoulder.[37] The choice to depict the turner in black clothing highlights the virtues of masculinity, civility, dignity, gravity, stability and modesty, and the cultural prestige that was associated with wearing good-quality black.[38] But he also wears fine white linen, including a flat cut collar and a pair of linen cuffs. Being portrayed in accordance with the visual and cultural codes of the elites in portraiture, one would not easily think that the sitter trained as an artisan. The only elements that reveal his professional identity are a pair of gold tweezers and a small *memento mori*, supposedly made by the art turner Nordmand himself in order to show off his skills.[39]

Jacob Jensen Nordmand was born in 1614. He was about forty years old when he was painted by Wolfgang Heimbach, a painter who also portrayed members of the royal family.[40] This reflects Jacob's extraordinary skills and status and position at court. He managed to climb the social ladder by working for the royal family and became their trusted fellow. This was a journey and social uprising he documented in his personal accounts that he finished in 1670.[41]

Jacob was originally trained as a smith in Holland. In 1649, he was employed as an art turner at court, turning objects in materials such as ivory. In 1657, he advanced to become the Master of the Arsenal.[42] His portrait was finished the same year that he completed a finely carved ivory ship named Norwegian Lion (figure 36). He also made other beautiful objects during his employment at court, such as the beautiful a cup made from narwhale tusk (figure 37).

Since the artisans at court were seen as an extension of the household, it was important for the king to dress his employees well, to reflect 'wealth, power and authority'.[43] According to Jacob's own written account, during the first year of his service he was given free food and housing, as well as four liveries that were 'each as good as 100 daler,' a substantial value for one set of clothes.[44] This might be an exaggeration, however, because records reveal that he only received an 'ordinary' court livery when he was announced to be the king's turner in 1649.[45] Such an ordinary livery might have been made of English woollen broadcloth or serge and lined with coarse linen, or of lighter *sidendort*.[46]

One of Jacob Jensen Nordmand's tasks was to teach some of the royal family members to turn. Because of this teaching, he was allowed to have social interaction with the higher ranks. For example, when he was teaching Prince Christian, he was allowed to eat at the table with the governess and the prince and many other higher-ranked people. His greatest achievement was, according to his account, when he taught the queen to turn and was 'allowed to eat at the royal majesty's table for some years'.[47]

Jacob was clearly proud of his privileges. He noted, 'I have eaten with counts and other great lords as well as other noble persons' which were present in the King's Court. I have sat at the table with clergymen, and other worldly persons, some were good people, but others were resentful.'[48]

Social uprising like Jacob's would not have gone unnoticed. It was probably Jacob's social background that made some people resentful, especially since his familiar relationship with the king made it possible for him to

FIGURE 36. An ivory ship named Norwegian Lion. Made by Jacob Jensen Nordman in 1655. The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

FIGURE 37. A cup made of narwhal tusk with gold and enamel decorations. Made by Jacob Jensen Nordmand. The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

wear clothing that would have been considered unsuitable for a person of an unnoble birth and of a lower estate.

Court artisans such as Jacob had extraordinary skills. Many of them were from abroad and often employed at the court on a yearly contract.[49] For instance, on 7 October 1597, Godthardt Rhanni was employed as a smith at Kronborg and Frederiksborg Castles as well as other estates, and was given 100 *daler* yearly for food and an ordinary court livery. The contract was repeated a year after, on 10 December 1598.[50] His fellow artisans acknowledged that Godthardt was a man of extraordinary skills. For instance, the guild book of the Elsinore smiths' guild noted on the 24 May 1602 that the Royal Majesty's locksmith and resident in Elsinore, an 'honest and artful man, master Godthart Ranner, [was] admitted to the guild'.[51]

Court liveries probably made artisans stand out among the common artisanal population in Elsinore. The foundry master Wullf Entfelder, who was appointed in 1601 to manage the canon foundry in Elsinore, was given an ordinary court livery, while his two apprentices received simple plain garments, linen shirts and shoes that were probably of lower quality than their master's clothing.[52] The locksmith Henrich Klejnsmed, a citizen of Elsinore hired in 1583 as a smith at both Kronborg and Frederiksborg Castles as well as other estates, also received an 'ordinary court livery, the same that he has

had until now'.[53] This suggests that he received at least two liveries during his employment.

Position at the court was also often reflected in the wardrobe. The locksmith Henrich's own personal inventory shows that he dressed in fine silk-lined hose, silk breeches trimmed with fringes and tassels, gowns and doublets that were made of silk, fur, leather and fine cloth, lined with marten, wolf and squirrel fur and trimmed with velvet borders.[54] Some of his most-treasured garments included a tunic and a pair of breeches, made from grey bohemian cloth and trimmed with silver hooks and cords. Even his black mantle was lined with velvet and adorned with embroidery.[55] His wife Elline Henrich also dressed well. She had four colourful gowns of fine wool and bodices made of damask and atlas, as well as a frock and cloak with a silk camlet and fur lining.[56]

Another example of a court artisan with a remarkable wardrobe is the master barber Hans Schrøder. In his inventory, drawn up in Elsinore on 15 June 1592, he was identified as the king's barber. The inventory included a transportable pharmacy chest containing oils, pharmacies and ointments, which he used when he followed the Royal Majesty.[57] His success and close relation to the king were made visible through several elaborate outfits primarily made of silk. His most valuable clothing items were made of damask, plain silk, velvet, atlas, damask, taffeta and fine wool, including a pair of black velvet breeches worn with a silk atlas doublet with multiple silk cords, a pair of breeches, a pinked doublet made in ash-coloured silk, and a well-prepared black mantle lined with velvet.[58]

The sculptor Gert von Egen, possibly from Mechelen in Flanders, was employed at Kronborg between 1578 to 1585 when the castle was completed. He was one of the artisans who was paid with the highest salary. He continued to live in Elsinore, working as a master in his workshop with his wife Levike, but in in 1594 he was hired to make the grave monument of Frederik II who had died in 1588.[59] Although Gert himself dressed in relatively sombre clothes made from English broadcloth, plain broadcloth and leather, his wife had many fine garments that made her husband's success visible.[60] These included items of fine English broadcloth and grosgrain, with linings and trimmings of velvet and light silk, as well as skirts dyed in expensive vibrant red colours.[61]

Some artisans also ran prosperous businesses due to commissions from the king. For instance, in 1585, Zacharias von Ulnitz, an armourer, offered to provide the king with amour that he had heard was being commissioned from abroad. However, because Zacharias was able to make it cheaper, he

got a deal from the king to provide amour for 150 men.[62] His success enabled him to dress well and own multiple fine items of clothing, including a sumptuous black pinked velvet doublet, a bright blue damask doublet, a pair of trip breeches and two Spanish gold caps which were made of both silk and gold.[63] Such items demonstrate the extraordinary success of some artisans. They allowed court artisans, skilled artisans and successful businessmen to show off their professional success, wealth and social status in local society.

Trust, reputation and appearance

Appearance was an important tool to promote the professional image. The effort made to consolidate a respectable image and maintaining decent behaviour was important, especially in public.

In this period, trade was based on trust, reputation and systems of credit. However, outward signs of success could help to foster confidence and advertise a successful business.[64] For instance, Paula Hohti illustrates that artisans' prosperity was connected to showing off the household's material wealth to friends and business partners.[65]

The customers of artisans and small shopkeepers ranged from fellow artisans to wealthy burghers, members of the nobility and the clergy. Dressing according to the customer's social and financial status possibly helped the artisan to appear more attractive and draw customers of greater status and wealth.[66]

In this context, honesty and good reputation were important virtues for artisans and small shopkeepers.[67] In order to settle as a citizen, perform a craft and become a member of the guild, every artisan had to prove that he was of honest birth and of good reputation.[68] The joiners' guild statutes from 1581 noted that an artisan not only 'should be of honest birth and life', but also his wife should also be an honest woman with a good reputation. If the wife was unknown to the community, her honesty had to be proven.[69] Reliability was crucial for success. Craig Muldrew shows that tradesmen's trustworthiness was communicated through good reputation.[70] To prosper, it was not enough for an artisan to acquire good professional skills, but he also had to build a good reputation for himself and his household that supported the professional image.

The marketplace was a competitive place where reputation mattered. In 1631, the bakers in Elsinore were brawling about the stalls at the marketplace.

The disagreement was settled in the council court, where the mayor and the council decided to divide the stalls in accordance to the person's involvement in town, tax assessment and seniority in the bakers' guild.[71] According to a document of the bakers' guild, the first and possibly best stall – the one 'on the corner' – was given to the baker Broder Christensen; the following stall was given to the remaining guild members, such as Laurids Christensen, Knud Andersen, Anders Simmensen, Niels Sørensen, Hans Tommisen.[72]

Many artisans and small shopkeepers, such as butchers, bakers, shoemakers and tailors, sold their goods from a stall at the marketplace, or from their workshops or homes, often through the window or outside the door.[73] When buying goods from the stall, the customer was in personal contact with the artisan or another member of his household, judging whether the seller was reliable and could be trusted. This also influenced whether the customer would come back.[74]

Appearing well-groomed and wearing clean linen must have been especially important for people producing and selling food. A clean and respectable appearance made their products more attractive for customers. The baker Anders Christensen, for example, owned a range of linen items so that both he and his wife could appear clean in public. These included three men's shirts, four shifts, four aprons, three collars, five neckcloths, three kerchiefs and five linen head cloths.[75] The wardrobe of the baker Knud Andersen, one of the more senior bakers in Elsinore, who appears to have the third-best spot for his shop in town, and his wife Kirsten Pedersdatter, shows that they also owned a range of clothing items that made them able to appear clean, reputable and successful, which would attract customers. The inventory shows that he and his wife ran a respectable household and business with their two daughters, a journeymen named Jens, two servants and a chambermaid.[76] The clothing listed in the inventory of Knud allowed him to demonstrate a decent way of living, and made him stand out as a reliable tradesman, both at home and in public. As an illustration, the baker himself appeared both decent and washed by wearing one of his 20 old 'sky' linen collars and his everyday mantle with one of his two more ordinary matching outfits, a plain black suit, and a yellow-brown old suit in the 'colour of dead leaves'.[77] A black suit, even if it was cheaper, would have been especially useful in the marketplace, since this associated him with attributes that were important for mercantile success. Qualities such as loyalty, reliability, honesty and trustworthiness associated with black were probably regarded as essential in the eyes of his customers.[78] In addition, the baker had a black and old grey hat and one

FIGURE 38. Jan Havicksz Steen, *The Baker Arent Oostwaard and his Wife Catharina Keizerswaard,* 1658. Oil on panel, 37,7 x 31, 5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

old but costly sable cap, as well as a pair of old woollen mittens that were able to warm his hands when selling bread on cold days.[79]

A Dutch idealised portrait from 1658 depicting the baker Arent Ostwald and his wife Catharina Keizerswaard and their son, painted by Jan Steen, gives a sense of how a successful baker and his wife might have appeared in public in this period (figure 38). Even though this was not necessarily how Danish bakers dressed when selling bread, it underlines the importance of clothes worn in public. The baker Arent proudly shows off a loaf of bread, wearing an open linen shirt, a pair of breeches likely of grey cloth and a white functional cap which made him recognisable for customers looking to buy bread. The wife is also shown in the image. She is presenting baked goods but she wears a fine white linen shirt and a black gown or jacket and a cap. These items were similar to those worn by the Danish baker Anders Simmensen's wife Trine Brodersdatter. Her wardrobe included a black doublet made of

FIGURE 39. Breckelenkam, Quiring Gerritsz. Van. Dutch, (1620–1668), *Shoemaker's Shop*. ca. 1660. Oil on panel 23-3/8-32-1/2 in (59.4 x 82.6 cm). Norton Simon Art Foundation.

rask, a coarse woollen fabric, a black skirt made from cloth and three cloaks, made of fine broadcloth, light *firtråd,* and fine grosgrain.[80]

To make their shops visible, some artisans in Elsinore had signs hanging outside their door. The lamp maker Claus, for example, left behind a sign with a golden lamp when he escaped Elsinore in 1634. The hookmaker Hans Hansen and his wife Sine Olufsdatter had a copper board hanging above the door outside their house; while the master shoemaker Christoffer Steffensen and his wife Mette Hansdatter had a wooden shop sign by the door.[81] The sign at the shoemaker's house suggests that he not only made shoes. He also might have sold shoes from the window of his workshop, which was connected to his home on Hans Olsens stræde in Elsinore, in a similar way as the shoemaker sells shoes from his workshop widow in the painting by Quiring Gerritsz Van Brekelenham (figure 39).[82]

Judging from their clothes, the shoemaker and his wife wanted to appear self-assured and colourful. When they worked and sold shoes at the workshop, the shoemaker could wear one of his two linen shirts with a 'thick' (*tyk*) or a 'straight' (*slet*) collar, his good-quality grey suit or an old brown purple suit, and a plain brown mantle made of ordinary wool. His wife Mette

could dress up in her old grosgrain doublet, a brown woollen doublet, or an old red bay skirt. Her cheapest item was an old cloak that was useful for everyday wear.[83]

Tailors were also known for their concern to maintain an ongoing relationship with a client, no matter whether they were wealthy or of humble means. Being linked with better-off customers, as Elizabeth Currie argues, enhanced one's reputation and helped to gain new customers.[84] Trust was especially important between tailors and customers in the process of having clothes made. The guild statutes of Elsinore tailors from 1622 stressed that commissions should be finished at the agreed time. Delays were acceptable only if they were due to illness or other legal absences. Moreover, they were expected to provide high-quality work. If the customer made a complaint about a commission, two master tailors from the guild inspected the garment and decided whether the garment was badly sewn or destroyed. If the tailor was found guilty, he had to pay the costs of the garment himself.[85] In order to be accepted as a master in the guild and demonstrate his skills, an artisan had to make a masterpiece, presented at the council hall to the magistrate, alderman and four of the most experienced master artisans of a guild.[86] To become a tailor, according to the tailors' guild regulations from 1630, the artisan had to make a man's suit and a woman's cloak and woman's doublet from cloth that was provided by the guild.[87]

Like other artisans, tailors made commissions and kept finished garments for sale in their workshops, often located in connection with their homes.[88] This provided unique occasions for tailors to promote their success not only through their clothes but also by means of their home. The tailor Peter Folchersen and his wife Frocken Poulsdatter's house, for example, was well-suited to impress customers as well as for daily living.[89] The tailor's inventory from 1650 reveals that the couple's dwelling contained several rooms. The finest of these was a hall or reception area (*sallen*), a space that served both public and domestic functions.[90] It was used for spinning and sleeping, and it also served as a workspace for the tailor and his journeyman.[91] The room also contained some of the tailor's personal items, including an elaborate ell-wand (a tailor's measuring stick) made of ebony with some silver and bone.[92] The room was also designed to impress the customers and guests he received. It was ornamented with many objects of cultural value such as mirrors and portrait paintings, likely of Peter and his family. The room also contained books and equipment for writing and entertaining, revealing the family's cultural knowledge and personal taste when they received clients.[93] For

a tailor like Peter, clothes were particularly important, since they advertised his skills and knowledge of fashion and provided a model for his customers of what different fabrics looked like. Because of the intimate contact with customers, it was likewise important for tailors to appear well-groomed: the tailor Peter owned six linen shirts, and six collars.[94] His clothing cupboard, furthermore, allowed him to fashion himself as a skilled and knowledgeable tailor. His garments included, for example, two colourful suits, one in yellow-brown and one in mottled (*indsprengt*) cloth (a mix of spotted colours), as well as a many fine doublets such as a black atlas doublet, two pinked doublets of grosgrain and mixed fabrics, and a doublet of borato, adorned with atlas silk. He also had mittens in yellow-brown, as well as caps and hats made of fur or felted wool.[95] Such garments enhanced his image as a talented tailor and advertised some of the innovative materials that were available on the market.

A public identity

As citizens, prominent artisans and local tradesmen could also be involved in public matters. The diary of the Elsinore butcher Tue Jensen and his son Rasmus Tuesen shows that, despite their occupational and artisanal status, both were successful citizens who participated actively in official town matters. The butcher Tue was chosen twice, in 1626 and 1630, as a tax citizen and carried out tax assessments in town. His son Rasmus was also elected as a tax citizen in 1653. Being a tax citizen was an honourable task: since 1620, the task had been given to the eight most prominent town citizens.[96]

As we have already seen, appearance was an important manifestation of professional status and success. While surviving records do not provide information of how Tue or Rasmus dressed, an inventory of one of their fellow butchers, Ludvig Krause, gives an insight into how the two local butchers might have appeared in public.[97] Ludvig was also a successful butcher and a citizen in Elsinore. He had his own livestock that could be slaughtered and carried to and sold at the marketplace on his stall.[98]

The house in which Ludvig, his children and the remaining household lived had numerous Dutch paintings on the wall and a long frame with a painting of Amsterdam, an old mirror, and a small portrait in silver depicting the late King Christian IV and Anne Katrine. He also owned two small silver throwing coins that could have been given at the coronation of Frederik III

FIGURE 40. Throwing coins from the coronation of Frederik III in 1648. The Royal Danish Collection, Rosenborg Castle.

in 1648. This indicates that he might have been present at the king's coronation in Copenhagen (figure 40).[99]

Ludvig's success as a business owner was also reflected through his wardrobe. This included seven shirts, one for each day of the week, a black mantle, a black suit both made of broadcloth, an old grosgrain doublet and a cheap yellow-brown suit. He also had a leather vest or jerkin which was practical to wear on an everyday basis. In terms of his clothes, he may have resembled the butchers in the painting by Bartolomeo Paserotti from the second part of the sixteenth century (figure 41). In addition, a pair of boots and delicate shoes, gloves made of cordovan skin, a cap made of luxurious sable and an old, felted hat with a hat band – all listed in his inventory – made him look respectable and fashionable at the same time. He also owned two twisted gold rings.[100] His inventory also mentioned several arms such as an old gun, a musket, a sword and a complete amour with a spear. Armour could be worn either underneath or over the garment for both protection and display.[101] Such items were important since these could connect him with virtues of both masculinity and civility.[102]

Wearing black woollen cloth, such as the butcher's best garments, was important in communicating civic status.[103] According to Hanne Frøsig, the finest clothing men and women wore in public included black woollen garments.[104] We can see this in some depictions. As we have already seen, the master shoemaker Jesper Pedersen and his wife are both dressed in fine black clothing. The black garments not only connected the shoemaker and his wife with fashion, but they also enforced the idea of the couple as good citizens of Odense (figure 42). Dressing in black wool was an especially safe option, since black woollen garments were not regulated by sumptuary law, even though fine black was associated with prestige. Moreover, in addition to the virtues already highlighted, black associated the wearer with good

moral virtues such as sobriety, since woollen fabrics were not as reflective in light as silk, which was considered festive.[105] Thus, by wearing black overgarments such as mantles or cloaks, artisans and their wives were linked with urban dress codes such as respectability, dignity, self-possession and honesty, but also civility.[106] The Englishman Fynes Morrison noted that 'going out of the house they [Danish women of all ranks, married or unmarried] have the German custome to weare cloakes'.[107] By wearing a cloak, women associated themselves with good morals and honesty.[108] Not being able to wear a cloak could distress both women and men. In 1632, numerous journeymen complained about the journeyman Christoffer Hoffmann, who had in a rage called them nicknames when they took his mantle as a pawn due to his debts to the guild.[109]

In addition to cloaks, weapons were a mark of distinction connected strongly with wealth, civility, masculinity and aesthetic display.[110] However, since weapons were seen as increasing the risk of violence, swords were banned from the church and the guild house.[111] The statutes of the weavers' guild from 1630, furthermore, regulated that no journeyman could wear a sword on the streets.[112]

FIGURE 41. Inv. 1936. Bartolomeo Passerotti, *The Butcher's Shop.* Oil on canvas 112 x 152 cm. Gallerie Nazionali di Arte Antica. Palazzo Barberini.

FIGURE 42. Master shoemaker Jesper Pedersen and wife dressed in black garments (detail of figure 34). Museum Odense.

Artisans owned arms, especially bladed weapons such as swords and daggers, but also firearms such as rifles and pistols.[113] The tinker and previous officer Clemmed Feion's inventory, for instance, recorded a silvered sword and two old and useless small pistols.[114] Weapons such as knives or swords were carried close to the body and hidden under the clothing, or worn in a girdle.[115] The tailor Anders Stabro's inventory mentioned that a knife shaft with a silver blade was found in the tailor's breeches, probably in the pocket.[116]

One important duty as a citizen was to participate in town defence. When an individual had become a citizen, he had to come to the council hall to agree which weapon he was able to carry.[117] In Elsinore, the town defence served Kronborg in wartime. It also acted as a visual element at public events and during princely visits and royal parades, demonstrating the splendour of the town by showing off arms and clothing.[118] The pride the town associated with the town defence is visible through the textiles they acquired for public appearances. For instance, in relation to an assembly in Elsinore in 1583, fine textiles were acquired by the town, including a range of yellow and red lighter silks; cendal, carteck and taffeta for field badges or sashes for drummers pipers and commanders.[119] Such a badge made of red carteck was also included in the master barber Jurgen von Breda's personal possessions, suggesting that he was part of the town defence.[120] The town also acquired some gold cords and a silver adorned button for the officer who carried the flag.[121] The account of the Icelander Jon Olafson noted the splendour of the town militia when the Bishop of Bohemia visited Copenhagen in 1618. He counted that eighteen different town militias were present, wearing colourful and costly adorned, silk garters and hats with gold bands and beautiful feathers.[122] Such feathers, described as two muster feathers, were found among the belongings of the furrier Laurids Mogensen. These were presumably inserted into a hat when parading with the town militia.[123]

Ordinary burghers such as shoemakers, turners, bakers and tailors owned muster garments that could have been worn specifically when assembling or parading with the town militia – often gowns or coats that were worn on top of their other clothes. It is uncertain whether the clothes for such occasions were provided by the town. For instance, in 1610, poorer burghers in Copenhagen who participated in town militia were provided a uniform but should provide weapons themselves, but in the town of Malmoe only the foreman's uniform was sponsored by the town.[124]

However, such clothes reveal a concern for the public reputation as well as a financial dedication to appearing proud in public. The passementerie

maker Jacob Bild, for instance, owned a red muster coat that could be seen from a long distance.[125] The muster clothing belonging to the master barber Poul Bardsker, mentioned in his and his wife Sofie Hermandsdatter's inventory in 1620, was recorded separately from the rest of the garments. The muster clothing included what was likely a coloured canvas suit and several adorned doublets, one with embroidery, one with a floral pattern and one made from taffeta, possibly worn with a pair of slashed breeches, a buff-coat made from velvet, a pair of old stockings, two silk hose garters and a hat with a feather and band. Alongside the clothes was recorded a type of dagger.[126] A muster suit in the shoemaker Willom Michelsen's inventory was his second most valuable garment. He also owned numerous weapons: pistols, muskets, guns, swords and a crossbow. Such items communicated to others in society that he was a proud, strong and masculine citizen.[127]

Being an armed citizen and participating in the town defence provided individuals across town society with a shared identity that was linked with honour and status, shown especially through the arms one was entitled to carry.[128] For instance, the shoemaker Jacob Pryds's garments included a muster gown, recorded with a gun, gunpowder bottle, iron helmet and field badge.[129] One of the depictions of the master shoemaker Jesper Pedersen shows him dressed as a member of the town militia, holding a spear, wearing a pair of red and yellow trunk hose, a yellow slashed doublet, yellow stockings, red garters, a white linen ruff and a tall black hat with a hat band and a red plume feather – perhaps similar to those listed in the furrier Laurids Mogensen's inventory (figure 43).[130]

FIGURE 43. Master shoemaker Jesper Pedersen, dressed as a town guard (detail of figure 34). Museum Odense.

The goldsmith Hans Ditmark's possessions included a similar set of clothing: a damask suit, with red velvet breeches and a yellow doublet.[131] In addition, he owned a pair of yellow and red slashed and lined hose, as well as a sword and a halberd.[132] The carpenter Falentin von Hartz's inventory, as we have already seen earlier, also included a similar set of clothing: a yellow damask doublet, a red velvet buff-coat and two pairs of red velvet breeches. Next to the suit was found a velvet hat. He also owned a pair of hose garters of delicate thin silk, *skellert,* and a pair of yellow and red hose which were noted to be lined. The carpenter also had several arms; a sword, rapier, an iron dagger and a sword belt.[133]

Garments that had a connotation of soldiers, such as tight-fitting leather cassocks, doublets, jerkins or breeches, were popular, since they signalled male strength and gave the wearer extra protection that was also useful in civilian life.[134] A number of artisans owned leather buff-coats, of plain leather, cordo-

van and even seal skin, worn either under amour as protection or as fashionable alternatives to garments of silk especially.[135] The leather buff-coats could have appeared similar to a leather buff-coat made from elk hide worn by the Swedish King Gustav II Adolf at the battle at Lützen in Germany 1632 (figure 44).

However some of the buff-coats were also made of rich velvet, such as those of the barber Peder Tygesen. He owned a fine buff-coat, perhaps of leather, with white sleeves lined with red damask and a brass girdle that would be suitable both to wear for military gatherings and for showing off.[136] The baker Adam Ditzer's inventory contained two buff-coats: one was old and made of velvet and the other of leather, recorded with a pair of leather breeches.[137] That Elsinore's inhabitants of an artisanal background owned garments specifically for public and civic use shows that some people could wear clothes for specific public purposes. Clothing was important in promoting oneself as a proud citizen.

FIGURE 44. Buff-coat made of elk-hide, previously worn by King Gustav II Adolphus of Sweden in 1632 at the battle of Lützen. Photo Helena Bonnevier, Livrustkammaret.

Notes

1 On the journey from boy to man for young artisan men see esp. Mazo Karras, *From Boys*, pp. 116-129.

2 Mazo Karras, *From Boys*, pp. 107, 116.

3 'da haffuer de hanum beuilgitt att hanndt haffuer tagitt for ne giertt Hermands Hiem medt sig till Aarhus att Vnderholde hanum medt madt Øll Kleder Skoele gang och anden erlig Optuchtlse vdi 4 aar Indtil man dog kannd forfarre huor till handt kandt verre duelig Enten til Guldsmede Embede eller nogii andet Handverck': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Hermand Stenhugger's inventory, 2 December 1592, p. 251 v.

4 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie* pp. 70, 100. The training of an apprentice took usually one to three years, but could take up to six years.

5 The eldest son Johan was not an artisan and their only daughter was married to a man named Laurids Hansen Stenvinkel.'Johan V. Egen paa sin egne Veigne';'Peytter V. Egenn steenhugger paa huis Vegne Egbert Backer Var tilstede';'Dirich V. Egen Maler paa huis Vegne Peytter Jacobsen Timmermand var tilstede';'Abraham V. Egen Guldsmid paa huis Vegne vahr tilsted Willm Hubertzenn';'Sara Gertz daatter Lauris hannsen Steunkell vdi Halmsted hans hustru som nu selff her var Personlig tilstede;'Isak V. Egenn som er Vmyndig for huilken Poul Tisen haffuer tagit sig formynder schaff som nu Lerer Contrafey Handuerk': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Gert von Egen billedhugger and Levicke Jorisdaatter's inventory, 28 February 1612, p. 106 v.

6 Prak and Wallis, 'Introduction', p. 10.

7 'Dend Elldiste Drengh Hans Hendrichssen, Som er hoes Rassmus Skreder, skall Moderenn, holde Gannom til Kleder och Skoo': Henrich Stenhugger's inventory, 16 August 1593, p. 134 v.

8 Quoting Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 72.

9 Quoting Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 678.

10 The young apprentice (whose name is not mentioned) who resided with the master tailor Laurits Sørensen, was fortunate since the journeyman Niels Jensen, who also lived in the household, left his old hat to the boy when he died. 'i g: hatt som Inndtet Kunde vurdirs bleff giffuenn drenngenn': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Niels Jensen Skræddersvend's inventory, 10 September 1638, p. 450 r.

11 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 134-135, Crossick, 'Past Masters', p. 7. This means that many could not achieve the head-of household status that marked adult masculinity, see Mazo Karras, *From Boys p. 129*. On journeymen being in between boyhood and manhood see esp. pp. 129-137.

12 Mazo Karras, *From Boys,* p. 135.

13 Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book*, p. 41 Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, pp. 109-129, Allerston, 'Clothing', p. 381.

14 Palladius, *En Formaning*, pp. 16-17.

15 Quoting Secher, *Corpus 1622-1638*, p. 40. According to an ordinance about Børnehuset issued on the 2 November 1622. An earlier ordinance from 1621 also about *Børn*e and *Tugthuset,* explained that the suit and mantle should be of common cloth, Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 719.

16 Journeymen usually travelled to Northern Germany, Going abroad after the apprenticeship was finished was influenced by the German custom (*zünften*) and it became tradition that a person could not become a master if he had not been abroad for at least three years, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 74-78. For more on the German *zünf* in Elsinore see Pedersen, Haandværksskik i Helsingørske Lav, pp. 13-30

17 Author's own translation. Quoting Olafsson, *Islænderen Jon*, p. 22. The tailor journeyman Søren Knudsen, who lived in the fabric cutter Helle Overskærer's house, came from the Danish town of Lemvig: RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Søren Knudsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 2 September 1592, p 90 v. Erich Lauridsen, another tailor journeyman, came from Mors in Jutland: RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Erich Lauridsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 18 January 1640, p. 13 r. Some journeymen owned travelling bags (*vadsæk*), which suggest that they were away from home. The barber journeyman Herbert Droff and tailor journeyman Cornelis Thiesen, for example, both owned leather bags and lived in their masters' households, the masters barber Jørgen Bardskærer and master tailor Albert tailor. 'i Vadseck 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Herbert Droff Bardskærersvend's inventory, 3 July1630, p. 366 r. 'i Vadseek 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Cornelis Thiesen Skræddersvend's inventory, 30 August 1637, p. 329 v.

18 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p. 219, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 77.

19 Translated by the author. Quoting Suhm, 'En Ubenævnt', p. 149.

20 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p. 219-220.

21 Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book*, p. 34. 'i sort vendt klede kledning med Lidtser och i par sorte strix strømper 4 dr: m';'i grøn klede kledning och i par hoser 3 dr: m';'i par støffler och sporer i dr';'i Hat och i Røed Nathue med gulldsnorer i dr: m';'i schiortte i d';'i schiorte 2 mk';'8 g: Tørrekleder i mk';'i kniplnnigs Krauffue och 2 slette krauffuer 3 mk';i Kammehuus 8 sk';'i degenn for 4 dr m';'i geheng for 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Cornelis Thiesen Skræddersvend's inventory, 30 August 1637, pp. 329 r -329 v.

22 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, pp. 35-36.

23 Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, p. 127-128, Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', p. 158, Hohti, 'The Art', pp. 110-111, 15-116, Burke, 'The Presentation' p. 165.

24 Quoting Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*, pp. 11, 69.

25 'Sl: M: Jurgensen och Hans Sl. hustruis Contrafey 2 d': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Mester Jurgen von Breda Bardskærer's inventory, 18 August 1641, p. 238 r. The widower Dorette, wife of a turner named Anker Lademager in Elsinore, for instance, had two portraits painted of her and her late husband, see Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*, p. 123.

26 Sturtewagen, 'Clothing Rubens', pp. 26-27.

27 Kock, 'Ruder Med Personlighed', pp. 411-414. It was common to bequeath stained glass-windows on special occasions, for instance when a new house was built, see also Lund, *Daglig Liv II*, p. 174.

28 Other windows from the shoemakers' and tailors' guild from 1563–1641 in Odense survive, but many only depict names, symbols or signature marks, see Grandt-Nielsen, 'Laugshusets Pryd', pp. 84-88, Kock, 'Ruder Med Personlighed', p. 413.

29 In sixteenth and seventeen-century English portraits the beard communicated masculinity and was used to distinguish between boys and men. Often it was a characteristic used for men over the age of 21, see Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard' pp. 155, 158, 184.

30 De Marly, *Working Dress*, p. 11 It was common to receive linen as part of the salary, Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', p. 387. When his master Ludvig Krause's inventory was made up in 1650, it was stated that the journeyman Bent Slagtersvend received linen for six shirts (30 ells). In addition to the linen, Krause also owed the journeyman 81 dr 2 mk and 4 sk for six years of wages. 'Bent Slachtersuend rester 6 Aars Løn effter Affreigning 81 d 2 mk 4 sk';'Noch till 6 shiorter 30 Allen Lerit som haver aff ded Lerrit I boet findis giffuet shall': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, p. 160 r.

31 Hohti, 'Power, Black Clothing'

32 Pastoureau, *Black* p. 100-103. On the meanings of black see Harvey, *Men*, pp. 41-70, Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity* pp. 93-108.

33 Hohti, 'Power, Black Clothing'. On the subject of self-fashioning see, Greenblatt, *Renaissance*. For instance at social events held in the guild house one's seat in the house depended on when one had joined the guild and reflected an internal hierarchy, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 145-150, Petersen, *Helsingørske*, pp. 11-12.

34 Grandt-Nielsen, 'Laugshusets Pryd', p. 84,

35 Rublack, 'Renaissance Dress', p. 14.

36 Cavallo, *Artisans of the,* p. 91.

37 As sash was originally used in the military to be able to show one's group or division, but in the first part of the sixteenth century this became a fashion item. Aneer, *Skrädderi*, p. 175.

38 Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, pp. 99-101

39 Bering Liisberg, 'Jacob Jensen', pp. 248-249.

40 An inventory made of the paintings that hung at Frederiksborg castle in 1597 mentions that one painting depicted a locksmith named Antonius Klejnsmed, Eller, *Kongelige Portrætmalere*, p. 39.

41 Suhm, 'En Ubenævnt', p. 135.

42 A turner usually makes smaller objects of either metal or wood. Jacob was born in Norway and died in 1695 in Smørum outside Copenhagen. He started as a sailor in the navy, but when: 'God gave him Davids words you should nourish yourself with the work of your hands.' he resigned and went to Holland to train as a smith, a skill that according to him was honest. In 1648, he managed to present a piece of work to King Frederik III and the queen on one of their trips to Kristiana (in present-day Norway). In 1649, he was announced a turner. Later he became Master of the Arsenal, administering the weapons. In 1658 he invested in a ship. On his life see Bering Liisberg, 'Jacob Jensen', Suhm, 'En Ubenævnt', https://biografiskleksikon.lex.dk/Jacob_Jensen_Nordmand (Accessed 29 December 2022)

43 Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, pp. 141-144. On liveries see also Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, pp. 17-21.

44 Suhm, 'En Ubenævnt', p. 156.

45 Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns Diplomentarium III*, p. 306. According to Bering Liisberg, accounts show his ordinary court livery's worth was estimated at eight and a half cur. *daler*, but later on it was estimated at 13 cur. *daler* and 30 *skilling.* Although as he moved up in rank, his court dress became costlier, still it was not worth 100 *daler,* Bering Liisberg, 'Jacob Jensen', pp. 269-270.

46 An farrier employed at Copenhagen Castle was in 1590 given an ordinary court livery made of English broadcloth, a woollen fabric for lining, serge, and coarse linen for linings, Laursen, *Kancelliets 1588-1592*, p. 321. In comparison, a tent maker received in 1636 a court livery with garments of *sidendort* silk and English cloth, Marquard, *Kancelliets 1635-1636*, p. 503.

47 Author's own translation. Quoting Suhm, 'En Ubenævnt', pp. 156-157. Prince Christian learned the art of turning for three years, two hours each day, and the younger Prince Frederik ordered himself a lathe which he used to turn. Jacob benefitted from his talents and aspired not only professionally but also socially by establishing a bond with the royal family, Suhm, 'En Ubenævnt', pp. 156-157.

48 Translated by the author. Quoting Suhm, p. 157.

49 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 106-107, 225-226. Sometimes court artisans could take work outside the court, which threatened local artisans. Laws on this were issued in 1610 and 1623.

50 Laursen, *Kancelliets 1596-1602*, pp. 213, 352.

51 Rigsarkivet, Helsingør Smedelav, Lavbog: 1592-1702, no page number. On several occasions he was appointed as alderman. On 6 January 1605, 'Gotthartt Rhan, smith on Kronborg' and again in 1617 he was appointed alderman of the smiths' guild. He enjoyed

enormous success and social aspirations. For instance, in 1613, his son was given a place at Sorø School, an elite school, Laursen, *Kancelliets 1609-1615*, p. 490. In 1624 he was still noted to be the king's locksmith, but also overseeing the interior of Kronborg Castle, Laursen, *Kancelliets 1624-1626*, pp. 262-263.

52 Bill-Jessen, 'Kongelig Majestæts', p. 8, *Diplomentarium*, p. 80.

53 Translated by the author. Quoting Laursen, *Kancelliets 1580-1583*, p. 672.

54 'Enn Vlffskindtz Liffkiordell, medt 7 par hegter vdi aff Sølff 8 dr';'Enn liden groffgrøns liffkiortell, medt Marrinner forritt, medt 7 par Sølfføer hecther vdj 4 dr';'Enn Gra kiortel, medt Wulff, vnderfoderitt, bleff Szallig Hendrieks broder medt forerert, medt formønders sambtøcke';'Enn par vdtdragne hosser, Leder snitt och brundt kartecke vnder 2 ½ Dr';'Enn par Vdtdragne hosser, suortt, Sidendort snedt, medt Flouell besatt i 1 1/2 Dr';'Enn par Sideldortz boxer, medt snorer och Quastr paa Laridt 2 dr';'Enn gammell Sideldortz Trøye, medt floerell besatt i ½ dr';'Enn leder Troie i ½ Dr';'Enn Leer Trøye, medt Sidendortz ermer i dr';'Eend een Sortt Engelst Kappe Vrderitt for v dr';'Enn blomet Flouelss Lve 8 dr';'Ennd enn Flouels Spannier, medt Feder vdj 3 dr';'Enn gammell Flouels Lve i dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Klejnsmed's inventory, 7 November 1592, pp. 131 r- 131 v

55 'Enn gra Kleding Kiordell och boxer, aff bensk Klede, medt i par Sølffur Hegter vdi, och medt 3 Ronde snorer beset 8 dr';'Enn sourtt Engelst kappe xvi dr medt Flouell fouritt forunder 3 sticking': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Klejnsmed's inventory, 7 November 1592, pp. 131 r- 131 v.

56 'Enn Rodt kledt Kiortell, med Itt Damashis lyff vorderitt for vij dr';'Enn brun saiens souritt kiortell, medt mantell fodir vnder, 4 par søllff Hegter v dr';'Ett Røtt Skiørt, medt Attlaske Lyff, och fire par Sølff malir Vdi 3 ½ dr';'Enn Suortt saiens Kiordell, medt 4 par Søllff Malir vdi i ½ dr';'Enn kledt samary medt grauerk vnder 3 dr';'Enn Quinde kabe, medt brunt Sidenn kamlott vnder vj dr: RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Klejnsmed's inventory, 7 November 1592, pp. 131 v -132 r.

57 'Feldt Apotek Skrinn Først Bleff oplest och besichtiget Szalge Mester Hanssis Feldtskrin, hvor vdi befandts alle Hans bardsker Instrument, med Olie, Apotekerj och Salffue, Hvilke Hand Pleiide, att bruge Naar hand folgede Kongl Maytt': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Mester Hans Schrøder Bardskærer's inventory, 15 July 1592, p. 37 v.

58 His fine clothes also included a mantle lined with atlas, two outfits made of ash-coloured and black damask; doublets and hose and a tunic and breeches, trimmed and made of fine cloth.'Ett Par sourte flouils Boxerme en siden Attlash trøi besatt me nvgne, Silcke Snører 40 daler';'En silcke Asckfarff kledning boxer och troie, troue biickeneritt. Vrderit for 26 daler';' En sourtt kledkappe med floiell forunder, Vell bered, Vrderit for 24 dr';' End en anden kappe, med Siden Attlass for under, Vrderit for 20 daler';' En Askfarff Damaskis kledning, Hoser och trøi, Hoserne med tafft Vnderdragen i8 daler';'En soeirt Damaskis kledning Hoserne med brun silcke Vnderdragitt 18 daler';'En sourt kled Liffkiortell, me Søllhegter Vdi och brede Snorre Pa, med boxerne dertillhører, tilsahmens Vrderit for 16 daler': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Mester Hans Schrøder Bardskærer's inventory, 15 July 1592, pp. 37 v – 38 r.

59 Honnens de Lichtenberg, *Tro, Håb*, pp. 118-119, 304-308.

60 Gert's clothes consisted of three mantles, in different conditions and qualities, the finest one being a new one made from English broadcloth lined with bay. He owned two doublets of English broadcloth trimmed with 32 silver buttons and leather, an old tunic with silver buttons, three pairs of breeches, some of woollen cloth, and two hats. Moreover he owned six linen shirts and six collars. 'i Ny Sortt Engelst Kappe, med bay under foer for xij rix dr';'i annden gammel kappe for vj rix dr';' i andenn gammel kappe for iij rix dr';'i

Engelst trøie med snorer besett med xxxi Sølff knappe for viij rix dr';'i par Sortte klede buxer til samme trøie for iiij rix dr';'i Par andett Sortte klede buxer for iij rix dr'; i Lertrøye med til byxer for iij dr';''i gammel kiorttel med Sølf knappe udi iij dr';'ij Hatte for iiij dr': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Gert von Egen billedhugger and Levicke Jorisdaatter's inventory, 28 February 1612, pp. 109 r – 109 v.

61 She owned four cloaks in different styles, some of them in English cloth, three zimarra of grosgrain and *hundskot,* four doublets, one red and one trimmed with velvet, and four skirts, three of them red and one black and one trimmed with velvet'.i Fiun Engelst Kaabe med Siden dortt Vnder for xi rix dr';'i Sortt Engelst hollansh kaabe for viij dr';'i Age kaabe for vij rix dr';'i stackett kaabe iij dr';'i Røtt Kermesin Farffue skortt for vj dr';i Purpur Farffue shørtt for iiij dr';'i Stacket Sammarie aff groff grøn med it brøst støcke for viij dr';'i Sammarie aff hundshotz for iij dr';'i Anden Anden gammel Sammare aff groffgrønn for ij dr';'i Klede Trøi med fløiels border ij dr';'i Sortt shørtt med fløiels boder iij dr';'i Røed Quinde trøie for ij dr';'i gammel Rød shørtt for ij dr';'ij trøier for i dr': Gert von Egen billedhugger and Levicke Jorisdaatter's inventory, 28 February 1612, pp. 109 v – 110 r.

62 Laursen, *Kancelliets 1584-1588*, pp. 396, 403. On the 20 October he was given the payment in advance for the commission. In 1599 he provided them with 1000 suits of armour, and in 1603 and 1609, he also had large commissions from the king, Blom, *Kristian* pp. 309-310, 327.

63 He also wore a pair of white breeches, a black mantle and a sable cap.'i Sort udhuggen fløiels trøje 29 rix dr';'i blaa dammashis trøie 4 dr';'i par trips buxer 4 dr';';2 spandshe guldhuffuer went 20 lost baad off guld Oc silcke, 10 lod huer 3 mk er 5 daler m';'i par huide buxer 6 dr';' 1 Sortt kappe 6 dr';' 1 sables hue 8 dr': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Zacharias von Ulnitz Plattenslager's inventory, 14 October 1612, pp. 227 r – 228 v.

64 Allerston, 'Clothing', p. 380.

65 Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, p. 297.

66 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 164-166.

67 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 99. For example in 1575 the bakers' guild rejected a baker from entering the guild because the baker's parents were living apart. Moreover in 1577 the artisans of the smiths' guild did not want to to socialise with one of their fellow artisans, before the rumour of him being a thief was rejected, Petersen, *Helsingørske*, p. 9.

68 Petersen, *Helsingørske*, p. 9. When an artisan wanted to settle in town, he was summoned to the town hall with the guild alderman and some of the guildsmen, to be asked if he was good at his craft and worthy of the guild. The individual would then need to prove this through a letter. For an example of such a letter see Pedersen, *Haandværksskik*, pp. 71-72

69 Author's own translation. Quoting Petersen, *Helsingørske*, pp. 9-10.

70 Muldrew, *The Economy* pp. 5.

71 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, p. 164

72 Rigsarkivet, Helsingør Bagerlav, Dokumenter og Breve: 1631-1705, no page number.

73 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, 163-164. The shoemakers' statutes from 1586 noted that a shoemaker should sell shoes from his own house, from their homes, windows or from their shoe stall or at the yearly market, Petersen, *Helsingørske*, 27. Bakers' statutes from 1559 and 1639 highlights that they should sell their bread from their homes, windows or the marketplace, *Diplomentarium*, pp. 42-43, 111.

74 Muldrew, *The Economy*, p. 151

75 '3 mandeshiortter 2 dr 1 ort'; 4 serke for 2 dr';'4 forkleder i dr';'3 kraffuer ij dr,';'5 halskleder for 5 ort';'3 tørkleder for i ort';'5 lin i ort': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Anders Christensen Bager's inventory, 28 December 1620, p. 48 r.

76 This is visible since he owed all his employees wages. 'Herimod befandtis Bortschyldig Gield...' Jens Bagersuend it halff Aars løn til Paashe 1650 11 ½ dl';'Ellin tienestepige it halff aars Løn til Paashe 4 dl';'Kirsten Tienniste pige it halff Aars Løn 3 dl'; Margrete Stuepige it half Arrs Løn 3 dl: RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Knud Andersen Bager's inventory, 9 January 1650, p. 108 v.

77 '20 gamble shy krauffuer a 12 sk - 15 mk';'i Dagelig kappe 8 dl';'i Sort fiffshaffts kledning 8 dl';'i g: Fillemuts kledning 8 dl': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Knud Andersen Bager's inventory, 9 January 1650, p. 107 r.

78 Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, p. 106, Harvey, *Men*, pp. 63-65.

79 'i Sort Hat i ½ dl';'i graa Hat i dl';'i g: Sabels hue 6 dl';'i par g: klede Vanter 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Knud Andersen Bager's inventory, 9 January 1650, p. 107 r.

80 'i g: Sort klede trøy 5 mk';'i g: Sort Rashis shiørt 2 d';'i Sort klede Kaabe i6 d';'i g: Firtraads kaabe forrit 5 dr';'i g: Firtraads kaabe forrit 5 dr';'i g: groff grønns kaabe 6 d': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Anders Simmensen Bager's inventory, 10 December 1650, p. 335 v.

81 '1 Shiltt med en forgyldt lygte 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Claus Rode Lygtemager's inventory, 29 January 1638, p. 435 r. This item was recorded when his goods were assessed for the second time in 1638. The first inventory made in 1634 (included in the database) was made when his goods were removed from his house and stored because he fled town. '1 koberbret hengendes for døren': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Sine Olufsdatter's inventory, 9 March 1629, p. 165 v.'i skeeldt for Døren 5 mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Christoffer Steffensen Skomager and Mette Hansdatter's inventory, 22 September 1636, p. 82 r.

82 The household also kept shoes: 40 pairs of 'peasants' shoes' and 20 pairs of shoes that were recorded to be 'burghers work' and leather. '40 Par Bøndershoe a 2 mk 4 sk Ehr 22 ½ dr';'20 Par skoe, Borger Arbeide a 3 mk 4 sk i6 dr i mk'; Smurt Touffuert Leer for ix dr';'i degger Vtuffuet verch leer for 20 dr;'7 Pund Hollandsh sadell Lere a 28 sk - 3 dr 4 mk';12 pund affald a i7 sk er 3 dr i2 sk';'Noch smaa leer for i dr';'5 ¼ pund Cordeuan a 5 mk er vij dr 4 mk';'43 par Lester for iij dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Christoffer Steffensen Skomager and Mette Hansdatter's inventory, 22 September 1636, pp. 81 r – 81 v.

83 '2 Tycke Krauffuer for 7 mk';'2 Mands skiortter 5 mk';'i graa klede kledning for i0 dr';'i gl: fiolen Brun klednnig for ij dr';'i Brun klede kappe For 4 ½ dr';'i gl: Groffgruns Trøje i mk';'i Brun Klede Trøje i mk';'Noch i Rødt Baj skiørtt i mk';'i gl: kaabe for 20 sk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Christoffer Steffensen Skomager and Mette Hansdatter's inventory, 22 September 1636, pp. 81 v – 82 v.

84 Currie, 'Diversity and Design', p. 156.

85 Rigsarkivet, Helsingør Rådstue, Tegnebøger, (hereafter RAHRT):1626-1641, pp. 74 r – 74 v.

86 Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 56-57, 79-81.

87 RAHRT: 1626-1641, p. 156 r – 157 r. This addition was received from the tailors' guild in Copenhagen from 1627, see p. 78 r. Pedersen, *Haandværksskik*, p. 34.

88 RAHRT: 1626-1641, p. 74 r.

89 On artisanal homes see Hohti Erichsen, 'Hospitality and Home', Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, pp. 227-399.

90 Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, pp. 230-231.

91 The room for instance contained beds for the journeymen. It also contained items for preparing raw fibres and spinning as well as producing clothing. For instance the room had two tailor's chairs and a small container to store needles and thread, not to mention three tailor's scissors, one for each of his journeymen and himself, and an awl to create holes in fabric.'i Sengested til Suennene 2 mk';'3 g: Rocke och 2 Halspeler 7 mk';'i g: garnvinndel i mk'; 3 g: heggeler a 6 sk - i8 sk';'2 shreder

stoele i verck fad i mk';'3 g: shreder Saxse och i Prenn 4 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peter Folchersen Skrædder's inventory, 5 June 1650, pp. 213 v - 214 r.

92 'i Ibenholtz Alne med nogit Sølff och been i dr': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peter Folchersen Skrædder's inventory, 5 June 1650, p. 213 v.

93 The room had a small mirror, which could have hung on the wall with five unidentified but valuable portraits, an old piece described as about Juno, Venus and Pallas, and five other small paintings; hanging above the table, that was covered with a white diaper-linen cloth was a small angel. It contained 12 small old books, a Luther's bible in German in folio, a boardgame, and an inkhorn and two stone horses.'i liedet Speigl 2 mk';'5 Contrafeier a i dr - 5 dr';'i g: støcke om Junp Venis och Pallos 2 mk';'5 smaa Tauffler 2 mk';'I liden Engel offuer bordet i mk';'dreils dug offuer bordet 4 dr';'i2 smaa g: bøger tilsammen for 6 mk';i Luteri Bibel paa Tydsh in Folio 4 d';'i g: Brettspill i mk';'2 Steen heste 1 mk';'1 Lidet blick horn 8 sk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peter Folchersen Skrædder's inventory, 5 June 1650, pp. 213 v - 214 r.

94 'io - 6 hørgarns shiortter a i dr - 6 dr';'i4 - 6 kraffuer a i mk - 6 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peter Folchersen Skrædder's inventory, 5 June 1650, p. 215 r.

95 Currie, 'Diversity and Design', p. 162.'i g: fillemots kledning 4 dr';'i g: kledes kledning Inndsprengt 2 dr';'i g: Sort Atlashis Trøie 2 mk';'i par g: klede buxer i g: groffgrøns Trøi vdpirkedt io mk';'i g: firtraads pirkedt Trøye 3 mk';' i Borattis Trøi Vdlagt med Atlash 3 dr';'i par g: fillemot hanndsher 3 mk;'i g: sabels hue 6 mk';'i g: brun filt hatt med baand i dr';'i g: sort filt hatt 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peter Folchersen Skrædder's inventory, 5 June 1650, pp. 214 v-215 r.

96 Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, pp. 50-52, 60,117, Previously this task was done by the mayor and councilmen, but because they were superior, this caused troubles with the town's burghers, so eight prominent burghers were instead chosen to do the task.

97 Only an inventory of Tue's wife as a widower survives: this only contained a black woman's cap, three partlets or neckerchiefs, one linen shift and three pieces of other linen garments. Her clothes worn in her widowhood so poor that they could not be valued.'i Sort Quinde hue 2 mk';'3 Hals kleder i mk';'i Quinde Serch och 3 støcher andre Lind kleder 1 ½ mk';' Var nogle gamble Gangkleder, huilche for deris Ringhed achtedes iche at Vurderis': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ane Tue Slagter's inventory, pp. 65 v – 66 r.

98 Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, pp. 122-123, 130. His inventory shows that he paid for a butcher's stall in town and owned numerous butcher's benches.'En Slachter Boe paa Torrit vurderit aff for: Søffren Søffrensen och Christen Pedersen for io d';'4 gamle slachter Bloche for i ½ d;' i g: Slachter Benck 8 sk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, p. 154 r.

99 His wife Gertrud Poulsdatter died in 1648. 'i Lang Ram med Amsterdam byes Affmalling 2 mk';'i g: Speigl 2 mk';'i liedet Contrafei aff Sølff med S: koning Christian dennd 4 och Anne Kattrines bilde paa 3 mk';'2 Smaa Sølff Penge af dennem som bleff vdkast i koning Frederich dennd Treidie Krøning begge for 2 mk: RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, pp. 154 v, 156 v.

100 '7 g: hørgarns shiortter i4 mk';'i Sort klede kappe i6 d';'i Sort klede kledning 20 d';'i filemot klede kledning 8 d';'i g: groffgrøns Trøie i ½ d';'i Ledder binde Liff 6 mk';'i par støffle 4 d';'i par g. Carduans shoe 2 mk';' i Corduuansh Handshe 2 mk';'i g. forslit Sabels hue i d';'i g: filt hat med baand 3 mk'; i liden vreden Ring Vnngersh guld med 4 Leed, 3 ½ rdr - 5 d i mk';'i Annden vreden Rinng for 3 Rd 4 ½ d': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, pp. 156 r - 156 v, 157 r, 158 r.

101 McCall, 'Materials for Fashion', pp. 1452-1453.

102 'i g: Fyr Rør 3 d';'i g: Musquet med banndeler 6 mk';' brystøck, i bagstøck,i krauff kashet

och Pick 3 d': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, pp. 156 r.

103 Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, p. 105-106. For instance, the Copenhagen guild statutes of tailors (1627), adapted by the Elsinore tailors' guild in 1630, stated that tailors who wanted to be accepted in the guild had to know how to draw a pattern for man's apparel and for a woman's cloak and doublet, in the current style of 'the burgher apparel', Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', p. 386, RAHRT: 1626-1641, p. 156 v. An decree from 1524 regulating prices in Denmark, mentions a large lined 'burgher gown', *Danske Magazin*, p. 317.

104 Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', pp. 383- 385.

105 Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, p. 99.

106 Degn, *Rig Og Fattig*, p. 296, Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, p. 39, Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English*, pp. 28-29, Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p. 112.

107 Morrison, *An Itinerary*, p. 215.

108 Christian II's law from 1522 and a law issued in Malmoe in 1539 both banned dishonest women from wearing long cloaks: to not resemble honorable ' Danish women' and other people, Kolderup-Rosenvinge, *Samling Af Gamle*, p. 108, Andersen, *Den Danske* p. 12.

109 Quoting Pedersen, *Haandværksskik*, p. 29.

110 Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book*, pp. 13, 33-34

111 Carrying arms often ended up with casualties, for examples of artisans see Petersen, *Helsingørske*, pp. 13-14, 30.

112 RAHRT: 1626-1641, p. 84 v.

113 Most popular arms were swords (25.2%) rifles (23.8%), daggers (3.4%), pistols (2.4%), knife (1.1%).

114 'i Forsølffuit degen 6 d';'2 g: Vbrugelige Pofferter for i ½ d': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Clemmed Feion Kandestøber's inventory, 20 October 1647, pp. 324 v – 325 r.

115 Usually swords would hang on the left side in a sword belt together with a dagger on the right side, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, p. 226. Henrick Ledertorver, who prepared leather for a living kept a sword and a sword belt and the prosperous miller Claus Hansen was able to carry an old sword and a sword with a curved blade. 'i Degen medt gehengh': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Henrick Leddertorver, 11 October 1616, p. 189 r. 'i g: Rapir';'i Krum Sabbell': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Claus Hansen Møller's inventory, 15 May 1641, p. 222 r.

116 'Findis 42 lod sølff til pandt och itt knif-fueshafft paa kniffuen, Item haffde Jenns Rasmussen aff Lundegaard, som hannd berette at haffue fundett effter den dødes egen Anuisning i den dødes buxer': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Anders Stabro Jagtskrædder' inventory, 2 November 1619, p. 22 r. On pockets see Unsworth, 'Hands Deep'.

117 Pedersen, 'Renæssancens Helsingør', p. 260b.

118 Bitsch Christensen, 'De Bevæbnede', pp. 175, 180-183, 185, Pedersen, 'Renæssancens Helsingør', p. 260b.

119 Pedersen, p. 260b.

120 'i gull och Røt Cartecks Feltegnn 7 mk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Mester Jurgen von Breda Bardskærer's inventory, 18 August 1641, p. 236 v. A coloured linen badge was listed among the possessions of the cooper Jacob Hansen Bødker and his wife Karine. 'Feldtegen aff Farrit Lerit': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Jacob Hansen Bødker and Karine Jacob Hansen's inventory, 11 February 1600, p. 121 r.

121 Pedersen, 'Renæssancens Helsingør', p. 260b.

122 Olafsson, *Islænderen Jon*, pp. 93-94.

123 This was worn with a three-coloured field badge. 'i Munster fiedder ij dlr';'i felldte-genn med 3 Farfuer ij dlr i mk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Laurids Mogensen Buntmager's inventory, 9 May 1627, p. 393 r.

124 Bitsch Christensen, 'De Bevæbnede', pp. 156, 160.

125 'i Røed Monster Rock 3 dr': RAHBSP:1621-1625, Jacob Bild Possementmager's inventory, 22 October 1623, p. 283 r.

126 'Munster Kleder...i Mallit Lerridtz Kledning 2 dr';'i Vdsyet trøie 2 dr';'i blommit trøie 4 dr';'i tafftes trøie ij dr';'i Sammett Køllert 6 daller';'i par Vdhuggen buxer 4 dr';'i Sammett Køllert 6 daller';'i par gammell strømper i daller'; 2 Silck hosebaand ij daller';'i Hatt med Feeder och baand 2 dr';'i Pundert 3 ort': RAHBSP:1619-1621, Mester Poul Bardskærer and Sofie Hermandsdatter's inventory, 25 March 1620, p. 134 v.

127 'i Munster Kledning Trøie och buxer 3 dr';'i Pistoll med Hølster for 4 dr cur: er 5 dr';'i Mussquet med bandeler for iij dr';'i bøse med Fyrlaas 8 dr';'i Stackit bøse 4 dr';'i Rapiier for 6 dr cur: er 7 ½ dr';'i Cortlash for 4 dr';'i band degen for 3 dr';'i arm brøst 2 dr: RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Willom Michelsen Skomager's inventory, 15 April 1629, pp. 179 r, 182 v.

128 Bitsch Christensen, 'De Bevæbnede', p. 175 185. According to Bitsch, the 767 men in Elsinore who were a part of the civic militia in 1626 were armed with 570 muskets, 40 suits of armours and spears, 14 battle swords and 143 halberds. For wealthier citizens, battle swords and guns were symbolic capital since these were previously used by officers and nobility.

129 'i bøse med krudflacshe, gaffell Stormhatt, felldtegenn och munster kioell for 6 dlr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627 Jacob Pryds Skomager's inventory, 31 October 1626, p. 283 r.

130 Lund, *Daglig Liv II*, p. 175.

131 In 1587 Frederik II asked for some red velvet for buff-coats, and red and yellow damask for doublet and hose for halberdiers, Laursen, *Kancelliets 1584-1588*, p. 687. A halberdier named Jens pawned a pair of velvet breeches and a red cape, likely his uniform, to the tailor Mattis Mortensen and Bendte Mogensdaatter according to their inventory from 1636. 'Jens pedersen drabant i par Fløyels Buxer, och i Rød kledde Kappe i7 ½ dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mattis Mortensen skrædder and Bendte Mogensdatter's inventory, 18 October 1636, p. 102 r.

132 This was pawned to a man named Boris.'i gull trøi stander i Pant hos Borris Rohde for 4 dr';'Vdhuggen Hose, røde och guld vnderdret';'en senik degnn';'Enn Hellebard: RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Hans Ditmarsk Guldsmed's inventory, 18 May 1599, pp. 58 r – 59 r.

133 En gull Damash Trøi En rødt Flouels kollert Tho røde Flouels boxer iij daler';'End bleff hoss kledningen en Fløuels hatt Vrderit';'Ett par hosebaand aff shellert';'Ett par Vddragen Hosser, røde och gule i dr': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Falentin von Hartz Tømmermand's inventory, 31 March 1601, pp. 162 r - 162 v.

134 Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity*, pp. 134-135,Currie, 'Fashion Networks', p. 494.

135 Aneer, *Skrädderi*, p. 165, Ekstrand, 'Some Remarks', p. 190. Buff-coats were made of leather (33.3%), cordovan leather (20%) velvet (20%) or sealskin (6.7%).

136 'i Køllertt med huide Ermer med Rød damash Vnder och en messing Liffgiørttell 3 dlr': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Mester Peder Tygesen Bardskærer's inventory, 13 April 1630, p. 350 r.

137 'i gammelt Rød Fløyels Kiøllert, i Lerkiøllert och,i paar Leer Buxser Vurderit for iij dr': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Adam Ditzer Bager's inventory, 21 March 1605, p. 124 r.

PART III.

Clothes and local society – dressing according to rank, occasion and fashion

Chapter 7. Materials of rank and aspiration

Showing off silks

The devotional book *The Christian Household Code* (*Den Christelige Husstafel)*, written by the German theologian and Protestant reformer Cyriacus Spangenberg and published in Danish in 1561, proclaimed that wearing affluent and superfluous dress is a sign of frivolity that makes people's eyes tremble and creates unfriendly neighbours.[1] Moreover, women who desired more garments than they already owned were deemed careless and indecent in their heart. To avoid this, the book advised that a good husband should take care of his wife's appearance. He was responsible for giving her shoes and clothing and making sure that she was dressed according to the purpose of the occasion.[2] This was important, since women's clothing was expected to reflect their marital status and the social standing of their husband, father and sons.[3] She should avoid pride in her dress and wear modest and simple garments, avoiding velvet, silk and carteck and taking anything new up.[4]

In contrary to Spangenberg's views, inventories show that artisanal women dressed in silk.[5] The master barber Frederik Ferdig is one example among many. His wardrobe included numerous woman's garments of silk, including a grosgrain zimarra, a loose gown, a cloak lined with damask, an atlas doublet, two damask bodices and a velvet cap which white trimmings.[6]

Silk was a badge of status for the wealthiest people of society all over Europe. Especially during festive occasions, large sums of money were spent on dress and decorations of silk.[7] For example, when the Prince Elect Christian married Magdalena Sibylla of Saxony in 1634, the royal family acquired new honorary dresses for the king and the royal family. They also commissioned garments of velvet for artisans working at court. The court barber and the tailor, for example, each received a doublet made of red velvet with slashed sleeves and yellow atlas linings, while the court pastry cook and his journeyman received doublets of red cloth with some yellow damask in the

sleeves. Even the girls responsible for the laundry were given doublets made of caffa silk with red silk skirts.[8]

The grade and type of silk mattered. Contemporary spectators, even among artisan ranks, were aware of the differences between qualities of silk and commented on them.[9] For example, in 1648 Rasmus Tuesen, the son of the butcher Tue Jensen, wrote a vivid account of the coronation procession of Frederik III in Copenhagen, also describing the silk fabrics that he saw. Eight men, according to his account, carried a baldachin of black and white silk. The drummers and trumpeters wore garments of black velvet and mantles of velvet.[10]

As illustrated in chapter two, artisans and their wives themselves owned garments and accessories of different types of silks, even though sumptuary laws forbade the use of many types of silk among their ranks. According to the laws, artisans were allowed to wear only silks that were of lower quality than velvet, caffa and other similar fabrics. Furthermore, these were allowed only on cloaks, doublets and headwear.[11] When the Frenchman Charles Ogier arrived by ship to Elsinore in 1634, he noted that:

> men are large and hefty, women pleasant with a beautiful physique with blue eyes and blond hair, white and red skin like children. They are tall and upright of posture, and as they cover their bosom, not to attract men's attention, they are like our nuns. Their caps are of velvet and half-moon shaped, as our women in Méaux. Their clothes are in silk but here I only speak about the more well off, and when they go out of in the public, they wear a cloak very similar to the men's.[12]

Even though the best silks were often linked with well-off people, clothes made of silk were usually the most valuable garments individuals had. This was the case also among the lower social rank. It is therefore possible that Ogier did not distinguish an artisan's wife from a wealthy burgher's wife.[13] For instance, Boeld Jensdatter, who was married to potter Anders Pedersen, owned similar garments to those described by Ogier, such as a grosgrain doublet and two velvet caps.[14] Such clothes worn on public and festive occasions were different from the plain and simple garments worn in everyday life.

The quality and type of silk one could afford was considered as an indicator of the wearer's status.[15] Despite the high cost, some artisans in Elsinore owned ornate outfits of silk clothing. A suit mentioned in the inventory of the copperbeater Hans Kobberslager, for example, seems nearly equal to that

worn by noblemen. It was made of a red figured floral velvet with silver passement, and worn with a red mantle with five rows of silver passement.[16] Silk garments were also found among women. Lisbet Hans Smed, the wife of the prosperous glovemaker Hans Smed, owned an entire suit of clothes made of silk grosgrain garments and valued at a high sum of 18 *daler*. This was the most expensive garment among her and her husband's clothing cupboard.[17] The shoemaker Peders Iversen's wife Kirstine Clausdatter also had a skirt and bodice of brown caffa, adorned with eight pairs of silver eyelets.[18]

Many artisans chose to invest in ornate doublets, especially those made of grosgrain, atlas, *sindeldort* and damask.[19] In addition to an old damask suit and a skirt made from silk borato, the miller Rasmus Tockilsøn, for example, owned two valuable doublets of light silk, one of which was made of atlas and the other of *sidendort*. Together, these were worth 9½ *daler*.[20] Undoubtedly worn to show off, the kettlesmith Søren Kedelsmed's wife (whose name is not mentioned) had an old damask doublet that she could wear with a flesh-coloured skirt.[21] Silk doublets could be paired with breeches or skirts of a lower-grade material.[22] The master bricklayer Poul Andersen, for example, could have worn his ornate s*indeldort* doublet, decorated with eighteen silver buttons, with a pair of breeches made of either fine say or broadcloth.[23]

Other clothing items such as bodices and vests made of bright silks were also found in artisans' wardrobes.[24]According to Finnish dress historian Riitta Pylkkänen, bodices made of or decorated with velvet were often worn with woollen skirts for festive occasions.[25] The clothing list drawn up when Gese Frandsdatter, the wife of the baker Erik Bager, died tells that she wore a doublet of *sidendort,* as well as an old women's bodice of taffeta and two bodices of silk. The list includes also a men's vest or jerkin in brown atlas worn by her husband Erik.[26] The possessions of the ropemaker Frederich Petersen and his wife Bendte Gudmandsdatter also included an old bodice made of floral figured atlas, closed with 11 pairs of silver eyelets. Such garments often stood out from the remaining clothing in artisans' wardrobes, most often made of more modest and hard-wearing materials.[27]

Outer garments such as cloaks or mantles were also recorded as being lined with (or possibly having facings of) velvet, damask, silk camlet, grosgrain, *sindeldort* and atlas.[28]A painted epitaph from 1607 from Our Lady church in Nyborg shows the castle notary Peder Jensen and his wife dressed in black mantles and cloaks ornamented on the inside with grey and pink figured damask (figure 45). Similar cloaks lined with red and grey damask were worn by people at artisan level, such as the cooper Hans Bødker. His inven-

FIGURE 45. The notary and toll officer and mayor Peder Jensen and wife Johanne Knudsdatter, 1607. Painted epitaph from Our Lady Church in Nyborg. Erik Fjordside/livinghistory.com.

tory included a cloak adorned with red damask on the inside. The miller Peder Hansen's inventory, in turn, mentioned a women's cloak lined with grey damask.[29] Because of their high cost, such garments were often lifetime investments.

To dress well in this period did not only mean, however, the ability to dress in silk doublets, breeches or outerwear. It also meant adding accessories and precious materials to the garments.[30] Many artisan inventories included a considerable number of velvet caps, often worn on top of linen headwear for public occasions such as going to church on Sundays.[31] Acquiring a cap was a considerably cheaper option than buying an entire garment that required lengths of fabric. According to the comments on women's clothing

in Elsinore by the secretary of the French ambassador Charles Ogier, whom we have encountered several times before in this study, a velvet cap was a common feature of dress among wealthy burghers' wives as well as more generally in formal burgher dress.[32] Wearing a cap of cloth or velvet marked men and women as reputable citizens. Those that were made of velvet were often used for a lifetime.[33] Mette Clausdatter, the wife of the shoemaker Christoffer Steffensen, had two black velvet caps, an expensive one and a cheaper one, while the shoemaker Peder Iffersen's wife Kristine Clausdatter had a brown velvet cap with a gold gallon that made her look like a respectable shoemaker and citizen's wife.[34] Some prosperous artisans also had caps of floral velvet in their inventories. One of these was the successful locksmith Henrich Klejnsmed, hired to work at the castles of Kronborg and Frederiksborg. He owned three pieces of velvet headwear, the most precious of which was a cap made of floral figured velvet.[35] A similar black velvet floral patterned cap, lined with prominent sable fur, was recorded in the goldsmith Bastian Krammer's apparel in 1627.[36]

Other small detachable parts of dress, such as velvet collars worn with mantles, sleeves made of atlas, grosgrain or *sindeldort* or silk stockings allowed individuals at artisan levels to include materials usually associated with their social superiors in their outfits.[37] Adding a pair of sleeves or a collar of a fine material, for example, made a simple garment appear more valuable. The goldsmith Bastian Krammer had a pair of brown atlas sleeves among his goods; the miller Claus Hansen had a pair of atlas sleeves attached to his fine black woollen suit; while the well-off master barber Jurgen von Breda owned a pair of valuable old brown silk stockings.[38]

Fine accessories such as these were often worn out because they were heavily used. The tailor Jacob Robertsen owned a pair of old grosgrain sleeves attached to his ordinary woollen doublet.[39] The brushmaker Jost's Clemmedsen's belongings included a bodice of caffa and an apron of taffeta, both old and worn out.[40] A decorative apron like this, probably worn by his wife, was an elaborate item among artisan ranks. It could be used to transform an ordinary domestic gown into a festive outfit.[41] Artisans in Elsinore also had fine accessories such as velvet purses that they could use on special occasions. The weaver Peder Tommesen owned two velvet purses, one black and another green, each of which contained money.[42] The potter Henrich Pottemager and his wife Engel's inventory, in turn, mentioned a pair of fine velvet slippers that were worn either inside or outside with a pair of protective shoes that prevented them from getting destroyed on the soiled streets.[43]

Fine fur and leather

Fur, as we have seen, was a practical material in the cold winter months. However, because it was expensive, wearing fur was also a way to show status, wealth and prestige.[44] Squirrel (*græværk)*, fox, cat and ermine were particularly frequently specified as linings, but better-quality furs such as marten, ermine and sable were also sometimes used in artisans' clothing.[45]

Fur was used for full linings or in sleeves, or as a trimming on visible parts such as collars and cuffs to provide a visual and decorative effect. Because fine fur was expensive, we must assume that the most expensive furs were meant to be visible.[46] The most expensive furs were reserved for the visible areas, making it possible for people with less financial resources to show off some expensive furs on their clothes.[47] An image of the wife of the master shoemaker Jens Pedersen portrays her wearing a short cape with a light brown fur (figure 46).

Fox fur provided garments with a colourful effect. Lisbet Mattisdatter, the wife of the previous royal baker Christen Iversen, for example, had a green woollen doublet with a fox lining. Her inventory also included an old grosgrain mantle with squirrel.[48] Cloaks and loose gowns (*zimarre)* lined with cheaper furs, such as squirrel, were relatively common among artisanal families. The wife of potter Gregers Heigner, named Kirstine Clausdatter, had a short cloak lined with squirrel, in addition to a woollen doublet lined with cat.[49] A sumptuary law from Haderslev highlighted in 1566 that only black lambskin was appropriate for the wives and daughters of common burghers: tailors, shoemakers, barbers, locksmiths, bakers and furriers.[50]

Having a garment lined with fur was expensive and could costs as much as having a garment sewn, or even more. According to an ordinance from Copenhagen, a doublet was the cheapest to line. The most expensive to line was a large doctor's or clergyman's gown, followed by an ordinary man's or woman's gown. Trimming a gown of fine say could cost as much as having a full fur lining made for a man's gown.[51]

Some artisans could clearly afford to wear fine fur. The prosperous locksmith Henrich Klejnsmed had a grey gown lined with wolf, a type of fur worn even by King Christian IV. The value of the garment is illustrated by the fact that the gown was bequeathed to his brother after his death.[52]

Sumptuary laws sometimes mention fur. A law issued in Ribe in 1561 stated that servant maids were banned from wearing short mantles in marten or ermine, a white spotted luxury fur usually associated with elites and roy-

FIGURE 46. Master shoemaker Jesper Pedersen's wife wearing a fur-lined black cape (detail of figure 34). Museum Odense.

FIGURE 47. Unknown artist, *Christine* (1521-1590), ca. 1570. Oil on wood, 61 x 44 cm. Photo Kit Weiss, The Museum of National History, Frederiksborg Castle.

alty. An example of such luxury fur is seen in the portrait of Christine Princess of Denmark from around 1570 (figure 47).[53] Despite its association with the higher ranks, artisans occasionally had garments lined with ermine.[54] The baker Kresten Hermansen's inventory from 1594 mentions a woollen doublet with ermine lining and two red velvet stockings with some ermine 'in between'.[55] The master carpenter Poul Andersen's inventory, made a few months later, also mentions a fine ermine lined doublet made of cloth, worn by his wife Anna Poul Muremester. Due to the spotted fur, such garments must have been well-noted by their fellow citizens.[56]

FIGURE 48. Carel Fabritius, *A Young Man in a Fur Cap and a Cuirass (probably a Self Portrait)*, 1654. Oil on canvas 70.5 × 61.5 cm. National Gallery London.

Caps made of or lined with expensive fur enabled artisans not only to keep warm but also to engage with the codes of fashion.[57] Some also wore caps and muffs that were brimmed with otter, marten and ermine. For instance, the miller Peder Møller wore a woollen cap with an otter brim, while his wife Mette Ibsdatter wore two new black caps which was brimmed with ermine.[58]

Caps were often lined with or made of light brown or black marten and dark brown sable, which were some of the expensive and popular furs in this period.[59] The prosperous barber Frederik Ferdig who, according to his inventory, had worn a woollen doublet with mock velvet sleeves and a cat lining, also had a precious velvet cap with a sable lining, a sable-lined cap made of woollen cloth and a more modest old cap lined with marten.[60] The prosperous glovemaker Hans Smed, in turn, had a fine sable cap, perhaps similar to the cap worn by the young man in the painting by Carl Fabritius from 1654 (figure 48). His wife Lisbet Hans Smed had a fine muff trimmed with marten.[61] Caps lined with the most expensive furs held high value even

FIGURE 49. Fencing doublet of leather and embroidery of silk, gold and silver ca. 1580. Metropolitan Museum of Arts.

when they were totally worn out. The tailor Marcus Hansen's sable cap, even though it was described as 'poor', was valued at eight *daler*. This made it as expensive as his fine grosgrain doublet.[62]

In addition to fur, leather garments also combined practicality with aesthetics and were often fine items of clothing. At least among the most affluent families, these were often perfumed.[63] A fine leather fencing doublet from the latter part of the sixteenth century illustrates this. It was adorned with silk, gold and silver embroidery (figure 49). Such items of leather might be as costly as garments of silks. For instance, a leather doublet, listed among the possessions of the fabric cutter Peder Jensen, was valued higher than a grosgrain doublet and a bodice with *sindeldort* sleeves, suggesting that this was high quality.[64]

Leather garments were often among artisans' finest items of clothing. The most expensive doublet in the shoemaker Willom Michelsen's wardrobe, which he wore with a pair of woollen breeches, was made of black

FIGURE 50. Anonymous. *Masters plaque of the Nuremberg shoemakers,* 1600. Oil on spruce wood. Museen der Stadt Nürnberg, Art collections, Inv. No. Z 1352.

leather and possibly dyed. This doublet was more valuable than his doublet made of grosgrain silk.[65]

Leather garments played a significant role in the turner Axel's wardrobe. He used his leather items both in his daily life and on festive occasions. Two of his three leather doublets seem to have been Axel's most-treasured garments. One of these was made of plain leather and the other included sleeves of mock velvet. He also had two pairs of leather breeches.[66]

Leather doublets and breeches such as those owned by Axel Drejer, made of soft leather, were seen fit for festive and social occasions. A German letter from the second half of the sixteenth century, written by a wine merchant's wife to her son, noted that woollen hose was for everyday use, leather hose for holiday use.[67] Pictorial evidence suggests that sleeveless leather jerkins were relatively common garments worn for public or festive occasions. An image of shoemakers from seventeenth-century Nuremberg shows members

of the shoemakers' guild wearing sleeveless leather garments on top of their black suits (figure 50). Such jerkins were also owned by artisans in Elsinore. For instance, the butcher Ludvig Krause, whose wardrobe was discussed in chapter six, owned a leather jerkin that he could wear on a daily basis, but worn on top of his fine and costly black apparel, it also served for public occasions.[68]

Jewellery and dress adornments

Renaissance men and women paid close attention to jewellery as a symbol of social status and as a sign of cultural awareness and worldly knowledge.[69] Moreover, wearing jewellery and small precious metal items such rings, buttons and buckles was essential in denoting rank and expressing personal taste.[70] This was also true for artisans. The possessions of the butcher Erik Slagter, for instance, included a neckcloth or a partlet with two silver rings that were both functional and decorative.[71]

Items made of precious materials were objects of value. Just like clothing items, they could be turned into cash when necessary.[72] Some items of jewellery were regarded as so sumptuous that they were reserved only for the elites by law. A sumptuary law issued in the Danoe-Norwegian Kingdom in February 1621, for example, ordered that no one from the burgher estate could use precious stones or pearls or wear some items of jewellery, such as gold chains, on their clothing. Such adornments were traditionally used by the nobility to distinguish themselves from the lower estates.[73]

However, despite the laws, many men and women at the lower levels of society owned a wide variety of jewellery, including chains and pendants, that they could use as an embellishment in their outfits. The baker Samuel Hansen had a silver medal with a silver chain, while the prosperous foundry master Wullf had a gold chain with a gold medal.[74] Medals, perhaps similar to the one depicting Christian IV from 1590, were worn with pride because they were often received in honour of or as a commemoration of an event or a person (figure 51).[75]

The affluent artisan Wullf Entfelder also had a ring with an emerald, some gilded rings, 90 buttons and a fastening for his mantle, as well as four pairs of silver shoe buckles.[76] Buckles like these held garments together. Ane Jørgensdatter, the wife of the baker Christen Michelsen, had a short fine woollen say cloak, lined with squirrel and closed with two gilded buckles;

the inventory of the joiner Oluf Snedker and his wife Elline Pedersdatter included four long buckles that were gilded.[77] The different parts of the garments that were used to attach garments together or close them with buttons, pins, points, ribbons, hooks and eyes, could also be cut off and reused.[78] Small dress fastenings were often kept in pouches or boxes so that they did not get lost. The carpenter Påske Bakis had two silver buttons in a fine velvet pouch.[79] Despite care, these small items disappeared easily. On the day when the goldsmith Hans Ditmarsk's inventory was made up, it appears that some of his silver buttons had vanished from a box. After a search, the buttons were eventually found and returned to the estate.[80]

Silver buttons were common among artisans. At least 1,150 silver buttons in total were recorded in artisan inventories and about 15 (13.9%) of inventories included them.[81]According to Timothy McCall 'Glimmering buttons manifested wealth, and when they rattled and jangled, drew notice to those they adorned. Buttons, moreover, pulled clothing taut, forever altering conceptions and views of our bodies.'[82]

Silver buttons were usually reserved for the finest garments and most were applied to men's doublets. A modest woollen doublet belonging to the tailor Joachim Clausen, for example, was closed with iron buttons whereas his suit of grosgrain was adorned with 20 silver buttons.[83] The coppersmith

FIGURE 51. A gold medal pendant depicting Christian IV of Denmark, 1590. Photo Victor Palsted Bizoev, National Museum of Denmark.

Gabriel Riis owned a half-worn grey outfit adorned with 33 silver buttons, which made the used doublet look more respectable.[84]

Some clothes were closed with silver hooks, although these are much rarer than buttons. Silver hooks were mainly applied to gowns or coats worn by men. The carpenter Falentin von Hartz had an old black mantle with one pair of silver hooks and a coat of woollen cloth with a fleece lining, closed with three pairs of silver hooks.[85]

Garments could also be laced together with silver eyelets. These items seem to be primarily applied to bodices, which enabled them to be laced. A brown caffa bodice found in the household of the smith Jens Pedersen and his wife Kirsten Hansdatter was adorned with eighteen pairs of silver eyelets.[86] Some of these were gilded, such as the six pairs of gilded eyes recorded in the inventory of the baker Christen from 1592.[87]

The tailor journeyman Anders Poulsen also owned other items of jewellery, such as a small silver pin, some pearls that were applied to a hat, a gilded earring and a signet ring of silver.[88] Wearing a signet ring allowed the tailor to sign documents, but it was also a sign of his personal identity and authority.[89]

Besides adding ornate details to one's outfit, some jewellery formed an important part of wedding adornments. Gold rings in particular were recorded in inventories. These were often given and worn as symbols for a promise of marriage [90] The personal adornments of Casper Hubbe, a tailor, and his wife Catharina Albretsdatter, for instance, included four gold rings.[91] Sumptuary laws issued in 1624 (reiterated in 1643), however, stated that only merchants and well-off artisans could exchange gold rings prior to their weddings, whereas common artisans were not allowed to exchange rings at all.[92]

Gold rings could carry emotional meanings, but they could also be exchanged for cash. A letter, probably from the first part of the seventeenth century, from the wife of the historian Anders Vedel to her son when he was abroad, sheds light on this aspect. 'Dear Son, I send you a small gold ring, which I promised you last time, though not for splendour or daily use, but as a motherly reminder and consideration'. Informing him about the weight and value of the ring, the ring would make sure that 'if [you] God bless you, [either by] illness or other reason for this to be sold'.[93] A memorial ring recorded in the tailor Desmer Skrædder's inventory served as a reminder of a friend. However, the ring, together with two others, was pawned to a fellow tailor and to the tailors' guild, illustrating that jewellery was at once decorative, had emotional value, and could provide financial help in difficult times.[94]

Some rings were mounted with gemstones and pearls. These were likely to be worn for display. The hookmaker Jens Krogemager's possessions included a large gold ring, a gold ring with a pearl and a gold ring with a green stone. Such elaborate jewellery set him apart from his peers.[95] The baker Erik Bager's inventory also included three gold rings with stones, found next to another small piece of jewellery.[96] Some of these stones could be semi-precious stones, tinted glass, or enamel – options for those who could not afford real gemstones.[97] Only a few artisans owned rings with precious gemstones, but there were a few exceptions, such as the previously mentioned saltmaker Christian Menge. He owned a diamond ring. The master barber Abraham Raider, in turn, owned two gold rings with jacinth, a reddish-orange gem, and the foundry master Wullf Entfelder had gold rings with emeralds, both jewels that were believed to help against the plague.[98] Jewellery and dress ornaments were therefore not only decorative but were also believed to have medical or magical powers.

Notes

1 Full title: *Den Christelige Husstafel, huorledis huer Christen Menniske skal skicke sig vdi sit Kald oc Stat*.

2 Quoting Spangenberg, *Den Christelige*, no page number.

3 Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 119.

4 Quoting Spangenberg, *Den Christelige*, no page number.

5 27% of all silk items were worn by women and 24.4% by men.

6 'i groff grønns Sammarie x daller';'i kaabe med damash vnder viij dr';'i attlash trøie ij dr':'ij dammashis Liffstøcker 3 dr';'i Fløiels hue med huitt bremme i dr': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Mester Frederich Ferdig Bardskærer's inventory, 9 July 1612, pp. 172 r – 172 v.

7 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes*. p. 1.

8 Orgier, *Det Store*, pp. xiii–xiv. For an account of what was bought to the princesses Sophie, Leonora, Elisabeth, Christiane, Hedvig, for the wedding see Dahl, 'Regnskab Pa Klæder'.

9 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes*, p. 2.

10 Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, p. 75. He was likely present himself or read it from a newspaper.

11 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 645.

12 Translated by the author. Quoting Orgier, *Det Store*, pp. 5-6.

13 According to Hanne Frøsig the description made by Orgier likely refers to the clothes worn in public by higher-ranked burgherss wives, Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', p. 384.

14 'i g: groffgrøns Trøi 2 d';' ij g: uuinde Fløiels Huer i ½ d': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Boeld Jensdatter's inventory, 26 May 1642, p. 309 r.

15 Monnas, *Merchants, Princes*, p. 1

16 'En Rød Blommit Fløiels klednnig med sølff Posemennt, och en Rød klede kappe med frem Rader sølff Posement Tilsammen 50 s d: RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Hans Kobberslager's inventory, 17 March 1646, p. 188 r.

17 In addition, she wore two grosgrain cloaks, one of them lined, a grosgrain skirt and a doublet of similar material. 'i Sillcke groffgrøns kledning i8 dr";'i groffgrønns kaabe foedrett med graaverch i6 dr;'Noch i groffgrøns kaabe for 6 dr';'i g: groffgrøns shiørtt 6 mk';'i g: groffgrøns Trøie for 3 mk': RAHBSP:1635-1639, Hans Smed and Lisbet Hans Smed's inventory, 4 April 1637, p. 264 v.

18 i brun kaffis shiørt och och kaffis Snørliff med 8 par Sølff maller til sammen for i0 dr: RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peder Iffersen Skomager and children's inventory, 14 May 1650, p. 197 r.

19 Doublets were especially made from grosgrain (46.9%), atlas (17.2%), *sindeldort* (15.6%), damask (9.4%), and taffeta (3.1%). Few were made of plain silk, velvet, terzenel, silk camlet and caffa (1.6% each).

20 'i gammel damashis Kledning i dlr';'i sielcke boratz skiort med bugfoeder vnder 4 dlr';'i Atlashis Trøye oc I siden dortz trøye 9 ½ dlr: RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Rasmus Torkilsen Møller's inventory, 20 July 1615, p. 130 r.

21 'i gammel damashis troye 2 dl';'i Liffarue skiørtt 9 dlr': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Søren Kedelsmed and wife's inventory. 30 November 1629, p. 244 r.

22 A few breeches were made out of silks (5.6%) such as velvet, grosgrain, *sindendort*, damask and plain silk.

23 'En Sindeldorts trøi, mett attan Søllff knapp vdj';'Ett par boxer aff Hundiskoten saien';'Itt par kled boxer': RAHBSP: 1592-1598 Poul Andersen Murermester's inventory, 26 August 1594, p. 381 v.

24 11.3% of all these garments were made of silks, such as damask, caffa, atlas, plain silk, taffeta and velvet. Many of these were brown, red and floral figured.

25 Pylkkänen, *Renessanssin*.

26 'Enn Sindeldorfs Trøi ij dall';'Ett gl Tafft Liffstøck iij mk';'Tho Liffstøcke aff Silcke ij dall';' Ett brunt Atlash Liffstøcke i dall': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Erik Nielsen Bager and child's inventory, 19 August 1600, p. 334 v.

27 'i gammel blommit atlashis Snørliff med ii par Sølffmaller 3 d': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Fredrich Petersen Rebslager and Bendte Gudmandsdatter's inventory, 12 October 1648, p. 434 v.

28 11% of linings were made of silk. Cloaks and mantles were either lined with silk or noted to have a silk fabric 'under'. This has been recorded as a lining but could possibly be a guarding or facing. Of the silk linings, cloaks were lined with damask (20%), silk camlet (10%), velvet (5%) and *sindeldort* (5%), whereas mantles were most often lined with velvet (15%), grosgrain (10%) or atlas (5%)

29 'i Kaabe medt røt dammash vnder': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Hans Bødker's inventory, 16 August 1591, p. 211 v. 'Enn Kaabe medt graa damash for vnder': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Peder Hansen Møller's inventory, 21 August 1600, p. 244 v.

30 Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book*, p. 12.

31 Dahl, 'Dressing', p. 165, Andersen, *Danske Bønders*, pp. 20, 24.

32 Orgier, *Det Store*, p. 6. 10.8% of inventories mention velvet headwear. 47.1% of velvet caps were worn by women and 11.8% by men.

33 Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', p. 384, Andersen, *Danske Bønders*, pp. 20-21.

34 'i soertt Fløjels huffue 2 dr';'Noch i sortt fløjels hue for i mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Christoffer Steffensen Skomager and Mette Hansdatter's inventory, 22 September 1636, p. 82 r. 'i brun fløyels hue med en guld galun 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peder Iffersen Skomager and children's inventory, 14 May 1650, p. 197 v.

35 'Enn blomet Flouelss Lve 8 dr';'Ennd enn Flouels Spannier, medt Feder vdj 3 dr';'Enn gammell Flouels Lve i dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Klejnsmed's inventory, 7 November 1592, p. 131 v.

36 'i soertt blommit floyells huve med sabbell vnder For 5 dr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Bastian Krammer Guldsmed's inventory, 4 July 1627, p. 431 v.

37 Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', p. 162.

38 'i par gamle bruune attlashis Ermer for 2 ½ mk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Bastian Krammer Guldsmed's inventory, 4 July 1627, p. 431 v. 'i Sort Kledis Kledning med Atlashes Ermer I trøyen': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Claus Hansen Møller's inventory, 15 May 1641, p. 222 v.'i par g: brune Silcke strømper 4 d': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Mester Jurgen von Breda Bardskærer's inventory, 18 August 1641, p. 236 v.

39 'i klede troye med ett par gamle groffgrøns Ermer 2 ½ dlr': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Jacob Robertsen Skrædder's inventory, 20 July 1625, p. 521 v.

40 'i gamell Caps liiffstøcke for ij mk';'i gammell forslitt tafftis forreklede for i mk'; RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Jost Clemmedsen Børstenbinder's inventory, 29 July 1625, p. 499 v.

41 Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', p. 162.

42 'Vdj en sort Fløiels pung, fands 29 halue crone, och 15 mk støcker 9 affsette fireschillinger, och 15 aff de gamle dottinger';'Noch fands vdj en grøn Fløiels pung 39 helle och halue specie dlr och 11 mk støcker': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Peder Tommesen Væver's inventory, 9 March 1626, p. 132 v.

43 'i Par floegels toffell i mk': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Henrich Pottemager and Engel's inventory, 4 April 1592, p. 286 v. It is likely that these were her wedding shoes, on this see Matthews-Grieco, 'Marriage and Sexuality', p. 114.

44 Hunt, *Governance*, pp. 125-127.

45 Fur makes out 26% of all linings. Out of all fur linings, especially squirrel (15.7%), fox (4.4%), cat (3.3%), marten (2.2%), ermine (1.7%), sable (1.7%), lamb (1.7%) and ferret

(1.7%). A fur-lined overgarment was part of festive court dress among the nobility all year round, even in summer when it was warm. According to Lund, the elite preferred finer furs such as marten, otter, sable and ermine, pp. Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 173-174. According to Hayward, wealthy men preferred the fur of sable, leopard and lynx, while rabbit, cat and fox were more available. Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 26.

46 Hayward, *Luxury*, p. 103, Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 103.

47 Fur linings were often sewn up from small pieces of skin, which resulted in a flexible material. The Danish Queen Widow Doretha who died in 1571, owned a cloak with a lining made of 75 marten skins, but only the skins of good quality were visible, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 174,176.

48 'i grøn klede quinde Trøie med Reffschind Vnnder fodrett i dr: m';' i g: groffgrønns kaabe med graauerch Vnndr 7 dr: m:': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Lisbet Mattisdatter's inventory 11 October 1637, p. 336 v

49 'i stackitt kaabe med graaeverck Foederitt 8 dlr';'i gammell klede troye med kattefoeder 2 dlr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Kirstine Clausdatter's inventory, 28 December 1626. pp. 317 v - 318 r.

50 Mackeprang, 'En Luxusforordning', p. 231.

51 Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavns 2*, pp. 441-442.

52 'Enn Gra kiortel, medt Wulff, vnder foderitt, bleff Szallig Hendrieks broder medt forerert, medt formønders sambtøcke': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Klejnsmed's inventory, 7 November 1592, p. 131 r. On 3 October 1644, King Christian IV wrote to Korfits Ulfeldt asking if the court furrier could find some young wolf skins for a gown or coat that should be made in the old way. If such skins could not be found, lynx could be used for the garment, but about a month later the furrier Jørgen Høyer was paid for five wolf skins, Bricka, *Kong Christian 1641-1644*, pp. 506-507.

53 Quoting 'Anordning', p. 274.

54 Whether the fur of the ermine was the red or yellow brown summer coat or the white and black winter coat is not specified. This would have influenced the overall expression. http://textilnet.dk/index.php/Hermelin (Accessed 21 September 2021)

55 'End Kledtrøye med hermellin Vnder';'Tu Røde Fluvels stromper, Medt hermelin Emellom': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Kresten Hermansen Bager's inventory, 27 June 1594, p. 373 r.

56 'i kleidtrøj med hermelin': RAHBSP: 1592-1598 Poul Andersen Murermester's inventory, 26 August 1594, p. 381 v.

57 For instance, headwear of fur makes up 5.2% of all caps, of this sable (36.4%) wolverine (22.7%), marten (22.7%), fox (9.1%), ferret (4.5%) and squirrel (4.5%). A few pieces of headwear were also lined and brimmed with marten, sable, otter, ferret, fox, wolverine and ermine. According to Eva Andersson, men of lower status in seventeenth-century Stockholm typically wore a cap lined with sheepskin, fox or other cheaper furs, while marten and sable were worn by the more well-off. Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers'', pp. 179-180.

58 'en kledt hue med Oderbrem';'Tho sourte Huer medt Hermelingh omkringh Thend er nøi': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Peder Hansen Møller's inventory, 21 August 1600, pp. 244 r – 244 v.

59 Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 26, Aneer, *Skrädderi*, p. 251, Hunt, *Governance*, p. 126.

60 'i klede trøie med trips Ermer fored med katte viiij dr';'i Fløiels hue med Sabel 4 dr';'i klede hue med Sabel 3 daler';'i andenn gammel hue med Mard i daller': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Mester Frederich Ferdig Bardskærer's inventory, 9 July 1612, p. 172 r.

61 'i g: sabbells Hue iij dr';'i Muffe med Maar forbremmett ij dr': RAHBSP:1635-1639, Hans Smed and Lisbet Hans Smed's inventory, 4 April 1637, pp. 264 r – 264 v.

62 'i Rinnge sabbells huffue for 8 dlr';'i groffgrøns troye for 8 dr': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Marcus Hansen Skrædder's inventory, 6 February 1628, pp. 13 v – 14 v.

63 Perfumed leather was common among the wardrobes of the most high-ranking individuals: for instance, Frederik III owned numerous perfumed skins for clothing, see Olsen, 'Fortegnelse', pp. 351, 357, Flamand Christensen, *De Danske Kongers*, pp. 107-109. When Princess Anne was married in 1666 to the Elector of Saxony, she received perfumed gloves 'a la frangipane' and umbra, Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', p. 391. The 1644 trading goods of a merchant's wife from Odense, included skins and leather gloves, some perfumed, and show that these were available for buying, Larsen, *Studier II*, p. 330-331.

64 'En gammel ledertrøie iij ortt';' En gammell groffgrønstrøie i ortt';'Ett lyffstocke med Sindeldorts Ermer ij mk': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Peder Jensen Overskærer's inventory, 16 June 1603, p. 493 v.

65 'i Sort Leder Trøie 3 dr';'i par Sorte klede buxer 6 dr';'i gamel groffgrens Thrøie 2 dr': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Willom Michelsen Skomager's inventory, 15 April 1629, p. 179 r, 182 v.

66 His leather doublet with *trip* sleeves was more valuable than a doublet made in broadcloth with similar sleeves which. 'i Ledertrøye med trips Ermer 3 d';'i Leddertrøye 2 ½ d';' i Leddertrøye i d';'i par Ledderbuxer ij dr';'i par Vnder buxer, och i par Ledderbuxer i d';'i klede trøye me trips Ermer 2 d': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Axel Drejer's inventory, 27 July 1616, p. 238 r.

67 For every three times worn, the son was instructed to use cleaning flakes to keep them neat, which highlight how these were precious items that needed maintenance and care, Rublack, *Dressing Up*, pp. 214.

68 'i Ledder binde Liff 6 mk';'i Sort klede kledning 20 d': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Ludvig Krause Slagter's inventory, 9 April 1650, p. 158 r.

69 Wardropper, 'Between'p. 7. On jewellery in this period see esp. Awais-Dean, *Bejewelled*.

70 Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 127.

71 'i Hals klede med 2 Sølff Ringe i ½ mk': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Erich Lauridsen Slagter's inventory, 14 March 1645, p. 71 r.

72 As with clothing items, only precious items are specified. This does not necessarily reflect all the adornments people owned, since it was common to own items in more affordable materials.

73 Quoting Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 645. Jespersen, 'At Være', pp. 42, 44.

74 '7 sher i shouff penge med en kiede i liden plade 32 lod a 2 ½ mk - 20 dr': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Samuel Hansen Bager's inventory, 4 December 1650, p. 331 r. The foundry master Wulllf was also the owner of a medal without a ring that was recorded to be minted in Elsinore. 'Noch i Skaupenningh med en Ring paa Veiger 2 ½ Lod till 6 Rx dlr ehr 15 Rx dlr';'1 Skaupenningh af Vngersh guld møntedtt her i Byen veiger 2 ½ Lod t. 6 Rx dlr er 15 Rxdr': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Mester Hans Wullf Entfelder Geitmester's inventory, 16 June 1616, pp. 170 v - 171 r.

75 https://symbolleksikon.lex.dk/medalje, (Accessed 31 October 2022)

76 'i liden Ring med en smaragd i dr 3 ort';'2 Forgylte sølffringe ½ Loed 1 mk';'3 ½ døsin knapper vegett 12 Lod 6 dlr';'3 ½ døsin knapper vegett 12 Lod 6 dlr';'4 døsin g. knappe och en kappe krog me 2 ringe 10 ½ dlr';'4 par skospender 2 lod 1 ½ quint: i d 12 sk': Mester Hans Wullf Entfelder Geitmester's inventory, 16 June 1616, p. 171 r. Fastenings such as hooks, eyelets and buckles, especially of silver, are recorded in 12.9% of inventories.

77 'i stacked Kaabe aff Saienn foret me Graauerk och met to forgyltte spengl vdi for viij dl': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Ane Jørgensdatter's inventory, 6 November 1605, p. 167 r.'Item fiire paar lange forgylte spende eller kiortel Sølff mett tho kaaffueringe, veigde tilsammenn 7 lod minus 1 quintin': RAHBSP: 1571-

1583, Oluf Snedker and Elline Pedersdatter's inventory, 15 February 1578, p. 83 r.

78 Stallybrass and Jones, *Renaissance Clothing*, p. 24.

79 'i Fløyels Pung me tho Sølff Knapper Vdi': RAHBSP:1603-1610, Påske Bakis Tømmermand's inventory, 30 January 1605, p. 102 r.

80 'Item berettis, ad I gaar Morgen, vor I huset 3 Sølffsher, och en Ash med med sølff Vdi. Som Icke fands tillstede Paa denne Thid';'Item bekiennde Claus Kandestoffer, Hans Guldsmed, och Claus Rode, Ad de saa de 3 Sølffsheed, och de Sølff knappe vor Tilstede, med en ash med alle haande Sølff, och i ten';' Dette guodz haffuer eierman Igien bekommit': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Hans Ditmarsk Guldsmed's inventory, 18 May 1599, pp. 58 v – 59 r

81 It is not possible to make a total count, since buttons were recorded in numbers, but also weight (*lod*). Only a few buttons appear in lesser metals. Silver buttons could be decorated, something that would inflate the cost of the object, Awais-Dean, 'Redressing', p. 152.

82 McCall, 'Materials for Fashion', p. 1454.

83 'En Kledtrøi, me Jerne Knapper vdi';'En groffgrøns kledning trøi och boxerme xx sølffknapper i trøien': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Joachim Clausen Skrædder's inventory, 17 March 1597, p. 579 v.

84 'i halff slit graa Trøy och buxer med 33 Sølff knappe Vdi': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Gabriel Riis Kobbersmed's inventory, 20 April 1646, p. 197 r.

85 'En gammell sourt kappe med i par Sølffhegte';'Enn Kledt Kiortell medt Vldshind med iij par Sølff hegter Vdi': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Falentin von Hartz Tømmermand's inventory, 31 March 1601, pp. 162 r – 162 v.

86 'i brun kaffis Snørliff med i8 par Sølff Maller vdj 3 ½ d': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Smed and Kirsten Hansdatter's inventory, 20 February 1649, p. 22 v.

87 'vj Par forgylte maller vii mk': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Christen Bager's inventory, 30 March 1592, p. 280 v.

88 'i Liden sølff Naaell';'i Forgyltt Øre Ringh';'i signette Ring aff sølff';'Nogen Perler haffe verit ett smøge i en Hatt': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Anders Poulsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 14 September 1616, pp. 186 r –186 v.

89 Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 128, Awais-Dean, *Bejewelled*, pp. 93-109. Signet rings were recorded among butchers, tailors, stonemasons, and millers.

90 Lund, *Daglig Liv X*, p. 15, Sarti, *Europe*, p. 68. 9.9% of inventories list rings, made of gold (80.3%), silver (12.2%) or gilded (4.5%).

91 '4 Guldring veiger 2 Lod i quintin Lodet til 5 1/2 dlr er': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Casper Hubbe Skrædder and Catharina Albretsdatter's inventory, 27 September 1613, p. 54 v.

92 Quoting Secher, *Corpus 1639-1650*, pp. 283-284, Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', p. 384.

93 Translated by the author. Quoting Molbech, 'To Breve', p. 45. Bequeathing him a ring was also intended to obtain trust and make sure that he cared for his mother in the future.

94 'Gertt Skreder haffe for ij dr en Sølff Pante sølff- Skee verier tre Lod En Tanckring aff guld for tre Daler Veiger ett halfft Lodt';'To Gvldringe pandtsatt Till Skredernis Laugs bøsse for IX Dr 4 Sk': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Desmer Skrædder's inventory, 31 January 1596, pp. 517 r – 517 v.

95 'Item, Thend store guldring for ii mk, Ennd en guld ring meth en perle paa 5 mk';'Ennd enn guldring meth en grønn sten for 2 1/2 mk': RAHBS 1571-1583, Jens Krogemager's inventory, 5 October 1573, p. 35 v.

96 'Thre guldringe, med Stenene och ett lidet smøcke der hoss vj daller': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Margrete Erik Bager of Henrich Hansen's inventory, 16 October 1602, p. 445 v.

97 Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 127

98 Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, p. 198. 'I demanntz Rinng': RAHBSP:1628-1631, Christian Menge Saltsyder's inventory, 25 January 1628, p. 10 v. 'Fandtis iiij Guldringe de ij me Hyadeyndenn the andre to foruden stene': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Mester Abraham Raider Bardskærer's inventory, 4 February 1605, p. 105 r. 'i liden Ring med en smaragd i dr 3 ort': Mester Hans Wullf Entfelder Geitmester's inventory, 16 June 1616, p. 171 r.

Chapter 8. Clothes for festive and public occasions

Dressing up for weddings

In 1593, the English traveller Fynes Morrison noted that, 'Women as well married as unmarried, Noble and of inferior condition [in Denmark], weare thinne bands about their neckes, yet not falling, but erected with the upper bodies of their outward garment of velvet, but with short skirts, and going out of the house, they have the German custome to weare cloakes. They also weare a chaine of Gold like a breastplate, and girdles of silver, and guilde.'[1] Public events were occasions for showing off the finest clothing.[2] Being seen as honourable by the community, relatives, friends and neighbours was essential. Everyone dressed up for festive occasions. This included artisans and their wives.[3] According to Maria Hayward, the middling sorts were 'aware of the distinction between everyday and holiday wear and they aspired to have both types of clothes'.[4]

Artisans usually had one or two sets of valuable attire that could be used for festive occasions.[5] The most sumptuous garments were often decorated with trimmings and, even though black was the most popular colour, clothing worn for festive occasions was often brightly coloured.[6] For instance, the master barber Frederik Ferdig's inventory included a fine lavender blue coloured woman's skirt.[7]

Weddings provided occasions to commission and wear the finest clothes. Families often had new clothes made for weddings, because wedding celebrations were both public events and important occasions within the family.[8] Among the elites, as Carole Frick shows, families spent substantial amounts of money on wedding garments. She argues that fine wedding clothes were so important that 'there seemed to be no logical limit to the time, attention, or money that might be expended'.[9]

Sumptuary laws from Denmark confirm that families wore their best clothes on their wedding day. Sumptuary laws issued in 1624 (and reiterated in 1643) tried to limit spending by reserving the finest fabrics for the wealth-

iest citizens. The laws stated that bridal couples could wear velvet, caffa, silk and similar luxurious fabrics for their wedding only if the mayor and town council received a note proving that the groom possessed at a wealth of at least 10.000 *rigsdaler*.[10]

Information about weddings at the lower levels is scarce, but the importance of the occasion can be sometimes glimpsed through historical record. For example, the butcher Tue Jensen recorded the date in his diary when he married his wife Anne on 18 November 1610 in St. Olaf church. Before the couple was married by the priest Anders, their marriage had been announced at three Sunday sermons. This ensured that everyone knew they were going to marry and allowed their fellow citizens to make objections if they felt something was wrong.[11]

Weddings were occasions to claim and adjust social status. Families demonstrated their wealth by giving gifts, dressing up and hosting a feast.[12] Sumptuous wedding banquets were organised at all social levels, including among artisans.[13] In a letter dated 7 September 1606 and addressed to the mayor and town council in Elsinore, the king and his council noted that the population of Elsinore was engaged with immoral spending on dress and claimed that elaborate decorations were used in the town more than anywhere else. He asked the town council to form sumptuary laws to control people's expenses, especially at public occasions such as weddings.[14] Following the king's request, a sumptuary law was issued in Elsinore on 8 December 1606. It stated, for instance, that weddings among artisans and commoners should be held either in their own house or the guild house. Twelve couples and six young men could follow them to the church and participate in the dinner and dance. Four courses of food could be served at the festivity.[15]

However, not all artisans respected the laws.[16] Weddings at the lower levels of society could be costly occasions.[17] The butcher David's inventory notes that 'much was spent on the wedding from the common estate'.[18] Other examples show, too, that a lot of money was spent on weddings, especially when the eldest sons and daughters were married. In 1600, the inventory of Marine, the wife of the locksmith Mads Klejnsmed, mentioned that their eldest daughter Mette had received a high sum of 12 *daler* for her wedding feast, while 'when her good luck comes', her younger sister Karine would receive five *daler* for her wedding.[19]

Organising a wedding could take several months, and money was spent on clothes and jewellery that transmitted messages of emotional and social connections, personal style and the taste of the wearers.[20] For the higher ranks

in Denmark, this meant spending considerable sums on garments made of velvet, silk damask or fine English cloth.[21] The acquisition and exchange of objects played a crucial role in the marriage process from the initial marriage negotiations to the preparations for the wedding festivities.[22] Precious caps, gowns, cloaks, jewellery and accessories such as metal girdles with a spoon and knife were often included in dowries, providing an occasion to show off, not just for the elites but also those lower down the social scale.[23] The hook-maker Jens Krogemager's, inventory, for example, shows that his daughters had been given clothes for their wedding.[24]

If the family could not afford to buy new clothes, heirlooms could also be given to be used at weddings.[25] The butcher Hans Hansen's inventory shows that his wife Karine Hansdatter gave their daughter Kirstine, aged 16, some household goods for her dowry. These included the mother's cloak, some embroidered and decorated sheets and pillowcases, a long diaper linen cloth, a pearl ribbon, a house postil and small books. The mother Karine Hansdatter should keep the goods safe until her daughter was to marry.[26] Dowries even among humble artisans could be very high. The inventory of the modest carpenter Hans Krit and his wife Anne Pedersdatter noted that their daughter, also named Anne, was entitled to a dowry worth 30 *daler* as well as some woollen and linen textiles.[27]

Elaborate displays of clothing in public were essential for retaining family honour. In this context, women's clothes were particularly important, not only because they were a demonstration of her own virtue but also because they represented the male kin.[28] In the sixteenth century, the bride's gown was often colourful. Red was especially popular at the lower social levels, and the garments were made of materials that suited one's social status and financial situation.[29] A number of red gowns listed in the artisan inventories were made of wool, such as broadcloth bay or kersey, while the bodices were often of wool, damask, atlas or *trip,* or silk camlet.[30] The inventory of the cooper Hans Bødker included two red women's gowns, one plain and another one with silver eyelets. Worn with her red damask lined cloak, his wife Karine would have looked very decent on their wedding day.[31]

Cloaks were vital during the wedding day. It was common that the bride's father provided his daughter with a wedding cloak that she could wear with her gown.[32] Such cloaks might also be inherited. In 1610, when the master barber Hans Pedersen died, his daughter Boel inherited the best cloak that had belonged to his first wife as well as her best gown.[33] Cloaks were often used by women for a lifetime. If a woman among artisan ranks owned two

cloaks, the finest of these was probably her bridal cloak. In addition, a silver belt or a girdle, in some cases worn over a band of velvet, was also an important accessory for the wedding. Girdles marked the transition from girl to wife and 'honest Danish woman'.[34] On her wedding day, Elline, the wife of David Slagter, for instance, wore a gilded girdle that was attached to a velvet band;[35] while the butcher Poul Slagter's inventory noted that an old girdle of white silver, 'made in an old [and] coarse way', was bequeathed in 1581 to his stepdaughter Cidtse Madsdatter, possibly to use for her wedding.[36] More than being decorative and functional, a silver girdle was seen as a sign of devotion and opulence.[37] Such belts could also be worn in everyday life. For example, Elline, the wife of the talented locksmith Henrich, wore a silver belt daily.[38]

Other wedding adornments, such as gold chain and headwear, were also important for weddings, although their use was strictly regulated.[39] According to the sumptuary laws issued in 1606 in Elsinore, the daughter or maiden of an artisan who married an artisan or a commoner was allowed to wear just one gold chain or necklace in addition to one pearl ribbon in her hair.[40] Both the inventories of the modest wheelmaker Laurids Klokov and the well-off foundry master Wullf Entfelder's included pearls and pearl ribbons, allowing the families to emphasise the beauty of the bride, the cleanliness of her body and spirit and her purity and chastity.[41]

Headwear and the hairstyle were also important. These held a specific moral meaning on the wedding day: flowing hair was particularly associated with good morals.[42] Sumptuary laws stated that servants, maids and women of low income or dishonest backgrounds were not allowed to have their hair down.[43] However, the rules were once again challenged by artisans. In 1630, the wife of the shoemaker Hans Andersen walked to church to be married, having revealed her hair, although 'she was humbled and pregnant'.[44] According to the court hearing, the shoemaker admitted that 'his wife had walked to church to [be] wed' and [that] she had 'flowing hair after she was pregnant'. The shoemaker was sentenced to pay a fine of 40 *mark* on behalf of his wife to the Majesty and the town.[45] This shows that weddings were occasions where appearance mattered a great deal. Men and women were willing to take a risk in order to look good in church, and even challenge the moral norms of how a decent and morally good person should dress.

Dressing for church

The quality of the outfits worn at social gatherings was central to the projection of a respectable and honourable public image, even at artisan levels. Elaborate materials and decorations used for public outfits provided an important contrast to the more functional wardrobe worn in everyday life.[46] Weddings were not, however, the only important public occasions. Other social gatherings, such as going weekly to church, also provided events to dress up in the best garments while demonstrating one's belief.[47]

Clothing practices of Protestantism were not homogenous. They were characterised by 'taste communities' which not everyone or even all Protestants approached the same way.[48] This meant that it was important to dress for church in a modest and pious way but not necessarily in too common and plain garments. Understanding 'bourgeois protestant civility and behaviour' required one to dress according to social standing while being decorous, civil and gracious. It was important to create a shared visual identity with other citizens, even if one was from the lower ranks.[49]

The town of Elsinore had two churches, St. Olaf which housed the Danish congregation and the German St. Mary's Church, whose congregation consisted of immigrants or newcomers to Elsinore.[50] Attending the weekly sermon at the local church was a matter of both worship and communal gathering, and provided, according to Susan J. Vincent, a 'polite venue of fashionable display, a site where people dressed to magnify not only the Lord, but also themselves'.[51] The opulence at church was noticed by clergymen, who mentioned in their account of the yearly meeting held in 1572 in Roskilde diocese, 'the splendour, when one attends when one offers [on] ceremonial days, or when children are baptised, brides wed, or women return to church after childbirth'.[52] Sumptuary laws tried to restrict the splendour of especially women's clothing in church. A sumptuary law from Ribe from 1561, for instance, specified that women returning to church after childbirth should wear their own clothes, not borrowed, because borrowing other people's clothes could cause too much splendour. Only if the woman was poor was she allowed to borrow a cloak or gown. In addition, wearing a green cloak was strictly forbidden, because the colour was associated with dishonesty and inappropriate in Protestantism.[53]

Choosing clothes for the Sunday sermon required a balance between dressing in one's best and being modest. The Danish version of *Insomnis Cura*

Parentum, a devotional book published in 1645 by Hans Michel Moscheroschl, advised men and women that 'on this day you dress in better and cleaner dress, than you would do the rest of the week. But nevertheless you leave the Devil's pride in [your] dress not letting it build a Nest in your Heart. For this is the Day of the Lord. But pride is the Devils Work'. [54]

Even though the Reformation in 1536 made faith a personal matter, going to church was important, since a community would keep one in the right faith.[55] As Ulinka Rublack points out in her study of clothing and religion, enemies of faith could be identified through extravagant dress and immoral behaviour. Bourgeois Lutherans usually dressed in a monochrome outer layer of dress that revealed inner layers of clothes and fabrics worn underneath, revealing men and women as honest and pious.[56] According to Michel *Pastoureau,* the ideal in Protestant society was to wear sombre monochrome clothing. Black, grey and brown were particularly in accordance with Protestant virtues. These could be combined with simple and plain materials that were suited both to the climate and to the owner's occupation, excluding luxurious clothing, make-up, finery and changing and eccentric fashions.[57] Piety was also expressed by wearing silver or gilded crosses.[58] Such a small, gilded silver cross was found among the master bricklayer Poul Andersen's possessions.[59]

In this period, it was a custom for women and men to sit on separate sides at church, as illustrated in both the painting from Tinglev Church from the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth-century depiction from the Island of Samsø (figures 52 and 53).[60] These images show men in white linen ruffs, doublets, breeches and stockings that matched or contrasted with grey, red, brown, black or green suits. The paintings also show how some men also wear hats and black overgarments. Women, in turn, are dressed in either a long or a short black woollen cloak which was a traditional garment worn at church and on ceremonial occasions. Under their cloaks, they wear colourful garments in red, yellow or green, such as in the painting from Tinglev.[61] Some women appear in black doublets, such as in the depiction from Samsø, worn in combination with a colourful skirt (grey and red) and a white linen apron.[62] The images also show women wearing black caps or white linen caps – a colour associated with pureness and recommended for children and women in their clothing.[63]

The visual evidence matches individual examples from archival records. Inventories show that artisans and their wives owned similar items, such as white linen collars, caps of linen, black wool or velvet, black doublets, cloaks,

FIGURE 52. A church sermon, probably second part of the sixteenth century. Painted on the platform of the altar in Tinglev Church. National Museum of Denmark.

FIGURE 53. A church sermon, probably from the seventeenth century. Stained-glass window from Island of Samsø. National Museum of Denmark.

mantles, and red, grey and yellow skirts.[64] The inventory of the glovemaker Isak Clausen, for example, included some men's and numerous women's garments of these sorts: a green and a cheaper black skirt, a black and a red doublet, a cloak, a black men's suit, two old women's caps of cloth and velvet, as well as a number of white linen collars, neckcloths, aprons and linen headwear.[65]

Wearing black clothes for church, which both Isak Clausen and his wife (whose name is unknown) was able to do, was in accordance with Protestant

virtues. The shade of black, however, mattered. As shown in chapter six, the luxurious 'true black', which was complex to create, signalled status and luxury. Faded or brownish shades of black worn by monks and clerics communicated humility and temperance.[66] Therefore, more modest black garments, such as the tailor Johan's most precious black-brown suit, did not necessarily represent just cheaper alternatives to expensive black garments, but the colour was seen as appropriate to wear in church. Clothes were an outward indicator of inner moral qualities and inextricably linked with belief.[67]

The place where one sat in church depended both on social rank and how much the family could afford to pay. According to Bill-Jessen and Hvass, the best spot at church was closest to the altar or in the middle section, while the rest were seated on the sides of the nave.[68] Some artisans seem to have been powerful and affluent enough to pay for a good spot at church.[69] The baker Knud Andersen, whom we met in chapter six, acquired two seats at St Olaf church. One of these was for himself and was located on the southern side. The other was for his wife on the opposite northern side of the church. Here, the two could sit on Sundays well-dressed. The baker himself owned an expensive mantle and black suit of broadcloth, adorned with 34 silver buttons, white collars and a respectable black hat that he could wear for church. His wife Kirsten Pedersdatter, in turn, had a fine grosgrain cloak, a woollen doublet and a skirt made of a fine say.[70]

FIGURE 54. Councilman and toll officer David Hansen and family. Painted epitaph from St. Olaf church in Elsinore. Erik Fjordside/www.livinghistory.dk.

Influential families could commemorate themselves at church by commissioning painted epitaphs, such as the epitaph from St. Olaf church in Elsinore depicting the councilman and customs officer David Hansen, who died in 1599, and his first and second wives and his children (figure 54).[71] Even though their appearances were probably designed to conform to Protestant virtues, they were dressed in fine black gowns decorated with velvet guards and fine starched ruffs, caps, and linen aprons for 'power dressing', manifesting their status in society.[72] The painting embraces a civil decorousness that reveal them both as influential citizens as well as loyal and faithful Protestants.

Even though mainly the elites had the means to depict and memorialise their family in the local church, some successful artisans also managed to commemorate their families at church and show themselves off as important townspeople. One of them was the prosperous locksmith Casper Fincke. At some point of his life, he commissioned a painted epitaph of himself, his first and second wives and his children in St. Mary's church in Elsinore.[73] The epitaph has not survived but an eighteenth-century description stated that it depicted Casper Fincke with his two wives, five sons and four daughters; above the depiction was a painting of Christ's resurrection.[74] According to his inventory made on 15 April 1655, he and his second wife Karen Andersdatter had clothes made of black woollen broadcloth, *fifskaft* and grosgrain, and fur such as sable and cat.[75] Similarly, in 1636, the wife of the founder Hans Brüggeman commissioned a brass epitaph for 10 *daler* to commemorate her husband in St. Mary's church. According to the inscription on the epitaph, Hans had been an 'honourable and artistic man' during his life.[76]

Visual statements on tombstones could also mark one's success and achievements in life. For example, the early seventeenth-century tombstone of the baker and citizen Christen Michelsen in St. Olaf church was decorated with two symbols that referred to his occupation: a pretzel and a pointed piece of pastry. Being like the arms of the baker's guild, they marked him as a prominent and successful baker, citizen and guildsman in Elsinore (figure 55).[77]

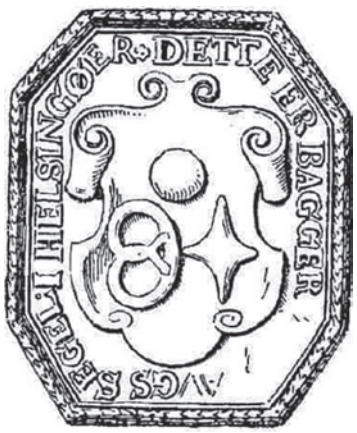


FIGURE 55. The guild seal of the Elsinore bakers' guild. Published in Tidsskrift for Kunstindustri, 1897.

His status in the trade is also suggested by the way he and his wife had dressed when he was still alive. Accord-

ing to the family inventory from 1605, drawn up when Christen Michelsen's wife Ane Jørgensdatter died, the couple owned valuable items: gold and silver jewellery, dress fastenings, accessories, and an extensive number of linen garments such as aprons, skirts and upperparts, shifts, men' shirts, collars and neckcloths.[78] Moreover, the inventory included a number of good-quality garments for himself and his wife, such as two black and two red women's skirts, a fine and dark red skirt which described as new, many fine doublets and bodices, and fur-lined cloaks and gowns of black woollen cloth, say, *trip,* cat and squirrel.[79] Some of the most valuable clothes present at the baker's house at the point of his wife's death belonged to Christen Michelsen himself. These included a black doublet made of *sidendort* silk with silver buttons, a pair of breeches of woollen velvet and a woollen velvet-lined mantle of fine English broadcloth of high value.[80]

Another tombstone from Odense from the first half of the seventeenth century, depicting a man and a woman with folded hands, also commemorates an artisan family, although the clothes of the couple appear like the painted epitaph of the wealthy councilman and his family (figure 56).

The inscription reveals that 'Here lies buried honest and distinguished man Peder Iensen master bricklayer Burgher here in Ottense who died anno 1644 the 7 [th of] June with his dear Wife Honest and pious woman Karen Andersdatter who died anno 1637 the 25[th] of March God give them a pleasant resurrection Amen'.[81] The bricklayer is dressed in a tight-fitting doublet trimmed with a row of buttons, and a pair of breeches, stockings, a frilled ruff, and a knee-length circular mantle. His wife has a skirt or a gown covered by a long-pleated cloak and a simple ruff and a cap. Such images illustrate that clothes were important in constructing an honourable, decorous and pious image of oneself and one's family in public spaces, and that respectable clothing continued to have an important meaning in the afterlife.[82]

FIGURE 56. Tombstone of Peder Jensen and Karen Andersdatter. First part of the seventeenth century. Museum Odense.

Notes

1 Morrison, *An Itinerary*, p. 215.

2 Dress historians have shown that, at least in the Italian context, wearing fine clothing out in public spaces was not limited to the patricians, Allerston, 'Clothing', 381, Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination'. pp 153, 157,

3 Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, p. 91, Burke, 'Conspicuous Consumption', p. 135, Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', 158, Cavallo, 'The Artisan's', p. 73. About Spanish society it was noted that on a festive day the artisan and his wife do not differ from the nobility, quoting Belfanti, 'Fashion', p. 360.

4 Hayward, 'A Shadow Of', p. 110.

5 Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', p. 160.

6 Hohti, 'Power, Black Clothing'.

7 'i Lauendell blaa skørtt vij dr': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Mester Frederich Ferdig Bardskærer's inventory, 9 July 1612, p. 172 v.

8 Currie, 'Diversity and Design', p. 157, Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book*, p. 43.

9 Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, p. 115.

10 Secher, *Corpus 1622-1638*, p. 157, Secher, *Corpus 1639-1650*, pp. 283-284.

11 Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, p. 24.

12 Roper, 'Going to Church', p. 74.

13 Sarti, *Europe*, p. 68. On artisanal weddings see also Farrell, 'The Materiality'.

14 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp. 208-210. This letter was also sent to Malmoe.

15 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 212. This part is likely incorporated from the sumptuary law issued in 1558.

16 In 1629 a barber named Ditlev from Odense was accused of having invited too many people to his daughter's wedding. Larsen, *Studier II*, p. 183.

17 Several times in the 1570s the magistrate in Elsinore notes how the population practise new habits with an unusual cost and with many unnecessary expenses at weddings, confinements and other festivities, see Tønnesen, *Helsingørs Udenlandske*, p. 19.

18 Translated by the author. 'Effter Adt Ellnne Dauit Schlagter, Effterleffuershe, haffuer møgit bekostet paa Brolluppett Aff Fellits boe': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, David Hansen Slagter's inventory, 18 April 1600, p. 173 v. It is not clear whether this cost was related to David's and Elline's wedding or Elline's wedding with her new husband, a butcher named Anders Willumsen.

19 The eldest daughter Marine's husband Henrich Johansen should make sure that the sister received the money. 'Item huis tilforre er antegnit, Adt Mette Madtsdotter, Haffuer aff boit, bekommit, till Brøllups Kost, 12 daller';'item Svogeren Hendrich Johansen loffúer Adt giffue hans hostruis Søster, Naar Hendis gode Løcke kommer, till hielp till Brølluff iiij daller': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Marine Mads Klejnsmed's inventory 13 November 1600, p. 276 r

20 Pitman, 'Prodigal Years', pp. 17-20, Astrid Pajur moreover illustrates how weddings required large expenses on clothes, jewellery and accessories that could indebt people for many years, Pajur, *Dress Matters*, pp. 215-217.

21 Lund. For a list of the fabrics acquired for a wedding in 1503, see https://danmarkshistorien.dk/leksikon-og-kilder/vis/materiale/fortegnelse-over-forbrug-ved-adelsmanden-tyge-brahes-bryllup-med-magdalene-krognos-ca-1503/(Accessed 22 October 2021)

22 Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, p. 204. On acquisitions for weddings, see Allerston, 'Wedding Finery',

23 Lund, *Daglig Liv X*, pp. 13-16. Therefore a sumptuary law from 1576 tried to limit dowries, only allowing noblemen to bequeath their daughters no more than three velvet gowns and two pearl caps, Secher, *Corpus 1576-1595*, p. 40

24 'Item, Jensis Kiortell, som wor vurderit for 24 mk. Jacob och Jørgen at komme thennom till gode mod hues Kleder, søsterne haffde før bekommidt til theris brøllup etc': RAHBS 1571-1583, Jens Krogemager's inventory, 5 October 1573, p. 38 r. Paula Hohti shows in her study of artisans in Italy that a saddler in Siena in 1536 provided his daughter with furniture, towels, bedsheets, pillow cases, napkins and clothes for domestic use and public occasions, including two woollen gowns, a simple petticoat, two black bodices, two small collars, two relatively fine women's gowns with damask sleeves and a red mantle, Hohti Erichsen, *Artisans, Objects*, p. 204

25 Lund, *Daglig Liv X*, pp. 13-14. A bride's wedding adornment also depended on if it was the first or second marriage. According to Ribe's 1561 sumptuary law, a widowed woman who remarried should wear her 'own clothing' possibly the clothes she wore at her first wedding. This made sure that women did not dress above their position. Poor people could borrow clothing. Quoting 'Anordning', p. 274.

26 'Deraff fich datterenn i slett kaabe vurderit for i2 dlr shall haffue dertill Kleder eller penge i2 dlr 3 mk';'Offuer alltt foræhritt Moederen sin datter forladdis i par vdsyet Lagenn med 3 bredder udi - i par huidsøms pudisvor, i par store slette pudisvor, i lang dreills dug i perlesnoer, i Huupostill och nogle andre smaa bøgger, For det sidste bleff beslut-tedt emmeum Moederen och datterenns Formønder effterdi datteren er voxen och er nu i6 Aar gammell, Att forne: Boeshabs vahre hende er tilfalldenn ey shall sellgis, Menshende till beste bliffue udi Moederenns goeds giemmes och forvarinng indtill hún formed dellst Guds forsiuffn bliffuer forsett i Ehteshab, Huillhett Moederenn loffuitt att hollde i saa goed for varrinng som hendis egett': RAHBSP: 1628-163, Hans Hansen Slagter's inventory, 10 October 1628, pp. 122 r, 124 v.

27 'Her hoss att Ahttis, att Huis Senngh Klleder, med huis Linnett och Vllett der fannttis Nøgetis Anne Hanns datter med, Imod huis Med gifft der anndre søster haffde bekommitt som samptlligh formønder och samtæche';' Bortschylldige Gielld...Anne Hans daatter shall haffue effter som dee andre sødshinde haffe faatt till Med gifft 30 dr': RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Hans Krit Tømmermand and Anne Pedersdatter's inventory, 9 April 1643, p. 43 v.

28 Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, pp. 77-78.

29 Lund, *Daglig Liv X* p. 155. It many places in Europe it was common to wear a red wedding gown, see Brown, 'Picturing', p. 241. Skirts (48%) and gowns (9.6%) were also some of the most common red items.

30 Elline, wife of the prosperous locksmith's Henrich Klejnsmed, owned a red gown made of a skirt of broadcloth and a damask bodice and one made of a red skirt and a damask bodice.'Enn Rodt kledt Kiortell, med Itt Damashis lyff vorderitt for vij dr';'Ett Røtt Skiørt, medt Attlaske Lyff, och fire par sølff malir Vdi 3 ½ dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Klejnsmed's inventory, 7 November 1592, pp 131 v – 132 r. The baker Kristen's inventory moreover included two red gowns; one had a bodice of wool and the other a bodice of silk caffa. 'Itt røt skiørtt med arask øffuerliff';'End Itt Skarlagenn Farff skiørtt, med siden Kamlodtz lyiff, Och ote Paar Søllff Maller vdj': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Kresten Hermansen Bager's inventory, 27 June 1594, p. 373 r.

31 'i Rødt kiorttill';'i anden Rødt kiorttill medt Sølff maller';'i Kaabe medt røt dammash vnder': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Hans Bødker's inventory, 16 August 1591, p. 207 r.

32 Lund, *Daglig Liv X*, p. 14, Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', p. 387.

33 'hindis S: Moders beste Kaabe och beste Kiortell for 20 dl': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Hans Pedersen Bardskærer's inventory, 3 September 1610, p, 405 r.

34 Lund, *Daglig Liv X*, pp. 14, 16, 157-160. According to Lund, it was common to place the metal belt on a piece of velvet. A silver

girdle was more common, but gilded girdles were reserved for the more well-off.

35 'Item var der ett Forgyldt Quindebelte,Veiger 32 Lodt, paa rød fløunell': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, David Hansen Slagter's inventory, 18 April 1600, p. 171 r.

36 'Ennd fanndis ett gammilt huitt sølffbelte aff gammill groff gerninng, finndis paa skoenn, att weye fiortenn lodt, Huilckitt belte wor om tallid nu, att Salig Pouill Slachter haffuer tilfornn wdi sinn wellmacht giffuitt sinn steffsaater, forskrevne Citze Madtz datter, till en forærinng oc hukommelsse, Oc wor nu witterligt saa at were skeed oc tilgaaid. Dog bleff samme belte nu inndlagt mett forskrevne belte oc anndett wdj foruaring till widere beskedt oc Dauitt Slachter nu annammitt i antuorde': RAHBSP: 1571-1583, Poul Slagter and Kirstine Mads Krogemager's children's goods, 15 February 1581, p. 177 v.

37 Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, p. 128.

38 'Item Fandtz nogle søllffhegter Vegede 4 Lodt shall sønnen med denn Tesack imod dett sølffbelde, Moderen Dagelige berre Behollde': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrich Klejnsmed's inventory, 7 November 1592, p. 130 v.

39 A sumptuary law stated in August 1621 how 'unfree brides' were adorned above their estate and were banned from wearing strings of pearls, studs and precious stones, but could only be adorned with gold chains, Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 666.

40 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp. 211-213. The master bricklayer Christen Nielsen and his wife Birgitte Madsdatter's goods also mentioned a small silver chain. 'i liden Sølffkiede 6 mk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Christen Nielsen Murermester and Birgitte Madsdatter's inventory, 20 April 1641, p. 211 r. The baker Knud Andersen's inventory also recorded a necklace among his gold and silver items. 'i kiede 7 lod a 2 ½ mk - 4 d 1 ½ mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Knud Andersen Bager's inventory, 9 January 1650, p. 103 v.

41 Robinson, 'Né Vera Dé'. 'Ett Perleladt': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Laurids Klokov Hjulmand's inventory, 23 January 1600, p. 133 v. 'i perlesnoer 16 dlr m': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Mester Hans Wullf Entfelder Geitmester's inventory, 16 June 1616, p. 176 v.

42 Andersson, 'Dangerous Fashions', p. 154. In 1633 and 1635, two women in Elsinore were taken to the town court because they had wrongly walked down the aisle with flowing hair, Lund, *Daglig Liv X*, pp. 172-175. In Bornholm, a man named Niels Munk, was also fined 65 *daler* because his bride had worn a bridal wreath on top of flowing hair, while being pregnant at the time of the wedding, Børthy, 'Højtid', p. 75.

43 Lund, *Daglig Liv X*, pp. 169-175 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp. 211 – 213.

44 RAHBJP: 1630-1631, p. 40 r.

45 RAHBJP: 1630-1631, p. 40 r. Lund, *Daglig Liv X*, p. 172.

46 Cavallo, 'The Artisan's', p. 73

47 Warr, 'Belief', p. 75.

48 Quoting Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p. 82.

49 Quoting Rublack, *Dressing Up*, pp. 112-113.

50 Molkte et al., *Danmarks Kirker*, pp. 40, 291, Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, p. 132.

51 Vincent, *The Anatomy*, p. XIII.

52 Translated by the author. Quoting Rørdam, 'Forhandlinger Paa Roskilde',p. 363

53 'Anordning', p. 273, Ahlefeldt-Laurvig, 'Barselskoner', pp. 8-10, Pastoureau, *Green*, pp. 137-141. Troels Lund argues that green cloaks was used up until the eighteenth century, Lund, *Daglig Liv VIII*, p. 140. A different version of the law uses a different term which indicate a trim or brim or ,as Camilla Luise Dahl suggests, a ribbon or passement, Dahl, 'Klædt'.

54 Moscherosch, *Insomnis Cura Parentum*. chapter 29, no page number.

55 Sermons, psalms and the Bible were also translated into Danish. The printing press enabled people to acquire the Bible and for many people it was Luther's small catechism that informed people about faith, Høiris and Ingesman, 'Reformationen i Danmark', pp. 7-8.

56 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p. 120.

57 Pastoureau, *Green*, pp. 140-141, Pastoureau, *Black*, p. 132. According to Pasteureau, red, yellow, pinks, orange, green and purples were considered dishonest and inappropriate; some nuances of subdued hues of blue were tolerated.

58 'Søllff Vor en Sølffskee, och En Sølffring forgyltt, mett Itt Liditt forgyltt Korss Itt Sølf-flenckebeltte, och en Søllkniffske, sa god som fire och tiuge daller': RAHBSP: 1592-1598 Poul Andersen Murermester's inventory, 26 August 1594, p. 379 v.

59 The master bricklayer Andreas Has and his wife Margrete Andreas Has also kept a silver cross among their household goods.' i søllff kaars i2 sk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Andreas Has Murermester and Margrette Andreas Has's inventory, 24 April 1637, p. 281 r. The master Barber Jurgen von Breda owned two silver crosses.' 2 Sølff Kaars vog 3 quintin for 2 mk 4 sk.': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Mester Jurgen von Breda Bardskærer's inventory, 18 August 1641, p. 233 v.

60 Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, p. 139.

61 Dahl, 'Dressing', p. 143. As Hillary Davidson argues, colour in Spanish court dress was also either worn in private or used below the outer layer, Davidson, 'Fashion', p. 169.

62 86.6% of all artisanal aprons were made of linen.

63 Pastoureau, *Green*, p. 141. 22.2% of caps were made of plant fibres. On linen caps see Dahl, 'Huffer till Theris'. The black caps married women wore differed from the caps worn by unmarried women, Andersen, *Danske Bønders*, p. 20.

64 Off all dyed skirts, red (35%), black (30%), brown (19%) and blue (7%) were most common.

65 'i grøn Petuans shiørt 2 d';'i g: Sort klede shiørt i d';'i g: Sort Brixbommesi Quinde Trøye 2 mk';'i gammell Rød Quinde trøye 1 r mk';'i Firtraads Kaabe 5 d Som Mads vognmand och Haffde i pant';'i g: sort Kledning for 2 d';'i g: Fløyls Hue for 8 sk';'i Quinde Klede Hue i mk';'5 g: Halsklede bolle for 5 sk';'6 g: Halskleder i2 sk';'i Forrekleder i0 sk';'2 g: Pandelin 2 sk';'2 g:Blargarns dito i mk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Isach Clausen Handskemager's inventory, 4 May 1641, p. 219 r.

66 Pastoureau, *Black*, pp. 130-132.

67 Buss, 'Half-Tints', p. 179. 'i soert Bruun Kledning troye och buxer 6 dlr': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Johan Havergarn Skrædder's inventory, 19 April 1630, p. 354 v. The shades of the black garments depended on the type of cloth and the dyestuff, and some could be cheaper than others. On black dyes see Ortega Saez and Cattersel, 'Reworking'.

68 Pedersen, 'Renæssancens Helsingør', pp. 272-272b, Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, pp.136-139.

69 When the barber Hans Pedersen died, his wife sold her husband's pew in the chapel of one of the churches in Elsinore to a helmsman for 12 *daler*. 'Och solt M: Hansis Stolle staade udi Capelet till Christen Styrmand for 12 daler': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Hans Pedersen Bardskærer, 3 September 1610, p. 407 r. The shoemaker Willom Michelsen owned seats in St. Mary's church; two women's pews worth 12 *daler*, one male pew valued at 13 *daler* and a 'chair' with three pews behind the baptism font for 10 *daler*. 'Johan Kruse, Hendrich Feldtbereder, och Herman Osmand Snidker vrderitt Stollestader i den Tydshe Kiercke, 2 quindestader for i2 dr, i Mandestade for i3 dr, i Stoel bag Funten med 3 Steder vdi i0 dr': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Willom Michelsen Skomager's inventory, 15 April 1629, p. 183 r. It appears that such a spot could be rented. The

bowl painter Oluf owed 3 *ort* and 4 *skilling* for having rented a chair in the church. 'Stole Leye I Kircken 3 ort 4 sk': RAHBSP: 1621-1625. Oluf Nielsen Skålefarver's inventory, 9 March 1620, p. 361.

70 'i kappe 20 dl';'i Sort klede kleding 16 dl';'34 Sølff knappe';'20 gamble shy krauffuer a 12 sk - 15 mk';'i Sort Hat i ½ dl';'i g: groffgrøns kaabe med foer 6 d';'i g: Herrensaiens shiørt 4 dl';'i klede trøye 3 dl': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Knud Andersen Bager's inventory, 9 January 1650, p. 107 r.

71 Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, pp. 135-136.

72 Harvey, *Men*, p. 69.

73 Casper Fincke was admitted to the Elsinore smiths' guild in 1612. He was guild alderman numerous times. In 1631, he became court locksmith, but was still engaged in guild politics, Pedersen, *Haandværksskik*, p. 36, Degn and Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie*, pp. 183-186, see also https://biografisk-leksikon.lex.dk/Caspar_Fincke (Accessed 27 April 2022).

74 Author's own translation. Quoting Molkte et al., *Danmarks Kirker*, p. 464.

75 The garments included two mantles; one made of black cloth, two suits, made of black wool and *fifskaft*, a black coat with a cat lining, a woman's doublet of black cloth, two cloaks, one of black woollen cloth, two skirts made of grosgrain and *fifskaft*, as well as one old sable cap. Linen clothing included a fine and old linen shirt made of flax linen, and four other shirts, two pairs of flat old collars, and 47 silver buttons. 'i sort klede kappe 20 dr';'i g klede kappe som Morten finche haffuer 6d';'i sort klede kledning 8d';'i fifshafftis kledning 6d';'i sort kioll med katte vnder 4 d';'i sort Quinde klede trøie 3d';'1 g vent klede kaabe';'i groffgrønns shiørt 2 d';'i g fiffshafftis shørt 3 mk';'i g sabels hue 6 mk';'1 g klede kaabe'; 26-i par hørgarns shiorte 2 dr';' 27-i g hørgarnns shiorte 5 mk';'28-4 dito a 5 mk 20 mk';'38-i par g slette kraffuer a 4 8sk';'47 knappe 8 1/1 lod a 2 ½ mk – 5 d 1 mk 4 sk: RAHBSP: 1655-1657, Casper Fincke den Ældre's inventory, 14 April 1655, pp. 152 v, 153 v, 158 r.

76 Molkte et al., *Danmarks Kirker*, p. 465

77 This was dated 14 July, no year appears, Molkte et al., pp. 253-254.

78 x Hør och Blargarns fore Kleder och skiørtt';'vj Neder delle';'ij Smaa Forkleder for i marc';'viij Opleder';'iij Opleder for i marc';' iij Sercke for iij marc';' x Manndtzs skiortter';' xij Krauffuer';'viij Halskleder';'iiij Halskleder for ij marc': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Ane Jørgensdatter's inventory, 6 November 1605, pp. 165 v – 166 r.

79 Including four cloaks, some lined and of different quality, one zimarra, one bodice and two doublets. 'i gammel sort Sayens skiørt for iiij dl';'i gammel sort Klede skiørt for ij dl';'1 Nytt Purpur farfue Skiørtt Vurderit for x dl';'i Rødt halffslett Skiørt me Katte fodr for iiij dl';'i Rødt halffslett Skiørt me Katte fodr for iiij dl';'i Rødt Skiørtt Vdenn foder for iij dl';'i stacked Kaabe aff Saienn foret me Graauerk och met to forgyltte spengl vdi for viij dl';'ij Kaaber dennd beste for viij dall';'dennd annden, for xiiij marc';'i Sort saiens Sammarie foridt med Grauerck xij dl';'i trips Liffstycke for vj dl';'ij klede Trøyer for vj dl': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Ane Jørgensdatter's inventory, 6 November 1605, pp. 167 r - 167 v.

80 'i Sort Sidendorts Trøye med Sølff Knapper iiij dl';'i paar Thrips Buxer for iiij dl';'i Engelsh Kappe me trip forunder for xv dl': RAHBSP: 1603-1610, Ane Jørgensdatter's inventory, 6 November 1605, p. 167 v.

81 Translated by the author.

82 Warr, 'Belief', p. 71.

Chapter 9. Fashion, novelties and innovation

Morals of fashion

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a wider range of new fashion innovations were introduced to the market. These included a broad variety of new items, such slashed garments, knitted stockings, silk ribbons, perfumed gloves and hats, ruffs and collars in many shapes and sizes. These came in many qualities at both high and lower cost.[1] While the availability of a wide range of decorations and fashion accessories provided new opportunities for artisans and their wives, their adoption in local dress by the broad population was a great concern for many Danish moralists. In a letter addressed to the king's chancellor Christian Friis, the clergyman Menelaus Poulsen Næstved, wrote in the 1620s that 'in these very heavy tidings, you see no sign of the regret among our people, but new fashions and vanity in dress are in full swing'.[2] He condemned excessive decoration and novel fashions in dress, since excessiveness and pride in general were connected to low morals. Creating a fashionable look by means of new slashed clothes, ribbons or accessories was therefore a way to attract attention. The household book from 1572, titled *A Short Education on the Household* (*En Kort undervisning om Husholdning*), advised the reader to abandon lavishness in dress and focus on practicality, needs and humbleness.[3] '[Be] Aware', the author states, 'that virtue and good habits, dresses a person best. A beautiful gown often gives many a false heart. Clothe yourself according to your need, and leave so all non-useful attention'.[4] The advice was associated with the sixteenth and seventeenth-century view that pride was a sin closely connected to dress.

Wearing sumptuous clothing was regarded as inconsiderate towards fellow Christians.[5] In his book *On the Devil's Four Chief Daughters* (*Om Fandens fire fornemligste Døtre*), first published in 1614, the clergyman Jacob Albertsen Horsens, for example, reflected the belief, stating that 'Vanity has

taken over in the world[6]. That a decent individual, dresses himself well and keeps himself to his estate and profession, [...] but when an individual dresses of pride, in the sense that he wants to be above everyone else, it is a sin'.[7]

Artisans were probably familiar with such morals associated with clothing. The baker Anders Simmensen, for example, had a copy of Jacob Albertsen Horsens's book in his personal library. Judging by the wardrobe of the baker and his wife Trine Brodersdatter, the couple followed the morals, avoiding too much splendour. They wore clothes that were mainly made from sombre black plain woollens or mixed fabrics. They owned just a few items of silk and, apart from an old fur cap of wolverine, six linen collars and 10 linen kerchiefs: the number of adornments and accessories in their wardrobes was limited.[8] But other inventories of artisans show that such moral rules were often challenged. The prosperous master barber Jurgen von Breda's clothing cupboard, for example, suggests he was not concerned about the consequences of wearing lavish dress. He had a wardrobe filled with finery and novelties, including ruffs, collars and neckcloths, an elaborate old suit made of caffa velvet, two fine black mantles of cloth, a pair of brown silk stockings and many different types of headwear such as caps of caffa and marten, two lace-trimmed night caps, two old hats with ribbons, a hatband with small pearls, two feathers for his hat, a pair of black garters in silk and two pairs of shoe roses.[9]

The barber Mickel Beckmand, who was the journeyman of Jurgen von Breda and probably died at a young age, also presented himself as a man of innovation and fashion by wearing matching clothes and accessories that were dyed in new colours, made of sumptuous materials and ornamented with expensive and affordable trimmings, jewellery and fine accessories. He owned a dark green suit of cloth, trimmed with a silk ribbon around the waist, a pair of green knitted stockings edged with silver and gold lace and held up with two green taffeta garters and a pair of fine cordovan shoes with two green silk laces that contrasted with the white linen details around his neck.[10] In addition, he owned a grey hat with a hatband of fake silver.[11] Even his work clothes were fine. When serving his customers during the work week, the journeyman wore a brown woollen suit and a grey mantle, a pair of lined gloves and a pair of boots made in pig leather with blue iron spurs.[12] Moralists disapproved of the use of boots such as these at this social level. According to Menelaus Paulsen, narrow boots were worn by aspirational students, while in his view they should be reserved for the nobility.[13] This reveals that young artisan men, such as the barber journeyman Mickel, might have

high aspirations that were expressed by means of novel dress not only during festivities but in daily life.

In addition to decorations and accessories that were regarded as superfluous, moralists condemned the habit of dressing in new foreign clothes, which was seen as offending God. Omens such as comets, bad weather, storms or deformed animals or humans were all interpreted as signs from God that people had to amend their sins.[14] The bishop Peder Palladius claimed in his writings from 1556 that frivolous and foreign clothing and fashions from Italy, Spain and France, England, Scotland and Germany brought numerous diseases to Denmark, such as Hispanic scabies and English sweat sickness.[15] Yet, once again, his words did not stop prosperous artisans from dressing in foreign fashions. For example, the locksmith Henrich Klejnsmed and the armourer Zacharias Plattenslager both owned silver girdles and precious headwear made of silk and velvet and decorated with gold and feathers – noted to be in the Spanish style. The prosperous barber master Hans Schrøder owned a sword with an Italian blade.[16]

One of the omens connected by moralists to extravagant dress was a monstrous birth, believed to reveal the mother's sinful behaviour of engaging with extravagant fashions.[17] Stories of such births were circulated in several moral works and pamphlets. In 1625, a pamphlet titled 'Sad Spectable and Omens' (*Sørgeligt spectackel oc Vndertegn*), written by the vicar Hans Nielsøn in Mørkhøj, claimed that a 43-year old married honourable woman had given birth to a deformed girl on a summer day on 18 August. The baby's head was a 'high and wide round bow of flesh, pointed at the top, and in the pattern as the woven caps, or with metal thread risen mourning hats, and the other outrageous hats which now the female gender noble or unnoble, poor and wealthy are wearing.'[18] These deformed features were, according to the pamphlet, a sign of God's anger and a fair punishment for the mother because she had worn new sumptuous fashions.[19] To warn all readers, the text was followed by an image of the child (figure 57), suggesting that the child's deformities were linked to the current hairstyle that some young noblewomen had adopted, such as that seen in the portrait of Barbary Hansdatter Wittrup (figure 58).[20]

FIGURE 57. Deformed child born in Mørkøv. Printed in a pamphlet by Hans Nielsøn *Sad Spectable and Omens* from 1625. Royal Library of Denmark.

FIGURE 58. Pieter Isaacsz (probably), *Barbara Hansdatter Wittrup*, ca. 1610-1615. Oil on canvas, 101 x 82.5 cm. Photo Kit Weiss, The Museum of National History, Frederiksborg Castle.

Births of deformed children caused concern in local societies. Deformed children might be placed on display as a warning to the public.[21] In 1617, five years before the supposed event described in the pamphlet took place in Mørkhøj, the butcher Tue Jensen from Elsinore recorded in his diary that a baby was born with a strange appearance. The baby's body was 'much deformed with a high point and in front of the forehead was something that appeared as a half round circle looking like one of those metal threads they put in front of their forehead and through their ears.'[22] His description might refer to the fine pearl adorned head piece worn by the young noblewoman Barbary Hansdatter Wittrup (figure 58). This entry in his diary shows that the butcher was aware that some items of dress had negative connotations, and that good morals and modesty in dress were important.[23]

Menelaus Poulsen Næstved, whose letter to Chancellor Friis has already been discussed in this chapter, also published a pamphlet shortly after the event in Mørkhøj in 1625. He used the birth of the deformed child to declare that lace, headwear, creased skirts, veils, narrow sleeves and many other fashion novelties were unsuitable. Pinked clothes in the French and Italian fashion were also condemned, together with large collars and slashed heeled shoes with lacing. Lace garters, necklaces and bracelets worn against one's estate should be taken off.'[24]

Næstved probably condemned items such as lace, collars and jewellery both because their use was instantly connected to contemporary fashions and because artisans could express their own personal style and their knowledge of fashion easily through small accessories. But these were also precious items of dress. For example, it seems that a lace-trimmed linen kerchief was a very special item in the wardrobe of the tailor journeyman Niels Jensen. Being one of his finest items of adornment, it was placed over the tailor's eyes when he died.[25]

As highlighted in chapter two, especially collars and starched ruffs among other neckwear were popular accessories in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[26] As Michele Robinson shows in her recent study of caring for early modern linen in early modern Italy, ornate collars and ruffs owned by the artisan population made from fine linen and with lace and gold trimmings were 'unlikely to have been for everyday wear, but rather for special occasions and to communicate social and economic status within community or professional groups'.[27] For instance, the joiner journeyman Envoldt's Snedkersvend's possessions included a refined and decorative lace collar, while the prosperous stonemason Gert von Egenn and his wife had six flat collars trimmed with lace for fine occasions and another six without trimmings for everyday use.[28]

Ruffs first appear in Elsinore's artisan inventories in 1612, such as in the inventory of the master barber Frederik Ferdig. Even though his starched ruffs – eight in total – were no longer in high fashion, it appears that these types of starched ruffs were still used and considered novelties among artisans.[29] The fashion for ruffs was replaced first by a standing collar and later by falling collars in the seventeenth century.[30] 'Straight' collars were also favoured by artisans and shopkeepers in the first part of the seventeenth century. For instance, the journeyman miller Jacob Michelsen Fønbo owned one old ruff and two more expensive straight collars when his goods were inventoried in 1620.[31] This shows that some artisans might have been able to nav-

FIGURE 59 Anonymous. *Hans Heffner the tailor* (1558–1634). The house books of the Nuremberg Twelve Brothers Foundation. Stadtbibliothek im Bildungscampus Nürnberg, Amb. 317b.2°, f. 114r.

igate through changing dress fashions by fitting their collars to match the current fashions.

Wearing pinked and slashed garments was another way to show that one was aware of the latest trends and could afford novelties. Slashing fabrics was a decorative technique used to create a pattern of small or long cuts. Orig-

inally, slashing had a practical function because cuts made space for body movement. Increasingly, however, slashing was used as a decorative means to reveal the underlying fabric.[32] This practice was disapproved of by moralists because it was seen as both wasteful and risky. Johan Spangenberg, for instance, notes in the Danish version of *Marriage Order Mirror and Rules* (*Ecteskabs Ordens Speyel oc Regel*) that skilled master tailors 'cut, carve and prick garments' so that almost nothing is left'[33]

Artisan families seem to have favoured slashed or pinked doublets.[34] Pinked doublets were popular among tailors, who probably wore them, in part, to advertise their skill, as seen in the portrait of the tailor made by Moroni (figure 33).[35] Anders Poulsen, a tailor journeyman, for example, owned a pinked doublet made of *sidendort* silk, while the tailor Desmer Skrædder had a more practical yet novel pinked canvas doublet.[36] These doublets might have looked similar to the black pinked doublet worn by the tailor Hans Heffner who was living at the twelve brothers' convent in Nuremberg (figure 59). But other Danish artisans also had pinked doublets. The baker Kresten Hermansen owned a slashed black doublet made of light woollen *hundskot*; while the young gunsmith journeyman Rasmus Skuldt had a pinked or slashed doublet. Worn with other refined garments, such as breeches of *trip* or a hat, such garments stood out from the rest of his clothes, which were plain and practical: a pair of breeches, a modest doublet and a buff-coat made of leather.[37]

Novel aspirations in dress

Danish sumptuary laws of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, as we have seen, mainly regulated commoners' luxury spending, focusing on items that were traditionally regarded as sumptuous, such as silk fabrics, lavish trimmings and expensive jewellery. In 1618, a sumptuary law prohibited braids and cords of silk, gold or silver or garments with trimmings of these materials, for everyone apart from the nobility at court.[38] In February 1621, a sumptuary law prohibited burghers from wearing gemstones or pearls and trimming their clothes, ornate embroidered gold and silver braids, as well as using a variety of silks in caps and hats, cloaks and doublets.[39] Elaborate trimmings such as precious gold or silver cords, embroidery, pearl-embroidery, gold and pearls, were used on clothing to make it stand out, for example by the tinker Clemmed Feion, who owned a highly ornamented brown

suit made of broadcloth trimmed with gold braids and no less than 94 silver buttons.[40] Evidence from inventories show that a wide variety of trimmings – braids, borders, ribbons, lace, gallons, fringes and passementerie – both expensive and more affordable, were worn by artisans.[41] The inventory of Samuel Skomager, for instance, included two items of clothing ornamented with precious silk trimmings, a black skirt with a samite border (a heavy type of silk) and a women's doublet with a velvet braids, as well as a black doublet and a pair of breeches adorned with some narrow braids.[42]

Paula Hohti shows in her study of artisans and shopkeepers in Italy that people of more modest means often used a wide range of methods to update their ordinary dress to follow current fashions. For example, trims made of elegant materials allowed lower estates to put together the same materials and colours that were used by their social superiors.[43] The bowl painter Oluf Nielsen's mantle was for instance trimmed with grosgrain 'at the bottom'.[44] Silk trimmings such as braids and borders of velvet were applied to skirts and doublets. The carpenter Hans Laursen's wife Kirstine Hansdatter owned two rather costly trimmed garments, including a brown skirt with two rows of velvet borders and another red skirt with matching velvet borders.[45] The potter Henrich Pottemager and his wife Engel had a similar red skirt of English broadcloth trimmed with two rows of velvet borders, and a fine grosgrain doublet trimmed with borders and fringes. Such garments must have created an impressive visual effect when the person moved.[46]

The new fashion accessories and trimmings such as ribbons and braids that were increasingly available on the market were a concern for sumptuary legislators.[47] In February 1621, a preamble of a sumptuary law proclaimed that, due to 'new ideas', previous ordinances became weaker day by day, making the laws ineffective.[48] The laws, however, failed, because novelties of clothing, accessories and trimmings could be easily bought from the local trading stalls in Elsinore.

In Elsinore, both expensive and more affordable novel products and decorations were available. The goods on offer at the shop stall of the small trader Rasmus Baldtersen, who passed away in 1644, show that those who were interested in fashion could acquire novelties locally. He sold goods such as black, plain and yellow girdles, steel buttons, plain stockings in blue and flesh-colour, red and green silk stockings, plain mittens, knitted gloves, silk garters, plain and furry hatbands, and bushes of black, white, blue and red feathers.[49] The shop goods listed in the inventory of the deceased merchant's wife Anne Dirik Piper, included trims in numerous qualities, designs, col-

ours, materials and sizes, from fine and gilded passement work, black and brown silk ribbons, narrow and wide silk braids, and velvet borders to cheaper trimmings such as ribbons, borders, braided ribbons, garters and fringes of wool.[50] He also had cheap substitutes for luxuries and counterfeit items on offer, which made it possible for even modest artisans to decorate their outfits. Such items included passement work with glass beads and braids and lace with fake gold or silver.[51]

The laws were probably designed to limit the appearance and consumption of the sorts of men like the modest portrait painter Peder Schrøder. His goods, recorded in 1645, show that, even though he lived a modest life in a rented room, the painter aspired to create a conspicuous and innovative visual identity. He had, for example, a small 'allemodi' sword with a woollen sheath and a ferrule, as well as two weapons. He also owned a white bombazine doublet with a striking green lining, a pair of stockings embellished with garters, and garments decorated with 36 silk bows, possibly attached to his clothing in a similar way as the ribbons in the garments of the noblewoman Barbara Hansdatter Wittrup (figure 58).[52] While none of his clothing appeared to be very precious, paying attention to the novel features such as colourful linings, trimmings and arms, he created a look that made his stand out from the ordinary artisan apparel. In a similar way, the tailor journeyman Michel Michelsen made sure that his outfit attracted attention. He created an innovative look by dressing up in a matching grey suit – a pair of grey knitted stockings, a grey hat and a grey mantle ornamented with yellow cords.[53] Trimmings and small accessories such as these – ruffs, hats, fans, hair accessories, stockings, shoes, gloves, handkerchiefs, hats, headdresses and hair-ties – could be regularly changed and updated because they were more affordable than full garments.[54] Trimmings added a decorative effect to plain garments and made them more attractive. The miller Claus Hansen's yellow leather suit, for example, was trimmed with blue braids to enhance the look.[55] Others used trimmings on clothing in ways to obtain visual effects. A black skirt recorded among the goods of the passementerie maker Jacob Bild had three rows of cords, but a cloak included in the possession of Søren Kedelsmed, a boilersmith, and his wife, was adorned with cords all round.[56]

Applying new colours was another way to update appearance. The inventory of the tailor Mattis Mortensen and his wife Bendte, for example, mentioned a silk cap dyed 'fire yellow', an orange colour considered a novelty in the seventeenth century.[57] A range of woollen garments were dyed in 'flesh colour', 'liver brown' and 'silver colour'. The 'colour of dead leaves' – a yel-

low-brown – seems to have been especially popular. For instance, the coppersmith Gabriel Riis owned a trimmed suit, a doublet, and a pair of knitted stockings in 'the colour of dead leaves.'[58]

Knitted stockings were also a novelty and one of the great innovations of the sixteenth centuries. Knitted stockings of both wool and silk were precious items.[59] Even though many artisan inventories did not list knitted stockings, the few that are present reveal that at least some were able to follow the latest European fashions.[60] Niels Rasmussen, a carpenter, for example, had acquired before his death in 1622 a pair of knitted stockings from a man named Claus Wildshøtt.[61] Most knitted stockings owned by artisans were made of delicate wool. These might have looked similar to the reconstructed pair of woollen 'artisanal' knitted stockings made by volunteers within the Refashioning the Renaissance citizen science project at Aalto University in 2019–2022 (figure 60).[62] Knitted stockings were often colourful, which suggests that many of them were worn on festive occasions.[63] For instance, the furrier Aske Pedersen owned two pairs of knitted stockings, one of which was brown and the other a dark grey 'silver'. The relatively high-ranked royal barber Hans Schrøder, in turn, owned two pairs of new knitted stockings by his death in 1592, one grey and the other red. Such examples suggest that fine knitted stockings were rare; most artisan stockings in this period were traditional cloth or linen stockings that were sewn.[64] Trimmings such as garters, used to tie stockings, added value to the garments.[65] For instance, the wardrobe of the stonemason Baldvin Voltermacht contained two blue and two brown garters, while the tailor journeyman Niels Jensen owned two pairs of 'old' garters.[66]

FIGURE 60 A woollen stocking. Based on fragments from the National Museum of Denmark. Made by Helena Visapää. Photo Refashioning the Renaissance.

By incorporating accessories and trimmings into their wardrobes, artisans and their wives were able to update and modify their appearance according to personal preference and reveal their sense of fashion. Surviving visual evidence occasionally shows artisans dressed in the current fashion. For example, a seventeenth-century stained-glass window in the collection of Nordiska museet depicts a smith wearing a black suit trimmed with buttons, a black hat with a hatband, a ruff and a pair of red stockings (figure 61).[67]

FIGURE 61. A smith wearing a black suit and a range of accessories, seventeenth century. Stained glass. Photo Thomas Adolfsson, Nordiska museet.

Showing off fashion knowledge was important because it could underline a person's social status and successes in society. For instance, the shoemaker Augustinus Jørgensen, who was chosen first as an alderman for the shoemakers' guild in 1629 and then as a tax burger in 1630, could enhance his appearance by sewing silver buttons onto his brown suits and adding a ruff, a pair of knitted stockings and a black hat with a hatband to the outfit.[68] A tall hat was vital for a respectable appearance in public, especially if it came with a ornament.[69] Hat bands contributed to a man's favourable image and revealed his wealth and personal taste.[70] Most artisans' hatbands were plain and probably made of wool, but some artisans seem to have owned precious hat adornments.[71] For instance, the tailor journeyman Anders Poulsen had some pearls in one of his caskets. These had once decorated his hat.[72]

This show that artisans in Elsinore used a range of novelties; accessories, as well as a range of precious and more affordable trimmings to engage with the codes of fashion.

Imitation fine materials

Wearing heavy velvet, fine silk or damasks, gold and silver, or fine black woollen garments, as we have already seen, provided an important way to demonstrate one's wealth and social ambitions. However, if one could not afford real velvet or fine black broadcloth, an alternative was to use their imitative versions.[73]

FIGURE 62. Fragments; wool, linen; H x W: 23.5 x 21.6 cm (9 1/4 x 8 1/2 in.); Gift of John Pierpont Morgan; 1902-1-366-a,b.

Innovations in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century textile industry gave access to new and cheaper fabrics for a broader range of people. Traditionally mixed fabrics, such as camlet or borato made of silk and wool, were viewed as problematic because they could be easily misused to deceive the buyer. However, in the seventeenth century, mixed fabrics became more common as their cheaper price suited well the increasing demand for novelty and more rapid changes in fashion.[74] In comparison to fine-quality woollens and silks, such fabrics were relatively affordable. In addition, by imitating some of the qualities of silk, they could satisfy the consumer's demand for novelty.[75] For instance, the tailor's wife Bendte Mogendatter had a red camlet bodice that she wore with her cheap red bay skirt. Camlet was especially aspirational and versatile because it could be finished in a range of ways, including hot pressing and watering, which produced a moiré effect.[76] Artisans owned garments made of changeable borato. Being reflective of light, it imitated the effect of silk. For instance, the prosperous glovemaker Hans Smed Handskemager's wife Lisbet had worn a changeable borato women's doublet trimmed with braid.[77] Doublets, skirts and decorative aprons made of floral patterned wool or mixed fabrics, especially say and *fifskaft*, allowed artisans to wear textiles that imitated features of figured damasks.[78] For instance, the glazier Rasmus Jensen's wife Boeld Sørensdatter owned a doublet and a skirt of floral figured say.[79]

Aprons or linings of fine silk could also be substituted by thin woollen or mixed fabrics that had a similar light-reflective effects as silk.[80] When

the house of the joiner Jørgen Snedker was inventoried upon his wife Else Michelsdatter's death, the notary recorded a black and a brown apron made from a glazed thin woven wool twill (*rask*) which imitated the light-reflective properties of silk.[81] The wives of two artisans, a joiner named Søren Snedker and the baker Jens Otzing, both named Kirstine, had black cloaks lined with blue camlet and red coarse woollen cloth (*makej*).[82] Some had also lined their mantles and cloaks with woollen or mixed fabrics instead of precious silks.[83]

Some materials were designed to imitate velvet, used especially on garments such as breeches, sleeves and bodices. Mette Hansdatter, the wife of the shoemaker Christoffer Steffensen, had a fine green bodice made of *burkaffa* – a velvet imitation fabric made of a mix of wool and either hemp or linen.[84] The sample also contain a number of clothing items of *trip*, a type of mock velvet usually made of wool or a mix of wool, hemp or linen. It is possible that some of these were similar to a sixteenth or seventeenth-century fragment of embossed woollen velvet (made from wool and linen), today in the collection of the Cooper Hewitt Museum (figure 62). [85]

In comparison to velvet, this was a much cheaper fabric than velvet made of silk.[86] For instance, two *trip* caps owned by the painter Johan Luft were the cheapest items in his wardrobe, but these nonetheless resembled velvet caps.[87] Some also wore sleeves of mock velvet. The paver Oluf Nielsen had attached a pair a pair of old mock velvet *trip* sleeves to his cheap leather suit included in his wife Bendte Jensdatter's inventory.[88] Although trip was cheaper than silk velvet, items made of this material seem to be at times the most precious garments that artisans in Elsinore owned. One example is a pair of *trip* breeches owned by the locksmith Casper Rørich. The breeches, which he wore with his old silk atlas doublet, girdle and a hat decorated with a hat band, were by far the most expensive item of clothing in his wardrobe.[89] Such aspirational items allowed artisans to present themselves as refined and fashionable men, even though most of them had modest means. Mette Ibsdatter, the wife of the miller Peter Hansen, had a pair of slippers in *trip*. Velvet slippers were delicate and expensive items, but Mette's pair of trip slippers were cheaper than those pairs of extremely fine velvet slippers that were worn by the elites all over Europe.[90]

The presence of such cheaper imitative fabrics shows that, like lower social orders elsewhere in Europe, Danish artisans could increasingly connect with fashion by using imitative materials, such as *trip* or borato, that cost less but had similar qualities as their more expensive counterparts, such as fine silks or woollens.

Notes

1 Trimming such as lace, ribbons, cords and tassels dating back to the seventeenth century were also excavated in Copenhagen, Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger' p. 299.

2 Translated by the author. Quoting Molbech, 'Bidrag Til Kundskab', p. 420.

3 Full title: *En Kort Underuisning om Husholdning. Jeg vil holde Hus oc tage mig en Hustru.*

4 *En Kort*, no page number.

5 During the thirty years, many pamphlets were published by clergymen in Denmark, Stolpe, *Dagspressen i Danmark*, p. 63

6 Full title: *Om Fandens fire fornemligste Døttre, som ere: 1. Hoffmodighed, 2. Gierighed, 3. Løsactighed, oc 4. Druckenskab oc deris Børn oc Afffødde, som ere hengiffte Moxen i alle Statter i Werden en nyttig Underviisning aff Jacob Albretsøn.*

7 Albretsøn Horsens, *Om Fandens*, pp. 89-90. The author also claimed that no one will settle with their estate any longer, and even the 'peasants want to be citizens'.

8 Despite their modest look, a mirror located in one of the living rooms reveals that a degree of self-importance was important for the couple. The wardrobe included three cloaks made of black cloth, *firtråd,* and grosgrain and one black woollen mourning mantle, two black suits made of *fifskaft* and woollen cloth, a black doublet made from woollen cloth and a black skirt made from *rask.* 'i Fanndenns 4 Døttre i mk'; i Sort klede Kaabe i6 d';'i g: Firtraads kaabe forrit 5 dr';'i g: groff grønns kaabe 6 d';' i Sort Sørgge kappe i4 d';' i Sort Fiffshafftes Kledning 6 d';'i Sort klede Kledning buxser och trøy 8 d';'i g: Sort klede trøy 5 mk';'i g: Sort Rashis shiørt 2 d'; i g: feldfros hue 2 mk'; 6: g. Slette krauffuer i0 Tørkleder 3 ½ d';' Vdi Stuenn till gadenn... i g: Speigl 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Inventory of Anders Simmensen Bager's inventory, 10 December 1650, pp. 335 r – 335 v, 337 r.

9 '47 – 5 Rukraffuer a i mk - i d i mk';'48 – 7 Tørkleder a i mk - 7 mk';(50) - 7 Smaa g: slete kraffuer Tilsammen 28 sk';'i g: Kaftis kledning 6 d';'i Sort klede kappe 7 d';i g: sort Klede kappe 6 d';'i par g: brune Silcke strømper 4 d';'i Kaffis Contor Muts 6 mk';'i g: Maarshinds hue 5 mk';'(50) - 4 Nat Huer 2 med Knipling och 2 iche 2 mk';'2 g: filt hate med bond 6 mk';'i hatebond med lided Perler paa for i d';'2 gammell Fedderbushe for 3 mk';'i par g: sorte silcke Knebond iij mk';' 2 par g: sho Roser 20 sk': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Mester Jurgen von Breda Bardskærer's inventory, 18 August 1641, pp. 233v, 234v, 235 r – 236 v.

10 'i dunckell grøn kledekledning, bremet silcke Baand om Liffuet';'i Par grønne strich strømpper';'2 Grønne Tafftes Hoesebaand, med Sølff och guld knipling veed enden';'i par halffsleden Cordiuanshe Skoe med 2 Grønne silcke Rimmer';'2 Ruekrauffuer';'4 slette Krauffuer': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mickel Beckman Bardskærersvend's inventory, 27 June 1636, pp. 55 v -56 r. According to Chiara Buss the term dark green would be green with a tint of blue, whereas the common term green would have a brown hue, see Buss, 'Half-Tints', p. 176.

11 'i graa hatt med et vEgte sølff hatte baand for: RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mickel Beckman Bardskærersvend's inventory, 27 June 1636, p. 55 v. Adornments for hatbands could also be required locally. The shop goods of the small-trader Carsten Kock, recorded in 1617, included gold studs with fake diamonds, which could have been for a hat band, Olrik, *Borgerlige Hjem*, p 84.

12 'i gammell graa Klede kappe';'i g: Brun Klede Kledning';'i par forrit Handsker';'i Par suenrleders støffler';'i par Blaae Jern sporer';' i deggen': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mickel Beckman Bardskærersvend's inventory, 27 June 1636, p. 55 v.

13 Author's own translation. Quoting Molbech, 'Bidrag Til Kundskab', p. 420.

14 Stolpe, *Dagspressen i Danmark*, pp. 48-50.

15 Palladius, *En Formaning*, p. 17-18.

16 Enndt fandtz nogitt beslag, Till Itt Spansk belde ochsaa till att henge en Rappir vdi, Vergede 27 Lod Vrderit i3 ½ Dr';'Ennd enn Flouels Spannier, medt Feder vdj 3 dr': Inventory of Henrich Klensmed, 07.11.1592, RAHBSP: 1592-1598, pp. 130 v, 131 v. '2 spandshe guldhuffuer went 20 lost baad off guld Oc silcke, 10 lod huer 3 mk er 5 daler m': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Zacharias Plattenslager's inventory, 14 October 1612, p. 227 r.'i Degenn med enn Ittaliansh klinge iij dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Mester Hans Schrøder Bardskærer's inventory, 15 July 1592, p. 39 r.

17 This phenomenon was interpreted as a sign from God, as a way he could show his anger towards vanity and eagerness for dressing up. Often it was connected to the use of prideful, elaborate clothing such as high and extravagant head-pieces, or new fashions, but also to illustrate political tensions by talking negatively about the styles of different nations such as Sweden, against which Denmark fought many wars in this period, Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, pp. 48-49.

18 Translated by the author. Quoting Nielsen, *Sørgeligt Spectackel*, no page number. The shape of the baby's head was also compared to a burgonet, a type of iron military helmet. On 26 August 1628, a vicar in Nakskov Anders Pedersen Perlesticker described how the poor wife Marine, had given birth to two stillborn girls, one was normal, but the other was according to him deformed and odd. In describing the body of the baby he notes how: '[the] Legs from [the] Thighs and to [the] Feet was as the Boots, with large tucked up collars, and fairly red', Pedersen Perlesticker, *Underlig Oc Ofuernaturlig*, no page number.

19 Nielsen, *Sørgeligt Spectackel*, no page number.

20 In his life account, the Icelander gun shooter Jon Olafsson also reported of the birth (and death) of two deformed children in Copenhagen. At the children's funeral oration, the clergyman Menelaus Poulsen Næstved, mentioned above, accused the clergy of doing too little to prevent young women from dressing with excessive splendour and deemed it a misuse of God's gifts. He also compared the children's head abnormalities with fashion, claiming that the deformities resembled hair braids, tall caps or tall ruffs on the shoulders, Clausen and Rist, *Islænderen Jon*, pp. 29-30.

21 Monstrous appearances that differed from the norm were perceived as a rarity amongst people in the seventeenth century, Varnild, 'Offentlige', p. 148. In 1648 a boy was born with deformities in the town of Oppelstrup in Jutland. He lay unburied for three days where he was displayed for locals. The baby's head was also compared to an burgonet helmet, but it had a large and 'long tail or meaty top' and had long black curly hair: these traits were compared to presumptuous women's caps, neck hair of girls or French young men who wore Polish caps, his eyes was as clear as glass-buttons, Quoting Wulff, 'Småstykker', pp. 334-335.

22 Translated by the author. Quoting Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, pp. 48-49. A few months later another child, a girl, was born in Elsinore: she was described as monstrous and with a Swedish cap on the head; this illustrates the political tensions between Denmark and Sweden which fought many wars in this period, Pedersen, *Almue Undervisning* p. 80.

23 In 1603 (and 1615), a sumptuary law on weddings among the nobility banned brides from adorning their caps with jewels, Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp. 158, 443.

24 Povelssøn Nested, *Vandskabning*, no page number.

25 'Noch fannttes Itt Tørreklede med knipling om, som bleff Tagen Till at Legge offuer Ligenns øinn': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Niels Jensen Skræddersvend's inventory, 10 September 1638, p. 450 r. On artisanal clothing and lace, see Hohti, 'Monstrous Ruffs', pp. 84-86.

26 According to Troels Lund, all respectable Danish citizen or citizen's wives owned a ruff by the turn of the sixteenth century, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV* p. 49.

27 Robinson, 'Dirty Laundry', p. 12.

28 A letter shows that when King Christian IV ordered collars for his children in 1631, he specified that collars for everyday use should be without lace. Bricka and Fredericia, *Kong Christian 1626-1631*, p. 357. 'ij halskleder i Knipels Kraff 14 mk': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Envoldt Snedkersvend's inventory 2 August 1626, p. 219 r.'vj Slette kraffuer med kniplng ij dr';'vj Slette kraffuer uden knipling iiij mk': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Gert von Egen billedhugger and Levicke Jorisdaatter's inventory, 28 February 1612, p. 111 v.

29 '8 Ruffkraffr vij mk': RAHBSP: 1610-1612, Mester Frederich Ferdig Bardskærer's inventory, 9 July 1612, p. 175 r. In Denmark starched ruffs inspired by the Spanish fashions were in fashion from the second half of the sixteenth century to after the turn of the seventeenth century. Frøsig, 'I Fløjl' pp. 377-378, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 45-49. For instance, the only neckwear mentioned in connection with the wardrobe of the turner Hans Simmensen was two ruffs, which he wore with a suit made of bombazine from Bruges. '2 Rukrauer for 3 mk': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Hans Simensen Svarver's inventory, 21 April 1626, p. 167. The baker Jacob's Lazerus's possessions even mentioned 11 ruffs.'11 Ruekraffuer for 3 dr': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Jacob Lazerus Bager's inventory, 3 February 1620, p. 52 r. In 1650, however, a ruff listed among the possessions of the cobbler Jørgen Hansen, was already described as old and was probably considered unfashionable. 'i g: Ru kraffue 8 sk': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Jørgen Hansen Skoflikker's inventory, 2 March 1650, p. 140.

30 At least at court and among the elite, Frøsig, 'I Fløjl' pp. 377-378 , Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 45-49.

31 'i gam: Ruekraffuer iij ort';'2 slette Kraffuer' 8 mk': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Jacob Michelsen Fønbo's Møllersvend's inventory, 24 October, 1620, p. 263 v.

32 Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, p. 40, Aneer, *Skrädderi*, pp. 196-197

33 Translated by the author. Quoting Spangenberg, *Ecteskabs Ordens*, p. 119, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, p. 40. The tailor journeyman Søren Knudsen owned a tool possibly for making these decorations. 'Ett Jernnshohornn, me ij stycher Jern och en Pirckell i ort': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Søren Knudsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 2 September 1592, p. 91 r.

34 Pinked or slashed clothes are recorded in 3.7% of inventories.

35 Currie, 'Diversity and Design', pp. 162-163.

36 'i vdhuggen siden dortz Trøye': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Anders Poulsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 14 September 1616, p. 186 v. 'En Hvid Pickenerit lerffuits trøy ij daler': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Desmer Skrædder's inventory, 31 January 1596, p. 518 r.

37 'En sourtt Høudtskottn Trøy Pickeneritt': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Kresten Hermansen Bager's inventory, 27 June 1594, p. 373 r.'i Vdhuggen trøie ij dr';'i par trips buxer for 4 dr';'i Hatt for i dr';'i Ledder trøie i dr';'i par Ledder buxer ij dr';'i Lerkøllert for 2 dr': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Rasmus Skuldt Bøssemagersvend's inventory, 18 January 1620, p. 44 v.

38 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 536.

39 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, pp. 644-645, 666. The sumptuary law issued on 23 August 1621 still prohibited burghers from wearing ornate embroidered gold and silver braids.

40 According to a 1623 charter from the elite school Sorø Academy, only students (and not school children) could wear trimmings, but not silk trimmings, precious gold or silver cords, embroidery, pearl embroidery, gold, pearls or jewels. Lace was also forbidden, except as a trimming around a straight collar below a certain value, Secher, *Corpus 1622-1638*, pp. 129-130. 'i brun klede kledning med

guldsnorer med 7 ½ dotsin sølff knapper i8 d': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Clemmed Feion Kandestøber's inventory, 20 October 1647, p. 324 v. A fine gold cord was even applied on a red novel nightcap owned by the tailor journeyman Cornelis Thiesen. 'i Hat och i Røed Nathue med gulldsnorer i dr: m': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Cornelis Thiesen Skræddersvend's inventory, 30 August 1637, p. 329 r.

41 Trimmings were in general recorded in 36.7% of inventories. 6.1% of inventories include for instance textile trimmings made of silk, such as plain silk and velvet. However 16% contain trimmings of unspecified materials, which suggests they could be modest materials.

42 'I sort shiørt med en sammett bord 3 dr ';'i quindetrøie med fløyels snorer 3 dr';'i sort klede trøie och i par buxer med smalle snorer for 5 dr': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Samuel Skomager's inventory, 7 March 1620, p. 80 r. The tailor Desmer Skrædder owned at the time of his death in 1596 a bright tawny (*kolour de roi*), coloured doublet with light woollen sleeves ornamented with plain silk cord:'En Kollør de rois trøi, me Silcke Snører besatt me Ermer aff Hundiskoter iij dr': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Desmer Skrædder's inventory, 31 January 1596, p 518 r.

43 Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', pp. 161-162. The tailor Peter Folchersen's borat doublet was guarded with atlas.'i Borattis Trøi Vdlagt med Atlash 3 dr': RAHBSP: 1648-1650, Peter Folchersen Skrædder's inventory, 5 June 1650, p. 215 r. The goldsmith Bastian Krammer owned two black mantles, one edged with taffeta and one edged with floral patterned say at the bottom.'i soertt klede kappe med dobbelt Tafft for nedder for 40 dr';' i soert Klede Kappe med Blommit sayenn for nedder for i2 dlr': RAHBSP: 1625-1627, Bastian Krammer Guldsmed's inventory, 4 July 1627, p. 431 r.

44 'i kappe med Bay och groffgrøn for neder io dr': RAHBSP: 1621-1625. Oluf Nielsen Skålefarver's inventory, 9 March 1620, pp. 360 v.

45 'i Brunt shiortt med 2 rad fløyels snorer for 7 dr':'Noch i Shiørtt med 2 Fløyels snorer som er ochsaa Røtt for 8 dr':RAHBS,1619-1621, Hans Laursen Tømmermand and Kirsten Hansdatter's inventory, 6 December 1619, p. 35 v.

46 'i Røt Engiels Skyrt med ij Rade floegels border iiij dr';'i groffgrins Trøye med Frandser oc Border iij dr': RAHBSP: 1583-1592, Henrich Pottemager and Engel's inventory, 4 April 1592, p. 286 r.

47 Caracausi, 'Fashion, Capitalism' p. 50.

48 Secher, *Corpus 1596-1621*, p. 643. Consequently, the new extensive sumptuary law published in 1624 (repeated in 1643) dedicated an entire section to 'new ideas', Secher, *Corpus 1622-1638*, pp. 163-164, Secher, *Corpus 1639-1650*, p. 290.

49 For an overview of his shop goods see RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Rasmus Baldtersen's inventory, 12 November 1644, pp. 1r-1v, 3 r-3v, 4v, 5r.

50 Olrik, *Borgerlige Hjem* pp. 130-131. A doublet worn by Mette Ibsdatter, wife of the miller Peder Møller, was made of black English cloth and adorned with fringes. 'En sourt engelst Trøi, medt frendtzer': Peder Hansen Møller's inventory, 21 August 1600, p. 244 v. A similar black doublet made from black English broadcloth and trimmed with fringes was included in the inventory of the joiner Henrik Rømer together with some other women's garments. 'En sourt engelst Trøi, medt frendtzer': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Henrik Rømer Snedker's inventory, 18 February 1594, p. 347 v. On Fringes: Cumming, Cunnington, and Cunnington, *The Dictionary*, pp. 115-116.

51 Olrik, *Borgerlige Hjem*, pp. 130-131. Several artisans' inventories include references to items of dress that were made of imitative materials, illustrating that imitation products were distributed and worn across society. Besides the novel and aspirational barber journeyman Mickel Beckman, who owned a hatband with fake silver, the goldsmith Hans Ditmark left 'work for a hat ribbon,

for a court servant, [which] is of brass when he died'. 'End Findis noget Arbeid till enn Hoffdrenges hatte band, er aff Messings': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Hans Ditmarsk Guldsmed's inventory, 18 May 1599, p. 59 r. Iron buttons could also imitate fine silver buttons. The goods of the tailor couple Mattis Mortensen and Bendte Mogensdatter included 12 iron buttons. 'i døsin Jernknapper a 3 sk - 2i mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mattis Mortensen skrædder and Bendte Mogensdatter's inventory, 18 October 1636, p. 98 r.

52 'i liden Allemodi degn med i Dugshe och Vlden bolg';'2 vabner';'Noch Fandtis en Huid Bommersies Trøy Vnder Forrit med grønt';'i par kne bond';'3 Dotsin graa silcke Sløffer': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Peder Hansen Schrøder Portrætmaler's inventory, 16 July 1645, pp. 117 r -118 v, Eller, *Borgere Og Billedkunsten*, p. 62.

53 'i graa kledis kledninng 8 dr';'i par graa strixstrømper i dr';' i graa Hatt ij mk';'i graa kappe bremmet med gull snorer for adt 8 dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Michel Michelsen Skræddersvend's inventory 18 August 1638, p. 421 v.

54 Hohti, 'Dress, Dissemination', p. 163, Welch, 'Art on the Edge', pp. 242-243, 256.

55 'i gull Ledder Trøye med blaa Snorer': RAHBSP: 1639-1644, Claus Hansen Møller's inventory, 15 May 1641, p. 222 v.

56 'i sort skiørt med 3 raad snorer 4 dr': RAHBSP:1621-1625, Jacob Bild Possementmager's inventory, 22 October 1623. p. 283 r.'i slett kaabe med en snorer Runden Omkrinng i4 dl: RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Søren Kedelsmed and wife's inventory. 30 November 1629, p. 244 r.

57 Buss, 'Half-Tints', p. 173. 'i Opskaaren quinde huffue aff Brandgultt Tafft 20 sk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mattis Mortensen Skrædder and Bendte Mogensdatter's inventory, 18 October 1636, p. 98 r.

58 'i Fillemort klede Kledninig med pometke paa';'i Fillemort Trøy';'i par fillemort strix strømper': RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Gabriel Riis Kobbersmed's inventory, 20 April 1646, p. 197 r.

59 Belfanti and Giusberti, 'Clothing' 361, Hohti, 'Knitting History', no page number, Belfanti, 'Fashion'. For instance, a pair of silk stockings was pawned in Elsinore in 1627 for 10 *daler*, making the pawn value of the stockings almost as high as the price of an ox, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, p. 74.

60 3.7% of inventories include knitted stockings. That these were desired items are also visible in sumptuary legislation. In 1626, Christian IV banned wives of commoners and artisan sin the duchy of Schleswig-Holstein from wearing knitted stockings, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, p. 76.

61 "Bortshyldig Gielld...Claus vildshøtt... Noch for et par strix strømper 3 ort 6 sk': RAHBSP: 1621-1625, Niels Rasmussen Tømmermand's inventory, 4 April 1622, p. 103 r.

62 For more on the Knitted Stockings Citizens Science Project see: https://refashioningrenaissance.eu/historical-reconstructions/knitted-stockings/.

63 Hohti, 'Knitting History', no page number.

64 'i Par brune strex strømppe 2 mk';'i Par strex strømper Sølffare i mk': RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Aske Pedersen Buntmager, 11 October 1633, p. 151 r. 'To par Nøi knøttede Strømper et Par Rhøde, ett Par grae, Vrd, for 3 Daler': RAHBSP: 1592-1598, Mester Hans Schrøder Bardskærer's inventory, 15 July 1592, p. 38 v.

65 Caracausi, 'Fashion, Capitalism', p. 50.

66 '2 blaa hosebaand 2 mk';'2 brune hoesebaannd i mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Baldvin Voltermacht Stenhugger and Tore Jensdatter's inventory, 23 January 1638, p. 355 r. '2 par g: Strømper och knæbaand 7 mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Niels Jensen Skræddersvend's inventory, 10 September 1638, p. 450 r.

67 The shoemaker Knud Skomager appeared almost like the smith depicted in the stained glass wearing a brown coat trimmed with

buttons, a pair of finger gloves, collars, a pair of spurs and a black hat. 'i brun kledis kledning med 27 smaa søllffknappe';'i slett krauffue';'i par finger Handshe';'i par knap sporer';'i sortt Hatt': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Knud Skomager's inventory, 22 October 1637, p. 341 v. Adornments such as these added value to the appearance of one's plain clothes. The modest journeyman painter Hans Desmer owned, according to his inventory, just one old grey outfit, one linen shirt and one ruff, but he could use his accessories to appear innovative, including a sword with a girdle, a pair of boots with spurs, a pair of old white shoes and a grey hat. 'i g: graa kledning i dr';'i schiorte 8 sk':'i Slett krauffuer 20 sk';'i degenn med gehenng 6 mk';' i par støffler med sporer 2 mk';' i par g: Huide schoe 7 mk':' i graa hatt 3 mk: RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Hans Desmer Malersvend's inventory, 31 October,1637, p. 344 r.

68 Bill-Jessen and Hvass, *Liv Og Død*, p. 117. Rigsarkivet, Helsingør Skomagerlav, Lavsbog: 1623-1802, p. 25 r. 'i sortt hatt med baannd i dr;';i brun klede kledннig 8 dr';'(25) 3 ~~sh~~ Rukraffuer ij dr';'i par Strichstrømper 3 mk: RAHBSP:1635-1639, Augustinus Jørgensen Skomager's inventory, 16 May 1637, pp. 289 r – 290 r.

69 Awais-Dean, *Bejewelled*, p. 67. On hat adornments in general see pp. 46-67, According to Lund, hats were a sixteenth century novelty. In 1593 and 1600 tall hats, were for instance, banned for the clergy, Lund, *Dagligt Liv IV*, pp. 137-142, 145-151. Hatbands could be bought from traders or commissioned from specialised artisans. The pearl embroiderer Jacob Perlestikker's inventory noted two unfinished hatbands that were likely commissions from customers. '2 gamle vferdige hattebaand i ort': RAHBSP:1621-1625, Jacob N. Perlestikker's inventory, 13 March 1624, p. 365 r.

70 The shoemaker Willum Michelsen's hat was adorned with a seemingly plain hatband, but its value was higher than garments such as his old grosgrain doublet, a black leather doublet, a pair of breeches of woollen cloth and his outfit likely used for the town guard. 'i Hat med Hattebaand 3 dr 2 mk';' i gamel groffgrens Throie 2 dr';'i Sort Leder Trøie 3 dr';'i par graae klede buxer 3 dr';' i Munster Kledning Trøie och buxer 3 dr': RAHBSP: 1628-1631, Willom Michelsen Skomager's inventory, 15 April 1629, p 179 r.

71 4.8% of inventories record hatbands. They belonged to barbers, millers, shoemakers, tailors, butchers, goldsmiths and locksmiths.

72 'Nogen Perler haffe verit ett smøge i en Hatt': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Anders Poulsen Skræddersvend's inventory, 14 September 1616, p. 186 v.

73 Guerzoni, 'Product Imitation' p. 3.

74 Hayward, 'Textiles', p. 25.

75 Molá, *The Silk* p. 152.

76 Hayward, *Rich Apparel* p. 68-69. 'i Røtt baj quinde Shiørtt med itt Røt Cammelotz snørliff 2 dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Mattis Mortensen skrædder nd Bendte Mogensdatter's inventory, 18 October 1636, p. 98 v.

77 'i Vedershins boratts Trøie med en gallon paa 2 dr': RAHBSP:1635-1639, Hans Smed and Lisbet Hans Smed's inventory, 4 April 1637, p. 264 v.

78 It is possibly that they were printed. The trading goods of the small trader Rasmus Baldtersen included some printed fire yellow and black *makej*. RAHBSP: 1644-1648, Rasmus Baldtersen's inventory, 12 November 1644, pp. p. 2 v, 3 v.

79 'i Quinde trøie aff blomitt saien for 3 mk';'i g: blommit saienns shiørtt 2 dlr': RAHBSP: 1632-1635, Rasmus Jensen Glarmester's inventory 29 October 1633, p. 159 r.

80 Out of the colours that are specified, aprons of unspecified materials, wool and mixed fibres were mainly black as wells as black floral patterned (33.3%), green (26.7%) and brown (16.7%).

81 'i Brunt Rashis forreklede 1 mk';'i sort Rashs forreklede 2 mk': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Else

Michelsdatter's 12 January 1639, p. 499 r. On *rask*, Aneer, 'Skrädderi', p. 216, Andersson, 'Foreign Seductions', p. 21, Pajur, *Dress Matters*, p. 249.

82 'En sort Engelst Kabe med blatt Kamlodt Vnder for 10 daller': AHBS, 1592-1598, Peder Snedker's inventory, 30 May 1592, p. 9 r. 'Enn Sourt engelst Kaabe medt Rødt Machier for under': RAHBSP: 1599-1603, Kirstine Mouritsdatter's inventory, 29 May 1600, p. 187 v.

83 Wool linings made up 7.7%, and mixed fabrics 3.3% of all linings. Mantles were often lined with woollens such as bay, *rask* and *hundskot* or mixed fabrics such as *trip*. Cloaks were lined with mixed fabrics such as *firtråd, makaj* and camlet and woollens such as *rask*.

84 'i grønt burkaffa snøreliff i dr': RAHBSP: 1635-1639, Christoffer Steffensen Skomager and Mette Hansdatter's inventory, 22 September 1636, p. 82 r.

85 The trading goods of Anne Dirik Pipers contained some woollen trip, Olrik, *Borgerlige Hjem*, p. 129 v. On imitation velvets, see Pitman, 'Imitation in Artisan', Colenbrander, 'Woollen Velvets'

86 Breeches (36.4%), sleeves (34.1%) and bodices or vests (13.6%) in particular were made of trip.

87 'ij gammele Tripshuver i ort 4 sk': RAHBSP: 1612-1619, Johan Lufft Maler's inventory, 8 December 1618, p. 314 r.

88 'i Ledertroye och i par gammell buxer me gammell trips Ermer i dl': RAHBSP:1628-1631, Bendte Jensdatter's inventory 28 February 1628, p. 30 r.

89 'i Par trips buxer 8 dr';'i gammell atlash Trøie i dr';'i Liffgiortell i ort';'i Nye Hatt med baand ij daller': RAHBSP: 1619-1621, Casper Rørich Klejnsmed's inventory, 9 April 1620, p. 144 v.

90 'Ett par Triptøffler': Peder Hansen Møller's inventory, 21 August 1600, p. 244 v.

CONCLUSION

How did ordinary people dress in the early modern period? Fashion and the culture of clothing has been little studied in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Denmark, especially beyond the privileged rich. By exploring close to three hundred household inventories from the trading town of Elsinore that belonged to artisans such as butchers, barbers, bakers, smiths, shoemakers and tailors and their wives from 1550 to 1650, this study has shown that ordinary artisans did not only engage with fashion introduced to the Danish markets in the 1550s, but their wardrobes were often remarkably rich and varied. Dress and decisions on what to wear shaped and were shaped by many aspects of the daily lives of the artisan individual and artisanal families. It has shown that the concern for one's appearance began at home and extended far into the public space, where it was a tool for lower levels to reveal and communicate their social and cultural knowledge, personal taste and attitudes towards life and local society.

The investigation of the garments and materials of clothing shows that Danish artisans and their wives owned a variety of garments that were typical of the period across social classes. The most common items included linen shirts and shifts, waistcoats, doublets, breeches, skirts, hose and stockings, mantles and cloaks, as well as a range of accessories and small details such as collars, scarves, partlets, hats, caps and aprons. Apart from undergarments, collars, caps and aprons – usually made of linen – most artisan clothing was made of wool, often dyed black, brown, red, grey or blue. A range of mixed fabrics, leather and fur were also relatively common. Surprisingly, the data reveal that artisans and small shopkeepers also owned a range of clothing made of silk, including heavy and expensive fabrics such as silk velvet, caffa and grosgrain that were regulated and forbidden by sumptuary law.

Although garments of mixed fabrics or common wool were cheaper than those made of silk, all textiles and garments were extremely expensive. Due to their high cost, clothing items were circulated on the second-hand market and as heirlooms until they were completely worn out. This is visible throughout the documents: artisan inventories often included items that were described as 'old', 'old and worn-out' or 'half-worn'.

The clothes included in people's inventories show that, by the time of their death, artisans had been able to source more or less the garments they needed. However, a close investigation of the artisanal wardrobe in the sixteenth and seventeenth century demonstrates that artisans were at least sometimes able to buy new clothing and choose the type and style of the fabrics that were sewn into garments. Inventories indicate that some artisans

were also able to pay for tailors' services, either for commissioning new items or repairing and remodelling old ones. Household inventories sometimes mentioned payments for tailors. The Elsinore furrier Laurids Mogensen, for example, owed two local tailors a substantial sum of money of more than 53 *daler* for work.

The high number of clothing items and the variety of garments and materials of the artisanal wardrobe show that clothing in general was a matter of importance for artisans and their wives. However, an investigation of the ways in which clothes were acquired and circulated suggests that clothing was not necessarily used only for dressing up, but also served as an economic asset and aspect of family wealth which could be given to family members or friends or used to pay debts, obtain credit or cover the funeral costs after the owner's death. Clothing, therefore, not only held cultural meaning for artisanal families but also had financial significance and served economic functions.

While cultural and financial reasons were motivations for artisans to dress well, clothing was also a matter of health and hygiene and keeping warm in everyday life. Here, practicality and durability mattered. Wearing linen underwear, collars, caps and aprons in order to maintain personal hygiene also provided a way for artisans to construct a respectable appearance in public. The women of artisan households often made and spun linen at home, laundered and bleached their linen, and put effort into maintaining and mending it in order to make sure that their linen looked clean and well-maintained, even if it was worn and old. But the clothes also had to protect from cold and damp weather. Most artisan clothes were made of multifunctional materials suited to both cold and warm weather. Adding extra layers and linings transformed summer garments into winter wear. They were also probably bulky enough so that they were suited for physical work, providing free movement of the body during work at the workshop or in the house.

While practicality was one of the primary concerns in artisan's everyday clothing, garments were also essential in fashioning a professional and social identity among the artisanal ranks and the local society, as illustrated in chapter six. Young journeymen in particular used clothes and fine accessories to secure their future and careers. The inventory of the tailor journeymen Cornelis Thiesen, for example, indicates that he did not only dress in fine clothes and adornments but grooming was also essential for the young man. In addition to his clothing; a black trimmed suit, a pair of black knitted stockings

and a green suit, he owned a mirror case, brush and comb. The social and cultural importance of fashioning a visual identity was especially important among court artisans – skilled and successful artisans – who aspired to show off their professional success, wealth and status. But it was also important for ordinary artisans and their families to appear well-groomed and wear practical yet good-quality garments when they appeared in public, for instance, at the marketplace, the workshop or the shop, in order to promote virtues of trustworthiness and good reputation. Wearing respectable garments also helped to create trustworthiness in business and attract new and better-off customers. Clothing also allowed ordinary artisan men and women to communicate civility and social status through clothing, expressing their rank as proud citizens. For instance, wearing either black woollen garments that associated the wearer with good moral virtues and honesty or carrying arms or muster clothes that showed one was a member of the town guard were visual expressions of being a devoted citizen. The choice of clothing in daily life, therefore, mattered in social, professional and commercial contexts.

Many artisans shared the aspiration to dress well. This was expressed through clothing and accessories made of luxurious silk, expensive fur, and gold or silver jewellery and ornamentation. Such items of high cost and value were usually reserved for public and festive occasions. Since silk, fur and jewellery were often associated with the elites, wearing such dress items was a marker of an artisanal wealth (real or imagined), social ambitions and aspirations to move beyond the lower ranks in town society. The copperbeater Hans Kobberslager's suit, for example, made of a red figured floral velvet with silver passement and worn with a red mantle with five rows of silver passement, effectively disguised his artisanal background when he wore the garment in public. Those who could not afford entire garments made of precious materials could combine practicality with a touch of luxury by adding small ornamental silk trims or velvet bands to their plain doublets or skirts, or by wearing fine accessories such as fur caps with their ordinary cloaks. Jewellery and dress adornments expressed wealth, status and personal taste, and some of these carried medicinal or magical meanings as well.

Since fine clothing was associated with wealth and status, it was important to appear well-dressed in public, especially on festive occasions such as weddings and at weekly church sermons where artisans and their wives were surrounded by the community, relatives, friends and neighbours. As this thesis has argued in chapter eight, weddings were one of the most important occasions to demonstrate wealth, status and good morals through one's garb.

New clothes and jewellery acquired for the daughters of artisan families' wedding ceremonies marked the bride's transition from a girl to a married woman and affirmed the family's status. As their inventories show, artisan men and their wives were willing to take a risk in order to look good in church and even challenge the moral norms and sumptuary laws which defined what an honest and morally good person should wear and look like. Going to church on Sundays was another important public event. Since clothes demonstrated one's good morals and beliefs to the religious community, clothes worn for church, according to the moralist Hans Michel Moscheroschl's book *Insomnis Cura Parentum*, should be better and cleaner than everyday clothes; yet one should leave out 'the Devil's pride in dress'. Dressing in modest but still fine and respectable clothing at church was an expression of being both a good citizen and a loyal and faithful Protestant. Visual statements in church, such as painted epitaphs and tombstones depicting artisanal men and women in their best clothes reveal that clothes communicated family status and honour as well as success and achievements in life. Clothing continued to have a meaning in the afterlife. This indicates that artisans and their wives transformed their moral values into their clothing in order to conform to norms of dress prescribed for instance by religion.

Incorporating new fashions and current styles in dress, such as adding new types of accessories and trimmings that were introduced in dress in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, allowed men and women of artisan rank to demonstrate their knowledge of dress fashions. As shown in chapter nine, by wearing hats with hatbands, knitted stockings, ruffs and collars, and lace trimmings, or by decorating their garments with pinking or slashing, artisans challenged the morals on fashion, dictated both by sumptuary legislators and clergymen who banned new innovations and condemned vanity and novel fashions. According to the personal accounts of the butcher Tue Jensen, some of these morals were familiar to artisans. This was reflected in the way in which the butcher spoke negatively about certain kinds of dress items. However, incorporating decorative accessories, trimmings and ribbons in their outfits – whether made of expensive or affordable materials – made it possible for even modest artisans and their wives to update and personalise their garments and engage with Europeans fashions. For modest artisans, wearing mock velvet that mimicked the qualities of precious velvet and provided a more affordable and durable way of achieving the desired plush effect, for example, was probably as effective a fashion statement as wearing lustrous silk. The ownership of both a broad range of imitative materials

such as mock velvet as well as a wide variety of new fashion manufactures, from ribbons to ruffs, suggests that Elsinore's artisans and their wives had the ambition and desire to dress well and according to contemporary fashion.

In conclusion, this study has shown that ordinary artisans and small shopkeepers and their wives living in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Elsinore were not indifferent to nor excluded from wearing contemporary European dress fashions. While the majority of the clothing articles found in wardrobes of artisans and their wives were functional, suited for work and weather, their clothing culture was not poor. The study reveals that most people owned at least one or two fine garments and several items of clean linens so they could appear respectable in public occasions. The most prosperous artisans demonstrated the ability and interest to dress well, as well as cultural awareness of fashion in a way that is not usually associated with the lower levels.

The key findings of this study, therefore, broadens the perception of how ordinary people such as butchers, smiths, tailors and barbers and their wives transformed their wealth, status, beliefs and fashion knowledge into their own personal wardrobes in early modern Denmark. This thesis demonstrates that even though Denmark was on the fringes of Europe, fashion was an integral part of the society and became accessible for most social groups in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

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Glossary[1]

Arask – a woollen fabric from Arras in Flanders.

Atlask / Atlas – a shiny silk fabric woven in a satin weave.

Baj / Bay – a coarse and light woven fabric.

Blår / Tow – a coarse linen fibre made from linen waste. Also tow yarn and tow linen.

Bommesi / Bombazine – a mixed fabric or half-silk made of cotton, wool, linen, silk or hair.

Brix Bommesi – a bombazine possibly from Bruges.

Borat / Borato – a mixed fabric made of wool, hair or silk. Also, silk borato and woollen borato.

Bukser / Breeches – legwear for men. Often worn with stockings.

Burenkaf – a woollen plush fabric or mock velvet, likely made of linen, hemp and wool.

Hue / Cap – headwear worn by both genders made of cloth, velvet and fur.

Damask / Damask – a costly silk textile, heavily regulated in sumptuary laws of the time.

Trøje / Doublet – a tight-fitting upper body garment worn by men and women.

Engelsk / English cloth – a broadcloth of English origin.

Fifskaft – a five-ply fabric in an atlas or satin weave, likely a mixed fabric or half-silk made of wool or silk. The fabric could be patterned.

F*ilt* / F*e*lt – a dense non-woven fabric made of wool, hairs of fur that are united without weaving but by heat, moisture or pressure.

Firtråd – a four ply-woollen or mixed fabric. Also 'double' *firtråd.*

Fløjel / Velvet – a costly fabric of silk with a soft pile.

Foerdug – a woollen fabric for linings.

Forklæde / Apron – a garment worn outside the clothing as a protective layer or as adornment.

Frise / Fryce – a coarse woollen fabric.

Gråværk / Squirrel – the winter fur of northern squirrels. Dark on the back and lighter on the belly.

Grovgrøn / Grosgrain – a coarse threaded fabric of wool, silk or hair or a mixed fabric. Also silk grosgrain, wool grosgrain and Turkish grosgrain.

Halsklæde – a partlet or scarf made from linen.

Halsklud – a partlet or scarf made from linen.

Hermelin / Ermine – the fur of the stoat with light brown or yellow-brown fur, that turns white in winter.

Herrensay – a fine-quality woollen serge fabric.

Hør / Flax – a plant fibre made from flax. Also flax yarn and flax linen.

Hverken – a mixed fabric made of wool and linen.

Hundskot – a woollen fabric from the town of Hondscoote in Flanders. Also, Hundskot say.

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1 The glossary is based on online dictionaries, such as Kalkar's dictionary which deals with the period 1300–1700 and Colding's dictionary from 1626, as well as a range of secondary works, such as, Andersson, 'Foreign', Andersson, 'Swedish Burghers", Aneer, *Skrädderi För Kungligt*; Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance*, Cumming, Cunnington, and Cunnington, *The Dictionary*; Dahl, 'Dressing', Degn, *Rig Og Fattig*, Frøsig, 'I Fløjl', Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, Hayward, 'Textiles', Larsen, *Studier II*, Lorentzen, *Folks Tøj*, Monnas, *Renaissance Velvets*; Munro, 'Three Centuries Of', Olrik, *Borgerlige Hjem*, Pajur, *Dress Matters*, Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger', Sturtewagen, 'All Together', Zander-Seidel, *Textiler Hausrat*.

*Kaffa /*Caffa – a costly silk fabric with a pile like velvet. Could be floral patterned, also caffa velvet, silk caffa.

Kammelot / Camlet – a mixed fabric of goat and silk or wool. It could also be made of wool or silk. Camlet was finished with hot pressing and watering, which produced a moiré effect. Also silk camlet and wool camlet.

Kappe / Mantle – a coat with sleeves or a semi-circular or circular overgarment made of woollen broadcloth.

Kartekke / Carteck – a cheap and light silk-like taffeta.

Kirsej / Kersey – a lightweight coarser woollen cloth that was fulled. Likely imported from Kersey in Suffolk, England.

Kjortel – a garment worn by men and women. When worn by men it is a tunic or a coat and when worn by women a gown made of a joined bodice and skirt, or from four parts of cloth in full length.

Klæde / Cloth – a plain broadcloth. Also English, Scottish and Bohemian cloth.

Klædning / Suit – a matching outfit.

Knipling – lace, made of white linen thread. Most often used as a trimming.

Køllert / Buff-coat – a garment often worn under amour or used for riding or hunting. Often made of leather but could also be made of velvet.

Kjol – a tunic or coat, likely like the garment *kjortel*.

Krave / Collar – neckwear made of linen. Also, shirt collars, straight collars and ruffled collars.

Kronrask - a fine wool fabric. See also *rask*.

Kåbe / Cloak – an overgarment worn by women. Often made from black woollen cloth.

Livstykke – a garment that could be a sleeveless waistcoat or a bodice.

Liv – a bodice.

Makaj – a mediocre or coarse woollen fabric.

Nattrøje / Waistcoat – a garment worn under the doublet or bodice or over a linen shirt or smock. Could be knitted.

Oplød – a short shirt-like garment, worn as underwear, with or without sleeves made of linen, worn with a linen skirt.

Perpetuan / Perpetuana – a woollen twill fabric that could have a glossy surface.

Rask – a coarser light woollen fabric that could be glazed.

Sammari / Zimarra – a loose-fitting long or short gown or frock.

Sajen / Say – a fine and thin woollen twill fabric.

Samet / Samite – a heavy silk velvet fabric.

Skjorte /Shirt – a garment worn as underwear often made from linen.

Skørt / Skirt – a garment worn by women covering the lower part of the body.

Snøreliv – a bodice.

Sidendort – a low-quality light taffeta silk.

Silke / Silk – an exclusive fabric made of the filaments of the cocoons of the silkworm.

Skellert – a thin changeant silk.

Særk / Shift – an undergarment made of linen.

Taft / Taffeta – a thin silk fabric. Also 'double' taffeta.

Tersenelle / Terzenel – a silk fabric of coarser quality.

Tørklæde – a kerchief or a neckerchief.

Tiromtej – a mixed fabric made of wool and linen.

Trip – a mock velvet made of wool, hemp or linen.

Uldenskjorte / Woollen waistcoat – a colourful garment worn for warmth under the doublet or bodice or over a linen shirt or smock.

Vadmel / Wadmol – a durable coarse woollen cloth. Also Icelandic wadmol.