Costume Albums in Charles V’s Habsburg Empire (1528-1549)

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Abstract

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This dissertation addresses the development of the costume book in the rapidly globalising world of the sixteenth century, concentrating on two costume albums produced in the second quarter of the sixteenth century and whose owners and creators shared close ties to the imperial court of Habsburg ruler and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519-56). These richly illustrated albums were among the first known and surviving attempts to make sense of cultural difference by compiling visual information about regional clothing customs in and around Europe and further abroad. Their method of codifying sartorial customs through representative costume figures became a prevailing method through which to examine human difference on an increasingly vast and complex geo-political stage.

Yet to have been satisfactorily investigated is the significant role that Habsburg networks and relationships played in shaping these costume albums and their ethnographic interests. The Trachtenbuch, or costume album, of Augsburg portrait medallist Christoph Weiditz (c. 1500-59) is a primary example, constituting a work of keen ethnographic observation which depicts customs and cultures largely witnessed first-hand when the artist travelled to Charles V’s Spanish court in 1529.¹ Of equal interest is the second primary example of this dissertation, the costume album of Christoph von Sternsee (d. 1560) the captain of Charles V’s German Guard.² Sternsee’s album, introduced to scholarship for the first time in this study, illustrates diverse

¹ “Trachtenbuch/ Christoph Weiditz”, 1530-40. Hs. 22474, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
² “Costumes of the time of Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and King of Spain, of costumes of all nations of the world, circa 1540”, c. 1548-49. MS Cat. 2025, Museo Stibbert, Florence.
cultures and costumes encountered across the imperial Habsburg lands and its neighbours.

The emperor’s far-reaching sovereignty propelled Christoph Weiditz and Christoph von Sternsee across the Habsburg lands as they each attempted to benefit their careers and gain prestige from imperial patronage. Their costume albums testify to an empire that encouraged interactions between ambassadors, agents, merchants, military officers, and courtly elite of diverse cultural backgrounds, against a backdrop of shared political, religious, commercial, and military interests. This milieu facilitated the transfer of knowledge and developed methods of visual communication and human representation that were shared and reciprocally recognised.
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Preface

This dissertation was inspired by the research I undertook at the University of Auckland, New Zealand for my Masters thesis in Art History. That dissertation, entitled *Dressing Kinship and Allegiance in Sixteenth-Century European Costume Books* (2013), concentrated on the printed costume books of Hans Weigel (Nuremberg, 1577) and Cesare Vecellio (Venice, 1590). My research was much indebted to Ulinka Rublack’s *Dressing Up* (2010); it was therefore much to my delight when she agreed to supervise my doctoral thesis at the University of Cambridge. My doctoral research shifted in focus, and I began analysing hand-illustrated costume manuscripts from the first half of the sixteenth century to investigate how this fascinating genre emerged.

This dissertation has not been without its limitations. Unfortunately, I was not granted permission by the Museo Stibbert, Florence to see the original Sternsee album folios in person. My two research trips to the Museo Stibbert resulted in gaining access only to digitalised photos of the work, from which extensive notes were taken. Moreover, I was only permitted a small number of the museum’s image files to store for research purposes. The reader will note that this dissertation presents many more images pertaining to Sternsee’s costume album that have been taken from the Madrid MS copy.

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for Faculty of History Degree Committee.

*Katherine Louise Bond, September 2017.*
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I would like to thank Simona di Marco, curator at the Museo Stibbert, Florence for her on-going patience and help. The staff at the Lipperheidesche Kostümbibliothek in Berlin were particularly helpful assisting me to access their exceptional collection of costume books and manuscripts. I very much appreciate their willingness to let me photograph their treasures. Thank you to Johannes Pietsch at the Bavarian National Museum in Munich for showing me around their textile collection, and also to the staff at the Bavarian state library.

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Glossary

Adargas: Iberian heart-shaped shields, used in Game of Canes tournaments

Almalafa: Iberian women’s mantle of Moorish origin

Alpargatas: Iberian rope sandals

Capa castillana: A male cloak associated with Castile, Spain

Capellar: Iberian mantle of Moorish origin

Capuz: A long, Spanish cloak worn by men

Chapins: Chopines, platform clogs

Convivencia: The so-called ‘co-existence’ period of Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Iberia prior to 1492

Cuēitl: Women’s skirt in Mexico and central America

Cuera: Spanish leather cuirass worn over the doublet

Deutschen Trabanten: The emperor’s German guard force

Dolman: A man’s jacket of Hungarian origin

Einspänniger: ‘one-horse’ soldiers in Augsburg, part of the civic militia

Falie: An enveloping Flemish mantle of heavy cloth, worn by women

Gollar: A German woman’s partlet with a round edge, worn un-tucked

Hidalgo: A member of the lower nobility of Spain

Huik: A woman’s mantle worn in the Low Countries with a beak-like peak

Huipil: A woman’s sleeved blouse of Mexico and central America

Juego de Cañas: Game of Canes, a tournament game in Iberia, of Moorish origin

Laibach: The German name for Ljubljana

Landsknechte: mercenary soldiers of the German-speaking lands

Mantilla: Spanish women’s long mantle

Marlota: An Iberian tunic of Moorish origin

Maxtlal: Men’s breechcloth in Mexico and central America

Mente: An overcoat of Hungarian origin

Nahua: The indigenous peoples of Mexico and other parts of central America, speakers of the Nahuatl language group
New Christian: A recent convert to Christianity in Spain (formerly of the Jewish or Muslim faith)

New Spain: The Spanish colonial territory that replaced the conquered Aztec empire

Old Christian: A Spaniard with Christian heritage stretching back to the Convivencia era

Patolli: A board game popular in the Aztec empire

Quetzaltonatiuh: an Aztec war standard

Schaube: German men’s overcoat or tabard

Sombrero: A Spanish brimmed hat

Sturz: Women’s cloth hoods, worn in the German-speaking lands

Toca de camino: an Iberian cloth turban

Tocados: Spanish women’s headdresses, often formed of twisted cloth

Tocado de Papos: A Spanish woman’s headdress with large mounds of puckered cloth covering the ears

Tilmatli: Men’s mantles worn by Nahua in central America

Tlachtli: A ball-game popular in the Aztec empire

Tranzado: A Spanish woman’s headdress consisting of a cloth-wrapped hair-braid

Tupinambá: a southern American indigenous group who inhabited coastal Brazil

Türkenhilfe: financial assistance to suppress Ottoman advances into Europe

Verdugado: A petticoat stiffened with horizontal hoops of reeds

Zaragüelles: Light-weight cloth trousers worn by men and women in Iberia, of Moorish origin

Zöpfe: Padded and dyed artificial hair-braids, popular in Germany
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159. ‘The Sternsee Jewel’ [CAROLVS.V.STERNSEE.IN.TE.DOMINE. SPERAVI. (Charles V to Sternsee. In Thee O Lord have I trusted)], (gold, enamel, ruby, and emerald, diameter 1.6 inches). Inv. Nr. AF.2854, British Museum, London.
160. Tomb monument with the portraits and heraldry of Christoph von Sternsee & wife, Kunera van Ropta. Metslawier Reformed Church, Friesland.
161. Anonymous, Portrait of Carel van Sternsee (oil on panel, 58 x 67 cm), 1600. Museum Martena, Franeker.

CHAPTER 3

162. Albrecht Dürer, Rhinoceros (woodcut, 21.3 x 29.5 cm), 1515.
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166. ‘Thus they go in India with their arms two thousand miles away, where gold is found in the water’, from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 7.
169. Tupinambá feather mantle, (feather, cotton, vegetable fibres, glass beads, 117 x 108 x 10 cm), 16th century. Inv. Nr. 71.1917.3.83 D, Musee de Quai Branly, Paris.
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172. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, ‘Indian group’ from The Triumph of Maximilian I (woodcut, 273 x 375 mm), 1516-18.
173. ‘In this manner the Indian women go. Not more than one of them has come out’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 1.
174. ‘This is also the Indian manner, how they have brought wood jugs with them out of which they drink’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 5.
175. ‘Thus the Indians go, have costly jewels let into their face, can take them out when they want to and can put them in again’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 2.
176. ‘This is also an Indian man’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 3.
177. ‘This is also an Indian, a nobleman of their kind’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 4.
178. Thus they go in India with their arms two thousand miles away, where gold is found in the water’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 7.
179. ‘This is an Indian, he lies on his back and throws a block of wood around on his heels, is as long as a man and as heavy, he has on the earth a leather under him, is as big as a calf skin’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 8.
180. ‘Thus he throws the wood above him with his feet’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 6.
181. ‘Thus he again catches the wood on his feet as he has thrown it up’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 9.
182. In such manner the Indians play with the blown-up ball with the seat without moving their hands from the ground; they have also a hard leather before their seat in order that it shall receive the blow from the ball, they have also such leather gloves on’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 10-11.
183. ‘These are Indian people whom Ferdinand Cortez brought to His Imperial Majesty from India and they have played before His Imperial Majesty with wood and ball’, ‘With their fingers they gamble like the Italians’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 12-13.
184. Parrot-feather fan, early colonial Mexico, ca. 1540. Cat.no. 43,281, (Ambras coll.), Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.
185. ‘Moctezuma’s messengers give first gifts to Cortés’ from the Florentine Codex, compiled by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, ca. 1577. Laurentian Library, Florence, Mediceo Palatino 218-20.
188. ‘New World Indian’ (Detail of above).
189. Mexican feather-work shield, ca. 1520. Cat.no. 43,380 (Ambras coll., ex Pedro de la Gasca coll.), Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna.
190. ‘Feather artisans at work’ from De Sahagún, Fray Bernadino, “Historia general de las cosas de nueva España” (the Florentine Codex), ca. 1577. Laurentian Library, Florence, Mediceo Palatino 218-20.
191. ‘Pre-Columbian Tupi cloak’, fifteenth century. AAM 05783, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.
192. ‘Indian family group’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 61.
193. ‘Men from “Newly-found India’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 17v.
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197. Tilmatl mantle from “Kostüme der Männer und Frauen in Augsburg und Nürnberg, Deutschland, Europa, Orient und Afrika”. Augsburg, 4th quarter 16th C. BSB Cod. Icon 341, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
199. ‘Teenage boys receive training in the military or priesthood; teenage girl gets married’ from the Codex Mendoza.
201. ‘Mother teaching daughter to weave’ from the Codex Mendoza.
202. Tribute scene, from the Florentine Codex.
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204. Feather artisan dying feathers, from the Florentine Codex.
205. Women wearing a striped huipil, from the Codex Tudela, New Spain, 1530-54. Compiled by Fray Andrés de Olmos, Cod. 70400. Museo de América, Madrid.
206. Male wearing a tilmatl, from the Codex Tudela.
207. Male wearing a tilmatl from the “Codex Ríos”, ca. 1566. Codex Vaticanus 3738 A, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican, fol. 60v.
208. ‘Tenochtitlan as Great Venice’ (woodcut) from the broadsheet Newe zeittung von demlande das die Sponier funden haben ym 1521 iare genant Iucatan, Erfurt: Maler, 1522.

CHAPTER 4

209. ‘In this manner the women go about the kingdom of Marcilia (?) in Seville, the city with 50 thousand houses’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 60.
210. ‘In this manner the they take their wives out riding in Vollodoliff behind them’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 24.
211. ‘This was the manner of the noble German clothing some years ago’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 87-88.
213. ‘Thus the owner of the ship sits on a railing on a ship in Spain when they voyage across the sea’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 84.
214. ‘In this manner the women of the kingdom of Valencia go walking in the streets’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 109.
215. ‘Spanish nobles dancing’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols.2v-3r.
216. ‘In this manner the Moriscos dance with each other, snapping with fingers at the same time’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 107-08.
217. ‘Spanish soldiers’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 23.
219. Pedro Garcia Benabarre, figure of Salome (detail) from the *Banquet of Herod*, ca. 1480.
220. ‘In this manner they bring fresh water in Barcelona to the ships and galleys so that it may be done more rapidly when they provision the ships or otherwise need water’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 73-74.
221. ‘Thus the beadle goes about’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 61.
222. ‘This is also a policeman, one of the pious lads who deserve all honour’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 63.
223. ‘This is a Spanish nobleman who is riding horseback’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 47.
224. ‘In this manner the citizens in Valencia ride with their wives in their parks’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 64.
225. ‘In this manner one conducts the noblewomen when they mourn in Catalonia’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 43.
226. ‘This is a Castilian peasant as he goes into a city to market or rides upon an ass’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 19.
227. ‘This here is a preganther or crier in Castille, who goes ahead and cries when an evildoer is punished’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 29.
228. ‘In this manner the peasants go about with their arms in Biscay’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 24.
230. Anon. German School, ‘A Black Landsknecht and Bystanders’ (detail) from *Civic Procession* (oil on panel, 92.3 x 51.7 cm), c. 1510-20. The National Trust, Waddesdon Manor, Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire.
231. ‘Spanish citizens and peasants’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 5v.
232. ‘Spanish couple riding’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 4r.
233. ‘Threshing corn in Spain’ [“rich peasants” in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 6v-7r.
234. Enea Vico, ‘Castilian villager’ from engraved series of the Costumes of Spain, *ca. 1577*
237. ‘In this manner the women in the kingdom of Castile go about the streets and to the church/ Senora’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 23.
238. ‘This is how the rich women in Barcelona or in the Kingdom of Catalonia look’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 71-72.
239. ‘In this manner the Catalans conduct their wives across country’ fols. 51-52.
240. ‘Thus the women in Castile wail and also violently cry out wherefore he died, for they certainly were beautiful and rich and pious’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 27.
243. ‘This shows how Morisco women and maidens look from a rear view in the kingdom of Granada’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 96.
244. ‘The Morisco women look like this in the streets of Granada’, ‘In this manner the noblewomen go about the streets in Granada’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 97-98.
245. ‘Game of Canes rider’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 8.
246. ‘In this manner the Morisco maidens are dressed in their house’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 103.
247. Doña Teresa Petri’s chopines, (Cordovan embossed leather, cork), ca. 1187. Cistercian Monastery of Santa Maria la Real de Gradefes, Leon.
249. Leather chopines (leather, height 21 cm), Milan or Spain, before 1540. PA 495, Sammlungen Schloss Ambras, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.
250. ‘Women in Spain upon their chopines’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 12.
251. Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, A Spanish Courtesan on a Balcony (etching, 247 x 173 mm), 1545. Graphische Sammlungen Albertina, Vienna.
252. ‘In this manner the women in Galicia go to the spinning house and across the country’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 18.
253. ‘In this manner they also go about in the mountains of Navarre’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 111.
254. ‘Thus they cleanse the grain in Spain’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 40.
255. ‘In this manner the women mourn together in Zaragoza’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 16.
256. ‘In this manner the Morisco women dress at home in Granada’, ‘In this manner the Morisco women dress in their house with their children’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 99-100.
257. ‘In this manner the slaves carry fresh water to the galleys’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 53-54.
258. ‘In this manner the Morisco goes with wife and child across country or in his garden in the city of Granada, for they have many beautiful gardens with all kinds of unusual fruit’, ‘In this manner the woman travels with her husband and child across country’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 105-06.
259. Waldburg-Wolfgang copyist, exposed Morisco woman.
260. ‘Spanish citizens and peasants’, ‘Spanish labourers harvesting corn in fur tunics’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 5v-6r.
262. ‘Women and baby in Spain threshing corn’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 7v-8r.
263. ‘Portrait of Don Gonzalo de las Casas with his father’ from the “Codex Yanhuitlán”. Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Mexico, fol. 4r.
265. ‘Woman from Saint Pée-sur-Nivelle’ from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, RESERVE OB-55-4.
266. ‘Woman from Saint Jean-de-Luz’ from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, c. 1550. RESERVE 4-OB-22, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
267. ‘Woman from Saint-Vincent’ from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, RESERVE 4-OB-22.
268. ‘Woman of San Sebastián’ from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, RESERVE 4-OB-22.
269. ‘In this manner the old women dress in Santander in Biscay’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 117.
270. ‘In this manner the women also go about in the kingdom of Navarre or Pamplona’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 110.
271. ‘Mourning women in Pamplona’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 13r.
272. ‘Women of Astorga’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 10v.
273. ‘Women of Astorga’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 10r.
274. ‘Men and women in Biscay’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 11v.
276. ‘This is the common costume (manier) on the frontier and mountain in Biscay (going alone?)’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 112.
277. ‘In this manner the women go in the mountains in Biscay’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 115.
278. ‘In this manner they also go about on the frontier in the mountains in Biscay’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 130.
279. ‘In this manner the women in Biscay go about on holidays in the house and on the streets’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 120.
280. ‘In this manner the Flemish women go to church’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 150.
281. ‘Young women in the Netherlands’ [‘Thus the maids go dress’d in manteels to church, and other places’ in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 25r.
282. ‘In this manner in some parts the Friesian women are dressed’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 154.
283. ‘Women in Flanders’ [‘Thus go dress’d, the women in Holland, when they go to church, or on a visit’ in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 27r.
284. ‘Clothes in Utrecht’ [‘Thus the women in Holland to a funeral, wearing white kerchiefs under their caps, and a bit of black cloth, wherein sticks an iron plate, from which hangs down a black tail’ in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 28v.
285. ‘Clothes in Utrecht’ [‘Thus dress the women at Amsterdam, and the girls in Waterland, wear their hair parted at the forehead, under a kerchief’ in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 29r.
288. ‘Noblewomen in the Netherlands’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 24r.
289. Enea Vico, ‘Woman of Flanders’ from Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus, ca. 1557.
290. François Deserps, ‘Maiden of Flanders’ from Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de présent en usage tant ès pays d’Europe, 1562.
293. Lucas van Valkenborch, Winter (oil on canvas, 121.5 x 191.3 cm), 1595. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.
295. ‘Ancient fashions noblemen and women in Friesland’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 52v-53r.
296. ‘Wedding party in Friesland’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 31v.
298. ‘Women in Friesland’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 52r.
299. ‘Frisian noblewoman’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, ca. 1561, fol. 170.
300. ‘Rear-view of a Frisian woman and her accoutrements’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, fol. 174.
301. ‘Frisian woman of middle rank’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, fol. 175.
302. ‘Frisian peasant woman carrying a basket’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, fol. 177.
303. ‘Frisian peasants’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, fol. 180.
305. ‘Historical dress of nobles in Germany’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 36v-37r.
306. ‘German nobles at a dance’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 37v-38r.
308. ‘Women in Germany’ [‘Thus go dress’d, the married, and unmarried women in Bavaria’ in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 38v.
309. ‘Bridal party in Nuremberg’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 49r.
310. ‘Patrician women in Augsburg’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 54r.
311. ‘Men and women of Cologne’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 43r-44v.
312. ‘Women in Swabia’ [‘Thus go dress’d, the girls and the housemaids at Regensburg’ in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 39v.
313. Zöpfe or artificial hair-braid, fifteenth/sixteenth century. Allgäuer Landesmuseum, Kempten.
315. ‘Patrician maiden and servant of Nuremberg’ in Sigmund Heldt’s “Abconterfaitting allerlei ordenspersonen in iren klaidüngen…”, Nuremberg, 1560-1580.
316. ‘Patrician maiden and servant of Nuremberg’ in Sigmund Heldt’s “Abconterfaitting allerlei ordenspersonen in iren klaidüngen…”.
317. ‘Rural peasant woman in Nuremberg countryside’ in Sigmund Heldt’s “Abconterfaitting allerlei ordenspersonen in iren klaidüngen…”.
318. ‘Nuns in white’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 46v.
319. ‘Noble nuns of Cologne’ from the “Stibbert Ms. Sternsee Album”, fol. 120.
321. ‘Men and women of Croatia’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 57v.
322. ‘Men of Hungary’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 57r.
327. ‘Noble couple of Croatia’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 58r.
328. ‘Nobles of Krain’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 55v
Introduction

…it is ordained that different nations should have different customs … such is the will of God, the ruler of all things, that each people should have its own special characteristics.¹

Sigmund Feyerabend, 1586

This dissertation investigates two costume albums composed during the reign of the Habsburg emperor Charles V (1500-58).² It demonstrates that the stimulus behind the albums’ production were the careers and travels of their owners, Christoph Weiditz (c. 1500-59) and Christoph von Sternsee (d. 1560), both of whom entered the company of the itinerant emperor and were exposed to his diverse foreign subjects. The illustrated contents of these hand-painted manuscripts registered the dress customs and cultural mores of populations spanning Europe and further abroad. The works share this feature with the printed costume book, a popular genre in the second half of the sixteenth century that assembled emblematic costume figures representative of national and civic identities from around the globe. The costume albums of Weiditz and Sternsee constitute important predecessors to this genre, emblematized by Vecellio’s well-known Degli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo (Venice, 1590) for example (fig. 1). However, their function and method of composition are remarkably different, having emerged from the personal adventures, encounters, and aspirations of their owners. Intimate and enigmatic works, their historical importance within the visual culture of

² “Trachtenbuch/ Christoph Weiditz”, 1530-40. Hs. 22474, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Hereafter cited as “Trachtenbuch”. The GNM have applied the dating 1530-40 to the album due to the notion that Weiditz most likely produced the carefully painted illustrations in the Trachtenbuch several years after his travels of 1529-32.; “Costumes of the time of Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and King of Spain, of costumes of all nations of the world, circa 1540”, c. 1548-49. MS Cat. 2025, Museo Stibbert, Florence. Hereafter cited as “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”.
imperial Habsburg Europe cannot be overstated. They not only picture this vibrant cultural landscape, but actively shaped it, having been fashioned from collaborative relationships that spanned the networks of empire.

Over the past decade, costume books have attracted the attention of cultural historians, art historians, and comparative literature scholars to explore the social, cultural, and political resonances of clothing. As a subject, they have been integral to the reinvigoration of dress history, which has in recent years shrugged off the reductive tendencies of traditional ‘costume’ histories. Such studies are no longer content to merely chart the fashionable silhouettes of the elite, and instead look beneath the surface of garments to interrogate what was truly at stake for dressers of all social backgrounds.

Essential studies by Ulinka Rublack and Evelyn Welch, for instance, have stressed that clothing and bodily adornment represent expressive, aesthetic displays that more than rival other forms of cultural,

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artistic production in the hearts and minds of contemporaries. Dress and dressing up are feats of human crafting and form manipulation, and must therefore be defined as art. Such research propels dress to the forefront of cultural history to explore human identity and creative expression. Then, as now, clothing traded in a strong emotional currency that dealt with how people understood themselves and others. Sixteenth-century contemporaries were versed in interpreting the vocabularies of colour, texture, and form wielded by dressers from different social stations and cultures. The popularity of costume books – which gave rise to the production of at least twelve publications between 1550 and 1600 – exemplifies the period’s confidence in the social capital of clothing and its capacity to express outwardly kinship, allegiance, and identity.

Embarking on this research, it was immediately notable that the Weiditz and Sternsee costume albums were participating in a flourishing, German-centred visual culture that witnessed a burst of pictorial books and manuscripts covering new and exciting secular subjects. The demand for lavish, custom-made manuscripts remained as popular as ever in the age of developing print technologies, while artists and cultural commentators in the German lands received and responded visually to news of the ‘New World’. Pan-European networks opened the world up to Germany which, although cultivating its own distinct visual expressions, enabled the spread of knowledge and ideas as well as physical objects and people. It became apparent that the Weiditz and Sternsee costume albums had something crucial in common: that the cultural experiences of the works’ owners were attributable to networks forged in Charles V’s empire. Considering that the albums represent two of the earliest known and surviving examples of the costume book genre, the importance of this commonality appeared to have been hitherto overlooked. At present, scholars agree that costume books developed during an era of increased global exploration, nation-building, religious reform, and

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7 These vibrant products included fencing and tournament books, as well as books of plants, anatomy, genealogy, heraldry, and even horse livery, among other subjects.
political conflict, seeking to comprehend and stabilise human difference by fixing characteristic appearances into structured, consumable guidebooks. My dissertation sets out to understand the specific role that the Habsburg empire played in the development of the costume book and its ethnographic interests. It stresses that imperial relationships spanning Europe led to a period of increased transnational exchange and cross-cultural encounter. Christoph Weiditz and Christoph von Sternsee both profited from this milieu and desired to capture these experiences on paper.

These findings contrast with a widely repeated interpretation of a handful of printed costume book from the second half of the sixteenth century that calls attention to their nationalist and moralising agendas. The costume books of François Deserps (Paris, 1562), Hans Weigel (Nuremberg, 1577), and Cesare Vecellio (Venice, 1590) for instance, have been convincingly argued by Ann Rosalind Jones, Margaret Rosenthal, Eugenia Paulicelli, and Rublack to have been protective of the clothing habits of their countrymen, reproachful of fluctuating fashion trends, and weary of the influence of foreign styles, even while delighting in the allure of dress. My research repositions the narrative of costume books’ emergence and purpose. In the period before the Habsburg empire was divided into its Spanish and Austrian branches in Philip II’s reign (r. 1556-98), cooperative, transnational relationships were forged between foreign nationals from Spain, the Netherlands, and the German lands for instance, which opened the minds of imperial servants to the opportunities of cultural exchange and the benefits of acquiring knowledge about foreign populations.

Embedded in the cultural landscape of sixteenth-century Habsburg Europe, the costume albums of Christoph Weiditz and Christoph von Sternsee document dress habits with a liveliness and authenticity exceeding that of many of their later peers in print. This is largely down to the manner of their formation which, as chapters 1 and 2 examine, depended on first-hand travel and cultural encounter sustained through the networks of empire. The hegemony of Charles V’s extensive empire and its networks of foreign agents, courtiers, soldiers, and bureaucrats elicited the exchange of ethnographic knowledge and encouraged new thinking about people’s relationship to their homeland. Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s albums consequently pioneered the close, comparative
observation of cultural difference among a diverse range of populations, taking dress as the subject of scrutiny. Their methods will be discussed further in chapters 3 and 4, in which I investigate how certain populations within Charles’s domains were characterised through dress forms. Colonial activities in the Americas brought the ‘New World’ into sharp focus for keen ethnographic observers, and chapter 3 will analyse the pictorial strategies used by the albums to deal with new cultural knowledge. The final chapter returns to the emperor’s European subjects and their diverse sartorial characteristics. Comparing ‘Spanish’, ‘Netherlandish’, and ‘German’ costume figures, the chapter theorises the hybridity of sartorial forms as well as the albums’ receptiveness to a range of clothing styles and communities at the peripheries of empire.

CHRISTOPH WEIDITZ AND THE TRACHTENBUCH

In 1927 Theodor Hampe, director of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, identified Christoph Weiditz as the hand behind their collection’s vivid, illustrated manuscript featuring regional costumes and customary activities that had lain unnoticed in the department of prints and manuscripts for nearly sixty years.8 Containing 154 folios of pictures largely situated in Spain but encountering human subjects from Portugal, Italy, France, the Netherlands, and Germany, among other places, Hampe connected the album with Weiditz’s travel itinerary during the years 1529-32, concluding that the album’s illustrated figure of a man in sailor’s apparel and named ‘Stoffel weyditz’ was the artist behind the gouache drawings (fig. 2). Georg Habich had in 1913 identified Christoph Weiditz as a skilled maker of portrait medals.9 Unearthed archival documents and a trail of medals produced for patrons across Europe led Habich to determine that Weiditz made a journey to the Spanish imperial court around 1529 to gain audience with the emperor Charles V in order to settle a dispute with the Augsburg goldsmiths’ guild.

Clues from the costume album suggest that he accompanied the famed armorer Kolman Helmschmid (c. 1471-1532), a long-term favourite of the Habsburgs, before joining the imperial entourage in Castile. The album’s famed depictions of Nahua, people of the indigenous populations that inhabited pre-columbian Mexico, have attracted especial scholarly attention, constituting unique, early observations of native Americans on the European continent. While the album’s relationship to Weiditz’s travels between 1529 and 1532 has been irrefutably demonstrated, it is important to stress that the work is not a sketchbook of sights seen in situ. It was drafted in workshop conditions and has steadily worked ink lines, carefully-applied colour, and delicately embossed areas of silver and gold leaf. But despite its retrospective production, sketches produced ‘in the field’ surely informed the final bound product that survives.

Scholarly debate around Weiditz’s album has tended to focus on its overarching purpose and the nature of its contents, leading to different notions about how the album ought to be categorised. Widely questioned is the extent to which dress represents the work’s primary focus. The album is widely known as Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch (costume book), a title that was first applied by Hampe when he brought the work to public attention. Positioning his study next to the printed costume book genre catalogued by Heinrich Doege in 1903, Hampe claimed to introduce Weiditz’s album to the ‘literature of the elder costume-works’ which, he argued, could ‘be designated the earliest of these’.\(^\text{10}\) The album shares with later costume

books a palpable interest in the clothing of diverse populations as well as a compositional layout that isolates figures against a blank background and pairs them with brief, descriptions. However, there is consensus in current scholarship that the work does more than demonstrate clothing cultures and maintained broader ambitions. It has become, for instance, a visual source popularly used by scholars to examine the culture and society of early sixteenth-century Spain. Albrecht Classen and Dennis Conrad have preferred to interpret Weiditz’s album in relation to travel literature and position it within the known corpus of contemporary travel accounts to Iberia. An ‘indirect representative of travelogue’ as well as a ‘work of art’, Classen argues that the album contributes to the existing body of travel reports that document the cross-fertilization of German and Spanish cultures in the late medieval and early-modern periods. Conrad stresses that it is this aspect of Weiditz’s album that sets it apart from traditional costume books. As a mirror to Weiditz’s personal experience of the world he argues, the album retains a degree of authenticity and goes ‘beyond the mere retrieval of historical costume (stereo)types’.

However, most travelogues concerning Iberia in the early sixteenth century concentrated on major cities, royal personalities, holy sites, and architecture. Weiditz’s central focus was people. His contemporary Johannes Lange – a court physician who in 1526 travelled with the Elector Palatine Frederick II to the imperial residence in Granada – was fascinated by quite different subjects. Lange’s travel diary draws attention to the size of towns and cities he passed through, local resources and economies, and notable

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12 Classen, “Spain and Germany in the Late Middle Ages,” 398.


14 Classen, “Spain and Germany in the Late Middle Ages,” 405.
man-made and natural landmarks like churches and rivers. Weiditz’s eye rather homed in on the daily life of people from all social classes that he observed on the roads, in the cities, and out in the countryside. It was not just the appearance of various folk that stood out, but also the tools, animals, and methods employed for everyday tasks taking place in rural and urban settings. He depicted how corn was threshed in rural Castile; how boats were loaded with horses in Barcelona; and how bread was kneaded in Zeeland (figs. 3-5). He captured interesting characters around Spain such as the crippled shepherd of Castile, penitent self-flagellants, and those who collected donations to pay the ransom of prisoners captured by Ottoman pirates (figs. 6-8). His album shows too, how criminals were punished, how citizens mourned their friends, and the way people transported themselves around the country and city. As Rublack has stressed, the manner in which people wore their clothes while performing tasks and social identities was central to Weiditz’s depictions of cultural custom. The album’s scope represents

Figure 3: In this manner they thresh corn in Spain, they draw a board back and forth across it on which stones are laid, from the "Trachtenbuch", fols. 37-38.

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16 Rublack, Dressing Up, 188.
subjects that struck the artist’s fancy, and surprisingly only three clerics appear across the entire work.

The *Trachtenbuch* is less taxonomical in its approach to the clothing of diverse populations than later costume books, and the artist’s attention was above all captured by the people he witnessed on his travels. Not simply an illustrated travelogue however, Weiditz included a handful of costume figures from places he never travelled to, indicating that his principal interest was to compare the differences in clothing styles from one place to the next. Nevertheless, as Andrea Satterfield notes, many of his subjects are depicted in motion. I would add that the figures and their activities are represented outdoors without exception. This gives

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the impression of an observing artist recording local sights that piqued his curiosity as he passed through the towns and countryside of Spain and other territories. Subsequently, the majority of Weiditz’s illustrations exude a naturalism that points to first-hand observation and have been lauded for their ethnographic nuance. Gabriele Mentges argues that Weiditz showed his human subjects to be complex and varied, in opposition to the often stereotyped characters observable in later costume books.\textsuperscript{18} Indeed, his depictions of particular populations were not summarised by one homogenous ‘look’, as Rublack points out, but in a variety of clothing worn by members of different ages and social conditions.\textsuperscript{19} The appreciation that cultural variedness existed across Europe’s mixed ethnic groups reveals Weiditz’s sensitivity towards his subjects. This included his portrayal of the lower orders of society, including rural peasants, the urban poor, criminals, and slaves, who are neither ridiculed nor de-civilised but incorporated into functional communities and shown as part of the social fabric.\textsuperscript{20}

Weiditz’s images had an enduring life of their own and were copied, recycled, and dispersed by many later printed and painted costume series. Sternsee’s album contains the earliest imitations after his imagery to my knowledge, followed by Enea Vico’s printed costume series of \textit{ca. 1557}.\textsuperscript{21} There are at least two examples which copy the entire corpus of the \textit{Trachtenbuch}. One of these was commissioned in Munich near the end of the century by Hans Römer, the son of a Habsburg servant in the employ of Henry III of Nassau-Dillenberg, one of Charles V’s closest

\textsuperscript{18} Mentges, “Pour une approche renouvelée des recueils de costumes de la Renaissance,” 12.
\textsuperscript{19} Rublack, \textit{Dressing Up}, 190.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., 191.
\textsuperscript{21} Enea Vico, \textit{Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus} (\textit{ca. 1557}), an unpublished series containing ninety-eight unbound plates.
11 allies and advisors. This work goes so far as to co-opt Weiditz’s journey and even pretends the illustrated scenes represent the observations of Römer the Elder. In Charles V’s Habsburg empire, it would appear, travel and cultural knowledge maintained a distinct cachet appealing to aspirational imperial associates.

CHRISTOPH VON STERNSEE AND HIS COSTUME ALBUM

In the collections of the Museo Stibbert, Florence and the Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid are housed two near-identical versions of a hand-painted costume album that demonstrate a marked influence from Christoph Weiditz’s earlier work. Unlike Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch however, these manuscripts have not attracted the attention of scholars. Only Teresa Mezquita Mesa, a curator at the Spanish National Library, has published on their collection’s remarkable costume album. Unaware of the existence of the Stibbert MS however, Mezquita Mesa was unable to solve further clues about the work’s ownership and authorship. Analysing the two manuscripts together, my research has discovered that the patron of the enigmatic work was Christoph von Sternsee, the guard captain of Charles V’s Deutschen Trabanten or imperial German Guard. I have additionally uncovered visual clues and biographical evidence pointing to the involvement of the Dutch artist Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (c. 1500-59) whose work was a source for the project’s visual content. Sternsee and Vermeyen both enjoyed careers in the service of the Habsburgs and consequently the costume album is inextricably woven into the life and times of Charles V.

The Stibbert MS, which represents the original version of Sternsee’s costume album, consists of 179 surviving vellum folios that were rebound into a larger volume

22 “Kostümbuch – Kopie nach dem Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz”, c. 1600. BSB Cod. Icon 342, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
of costume drawings by the English collector Richard Bull (1725-1805). The work compiles knowledge of diverse dress practices while also devoting folios to historical events, imperial acts, heraldic arms, flora, and fauna. The Madrid MS is a reduced, contemporary copy. The Stibbert MS appears to represent Sternsee’s original commission for several reasons that will be expanded on in chapter 2, but it is sufficient to note here that the final pages of the album contain Sternsee’s coat of arms, pages lacking from the Madrid copy. The Stibbert MS has not survived in its complete, original format either. Its folios have been trimmed and framed with black borders and it lacks a handful of illustrations still preserved in the Madrid copy. Due to having been permitted only a small number of digital image files from the Museo Stibbert, this dissertation will incorporate many images from the Madrid MS copy to demonstrate Sternsee’s original album.

Despite its modification by previous owners including Bull, whose penchant for extra illustration is well documented, the Stibbert MS appears to retain a close resemblance to Sternsee’s costume album as it was originally conceived. It begins with pages of the heraldic arms of kingdoms and duchies under Habsburg territorial rule. Emblazoned on a full-page is the double-headed imperial eagle, succeeded by two portrait roundels of Charles V and his consort, Isabella of Portugal (1503-39). These pages introduce Charles’s centrality to the project, the visual program of which covers territories in his possession as well as those of rivals. Representing these territories are costume figures from Spain, Portugal, Tunis, the New World, France, Flanders, the

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25 The prolific collector Frederick Stibbert (1836-1906), whose collection of antiques and artefacts is maintained by Florence’s Museo Stibbert, acquired seven of Bull’s volumes of costume illustration. A note of provenance preserved in the compiled volume announces that ‘Mr Hayes gave for this extraordinary collection (in an unbound state) the sum of £251 at the sale of a ‘Valuable Library’ in these rooms, April 29th & C. 1880, since then, many additions have been made.’ See Laura Desideri, Simona Di Marco, and the Museo Stibbert, La Libreria di Frederick Stibbert: Catalogo (Florence: Giunta Regionale Toscana, 1992), 258.

Netherlands, England, Ireland, Germany, Hungary, Croatia, Greece, Turkey and Italy. In accordance with the compositional formula applied by Weiditz, costume figures are set upon grassy terrains against plain backgrounds and introduced with short, descriptive text. They are often arranged into social groups of two, three, or four people. Facing each other and appearing in conversation, the artist shows multiple perspectives of clothing from the side, back, and front (fig. 9). Interspersed between series of costume figures and structuring their territorial subjecthood are the coats of arms belonging to these territories, along with those of their sovereigns including the kings of France and England, the dukes of Milan, Genoa, and Orleans, Pope Paul III, and Ferdinand I. The album features exotic animals and ships associated with the emperor's Tunis expedition of 1535, as well as a couple of double-page scenes illustrating Charles V's ceremonial titles and the Ottoman emperor Suleiman I (1494-1566) sitting in state (figs. 10-11). The final pages attribute the commission to Christoph von Sternsee, whose name and arms, as well as those of his wife, parents, and grandparents on both sides, are painted over a series of four folios (fig. 12).²⁷

²⁷ “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 175-178. The arms are labelled ‘Christoff vonn Sternsee’. On his father’s side, his grandfather is listed ‘Sternsee’ and his grandmother ‘Dolocharin’, while on his mother’s side his grandfather is ‘Ziriacus von Sigenstorff’ and his grandmother is a ‘Hagin’. Sternsee’s parents are named as ‘Gregorius vonn Sternsee’ and ‘Dorothea vonn Sigenstorff’. Next to Christoph von Sternsee’s heraldic arms are those of his wife, ‘Kunera von Ropta’.
Like Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch, Sternsee’s album exhibits a contemporary ethnographic curiosity for foreign cultures. As will be explored in chapter 2, Sternsee’s fascination with dress habits was sparked by his impressions of curious, vacillating clothing styles and manners he observed as he navigated Europe’s regions in the service of the Habsburgs. The album pictures miners in Salzburg and Irish warriors who belong ‘to the King of England, and they are savage’ (fig. 13). Commoners in Gascony wear wooden clogs and loose breeches, while the finely clothed men of the French and Burgundian nobility ‘receive the women thus, with a kiss’ (figs. 14-15). Spanish labourers sport fur tunics over their regular garments when they harvest corn, while female wedding parties in Prussia adorn themselves with gold coins and carry...
beautiful, fluted purses (figs. 16-17). An especially vivid scene shows how women in Spain thresh corn, holding their babies in one hand and guiding the reigns of donkeys in the other (fig. 18). As with the *Trachtenbuch*, cultural habits and embodied adornment are inseparable in the album’s vibrant display of dress practices.

Sternsee combined his interest in costumes and customs with subjects that concerned him personally and which related back upon his life experiences. He also kept a scarcely-known diary, a vital source to my research which documents his biography over a thirty-year period. His fascinating career experiences were negotiated by travel, his participation in several notable military campaigns, and his attendance at significant political events including an imperial coronation, and numerous imperial

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28 Christoph von Sternsee, “*Historia rerum in aula et ab exercitu Caroli V. gestarum a. 1525-1555*” (A History of Exploits in the Court and Army of Charles V), 1525-55. Cod. 14001 Han, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
diets and aristocratic banquets. In 1546 Sternsee served as a guard at the chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Utrecht. The album presents a procession of knights from the Order, accompanied by a detailed textual description of the protocol.

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surrounding their ceremonial apparel (fig. 19). Like the Trachtenbuch, Sternsee’s costume album has a charming intimacy due to this biographical dimension, but it retains a different character in that the images are more carefully curated. The pictures do not represent his own work, but the work of a commissioned artist who drew from a variety of visual sources to compile an album not representative of a single journey but of an entire career serving the emperor.

Figure 18: ‘Women and baby in Spain threshing corn’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 7v-8r.

Figure 19: ‘Procession of the Order of the Golden Fleece’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 137-38.
The costume albums’ combination of textual and pictorial information invariably invites an interdisciplinary methodology. Printed costume books for example, have garnered interest from academics of disparate disciplines including comparative literature, gender studies, cultural history, and art history. To analyse the composition and function of the Weiditz and Sternsee albums, as well as the assorted subjects and themes of their contents, I have worked beyond a single field of research and consulted a diverse range of scholarly material. The following review will begin with an historiographical analysis of the costume book before contextualising the costume albums alongside contemporaneous pursuits and ideas and situating them within the frameworks of empire.

Sixteenth-century costume books shared an ambition to present comprehensive pictorial accounts of dress customs. Setting isolated costume figures upon a comparative global stage, they accordingly formed the earliest European reference books of world dress. Printed costume books traditionally served dress historians as a tool for sourcing pictorial information about shifting silhouettes. James Robinson Planché’s 1876 dress history *A Cyclopaedia of Costume* for example, reproduced images sourced from the printed costume books of Jean-Jacques Boissard, Pietro Bertelli, Hans Weigel, and Cesare Vecellio. His work is typical of early ‘costume’ histories in remaining largely uncritical about the reliability of these books, considering them dependable, authoritative sources.30 J. R. Nevinson’s 1967 article ‘Origin and Early History of the Fashion Plate’, sixteenth-century costume books were still evaluated by the degree to which they were ‘convincing as evidence of fashions’.31 Nevinson even suggested that as with other early forms of the fashion plate, they functioned by ‘indicating a suitable

30 This attitude is summarised by his statement, ‘[costume books] amply supply us with authorities not only for the habiliments of princes and nobles, but for those peculiar to the inhabitants of each particular city or district’. J. R. Planché, *A Cyclopaedia of Costume or Dictionary of Dress* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876), 191.
style of clothing that can be made or secured… that a tailor, dressmaker, or store can make or supply? 32

In 1977 Jo Ann Olian dismissed the idea that the books principally propagated ‘coming fashion trends’ and established them rather as ‘histories and geographies of fashion’, an important distinction which shaped subsequent scholarship. 33 Olian removed the costume book from the realm of providing ‘criteria for dating works of art’ by debunking the notion that they necessarily offered reliable and authentic, first-hand evidence of what people wore, noting as she did, the considerable amount of recycled imagery that circulated within the genre. 34 Also the first to propose they ought to be thought of as ‘geographies’ during a period of heightened global exploration, Olian paved the way for following studies to consider the costume book as an important historical subject in its own right. 35 In 1981 Daniel Defert called attention to the ethnographic ambitions of costume books, arguing that they classified people into Eurocentric divisions of gender and social rank as a means of ordering the world. 36

The past two decades have witnessed a burgeoning interest in costume books to which this dissertation owes a great deal. In 2001 Cesare Vecellio’s 1590 costume book Degli habit antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo was the subject of a conference held in Belluno, Italy to mark the 400-year anniversary of the artist’s death. 37 This work and others caught the attention of the art historian Bronwen Wilson, whose 2005 publication on Renaissance Venetian print culture unpacked the pictorial function of the costume figure. ‘Reducing a range of individual bodies to types’, Wilson affirmed, ‘woodcuts and engravings of costumes codified differences’ and ‘participated in the process of forging national boundaries’. 38 The popularity of Vecellio’s costume book was increased in 2008 when Ann Rosalind Jones and Margaret Rosenthal published their

32 Ibid., 67.
34 Ibid.
37 Jeannine Guérin Dalle Mese, Il vestito e la sua immagine: Atti del convegno in omaggio a Cesare Vecellio nel quarto centenario della morte (Belluno: Provincia di Belluno, 2002).
38 Wilson, The World in Venice, 74, 76.
edited facsimile of his work complete with English translations, which centred around Vecellio’s biography and his uniquely Venetian worldview. This was followed by Ulinka Rublack’s *Dressing Up* in 2010, which contained a welcome complement to the Vecellio studies by addressing various printed and hand-painted costume books of the German lands such as the Nuremberg woodcut sculptor Hans Weigel’s 1577 *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* and the Nuremberg city clerk Sigmund Heldt’s costume album *Abconterfai ting allerlei ordenspersonen in iren klaidüngen* of c. 1560-80.³⁹

Although great strides have been made in recent years in the field of costume book scholarship, there remains the issue that in general, printed costume books have been the recipients of more scholarly attention than manuscript albums, probably due to their wider circulation in library collections worldwide. There is still much work to be done on hand-painted costume albums, a task that would be aided if more collections photographed and digitalised their albums’ contents for increased accessibility. There are many costume albums in collections across Europe to which no author has been attributed and which have not received any scholarship to date. This dissertation is pleased to introduce the Sternsee album to the field of literature and hopes that more studies on other overlooked costume albums will follow.

**AN EXPANDING PICTURE OF THE WORLD**

Within the present literature on the sixteenth-century costume book, one of the most dominant themes is the genre’s development in Europe during a period of increased global exploration and encounter. The genre’s emergence has been noted by Wilson to have run concurrent with a growing need to acquire and filter knowledge in an era of marked interest about the wider world.⁴⁰ Most printed costume books collated costume figures from each of the four known continents of the world – Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas – amassing encyclopaedias of global, sartorial character. Jones adds that

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several publishers produced costume books in both a vernacular language and in Latin, intending to appeal to a humanist, ‘transnational elite’ curious about cultural differences. As more of the world was encountered through voyages of discovery, exploration, colonisation, trade, and increased scientific enquiry, a hunger to grasp and consume new information prompted a flourishing production of atlases, cosmographies, travelogues, and costume books. Wilson points out that the genre’s success was aided by improvements in print publishing that made it possible to disseminate visual and literary information to a large audience. Costume books such as Weigel’s and Vecellio’s thus participated in the diffusion of information that was inherent to print culture, and could satisfy a curiosity about the appearances of people the world over. I would argue however, that the degree to which Weiditz’s costume imagery was recycled in large numbers of manuscript costume albums throughout the sixteenth century is evidence of the continued appreciation of one-of-a-kind, luxury manuscripts that sponsored knowledge transfer through hand-copying.

The entanglement of space, place, culture, and empire observable in the contents of Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s costume albums emerged in a number of concurrent visual and literary pursuits. Their albums link to a later trend found in the *alba amicorum* (friendship albums) of travelling students. The first of its sort was owned by Christoph von Teuffenbach, who inserted into his printed copy of Melancthon’s *Loci communes theologici* sheets containing the signatures of his friends at the University of Wittenberg between the years 1548 and 1568. Young male students from across Germany and the Low Countries were soon commemorating their time abroad at foreign universities in Italy and elsewhere by collecting hand-painted costume figures, city scenes, emblems, and the autographs of their friends, placing themselves within the social networks of their compatriots and showing off their humanist education (fig. 20). Costume motifs were collected from stationers and market stalls from vendors who peddled sets of

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44 Ibid.
illustrated archetypical characters.\textsuperscript{45} Such costume figures inevitably ended up in manuscript travelogues, such as those belonging to the Prague-based traveller Bedřich z Donín and the Zürich \textit{Bürgermeister} Johann Heinrich Waser, both which date to the first decades of the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{46} Suzanna Ivanič, who brought Donín’s travelogue to attention in 2015, has shown how circulating images, many deriving from Vecellio’s costume book, were collected by Donín to stand in for, rather than specifically portray, the people he encountered on his pilgrimage to Loreto in 1607-08.\textsuperscript{47} Employing a ‘humanist mode of information gathering’, these costume figures accounted for Donín’s intentionally comprehensive presentation of human ‘types’ from diverse localities and of differing social conditions.\textsuperscript{48}

This prescriptive approach to the documentation of travel was epitomised in the second half of the sixteenth-century by the emergence of \textit{ars apodemica} (art of travel) treatises. These publications laid out strict theoretical methods for what sites and subjects to observe and how, precisely, to relay them to a learned readership. Their systematic approach recalls an older form of classically-inspired ethnographic literature exemplified by Johann Boemus’s \textit{Omnium gentium mores, leges, & ritus ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus} (1520).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{Figure_20.jpg}
\caption{‘Woman of Mantua’ from the Alba Amicorum of Daniel Rindfleisch of Memmingen (1590-91). Rothschild 3369 (2522 e), Département des manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, fol. 13r.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 619.
\textsuperscript{46} Donín, Bedřich z (c. 1608–1611) Cestopis. Unpublished manuscript, DG IV 23, Královská kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově (Strahov Monastery Library), Prague; Johann Heinrich Waser, \textit{Itinerarium 1621–1639}. Zentralbibliothek Zürich ZBZH, Ms G 1.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid.
Recounting the manners, laws, and customs of mankind, works like Boemus’s represented the efforts of well-read humanist scholars who condensed classical and Renaissance knowledge of human cultures.

The sixteenth century witnessed a shift in visual conventions regarding the approach to human difference, and ethnography moved out of the scholar’s study to incorporate the acquired knowledge of travellers. The earliest European images of people from the ‘New World’ for example, rejected the monstrous races discourse that had for centuries been a dominating visual strategy for the portrayal of unfamiliar people inhabiting the furthest corners of the known world. Although neither accurate nor objective, early illustrated pamphlets and broadsides of the new discoveries across the oceans acknowledged the humanity of their subjects by drawing upon familiar visual models such as Adam and Eve and the Wild Man of European folklore (figs. 21-22).49 Greater nuance to cultural specificities appeared in Hans Burgkmair the Elder’s woodcut frieze *The Peoples of Africa and India* (1508, fig. 23). An important forerunner to the costume book, its series of eight woodcuts pictured the Tirolese merchant Balthasar Springer’s voyage to India via the Cape of Good Hope. Its representational strategy – assertive titling, ethnographic nuance, and the indication of geographic movement within a pictorial panorama – formulated a comparative method through which to school, Sandra Young argues, ‘a

growing readership in modes of representation and the taxonomical logic that later became associated with modernity’.\textsuperscript{50} Epistemological authority came to be founded in comparative systems of analysis and rooted in experience-based evidence.

\textbf{Figure 23: Georg Glockendon after Hans Burgkmair the Elder, The Peoples of Africa and India (woodcut, 260 x 1885 mm), 1509. The British Museum, London.}

Within this milieu costume emerged as a popular subject for ethnographic scrutiny. The early costume albums of Weiditz and Sternsee pioneered close, comparative observation of cultural difference by taking advantage of the semiotic capacity of clothing. Their costume figures’ characteristic apparel is in fact defined by the word \textit{costume} which, sharing its linguistic roots with the word \textit{custom}, implies dress that is habitual and readily legible as a marker of identity.\textsuperscript{51} As Jones and Rosenthal argue, early modern travellers observed ‘richly meaningful signs of shared cultural identity’ in the clothing of diverse parts.\textsuperscript{52} Vocabularies of colour, texture, and form were harnessed by dressers to express their alignment to sartorial communities and group identities which might revolve around age, gender, social or professional distinction, religious belief, or political commitment. Consequently, the practice of codifying sartorial customs through representative costume figures was a prevailing

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 12; Sandra Young, \textit{The Early Modern Global South in Print: Textual Form and the Production of Human Difference as Knowledge} (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 44.

\textsuperscript{51} For the first introduction of this linguistic connection in relation to the costume book genre see Defert, “Un genre ethnographique profane au XV\textsuperscript{e} siècle.”

\textsuperscript{52} Jones, Rosenthal, and Vecellio, \textit{Vecellio’s Habiti Antichi et Moderni}, 16.
method through which to examine human difference on the increasingly vast and complex geo-political stage. Wilson contends that global encounters with new populations forced Europeans to acknowledge that ‘in striking contrast with the regional variations seen in flora or fauna, the contours of the human body, unexpectedly, and perhaps surprisingly, appeared to be universal’. Subsequently it was what was worn over the body that was ‘charged with articulating geographical difference’, and as Jean Michel Massing has observed, artists like Dürer and Burgkmair pursued information about indigenous garments and artefacts to infuse their representations of New World ‘Indians’ with ethnographic authority (fig. 24).

As Surekha Davies has recently underlined in her monograph on Renaissance ethnography, ‘for European readers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, human variety was a function of place, a tenet that took on a visually persuasive form on illustrated maps’. Thus costume figures in characteristic apparel populated the margins of maps, lined the pages of travel accounts, and illustrated pamphlets advertising discoveries across the oceans. Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg’s atlas series Civitates Orbis Terrarum (Towns of the World), first published in 1572, populated its topographical cityscapes with costume figures, while Pieter van den

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53 Wilson, _The World in Venice_, 77.
Keere’s world map of 1611 deployed costume figures within its bordering frame (figs. 25-26). The ‘new spatial orientation towards bodies’ which saw the costume figure integrated into cartographic projects implied that these ‘cartographic bodies’ themselves
might be chartable terrain. Europe’s expanding geographic knowledge of the world combined with its colonial grasp was, Valerie Traub contends, the stimulus for this spatialized understanding of the body.

Consequently, the costume book genre has frequently been compared by scholars to cartography. Kristen Ima Grimes, for instance, calls attention to the cartographic sensibilities of Cesare Vecellio’s costume book, most apparent in the work’s frontispiece which, presenting allegorical figures representing Europe, Asia, Africa, and America in each of the four corners, establishes geography as the ‘principal organizational scheme for the work’ (fig. 27). This idea has resonated with several scholars, who have identified costume books as ‘moral’ geographies. Costume books ‘collapsed physically experienced distance’, as Jones puts it, placing into the hands of their owners virtual experiences of the wider world. This was not only appealing as a form of entertainment. David Harvey explains that ‘geographical knowledge became a valued commodity in a society that was becoming more and more profit-conscious. The accumulation of wealth, power, and capital

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Figure 27: Cesare Vecellio ‘Frontispiece’ woodcut from Degli habit antichi et moderni, Venice, 1590.

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57 Ibid., 46.
60 Paulicelli, “Mapping the World,” 25; Rublack, Dressing Up, 146; Wilson, The World in Venice, 70.
became linked to personalized knowledge of and command over, space’. 62

Geographies, ethnographies, atlases, and costume books collapsed real world information into pigment on paper. Bridgeman points out that books, sketches, and prints of costume, as well as observations of foreign visitors and their appearances, stimulated the interests of ‘would-be travellers’. 63 To meet a thirst for knowledge about the appearance of people the world over, Rublack argues costume books were designed to be ‘instructive’ and to offer entertainment by way of ‘variety for the eye’. 64 The illustrated account of Nicolas de Nicolay’s travels to the Ottoman Empire and Eastern Europe in 1562 (Navigations et pérégrinations orientales) was filled with costume studies and proved hugely popular, being translated for a German audience almost immediately (fig. 28). 65 Paulicelli observes that costume books functioned like ‘a portable museum that readers enter’. 66 Consequently they satisfied desires like that expressed by English diplomat Sir Thomas Elyot (c. 1490-1546) ‘to beholde in his owne house every thynge that with in all the world is contained’. 67 Elyot’s yearning for symbolic ownership of the whole world echoes another manifestation of early modern collecting to which the costume book has been frequently compared. 68 Wunderkammer and cabinets of curiosity allowed collectors to marvel

62 David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 244.
64 Rublack, Dressing Up, 146.
65 Ibid.
67 Sir Thomas Elyot, from The Book Named the Governor (1531) cited in Wilson, The World in Venice, 104.
over their abundant microcosm of the world’s natural and artificial wonders. Mark Meadow has shown that collectors were encouraged to assemble clothing and armour pieces alongside exotic artefacts and *naturalia* because of their ethnographic value. The Duke of Bavaria’s librarian Samuel Quiccheberg for instance, who compiled the first-known European treatise on collecting in 1565, proposed that among other things, the ideal princely collection would contain ‘foreign garb, such as those belonging to, Indians, Arabs, Turks and the more exotic peoples; some made from the feathers of parrots’. He concluded that such items were exemplary for learning about foreign cultures, stating that by examining ‘in great detail the foreign garments of distant people […] sometimes the very customs of peoples present themselves for observation’. The Dutch physician Bernardus Paludanus’s famously impressive *wunderkammer* was noted by the Duke of Württemberg’s secretary in 1592 to have contained samples of clothing from both Indies, formerly worn by ‘savages’ and foreigners. A costume book, especially a printed one, provided a cheaper alternative.

The demand to be able to consult such information from one’s ‘owne house’ meant that the costume book evolved away from personal, commemorative projects like Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s albums and towards works produced by increasingly stationary printers, designed for a wider market. The Italian printmaker Enea Vico’s

![Figure 29: Enea Vico, ‘French woman’ (engraving, 148 x 104 mm), from Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus, ca. 1557.](image)

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70 Quiccheberg in his *Inscriptiones vel tituli theatre amplissimi* (1565), translated and cited by Ibid.

71 Quiccheberg translated and cited by Ibid., 358.

engraved series of costume figures (ca. 1557) began this trend, followed by François Deserps’s *Recueil de la diversité des habits* (Paris, 1562), (figs. 29-30). In general, printed costume books were more comprehensive and systematic than the Weiditz and Sternsee albums, however it must be noted that each espoused the particular persuasions of their producers. While Deserps’s work critiques the hierarchical ills of French society during a period of intensified religious and class conflict, Pietro Bertelli’s delightful *Diversarum nationum habitus*, published in Padua in three volumes between 1594 and 1596, presents an exultant picture of Italian society, complete with carnival scenes, street processions, and lavishly dressed courtesans whose *braghesse* or male breeches are revealed by an interactive lift-the-flap skirt (fig. 31). As the consumer demand for instructive guidebooks of clothing customs prospered, the books’ frequently derivative woodcut or engraved costume figures tended to become divorced from their original contexts. This development was not restricted to print, and plenty of costume manuscripts were produced in the second half of the century which, like their published counterparts, offered ‘armchair access’ for owners curious about people abroad. Volumes such as those compiled by Sigmund Heldt and the Heidelberg jurist Marcus

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74 Ibid., 94.
zum Lamm compiled vast numbers of costume figures for the sake of encyclopaedic knowledge (figs. 32-33). Manuscript costume albums were a particularly German phenomenon, profiting from a thriving pictorial culture supported by Germany’s prosperous printing industry, well-connected humanist scholars, mercantile elite, and wealthy universities assisting the spread of visual information through networks of knowledge. In the pursuit of information about global dress cultures, it was ultimately economical and efficient to seek out pre-existing visual models as opposed to creating original, eye-witnessed material. The repetition of archetypal costume figures across these books reveals the influence that transmittable, recyclable costume imagery had upon the growth and success of the genre.

The costume albums of Weiditz and Sternsee were conceptually different. With biographical overtones that hint at personal itineraries and experiences, travel is a defining feature of both works. They were not the first travellers to use the image as a tool to capture and commemorate their experiences. The pilgrimage account of German

cleric Bernard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1486), is credited by Elizabeth Ross as the first illustrated travelogue in print, (fig. 34). In many respects, the sentiment behind Breydenbach’s work is comparable to that of the costume albums. Breydenbach recruited the painter Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht to be his travel companion and dedicated artist on his journey to the Holy Land. Fascinated by the cultural diversity he witnessed, Breydenbach had his artist detail the customs and habits of Arab ‘Saracens’, Jews, Greeks, Syrians, Copts, and Armenians, for example. Reuwich’s woodcuts and Breydenbach’s textual narrative were mutually reinforcing, a novel representational strategy identified by Ross to have rethought the form and role of images in print publications, enabling the pages to be ‘self-consciously constructed as

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eye-witness views that pronounce their origin in an artist’s on-site looking and recording’. This interrelationship of text and image is also employed in the Weiditz and Sternsee costume albums to evoke the traveller-eye-witness, but instead of illustrating complete travel narratives, the images in their works take centre stage.

The vision of human diversity presented by the costume albums is even more vivid and accessible, representing a way of seeing that was fleshed out by personal encounter. Their pictorial method is comparable to the colourful textual descriptions of the Habsburg chronicler Laurent Vital, whose account of the voyages of Charles V and his brother Ferdinand I between 1517 and 1518 illuminates the immediate impact that foreign clothing styles had upon the traveller. His astonishment at the startling design of women’s headdresses in Asturias, Spain and the dress and (un)dress of Irish people he witnessed in the town of Kinsale, Cork provide memorable accounts of diverse populations and their sartorial character. In the visual arts, this practice of observation and description led to what Pamela H. Smith has branded a ‘new visual culture’ grounded in naturalistic representation. This visual culture embraced the notion that art could be ‘a model of vision and perception’, thus applicable to the natural, material world, in addition to the spiritual and allegorical. The pictorial arts became, Smith explains, a tool for investigating reality. The visual was therefore the ideal mode of representation ‘in an age when news of the newfound world was arriving thick and fast’, and when subsequently first-person observation and eye-witness testimony was freshly emphasised. Visual culture found a new and important role documenting, cataloguing, and classifying aspects of the world that were receiving brand-new scrutiny, whether the curious or the mundane, the familiar or the unfamiliar.

78 Ross, Breydenbach’s “Peregrination,” 1, 4.
81 Ibid., 89.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
FASHIONS IN FLUX

As was outlined above, changes in the way the world was known and viewed in the sixteenth century contributed to the urge of the costume book to capture and fix information about varieties of dress and the people who wore them. However, the fickleness of fashion proved an unrelenting challenge. Jane Bridgeman has drawn attention to the ephemerality and brief duration of fashionable styles which, to the dismay of some costume book producers, defied being fixed onto paper before they were obsolete. Capitalism and consumerism fuelled the changeability of fashion, which both delighted and aggrieved Cesare Vecellio. Although his work’s illustrations and enthusiastic commentary linger over the idiosyncrasies of textiles, accessories, and garment cuts (fig. 35), he also expressed frustration in his introductory note that ‘clothing as a subject allows no absolute certainty, for styles of dress are constantly changing, according to the whim and caprice of their wearers’. The changeable nature of clothing styles particularly irritated François Deserps, whose book, Jones argues, ‘emphatically opposes fashion’. In the poetic quatrains accompanying his costume figures, Deserps makes the repeated complaint that his French compatriots are too easily swayed by the whims of fashion, while the dress of certain foreigners were laudable for their constancy and timelessness. Vecellio’s and Deserps’s lamentations are in tension with their

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Figure 35: Cesare Vecellio, ‘Modern Venetian woman’, woodcut from Degli habiti antichi et moderni, Venice, 1590, fol. 129v.

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85 Jones, Rosenthal, and Vecellio, Vecellio’s Habiti Antichi et Moderni, 52.
87 Ibid., 102, 105.
works’ fundamental purpose: to beguile their readers with illustrations of strange, wondrous, and beautiful outfits. The underlying interest in ingenuity and fashion innovation that had earlier come to the fore in Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s albums ultimately continued to spur the production of costume books.

In spite of this, several later costume books were quick to critique the negative influence of foreign fashions. Rublack points out that Hans Weigel considered foreign fashions, and the ‘strange wondrous change’ they inspired, to have an unfavourable impact upon the constant, civilised German dress habits that he promoted.88 She adds that Weigel’s costume book had a moralising function, offering a patriotic code of dress for German citizens while discouraging the adoption of foreign fashions, often portrayed as overly luxurious and corrupt (figs. 36-37).89 Vecellio equally bemoaned how foreign

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88 Rublack, Dressing Up, 150.
89 Ibid., 146, 149.
fashions, and Italians’ predilection for them, disturbed the existence of a distinct Italianate costume.90 Several scholars have identified a corresponding anxiety in contemporary literature about the dangers of taking up foreign dress.91 For example Baldassare Castiglione, author of the famous conduct book *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (1528), considered the donning of foreign styles ‘an augury of servitude’, warning that subjugated populations wore the dress of their oppressors: ‘… it seems to me that our having exchanged our Italian style of dress for that of foreigners means that all those whose fashions we have adopted in place of our own must come to subjugate us’.92 Speaking from a similar sentiment in 1581, the Venetian scholar Francesco Sansovino was convinced that Italians, having ‘changed their habits of thought along with their dress, wanting to look now like the French, now like the Spanish’ were openly revealing a lack of stability.93 French and Spanish dress was charged with changing not only the external appearance of his compatriots, but also affecting them internally – something which could dangerously misalign their political allegiances. This was fundamentally detrimental because ‘in other times they [Italians] ruled the other nations of the world through the constancy and steadiness of their actions’.94 Like Castiglione then, Sansovino implies that to wear the dress of others was to be ruled by others.

This condemnation was based upon the prevalent idea that wearing the dress of others undermined a firm, political state which could, conversely, be supported through the maintenance of a patriotic sartorial identity. Situating Weigel’s costume book within a cultural milieu of German nationalist thought, Rublack notes that German moralist critics including the humanist poet Conrad Celtis associated the adoption of foreign styles and fabrics with disloyalty to the fatherland.95 Within this context, it is not surprising that Weigel’s preface states that a nation’s prospects relied upon the success of its dress habits and that he hoped Nuremberg’s sartorial example would offer stability

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94 Sansovino cited in Ibid.
for the German nation as a whole.\textsuperscript{96} Roze Henstchell has identified a comparably deep-set anxiety that foreign clothes were ‘capable of both disrupting and affirming English national identity’ in early modern English satirical and moralist tracts.\textsuperscript{97}

These examples substantiate the argument that fashion – meaning changeable dress styles – was, as Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones propose, associated with ‘the dissolution of the body politic’.\textsuperscript{98} This very concern, I would argue, is imbedded within many printed costume books from the second half of the sixteenth century. To counteract the damaging influence of foreign fashions that undermined patriotic affirmations, Weigel and Vecellio shaped exemplary models of their fellow citizens’ sartorial character. Influenced by his residence in Nuremberg, a centre of Reformation thought, Weigel grounded German sartorial character in modesty and moral virtue, and measured it against a contrasting picture of Italian sumptuousness. Vecellio, on the other hand, centred in the mercantile city of Venice, celebrated the conspicuous consumption of his kinsmen in Venice and Italy more broadly. These costume books, like many of their peers, demonstrate a protectionist concern to uphold distinctions of dress across Europe, and consequently guarantee legible, visual expressions of patriotic allegiance.

The work of Ann Rosalind Jones, Ulinka Rublack, Eugenia Paulicelli, and Jane Bridegman has urged readers to view sixteenth-century costume books as cultural products that surpassed their immediate function to amuse curious arm-chair travellers in an era discovering the profitable power of global knowledge. These works also engaged with concerns over the troubling influence of foreign fashion, encouraging patriotic modes and bolstering nationhood. This scholarship has elevated costume books from being little more than entertaining fashion plates to decisively rhetorical works capable of engaging with contemporary discourses about the nature of cultural change and the communicative role of clothing in the service of patriotism.

\textsuperscript{96} Hans Weigel translated and cited in Ibid., 149.
\textsuperscript{98} Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1.
My study is indebted to the enhanced scrutiny these scholars have paid to costume books; however, it is important to underline yet again that these interpretations have tended to be applied to printed publications from the second half of the sixteenth century, works which were often dedicated to an illustrious patron and published by a stationary contingent of printers, artists, woodblock cutters, and poets. Such works tended to open with hyperbolic introductory tracts and classical-referencing histories of dress, emphasising to a wide readership the learnedness of the books’ producers and their lofty, moralising aims. As similar as Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s earlier costume albums are in their subject and compositional format, they were not produced under these circumstances nor were they designed for a large audience. Consequently, there remains work to be done to understand the unique function and agenda of their albums. And so, while existing studies have identified that printed costume books after the reign of Charles V very often harboured nationalist, moral agendas, my dissertation rather draws attention to the contrasting incentive of transnational exchange that prompted Weiditz and Sternsee to produce their costume albums. It is necessary to carve out their place within the wider field of costume book literature to reposition the narrative of costume books’ emergence and purpose.

CHARLES V’S HABSBURG EMPIRE

Central to this is teasing out Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s careers and situating them within Charles V’s empire. The role imperial networks played in motivating, producing, and providing content for the albums is yet to have been sufficiently examined. In the case of Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch, the medallist’s journey to Spain to receive Charles V’s imperial protection is universally acknowledged as the stimulus behind the costume album. Yet, the imperial court has been discussed only summarily in these scholarly accounts. The albums ought to be scrutinised to see if the political reality which saw their owners associate with Spanish, Netherlandish, Italian, and German Habsburg servants and subjects for instance, inspired their drive to document diverse populations and their clothes.
To appreciate the aims of the works’ visual programmes we must acknowledge the unique position of Charles as a ruler of more territory across Europe than had been held since the height of the Roman Empire. As well as inheriting the Houses of Burgundy and Habsburg, the Spanish crowns passed to him in 1516 upon the death of his grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon. He was then elected to rule the Holy Roman Empire in 1519, thus incorporating subjects from the German-speaking lands into his already immense domains. At the time of Weiditz’s travels, Charles V’s empire incorporated Spain, Flanders, the Netherlands, the duchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, the Habsburg lands of Germany, Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, and, of course, the Spanish-held territories in the Americas. Encouraged by his far-reaching hegemony, Charles’s advisors projected universal monarchy upon the young ruler. Originally an Aristotelian ideal, the notion that a universal monarch was necessary to accomplish world peace was reinvigorated by Charles’s innermost circle, particularly Mercurino Gattinara (1465-1530) and Alfonso de Valdés (1490-1532). It lent itself to the spiritual fulfilment of mankind under a universal Christendom, granting Charles a spiritual mission upon which he could claim power far exceeding his temporal authority and dominion. His ‘expansionist destiny’, described at length by Carina Johnson, vindicated colonial activities in the Americas, while religious divisions across the continent and his Turkish rival Suleiman’s steady encroachment into Europe tested the strength and ambitions of universal power.

100 Ibid., 1:155.
Wim Blockmans has estimated that for nearly forty years, 40 percent of all Europeans were Charles’s subjects.\textsuperscript{105} His reign therefore ushered in a unique moment of history in which a miscellany of cultures, languages, customs, and local governments were ruled over by a single, powerful sovereign. This brought into close contact ambassadors, soldiers, merchants, and courtly elite who identified as Spanish, Netherlandish, and German (amongst others), and who retained broadly collective political, religious, commercial, and military interests. Many Habsburg servants and agents, including Weiditz and Sternsee, travelled across vast amounts of European territory because of the emperor’s far-reaching sovereignty. Advisors, diplomats, and other court attendants were frequently transferred between Habsburg courts despite their varying geographic distance, encouraging the flow of culturally diverse people, practices, and ideas.\textsuperscript{106} As Johnson has drawn attention to in recent years, Charles’s court sponsored a lively variety of ambassadors and was a spectacle of foreign culture.\textsuperscript{107} This environment inspired a taste for the appraisal of cultural difference, which Johnson has explored in her study of how Ottoman and Aztec subjects were negotiated in Habsburg circles. My research owes a great deal to Johnson’s example, and argues that the costume albums of Weiditz and Sternsee exemplify this ethos. It is a unique cultural study within the literature on Charles V’s empire. Cultural history does not often feature greatly in this scholarship, which tends to occupy itself with the political and military events of the emperor’s reign, and the religious turmoil he faced. Charles’s reign is often explored in specific regional contexts too, for example his Spanish court, or his relationship with the German princes, and it is rare to see studies that focus upon the itinerant nature of his rule and the connections and networks that were formed between different national groups.\textsuperscript{108} I propose that cultural history is rich for examining inter-connections between the agents and servants of empire. In the past decade, the concept of cultural brokerage has been called upon by early modern historians to examine the ‘widespread practice of

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 83.
\textsuperscript{108} Blockmans, \textit{Emperor Charles V, 1}. 

transmission and dissemination of political, intellectual, and cultural ideas’, focusing on the relationships between patrons, clients, and agents. Art items and curiosities changed hands alongside news and services as the mechanics of ‘cultural diplomacy’ smoothed foreign diplomatic relationships and strengthened ties of allegiance. In the costume albums, we see the fruits of this encounter of cultures and can begin to make sense of how different groups of foreign nationals began to forge cooperative relationships and contribute to the transfer of cultural knowledge.

From 1520 Hafsid princes from the Tunisian nobility were subsidised at the imperial court and, because of this relationship, Charles was called upon to recapture Tunis from the Ottoman pirate Hayreddin Barbarossa (c. 1478-1546) in 1535 and was granted suzerainty over the kingdom as a result. Nahua notables from New Spain, the colonial territory that replaced the conquered Aztec empire, travelled to their new sovereign’s Spanish court in the 1520s and 1530s and, along with feather-worked artefacts and brightly plumaged parrots, caused a sensation among courtiers, documented by Peter Martyr d’Anghiera (1457-1526) and Gaspar Contarini (1483-1542) among others. The former demonstrated remarkable ethnographic attention in his description of Aztec civilisation, which he concluded to be rather sophisticated. Johnson argues that his approach emulated the methods of cosmography, expanding readers’ knowledge of the world’s diverse customs, laws, religions, governance, and dress. Costume books are a part of this humanist heritage, steeped in an innovative, intellectual tradition that permitted descriptions of custom and sartorial practice to become visually intensified.

112 See Peter Martyr’s Fourth Decade (1521), Benjamin Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought (New Brunswick, N.J.; London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 65.
The interest manifest in the Habsburg courts for the evaluation of human cultures and customs has been noted by Hiram Morgan, who has connected Albrecht Dürer’s watercolor drawing of Irish costume figures to information obtained through Habsburg court networks (fig. 38). Morgan argues that Dürer made an ‘artist’s impression’ of Irish people and their costume after descriptions obtained through the Habsburg chronicler Laurent Vital. Vital had been aboard a ship accompanying Ferdinand I from Spain to the Low Countries in 1518. Blown off course, the crew were forced to dock in Kinsale, county Cork. During his famous trip to the Netherlands, Morgan suggests that Dürer must have come across Vital’s ethnographic description of the Irish and reinterpreted it into an illustration. Dürer’s long-term patron Maximilian I had

![Figure 38: Albrecht Dürer, ‘Thus go the soldiers in Ireland, beyond England, Thus go the peasants in Ireland’ (pen, brown ink, and watercolour drawing, 21 x 28.2 cm), 1521. Kuperferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.](image)

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114 Morgan makes this connection between the Dürer example and the costume album of Christoph Weiditz, writing: ‘…the Habsburg court continued to be interested in the visual representation of people and that it was in this context that another artist Christoph Weiditz produced the second visual image of the Irish – this time a rather sober and restrained portrayal of a woman – in his famous Trachtenbuch of 1529-32’. Morgan and Vital, Ireland 1518, 56.

115 Ibid.

116 Morgan suggests that Dürer’s costume study of Livonian women may also have been produced in this fashion, relying on verbal or written testament as opposed to first-hand encounter. Ibid., 55.
previously encouraged the insertion of foreign types into his imperial visual projects including his illustrated prayer book and the woodcut frieze the *Triumphal Procession*, both worked on by Dürer, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, and other artists.\textsuperscript{117} These examples, which stressed the emperor’s grasp over foreign populations, demonstrate that ethnographic curiosity for foreign cultures and their visual representation existed in tension with expansionist politics in an age of global sea-faring and off-shore conquest.

Charles V had to accept the plurality of his imperial territories and pay heed to their autonomy, laws, and customs. The institution of empire was challenged by the fact that his subjects spoke different languages and maintained diverse cultures and even religions.\textsuperscript{118} There was not a single, dominant ethnic core, but several. His advisors were drawn from across the empire, although it was the Burgundian and Spanish elite who shared the most powerful positions. The emperor’s campaigns brought together troops who were divided into national groupings based on the ties of language and culture. Sternsee was habitually placed into ‘German’ regiments as opposed to those which were ‘Spanish’ or ‘Italian’, for instance. Nevertheless, united by a common imperial cause, these groups maintained a shared allegiance and fought in the battlefield side by side.

The assortment of national groups in Charles V’s networks of empire was, loosely, a macrocosm of his personal pedigree. His dynasty had developed from clever marriage alliances that strengthened ties between certain branches of Europe’s nobility. Although born in Ghent, Charles had no fixed national or ethnic identity. Nobility rested not on these aspects of lineage, but rather on the purity of an aristocratic bloodline. As Benedict Anderson has explained, dynasty was a system that derived its legitimacy from divinity and was sustained by sexual politics.\textsuperscript{119} Although the Habsburg dynasty cultivated its identity as the ‘House of Austria’, its national associations outgrew the Austrian possessions it had acquired in the thirteenth century. These were tenured to changing political and marital connections. The breadth of Habsburg success in this realm is clear when considering the titles of Charles V’s family members. In 1550, when

\textsuperscript{117} Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 516.
\textsuperscript{118} Soly, “Charles V and His Time;” 15.
discussing the arrival of the emperor’s family into Augsburg in advance of an imperial
diet, Sternsee identified Philip II as the Prince of Spain, Ferdinand I as the King of the
Romans, and the emperor’s sister as Maria of Hungary, even though she had spent most
of her adult life as the regent of the Netherlands.  

The Habsburg empire did not operate over ‘each square centimetre of a legally
demarcated territory’ and, as Anderson explained, ‘… in the older imagining … states
were defined by centres, borders were porous and indistinct, and sovereignties faded
imperceptibly into one another’. However, Charles V lacked one centre of
administration. Such was the scale of his territories that he was required to be an
itinerant monarch in order to strengthen his titles and preserve ties of allegiance. He
outsourced governance to his siblings Ferdinand and Mary, who looked after the
Austrian and Netherlandish centres respectively. But even though Charles had officially
transferred the hereditary Austrian lands to Ferdinand in 1521 and 1522, he kept the
relevant titles in his own lengthy list.

These titles each came with their own feudal obligation whereby Charles had to
swear to uphold the laws, customs, and constitutional rights of each territory. This form
of contractual monarchy was a reciprocal agreement that ensured the obligation of
service on the part of a prince and a promise of allegiance from the subjects. The
problem remained that the traditions in each of these territories differed greatly. It was
unprecedented for a single ruler to have to juggle the expectations of so many different
subjects, the outcome of having a great number of inherited, elected, seized, and created
titles. As Blockmans notes, in the Low Countries alone, Charles took on ‘… the
functions of duke of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Guelders, count of Flanders,
Artois, Hainaut, Holland, Zeeland and Namur, margrave of Antwerp and lord of

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123 Ibid.
124 Peter Burke, “Presenting and Re-Presenting Charles v,” in Charles V, 1500-1558, and His Time, ed.
Wim Blockmans and Hugo Soly (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1999), 415.
125 Wim Blockmans, “The Emperor’s Subjects,” in Charles V, 1500-1558, and His Time, ed. Wim
Blockmans and Hugo Soly (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1999), 228.
Friesland, Mechelen (Malines), Tournai, Utrecht, Groningen and Overijssel …’. Many formerly independent kingdoms and duchies under Charles’s sovereignty had for centuries exercised autonomy over their own administrative and judicial systems and were subsequently wary of any infringements on the rights they had long enjoyed. As a result, the institution of empire was challenged by different, traditionally enacted provincial policies and privileges that Charles had to be careful not to violate. Multiple instances of friction between imperial national groups have been noted by historians. In Charles’s early career for instance, he brought to Spain many Netherlandish councillors from his Burgundian circle, a move that resulted in deep distrust from the Spanish ruling elite. Other clashes came about from widespread reluctance to fund wars in other imperial territories, generally regarded as foreign. For example, when Charles was plunged into war with Francis I of France in 1536 over the fate of the Duchy of Milan, councils across the Low Countries protested that they could not afford to help the emperor conquer France and Italy, and instead needed to look after their own interests closer to home. As Geoffrey Parker describes it, ‘each of the formerly independent territories that he [Charles] acquired possessed a ‘sub-imperial’ agenda that might not coincide with the emperor’s overall priorities’. For this reason, at one point or another in his reign, Charles had an unsteady relationship with the governing elite of many of his territories.

The institution of empire and its manifestly visible forms were subsequently very important to the maintenance of unity and the fabrication of commonality. Derived from cultural sociology, the idea that ‘every institutional order needs symbolic-ritual

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126 Ibid., 229.
130 Parker, “The Political World of Charles v,” 114.
embodiments’ was put to triumphant use by Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger to assess how the political structure and constitution of the Holy Roman Empire was held together for centuries by the clever use of symbols and rituals.131 Through their ‘material concreteness’, symbolic-ritual forms including titles, forms of address, images, investiture, and ritual actions – transformed the institution of the Holy Roman Empire into a concrete reality accepted by the public at large.132 These powerful stagings made the intangible tangible, investing the empire with a set of meanings legible to those who participated in the ‘fiction’ of the social construction, the ‘collective imputation of meaning on which every social order is based’.133 Although Stollberg-Rilinger’s account of the Holy Roman Empire during Charles V’s reign does not explicitly address its relationship to and construction within a wider, non-German empire, nor does it acknowledge the role of visual culture in this staging of empire, her study applies a useful method for the deconstruction of institutional forms.

How did Charles’s empire ensure the participation of its agents and servants? As Stollberg-Rilinger points out, political entities like empires worked because participants reciprocally accepted and validated their functioning as something ‘completely self-evident’ due to being confronted ‘at every turn’ with symbolic forms.134 To support the empire they had to imagine it and believe in it. To understand this, we must question how Charles’s empire was made discernible. Charles’s growing inventory of sovereign territories were substantiated and broadcast through a variety of media, through which observers could not have failed to grasp the empire’s vastness and hegemony. An especially important method was the listing of Charles’s titles, performed for instance in written documents and orally by heralds at the introduction of events.135 In the case of the Holy Roman Empire, Stollberg-Rilinger identifies the importance of public ritual-acts such as coronations, enfeoffments, homage and oath-swearing ceremonies, and the opening of imperial diets. At these events, she argues, ‘everyone’s open and visible

132 Ibid., 4.
133 Ibid., 2.
134 Ibid., 2–3.
participation turned those present into reciprocal eyewitnesses of their faith in this order. Anyone who participated in a public symbolic-ritual act affirmed his consent … Presence meant acceptance’. I would propose that the participation of imperial agents and observant subjects in the more mundane operations of empire equally sustained the collective fiction of Charles’s empire, as will be seen in the biographies of Weiditz and Sternsee. I would also urge that visual culture needs to be regarded as a fundamental tool for the externalisation of empire. Recent and commendable studies of the Holy Roman Empire by Stollberg-Rilinger, Joachim Whaley, and Peter H. Wilson regrettablably overlook the visual as an important source for understanding the functions, ideals, and reception of imperial power, which this dissertation seeks to reverse. While Charles V is not often remembered as a skilled manipulator of his imperial image in the way that his predecessor Maximilian I has been, a vast range of visual media including woodcuts and engravings, paintings, medals, tapestries, and manuscript illustrations circulated themes of imperial triumph, classical virtue, heroic deeds, and the far-reaching nature of his empire, often accompanied by the motto ‘Plus Ultra’ (Further Beyond).

Although the costume albums were not designed to be transmitted to wide audiences, they nonetheless participated in a visual culture that subscribed to the rhetoric of imperial hegemony. It will be examined that Weiditz and Sternsee were active participants of empire during certain periods of their life, when their activities in and around court, in civic spaces, and on the battlefield espoused the imperial system. This dissertation investigates their costume albums’ production and visual content by untangling what it meant to be part of a larger network that connected and brought into shared working environments foreign nationals from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. It urges a reappraisal of the costume book by demonstrating that the genre first emerged not to critique changing fashions and warn about tempting foreign styles, but to honour the connected, transnational world of the Habsburg empire.

136 Stollberg-Rilinger, The Emperor’s Old Clothes, 4.
1. Christoph Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch

INTRODUCTION

As this dissertation urges, Christoph Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* is a product of transcultural exchange, and this chapter will see its production emerge from the cross-fertilisation of people operating within Habsburg networks during the reign of Charles V. The social, cultural, and political milieu that brought forth Weiditz’s illustrations facilitated the transfer of knowledge and developed methods of visual communication and human representation that were shared and reciprocally recognised. Accordingly, Weiditz’s portrayal of dress, customs, and culture needs to be positioned alongside his social interactions, which have yet to be satisfactorily ironed out.

The following will begin with an appraisal of Weiditz’s career, tying together the oftentimes separately-discussed pieces of his biography to contextualise his relationship with the Habsburg empire and the imperial free city of Augsburg. The chapter will then split into two distinct parts. Firstly, I will examine Weiditz’s travel itinerary that began when he set off for Spain in 1529 and ended in 1532 when he returned to Augsburg after a stretch at the imperial court in Brussels. This research not only firms up scholarly suppositions about the route he took, but also unearths new findings about Weiditz’s travel companion, the armourer Kolman Helmschmid, who may have had more of an impact on the *Trachtenbuch* than has previously been acknowledged. The second part of this chapter returns to the visual programme of the costume album, focusing specifically on the content that accentuates Weiditz’s time in the company of the emperor. I will examine prominent subjects such as travel, transport, and eye-witnessed sights from road, and will analyse the album’s relationship to distinguished courtly personages including Hernan Cortés. The prestige of the empire rubs off on Weiditz and Helmschmid through these features. This created an enviable itinerary which, it will also be examined, was vigorously co-opted into a vision of
imperial service more than half a century later by the wily Hans Römer of Munich, whose copy after the Trachtenbuch incorporated Weiditz’s experiences into his own family history. I seek with this chapter to circumvent the national boundaries typically imposed on the study of costume books by previous scholarly works, establishing Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch as an example of social and cultural exchange within imperial Habsburg Europe and its neighbouring territories.

It is important to stress from the start that the Trachtenbuch’s relationship to the Habsburg empire does not mean it is propagandistic or overtly political. In February 1530 Charles V was officially declared Holy Roman Emperor following a papal coronation ceremony in Bologna. Although Weiditz’s time with the transient imperial court in Spain was in advance of this momentous event, the album was not, as Rublack contends, designed in ‘celebration of Charles’s ambition as a new Caesar’.1 Weiditz’s drawings were not purposefully designed to make a statement about imperial hegemony, although they certainly resonate with the consequences of Habsburg power networks more broadly. In her thesis on Weiditz’s indigenous American subjects, Satterfield argued that the album internalized Charles V’s strategy for empire, specifically how to assimilate foreign Indians into an imperial framework to show possession over the New World.2 Drawing upon Mary Louise Pratt’s work on travel literature and its relationship to imperial expansion, Satterfield considered that to classify or apply a name to a person or object divorces the subject from its natural setting and recasts it within a new, imposed order.3 She argued that the indigenous Americans portrayed by Weiditz are assigned roles as either performers or labourers and are subsequently repositioned within an imperial hierarchy. Satterfield even proposed that Weiditz’s drawings might have been intended for Charles V, perhaps ultimately to provide woodcuts for a print production.4 However there is no visual or documentary evidence to back up this claim and the

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1 Rublack, Dressing Up, 187.
3 Ibid., 53. See Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007).
drawings’ production for a pre-conceived political propaganda project is implausible according to all available clues.

I argue that Weiditz’s relationship with Charles V, imperial Spain, and the Habsburg Empire more broadly must instead be reviewed as subtle and complex. Above all, it was the empire’s connectedness and the way that this encouraged and facilitated Weiditz’s travels and interest in foreign culture that ought to be the focal point. Its powerful institutions strengthened ties between European territories separated by geographic and cultural distance. As Mark Meadow has exposed through his study of an Augsburg panel painting of the biblical narrative of *Esther and Ahasuerus*, social, political, and mercantile connections supported the transmission of cultural knowledge. Such networks must therefore be the starting point for approaching ethnographic material. Meadow’s study of the *Esther and Ahasuerus* painting revolves around the reappearance of indigenous American figures taken from Weiditz’s well-known corpus, where they emerge within a majestic, imagined cityscape amongst crowds of courtly figures representative of familiar and exotic cultures (figs. 39-40).\(^5\) For Meadow, the court of Charles V was ‘the point of intersection’ for the transmission of information regarding the social coding of Aztec apparel, specifically that the figures’ feathered cloaks and fan were high-status objects of a splendidness comparable to the courtly garments worn by the painting’s cast of international elite. To expose the means through which the cultural knowledge of New World finery entered the painting, Meadow sketched out vast and numerous ‘social webs’:

…the mercantile networks along which money and goods traveled; the humanist epistolary and travel networks of informational exchange; the intermarriages, alliances and conflicts of both princely and patrician houses; the patronage systems that linked nobles, merchants, scholars, and craftsmen—and their intersection in the princely Kunst- and Wunderkammern of the 16th century.\(^6\)

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\(^5\) Meadow, “The Aztecs at Ambras.”

\(^6\) Ibid., 349.
According to Meadow, this cultural knowledge was transferred to Augsburg through Weiditz and his drawings, where it was incorporated into the painting commissioned by two of Augsburg’s leading patrician families – the Rehlinger and Villinger.\(^7\) The painting later entered the *Kunstkammer* of Archduke Ferdinand II in Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck, where Meadow notes it hung in close proximity to a cabinet housing Aztec feather-work.\(^8\) After the example of Meadow, this chapter adds new and increasingly complex layers to Weiditz’s social webs, the likes of which negotiated the costume album’s trade in cultural knowledge.

It is essential to keep imperial networks in mind to avoid losing sight of the *Trachtenbuch*’s transnational provenance. José Luis Casado Soto and Carlos Soler d’Hyver de las Deses determine that it was an interest in Spain specifically, as the new axis of European power, that inspired travellers like Weiditz to those parts.\(^9\) A general

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\(^7\) Ibid., 350, 355.  
\(^8\) Ibid., 357.  
fascination with the rising dominance of Spain has likewise been identified by Aric Chen to explain the prevalence of Spanish subjects in the *Trachtenbuch*. However the costume album is best understood as the product of a connected empire that extended beyond its Spanish borders. Although Charles had been predominantly based in Castile in the years leading up to Weiditz’s visit, his was never a settled court, nor was Charles ‘produced’ by the Spanish people, as Chen problematically asserts. Charles’s Burgundian and Austrian Habsburg birth-rights and his claims to the Holy Roman Empire since election in 1519 resulted in a larger network. Borders were exceptionally permeable, and consequently the call from Walter Cupperi to reassess early modern national, cultural boundaries ‘constructed by nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship’ is timely.

Cupperi’s proposition originates in his study into sixteenth-century portrait medals. Here Cupperi has urged a revised historical approach to the study of ‘German Renaissance Medals’ that questions just how regional or local, i.e. ‘German’, their production really was. He begins with reference to Georg Habich and his comprehensive 1913 study of Weiditz the portrait medallist, which persuasively identified Weiditz’s relationships with German as well as Italian, Spanish, and Netherlandish colleagues and patrons. It is lamentable, says Cupperi, that scholarship after Habich did little to acknowledge or advance his pioneering research into sixteenth-century medallists’ transnational social connections, a study that called for a rethink of the ‘traditional ties between place, language, and forms of portraiture’. One way of doing this is to keep human movement in mind. Cupperi concentrates on the ‘border traffic’ of the Holy Roman Empire, noting how portrait medals commissioned, produced, or traded within the German-speaking lands demonstrate the wealth of transactions and exchanges this

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11 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
area had with relatively distant ‘contact zones’. As phenomena of exchange, the medals were, on the one hand, created from patronage exchanges between mobile artisans and patrons from diverse parts. They also constituted objects of gift exchange. Cupperi articulates precisely the framework for looking at objects of visual culture that best suits analysis of the Weiditz Trachtenbuch. I will use his methods to seek out the moments where the effects of mobility and exchange are perceptible upon the production of the costume albums. Particularly useful is Cupperi’s affirmation that political, military, commercial, and religious preoccupations opened up the German-speaking territories to myriad visitors – merchants, ambassadors, army officers, and craftsmen included – as the forces of war, trade, and education made intercultural exchange inevitable. Through investigating Weiditz’s contacts and contact zones, his social webs, and his travel itinerary, it will become clear that the Trachtenbuch is a product of mobility and cross-cultural exchange that was maintained by imperial Habsburg networks.

WEIDITZ’S BIOGRAPHY AND CAREER

Christoph Weiditz (c. 1500-59) was born into a family of artists working in the Upper Rhine region from the mid-fifteenth century. His grandfather Bartholomäus Widitz (or Wyditz, d. ca. 1477) was a sculptor from Meissen who in 1469 married the daughter of a Strasbourg painter and thereafter worked and resided in this city. Bartholomäus’s son Hans Weiditz the Elder (ca. 1475–ca. 1516) followed the family trade. He established himself as a master sculptor in Freiburg im Breisgau, where he was active between 1497 and 1514. Christoph Weiditz and his older brother Hans Weiditz the Younger (c. 1495–c. 1536), a draftsman and woodcut artist, were likely born in Freiburg, where Hans the Elder worked until around 1514. From 1512, Hans the Elder had shared a workshop and

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16 Cupperi, “Beyond the Notion of German Medals,” 2013, 81.
18 Ibid.
collaborated with the painter Hans Baldung Grien, before returning to Strasbourg around
1515. Christoph Weiditz was probably trained in the art of wood-carving after his
father. Hampe suggests that he likely entered his brother’s Strasbourg workshop as a
young man and was exposed to the graphic arts in this way, before settling in Augsburg
in 1526.

Little is known about his early training however, and his earliest attributable
work is a series of portrait medals produced for patrons in and around Strasbourg
between 1523 and 1525. How exactly Weiditz adopted this novel craft is uncertain.
His brother may have been exposed to the new vogue for portrait medals in Augsburg
when he furthered his training in the city between the years 1518 and 1522. Portrait
medals had been popularised in Germany by the Augsburg sculptor Hans Schwarz. In
the lead-up to the Imperial Diet of 1518, Schwarz crafted portrait medals for three of
Augsburg’s most influential figures: Konrad Peutinger, Augsburg’s leading classical
scholar; the wealthy merchant Jakob Fugger; and Hans Burgkmair the Elder, celebrated
artist of the Emperor Maximilian I. Hampe suggests that Weiditz’s attraction to portrait
medals may have been stimulated through his brother’s workshop when the latter was
commissioned to prepare the woodcuts for Johannes Huttichius von Idstein’s treatise on
Roman imperial coins (Strasbourg, 1525). Huttichius’s was one of the first portrait
medals Weiditz struck, and, as Jeffrey Chipps Smith notes in the case of Hans Schwarz,

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21 Habich, “Studien zur deutschen Renaissance-medaille. IV. Christoph Weiditz,” 2–3. Sitters include the following: Christoph Stettle (1532), Johannes Huttichius (1523), Heinrich von Eppedorf (1524), Jakob von Molsheim (1524), Matthias Steffi (1524), Elogius Honnu (1524), Jörg Brun (1524), Konrad Prechter (1524), Anna Schetin (1524), and Konrad Joham von Mundolsheim (1525).

22 Thiem, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, 35:269–70.


it was the study of classical coins by his associates Peutinger and Burgkmair that stimulated the emergence of the portrait medal in Augsburg.\textsuperscript{25} It is likely that Weiditz needed to embrace a new speciality. The practical need to strike out from his brother’s Strasbourg workshop to obtain his own mastery may have led Weiditz to distance himself from the crafts of his family and to experiment with the emerging trend for portrait medals. Chipps Smith considers Weiditz among the few German sculptors that ‘successfully developed new secular forms of sculpture’ in the wake of the Reformation, when the decline in religious commissions encouraged artists to branch out into new subjects.\textsuperscript{26}

Weiditz settled in Augsburg in 1526. He had a captive audience from the beginning, and approximately twenty to twenty-five of his medals date to his early Augsburg period in the years 1526-29.\textsuperscript{27} Weiditz’s formative years in Strasbourg and Augsburg exposed him to new modes and artistic methods. His early training in Strasbourg refined his skills in three-dimensional modelling, particularly wood carving after his father and brother. His early forays into portrait medal production brought him into the workshops of metalworkers where cooperative exchanges of skills and materials informed his new craft. Family members of Strasbourg goldsmiths make up a sizeable number of his earliest clients, for instance.\textsuperscript{28} In Augsburg, Weiditz was positioned to encounter exciting new visual modes that may have informed the content and style of the \textit{Trachtenbuch}. His acquaintance with the aquarelle painter Narziß Renner, for whom he struck a portrait medal in 1527, has been suggested by Hampe to have encouraged Weiditz’s detailed observations of dress.\textsuperscript{29} From 1520 Renner was the artist commissioned by the Fugger accountant Matthäus Schwarz (1497-1572) to depict the

\textsuperscript{25} Chipps Smith, \textit{German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance}, 323–34. Since the late 1490s, an interest in antiquity had meant that Peutinger was charged with constructing a genealogy of Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Maximilian I. The \textit{Vitae Imperatorum Augustorum} was decorated with woodcuts by Burgkmair, whose portraits of the emperors were sourced from Roman coins in Peutinger’s collection.

\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 46–47.

\textsuperscript{27} Hampe and Weiditz, \textit{Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance}, 14.

\textsuperscript{28} According to Habich, these include Jörg Brun, Elogius Honnu (Honowe), and Christoph Stettle (Städelin). Habich, “\textit{Studien zur deutschen Renaissance}medaille. IV. Christoph Weiditz,” 3.

\textsuperscript{29} Hampe and Weiditz, \textit{Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance}, 14.
latter’s wardrobe of fashionable outfits. Compiled into Schwarz’s Klaidungsbüchlein (Little Book of Clothes), Renner’s tempera miniatures record Schwarz’s lifelong passion for dressing up (fig. 41).

Also active in Augsburg in this period were the artists Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473-1531) and Jörg Breu the Elder (1475-1537). Both had taken on the challenge of portraying diverse ethnic types in the decades prior to Weiditz’s move to the city, and had pioneered ethnographic techniques in print. Burgkmair’s woodcut frieze of The Peoples of Africa and India (1508) visualised the merchant Balthasar Springer’s report of his voyage to India. The eight woodcuts were probably based upon sketches that Springer or a crew member had made, and were combined, suggests Leitch, with Burgkmair’s personal observations of Indian slaves purchased by a number of Augsburg patrician families. Compiled together, the woodcuts structure and compare human populations, differentiating their geography, appearance, and customs (fig. 42). Weiditz might also

Figure 41: Narziß Renner, ‘Matthäus Schwarz Aged 24 years, 2 and ½ months’ from the “Klaidungsbüchlein”, 1522. Hs 27 N. 67a, The Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, Braunschweig.

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31 Ibid., 53.

32 Leitch, Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany, 14.

33 Ibid., 73. She cites a marginal note written into Konrad Peutinger’s copy of Ptolemy’s Cosmographia announcing that his father-in-law, Anton Welser, as well as Ambrosius Höchstetter and Konrad Vöhlin, had purchased Indian natives.

34 Ibid., 98.
have been exposed to Breu’s woodcut illustrations for the 1515 German edition of Ludovico de Varthema’s travels to the Holy Land and southeast Asia, *Die Ritterlich vñ lobwirdig rayß*. Breu’s woodcuts were composed to ‘recuperate the eye-witness’, as Leitch puts it. Like Burgkmair, Breu was not witness to the travels he was depicting. To convince audiences of the work’s ethnographic testimony, he positioned the figure of Varthema as an observing eye-witness within the woodcuts’ scenes (fig. 43). Potential exposure to the visual strategies of Burgkmair and Breu may have sharpened Weiditz’s eye to cultural and ethnic difference when he embarked on his own travels in 1529.

Collaboration and dialogue were fundamental to Weiditz’s creative output, as prominent at the start of his career as during the years of the *Trachtenbuch*’s production. Weiditz was not unique in this regard. As Stephanie Leitch emphasises, artistic training and patronage at this time was informed

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36 Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany*, 102-03.
by a substantial representation of humanist, patrician, and mercantile elite whose contributions have been overlooked in traditional art histories that foreground the artist genius. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge collaboration between consumers, agents, and artisans, who forged networks of material and craft knowledge, driving innovation. Cooperative relationships between related trades enabled the transfer of skills across diverse media and crafts. As Weiditz’s early career demonstrates, artisan communities shared social networks and kinship ties that progressed craft skill. These points foreshadow a central theme of this chapter – that the lives of early modern artisans were far less insular or local than has traditionally been assumed, and that subsequently interest in and exposure to other cultures and new knowledge was not merely reserved for the governing, intellectual, or mercantile elite. Artisans travelled. Weiditz’s male relatives all worked in more than one town over the course of their careers. Craftsmen of all kinds were made to exit the workshops of their apprenticeships and to seek employment elsewhere. Wandering journeymen passed from town to town improving their craft before earning the right to become a master, and in doing so facilitated the circulation of knowledge. Merry Wiesner argues that this practice traded in the acquisition of honour in competitive professional environments, meaning that those who had seen more of the world wielded higher status over others.

Weiditz’s relocation to Augsburg was not only a watershed moment of artistic influence. It also provided opportunity for social improvement because he was now working in a city that enjoyed prominence within the Holy Roman Empire, and which was to regularly play host to imperial diets and other events of state significance. Following the 1518 Diet, the demand on Hans Schwarz for portrait medals was so overwhelming that he was unable to keep up. He was banished from Nuremberg in 1520 by the city council, apparently because of legal problems attached to incomplete orders, and from 1521 he disappeared from all historical record. Weiditz filled the void Schwarz had left, and became one of only a handful of dedicated portrait medallists to

37 Ibid., 11.
39 Chipps Smith, German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, 326–27.
achieve renown in Germany in the first half of the century. Augsburg was the ideal destination from which to cater to a growing trend that targeted people’s sense of merit and social standing. Portrait medals were exchanged between friends, commissioned to commemorate marriage or kinship ties, and were portable tokens of esteem and affection.

In the years 1526 to 1529 he made a considerable number of portraits for members of Augsburg’s patrician families, civic officers, and merchant class, including Ulrich Rehlinger, son of the protestant mayor of Augsburg, the learned physician Ambrosius Jung (fig. 44), the bankers Johann and Balthasar Eggenberg, the tax collector Hans Hertzel, and the merchant Joachim Jenisch. In addition to this, he produced medals for the goldsmiths Lienhard Meringer and his wife Katharina, Ottmar Widenmann, Cyprian Schaller, and Georg Zorer. In fact, Habich’s attributions to Weiditz during the years of his Augsburg stay reveal that every medal commissioned by a person not from the top tiers of Augsburg society – that is, patricians and wealthy merchants – was a member of the city’s goldsmiths. Their interest in Weiditz’s craft was not incidental. The reputation and political power Augsburg’s guilds wielded was harnessed by their ability to control and regulate materials, labour, and exportable finished goods. The city’s goldsmiths’ guild was therefore careful to protect their exclusive rights to the

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40 Ibid., 328.
42 Ibid., “Studien zur deutschen Renaissancedemaille. IV. Christoph Weiditz,” 7–10.
43 Ibid., 9–10.
use of precious metals and kept a close eye on goings-on that threatened their trade. As will be detailed, it was not long before Weiditz’s activities were targeted by the irate guild.

Much has been made by historians about Weiditz’s conflict with the Augsburg goldsmiths, but currently no one has pointed out the not insignificant number of medals that the goldsmiths themselves commissioned from Weiditz. This may indicate their early appreciation of his craft, not to mention the possible existence of working relationships. While most of Weiditz’s medals from this period survive only in their carved boxwood models, we can assume that these, as others, were cast in bronze, lead, brass, or other metals. Could the goldsmiths he portrayed have been among those willing to assist him with obtaining the materials and forging tools needed to enable casting? When he arrived into the city in 1526, he did not apprentice himself to a master and workshop, and was likely not in the immediate position to set up his own shop. There is the possibility that, in this period at least, Weiditz’s medals were the outcome of collaborative manufacture. Albrecht Dürer is traditionally considered the artist and author of his woodcuts but they were often carved by specialist Formschneider (woodblock cutters) such as Hieronymus Andreae, who transformed Dürer’s designs into useable blocks.45 In Augsburg, two of the city’s most famed industries – armour and clock production – relied on the cooperation of various tradesmen working across media.46 Armourers took advantage of goldsmiths, engravers, and etchers to ornament their moulded pieces, while clockmakers focused their skills on the mechanical automata that were subsequently enclosed in elaborate cases – the work of specialist cabinet makers. Alliances with certain existing workshops may have assisted Weiditz to get set up in the city. There is every reason to imagine that interested goldsmiths were involved in the casting of Weiditz’s early medals, perhaps themselves eager to adopt this newly popular craft.

The harmony Weiditz seems to have first experienced was soon dashed. The archival evidence of the ensuing conflict documents Weiditz’s appeal to the emperor and the reason for his leave of Augsburg in 1529. Most pivotal is the imperial decree (Freibrief) dated 7 November 1530 that grants Christoph Weiditz the freedom to obtain mastery of the goldsmith craft in Augsburg. The notice explains that this is a repeated order as the first imperial freedom is noted to have been granted to Weiditz in Spain. The goldsmiths, it recounts, had appealed to the town council that Weiditz had neither learned their craft, submitted a masterpiece, nor purchased from the guild the rights to be a master goldsmith. Notwithstanding the fact that he had bypassed the prescribed apprenticeship and journeyman years, it was the emperor’s view that ‘provided he makes his masterpiece, as it is due’, he should be allowed to work unhindered as a master of the goldsmiths’ trade.

It seems however, that Weiditz did not submit a masterpiece to the guild, or that if he did, this was rejected. Despite Weiditz’s imperial freedoms, his ability to work as a goldsmith continued to be contested by the guild. Consequently, he secured from the council on 3 March 1532 the rights to work as a sculptor while the council continued to litigate the ongoing dispute. The council judged that ‘Weiditz’s work is not a craft but an art, and the goldsmiths are well aware of the fact that he had practiced this art before’. While the goldsmiths were opposed to Weiditz’s use of precious metals without exception, the council seems to have understood the novelty and distinction of Weiditz’s medal-making ‘art’, in which the use of metal was an unavoidable. In stubborn defiance, Weiditz himself announced ‘I will never allow such exemption and admission [to be a master goldsmith] to be wrested from me, and I have made masterpieces enough.


48 Charles V, cited by Habich, “*Studien zur deutschen Renaissancemedaille. IV. Christoph Weiditz,*” 26–27. ‘Unser und des Reichs lieber Getreuer, sofern er sein Meisterstück, wie sichs gebührt mache...’

49 Augsburg council cited by ibid., 27. ‘*Dieweil des Weiditzen Arbeit kein Handwerk, sondern eine Kunst und den Goldschmied mit nichten zwider ist, daß er sich derselben Kunst hinfür wie bisher gebrauche ...*”
praise God’. He pointed out the endorsement of high-status patrons that the council could appreciate, boasting ‘I have done and am still doing such work as that His Roman Imperial and Royal Majesty has himself praised it and been pleased with it, as well as other princes and lords of German and foreign lands.’ But while the council ruled that each party should stick to each other’s work and not interfere with the other’s trade, the conflict endured. In 1538 the council formally approved Weiditz to exercise his art and to employ students. He was not granted a goldsmith’s master status however, and as such, the goldsmiths denied performing necessary quality inspections of the precious materials he used. Neither did they accept Weiditz’s apprentices and journeymen. The guild masters refused to sign off on the teaching certificates of his students, an act that challenged their ability to work in Augsburg and abroad.

The city council were not prepared to force the guild’s arm. It was their on-the-fence attitude to the feud that had caused Weiditz to seek the emperor’s support in the first place. His appeal to Charles V as a higher authority is comparable to the actions taken by the Nuremberg city executioner Franz Schmidt, whose petition to Ferdinand II (r. 1618-37) to restore his family’s honour has been recently brought to attention by Joel Harrington. After a lifetime of being in a profession reviled by the public at large because of its handling of malefactors, Schmidt wrote to the imperial court in 1624 with the endorsement of the Nuremberg council to abolish the ‘inherited shame’ that had unfairly befallen his family. It was ‘out of imperial might and clemency’ that Schmidt hoped to restore his honourable status ‘among other reputable people’, indicating that the local authorities’ approval had not proved sufficient to change the opinion of his

50 Christoph Weiditz, cited by Ibid. ‘Das hab ich geleistet und noch, daß Römische Kaiserliche und Königliche Majestät (es) selbst gelobt und (daran) gefallen gehabt samt anderen Fürsten und Herrn teutscher und welscher Land. So laß ich mir solche Befreiung und Zulassung nimmer zucken (entreißen), dann ich hab Meisterstück genug gemacht, Gott sei lob.’
51 John Forrest Hayward, Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism, 1540-1620 (London; Totowa, N.J.: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976), 44.
52 Hampe and Weiditz, Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance, 15.
53 August Weiss, Das Handwerk der Goldschmiede zu Augsburg bis zum Jahre 1681 (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1897), 107.
55 Ibid., 22.
peers, but that support of the emperor might well do so. Although the imperial *Freibrief* Weiditz received from Charles V did not silence the goldsmiths, the pursuit of it certainly opened new doors for the talented artist.

His tour of Europe brought him into contact with new and important markets, as well as exposed him to the customs and cultures that entered his *Trachtenbuch*. During the years of his travels, which, in 1530 saw him briefly return to Augsburg before heading to the imperial court in Brussels, Weiditz cast medals for the emperor, Hernán Cortés, the imperial chancellor Alfonso de Valdés and Charles’s Spanish secretary Francisco de los Cobos (1477-1547), the Fugger factor Christoph Mülich, who had close ties to the imperial court, and Adolph de Bourgogne, the Grand Admiral of the Netherlandish fleet (fig. 45). His most important new patron was Johannes Dantiscus (1485-1548), the Polish ambassador to Charles V. Weiditz created two portrait medals for Dantiscus after meeting him in Spain. The first, dated to 1529, presents the sitter wearing courtly apparel (fig. 46). The second was probably commissioned to celebrate Dantiscus’s appointment to the Bishopric in Kulm (Chelmno, West Prussia) in 1530. Dated to 1531, the medal depicts him wearing clerical garb (fig. 47). Dantiscus was well-travelled, having journeyed to Greece, Palestine, and

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56 Ibid.
58 His full name was Johannes von Höfen but he called himself *Dantiscus* as a reference his birthplace Gdansk (Danzig).
Arabia in 1505-06, and England in 1522-23. He was also a humanist poet, art patron, and an enthusiastic correspondent who counted as his friends Erasmus, Martin Luther, Nicolas Copernicus, and the emperor’s chamberlain Count Henry III of Nassau-Dillenberg. In 1989 a research project was launched by the University of Warsaw to publish and form an inventory of more than 6,000 of his letters, many which have been photographed and in some cases transcribed as part of the project’s ‘Internet publication of Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence’. Dantiscus’s correspondence shows that he took Weiditz under his wing. In January 1531, Christoph Mülich wrote to Dantiscus requesting ‘Cristof Pildhawer [Bildhauer (sculptor)], your servant, to make me my medal’. By 9 March 1531 Mülich had received his medal and was pleased with it, writing to Dantiscus that is was ‘diligently-made’. In April 1532, the emperor and his entourage were in Regensburg for an imperial diet. Weiditz, still in their company,

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60 Ibid., I:284–85.
63 Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “CIDT&C,” Let. #3695. ‘Christoph Mülich to Ioannes Dantiscus, Augsburg, 1531-03-09’: ‘...die gedacht medallia gefällt mir wohl ist fleissig gemacht’.
is alluded to in a note written by Alfonso de Valdés to Dantiscus in which Valdés tells the bishop that he likes his portrait (**simulacrum**) and will send another to the bishop so he can have it corrected to look like the first one. The CIDT&C researchers argue that the **simulacrum** mentioned here is likely the portrait medal Weiditz struck in 1531, as medals were cast in multiple copies and then reworked by the medallist.64 Dantiscus is again shown as the man responsible for dispensing Weiditz’s services. Several years later in 1536 when Weiditz was resettled in Augsburg, he composed a letter to his former patron to inform him of his visit to Kulm. He mentions sending with the letter a small ‘**kindlin**’, probably a little statuette of the Christ child.65

Maintaining relationships with important dignitaries like Dantiscus may have helped Weiditz feel connected to imperial favour and protection. His dispute with the goldsmiths was never formally resolved, and even in 1554 Weiditz was still complaining to the Augsburg council that his journeymen and apprentices were not being duly acknowledged.66 Upon his return to Augsburg in 1532 he had wasted no time positioning himself as a master of his craft and ready to run his own workshop. He married Regina Forster, the sister of Joachim Forster, an Augsburg-born sculptor who from 1525 spent his journeyman years in Bern practising as a goldsmith before serving other diverse princely courts around Italy and France, returning to Augsburg in 1544.67 Weiditz’s choice was well-calculated – traditionally guild membership could be transferred from wife to husband, and while marrying the sister of a goldsmith in this instance did not confer such a right automatically, it would have buoyed his claims to work in this craft.68 As Lyndal Roper has shown, marriage was essential to establishing a workshop in Augsburg’s guild-dominated society.69 It conferred adult masculinity upon the married

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64 Ibid., Let. #5769. ‘Alfonso de Valdés to Ioannes Dantiscus, [Regensburg], [ca. 1532-04-16?]’.
69 Ibid., 17.
man and proved his readiness to lead both a household and an active workshop.\textsuperscript{70} Weiditz’s marriage would have sent a clear message to the Augsburg goldsmiths that he had no intention to acquiesce to their demands. Instead it proclaimed his independence as a mature master with intentions to root himself firmly in Augsburg.

On 8 December 1554, the goldsmiths complained to the council that Forster and Weiditz were producing all sorts of works in gold and silver contravening the guild’s interests, as well as works in clay, marble, stone, wood, and iron.\textsuperscript{71} Forster and Weiditz engaged themselves with various crafts and worked across media – perhaps a freedom motivated by working without guild restrictions. As well as bronze medals, Weiditz’s surviving works include several small-scale, figural sculptures of classical and allegorical characters: a pear-wood Lucretia, a gilded bronze Venus, and an ivory Cleopatra and Hercules (fig. 48).\textsuperscript{72} One of his later masterpieces, an elaborate, ornamental dagger and knife set, masterfully combines multiple techniques and materials. The piece has a gold- and silver-embellished ivory sheath and hilt thatforegrounds the allegorical figure Fortuna (fig. 49). A notice of authorship is embossed onto the underside of the sheath, proclaiming that the piece was fashioned by ‘CHRISTOF WEYDITZ’ (fig. 50). In the face of his on-going poor relationship with the goldsmiths, Weiditz maintained the nominal approval of the Augsburg city council. Weiditz credited the council with protecting him ‘in a

\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 31.
\textsuperscript{71} Habich, “Studien zur deutschen Renaissancemedaille. IV. Christoph Weiditz.” 29.
fatherly manner’, and wrote that they allowed him to ‘continue to do my work which redounds the praise and fame of the city in general’. Unlike the goldsmith guild, the city government recognised that talented, foreign artisans like Weiditz brought Augsburg economic prosperity and increased the city’s reputation for luxury goods.

Weiditz’s talents also extended to book illustration, a trade he may have embraced when the goldsmiths made it particularly hard for him to gain business working with precious metals. As well as the Trachtenbuch, a handful of other manuscripts contain drawings attributable to his hand. One of these is a Wappenbuch or roll of arms from southern Germany, dated to c. 1530.74

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Hampe and Weiditz, Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance, 16.
74 “Sammelband mehrerer Wappenbücher”, c. 1530. BSB Cod. Icon 391, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
The work includes a series of six heralds wearing their heraldic tabards which, like the Trachtenbuch figures, are stocky in shape and executed in bold, dark pen and bright colour (fig. 51). These figure types also appear in the Einspännigerbuch of Augsburg council officer Paul Hector Mair (1517–79), an album collating livery designs for the so-called ‘one-horse’ (Einspänner) soldiers, a branch of the civic militia who served as armed escorts and messengers (figs. 52-53).75 During the 1540s and 1550s Weiditz appears to have designed uniforms for these soldiers at the behest of the council, later compiled by Mair with annotations about the livery’s design, manufacture, and distribution. The following section will introduce another set of albums – the Thun-Hohenstein sketchbooks – that contain images of garnitures produced by the Helmschmid armour workshop that appear to have been prepared by Weiditz (fig. 54).76 These illustrated works demonstrate a continued interest in the commemoration of dress and bodily adornment – showing that Weiditz’s Augsburg contemporaries understood the social capital of dress and deemed it a subject worthy of historical memory.

Figure 52: Christoph Weiditz (?) ‘Livery design for 1546’ from Paul Hector Mair’s “Einspännigerbuch”, Augsburg, ca. 1542. 2 Cod S 228, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, fol. 7r.

Figure 53: Christoph Weiditz (?) ‘Livery design for 1547’ from Paul Hector Mair’s “Einspännigerbuch”, Augsburg, ca. 1542. 2 Cod S 228, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, fol. 14r.

Figure 54: Christoph Weiditz (?) ‘Armoured Man’ from the “Thun-Hohenstein sketchbooks”, Augsburg, c. 1532/50. Codex GK 11.572-B, Uměleckoprůmyslové museum v Praze, Prague, fol. 38r. (Group A).
1.i. *Weiditz’s Travels*

**WEIDITZ’S TRAVEL COMPANION**

The following section will encounter Weiditz’s itinerary to Spain (1529) and the Netherlands (1530-31), beginning by identifying his esteemed travel companion, the armourer Kolman Helmschmid. Until now little attention has been paid to Helmschmid’s crucial role in Weiditz’s journey, and the wider implications of their shared trip upon the production of the *Trachtenbuch* has been passed over. I will then form an inquiry into the route that Weiditz took and the destinations he passed through, aiming to form as precise a reconstruction as evidence allows.

While the Augsburg goldsmiths were the cause for Weiditz’s travels, the Augsburg armourer Kolman Helmschmid (c. 1471-1532) appears to have been the means. Helmschmid’s companionship is identified in the *Trachtenbuch* in the text accompanying the portrait of Weiditz in his sailor’s apparel, (fig. 55): ‘Thus Stoffel weyditz voyaged over the sea with Kolman Holmschmidt’.77 Helmschmid was the current patriarch of a leading family of armourers that dominated the industry in Augsburg in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Charles V had been a patron of Helmschmid’s from his

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youth, while Maximilian I and Charles’s Burgundian predecessor Philip the Handsome had commissioned pieces from the elder Helmdschmid, Lorenz (c. 1445-1516). Helmdschmid’s travels to Spain probably arose from an obligation to hand-deliver a suit of armour to the emperor that was ready by 1529. This may have been the emperor’s ‘Fleur-de-lis Scroll Armour’ or the ‘Hunt Tonlet’, garnitures attributed to Kolman Helmschmid and dated to the years 1525-30. Through artisanal networks, Weiditz must have heard that Helmschmid was planning a trip to the Spanish imperial court and, facing mounting pressure from the Augsburg goldsmiths, arranged to accompany the respected armourer and thereby seek imperial favour and patronage.

It has been suggested by Hampe that the named ‘Kolman Holmschmidt’ may have been Kolman’s son. Desiderius Kolman Helmschmid (1513-79) would have been a fit youth of sixteen years, while his aging father, Hampe questioned, might not have been physically able to travel such a distance. Instead, Hampe imagined that Desiderius was tasked by his father with carrying the armour to Spain on his behalf. The question of which armourer Weiditz accompanied is clarified by two new pieces of evidence that affirm it was the elder Helmschmid. The first clue emerges in a hitherto unexamined copy after Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch, produced in the early seventeenth century for Hans Römer of Munich and newly digitized by the Bavarian State Library. The copy, hereafter referred to as the Römer MS, maintains several images once preserved in the Trachtenbuch that have since been lost, most likely during a re-binding dated by Hampe to the late-eighteenth century. The copy crucially contains a missing portrait of Helmschmid (fig. 56). Its textual description, assumedly taken from the missing original, reads: ‘In this manner the honourable Kolman Helmschnit travelled

79 Hampe and Weiditz, Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance, 8.
80 Ibid.
81 “Kostümbuch – Kopie nach dem Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz”, c. 1600. BSB Cod. Icon 342, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Hereafter cited as “Römer MS”.
82 Hampe and Weiditz, Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance, 6.
across the ocean to Portugal and afterward to Spain to his Imperial Majesty who treated him honourably and well thanks be to God’. The armourer carries his blacksmith’s hammer and, providing a complement to Weiditz’s portrait, wears loose-fitting, sea-faring garments. He is portrayed with a full beard and moustache, and thus looks mature in comparison to the young, fresh-faced Weiditz. It is a vital piece of evidence confirming that Weiditz had a mature and highly-regarded associate introduce him into Spanish courtly society.

Another copy after Weiditz’s album, a set of unbound folios previously unknown to scholarship, confirms Helmschmid’s portrait and its existence in Weiditz’s original. Housed by the Waldburg-Wolfegg collection in Schloss Wolfegg, Upper Swabia, the loose folio containing the Helmschmid and Weiditz portraits depicts the armourer as a portly man with bushy facial hair (fig. 57). Rather than being representative of the sixteen-year-old Desiderius Kolman, this character is surely his father who, in 1529, was sixty-two years of age. Kolman’s facial features appear truthfully rendered in the Waldburg-Wolfegg portrait, closely resembling his visage on the portrait medal Hans Kels struck.

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83 “Römer MS”, fol. 74v. ‘In der gestalt ist der Erber Colman helmschnit über mör gfaren in PortugaI vnd darnach in Hispania zu kai.maj. beger der hat in Erlich vnd wol gehalten Got hab lob’. Translation credited to Ulinka Rublack.

in 1532 (fig. 58). Charles V’s chancellery register (Reichsregisterbücher [RRB]) also confirms that the father not the son travelled to Spain in 1529. Recording the comings and goings, a court registrar noted the presence of ‘Kolman Helmschmit, Burgher of Augsburg’ at the court in Barcelona on 12 July 1529, mentioning his privilege within the empire. This Helmschmid can mean none other than the master armourer, whose

85 Holy Roman Empire. Emperor Charles V (1519-1556), Die Reichsregisterbücher, 70. [4007] ‘Kolman Helmschmit, Burger zu Augsburg; Freisitz im Reich.’
illustrious career had seen him supply several high-quality garnitures to the imperial family.

Helmschmid’s role as Weiditz’s travel companion has been a surprisingly overlooked feature of the Trachtenbuch’s origins. Without Helmschmid to escort him into court and vouch for his abilities, Weiditz may have been challenged to present his case against the Augsburg goldsmiths to the emperor. For most artists, securing princely favour and patronage was often a matter of finding an ally with the right social standing to support claims of talent and ingenuity. For instance, the Italian printmaker Enea Vico implored his friend Pietro Aretino, the influential satirist and playwright, to help him obtain imperial patronage. Aretino fulfilled this request by singing Vico’s praises to the Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, a powerful man at the emperor’s ear, and advised Vico that upon introduction, he must not attempt to chat to the emperor but instead allow his engraving to speak for his talents.86 Even Albrecht Dürer, who had successfully held the favour of Maximilian I for five years, had to petition Margaret of Austria to secure the renewal of his imperial pension from Charles V, and travelled to the Netherlands in 1520 to have this confirmed.87 Helmschmid was the perfect chaperon for Weiditz not simply because he was already held in high-regard by Charles V, but also because this journey was not his first to the Spanish court, but his second.

Helmschmid’s 1525 expedition to Toledo is another facet of this genesis narrative that existing scholarship of the Trachtenbuch has failed to identify. Since early that year, the emperor had desired to bring Kolman Helmschmid to the imperial Spanish court and had his secretary Jean Hannart, who was positioned in Nuremberg, on the case. Hannart wrote to the emperor on 26 April informing him that Helmschmid could not undertake the trip because he was occupied with a great deal of work for other noblemen and was unwilling to leave his wife and young children.88 Despite his initial excuses, the

armourer was eventually coerced to come to Toledo. Records uncovered and published in 1898 by the Spanish royal armoury reveal that Helmschmid departed Augsburg in December of that same year and stayed in Toledo for approximately a month. In January the imperial secretary Jean Lalemand sent correspondence to Augsburg to arrange with their financier Juan de Adurza the reimbursement of Helmschmid’s and his chaperon, Ludovico Taxis’s travel expenses. The letter describes how the armourer and Taxis, an imperial courier, travelled to Toledo through France by way of Lyon. They even received especially-made liveries in the imperial colours, presumably designed to herald their allegiance on the road.

The purpose of Helmschmid’s 1525 trip to Toledo appears to have been procuring the emperor’s bodily measurements. These were not simply noted in numerical measures but replicated in models, as may be inferred from an entry into an account book of the royal armoury aligning with the date of Helmschmid’s court visit. The record notes ‘for three pounds of wax and lead to make patterns, that the master Colman, armourer, made …’. The inventoried items must have been used to make moulds of the emperor’s limbs and torso, first crafted in wax, and then cast with lead using the lost-wax process. It was common for armourers to utilize pieces of clothing belonging to the intended client such as arming doublets, however generating lead casts onto which new garnitures could be directly shaped ensured an even more superb fit. From these moulds, Helmschmid probably worked the ‘Hunt Tonlet’ and the ‘Fleur-de-lis Scroll Armour’, and it was potentially to deliver and fit one of these suits, or to amend the emperor’s measurements, that he was compelled to return to the Spanish court in 1529.

Lalemand’s correspondence to Augsburg after he returned shows that Helmschmid was handsomely compensated. As well as the 150 ducats received as

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89 Don Juan De Valencia, Catálogo Histórico-Descriptivo de la Real Armería de Madrid (Madrid: Fototipias de Hauser y Menet, 1898), 34–35.
90 Ibid., 35.
91 Ibid.
92 Cited by Ibid. ‘Pour trois livres de cire et de plomb pour faire les patrons que maître Colman, armoyeur, a fait …’
reimbursement for travel expenses, he was given another 500 ducats as reward for his time and efforts.\textsuperscript{94} As there is no evidence that Helmschmid was delivering a readied suit of armour in 1525 for which the 500 ducats were payment, we can assume that this enormous sum was intended to cover the armourer’s inconveniences alone, showing just how valued his undertaking of the journey had been to the emperor. Charles V was emotionally invested in the fit of his armour, as this case reveals. On another occasion, the Mantuan master armourer Caremolo Modrone fashioned the emperor such a perfectly-fitted suit that he exclaimed ‘that they [his armour elements] were more precious to him than a city (…), if he had taken the measurement a thousand times they could not fit better’.\textsuperscript{95} As the Mantuan ambassador to Spain noted, ‘Caremolo is more beloved and revered than a member of the court’.\textsuperscript{96} The depth of respect and admiration Caremolo inspired was shared by Helmschmid, whose return trip to the court in 1529 testifies to his continued favour. Helmschmid must have been warmly welcomed back. Despite his humble social status as a member of the artisanate, his specialist talents enabled him to socialize with high-ranking courtiers and members of Charles’s inner circle. I would propose that Helmschmid’s reputation and experience must have improved Weiditz’s introduction at court. Weiditz evidently enjoyed a favourable reception, which resulted in his meeting and striking medals for two of the emperor’s most esteemed associates, Hernán Cortés and the bishop Johannes Dantiscus.

The previously unknown Helmschmid portrait is essential to understanding the purpose and function of the \textit{Trachtenbuch}, formerly interpreted with scarcely a reference to the master armourer. The descriptive text accompanying Weiditz’s self-portrait (‘Thus Stoffèl weyditz voyaged over the sea with Kolman Holmschmidt’) has caused Weiditz to be taken as the work’s protagonist, and Helmschmid as his incidental companion.\textsuperscript{97} Because Weiditz is the subject of this description and Helmschmid the indirect object, the prominent armourer’s position in the narrative of the \textit{Trachtenbuch} has been misunderstood. In light of the rediscovered Helmschmid portrait (fig. 56),

\textsuperscript{94} De Valencia, \textit{Catálogo Histórico-Descriptivo de la Real Armería de Madrid}, 35.
\textsuperscript{95} Translated and cited in Belozerskaya, \textit{Luxury Arts of the Renaissance}, 178.
\textsuperscript{96} Translated and cited in Ibid.
\textsuperscript{97} “\textit{Trachtenbuch}”, fol. 78.
almost certainly a part of the Trachtenbuch’s original bound state, I argue that this needs to be reviewed. The Waldburg-Wolfegg copy presents both portraits of the German travellers on a single sheet, with the curious addition of a monkey at Weiditz’s feet (fig. 57). Helmschmid stands on the left, customarily the male position in Renaissance marital portrait pairs, and both characters face inwards towards each other. This positioning is repeated in the Römer MS, separated over two leaves. In the original Trachtenbuch we see Weiditz again on the recto leaf facing towards his missing partner who ought to appear on his right. This hierarchical positioning places Helmschmid in a superior role. This sentiment is repeated in the descriptive text too: ‘In this manner the honourable Kolman Helmschnit travelled across the sea to Portugal and afterward to Spain to his Imperial Majesty who treated him honourably and well thanks be to God’. 98 It is through Helmschmid that the expedition and its outcome – a favourable reception from the emperor – are explained. As the subject of the text, it is the armourer who ought to be considered the principal character of the ensuing adventure. Re-reading the description of Weiditz’s portrait, it is clear that the medallist is positioned in the supporting role as he joins Helmschmid and travels over the sea with his superior in age and merit.

Helmschmid’s hammer is centrally depicted and purposefully wielded. Could it be that the portrait not merely commemorates the great armourer, but that the Trachtenbuch in its entirety commemorates his foreign excursions serving the emperor? It is possible that Weiditz painted the immaculate watercolours with their gilded surface ornament for a member of the Helmschmid family, rather than for himself. Weiditz remains the undisputed author of the pictures, which represent subjects and observations that caught his own eye; however, it is plausible that he might construct a commemorative programme for Helmschmid’s journey based upon the personal sketches of foreign costume and social mores that he had begun executing after they set off together from Augsburg. Helmschmid died in Augsburg in 1532. Hampe suggests that the Trachtenbuch images were not painted up into their perfect state until several

98 “Römer MS”, fol. 74v.
years, or even a decade, after Weiditz’s travels. Could Desiderius Helmschmid have commissioned Weiditz to paint the album to memorialise his late father’s journeys? It is certainly an interesting proposition, however there is no firm evidence to support this idea further. Helmschmid’s primary position in the *Trachtenbuch* portraits could alternatively be explained as Weiditz’s way of honouring his superior within a set of images that were created as the medallist’s personal memoir, as has long been assumed. If they were commissioned by Desiderius Helmschmid however, then these illustrations would not be the only watercolours that Weiditz appears to have made for the famous armour workshop.

Feared lost since 1932, two albums containing illustrations of armour garnitures attributable to three generations of Helmschmid armourers – Lorenz, Kolman, and Desiderius – were recently rediscovered in Prague. The *Thun-Hohenstein* sketchbooks, as they had previously been known, resurfaced in the collections of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague. Pierre Tierjanian, curator of arms and armour at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, has examined the albums and argued that the earlier of the two, codex GK 11.572-B, consists of illustrations produced on varieties of watermarked paper commonly used in Augsburg during the late 1530s and 1540s. Terjanian suggests that 61 of the album’s 112 illustrations were made by the same artist (figs. 59-60). This dispersed set of images, named Group A, are argued to have been prepared not by the armourers but by a Briefmaler or illuminist based in Augsburg who had ties to the Helmschmid armourers and who was familiar with Hans Burgkmair the Elder’s *Genealogy of Maximilian I* drawings, several of which are reproduced in the

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99 Hampe and Weiditz, *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance*, 9, 26. The description of the album’s picture of Andrea Doria for example, suggests the knowledge of hindsight. In 1529 Andrea Doria had only recently defected to Charles V. Only over the many years that followed did he do the ‘many splendid deeds’ referred to in the image caption, for example serving in the Tunis campaign in 1535.


Group A series. Terjanian proposes that the group A artist was one of the numerous painters or etchers known to have had familial ties with the Helmschmids or to have assisted the ornamentation of their armour pieces, for example Daniel Hopfer the Elder (1470-1536) or Jörg Sorg the Younger (c. 1525-1603).

But there was another young artist who, as we have seen, had a relationship with Kolman Helmschmid that was solidified not through kinship ties but through companionship on a journey to the Spanish court. The Group A images have undeniable stylistic parallels with Christoph Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* watercolours, and the other

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103 Ibid., 306–12.
104 Ibid., 312. He also proposes Hans Burgkmair the Younger (c. 1500-59), Jörg Breu the Younger (c. 1510-47), Ulrich Holzmann (recorded 1534-62), and Hans Stromair (recorded 1535-84) amongst others.
examples of his hand earlier identified.\textsuperscript{105} I have little doubt that it was Weiditz who in the 1530s and 1540s painted the Group A illustrations of garniture, armoured figures, and horses, likely at the behest of Desiderius Helmschmid. Because the illustrations were executed generally much later than the production of the garnitures, which in some cases date from as early as the 1480s, the album was a retrospective project envisioned by Desiderius or another family member to catalogue, commemorate, and celebrate the work of the Helmschmid workshop which had, since Lorenz’s time, furnished the armouries of European princes and Habsburg emperors.\textsuperscript{106}

With access to the original designs of Helmschmid pieces, many which were long-since distributed to princely collections outside of Augsburg, Weiditz must have maintained a close relationship with Desiderius that was surely furnished by the trip Weiditz had shared with his late father and the memories this invoked. Desiderius may have requested not one but two series of drawings from Weiditz, taking advantage of his drafting skills and his knowledge of the work and travels of his late father. Both albums relate back to the Helmschmid family’s servicing of the Habsburg emperors which brought honour to the family name. The \textit{Trachtenbuch}’s pictures portray not only Weiditz’s but also Kolman Helmschmid’s journey and may have functioned to satiate a son’s curiosity about the cultures his father had encountered while abroad. They also demonstrate the opportunities for worldly travel that imperial service empowered. The idea that the \textit{Trachtenbuch} was commissioned and thus owned by a Helmschmid could help explain the work’s remarkable level of reception and the spread of its imagery from the late 1540s onwards. The notoriety wielded by Desiderius Helmschmid, one of the most in-demand armourers of his time, meant his public persona outshone that of Weiditz, who was constantly at loggerheads with the city’s goldsmiths’ guild. Even if

\textsuperscript{105} For example, the “\textit{Sammelband mehrerer Wappenb"ucher}”, c. 1530 and the “\textit{Einsp"annigerbuch}” ca. 1542.

\textsuperscript{106} I must gratefully acknowledge the research of Chassica Kirchoff of the University of Kansas who is studying the earlier \textit{Thun-Hohenstein} album as part of her PhD dissertation. In May 2016 she attended a conference I organised in Cambridge called \textit{Pictures, Parchment, & Paper: illustrated books and manuscripts in early modern Germany} and gave a paper entitled ‘Armored Intersections: Genre, Meaning, and Memory in the \textit{Thun-Hohenstein Album}’, introducing her argument that the album constitutes a retrospective project within a broader remembrance culture that encouraged chivalric discourses surrounding the Emperor Maximilian I.
the Trachtenbuch was not commissioned by Desiderius and was solely Weiditz’s personal undertaking, it is clear that Weiditz profited from his relationship with the Helmschmids and that Kolman’s 1529 calling to Spain had given Weiditz access to prestigious imperial networks. As the Thun-Hohenstein drawings demonstrate, his relationship with the Helmschmid family was maintained in the decades that followed.

THE ROUTE AND ITINERARY

Weiditz and Helmschmid set off for Spain in early 1529. The majority of the Trachtenbuch’s subjects can be fitted into a plausible itinerary that Weiditz followed from this year until 1532. The exact route of his travels has been the cause of great speculation. Previous analysis of his itinerary has led scholars to conclude that it was unfeasible for Weiditz to have visited every destination represented by the costume figures in the Trachtenbuch. Mapping out his travels, it will be seen that it was highly unlikely he voyaged to England and Ireland, or made his way to Naples or Vienna, some of the anomalies in the album that are represented by single figures. Hampe has proposed that Weiditz filled out his album by copying figures from now-obscured sources.107 Among these sources, he suggests, were pre-existing series of Basque and Morisco figures that served as ‘proto-types’.108 However, the ‘hypothetical’ existence of the oft-cited templates has not convinced Dennis Conrad because no evidence of them has yet materialised.109 Conrad warns that the notion of Weiditz’s copying from other sources ‘diametrically oppose[s] the theory that he reported individual travel and experiences’ and would put the authenticity and independence of Weiditz’s artistry into question.110 But Conrad conveniently ignores the problem of the English and Irish figures. Paul Grotemeyer suggested they might indicate an additional trip Weiditz took to England,

108 Ibid., 22–23.
109 Ibid., “Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz,” 32.
110 Ibid.
but there is truly no evidence for this.\textsuperscript{111} In my opinion, Weiditz’s use of pre-existing models in a few cases does not reduce the spontaneity of the many more subjects he appears to have sketched in situ. It has long been acknowledged by scholars that travel writers of the period often exaggerated, elaborated, and even fabricated to present themselves as a convincing witness.\textsuperscript{112} Weiditz’s occasional use of copied material is neither scandalous nor unusual, but rather shows he was engaging with a commonplace artistic tradition – the model/copy process – that was to prove the backbone of the costume book genre as it developed.\textsuperscript{113}

Georg Habich, who knew nothing of the \textit{Trachtenbuch}’s existence, noted that from 1529 medals attributable to Weiditz started depicting courtly figures residing in Spain. It was in this year, he concluded, that Weiditz set off for the Spanish imperial court to petition the emperor. Habich suggested that Weiditz then followed the imperial entourage as it sailed to Genoa and continued on to Bologna for Charles V’s coronation ceremony in February 1530, before returning to Augsburg via Italy to reach the imperial diet by June 1530.\textsuperscript{114} Habich then traced Weiditz’s trail of medals along the Rhine to the Netherlands, where the artist was active in 1531-32, before he returned to Augsburg via Nuremberg in 1532.\textsuperscript{115} Drawing from Habich’s study, Hampe applied this general route to the \textit{Trachtenbuch}, arguing that the album’s subjects suggested that Weiditz travelled overland to Spain, probably through Ulm, Zurich, Geneva, Lyon, Toulouse, and Roussillon.\textsuperscript{116} After joining the imperial court in Castile, either in Toledo or Valladolid, Hampe suggested that Weiditz voyaged to Italy with the emperor, and then returned to Augsburg. He matched the album’s costume figures from the Low Countries with


\textsuperscript{114} Habich, “Studien zur deutschen Renaissancemedaille. IV. Christoph Weiditz,” 10–12, 13–15.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 15–19.

\textsuperscript{116} Hampe and Weiditz, \textit{Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance}, 21.
Weiditz’s 1531-32 sojourn at the Netherlandish court, and determined that the album’s subjects from Portugal, Vienna, England, and Ireland were ‘doubtless added only by way of comparison to complete the plan of the costume-book’.\(^{117}\)

Habich’s and Hampe’s assumption that the Augsburg travellers journeyed overland to Spain was overturned by Casado Soto and Soler d’Hyver de las Deses, who suggested that they instead embarked on a voyage to Spain and must have boarded a ship in the Low Countries bound for the Cantabrian coast.\(^{118}\) As Conrad points out, the emperor was at war with France at the time, and consequently Weiditz and Helmschmid would have not risked the dangerous, lengthy journey through enemy territory, particularly if carrying a precious suit of armour destined for the Habsburg emperor.\(^{119}\) Weiditz’s subjects from Languedoc and Roussillon, in this case, must have emerged from his return journey to Augsburg, indicating that he did not accompany the emperor to Genoa, but travelled from Barcelona by land, skirting the coast of Catalonia and southern France before heading into Germany.\(^{120}\) The Römer MS confirms the initial sea-bound route with its portrait of Helmschmid, who ‘travelled across the sea to Portugal and afterward to Spain to his Imperial Majesty’.\(^{121}\) It is likely that Weiditz and Helmschmid embarked on a ship operating under the close trading relationship that existed between Portugal and the Low Countries. In 1547 the German explorer Hans Staden travelled from Bremen to Holland where he boarded a ship bound for the Portuguese port of Setúbal where it was to pick up a cargo of salt.\(^{122}\) Staden, whose second expedition to Brazil famously resulted in his capture by the indigenous Tupinambá people, headed to nearby Lisbon upon docking in Setúbal. This was Portugal’s largest port, where reportedly over a thousand men worked in the maritime trade.\(^{123}\) The salt trade between Portugal and northern European ports was a well-established one, while in 1515 the sale of Eastern spices moved from Lisbon’s Casa da

\(^{117}\) Ibid., 23.

\(^{118}\) Casado Soto, Soler d’Hyver de las Deses, and Weiditz, *El Códice de los Trajes: libro studio*, 51.

\(^{119}\) Conrad, “Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz,” 64.

\(^{120}\) Ibid., 135.

\(^{121}\) “Römer MS”, fol. 74v.


\(^{123}\) Ibid.
India over to Antwerp, where the Flemish city’s strong mercantile networks into northern Europe could be exploited.124

Consulting all available evidence, I propose that Weiditz’s travels unfolded in the following way. Firstly, that Weiditz found out about Kolman Helmschmid’s preparations to return to the Spanish court and obtained permission to join the armourer’s travelling party. The party headed north-west to a coastal port such as Antwerp from where they could board a ship heading to Portugal. The wintery sailing apparel worn by the ship’s crew and the German travellers suggests that they departed the Low Countries when there was still a chill in the air, most likely in the early winter of 1529. In December 1525, Spanish imperial agents were comfortable to send Helmschmid overland through France with a courier. Perhaps they were emboldened by Francis I’s crushing defeat at the Battle of Pavia in February of that year and his subsequent imprisonment in Spain. In early 1529 however, when Helmschmid once again prepared to visit the Spanish court, tensions with France were running high amid conflict with the League of Cognac, an alliance between France, England, the Papal States, the Duchy of Milan, and the Republics of Venice and Florence. It was not until July 1529 that peace between Francis I and Charles V was brokered in Cambrai by Louise of Savoy and Margaret of Austria.125 Avoiding France by sailing to Spain from the Low Countries was a prudent move to keep the travellers safe from enemy contestation.

Arriving in Portugal, perhaps docking in Lisbon or Setúbal, the travelling party probably passed through Extremadura and into Toledo, a city which is directly cited in four of the Trachtenbuch’s scenes. They must have reached Charles’s court in Toledo at some point in February, before the emperor moved on to Valladolid in early March. It was here in Toledo that Weiditz was introduced at court and joined the imperial company that included Hernán Cortés, Count Henry III of Nassau, and his wife Mencía de

Mendoza, depicted and mentioned personages in the *Trachtenbuch*.\(^{126}\) The Helmschmid party accompanied the emperor to Valladolid, where they remained for a few weeks before continuing to Zaragoza.\(^{127}\) They were subsequently stationed in Aragon for the month of April, before the emperor relocated to Barcelona in early May.\(^{128}\) Due to the *Trachtenbuch*’s twenty-seven-strong series of costume figures from Navarre and the Basque territories, it is possible that Weiditz took the month of April to undertake a personal excursion to these parts; however, there is no evidence to confirm this, nor is it possible to verify the originality of these subjects, which could well have been based upon a pre-existing source. The emperor remained in Barcelona until the end of July while preparing for his voyage to Italy. Weiditz’s subjects from Catalonia suggest that he accompanied the emperor to the port city, where Helmschmid was noted in the imperial chancellery register as receiving honours on the 12th July.\(^{129}\) The armourer had thus remained with the emperor for five to six months, ostensibly carrying out work before receiving permission to leave.

Although the *Trachtenbuch* includes six Italian subjects including two from Genoa, it is most likely that Weiditz and Helmschmid did not join the emperor as he ventured to Bologna for the coronation ceremony. They appear to have returned to Augsburg directly and therefore would have arrived much earlier than the emperor, who only reached the city to open the imperial diet in June 1530.\(^{130}\) Following clues from the *Trachtenbuch*, lively subjects from the Languedoc and Roussillon region of southern coastal France suggest that they continued on land, possibly even reaching Genoa by foot before heading to Augsburg over the Swiss Alps, thereby avoiding central France. Alternatively, they may have bypassed Italy and journeyed to Germany by way of Lyon.

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\(^{126}\) Johannes Dantiscus received a letter from Charles V which was signed and dated to 3 March 1539, Toledo. See Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “CIDT&c,” Let. #6285. ‘Charles V of Habsburg to Ioannes Dantiscus, Toledo, 1529-03-03’. Meanwhile, the imperial RRB lists its first entry in Valladolid as 5 March 1529. See Holy Roman Empire. Emperor Charles V (1519-1556), *Die Reichsregisterbücher*, 69.

\(^{127}\) The RRB lists its first entry in Zaragoza to 28 March. See Holy Roman Empire. Emperor Charles V (1519-1556), *Die Reichsregisterbücher*, 69.

\(^{128}\) The RRB lists its first entry in Barcelona to 10 May. See Ibid., 70.


\(^{130}\) Brandi, *The Emperor Charles V*, 303.
as Helmschmid had done in 1525; the peace negotiations with Francis I having been newly sealed. Weiditz re-stationed himself in Augsburg, emboldened by the imperial freedom he had received. Nevertheless, the surviving Freibrief that Charles submitted in Augsburg on 7 November 1530 repeated the order of an earlier decree. The original that Weiditz received seems to have fallen on deaf ears. He nevertheless remained in the city, where he was positioned to offer his skills as a talented medallist to the incoming participants of the highly-anticipated diet.

Weiditz resumed his travels with the imperial entourage when it departed Augsburg in the autumn of 1530.\textsuperscript{131} Habich identified a trail of medals confirming he moved with the retinue through Cologne, Mainz, and into Aachen, where Ferdinand I was crowned King of the Romans in January 1531.\textsuperscript{132} Charles V went on to be resident at court in Brussels and Ghent throughout 1531, before returning to Germany for the Regensburg imperial diet in April 1532 via Nuremberg. Again, Habich’s identification of medals points to Weiditz’s shared itinerary, while the correspondence between Dantiscus and the imperial chancellor Valdés hints at the presence of a courtly portrait medallist at Regensburg.\textsuperscript{133} Weiditz resettled in Augsburg at the close of the Regensburg diet, where he established himself as a multi-talented artist with proven abilities across diverse media.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[Ibid., 320.]
\item[Habich, “Studien zur deutschen Renaissancemedaille. IV. Christoph Weiditz,” 15.]
\item[Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “CIDT&C,” Let. #5769. ‘Alfonso de Valdés to Ioannes Dantiscus, [Regensburg], [ca. 1532-04-16?].”]
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
1.ii. *In the Company of the Emperor: The Album’s Visual Programme*

The following section analyses the imagery in the *Trachtenbuch* that evokes Weiditz’s journey to the imperial court and his company in the imperial retinue. These features provide a structure to the album’s contents, which confirm his participation in the courtly world of Charles V and his assimilation into the moving entourage of courtiers that followed Charles around Spain in the lead up to his voyage to Italy. The condition of being on the move is a recurring motif. It is not only Weiditz and Helmschmid who are shown traversing the landscape, with many other illustrations depicting people and goods in motion across the countryside and in the cities. Such scenes reinforce the artist’s act of observation from thoroughfares of travel, for example the road, and open spaces like city plazas where dynamic and singular subjects and sights could be witnessed. The album thus emphasises that the act of being ‘on the road’ underpinned first-hand cultural encounter.

The album also stresses his company with the travelling imperial entourage by portraying certain distinguished personalities. Portraits of the naval commander Andrea Doria, the conquistador Hernán Cortés, and the cultivated patroness Mencía de Mendoza for instance, underscore the illustrious company that Weiditz and Helmschmid had enjoyed by being welcomed at the imperial court. As has been previously identified, Weiditz used imperial social networks to obtain clients for portrait medals in these years. Not only his business but also his reputation relied on influential patrons, especially in the face of on-going contestation with the Augsburg goldsmiths. The efforts Weiditz made to put himself in front of the most eminent and moneyed characters is alluded to in the *Trachtenbuch*, although it does not comprehensively catalogue each of the celebrated notables who became his patrons. As an illustrated record of travel, Weiditz weaves these three characters into his itinerary, locating them within the circles in which he and Helmschmid moved during their time abroad. Their appearance in the album constitutes a declaration of reputation and prestige, asserting that through imperial favour he shared localised experiences with the Habsburgs’ most eminent allies. Social
connections with the empire’s elite opened the world to ordinary Germans, a notion that is reinforced in Hans Römer of Munich’s copy after the *Trachtenbuch*. This chapter will conclude with a case study of Römer’s remarkable commission, a work yet to have been studied alongside Weiditz’s original.

**TRAVEL AS A MOTIF**

Sea-faring appears to have left an indelible impression upon Christoph Weiditz. Before he reached the Low Countries’ seaport, he had probably never seen a large ocean-crossing vessel before. We can expect that the sailing to Portugal was his very first ocean voyage, and the excitement of it may have encouraged him to pick up his pencil. We might rather have expected Weiditz to have portrayed himself and his esteemed acquaintance in their personal finery upon entering the Spanish court. However, it was to commemorate this sailing that he made the portraits of himself and Helmschmid, as well as two of the ship’s crew, wearing sea-faring apparel fit for wintery weather (fig. 61). When compared to the *Trachtenbuch*’s images of maritime workers in Barcelona.

*Figure 61: ‘This is the patron (captain) on the ship’ and ‘This is also an important man on a ship, who moves the rudder at the rear’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 85-86.*
for instance, the naval outfits are clearly suitable for different climates and times of the year. Galley slaves and dock workers in Barcelona keep cool in light-weight, light-coloured linens with breeches cropped above the knees (fig. 62). The Weiditz and Helmschmid crew instead wear a variety of garments made from a pale brown fabric with criss-crossed stripes. This was probably a heavy, durable textile adept at protecting the body from salty sea-spray and gusty winds. The two Germans must have received their garments of matching fabrics from the captain upon embarkation, their own clothing unsuitable for a maritime expedition. The captain of the ship wears a long, hooded coat, protecting his neck from blustery weather. Like the others, he wears wide, full-length, loose-fitting breeches. The senior crew member ‘who moves the rear rudder’ keeps his shoulders and head warm with a shaggy fur and a woollen cap. Weiditz wears a balaclava under his cap to keep his face and neck extra warm, and his hands are swaddled in thick mittens.

These garments do not correspond with Hampe’s contention that Weiditz boarded a ship in Barcelona bound for Genoa after arriving in Spain by land. When Charles V took this voyage, it was August and the height of summer in the Mediterranean. But Weiditz and Helmschmid, who ‘travelled across the sea to Portugal and afterward to Spain’, faced a blisteringly cold winter journey down the North Sea and around the notoriously ferocious stretch of water that was the Bay of Biscay. The customs of sailors, witnessed on his brief passage over the sea, intrigued Weiditz. He records:

This is the patron (captain) on the ship who directs and governs the ship; stands still and watches what kind of wind the ship wants; when he whistles with his whistle the
members of the crew know what they have to do, and if they fail to do it he draws his whip and gives them sharp blows.\textsuperscript{134}

Weiditz’s description provides a mental picture of the activities and hierarchy aboard a ship. However, he chooses to picture the sailors’ apparel rather than this flurried action, implying that one’s identity, lifestyle, and daily customs could be summed up by what one wore. The sailors’ loose-fitting garments were fit for an active life on the seas, worn with protective accoutrements to keep out the cold. Unlike the other crew members, whose journey may have ended upon docking in Portugal, the German travellers grip their swords in a posture that signals their masculine honour and vigilance for any potential threat that could meet them on the road ahead.

Once the Weiditz and Helmschmid travelling party had joined Charles’s court in Castile, their movements were dictated by the emperor, in whose company they needed to remain. Because the emperor was planning his journey to Italy, he did not maintain a stationary court, and was instead moving about his kingdoms in preparation for the journey. The Germans subsequently travelled with the imperial entourage as they moved through the countryside, stopping off at Valladolid, Zaragoza, and, finally, Barcelona. This must have been quite a sight to behold, as dozens of courtiers, ambassadors, soldiers, and their belongings skirted the landscape. An engraving of the travelling courtly entourage of the Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate in 1613 demonstrates this well, portraying a long, winding train of people, animals, and wagons in motion (fig. 63). The \textit{Trachtenbuch}

\textsuperscript{134}“\textit{Tractenbuch}”, fol. 85. Translated and cited in Hampe and Weiditz, \textit{Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance}, 25.
depicts one of the imperial baggage wagons that carried the emperor’s goods across country (fig. 64). The wagon is covered with a red and gold textile emblazoned with the imperial eagle, announcing the royal owner to onlookers. It also illustrates one of the ‘the army drummers in Spain when the Emperor rides into a city’, evoking the beating noise and rolling wheels of the travelling court’s ceremonial entries (fig. 65).\footnote{“Trachtenbuch”, fol. 66. Translated and cited in Ibid., 27.}

Out on the roads and the city streets, Weiditz’s eye was captivated by the methods that ordinary Spaniards took to transport their goods. In one illustration, a man with a peaked hood carries a sack of flour atop a mule, demonstrating how flour is carried to the mill (fig. 66). The driver’s cap flies up into the sky, probably to demonstrate its long straps with which the garment attached under the chin. A downcast donkey bearing four earthenware jugs in baskets is guided along the streets by a man wielding a stick (fig. 67). The text explains that this is how they bring water in Castile ‘in many big
Perhaps most interesting of all to the German observers was the transportation of wine in Toledo. The *Trachtenbuch*’s illustration depicts wine contained in ‘goatskin’ sacks stained pink by their cargo (fig. 68). The sacks are hauled...
along in a cart pulled by two horses wearing fleecy neck coverings as protection against their harness, enthusiastically whipped into motion by their driver. Elsewhere in Castile, a chained slave with ripped breeches and a missing shoe carries one of these goatskin wine sacks over his shoulder (fig. 69).

The *Trachtenbuch* also emphasises the movement of people, who are frequently depicted or described as *going* somewhere. How different people got around and the way they presented themselves while doing so was idiosyncratic enough to capture Weiditz’s attention. The album shows how noblewomen in Valencia go to church in the hot weather holding fans, and how others go out walking on the streets dressed in their brimmed hats and finery (figs. 70-71). It shows the appearance of a Castilian peasant ‘as he goes into a city to market or rides upon an ass’, and the dress of a bride in the Netherlands who is described to be on her way to the church with her hair loose and adorned with a bridal crown (figs. 72-73).137 In Toledo, two of the costume album’s three clerics are out and about dressed from head to toe in black (figs. 74-75). Black became the favoured colour worn in and around the Spanish court because of the solemnity and dignity it imparted on the wearer. Marking out gravity and status, black was also the prescribed colour choice

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136 *Trachtenbuch*, fols. 41-42. Translated and cited in Ibid., 32.
137 *Trachtenbuch*, fol. 19. Translated and cited in Ibid., 35.
of professionals such as physicians, academics, and clerks of the Toledo clergy with the austerity that came to be associated with the Toledo clergy with the austerity that came to be associated with...
Spanish style. One of the prelates is out walking, showing off his fine kidskin gloves as he pulls his chasuble around himself. Described as ‘rich’, he is accompanied by a serving boy who holds up the train of his trailing chasuble (fig. 74). The other prelate is mounted on a mule: ‘In this manner the Spanish prelates go riding in Toledo with a youth running behind them, who goes after him with his slippers.’ (fig. 75). As high-ranking church dignitaries, these two are important enough to have young serving boys tend to them, demonstrating the respect in which the high-ranking clergy were held by Castilian society. This may have been immediately striking to Weiditz who had spent his adult life in the cities of Strasbourg and Augsburg, where the Reformation had firmly taken hold.

Figure 75: ‘In this manner the Spanish prelates go riding in Toledo, with a youth running behind them’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 45-46.

While the prelate and most other of the mounted figures in the album ride mules, the album presents a Spanish nobleman out riding on horseback (fig. 76). This seemingly insignificant detail is couched in significance. The ownership of a horse was intrinsically associated with the gentry and was a potent status symbol. Royal decrees issued during the reign of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile allude to this, as gentlemen who could afford to keep a horse were exempt from the

kingdom-wide ban on wearing silk and were permitted to use silk in their doublets and caps.\[139\] The masters and captains of ships were also granted an exemption and were allowed to wear silk when riding a horse. Crucially this did not apply if they were atop any other sort of animal.\[140\] Keeping a horse remained critical to the application of status in the reign of Philip the Fair. His Flemish chamberlain Antoine Lailang noted that since women were prohibited from wearing silk clothing if their husbands were without a horse, women across the kingdom strove to have their husbands keep horses they could little afford and that consequently, many aristocratic families were depleting their estates by the unwarranted purchasing of silk textiles.\[141\] Kathryn Renton has also shown that skilled horsemanship a la gineta, a light-cavalry form of Moorish derivation, was a quintessential way of performing one’s nobility and was taken up in the Americas by socially-aspirant soldiers engaged in frontier warfare.\[142\] A sign of social as well as physical elevation, the Trachtenbuch also depicts a Spanish bailiff on horseback, describing, ‘God knows how pious they are!’\[143\]

\[140\] Ibid.
\[141\] Bernis, Indumentaria española, 9.
\[142\] See Kathryn Renton, “‘Muy grandes hombres de acaballo’: Spanish Horsemanship a la jineta and Bernardo Vargas Machuca’s new science,” in Authority and Spectacle in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of Teofilo F. Ruiz, ed. Yuen-Gen Liang and Jarbel Rodriguez (Routledge, 2017), 217–26.
\[143\] “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 32. Translated and cited in Hampe and Weiditz, Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance, 32.
Elsewhere it is the humble mule that provides the chief mode of transport for Spanish folk. In Valladolid, Weiditz observed how Spaniards rode about on their mules with their wives sat behind them (fig. 77). This practice is also shown in Roussillon and in Valencia, where men ‘ride with their wives in their pleasure gardens’ (fig. 78).\textsuperscript{144} In Catalonia, the album shows how men ‘conduct their wives across the country’, leading the mule on foot (fig. 79).\textsuperscript{145} Although the costume album depicts a peasant woman in Perpignan riding solo to the market (fig. 80), women of higher social rank are on many occasions depicted escorted by their husbands or other menfolk. This includes on foot, where male attendants are on hand to guide and support their women (figs. 81-82). This practice goes hand in hand with the traditional support of Spanish

\textsuperscript{144} "Trachtenbuch", fol. 64. Translated and cited in Ibid., 41.
\textsuperscript{145} "Trachtenbuch", fols. 51-52. Translated and cited in Ibid., 40.
moralists for female enclosure. In 1583 for instance, Luís de León recommended in his popular marital guide that the ‘enclosed’ wife was the best wife, while the jurist Antonio de León Pinelo (1589-1660) advised that women should be like houses, fixed

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and immobile.¹⁴⁷ When they did leave the house, it seems, it was ideally in the company of male guardians.

Other subjects in the *Trachtenbuch* stress the observations of an artist in motion taking sketches of curious and memorable sights seen from the roadside and urban spaces. Passing through the countryside, Weiditz took note of a farmer ploughing his fields with a pair of oxen, with his jerkin skirts hoisted around his waist for manoeuvrability (fig. 83). He also depicted how the farmers threshed corn using a pair of sturdy draught horses who ‘draw a board back and forth across it on which stones are laid’ (fig. 84).¹⁴⁸ When the German physician Johannes Lange passed through the Castilian town of Santorcoraz on his way to Granada in 1526, he recounted that there they ‘do not thresh the grain, but have asses, oxen, and horses walk across it, drawing a board full of sharp stones fitted into it, and thus tread out the grain so that the straw is chopped to about a finger’s length’.¹⁴⁹ Weiditz not only demonstrates this custom, but also the

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¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 120.
¹⁴⁹ Hasenclever and Lange, ‘Die tagbuchartigen Aufzeichnungen des pfälzischen Hofarztes Dr. Johannes Lange,” 415. ‘… welches sie nicht außdreschen, sondern mit Exeln, Ochsen und pferden, die ein predi vol spitziger eingeschlagen steine darüber furen und schleppen, also außtretten, das das stroe allayne glidslang pleibet, derhalben pferde und Rinder kain stroe haben’. 
way in which the farmer kept cool wearing roomy linens and a straw hat for sun shade. Indicating his passage into towns and cities, Weiditz presents a half-page sketch of the outside walls of a villa, its imposing presence from street-level giving little away about what goes on indoors (fig. 85). Neither captioned nor fully fleshed-out, the villa is a quick record of architectural character portrayed from the perspective of an artist on the move.

Figure 83: ‘Thus they till in Spain’, from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 55-56.

Figure 84: ‘In this manner they thresh corn in Spain, they draw a board back and forth across it on which stones are laid’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 37-38.
The album also shows the force of the law played out in the public eye. One image portrays a pickpocket forcibly placed on a mule and beaten by a ‘hangman’ (fig. 86). The executioner’s torn hose and simple pointed cap point to his less-than-honourable status. Weiditz also records the punishment of an old woman, set out over two scenes. She has been stripped down to her shift, and over her loose hair made to wear a tall, pointed hat patterned in red and white. The first picture shows how, ‘In this manner they beat the old women who steal, and set them on a ladder; after that they throw wool in their wounds’ (fig. 87). In the next scene the old woman has been placed on a donkey and is being whipped. The artist’s eye was also drawn to the religious self-flagellants in Castile and in Zaragoza. Flagellation was a popular form of Catholic devotion in Spain that had arisen in lay confraternities in fifteenth-century Castile. Public scourging was encouraged during Holy Week, as the statutes of the influential confraternity of the Santa Vera Cruz laid out in 1524, stating that flagellation exercises were to be performed every Maundy Thursday in honour of Christ. Weiditz’s illustration of a Castilian flagellant demonstrates how ‘they do the penance imposed on them on Maundy Thursday’ and depicts him from behind to show the hood and open back of his penitent robes (fig. 88). This robe concords with the garments worn by lay

Figure 85: ‘(Outside walls of a villa)’ from the ‘Trachtenbuch’, fol. 75.
brothers of the *Santa Vera Cruz* in Argujillo, reportedly consisting of a tunic that was open over the shoulders with a hood of linen to completely conceal the face. These robes concealed the identity and blurred the social distinctions of members, expressing ideals of brotherhood and spiritual equality. The flagellation paraphernalia were designed to make the brothers endure the sufferings of Christ, as they wound through the streets passing churches and whipping themselves in a rhythmic movement.

The *Trachtenbuch* also presents a penitent in Zaragoza, naked all but for a simple skirt and a cover tied over his face. His spiked mace has drawn considerable blood upon his beaten back (fig. 89). Two additional flagellants appear in copies after the *Trachtenbuch*. A woman with her face concealed whips herself with a set of iron keys (fig. 90), while a man carries a heavy set of bars over his shoulder. As Maureen Flynn notes, women were also participants in the penitentiary practices at Easter time although they were not typically flagellants. Instead they usually imitated the mercy of Mary and

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154 Flynn, *Sacred Charity*, 128.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid.
157 These were assumedly lost before the album was rebound into its current state.
played the role of Veronica, carrying torches and veils to wipe the flagellants’ faces.\textsuperscript{158}

The shock of seeing ordinary laypeople strike themselves on the street must have been

\textsuperscript{158} Flynn, Sacred Charity, 132–33.
considerable. In the Castilian village of Matalebreras, Johannes Lange was struck by the penitents he encountered on a rainy day in early June 1526. The whole village population it seemed, including ‘old men, also boys, young women and children’, went about naked and barefoot, scourging themselves with flagella and crying out for mercy.\footnote{Hasenclever and Lange, “Die tagubuchartigen Aufzeichnungen des pfälzischen Hofarztes Dr. Johannes Lange,” 414–15. ‘und alte Menner, auchknaben, Junck frauen und kynder nacket und parfueß gegangen, und sich mit gasein gehauen’.

\footnote{Hampe and Weiditz, \textit{Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance}, 18–19.}}

After several months on the road, Weiditz and Helmschmid joined the imperial retinue as they rolled into Barcelona in early May. The \textit{Trachtenbuch}’s scenes at Barcelona depict a bustling port gearing up for Charles V’s sailing to Genoa. An armada of 150 ships had been marshalled to transfer the emperor, his courtiers, and his soldiers to Italy.\footnote{Hampe and Weiditz, \textit{Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance}, 18–19.} Fresh water was an important provision for the ships, and the album depicts two Moorish slaves filling barrels at a well, using an ingenious contraption with a series of spouts to fill multiple barrels at once (fig. 91). Other slaves carry the heavy barrels on their backs to the ships (figs. 92). Dockworkers in their summery linens are shown pulling the ships into the harbour with ropes. A craftsman tends to the hull of a boat,

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure91.jpg}
\caption{‘In this manner they bring fresh water in Barcelona to the ships and galleys so that it may be done more rapidly when they provision the ships or otherwise need water’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 73-74.}
\end{figure}
caulking the gaps in the timber to safeguard its water-tightness (figs. 93). One of the most interesting illustrations from Barcelona shows the method in which horses are transported on the ships (fig. 94). Tied up to a wooden frame with a feeding trough, the horse is stabilised by a large band under its stomach and wears on its feet a strapping to prohibit movement.

Figure 92: ‘In this manner the slaves carry fresh water to the galleys’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 53-54.

Figure 93: ‘In this manner they caulk the ships in Spain’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 82.

Figure 94: ‘In this manner one brings the horses into the ship when they are to voyage across the sea’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 81.
DISTINGUISHED PERSONALITIES

Andrea Doria

Weiditz’s and Helmschmid’s journey had thus far brought them into contact with the daily life of ordinary Spaniards, observed while on the move. Entering the company of the imperial entourage had not only proffered more opportunities for travel, but had also led them into the shared company of various esteemed and noble persons who were allied to the imperial cause. The album encounters Andrea Doria in Barcelona, where the admiral had engineered the emperor’s passage to Italy to transfer him to his papal coronation in Bologna. The fleet Charles had amassed included Doria’s six galleys. These were launched in August, bound for the safe haven of Genoa. Doria had proven key to this enterprise. Having deserted his former French allies in 1528 to serve the Habsburgs, Doria had occupied his native city, launched a sequence of political reforms, and guaranteed the city’s loyalty to Charles V. When the imperial fleet sailed into Genoa on 12 August 1529, the emperor was met with a ceremonial spectacle. An especially-built pier was adorned with several triumphal arches, one of which was painted with a depiction of Doria holding a model of the city of Genoa in one hand and a sword in the other as the emperor lowered a crown over the city. Doria had become a notorious naval commander in the Italian Wars and built up a personal fleet of galleys for hire. He became the admiral of Charles’s Mediterranean fleet when he defected to the imperial side, his private squadron of galleys providing an important supplement to the emperor’s naval forces.

164 Mitchell, “Charles V as Triumphator,” 100.
165 Shaw, Barons and Castellans, 133–34.
166 Ibid., 134.
In the *Trachtenbuch*’s portrait of Doria, the admiral gestures to the bow of a ship, signalling the cause of his influence and renown (fig. 95). As Thomas Kirk has pointed out, Doria became the ‘linchpin of a complex series of bonds’ between the emperor and the city of Genoa.\textsuperscript{167} The contractual relationship he had with Charles allowed Doria to control the introduction of Genoese financiers to the emperor, where they soon gained predominance over crown finances and played a vital role in keeping the empire operational.\textsuperscript{168} A highly influential agent of empire, the *Trachtenbuch* states, ‘Andreas Doria, a Prince of Melsein [Melfi], has in His Imperial Majesty’s service done many

\textsuperscript{167} Kirk, “Giovanni Andrea Doria: Citizen of Genoa, Prince of Melfi, Agent of King Philip II of Spain,” 61.

\textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
splendid deeds and is still doing them on the sea.” Doria was ennobled with this princely title in 1531. The Trachtenbuch’s knowledge of this shows that Weiditz remained up-to-date with the news and deeds of important imperial associates after his encounter with Doria in the summer of 1529. As Hampe has proposed, the reference to Doria’s splendid deeds may refer to later triumphs such as his crucial role in the Tunis campaign of 1535, suggesting that the album’s images were worked up from sketches into their gold- and silver-enhanced state up to a decade after Weiditz first set off for Spain.

Hernán Cortés

Helmschmid and Weiditz probably made the acquaintance of Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) in Toledo. Weiditz’s portrait is dated to their trip, presenting the conquistador ‘Don Fernando Cordeysus, 1529, at the age of 42’, (fig. 96). Cortés had returned to Spain the previous year for the first time since setting foot in Mexico nine years earlier. His return intended to quash rumours of crimes that had made their way back to Charles. He also sought to restore his suspended position as the governor of New Spain. The emperor received Cortés with good grace, and although he granted him the noble title of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca and confirmed his vast estates in New Spain, he did not reappoint Cortés as governor. Cortés arrived in Spain mid-May 1528. His arrival in Toledo caused quite the sensation, reportedly entering the city with native Mexican nobles and entertainers, albino and ‘deformed’ persons, strange animals and

170 Shaw, Barons and Castellans, 133.
174 Ibid.
birds including wildcats, pelicans, armadillos and an opossum, and prized items including feather mantles, fans, and polished mirrors.¹⁷⁶

Cortés and his party were still in the company of the imperial court when Weiditz and Helmschmid rode into Castile in February 1529. The conquistador was seriously ill around the time of their arrival. On 1 February, Alfonso de Valdés informed his close

correspondent Dantiscus that it was uncertain if Cortés would survive. Weiditz’s portraits of Cortés – a sketch for the *Trachtenbuch* and a bronze portrait medal – may not have been fashioned in the weeks after their introduction, but after Cortés was fully recovered. There would have been plenty of opportunity for this because Cortés is said by his biographer Bernal Díaz del Castillo to have accompanied the emperor as far as Barcelona. Most of the Mexican group were dismissed from court in March however, and sent to Seville to await passage back to New Spain. Weiditz’s illustrations of these guests indicate that these depictions at least, were made before the March departure, and will be discussed at length in chapter 3. Judging by the ennobled portrayal Weiditz gives Cortés, the man who ‘won all India for his Imperial Majesty Charles the Fifth’, the conquistador made almost as great an impression on the medallist as the New World group did with their curious games and feather garments. With his hand on his hip in a contrapposto stance, the album’s full-length portrait presents Cortés in a mode comparable to the full-length portraits of societal elite that were soon to become dominant in oil by masters like Titian. The Cortés portrait is reminiscent of the earliest known full-length and life-sized oil portrait produced in Italy, Moretto da Brescia’s *Portrait of a Man* (probably Gerolamo Avogadro) of 1526 (fig. 97). Like this painting, Weiditz’s portrait is dedicatory and ennobling, quite different in motivation to the album’s other full-length illustrations of anonymous,

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179 Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 82.
representative costume figures. Positioned grasping a heraldic escutcheon, the portrait captures not a moment in time or a fleeting observation, but a highly composed tribute to an individual who was worthy, in the mind of his painter, of the highest accolades. His all-black ensemble enrobes him with dignity and respectability, in alignment with the admiration he wished to receive from his peers and the honours and titles he sought from the emperor.

The colour black was a favoured sartorial choice in the imperial Spanish court. It was not an easy colour to dye. As Elizabeth Currie describes, a good, colourfast black in a steadfast hue required several successive emersions in dye baths.\(^{181}\) In the Venetian Giovanni Ventura Rossetti’s dye techniques manual *Il Plichto dell’Arte* (1548), no less than twenty recipes for dying textiles black are given. This highlights the challenge, obsession even, of creating a decent black tone. Consequently, Currie argues that black textiles clothed their wearer with the ‘cultural prestige’ that went into their skilled manufacture.\(^{182}\) She points out that that black textiles were averagely-priced compared to more expensive crimon-, scarlet-, and violet-dyed cloth for instance, made from costly dyestuffs and thus black was worn not to flaunt wealth so much as refinement.\(^{183}\) José Luis Colomer has charted the reasons for its predominance in Spain, claiming that it originated with Charles V’s ancestor Philip the Good (r. 1467-77), the Duke of Burgundy, who popularised it as a mode of solemnity and piety.\(^{184}\) Black had been adopted by Philip to signal mourning for his father, John the Fearless, assassinated by French enemies in 1419. He never ceased wearing black, and this was taken by his contemporaries as a sign that he had not forgotten his father’s betrayal.\(^{185}\) Paired with the collar of the Golden Fleece, Philip’s black attire gained spiritual meaning as it became associated with the knightly order he founded in 1430 to promote defence of the Christian faith.

\(^{182}\) Ibid.
\(^{183}\) Ibid.
\(^{185}\) Ibid.
Black thereby stood to signal moral and political authority at the Burgundian court. It was a colour devotedly worn by Charles V, whose Burgundian heritage and the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece remained of personal significance throughout his life. When the emperor entered Paris in 1540, his appearance caused quite a stir among French bystanders who were surprised to see the emperor wearing ‘a black Italian cloak and a coat of black cloth and a cap of black cloth’, a sartorial choice quite at odds with what they expected from a man of his rank and renown. Venetian ambassadors Bernardo Navagero and Marino Cavalli said of the emperor ‘he does not dress … with pomp’, noting also the gravity of his manner. The solemnity attendant with the emperor’s authority was complicit, therefore, with the wearing of black, which was allied to the ‘temperance and moderation’ he advised his son Philip II to pursue in a policy guide written in 1548.

It was inevitable that Charles’s favourites and agents should adopt the styling of the emperor, as seen in the contemporary portraits of key figures such as the leading advisors Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle and Francisco de los Cobos, Andrea Doria, and the Spanish diplomat Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Doria is also portrayed in the Trachtenbuch wearing a courtly black coat, cap, shoes, and black hose in stark contrast to the casual and practical garb of the Catalanian dock-workers and the sea-faring companions from Weiditz’s voyage to Portugal. Wearing black, then, was a signal of courtly authority and a means to command respect appropriate to one’s station. It is not surprising to see Cortés depicted similarly to Doria, wearing a skirted jerkin, probably of black satin, combined with black slashed, damask sleeves, and paired with a black cap, hose, and shoes. Díaz del Castillo described Cortés’s sartorial choices as a sign of his being a great lord, summarising: ‘He always dressed according to the fashion of the day; wore very little silk, satins, or expensive damasks; but the whole of his garments

187 Translated and cited in Ibid., 409–10.
189 Colomer, “Black and the Royal Image,” 82.
were plain and very neat." It would seem Cortés toed the line between the simple severity the emperor was known for, but with just enough stylish flair to strike a conspicuous character. His outfit in the *Trachtenbuch* embraces the fashionable Burgundian-Habsburg court colour, and yet eschews plainness with its attention-grabbing, voluminous sleeves.

Cortés’s modishness concurs with what we know about Cortés when he arrived in Spain in 1528. His mission was to impress. Bringing not only noble envoys of Spain’s new territory but also an exotic menagerie and a troupe of entertainers including sport-players, jugglers, and magicians, Cortés captured a microcosm of the former Aztec court’s splendour to arouse the curiosity and awe of his contemporaries. They would, he hoped, congratulate his achievements in securing this wondrous new land for the Habsburg Empire. He presented a true spectacle, dazzling Spanish courtiers with examples of Mexican craftsmanship and amusing them with native hunchbacks and dwarfs. En route to Toledo he travelled from Seville via Guadalupe where he made quite an impression on Doña Maria de Mendoza y Sarmiento, the wife of Charles V’s secretary of state Francisco de los Cobos. Here, Díaz del Castillo recalls, he showered Doña Maria and her attendant ladies with perfumes, jewels, and ‘plumes of green feathers full of gold and silver work’ and altogether proved himself to be ‘the perfect courtier’. His flirtations in Guadalupe earned him such admiration that Díaz del Castillo declared that were it not for his pre-arranged betrothal, Cortés would have wed De los Cobos’s sister-in-law and subsequently would have gained great favour with the emperor’s favourite advisor. Even more, he thought, this move would have secured him the governance of New Spain, such was the ability of De los Cobos to hold the emperor’s ear.

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192 Ibid., 71.
194 Ibid., 4:143–45.
195 Ibid., 4:145.
As it happened, Cortés was not able to sway the emperor regarding this reinstatement, and in the months following Charles’s decision on 6 July to grant him the title ‘Captain General’, Cortés launched a campaign of flattery and self-aggrandisement targeting whoever might be able to sway the emperor’s opinion.196 ‘He was constantly urging those Dukes and Marquises to intercede with His Majesty to bestow the government on him, and his Majesty in reply bade the Conde de Nasao not to speak to him again on that subject.’197 This report by Díaz del Castillo demonstrates Cortés’s close relationship with Henry of Nassau. Social networking at the imperial court, and Weiditz’s position amongst it, emerges in the Trachtenbuch’s impressions of the conquistador and Henry of Nassau’s wife Mencía de Mendoza. The album’s depiction of Cortés appears to have been fashioned using the same model from which Weiditz struck his medal, probably a now-lost sketch produced at the transient court when Cortés was well enough to sit for the artist (fig. 45). Weiditz’s other sitters in this period – Dantiscus and De los Cobos – were also making connections with the conqueror of Mexico, the former becoming his stalwart fan while the latter’s opinion had considerably soured.198 The ‘intimacy’ Cortés was said to have held with the emperor also waned, as Charles V learned that many noblemen at court were against Cortés being made governor and, moreover, the conquistador had upset the empress Isabella by gifting his most precious New World jewels to his new wife rather than to her.199

Weiditz and Helmschmid’s arrival at court coincided with this highly-fraught period in which the man ‘who won all India for his Imperial Majesty’ was causing ripples in the emperor’s courtly circles. The prominence of Cortés’s heraldic arms in the Trachtenbuch’s portrait is noteworthy considering his fevered social climbing during this trip which, combined with his various affectations at court, saw him marry Doña Juana de Zuñiga, a lady of high noble birth. On March 7 1525 Cortés had been granted

197 Díaz del Castillo, The True History of the Conquest of New Spain, 4:149.
198 According to Díaz del Castillo, Cortés had been ‘ungrateful’ to the couple and caused them great offence by paying them little attention upon their arrival at court, probably because he was trying to ingratiates himself with too many others Ibid., 4:149–50.
199 Ibid.
an accretion to his coat of arms by the emperor and advanced to the high-ranking military title *adelantado*.\textsuperscript{200} Cortés’s family nobility had had to be evidenced, with witnesses testifying that his father had been a town government official, and that he was of pure lineage, owned a horse, and had ‘answered the challenge of war’.\textsuperscript{201} While the improvement to his arms did not in itself confer high noble status upon Cortés, it did establish him as a member of the lesser nobility and he was hereafter referred to in royal *cédulas* (documents and decrees) as *don*.\textsuperscript{202} He would have to wait until he was named Marquis of Oaxaca in 1529 before he was raised to the upper nobility, although as documented, this was little consolation for having the governorship of New Spain denied to him. The arms improvement stated that his heraldic shield would be divided into quarters: the double-headed Habsburg eagle in the upper left; three crowns in the upper right to signify the three Aztec chiefs Cortés overthrew (Moctezuma, Cuitláhuac, and Cuauhtémoc); in the lower left corner a golden lion to represent courage and valour; and in the lower right the city of Tenochtitlan which Cortés had captured in 1521 (fig. 98).\textsuperscript{203} As Hampe points out, Cortés’s arms as described above appear in the lower

\textbf{Figure 98: Coat of arms of Hernán Cortés, granted to him by Emperor Charles V (Drawing from 5th sheet of Grant), 1525. Edward S. Harkness Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{201} Translated and cited in Ibid., 67.  \\
\textsuperscript{202} Ibid., 69.  \\
\textsuperscript{203} Ibid., 67; Hampe and Weiditz, *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance*, 60.
\end{flushright}
right corner of the *Trachtenbuch’s* escutcheon, which bears a curious mix of genealogical referents. The top left contains heraldic devices from Cortés’s paternal and maternal ancestors, while the top right belongs to the House of Zuñiga, the family of his second wife. The bottom left corner is more elusive, belonging to the aristocratic Arellano family. Cortés’s connection to this family began in 1532, when his brother-in-law Peter IV Count of Aguilar, married Ana de Arellano. Their daughter, also named Ana de Arellano, married Cortés’s eldest legitimate son, Martín Cortés y Zuñiga.

The *Trachtenbuch’s* depth of knowledge about Cortés’s extended family tree is astonishing. The escutcheon reveals information that could only have reached Weiditz many years after the time he spent with Cortés in Spain. This is not immediately surprising as the album’s folios seem to have been produced at least several years after Weiditz made his field sketches. A great deal of research was evidently undertaken to ensure that Cortés’s coat of arms was this detailed and up-to-date. Weiditz maintained a sustained interest in the man, even while his influence in New Spain and reputation in the Spanish empire was dwindling. Weiditz’s court sponsor Dantiscus may have been of some benefit here, and was perhaps the source of information about the Arellano connection. Dantiscus maintained correspondence with Cortés after his leave of Spain in 1529, and was sent letters from Hispaniola and Mexico City in 1530 and 1531. While their correspondence appears to have ended here, Dantiscus continued to enquire after or discuss news of Cortés with fellow correspondents, particularly his old friend, the Flemish imperial diplomat Cornelius de Schepper. The *Trachtenbuch’s* portrait of Cortés, labelled to 1529 but containing genealogical information acquired in the decades after the Spanish trip, demonstrates that Weiditz retained a fascination with the conquistador and relied on channels of knowledge, upheld by imperial relationships, to keep abreast with his biography.

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205 Ibid.  
208 Ibid., Lett. #3729, #1090, #1233, #1356, #2863, #2974.
Mencía de Mendoza

The only named female in the costume album is ‘the Marquise von Zenete, wife of Count Henry of Nassau’, elsewhere known as Mencía de Mendoza (1508-54). Unlike the highly posed portrait of Cortés, Weiditz’s picture of her is a rear-view in which she leans over the hull of a ship, likely situated in Barcelona (fig. 99). The description relays ‘in this manner they [Mencía and her husband] go about in the kingdom of Toledo’, continuing ‘thus she gazes after her lord as he travels with His Imperial Majesty over the sea to Genoa’. Count Henry III of Nassau-Dillenburg (1483-1538) was stationed

Figure 99: ‘This is the Margravine von Zenette, wife of Count Heinrich von Nassau; in this manner they go about the kingdom of Toledo; thus she looks after her lord as he travels with His Imperial Majesty over the sea to Genoa’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 59.


210 “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 59. Translated and cited in Ibid.
by Charles’s side as grand chamberlain and head of household, meaning that Weiditz and Helmschmid would have met the count and his wife early after their arrival in Toledo and accompanied them through Castile when the imperial entourage left for Zaragoza. Their acquaintance with the count and the marquise continued when all parties followed Charles to Barcelona, a point that the *Trachtenbuch* stresses when it describes not only the depicted scene in which Mencía rests over a ship in anticipation of its embarkation for Genoa, but also that they had travelled in the company of the couple since the emperor departed Toledo six months earlier.

Henry of Nassau was among Charles V’s closest allies and advisors. He served the Habsburg emperor as a military commander, and held positions of high office in Flanders and Spain. Since 1522 he had been situated in Spain, where Charles had arranged his marriage to Mencía de Mendoza, the wealthy heiress of the Zenete marquisate and its vast Spanish possessions.²¹¹ Henry and Mencía were avid art collectors, and counted Bernard van Orley, Jan Gossart, Hieronymous Bosch, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Jan Vermeyen among the notable artists they collected and patronised in the 1520s and 30s.²¹² Although there is no evidence that Weiditz cast portrait medals for either Henry or Mencía, their keen interest in art patronage may have brought them in the direction of Christoph Weiditz where they evidently made a favourable impression on him. Mencía was as educated and cultivated as she was noble. She took advantage of her time in the Low Countries from 1530 to build an impressive art collection and library. Noelia García Pérez has recently described her as a ‘cultural ambassador’ and mediator between Spanish and Flemish art.²¹³ It was a feature of Charles’s multi-national reign, García Pérez argues, that Spain’s cultural, military, and religious representatives, working and residing across the empire, were newly confronted with ‘their own international projection’.²¹⁴ The impact this had on the arts

²¹¹ P.G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 3 (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 5;
²¹⁴ Ibid., 94.
²¹⁵ Ibid., 89.
collapsed national frontiers, as patrons like Mencía brought artistic innovations from one regional centre to another.

Along with being the richest woman in Castile, Mencía de Mendoza had a husband who held the ear of the emperor and consequently she was a promising person for Weiditz to impress. He must have been quite taken with the marquise in particular, choosing to portray her but not her husband. This may have been in keeping with his interest in subjects that were foreign and novel – Mencía was a rich Spanish woman and representative of her country’s noble heritage, while Henry was of German stock and might have been deemed less illustrative of interesting, regional habits. Weiditz portrays her facing away from the viewer, curiously avoiding the depiction of her facial features. This is unconventional for a portrait, and a peculiar decision for someone whose medal-making craft focused on the face and bust of his sitters. I suspect that Weiditz had neither Henry nor Mencía sit for him formally and that, lacking studies of their features, he focused his attention on the richness of the marquise’s dress as she travelled through Spain. Her gown of crimson fabric, striped with silver threads, is embellished with hanging sleeves folding back to reveal a green satin lining. Especial attention has been paid to her headdress. The tranzado, as it was called, was a popular Spanish fashion that consisted of a long hair braid wrapped in cloth or ribbons that attached to the head by a cap. Flattery must have been important to Mencía, and like Weiditz, two of her other known portraitists portray a fit, young woman at odds with contemporaneous reports of her severe obesity. In an illuminated portrait by Simon Bening for instance, based on a lost portrait by Jan Gossart, she wears comparably rich dress with ornate sleeves, paired with a feathered bonnet and a tranzado braid (fig. 100). Mencía was also depicted by Bernard van Orley on horseback with her husband in a cartoon design for the Nassau

Genealogy, a now-lost tapestry series commissioned by Henry of Nassau (fig. 101). Mencía’s dress here is historicised and resembles late fifteenth-century modes in
homage to Nassau ancestry. Weiditz’s depiction is much less contrived, depicting her in apparently spontaneous action wearing the latest court fashions.

The Waldburg-Wolfgang copy of this image transforms the compressed perspective and confusing elements of Weiditz’s original portrait of Mencía. She is no longer pressed up against the ship’s hull, but she extends her arms out in a gesture of farewell as a loosely-sketched ship sails out of frame (fig. 102). The copyist made the illustration appear more logical with these changes, making it match the original textual description of Mencía who ‘thus gazes after her lord’ as he sails to Genoa with the emperor. According to this image, and the text of the original, Mencía was left behind on this voyage.

Although Weiditz’s portrait of Mencía captures his admiration of the noble patroness and a willingness to highlight the circles within which he and Helmschmid moved while in Spain, his depiction underlines Mencía’s position as a wife to one of the

emperor’s favourites more than it does her own power and person. It appears to represent a wife taking leave of her husband, an occasion of tender wishes and sorrowful goodbyes as she clings to the hull. It has been shown that the relationship of wives to their husbands is a repeated theme throughout the *Trachtenbuch* wherever the subject of travel and transport is concerned. Freedom of movement is gendered in Weiditz’s images of marital couples, which emphasise the protective role of a husband who chaperones his wife whenever she is on the move. While Henry of Nassau could sail away from his wife’s side without depiction, it is his wife who marks their separation and who must continue her journey without a husband by her side.

*The Hans Römer Album*

Sometime around the turn of the seventeenth century, the maturing Hans Römer of Munich came across the *Trachtenbuch* and, analysing its contents, grasped just how fundamental the networks of Charles V’s empire had been to its creation. Being familiar with his father’s history of travel in the service of Charles’s grand chamberlain, the revered Henry of Nassau, Römer spotted in the album an opportunity to visualise his father’s legacy and commissioned his own copy (fig. 103). Weiditz’s visual material had already been extensively copied and recycled, appearing in dozens of costume books dated to the second half of the sixteenth century. Römer’s copy was unprecedented however, because it dared to present itself as the visual recollections of travel undertaken by Römer’s father, Hans Römer of Erfurt. The Römer MS constitutes an astonishing case of misappropriation that

*Figure 103: ‘Army Drummer in Spain’ from the ‘Römer MS’, fol. 64r.*
hijacks not only Weiditz’s pictorial property – that much was common enough – but also his personal travel experiences. It therefore represents a remarkable affirmation of the empire’s role in substantiating the travel and cross-cultural experiences of its servants, and the enduring value that this held.

Hans Römer the Younger attempted to pass off Weiditz’s itinerary as his father’s by reframing the entire work using a handful of additional folios, positioned at the start of the album. Although analysis of the album’s paper and its accompanying handwriting confirms that the work was produced in Römer the Younger’s time, he takes care to pretend that the manuscript was originally prepared by his father.218 Firstly, the album

![Römer family crest and frontispiece](image)

*Figure 104: ‘Römer family crest and frontispiece’ in the “Römer MS”, fol. 1r.*

contains a title page presenting the Römer coat of arms (fig. 104). This is accompanied by curling ribbons upon which it is announced that in 1523, Hans Römer of Erfurt in Thüringen journeyed with his master Henry III count of Nassau-Dillenburg to Charles V and his court, and went ‘over the sea to India’.

Because the work purports to be the father’s original creation, the note claims to show ‘what I saw’. Overleaf is a glued-in, hand-written provenance note claiming that Hans Römer the younger of Munich was bequeathed this book on the 14 June.

Next follows a full-page portrait of Hans Römer of Erfurt, introducing that in 1523, at age twenty-five, this was ‘my appearance’ (fig. 105). The portrait in fact seems to have relied upon the engraved self-portrait of Heinrich Aldegrever, published in 1530 (fig. 106), and in this case presents an appropriately historicised view of Römer the Elder. The jacket has been given a modernised twist however, its silhouette more akin to the fashions of the early seventeenth century than the period style of

Figure 105: ‘Portrait of Hans Römer the Elder’ in the “Römer MS”, fol. 2v.

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219 “Römer MS”, fol. 1v. ‘mit Karl. dem. v. Iber mör n India’. I would like to gratefully thank Stefan Hanß for his assistance with the transcription of Römer’s annotations, particularly the scrawling provenance note.

220 Ibid. ‘vnd was Ich gesechen’.

221 Ibid., fol. 2r.

222 Ibid., fol. 2v. ‘Also war mein gestalt: als ich .25. Jar war alt’.
Aldegrever’s engraving. Apart from the title page and portrait, Römer did not meddle very much with Weiditz’s content. The captions were usually copied verbatim and the images are generally identical but for stylistic differences on the part of the new and less-skilled artist. A few costume figures have had their place of identification changed – for example the woman of Ireland is identified as a Basque woman, while a Basque soldier is described as English.223 This playing around with identities created neat male and female pairs, seemingly to bring a little order and comprehension to the subjects depicted.

Because the emergence of the Trachtenbuch from Weiditz’s travels has been so well-documented by Hampe and others, Römer the Younger’s fabrication is easily detectable. Nevertheless, it is altogether plausible that his father was a servant of Henry of Nassau, who between 1522 and 1530 had been placed in Spain at the emperor’s side. As a result, many of the places and subjects depicted by Weiditz would have been experienced by Römer the Elder in these years, even though they represented Weiditz’s observations in 1529. There is even the likelihood that Römer and Weiditz crossed paths in Spain, seeing as Weiditz’s portrait of Mencía de Mendoza underlines his proximity to the courtly couple. Whether Römer the Elder had any idea of the costume images Weiditz was drawing is impossible to know. In any case, his ambitious son probably came across the Trachtenbuch by chance. His father’s tales of travel and adventure must have leaped of the page, and the opportunity of repurposing them for his own family glory proved too much of a temptation.

223 Ibid., fols. 54r, 55r.
Perhaps Römer the younger’s zealous appropriation is forgivable. His father had probably only left him with the oral recollections of an exciting time travelling in the emperor’s company. To have these recollections materialised on paper made them much more tangible. The grand and enviable exploits of his father were thus turned into a consumable album that could be shared with acquaintances and passed on to future generations. The importance of family legacy to Römer is apparent in the scribblings regarding his acquisition of the book. Here he takes pains to introduce himself as the youngest of three generations of Hans Römers, allying himself with the honour of his lord grandfather, Hans Römer of Neustadt, and his father of blessed memory. For Römer, Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch was not simply a guidebook of human personalities and ethnic identities, but was an object associated with first-hand travel.

CONCLUSION

When Christoph Weiditz set out for Spain in early 1529, he was profiting from the empire’s ‘border traffic’, as Walter Cupperi puts it, exposing himself to the movers and shakers of Charles V’s court who came from across the various imperial territories to profit from their sovereign’s prestige. Travelling with the armourer Kolman Helmschmid, an imperial favourite with prior experience of the Spanish court, Weiditz’s skills as a portrait medallist were enthusiastically received. Obtaining influential patrons like Dantiscus, Alfonso de Valdés, and Hernán Cortés, Weiditz was permitted to remain in the emperor’s company as he travelled through Castile to Barcelona. This courtesy was re-extended after the 1530 Augsburg imperial diet when he was taken under Dantiscus’s wing to obtain further patronage at the emperor’s Brussels court. The content of the ensuing Trachtenbuch invokes Weiditz’s experiences travelling to and with the imperial entourage. It encounters esteemed personages the German travellers met through the networks of empire as well as representations of the communities they

224 Ibid., fol. 2r. ‘Anno den 14 Junij habe ich disseß buch zu meinen handen bekumen welches zuerst meinst her Groß Vatters vnd hernach an meinen Vatern bede selliger gedacht’.
225 Cupperi, “Beyond the Notion of German Medals,” 2013, 270.
passed through. Fascinated by clothing cultures and social mores, the *Trachtenbuch* is a costume album that acknowledges, indeed prioritises the source of this knowledge. The privileged position of the traveller, especially a traveller supported by imperial networks, is an essential theme of the album. Transnational social relationships were forged from the movement of people about Charles V’s territories, inspiring increased sensitivity to cultural difference and enabling the exchange of ethnographic knowledge. Hans Römer’s copy after the *Trachtenbuch* demonstrates the reverence with which travel and the experience of foreign cultures was held in the early modern period. It reinforces that there was a privilege attached to serving the emperor, whose expansive sovereignty offered novel opportunities for travel and adventure. Whether Weiditz completed the *Trachtenbuch* for his own benefit or whether it was destined for the Helmschmid family, it remains that the artist could proudly attribute their shared experiences to the benefits of imperial service, just as the Römer family did.
2. Christoph von Sternsee’s Costume Album

What men, what places and what cities has Vermeyen not painted? And whatever the world, far and wide, was worth seeing while he followed you on land and sea, Emperor Charles, to paint the mighty deeds of your hand.¹

Dominicus Lampsonius, 1572

INTRODUCTION

In 1548 the middle-aged Christoph von Sternsee found himself placed at the emperor’s court in Brussels, a city filled with court-sponsored artists and their workshops. It was here that he appears to have pursued a commission for a richly illustrated album that would commemorate the wealth of people, places, and exotica he had encountered in a glorious career owed to his patron Charles V. The following will begin by considering Sternsee’s commission in relation to his career, examining his biography at length and outlining his travel experiences. The chapter will continue in two distinct sections, the first analysing the costume album’s visual programme. I will concentrate on the content that accentuates the Habsburg empire and its significance to Sternsee’s cultural experiences. The final section will concentrate on the costume album’s commission and production. Precisely who painted the images for the album remains anonymous, however there are several tell-tale signs corroborating the involvement of Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, a Dutch artist in the service of the Habsburgs. Not only does imagery from his oeuvre resurface in Sternsee’s album but, crucially, he was invited to accompany Charles V on campaign to Tunis in 1535, a war that Sternsee also participated in and which forms a dominant subject in the album. Mapping out the ideological foundations

of the album and rooting it within Sternsee’s and Vermeyen’s personal experiences of travel, war, and empire, the present chapter underscores the imperative role Habsburg networks played in fostering cross-cultural exchange and encounter.

Sternsee’s costume album is defined by his personal travel itineraries and career aspirations. The work evokes the diverse people and places he had encountered over his career, although its compilation of human subjects was not intended to be a precise log of peoples he had necessarily encountered, but an abstract demonstration of the sheer volume of cultures and customs he had been privy to. To understand the album’s ambitions, we must first understand its patron. Between 1525 and 1555 Sternsee kept a 415-page diary, today housed in the National Library of Austria, Vienna where it has been given the Latin title *Historia rerum in aula et ab exercitu Caroli V. gestarum* (A History of Exploits in the Court and Army of Charles V, 1525-1555). After an initial flourish of scholarly interest in the first half of the twentieth century, this exceptionally important historical record of military and courtly life had been regretfully forgotten. A full transcript spans the last two volumes of Herta Plaschke’s 1940 PhD thesis on Sternsee’s ‘chronicle’, a source from which I have worked extensively. Sternsee’s writing, which continually uses the first person ‘*ich*’, is more than a ‘history’ or ‘chronicle’ however. As well as discussing political current affairs and chronicling military campaigns, it also documents Sternsee’s own movements and achievements, evidencing his astonishing rise in station. For this reason, I will refer to it as his diary.

The diary was a monumental thirty-year endeavour through which Sternsee’s extraordinary biography can be reconstructed. Most significantly, it evidences that Sternsee’s travels afforded him cultural capital valuable to the enhancement of his rank. His awareness of this is demonstrated in his diligence to accurately log the names of every town he visited and the miles travelled between pit stops. Like his costume album,

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2 Christoph von Sternsee, “Historia Rerum in Aula et Ab Exercitu Caroli V. Gestarum A. 1525-1555. Cod. 14001 Han” (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 1555). The manuscript was purchased in 1866 by the Viennese antiquarian firm Gerold. The manuscript had earlier been in the Amsterdam collection of the naturalist Jean Henry van Swinden (d. 1823).

the diary highlights his allegiance to the House of Habsburg in whose service he had come to be immersed in different courts, cities, cultures, and languages. In 1534, before he became an imperial guard, Sternsee jealously complained that many of his acquaintances had spent time in the emperor’s company and travelled with him to his courts and to foreign lands. Sternsee on the other hand, had spent most of his career serving in Italy alongside fellow German soldiers. His complaint suggests that he considered proximity to the emperor the means through which to gain opportunities for travel and adventure, something that became a reality for him when he joined the campaign to Tunis one year later. By January 1551, he was able to proudly list in his diary every destination he had visited to date, calculating a total of 445 cities and 18 islands travelled across a distance of roughly 5034 German miles.5

The tangible pride he demonstrated in gathering places and experiences in his diary proved paramount to the commission of the costume album, which in a similar vein, collected an impressive variety of subjects. The album also conjures a sense of Sternsee’s worldliness. Geographical knowledge and social connections buoyed by Habsburg contacts granted him intellectual expertise and cultural capital, strengthened pictorially through the album’s illustrations. Quickly and easily digestible to third parties in a way that his wordy diary was not, the visually stimulating album offered the ambitious guard captain a product he could show off to courtiers and military officers, as well as a valuable keepsake to be cherished by himself and his family. Sternsee shared with his contemporaries a desire to collect, classify, categorize, and compare, in this case the people of different stations, cultures, and societies. Yet the album was a unique political project – a work that combined imperial propaganda with personal ambition. The framing device placing Charles V’s portrait and insignia at the album’s introduction points to the emperor’s dominate place in his career. As the following analysis will demonstrate, it was Sternsee’s imperial service and his exchanges within Habsburg networks that empowered the album’s creation.

It emerges from Sternsee’s diary that he served as a common mercenary in Charles’s first war against Francis I of France (1494-1547) in 1521. During this period he was probably a young man in his early twenties, although the exact date of his birth is unknown. After being dismissed by the Duke of Milan following his participation in the Battle of Pavia, Sternsee returned to his ‘Heimat’ (homeland) of Laibach, now known as Ljubljana, and began writing his diary. Laibach fell within the historical territory of Carniola, a hereditary duchy of the Austrian Habsburgs which encompassed large parts of modern-day Slovenia. The duchy’s local nobility was dominated by German speakers, although the majority of the population were Slovenian. The Von Sternsees and Von Sigersdorffs, Sternsee’s paternal and maternal families, are recorded in Valvasor’s history The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola (1689) as families of the lesser nobility that had earlier populated the region. Sternsee returned to Laibach amid upheavals wrought by the peasant’s war. Shortly before Easter 1526 he returned to the Duke of Milan on the emperor’s payroll, remaining here to secure the new Habsburg territory. In 1530 he entered the service of the Duke of Mantua, Federico Gonzaga (1500-40) and, after nearly four years in this role, he took up a post with the papal troops in Bologna. One year later news reached Sternsee that the emperor was amassing an armada to travel to Barbary, the European term used for Northern Africa. Taking leave of the papal troops in April 1535, he joined a regiment of German mercenaries mustered in Spezia. The campaign sought to recapture Tunis from the Ottoman admiral Hayreddin Barbarossa, who had been using the city as an advantageous foothold for conducting raids along coastal Mediterranean Europe.

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6 Ibid., 1:17.
7 Ibid., 2:1-2.
10 Ibid., 2:3-4.
11 Ibid., 2:31, 2:33.
12 Ibid., 2:35.
In Sicily, following the triumphant campaign, Sternsee launched a career with the German imperial guard of Charles V where he remained for the duration his life.\(^{14}\) Within five years of employment as an imperial *Trabant* (guard) Sternsee had risen to the position of captain, inheriting on 3 October 1540 the title and annual stipend of 100 florins of his predecessor.\(^{15}\) This privilege was paid to him by the Nuremberg municipal council until his death and the on-going correspondence between Sternsee and Nuremberg preserved in the city archives usually documents from where he was writing. It provides a supplement to the diary for piecing together his busy itinerary which, except on occasions of leave, saw him by Charles V’s side travelling between Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany providing protection and military assistance.\(^{16}\) Sternsee was a commander during the Schmalkaldic War of 1546-47 where he mustered, dismissed, and paid the wages of imperial troops.\(^{17}\) When Charles based himself in Augsburg in the aftermath of this conflict and throughout the subsequent imperial diet of 1547-48, Sternsee was stationed in the city for ten months.\(^{18}\) It was during this time that he seems to have gained inspiration for the costume album from a plausible encounter with the work of Christoph Weiditz, whose *Trachtenbuch* was compiled from his own travels about twenty years previous.

Whether it remained in the possession of Christoph Weiditz, the Helmschmid family, or another party altogether, the *Trachtenbuch* folios do not appear to have left the city of Augsburg in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Derivative imagery

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 2:87-88; “Kaiserliche und Königliche Anweisungen und Quittungen über die Stadtsteuer 1540-1580” (Imperial and royal instructions and receipts for the city tax 1540-1580), 1540-80; Charles V, “Kaiser Karl V. gebietet der Stadt Nürnberg 100 fl. Stadtseuer, die ihm nach dem Tode des Ehrarten von Tauff heimgefallen waren, dem Christoffen von Sternsee auf Lebenszeit auszubezahlen” (The Emperor Charles V commands the city of Nuremberg to pay Christoph von Sternsee 100 fl.), Valladolid, 8 April 1542. Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (StAN), Reichsstadt Nürnberg, Losungamt, 35 neue Laden, Urkunden, Lade 6, and Urkunden 522-24.
\(^{16}\) For example, Sternsee records on 30 September 1545 ‘His Majesty granted me holiday and I rode to Antwerp, 8 Miles’ (*Am 30. September ihr Maj. mir Urlaub geben und ich geen Andtorff in Seeland geritten, 8 Meilen*), Ibid., 2:147. All translations from Sternsee’s diary are my own.
sourced from the *Trachtenbuch* and present in Enea Vico’s engraved series of costume figures (1557) is identified by Aric Chen to have transpired because of the Italian printmaker’s probable encounter with Weiditz’s work during a stay in Augsburg in 1550.\(^\text{19}\) It is highly conceivable that the work also became known to Sternsee during his ten-month stay in the city. A Habsburg favourite like Desiderius Helmschmid, who produced many suits of armour for Charles V, would easily have drawn the attention of an imperial servant like Sternsee. The same could be said for Weiditz because of his past experiences in the imperial retinue and his operations as an accomplished portrait medallist with clients from Augsburg’s patriciate. Sternsee would have been struck by the *Trachtenbuch*, perhaps identifying it as a novel, visual medium that he could use to demonstrate his worldly experience. Although the opportunity in Augsburg to have seen Weiditz’s work explains Sternsee’s inspiration for the commission, the strong stylistic parallels and derivative costume figures suggests the appraisal of an artist.

Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, whose relationship to Sternsee’s album will be analysed in due course, was working at the Brussels court when Weiditz was placed there in the years 1531-32. They shared patrons and made portraits in oil and in bronze

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\(^{19}\) Chen, “Enea Vico’s Costume Studies: A Source and a Sovereignty,” 54.
for two important Habsburg officials: Francisco de los Cobos and Alfonso de Valdés (figs. 107-110). Operating within this courtly environment, Weiditz may have shown his Dutch peer the current state of his costume sketches, triggering Vermeyen’s attentiveness towards regional costume when he embarked on his own travels in successive years. If Vermeyen made copies after some of Weiditz’s sketches, this visual material could have been among the corpus of Vermeyen’s source-imagery that resurfaces in Sternsee’s album. Its Morisco figures are unquestionably derived from those depicted in the Trachtenbuch (figs. 111-12). Other quotations include a mounted Spanish beadle, a rear view of a Basque women spinning, and an escorted Spanish noblewoman wearing a long train held up by attendants. This recycled imagery has been judiciously reworked so as not to be completely imitative, however there is no doubt that Weiditz’s sketches provided the original source. Like the Trachtenbuch, Sternsee’s album encounters courtly elite and rural peasantry, urban citizens from recognisable European centres, and different cultural groups in Iberia such as the Andalusian Moriscos, indigenous peoples of the Americas, and inhabitants of the vast mountainous regions around the Bay of Biscay. Sternsee’s album added to these subjects the armorial

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folios, demonstrating his familiarity with Europe’s political landscape, and included
subject matter relating to the Tunis campaign and Sternsee’s imperial service more
broadly.

Figure 111: ‘In this manner the Morisco women
dress in their house with their children’ from the
“Trachtenbuch”, fol. 100.

Figure 112: ‘Moors of Granada in Spain’ from the “Stibbert
MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 32.
2.i. The World of the Emperor: The Album’s Visual Programme

CHARLES’S CEREMONIAL TITLES

The contents of Sternsee’s album bear witness to the extent of cultural exchange a Habsburg imperial military official could be exposed to. This went hand in hand with Charles V’s extensive sovereignty, laid out at the beginning of the album with its folios of the heraldic devices of Habsburg territories. Married women of Namur and citizens of Luxembourg are mutually described in the album to belong within the emperor’s hereditary dominions.21 The strange fate that they should have something in common with native American inhabitants who ‘belong to the emperor’ was momentous indeed, and must have captured Sternsee’s attention as he circulated around Habsburg domains.22 At the centre of this milieu was the figure of the emperor himself. Of all the features in Sternsee’s album that instantiate Charles V’s global hegemony, the most powerful is an illustration of the emperor enthroned and flanked by the seven electors (fig. 113). Positioned directly before pages containing the arms of German principalities and costume figures, it reinforces the authority Charles desired in the German lands.

Eager to defend his patrimony and influence in Germany, obtaining the position of Holy Roman Emperor had been paramount. In a letter to Margaret of Austria in 1519, he asserted ‘to win the election, we are resolved to (…) commit everything we have, since there is nothing in the world we want more and which lies close to our heart’.23 Upon leaving Spain in 1520 to accept the German crown, Charles explained to his cortes that it was in the interest of ‘the peace of the commonwealth’ for him to ‘unite Spain to Germany and add the title of Caesar to that of King of Spain’.24 As Joachim Whaley has

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21 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”.
22 Ibid., fol. 61. All translations from the Stibbert MS taken from Richard Bull’s annotations unless otherwise stated.
24 Ibid. in a speech of March 1519, translated and cited in Blockmans, Emperor Charles V, 118.
explained, the imperial title was crucial to ‘unite the various realms and give historical and theological legitimacy to the monarch’. The legitimisation of this was witnessed by Sternsee when Charles was crowned by Pope Clement VII (r. 1523-34) in Bologna in 1530. Fluctuating political and religious tensions across Western Europe had led Charles to forego the vision of a grand coronation inside the basilica of Saint Peter in Rome and opt for a hastily arranged coronation in Bologna, with neither the electors nor a sizeable number of his vassals present. Sternsee was not yet an imperial guard but a Habsburg soldier based in Mantua who was called out to the coronation to supplement the emperor’s security forces. His diary reveals curiosity and admiration for the pomp and ceremony he witnessed and comments on the vestments of Charles, the pope, and the clothing of heralds.

The album’s illustration is not an accurate representation of the coronation of the emperor by the pope and is rather a symbolic portrayal of Charles’s investiture. It commemorates the vested authority of the seven German electors, whose votes secured

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25 Whaley, Germany and the Holy Roman Empire, 1:1:159.
28 Ibid., 2:29-30.
Charles the throne in 1519. The four princely electors and the three ecclesiastical electors, the archbishops of Trier, Cologne, and Mainz, are identified by the coat of arms of their electoral offices. As individuals, the figures share portrait likenesses not with the electors of 1519, but rather those who held these offices during the mid-1540s. Ferdinand I is easily identifiable by his distinctive hooked nose. The Elector of Saxony resembles portraits of Johann Frederick I (r. 1532-47), distinguishable by his broad, square beard and moustache, while the Elector of Mainz, Albert III of Brandenburg (r. 1515-45), appears as an older version of his 1526 portrait by Lucas Cranach the Elder with his characteristic double chin (figs. 114-15). Meanwhile, Frederick II, Count Palatine of the Rhine (r. 1544-56) is identified by a long, light-grey beard as is seen in his 1545 portrait by Hans Besser (fig. 116). While the depiction of particular individuals was eschewed in later costume books, this feature of Sternsee’s album buoyed his reputation by demonstrating knowledge of the elite circles of the period’s political movers and shakers, just as the Trachtenbuch did with its portraits of Cortés and Doria.
for instance. The electors’ likenesses however contrast with the generic representation of the emperor, whose characteristic looks and jutting Habsburg chin are not defined. This may have intended to stress the universality of the title, or perhaps to flatter the aging Charles whose greying beard reflects neither his age at the time of his election or coronation, but rather his mature years around the time of the costume album’s commission.

Charles’s relationship with the German territories and princes was to be fraught with difficulties. He did not spend any time in the German lands between the years 1522 to 1540, except during 1530 and 1532, arousing great mistrust.29 Added to this were his policies regarding the protestant reformers, which only amplified the notion that the traditional liberties of the German princes were under threat.30 The Reformation had ensured that the united Christendom Charles’s advisors had advanced in the early years of his reign was far from a reality, and clashes with the German princes, particularly Johann Frederick and the Schmalkaldic League in 1546, only invigorated Charles’s self-fashioning as defender of the true faith. Charles’s disposition towards crusading ideology was influenced by the chivalric dogma of the Order of the Golden Fleece, whose influence had shaped Charles’s Burgundian upbringing.31 As the current Duke of Burgundy, Charles had inherited the role of Grandmaster of the Order.32 The costume album’s double-page procession of knights of the Order testifies to the significance of this membership upon Charles’s self-image, not to mention the

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30 Ibid.
31 Frieder, Chivalry & the Perfect Prince, 67.
pervasive, symbolic world of decorations and honours that Sternsee participated in (fig. 117).

The album’s portrayal of the Order of the Golden Fleece demonstrates Sternsee’s admiration for the knightly order and underlines his own aspirations for social and political advancement. Sternsee was impressed by the recent spectacle of the 1546 chapter meeting in which he served as a guard, and his diary reveals an intimate knowledge of the goings on inside the meeting’s various venues. Central to the fashioning of these Christian knights, who principally derived from Europe’s most distinguished nobility, were the Order’s ceremonial dress codes. Various testimonies confirm the accuracy of Sternsee’s vivid pictorial and textual descriptions, which correspond, for example, with the record given by the English ambassador Stephen Gardiner (c. 1548-55) who accompanied King Henry VIII (1491-1547) to the 1546 chapter. In a letter to the Tudor secretary William Paget, dated 11 January, Gardiner wrote:

… the Emperour with his companyons cummyth to the church, which wer viij besides hymself, al appareled in crymsen velvet, both kyrtelles and roobes, with hooedes of the same, as the knyghtes of the Garter have, which they here ware on ther hedes in stede of ther cappes, which becamme them notably wel and had a good grace. There cam also, bfore al, the officers of thOrdre, being foure, the chaunceler, the treasurer, the register, and the chief herauld, whom they cal Toyson. Al thise foure wer appereled like the companyons without difference, saving the knyghtes outward roobes wer garnished with embrodery of gold, an d ther oonly playn velvet; and Toyson had upon his robe a color of thOrdre, with al tharmes of the companyons in gold, graved, added unto the same, which made a brave shewe, and was the token to knowe him for chief herauld. (…) 

About five of the clok thEmperour cam with his compagnons and officers, al appareled in blak cloth, with ther hooedes in stede of cappes, and the Ordre upon the outward garment;… Mondaye in the mornyong about x of the clok, thEmperour with his compagnons and officers al in blak repared to the church to here the Dirge Masse, being prepared against that tyme fiftie candelles of virgin wax, ech candel having a skochen with the armes of ech oon of thOrdre, both alyve, and deed synnes the last chapitre. (…) 

Mondaye at night al the blak was taken awaye, and the stalles agin in ther fresh furniter as bfore; and at fyve of the clok thEmperour cam to church with his companyons and officers, al in white damaske, with ther garments gyrte, and ther hodes of crymsen velvet on ther hedes, which was a very good sight.35

The Sternsee album likewise observes that crimson velvet robes, mantles, and hoods are worn to open the event.36 The same apparel is then worn in black velvet but without the mantle to mourn the passing of former members. Finally, the knights wear white damask robes with red hoods to mark the election of new brothers to the Order.

The solemnity of the Order’s manifold robes, collars, and hoods was such that Gardiner notes the knights received a sermon regarding their symbolic functions from Philip Nigri, the Order’s chancellor (r. 1531-62).37 Sternsee appears to have correspondingly schooled his artist in the representative weight of these regular costume changes. Just as Gardiner described, higher ranked officers wear robes embellished with

golden embroidery, while the ‘Toyson’, the chief herald, wears the spectacular collar ‘graved’ with the heraldic arms of the knights. The album also portrays the finely-worked collars of the knights and their emblematic pendant of the pelt of the Golden Ram of Phrixus from the Greek story of Jason. ‘To the syncretic mentality of the Renaissance’, explains Frieder, ‘the life-giving properties of the golden ram of Phrixus were likened to the miracle of the Christian resurrection’ and the ram came to be aligned with the Lamb of God.38 As an emblem of immense significance to the emperor, Charles V was barely ever depicted without his collar of the fleece.39 Jason’s classical, heroic quest also encouraged the crusading spirit that ended up defining Habsburg foreign policy. Defence of the faith was the knights’ principle obligation, corresponding with the ideals that led to the sack of Tunis. The Order of the Golden Fleece consequently epitomised Charles’s spiritual, imperial, and military duties that shaped the networks Sternsee participated in and the ambitions within which he was enmeshed.

SUBJECTS OF THE NEW WORLD

Habsburg court culture and Charles’s imperial, militarist agenda consistently shapes Sternsee’s album. The colonial presence in the Americas is a defining feature here, its presence felt at court by the circulation of artefacts and people from lands newly-incorporated into the empire. Sternsee’s album depicts eight Amerindian subjects which will be scrutinised at greater length in chapter 3. It is worth briefly discussing these images within this segment too, to demonstrate their position within a visual programme that substantiates the many faces of Charles’s world. The first three figures are a family group whose feathered apparel positions them within an established pictorial tradition for the portrayal of New World people that had existed since the turn of the sixteenth century (fig. 118). The first images of New World inhabitants consumed in Europe accompanied early travel accounts and broadsheets advertising new discoveries across the Atlantic. Amerigo Vespucci’s descriptions of feathered garments worn in Brazil –

38 Frieder, Chivalry & the Perfect Prince, 68.
39 Burke, “Presenting and Re-Presenting Charles v,” 410.; Frieder, Chivalry & the Perfect Prince, 68.
headdresses, collars, skirts, bustles, and leg-bands – proved exceptionally influential, not to mention various feather artefacts and accessories brought back to Europe from as early as 1500, following the first European landing in Brazil by a Portuguese fleet.  

The Stibbert MS describes this image, ‘Thus go the men and women in India, who belong to the Emperor, they stick Jewels in their faces, and have mantles made of feathers of parrots’. The reference to feather garments and jewelled face accessories probably followed Vespucci’s accounts of Brazil’s Tupinambá people, while the word belong is a compelling affirmation of Charles’s sovereignty over these people. By the

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40 Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 515.
41 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 61.
42 See Amerigo Vespucci, Mundus Novus (1503).
1540s, Brazil was in the firm possession of the Portuguese, and this caption may have been a competitive insinuation of Charles’s hegemony over the New World as a whole. However, it is more likely that the family group are generalized New World types and representative of the entire region, as distinctions between mainland Tupinambá people and those of other territories such as the West Indies would not have been well-comprehended by many on the European continent.

The other five figures depict subjects of ‘Newly-Found India’ (fig. 119) and thus represent New Spain, the name given to the Spanish colonial territory that replaced the conquered Aztec empire from 1522. Charles’s Spanish court hosted indigenous Nahua of the Aztec and Tlaxcala ethnic groups on several occasions. The most well-known party was the delegation of 1528 who were brought to Spain with Hernán Cortés and depicted by Weiditz. Although Sternsee’s album replicates several of Weiditz’s costume figures, it does not reproduce the latter’s corpus of jugglers, ball-players, and noble emissaries, popularly recycled by many successive costume books. Sternsee’s pictures nonetheless display an extraordinary level of knowledge about the specificities of Mexican garments, corresponding with pictorial examples from Mexican-produced codices produced prior to and during Spanish colonisation.43 Many features suggest that visual information was gleaned from first-hand encounter and observation, altogether plausible for artists connected to the courtly world of Charles V.

Lengthy stays from Mexican envoys were plentiful in the decades immediately following Spanish conquest.44 Five Nahua noblemen from the 1528 group remained at court when their compatriots returned to New Spain and were financed at the crown’s expense. In 1533 the Council of the Indies proposed to the emperor that they ought to ‘be doing something that would serve Your Majesty’ as they were ‘here at Your Majesty’s expense’, and suggested they be split among the imperial chambers and the

43 For example, the “The Codex Mendoza”, c. 1541. MS. Arch. Selden A. 1., Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford; Fra Bernadino de Sahagún, “Historia general de las cosas de nueva España” (the Florentine Codex), ca. 1577. Mediceo Palatino 218-20, Laurentian Library, Florence.
44 The lively presence of Mexican subjects in Spain during Charles’s reign is documented by Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe, 83–90.
It was not until 1537 that the last of this group, Hernando de Tapia, returned to New Spain. The European-style shirts worn under the male figures’ cloaks (tilmatli) imply that the subjects of the illustration have been incorporated into a courtly environment. The Stibbert MS describes the male figures as the ‘first and richest Indians’ who go dressed in silks. This must refer to the shirts worn under their native cloaks and may indicate the Spanish crown’s efforts to financially support and outfit their noble guests, ensuring that gradations in status amongst sponsored parties would be duly recognised. The principal members of the 1528 group, for instance, were provided with luxury fabrics upon their arrival at the Spanish court.

The female subjects are described as wearing dress made of parrot feathers, although obvious feather shapes are eluded. Mexican feather-work items that circulated into the hands of Gaspar Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to Spain in 1522, were

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47 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 62.
crafted so finely and the feathers woven together so tightly that he marvelled ‘never have I seen embroidery so lovely and delicate as some examples of this work’.\textsuperscript{49} Mexican feather-work transformed the feather into a textile unmatched by anything known to Europeans. Woven together on looms, the feather’s natural shape was manipulated into a fabric with a delicate texture. If not for the descriptive text, the album’s dresses would surely be interpreted as constructed from colourful woven threads. This is a striking observation that suggests the handling and intimate knowledge of feather-worked items and their complex surfaces, indicating that the creator of this image not merely relied on visual sources, but on artefacts and garments brought to European courts from New Spain. In lieu of evidence to suggest that Sternsee’s images were copied from a pre-existing visual source, the chance that he or Vermeyen encountered Nahua and examples of their native dress at court is appealing.

The Spanish court’s adoption of people and artefacts from New Spain put the Habsburg stamp on the region and ensured that evidence of imperial advancement in the Americas was on display. Charles V’s interest in the New World revolved around his Christian duty to see the true faith brought to the people of the Americas.\textsuperscript{50} However, he was also keenly aware of the financial benefits that derived from upholding authority in what he once described as ‘another, as I might say, gold-bearing world’.\textsuperscript{51} The region’s gold was imperative to Charles’s ambitious visions. His expedition to Tunis required such a large sum of money that it was only realizable with New World gold, for instance.\textsuperscript{52} This gold came from ransom treasure extracted by Francisco Pizarro for the return of the last Inca king, Atahualpa, in 1533.\textsuperscript{53} Charles’s holy enterprise in Tunis, an event commemorated in the costume project through various figures, ships, and animals, was thus a direct result of the universal sweep of his empire and the financial gain this had brought him.

\textsuperscript{49} Gaspar Contarini translated and cited in Keen, \textit{The Aztec Image in Western Thought}, 65.
\textsuperscript{50} Blockmans, \textit{Emperor Charles V}, 107.
\textsuperscript{51} Charles V translated and cited in Parker, “The Political World of Charles V,” 123.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 163.
THE TUNIS CAMPAIGN

Competitive power struggles between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires were exacerbated in the 1530s by the alliance of Charles V’s long-term rival Francis I with Suleiman the Magnificent. To counter Habsburg military and commercial hegemony in the Mediterranean, Turkish naval forces led attacks on the Italian coast in 1534 and captured Tunis from its Hafsid rulers. Charles’s campaign aimed to tip the balance of control over the Mediterranean back in his favour by retaking Tunis and securing his dominance on the seas. From across his empire he gathered substantial man-power and an enormous armada. On 14 June 1535 the imperial fleet set out for Goleta, the port entrance to Tunis, whose strong fortress posed the first threat to their descent on Tunis. When Goleta fell, Hayreddin Barbarossa fled to Algiers and Charles’s troops descended upon Tunis. The city refused to surrender, and it was sacked, as was customary. Tunisian civilians were slaughtered at random, shops and mosques plundered, slaves taken, and Christian captives released. It was a decisive blow to the reputation of Suleiman. Charles, however, emerged from the battle as a victorious defender of Christendom. The Hafsid king and Charles’s vassal Mulay Hasan (r. 1526-43) was restored to the throne. Declared a crusade by Pope Paul III (r. 1534-49), the Tunis campaign not only flexed Habsburg military muscle but was emblematic of Christendom’s triumph over Ottoman adversaries. Sternsee had served in the imperial infantry under the command of the German captain Marx von Eberstein, while Jan Vermeyen, in his capacity as campaign artist, famously sketched from within the fray. In his Het Schilderboek, the artist biographer Karel van Mander recounts that Vermeyen

54 Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West, Picturing History (London: Reaktion, 2000), 82.
55 Crowley, Empires of the Sea, 59.
57 Crowley, Empires of the Sea, 61.
58 Tracy, Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War, 149.
59 Jardine and Brotton, Global Interests, 82.
60 Burke, “Presenting and Re-Presenting Charles v,” 433.
accompanied the emperor ‘…as a fellow-traveller in diverse lands, including in 1535 in Barbary, as the Emperor often used him to draw his wars, vicissitudes, and victories, after which beautiful tapestries were later made’. 61 Indeed, in 1546, Mary of Hungary commissioned Vermeyen to compose the cartoons for a twelve-piece tapestry series to commemorate the campaign, woven with the finest wool, silk, and gilt-threads by the workshop of Willem de Pannemaker in Brussels between 1549 and 1554. 62

Sternsee’s diary chronicles the expedition in full, reciting each key event from the pre-battle preparations to the siege of Goleta and the sack of Tunis. 63 He places himself within the action only briefly, referring to ‘we’ the German troops. In keeping with the tone of his diary, he narrates the campaign’s moments with a detached coolness. Recounting how Barbarossa pleaded with the imperial troops to be merciful to the Tunisian inhabitants, Sternsee disturbingly concludes ‘and so we moved into the city and plundered it, and beat 6000 men to death, and led 12,500 women and children away, the others had run away, and freed 20,000 Christians who had been trapped there’. 64 Vermeyen’s only surviving preliminary drawing for the series (fig. 120) is a stark portrayal of this violence. Two fallen Tunisians dominate the foreground, their torn clothes and cut bodies abandoned by the imperial soldiers who continue to harass the townspeople outside the city walls. This scene did not end up in the official, sanctioned tapestry cartoons. It represents, Mary E. Barnard suggests, the ‘personal voice of the artist, a private moment in which he comments on the atrocities of war committed during the massacre at Tunis’, incompatible with the tapestry commission’s triumphant imperial agenda. 65 The tapestries inserted classical references to old Carthage imbedded within cartouches and connected Charles’s exploits with those of the illustrious Roman general Scipio Africanus (236–183 BCE) in the former Tunis-based empire. For Lisa

61 Karel van Mander, from ‘The Life of Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen of Beverwijk/Painter’ (1604), translated and cited in full by Horn, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, 339.
62 Ibid., 117.
64 Ibid., 2:45. ‘So sein wir in die Stadt gezogen und die geplündert und bei 6000Mann zu tot geschlagen und bei 12 ½ 000 Moren Weib und Kinder weggeführt, die andern sind fortgelaufen und bei 20.000 Christen erlöst die da gefangen sein gewesen’.
65 Mary E Barnard, García laso de La Vega and the Material Culture of Renaissance Europe, Toronto Iberic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 45.
Jardine and Jerry Brotton, this elevated a ‘relatively insignificant military victory into a culturally significant moment in the development of sixteenth-century notions of imperial power’.  

Sternsee’s costume album turns its focus away from the campaign’s narrative episodes and catalogues the dress, naval power, and wildlife on display in Tunis that proved to be so stimulating. Tunisian citizens are portrayed in a civil manner. Sternsee’s involvement in their harassment is glossed over by picturing a land whose people wear fine fabrics and gold jewellery. One image depicts a pale noble maiden with red nails and gold hoop-earrings escorted by a black footman appalled in simple cape (fig. 121),

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while others, distinguished as ‘rich citizens’, stand in conversation (fig. 122). A mounted entry of the re-instated king of Tunis Mulay Hasan commemorates the successful campaign (fig. 123). His path is led by a man carrying a palm branch, a symbol recalling Christ’s triumphal entry into Jerusalem, and his accompanying entourage, outfitted in golden tunics, carry long, double-pointed spears. Commentary consistent with Sternsee’s passion for measurements asserts that the spears are 28 feet long.\textsuperscript{67} Nominal approval of the local Tunisian elite was a necessary outcome of Charles’s reinstatement of Hasan who, owing his restoration to the emperor, was essentially a vassal king. The album’s favourable portrayal conceals the brutal treatment Tunis residents had been subjected to when the

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure121.png}
\caption{‘Citizens of Tunis’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 15v-16r.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{figure122.png}
\caption{‘Tunis citizens in conversation’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 16v.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{67} “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 48.
imperial troops seized the city. In spite of this, the victorious campaign was remembered as one of the greatest military achievements of Charles V’s reign. It is fitting therefore, to see a picture of a peaceful, well-ordered, and assumedly grateful Tunis citizenry free from the menace of the pirate Barbarossa. Habsburg associations with the Tunisian Hafsid dynasty were maintained following the campaign. In July 1542 Sternsee documents the arrival at court of ambassadors from Tunis bearing tribute for the emperor, and in February 1548 the visit of the new king of Tunis to Augsburg at the time of the imperial diet.

Sternsee’s album also draws attention to the ships and crew of Charles’s armada, a fleet that was made up of nearly 400 vessels and 35,000 men. Now preserved in the Stibbert MS, these images portray the ‘Great Galley’ commanded by Andrea Doria and ‘the Carrack from Rhodes’, the Santa Anna, reportedly the largest ship in the world at the time. Depicted with its enormous, full sails flying, this impressive carrack was sailed by the Knights of Saint John from their base in Malta and is described as a ship

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68 Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War*, 149.
70 Parker, “The Political World of Charles v,” 163.
which could carry 60 large cannon, 100 sailors, and 300 soldiers (fig. 124). A Portuguese ship portrayed ‘going to India’ is probably the caravel Botafogo, a Portuguese warship with fearsome artillery power that along with a history of use in the Atlantic, served in the Tunis campaign. The album also portrays galleys from the Habsburg and Ottoman side of the war. Different perspectives of these vessels in action emerge in Vermeyen’s tapestry designs, particularly in the spectacular naval battle scene in the Capture of La Goletta, where the Santa Anna reappears mid-skirmish with its sails firmly bound (fig. 125). Jardine and Brotton argue that Vermeyen appears to have been urged to observe and record precise naval and troop formations, accounting for the tapestries’ emphasis on military power and innovation. The corresponding section in Sternsee’s album stresses the fearsome artillery power Charles V held at his command.

Figure 124: ‘The Carrack of Rhodes’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 42.

Figure 125: Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, (detail) ‘The Capture of La Goletta’ cartoon design from the Conquest of Tunis tapestry series (charcoal and watercolour on paper, 385 x 1145 cm), 1546-1550. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna.

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72 Ibid. The Knights of Saint John had been expelled from the island of Rhodes in 1522 following Ottoman conquest.


74 Jardine and Brotton, Global Interests, 87–88.
It also presents the ships’ sailors, portrayed wearing red shirts and breeches, as well as fur-lined gowns to shield against the elements (fig. 126). Consistent with the tapestries, galley slaves are depicted with their heads shaved and probably represent the chained Anabaptists and other prisoners documented to have been brought from Antwerp to row the galleys.⁷⁵ Although the Tunis campaign is not explicitly mentioned in the captions for these images, they correspond with the naval power accumulated for this battle. The album’s scribe must have been versed in specific knowledge about the operation, providing information in several instances about the weaponry and manpower aboard the ships.⁷⁶ One picture even recalls ‘Thus the galleys, when they fall in with large ships and when they have no wind’, a dilemma probably recalled from Sternsee’s personal memory of the armada.⁷⁷ These observations relate to Sternsee’s lengthy descriptions in his diary of the ships’ size and their capacity to hold sailors, soldiers, and cannon. For example, he enthusiastically records that each one of the imperial armada’s galleys were 150 feet long with masts 84 feet high.⁷⁸

North African flora and fauna also enter Sternsee’s album, betraying his especial interest in the region. Again, the album’s commentary is assertive, offering intimate knowledge acquired through direct experience. In one folio, a Berber man is depicting

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⁷⁵ Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War*, 146.
⁷⁶ According to the Stibbert MS, the Turkish galleys held 194 men, who row in chains, 5 cannon, 1 royal gun, 2 half-guns and 2 falconets. Andrea Doria’s great galley is said to have carried 100 large cannon, some small cannon, 150 sailors, 20 gunmen, and 200 soldiers. “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 41, 44.
⁷⁷ “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 43.
riding a camel. ‘This is a Dromedary’, the caption knowingly relates, ‘which walks faster than a horse’. 79 Another page explains, ‘Thus look the baboons, and monkeys, which are found in Barbary in great numbers, and do essential damage to the fruit’. 80 An illustration of ostriches with bushy feathers instructs viewers that they ‘have this colour, in Barbary’ (fig. 127). 81 Other animals include leopards, a black camel, a lion, a goat, and a scorpion, while an illustration of a date palm tree demonstrates an interest in local plant-life. Many of the north-African animals presented in Sternsee’s album are also prominent in the Conquest of Tunis tapestries; specifically, in the cartoon portraying the imperial forces moving camp after Tunis’s sacking, which depicts goats, bulls, camels, and ostriches

![Figure 127: ‘Ostriches in Barbary’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 56.](image)

79 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 52.
80 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 58.
81 Ibid., fol. 56.
being herded by imperial troops (fig. 128). Sternsee’s album finishes its nature section with a brief shift in location, presenting a folio showing ‘Elephants in India, where are many Parrots, of all colours’. This must represent an attempt to identify other foreign and fascinating wildlife that could be added to the costume album’s global scope.

Sternsee also experienced cultures that fell beyond imperial authority. Although his album fosters a sense of the emperor’s omnipresence, the armorial folios for example meticulously register the coats of arms of sovereigns and territories extending across England, France, and Italy, while others present costume figures from these lands and those of the Ottoman Empire. These subjects amass the breadth of applied knowledge about the political and cultural makeup of Europe and its surrounds that a Habsburg military official’s career could accrue. Sternsee faced French troops regularly throughout the Italian wars that governed much of his career, and during a rare moment of peace between the frequently warring Charles V and Francis I in the winter of 1539-40, Sternsee followed the emperor to the Low Countries as he travelled with the

Figure 128: Vermeyen, (detail) ‘The imperial forces leave Tunis and camp in Rada’ cartoon design from the Conquest of Tunis tapestry series.

82 Ibid., fol. 59.
Trabanten through Gascony and past Paris by way of Orléans. His curiosity was stoked by the local castles, churches, universities, and pleasure houses they passed, while the relics at the Basilica of Saint-Denis inspired his sincere admiration. The album’s costume figures from the Kingdom of France comprise the southern populations in Bayonne and Gascony, where women attending church are enveloped in long, hooded cloaks (fig. 129). In the northern centres of Paris and Péronne, the fashion for folded hoods and turned-back, hanging sleeves is shown to be dominant (fig. 130).

There is no sense of antipathy towards non-Habsburg subjects, whether allies, antagonists, or both. At the time of the album’s commission around 1548-49, two of Charles V’s most significant, contemporaneous rivals – Francis I and Henry VIII – were recently deceased. Replaced by young, untried sovereigns this power shift in Europe’s political landscape is glimpsed in that the album lacks comparable depictions of the new French and English kings to complement that of Suleiman the Magnificent, enthroned

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84 Ibid., 2:74.
85 The album describes its Irish subjects as ‘belonging’ to the King of England. This can be assumed to mean King Edward VI (r. 1547-1553). “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 179.
and surrounded by courtiers dressed in splendid red and gold damasks (fig. 131). It was Sternsee’s business to be informed about important neighbouring cultures and territories. The album reveals a genuine interest in portraying the nuances of apparel, accessories, and weaponry that set apart French, Italian, English, and Turkish subjects. While English ladies are depicted wrapping their chests and shoulders with thick, white linen, their Genoese counterparts were marked out by their beautiful, gold-latticed partlets (figs. 132-33). Like Sternsee’s diary, the album avoids entertaining sensational positions on national character, politics, and religion, and objectively records subjects of consequence for an experienced Habsburg servant.
2.ii. Visual Sources and the Album’s Commission

JAN CORNELISZ VERMEYEN

The manner in which Sternsee’s costume album was realized is a challenge to piece together, although it is possible to draw conclusions about the artistic circle it emerged from, the date Sternsee commissioned it, and the relationship between the original album and its copy. Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen’s involvement in Sternsee’s album is above all detectable through a bevy of costume figures that have counterparts in Vermeyen’s oeuvre. This suggests that he was a contributor to the album’s illustrations which are either attributable to his workshop or to another artist within his Brussels-based circle. Like Sternsee, Vermeyen’s principal patrons were the Habsburgs. This relationship permitted him the opportunity to witness diversities of dress across Europe in the company of the imperial entourage. Compelling associations between Vermeyen and the costume album’s contents are appreciable, moreover, in his role as Charles’s dedicated campaign-artist in Tunis.

According to Van Mander, Vermeyen was born in the town of Beverwijk, just north of Harlem, in 1500.86 His association with the Habsburgs began around 1525 when, as a young artist, he entered the service of Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), Charles V’s aunt and regent of the Spanish Netherlands.87 Although principally based at her court in Mechelen, Vermeyen had opportunities through this patronage to travel further. In 1529, he accompanied Margaret to Cambrai where she famously negotiated the Peace of Cambrai, also known as the ‘Ladies’ Peace’, between the warring Francis I and Charles V.88 In 1530 Vermeyen accompanied Margaret to the Diet of Augsburg and then on to Innsbruck, where he executed a number of portraits of the imperial family for

86 Karel van Mander in his The Life of Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen of Beverwijk/Painter (1604), translated and cited in full in Horn, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, 339.
87 Ibid., 7.
88 Ibid., 8.
his patroness.\footnote{89} Painting Charles V’s portrait on this occasion launched his career as the ‘painter of the illustrious aforementioned Emperor’.\footnote{90} At the 1530 imperial diet, Vermeyen had his first potential opportunity to cross paths with Christoph Weiditz. As was earlier mentioned, the two worked in close proximity at the Brussels court in 1531-32, precisely in the period during which Weiditz was compiling the visual material from his trip to Spain the previous year. They shared the patronage of Alfonso de Valdés and Francisco de los Cobos, and were even alluded to in the same piece of correspondence between Valdés and Dantiscus at the diet in Regensburg in 1532. As was noted in chapter 1, Valdés expressed to Dantiscus his appreciation of his new simulacrum, probably meaning Weiditz’s portrait medal, and also added that Nicholas Perrenot de Granvelle wished for Dantiscus to send ‘the painter’ to him the next day in the morning.\footnote{91} According to the CIDT&C researchers, this painter was most plausibly Jan Vermeyen.\footnote{92}

Vermeyen was to soon undertake significant travel of his own, producing sketches and finished works that documented the regional appearance of local people. He relocated to Spain sometime before 8 June 1534.\footnote{93} This was the date of a notable bullfight held in Avila, depicted by Vermeyen in a hurried pen and wash drawing (figs. 134-35). The bottom left-hand corner of the sketch features three female Spaniards who resurface in Sternsee’s costume album (fig. 136). On the left of the sketched trio and on the right of the album’s counterparts, a backwards-turned woman wears her hair in a bound tranzado hair-braid extending from beneath her headdress.\footnote{94} This distinctive headdress is also worn by the woman who holds a feather fan. Called a tocado de papos, this popular garment enclosed the hair within two mounds of gathered fabric on either ear.\footnote{95} This figure also sports voluminous sleeves tied with ribbons and a cone-shaped

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\footnote{89} Ibid.  
\footnote{90} Karel van Mander translated and cited in Ibid., 339–41.  
\footnote{91} Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “CIDT&C,” Let. #5769. ‘Alfonso de Valdés to Ioannes Dantiscus, [Regensburg], [ca. 1532-04-16?]’  
\footnote{92} Ibid.  
\footnote{93} Horn, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, 13.  
\footnote{94} Bernis, Indumentaria española, 22–23.  
\footnote{95} Ibid., 23.
verdugado skirt, stiffened with hoops, in particularly Spanish fashion. The central woman wears a lengthy mantle over her head held down by a flat, brimmed hat. While the trio in the bullfight are cropped within the large crowd, they are depicted in the costume album wearing another distinctly Spanish fashion – chapins, or platform clogs – which were popularly adopted across Europe as the century progressed. Apparently striking him as particularly fascinating, characteristic garments of Spain, these fashions were depicted by Vermeyen in many other works from his oeuvre. The June bullfight in Avila was attended by Charles V, and a trail of other works Vermeyen produced in this

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96 Ibid., 22.
97 For example: Jan Vermeyen, Courtly Company at a Well (etching, 271 x 418 mm), ca. 1539-40; A Spanish Courtesan (etching, 247 x 173 mm), 1545; and Portrait of a Young Woman (etching, 247 x 171 mm), 1545.
period suggests he was travelling alongside the imperial entourage, as it moved about Iberia.\footnote{Horn, \textit{Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen}, 13.} Charles V had been in the city of Segovia the previous week, and Hendrick J. Horn argues that Vermeyen’s etching \textit{The Aqueduct of Segovia} was therefore executed while in the emperor’s company.\footnote{Ibid.} This suggests that Vermeyen had entered into Charles’s service long before he famously accompanied the emperor on campaign to Tunis in June 1535. Spending at least a year in Spain before famously embarking with the imperial fleet to Tunis, Vermeyen had plenty of opportunity to observe his surroundings as Weiditz had done six years earlier.\footnote{Ibid., 14.} This might explain why Sternsee’s album was able to visualize a disproportionate number of subjects from these parts with

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Figure136.png}
\caption{‘Women in Spain upon their chopines’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 12.}
\end{figure}
such variety and nuance, such as the scene depicting the method and tools rural Spaniards used to harvest and thresh corn.

Vermeyen’s period in Tunis seems to have proved just as fruitful for Sternsee’s album and its visual attention to the region. The propagandistic value of the campaign was not lost on Charles V, who had ensured to bring a dedicated artist into the field of battle. Sternsee’s memory of the emperor’s war-artist may have led to Vermeyen’s subsequent involvement with the costume album a decade or so later. Around the same time, Vermeyen was working on the tapestry cartoons memorializing the campaign, the final products of which are today housed in the collection of the Royal Palace of Madrid.¹⁰¹ Iain Buchanan and Thomas P. Campbell have convincingly argued that the prominent tapestry designer Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-50) collaborated on the cartoon designs.¹⁰² He was doubtless brought into the project to consult on tapestry composition because Vermeyen was new to the medium, and his influence is perceptible in stylistic parallels including the reuse of foreground figure groups from Coecke’s existing oeuvre.¹⁰³

A couple of Turkish women featured in Sternsee’s costume album were almost certainly sourced from Coecke’s woodcut frieze The Customs and Fashions of the Turks whose female figures wear the same style of gown with distinctive back panels embellished with hanging strings (figs. 137-39). Coecke had travelled to Constantinople in 1533 for an ultimately failed tapestry commission, and from his experience in Turkey he composed the remarkable frieze.¹⁰⁴ The woodcuts were published posthumously by

Coecke’s wife Mayken Verhulst (ca. 1520-60) in 1553. The reappearance of these Turkish figures in the album points to their creation by someone who had access to Coecke’s unpublished drawings around 1548-49, the proposed time of Sternsee’s commission. At this very time, Coecke was collaborating with Vermeyen on the Tunis tapestries. The relationship this ensured meant that Vermeyen’s workshop would have had this access, and vice versa, pin-pointing the album’s production to these two artists.
and their students, or another Brussels workshop with whom they were on equally close terms.

Although there was a long delay before the Tunis tapestries were commissioned, Vermeyen capitalized on his campaign sketches in the years that followed. On 26 May 1536, the Council of Brabant granted him exclusive rights ‘to print certain portraits and depictions of the armies of his Royal Majesty and of the Siege before Tunis’, and several works in his oeuvre demonstrate familiarity with Tunisian topography, inhabitants, and customs. Inserting ennobled images of himself three times into The Conquest of Tunis cartoons, Vermeyen was proud of his esteemed role. In one of these appearances he works in situ, amidst soldiers and gunfire (fig. 140).

Figure 140: Vermeyen, (detail) ‘First skirmishes on Cape Carthage; Vermeyen sketches the battle’ from Conquest of Tunis tapestries (silk and wool, workshop of Willem Pannemaker), 1543-1554. Royal Palace of Madrid, Madrid.

105 Cited in Horn, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, 19; Buchanan, “The Conquest of Tunis,” 324. These include a Portrait of Mulay Ahmad (etching, 492 x 377 mm), c. 1535-36, and Mulay Hasan and his Retinue at a Repast (engraving, 34 x 54 mm), c. 1535. A set of copperplates related to Tunis were bequeathed by Vermeyen to his son in his will of September 24, 1559, and may have included plates for prints since lost.
The material needed for the tapestry series was immense and could only have been the outcome of hundreds of sketches that Vermeyen had held onto. These sketches and others made in Spain and elsewhere provided a range of stock figures which could be readily inserted into the tapestry series and Sternsee’s album in successive years. The Conquest of Tunis cartoons share a number of counterpart figures with the costume album. In the cartoon depicting the campaign’s end, three dancing Spanish women correspond with a similar subject in the album (figs. 141-42). The dancing groups parallel each other in movement and gesture and wear hitched-up over-skirts, white *tocado de papos* headdresses, and *tranzado* braids. One of the dancers holds a peculiar box-like object above her shoulder. A mysterious item, it seems to have been a dancing accessory, possibly a rattling instrument and it reappears in Vermeyen’s etching *The Spanish Brothel* (fig. 143). Vermeyen seems to have sourced visual material for the monumental tapestry commission from his own back catalogue of pre-Tunis subjects. From amongst this very same set of sketches and finished works the Sternsee album appears to have drawn ample imagery.

Sternsee’s album shares with Vermeyen’s tapestries a tangible concern to differentiate the enemy forces involved in the campaign, and repurposes three compositions from Jan Swart van Grönigen’s woodcut series of Suleiman I and his

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106 Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen*, 16.
Figure 142: ‘Spanish women of middle rank’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 3v.

Figure 143: Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, The Spanish Brothel (etching, 310 x 421 mm), 1545. Prentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
entourage to help meet this end (figs. 144-46). At the time of Charles’s invasion, Tunis consisted of inhabitants descended from the indigenous, semi-nomadic Berber population and from Muslim Arab invaders, present in the area since the Middle Ages.

Figure 144: Daniel Hopfer after Jan Swart van Grönigen ‘HAIDEN (Pagans)’ (engraving, 224 x 157 mm), 1526-36. British Museum, London.

Figure 145: Daniel Hopfer after Jan Swart van Grönigen ‘ARABISCHE (Arabs)’.

Figure 146: ‘Turks and Tatars’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 51v-52r.

107 Jan Swart van Grönigen, Procession of Ottoman Soldiers, woodcut series (1526).
108 Horn, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, 194–95.
In his diary Sternsee refers to the North African forces of Tunis as ‘Moors’ in distinction to the ‘Turks’. The costume album depicts the soldiery of the former wearing a style of turban with hanging fabric enveloping the neck (fig. 147). These figures closely resemble a cavalry group of Berber soldiers in the foreground of the *Fall of Tunis* tapestry (fig. 148). Corresponding features include the long, double-pointed spears held over the soldiers’ shoulders and the dagger and fringed mantle of the accompanying footman. Different groups within the Ottoman army, whose defence of the city brought a multitude of fighters into the cultural mélange of the campaign, are identifiable through diversities of uniform. Janissaries, the elite soldiers of the Ottoman infantry traditionally recruited from prisoners-of-war, wear their cylindrical drooping hat called the börk. The Albanian cavalry are identifiable by their high tophats, while the Mamluk forces don tâquiyya – domed and pointed red hats (fig. 149).\footnote{For these items of costume see Colding Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453-1600*, 34.} The Turk forces meanwhile, wear
voluminous folded turbans. A comparable commitment in Vermeyen’s tapestry designs to differentiate between the costume of Turks, Berbers, Germans, and Spaniards makes it possible to follow the battle narrative. The extent of ethnic diversity demonstrated here and in the costume album exhibits the manifold peoples on both sides of the campaign who had been assimilated into the expanding Ottoman and Habsburg empires.

Figure 148: Vermeyen, (detail) ‘Berber cavalry group’ cartoon design from the Conquest of Tunis tapestry series.

Figure 149: ‘Ottoman figures’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 60v-61r.
Horn speculates that Vermeyen returned to Spain after the Tunis campaign, travelling with the emperor through Italy, France, and into Spain, arriving in 1537. Christoph von Sternsee, the newly-minted guard, took this same journey back to the emperor’s court in Valladolid, where he and Vermeyen remained in Castile in their respective roles before accompanying the emperor to the Netherlands in December 1539. Their shared courtly networks exposed them to similar customs and events, and may even have brought them into acquaintance. In March 1539, Vermeyen signed and dated a painting of a festive Moorish tourney he attended in Toledo that was held in honour of Isabella of Portugal’s pregnancy (fig. 150). The juego de cañas, or game of canes, was a traditionally Moorish tournament game that continued to be practiced in Christian Iberia on ceremonial occasions. Sternsee’s album begins its section of Spanish figures with a pair of juego de cañas riders (fig. 151). Dressed in Moorish

Figure 150: Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, Game of Canes held in Toledo for Charles V and Isabella of Portugal (oil on panel, 130 x 228 cm), 1539. Collection L. G. Stopford Sackville, Drayton House, Lowick.

108 Horn, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, 21–25.
112 Horn, Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, 25. See Vermeyen, Juego de Cañas Tourney in Toledo, oil on canvas, Drayton House, Lowick, (1539).
turbans and tunics called marlota, and bearing traditional heart-shaped leather shields called adargas, the two riders hurl blunted spears at one another. The Madrid MS is missing the left-hand figure from the pair, and the remaining figure’s costume has been misinterpreted by Teresa Mezquita Mesa as a Turkish or Berber warrior. However, a closer look reveals that the image shows precisely the costume and action of a typical sixteenth-century game of canes, characterised by quadrilles of equestrian riders in traditionally Moorish livery hurling light reeds at each other before retreating. In the Madrid MS version of Sternsee’s album, the picture is labelled as a ‘Schugo de Kainna’, apparently a German-language attempt to spell the game’s Spanish name. The Stibbert MS’s captioning supports the correct identification of the picture too, describing the left-hand figure ‘thus ride the nobility in Tournaments in Spain’.

Although Sternsee does not mention attending such a tournament in his diary, he was surely familiar with the Iberian game of canes because of his placement at the Spanish court. Charles V had been quick to embrace the tradition. Upon entering Granada in 1526, he was greeted with a game of canes tournament for which the council had lavished 68 ducados on the outfitting of thirty-two riders. As Barbara Fuchs

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114 Frieder, Chivalry & the Perfect Prince, 25.
117 “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 1r.
118 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 7.
119 Irigoyen-García, Moors Dressed as Moors, 47.
explains, the game of canes was a distinctive spectacle that impressed foreign observers with its display of skilled horsemanship, luxury, exotic liveries, and all-round pomp. It served the emperor as a means ‘to display Spanishness abroad’ she contends, noting that a game was organized at Charles’s imperial coronation in Bologna to the delight of the Venetian observer Marco Antonio Magno who exclaimed that ‘it was the most graceful, elegant, sumptuous, and stately sport ever performed in Italy’. Further games were organized in Milan (1548), Ghent (1549), and London, the latter in 1554 at the behest of Philip II to celebrate his marriage to Mary Tudor. The Andalusi forms upheld by the game were a novel marker of pageantry and splendour incorporated into the performance of Spanish Habsburg hegemony.

Vermeyen’s connection to Sternsee’s album is evidenced in a final visual counterpart. His 1546 etching of dancing peasants is replicated almost in its entirety (figs. 152-53), with six of the eight figures shown in reverse from the etching, accurately mirroring details of costume and movement. The reversal is probably explained as the artist working from Vermeyen’s preliminary drawing of the scene, which had later been reversed in the process of turning it into a printed etching. This adds further weight to the notion that Vermeyen’s unpublished visual material was a vital source of imagery for Sternsee’s album. Vermeyen’s biography and his visual material support the album’s connection to the city of Brussels and the workshops of Vermeyen and Pieter Coecke van Aelst, whose personal sketches were used in the process of composing the work. While the connection to Vermeyen is palpable, ascribing the album’s illustrations directly to his hand is not my objective. Although he tried his hand at a variety of media – oil paintings, etchings, gouache drawings, and tapestry cartoons – there is no evidence he did book illumination or would have been willing to complete Sternsee’s commission personally, particularly in the years he was devoted to producing the Tunis tapestry cartoons. The hand of the artist is not irrefutably discernible in the album’s illustrations and stylistically there are parallels only in the sense that, as Mezquita Mesa argues, there

120 Fuchs, Exotic Nation, 96–97.
121 Marco Antonio Magno in a 1530 letter to the Venetian nobleman Marco Contarini, translated and cited in Ibid.
122 Ibid., 97.
is an undeniable Flemish influence upon the work’s artistic style. The gouache figures are schematic in nature and at times clumsily rendered, however they possess a degree of imagination and sophistication manifest in their gesture, composition, and finely-worked garments suggesting that they are attributable to a trained specialist and not say, to Sternsee himself, whose diary contains no sketches or illustrations.

Figure 152: Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, Dancing Peasants (etching on paper), 1546. Hamburger Kunsthalle Kupferschichtkabinett, Hamburg.

Figure 153: ‘Dancing peasants’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 40v-41r.

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123 Mezquita Mesa, “Códice de Trajes,” 192.
Sternsee’s album challenged its artist to conjure costume figures representative of the diverse peoples the guard captain had encountered on his travels. Image recycling was the most efficient method for this, and it was not only Vermeyen’s material that proved a worthy resource. It has been noted that Ottoman military figures from Jan Swart van Grönigen’s woodcut series and variations after Weiditz’s costume figures made their way into the album, while the Geschlechtertanz, a well-known oil painting depicting Augsburg patricians at a civic dance, is the source for several of the album’s Augsburg couples who are dressed in outdated finery (figs. 154-55). Artists of the time had a notable habit of collecting artworks and copying visual material and the examples analysed reveal that the album’s compiler drew extensively from Vermeyen’s and other’s personal collections to generate content. Possibly a student in Vermeyen’s or Coecke van Aelst’s workshops, or even the latter’s wife, the accomplished miniaturist Mayken Verhulst, Sternsee’s Flemish artist produced a work rivalling Christoph Weiditz’s detailed ethnography. It is tempting to muse whether Verhulst, also known as Maria Bessemers, was the hand behind Sternsee’s unsigned album. She was a miniaturist.
well-regarded for her tempera and watercolour paintings on linen, and was described as a book printer in 1538 in documents in the Antwerp city archives. Praised by Lodovico Giucciardini (1521-89) in 1567 for being ‘one of the four principal female painters in the Netherlands’, no works have been concretely attributed to her, making it difficult to pursue this notion further. Simone Bergmans and Jan Op De Beeck however, have argued that Verhulst might be the anonymous artist known as the Brunswick Monogrammist, whose corpus of attributed works are all oil on panel paintings. Although the Brunswick Monogrammist’s painting *Entertainers in a Brothel* (fig. 156) presents figures that are rather comparable to those found in Sternsee’s costume album, it would be hard to secure an attribution to Verhulst without first identifying any of her tempera or watercolour paintings.

![Brunswick Monogrammist, Entertainers in a Brothel (oil on oak, 45.7 x 60.9 mm), c. 1555. The National Gallery, London.](image)

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On 13 August 1548 Sternsee accompanied the imperial retinue when it left Augsburg for the Netherlands. Charles V took up court in Brussels and Sternsee was subsequently based in this centre of artistic production for over a year. The album’s contents determine that it must have been produced after the January 1546 chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece, but before the death of Pope Paul III in November 1549, whose coat of arms, as the current reigning pope, are depicted. Regrettably, Sternsee fails to mention the album in his diary. Neither does the album’s commission appear in an account book Sternsee began a title page for but never made a single entry into (fig. 157). However, the timing was just right for Sternsee to have pursued the commission of a luxury, hand-painted manuscript in late 1548 and 1549. He was no longer a common mercenary of limited means. His career successes meant he had accumulated considerable wealth and been duly decorated, and in 1544 was permitted an improvement on his coat of arms. Examining the Sternsee family’s coats of arms at the back of the Stibbert MS, this improvement appears to have consisted of an imperial eagle atop the crest’s crown and helmet. In March 1546, he was promised the office of Drossart (chief commander) of the town of Harlingen, Friesland by Mary of Hungary, confirmed by Charles a month later. Sternsee was also pledged the town, castle, and domain of Burkheim in southwest Germany in June 1548, as collateral against a loan of 10,000 guilders that he had made to Ferdinand I. To offer such a large credit, Sternsee’s funds must have been significant. His entrustment of the estates

128 “Annals of the Province of Friesland”, ca. 1528. MS Harley 1886, British Library, London, fol. 1r. The page is bound into a contemporary register of Friesland and announces a debt book for ‘Captain Christoph von Sternsee, Drossart of Harlingen in Friesland’. The hand-writing corresponds with Sternsee’s archived letters. It is left otherwise blank and is the only bound page in this volume pertaining to him.
129 ‘Sternsee, Christoph von, im Krieg gegen das Herzogtum Mailand, Wappenbesserung (...),’ Speyer 1544. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, AVA Adel RAA 409.54,
of Burkheim and Harlingen, proudly declared by Sternsee to be his Herrschaften (dominions), demonstrate how well-regarded he was by the Habsburgs.¹³²

The timing of Sternsee’s commission also coincides with the period in his life when he was looking to marry and establish a family in Friesland. Caught up in the Schmalkaldic War and the 1548 Diet of Augsburg, Sternsee did not manage to visit Harlingen until November 1548. He wasted no time in his quest to lay roots there, attending a wedding in nearby Franeker and meeting with the patriarch of the local aristocratic Ropta family.¹³³ On 27 January 1549 he became engaged to Kunera van Ropta (d. 1555). Leaving Friesland shortly after, their wedding did not take place until 1 June 1550.¹³⁴ Kunera’s coat of arms was inserted into the costume album at a later date (fig. 158), indicating that the commission was completed before their marriage. Her name has been written in by Sternsee himself, and the red and blue pigments of her heraldic device are a slightly different hue to the red and blue used for those of Sternsee and his forebears. He must have instructed his original artist to leave a blank space to the right of his coat of arms to be filled in later, demonstrating that he had intended to

¹³³ Ibid.
¹³⁴ Ibid., 3:228.
acquire a spouse during the album’s commission. As a man in his late forties or early fifties who had received governorship over two Habsburg territories, Sternsee was looking to continue the legacy of his name. Part and parcel of this process was the demonstration of wealth and cultural refinement through the commission of a richly illustrated album that signalled his knowledge of Europe’s diverse populations and, by extension, his capability for governance.

Figure 158: ‘Coat of Arms of Christoph von Sternsee and Kunera van Ropta’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 178.

Despite Sternsee’s holdings in Friesland, he did not permanently settle there, but continued to work in the service of the emperor. He frequently took his wife with him, and two of the couple’s three children were born outside of Friesland. Despite Sternsee’s continued loyalty and devotion to his patron was demonstrated by christening his first legitimate son Carolus, born in Augsburg in October 1551, while Charles was named

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Godfather to his second son Worp, who died in infancy. His first legitimate daughter was christened Maria, possibly in honour of Mary of Hungary. Sternsee was certainly valued by Charles and suitably rewarded. The British Museum holds in its collection a gold and enamel medallion formerly interpreted as personal gift to Sternsee by Charles V as a token of admiration (fig. 159). Depicting a bearded figure standing on a globe supported by a female figure and a skeleton, the medallion’s perimeter inscription reads: ‘CAROLVS.V.STERNSEE.IN.TE.DOMINE.SPERAVI’ (In thee Lord, I have trusted). It has been reinterpreted by Hugh Tait as commissioned by Christoph von Sternsee’s son Carel van Sternsee, the ‘CAROLVS V’ signalling his name as opposed to referencing Charles V. Although Christoph von Sternsee may not have been receiving jewellery from the emperor, he did recognise him as his son’s godfather. They had a close working relationship that spanned nearly two decades, during which time Sternsee was never far from the emperor’s company.

Figure 159: ‘The Sternsee Jewel’
CAROLVS.V.STERNSEE.IN.TE.DOMINE.SPERAVI. (Charles V to Sternsee. In Thee O Lord have I trusted]), (gold, enamel, ruby, and emerald, diameter 1.6 inches). Inv. Nr. AF.2854, British Museum, London.

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137 Ibid., 4:436.

The album’s especial concern for dress cultures was stimulated by Sternsee’s participation in a courtly world that trained his eye to appraise dress. His diary often describes the clothing he observes being worn on ceremonial occasions. Recounting two nights of banquets held by Mary of Hungary in August 1549 for example, he dedicated a lengthy passage to the clothing of the young men and women who entertained the guests. Lingering over the tantalizing minutiae of gowns of gold and silver cloth, taffeta trimmings, pearls, precious stones, and laurel wreaths, Sternsee’s fascination for fine clothing and adornment is unmistakable. His proficiency in the language of sartorial description is reminiscent of the fashion-conscious and ‘dress-literate’ Matthäus Schwarz whose *Little Book of Clothes* coupled life’s notable events with the outfits Schwarz was wearing at the time. Damask doublets, fur-lined gowns, taffeta hose, and velvet bonnets – each component of Schwarz’s wardrobe drew the mind back to memorable occasions such as weddings, funerals, imperial diets, and plague outbreaks, making dress an essential visual marker of lived experience.

Sternsee was often clothed in the livery of the German *Trabanten*, but after gaining the position of captain, he was not excluded from the creative input that Schwarz clearly enjoyed in putting together his ensembles. No sooner had Sternsee become captain of the guard in 1540 than he took on the responsibility for clothing his men, overseeing the production of new black garments for the guards to wear at court. In May 1545, Sternsee managed an order of new uniforms to be made for his guards from cloth the emperor had received in Antwerp. Several years later in July 1549, the emperor dispatched Sternsee from Ypres to Brussels to deliver cloth from which new clothing for the guards would be made. The importance placed upon the guards to be properly outfitted is revealed in a letter preserved in the Stična archives, addressed from Sternsee to Abbot Wolfgang Neff of Stična Abbey in the duchy of Carniola (r. 1549-

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140 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 53.
143 Ibid., 2:143-44.
144 Ibid., 3:3.
The letter records his appeal to Abbot Neff on behalf of Neff’s cousin, a recently-appointed guard. Sternsee requests the abbot to send more money to his cousin in order that the guard may be clothed in velvet ‘in the manner in which it is worn by Trabanten at the imperial court’, lest he should fall into shame. The guard had not yet received his first pay check from the emperor who, Sternsee notes, pays slowly, and that in the interim it was the abbot’s responsibility to ensure his cousin was appropriately clothed. This example demonstrates the serious implications of breaching the role dress played in locating professional and social identities, an expectation supported by the costume album’s demarcation of nobles, nuns, soldiers, miners, and peasants.

Dress was likewise expected to support the correct identification of one’s place of origin, its representative capacity enabling it to become a metaphor for cities, regions, and nations. This rendered it the ideal subject for a man whose military expeditions had brought him to no less than 445 cities and 18 islands. Sternsee could have commissioned cityscapes, countryside vistas, or an atlas mapping the terrains he had navigated to demonstrate his peregrinations. The emphasis on costume figures was almost certainly a result of familiarity with Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch, which appealed to Sternsee’s fascination with clothing. Yet the transnational reality of Sternsee’s career stands in sharp contrast with the neat categories of sartorial identity and belonging promulgated in his album. He traversed great distances, crossed borders, and participated in the societies of myriad territories. His origins in Laibach may not have proven a very important classification through which he perceived himself, and he probably preferred to identify himself in relation to his position and his loyalty to the Habsburgs. To consider how Sternsee might have categorised himself into his own costume project under these circumstances is to highlight the difficulty of categorizing human difference at all.

146 Sternsee cited in Ibid., 95.
Sternsee’s career shows that he could seamlessly move between cities and native populations with little trouble. So much of Sternsee’s diary consists of his movements on the road. He mentions the pit-stops where he bedded down for the night when he travelled to a far-flung destination, and there is never any mention of trouble with the locals in these towns. Before Sternsee married, he had relations with local women in the towns in which he was stationed. His diary records the birth of no fewer than three illegitimate children, who were dispersed across Europe. The first of these was Hercules von Sternsee, born to an unnamed mother in Mantua in 1533. This child tragically died when he drowned in a storm during a voyage to Spain, three years later. The second illegitimate child was a daughter named Lucretia, born in Brussels in 1545. His final illegitimate child was a son, Julius of Harlingen, born in 1549, whose mother was potentially his later wife Kunera. He appears to have been well-received by the local populaces in his Herrschaften of Burgkheim and Harlingen too. A few days after arriving in Burgkheim for the first time as its commander, Sternsee writes that the residents held a festival in his honour in which there were shooting and running competitions. Similarly, a bonfire was lit to mark Sternsee’s arrival into Harlingen and the presentation of his new house. Sternsee increased his influence in the area too, and by 1553 he had been made the district mayor of the nearby municipality of Barradeel. Sternsee and Kunera founded an orphanage building in 1549, a building which still maintains its foundation plaque on the front façade. Sternsee was buried in Friesland alongside his wife at the reformed church at Metslawier in 1560. Their shared tomb stone is inscribed in Frisian and combines the heraldic devices of both partners (fig. 160). His son Carel went on to be an important member of the local aristocracy in Harlingen, Friesland (fig. 161). Sternsee also appears to have been favourably received by imperial courtly elite from diverse national backgrounds. When Carel was born in Augsburg in 1551, the child’s baptism was witnessed by Charles V, the emperor’s

148 Ibid., 2:56.  
149 Ibid., 2:149.  
150 Ibid., 3:228.  
151 Ibid., 2:212.  
152 Ibid., 3:216.
chamberlain Philip Nigri who also was the chancellor for the Order of the Golden Fleece, the King of Denmark’s brother, the Duke of Hollstadt and Schleswig and his wife, and a couple of noblemen from Salm. His daughter Maria was baptised in Brussels by Viglius van Aytta, a Frisian-born statesman who was one of the emperor’s most favoured ministers in this period and who succeeded Nigri as Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece.153

I would suggest that Sternsee, moving in these circles, cultivated a cosmopolitan identity. It was crucial for his early career to stress his German identity, enabling him to be employable as a German mercenary willing to fight under the imperial banner in German-commanded and -resourced companies. The regimented nature of the emperor’s guard and military forces meant that Sternsee was commanding or

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commanded by Germans for much of his career; however, he was several times granted responsibilities that saw him interacting with other national groups whereby a cosmopolitan, cultivated personality, and most likely foreign language skills, would have been essential. In 1544, following the siege and surrender of the French town of Saint-Didier, the emperor tasked Sternsee personally with the maintenance of the town’s hostages. A year later, he was ordered to lead a band of German riders to escort a party of English ambassadors through the Low Countries to Calais where they could depart for their homeland. As captain of the *Deutschen Trabanten*, it was up to Sternsee to communicate with tailors and cloth-merchants in the vicinity of the Brussels court to prepare new livery for the guards. Friesland probably proved the greatest test for his communication and diplomacy skills, as his command of Harlingen castle and governance of its town and the neighbouring town of Barradeel would have required an understanding of and sensitivity to the locals and their parochial issues. His relish to travel and immerse himself in other cultures and societies is certainly evoked in the costume album, which through its illustrations of the emperor, the Tunis expedition, the knights of the golden fleece, and other subjects, underlines a career mobilized by the Habsburg empire.

Sternsee’s interest in the relationship between clothing, place, and cultural identity was matched and revived in the album’s copy, the analysis of which determines its roughly contemporaneous production. The Madrid MS was produced on paper rather than the costly vellum of the original, and its watermark attributes the paper to a sort

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154 Ibid., 1:19.  
155 Ibid.
being produced in Frankfurt am Main and identified in other works dated between 1544 and 1569 dotted across Europe. The most patent difference between the two albums is the hand-writing and content of the pictures’ accompanying text. The Stibbert MS’s scribe wrote with a Germanic calligraphic hand typical of the first half of the sixteenth century akin to what Sternsee was used to using. The script is not, however, written in Sternsee’s own hand, with the exception of his inscription of Kunera’s name above her inserted coat of arms. He seems to have employed someone skilled in the German calligraphic style to perform the scribal work. This may not have been in Brussels but during one of his many successive sojourns in German-speaking cities.

The unusual, capitalized Latin script used by the Madrid copy is probably explained by the album’s relationship to the Low Countries or Friesland, where Sternsee’s career and family were based in the later years of his life, and where the classical Latin script was in usage. Perhaps the workshop that composed Sternsee’s original produced a copy for themselves or a Flemish client but chose not to translate the language of the text. It may also be that the copy was commissioned by a Flemish member of Sternsee’s family. In any case, the new scribe, struggling to reproduce the German words, significantly reduced the images’ descriptive details. In one example, Sternsee’s original album captions two figures ‘Thus dress the female peasants at St Stephen’s, on the frontiers of Castile, and the brides wear a silver medallion on their breasts’, while the Madrid copy merely describes ‘The peasant women of Spain’.

Sternsee’s observations, representing personal memories and knowledge acquired through first-hand experience, were forfeited in the interest of straightforward labels that would school a new owner in the intimate relationship between clothing and custom.

156 Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu’en 1600*, vol. 1 (Geneva: A. Jullien, 1907), 1:65. The watermark is a single-headed eagle with outstretched wings and the letter F on its chest. This version of the watermark has been identified in a *Baumeisterbuch* in the Augsburg state archives c. 1546-47 and has been found in Prague c. 1551-56 and Brussels in c. 1554-63. The ‘F’ eagle type spread from the Rhine basin of Strasbourg, to the Netherlands, and across almost all of Germany.

157 This is ascertained by analysis of his writing in a letter of his preserved in the Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg: 21 Nr. 1338, 19 June 1548, and in the debt-book title page preserved in an Annals of Friesland: BL, MS Harley 1886, fol. 1r.

158 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 24; “Madrid Ms. Sternsee Album”, fol. 9r.
CONCLUSION

Christoph von Sternsee’s costume album was the product of transnational exchange and cultural experience during the reign of Charles V. This chapter has shown that the length and breadth of empire prompted and enlivened Sternsee’s costume album; his personal travel itineraries supported by courtly and imperial relationships. The connectivity of the Habsburg Empire and its hegemony invited the comparison and categorization of manifold subjects and customs, while Charles’s far-reaching sovereignty set Sternsee and Vermeyen off to discover new territories as they attempted to gain prestige and career opportunities from Habsburg patronage. Sternsee particularly profited from cross-cultural engagement and cross-territorial movement, as he rose from the position of a mercenary soldier from Carniola in Southern Europe to hold a privileged position of governance in Friesland. His story is a reminder of the role that rising professionals played in sponsoring knowledge projects seeking to map aspects of the world. This was not just the preserve of humanist scholars, and documents an increasing interest from merchants, craftsmen, and soldiers to have a stake in expanding global knowledge and exchange. As Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen have underlined, ‘overlapping social and economic systems’, driven by commerce and global trade, saw individuals from diverse sectors sponsor cultural production and the investigation of nature. Straddling personal and imperial aspirations, Sternsee’s album constitutes an important act of visual, political propaganda. This chapter urges future scholarship of the sixteenth-century Habsburg Empire to acknowledge that such acts were delivered in different media, demonstrating that albums like Sternsee’s are not just curiosities, but reveal as much as a Titian oil painting or Vermeyen’s tapestry series about imperial power, politics, and self-fashioning.

3. Confronting the New World

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will investigate costume figures from the New World that feature in Christoph Weiditz’s and Christoph von Sternsee’s costume albums. Despite constituting a small percentage of the overall content in the two albums, these costume figures are such intriguing examples of cross-cultural contact and knowledge exchange that their value outweighs their proportional representation. Christoph Weiditz’s celebrated series of thirteen Mexican Indian figures famously resulted from an encounter with a visiting Mexican group at the Spanish court in 1529. These illustrations have received scholarly attention that is ripe for discussion and reinterpretation, while the fascinating New World figures of Sternsee’s album will be newly introduced and evaluated. It is fitting to open the dissertation’s investigation of cultural identities with an analysis of the New World imagery. European exploration across the Atlantic incorporated new subjects and territories into a rapidly expanding worldview. As Stephanie Leitch has contended, ‘new ways of looking at the world and organizing visual thinking about humanity’ also encouraged introspection of the self.\(^1\) Self-appraisal, in other words, was stimulated by the mechanisms that evolved to comprehend new, unfamiliar cultures. The representative costume figure was one such tool. Indeed, Weiditz’s Mexican figures, painted with the same degree of dignity and human spirit as his Europeans, recalls Stephen Greenblatt’s concept of ‘the marvellous as a sign of the eye-witness’s surprising recognition of the other in himself, himself in the other’.\(^2\)

In the following discussion, I wish to scrutinise the ethnographic and cultural knowledge that Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s New World costume figures clamour to be entrenched with. Their naturalistic visual style and attention to detail exude authority, and Weiditz’s Mexican group, for example, have long been feted as visual

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\(^1\) Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany*, 2.

representations steeped in ethnographic nuance and convincing examples of first-hand observation. I will first contend with existing scholarly positions on the extent to which artists, travel writers, and other cultural arbiters were able to perceive and respond to new and diverse human cultures objectively in this period, reviewing also the rhetorical devices employed to instil these responses with credibility. It is crucial to question the naturalism of Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s images not to sort the fact from the fiction to arrive at an ethnographic ‘truth’, but to understand contemporary visual practices and pictorial strategies for understanding and incorporating newly encountered cultures into an imperial global view. Consequently, my analysis will prioritise personal experiences with indigenous American people, garments, items, and pictorial books in Charles V’s courtly networks.

I will lead into my analysis by reference to a visual vocabulary that had flowered in Europe since the earliest moments of cross-Atlantic encounter. I will then unravel the particularities of Weiditz’s encounter in 1529 and consider how he was likely to have observed the Mexican group in light of the courtly world they were placed within. This evidence will be combined with close visual analysis to determine if Weiditz shows us what he really would have seen, or a more tailored view. Incredibly, the Mexican figures featured in Sternsee’s album are highly unique and bear little resemblance to Weiditz’s corpus. The final section of this chapter will introduce Sternsee’s images as a remarkable feat of cultural knowledge probably drawn from a wide range of sources and which equal, if not exceed, Weiditz’s imagery in their ethnographic nuance and historical importance.

RENAISSANCE ETHNOGRAPHY & THE AUTHORITY OF THE EYE-WITNESS

In her recent investigation of the Trachtenbuch’s New World figures, Elizabeth Hill Boone wastes no time reminding readers of ‘how difficult it was for Europeans then—and even for scholars until recently—to recognise real ethnic, cultural, and, indeed,
social distinctions among the indigenous people of the Americas…’. This query makes reference to a long-standing question that has occupied scholars interested in early European images of the Americas regarding the extent to which the novelty of these subjects was comprehensible to European artists and commentators. ‘Even the most sympathetic viewers’, Jean Michel Massing argues, ‘…could only try to accommodate them [American artefacts] to their own system of values’. In the scholarship of this field, sensitivity to the nature of perception and its intrinsic subjectivities emerged in the 1980s and 1990s. Prior to this movement, historians like William C. Sturtevant had approached these images by attempting to uncover the details that could be considered reliably true to nature. Although Sturtevant recognised the effect of European stylistic conventions and propagandistic agendas upon European images of the New World, he was concerned with identifying these manipulations in order to extract from the image ‘evidence for the historical ethnography of the vanished native societies’. A revised approach to the subject was championed in the following decade by the historians Anthony Pagden and Stephen Greenblatt who, inspired by the work of John Elliot and his notion of the ‘blunted’ impact that the old and new worlds had on each other, began to problematise the representational capacity of European commentators. Describing his approach, Greenblatt stated, ‘I have tried less to distinguish between true and false representations than to look attentively at the nature of the representational practices that the Europeans carried with them to America.’

Pagden’s and Greenblatt’s main argument was that these commentators could only perceive cultural difference through familiar, pre-existing concepts, rendering

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4 Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 514.
7 Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions, 7.
objective representation of the new unachievable.\textsuperscript{8} Greenblatt cautioned that no European account of the New World could be accurate, arguing ‘we can be certain only that European representations of the New World tell us something about the European practice of representation’.\textsuperscript{9} This point encouraged readers to rethink the analysis of early European images of the Americas by looking for those concepts, cultural attitudes, and existing worldviews held by Europeans at the turn of the sixteenth century. Pagden argues that ‘conquerors and colonizers did their best to transform this “New” world, and its inhabitants, into a likeness of the Old’, and that early chroniclers and illustrators, by the same token, made new phenomena intelligible by moulding it according to their cosmographical, geographical, and anthropological understandings.\textsuperscript{10} When applied specifically to images of the New World, the above concerns prompted analysis of the representational categories through which artists interpreted their subjects. In an article of 1986, Susi Colin drew attention to the similarities between early depictions of American natives and traditional European visual subjects such as The Wild Man (a traditional forest dweller on the outskirts of European civilisation), the monstrous races described by Classical authorities Pliny and Augustine, and humanity’s first couple, Adam and Eve.\textsuperscript{11}

In response to the tone of such literature, Cecelia Klein has criticised their poststructuralist approach towards the human capacity to represent, arguing that ‘the Renaissance’s documentary sources’ were no longer taken to ‘constitute a glass window looking out on Europe’s “others”’, but were instead ‘more like a modern mirror… capable only of reflecting back to us an image of ourselves’.\textsuperscript{12} A more nuanced analysis

\textsuperscript{9} Greenblatt, \textit{Marvelous Possessions}, 7.
\textsuperscript{10} Pagden, \textit{European Encounters with the New World}, 5, 10.
\textsuperscript{12} Referring to arguments inspired by the writings of theorists such as Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault. Cecelia F. Klein, “Wild Woman in Colonial Mexico: An Encounter of the Europeans and
of European representations of the New World has come from Joan-Pau Rubiés, who argues that the perception of novelty was not lost on European commentators who were quite able to distinguish cultural differences ethnographically. The issue was, he suggests, the difficulty of bridging the gap between what one perceived and how it was recorded via techniques of representation. As with the arguments of Pagden and Greenblatt, this analysis prioritises the interpretive traditions and familiar conceptual strategies Europeans dealt in. However, for Rubiés, this did not equate to an ‘unwillingness or inability to perceive properly cultural differences’ which he rightly argues has ‘limited use when explaining the growth and evolution of European ethnography’. Leitch stresses that using the term ‘ethnographic’ in relation to the Renaissance period need not imply total accuracy or the use of a stringent scientific framework, and may rather acknowledge the artist’s intention to represent human diversity and cultural specificity. This understanding accounts for the ‘element of curiosity, however culturally constructed’ that Rubiés rightly recognises in European reports of the Americas.

For those dealing in ethnographic knowledge, stressing credibility through eye-witness testimony was among the period’s most important rhetorical devices. The authority inherent in observation and eye-witness testimony was not new, and drew from the ancient rhetorical category called ‘autopsy’, employed with renewed vigour in the sixteenth century. Autoptic devices used in text included such statements as ‘I saw’, ‘I found’, and ‘this happened to me’, phrases Pagden has identified in the writings of French explorer Jean de Léry, who peppered his 1578 travel account of Brazil with reminders that his sight and experience of the country meant that he understood it and

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14 Ibid., 123.
15 Ibid.
16 Leitch, Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany, 5.
was thus a reliable authority. In visual culture, the movement towards autoptic evidence resulted in increased naturalism. Another tool was to depict the eye-witness, used by Jörg Breu the Elder in his woodcuts for Ludovico de Varthema’s *Itinerario* (1515) to the Holy Land and Southeast Asia. Placing the narrator Varthema as an observing spectator in many of the scenes, Breu borrowed ‘the agency of the eye-witness’ to render the strange sights credible. In other cases, images were accompanied by assertive descriptive text, such as Albrecht Dürer’s *Rhinoceros*, a print that claimed to be an ‘Abkunterfet’ or counterfeit: an image made from life (fig. 162).

Figure 162: Albrecht Dürer, *Rhinoceros* (woodcut, 21.3 x 29.5 cm), 1515.

The capacity for the image to provide convincing testimony was expressed by Spanish chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1478-1557), author of *La historia general y natural de las Indias* (1535). Oviedo regretted not having had a famous artist in his company in the Americas to record the things he wrote about: ‘it needs to be painted by the hand of a Berruguete or some other excellent painter like him,

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18 Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, 51. See Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* (*History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil, Also Called America*), 1578.
20 Ibid., 4. Dürer in fact did not witness the rhinoceros in life, but used the term counterfeit to convince viewers that the image was a trustworthy, true-to-life depiction.
or by Leonardo da Vinci or Andrea Mantegna, famous painters whom I knew in Italy’. 21

Not willing to publish a work without images, Oviedo supplied his own rather crude woodcut illustrations and insisted his printer reproduce them faithfully. 22 Images, like other methods of testimony, asserted the author’s understanding of his subjects and his ability to provide a convincing assessment for the spectator.

Investigating ethnographic responses to new worlds specifically through the lens of Renaissance maps, Surekha Davies notes that the epistemology of the eye-witness ‘had limited value’ for workshop-based mapmakers who needed to stress authority in other ways. 23 These makers ‘synthesized, transformed, and re-circulated’ the eye-witness experiences of others. They created epistemological claims about the authenticity of their work by de-centring the eye-witness, using diagrammatic as opposed to naturalistic devices to construct ‘socially acceptable knowledge’. 24 Convincing frameworks, in other words, were also vitally important. As Davies notes, the interpretation of testimony was ‘not solely based on the experiential knowledge of a witness but also on social and ethical relationships’. 25 In the following, I will argue that Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s albums ‘synthesized’ ethnographic knowledge by combining eye-witness observation and first-hand knowledge with existing visual tropes, thereby creating ethnographic knowledge that would be socially accepted by discerning peers.

WEIDITZ’S AUGSBURG & THE NEW WORLD

It is important to locate the responses to the Americas that were taking place in the German lands, particularly Augsburg, which might have influenced Weiditz’s preconceptions of New World Indians before he arrived in Spain. Artists and cultural commentators in the German lands were connected and alert to overseas discoveries in the first decades of the sixteenth century. Although early colonial expansion in the

23 Davies, Renaissance Ethnography, 12.
24 Ibid., 13.
25 Ibid., 10.
Americas was dominated by the Spanish and Portuguese, Germans were more involved than has traditionally been credited. Christine Johnson argues that Renaissance Germans ‘responded early and often to the widening of European horizons’, attributing engaged printing activity and enthusiastic scientific enquiry to the combined interests of Germany’s wealthy cities, particularly Nuremberg and Augsburg, its new universities, prominent humanist intellectuals, and well-connected merchants.\textsuperscript{26} It was intellectually and financially rewarding to participate in the growth of knowledge and trade that was established by diplomatic and mercantile networks that linked Germany with Spanish and Portuguese allies. Connections between courts, port cities, and trade hubs kept participants abreast of the latest news, filtered as it was, through media such as news broadsheets, printed letters, travel reports, and personal correspondence.

In the first decade of the sixteenth century, the commercial interests of merchant traders from Augsburg and Nuremberg led them to be involved with Portuguese maritime expeditions. In Augsburg, the humanist scholar and imperial councillor Konrad Peutinger (1465-1547) learnt of the latest news of the Portuguese voyages in Africa, India, and the Atlantic through his correspondent, the German-born Lisbon printer Valentim Fernandes.\textsuperscript{27} Fernandes compiled texts on the latest findings, and through him, news landed in Germany of Pedro Álvares Cabral’s discovery of Brazil in April 1500, and a sketch and description of the rhinoceros that served Dürer’s famous woodcut ended up in Peutinger’s collection.\textsuperscript{28} Amongst Peutinger’s personal archive were texts regarding Vasco de Gama’s first and second voyages, reports and letters detailing Amerigo Vespucci’s South American expedition of 1501, and the first collection of Iberian travel accounts \textit{Itinerarium Portuagallensivm}, edited by Francazano da Montalboddo.\textsuperscript{29} Exotic goods from Africa and the East and West Indies also filtered into Augsburg. The Welser agent Lucas Rem, placed in Lisbon between 1503 and 1506,

\textsuperscript{26} Christine R. Johnson, \textit{The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous}, Studies in Early Modern German History (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 2.
\textsuperscript{27} Duffy, \textit{The Return of Hans Staden: A Go-between in the Atlantic World}, 91.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
sent to Augsburg ‘strange, new parrots, long-tailed monkeys, and other rare and curious things’. 30 Peutinger himself acquired much-valued talking parrots, while in 1511 the Fugger sent grey African parrots to the Bishop of Breslau. 31 Artefacts from Brazil and Mexico probably circulated in the city too. This is suggested by two watercolour drawings made by Hans Burgkmair the Elder around 1519/1520 depicting an African youth modelling a Tupi feather garment, and an Aztec shield and warrior’s obsidian-tipped wooden sword (a *macuahuitl*) (figs 163-4). 32 Leitch has even identified evidence that Indian slaves had been purchased by the patricians Ambrosius Höchstetter, Konrad Vöhlín, and Peutinger’s father-in-law Anton Welser. 33 Noted by Peutinger in the margin of his copy of Ptolemy’s *Cosmographia*, the Indians were living in Swabia in good health, where, Leitch argues, Burgkmair could have observed them and used them as models for his 1508 woodcut frieze depicting Balthasar Springer’s voyage to India and the Malabar Coast. 34


31 Ibid.


33 Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany*, 73.

34 Ibid. Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *The Peoples of Africa and India* (1508).
With a stake in German trading activities, Peutinger was enthusiastic about German participation in Portuguese maritime initiatives and proudly spoke of ‘us from Augsburg, the first Germans setting out in search of India’ in a letter to the emperor Maximilian’s secretary. A Augsburgers soon got involved in South American exploration too. Rivalling the Fugger as the dominant bankers and merchants in early sixteenth-century Augsburg, the Welser Company received from Charles V colonial rights to the province of Venezuela in 1528. The contract granted the Welser factors Heinrich Ehinger and Hieronymus Sailer the exclusive right to explore the region and establish a colony that was later known as Klein Venedig or Little Venice. The agreement allowed the emperor to settle the sizeable debt he had accumulated from his important creditors, while the Welsers for their part could exploit the land for resources, duly setting up mines and journeying in-land in search of gold. The Welser crew set sail from Seville on 7 October 1528. The doomed attempt to establish a colony was thus begun precisely the year before Weiditz and Helmschmid departed for Spain and came into contact with the Mexican group.

One might imagine that the Welser’s colonial expedition was the talk of the town in Augsburg. Weiditz may also have followed news about the colony through the personal connections he gained from his Spanish and Netherlandish excursions. In 1531, while based at the imperial court in Brussels, he executed a portrait medal for Ulrich

35 Peutinger translated and cited in Lopes, Writing New Worlds, 71.
37 Ibid., 1:58, 63.
Ehinger, Heinrich’s brother and an influential Welser agent. The reverse side of the medal recalls the overseas exploits the family were involved in – their brother Ambrosius Ehinger was appointed governor of the new territory in 1529 – and features a dramatically foreshortened ship tackling rough seas (fig. 165).  

Weiditz’s relationship with the family continued after his return to Augsburg, where he produced a second medal for Ulrich in 1533 and in the following year portrait medals for his brother Jörg Ehinger and his sister-in-law Helena Meuting. It may have been through the Polish ambassador Johannes Dantiscus, the portrait medallist’s important champion during his imperial sojourn, that Weiditz came to be favoured by the Ehinger family. Dantiscus was not only friendly with Hernán Cortés but was also in regular correspondence with Hieronymus Sailer and Ulrich Ehinger. Between the years 1530 and 1534 Dantiscus and Sailer exchanged twelve known letters, while during the period 1532-37 himself and Ehinger exchanged fourteen.  

Weiditz’s interaction with important agents involved in the Venezuela colony has not been raised by scholars. These patronage relationships probably did not directly impact how he chose to portray the Trachtenbuch’s Indians – it is unsure, for instance, whether Weiditz would have been exposed to any additional New World visual material or indigenous objects through his association to this circle. Weiditz’s respectful curiosity

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41 Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “CIDT&C,” Person #156, #44.
for his favourably-depicted subjects is also far removed from the poor treatment Venezuelan natives received from the German colonists. Ehinger and Sailer envisaged slavery as the means to commercial success right from the start of the project and had negotiated a privilege to bring African slaves to the American continent as well as the right to enslave any Indians who put up resistance.\textsuperscript{42} Although the crown insisted that the native population’s freedom should be protected and that they should not be put to too much labour, they conceded that those who behaved rebelliously could be made into slaves. As Bernard Moses explains, this effectively nullified any altruistic intention and was systematically abused.\textsuperscript{43} When the crown attempted to altogether abolish the slave trade in Venezuela in 1530 they were petitioned by a vehement Ambrosius Ehinger, who argued that the company could only meet their expenses through the use of slaves.\textsuperscript{44} Through his patrons and associates, Weiditz may have been exposed to the Welser Company’s cavalier attitude to their degraded Indian population, nevertheless this is a perception quite at odds with the \textit{Trachtenbuch}’s diplomatic portrayal. However, Ambrosius Ehinger’s obsession with finding El Dorado might have contributed to the note above one of Weiditz’s spear-wielding Indians that ‘Thus they go in India with their arms two thousand miles away, where gold is found in the water’ (fig. 166).\textsuperscript{45}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure166.png}
\caption{‘Thus they go in India with their arms two thousand miles away, where gold is found in the water’, from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 7.}
\end{figure}


\textsuperscript{43} Moses, \textit{The Spanish Dependencies in South America}, 1:65.

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{45} “\textit{Trachtenbuch}”, fol. 7. Translated and cited in Hampe and Weiditz, \textit{Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance}, 30.
Circulating exotic goods and information about voyages and colonial activities in the Indies were well within the reach of Weiditz. But what pictorial sources could have correspondingly swayed his understanding of what characterised a New World Indian’s appearance? Amongst the earliest European images of New World people were illustrated news pamphlets of initial discoveries. Between 1499 and 1502, Vespucci participated in several voyages along the coast of South America, leading to the subsequent realisation that this land was not part of Asia, as initially thought by Colombus, but was a new continent altogether. In 1505 two German-produced broadsheets published Vespucci’s encounters, taking care to illustrate information about dress and customs sourced from the explorer’s account (figs. 167-8). Portraying the Tupinambá people of the Brazilian coastline, Augsburg printer Johann Froschauer’s broadsheet ‘Dise figur anzaigt...’ pairs its illustration with the reported news that ‘the

Figure 167: Broadsheet after Amerigo Vespucci, ‘Dise figur anzaigt uns das volck und insel die gefunden ist...’, Augsburg: Johann Froschauer, 1505.
people are thus naked, handsome, brown; their heads, necks, arms, private parts [and the] feet of men and women are lightly covered with feathers. The men also have many precious stones in their faces and chests’. The Tupinambá are adorned with a variety of feathered garments including headdresses, collars, skirts, bustles, and leg-bands, and following Vespucci’s prompts, are shown to practice cannibalism. It is possible that the heightened knowledge of Tupinambá appearance exhibited in these broadsheets was also bolstered by the circulation of Brazilian goods. As early as the first European landing in Brazil by a Portuguese fleet on the 22 April 1500, Tupi artefacts and accessories were collected and brought back to Europe. Pero Vaz de Caminha, who accompanied Pedro Álvares Cabral on his first voyage to Brazil, reported that the sailors ‘brought back many bows and headdresses of birds’ feathers, some green and some yellow’.  

Figure 168: Broadsheet after Amerigo Vespucci, ‘Das sind die new gefunde mensche od Volcker...’, Leipzig: Stuchs (?), 1505.

Feather accessories and their portrayal in these early woodcuts had a lasting impact on the representation of American natives, indisputably becoming the principal

47 Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 515.
iconographic referent. Coined by Sturtevant in 1976, a process called ‘Tupinambization’ was adopted across a range of visual media including broadsheets, maps, and costume books, whereby nudity and feathered costume was haphazardly deployed to signal a broadly Indian identity. A convenient iconographic short-hand, ‘Tupinambization’ flooded into pictorial culture. Bearing little interest in what made specific American ethnic groups unique, the practice generated the archetypal New World figure, one of whose most enduring but erroneous attributes was the feather skirt – prominently featured in the 1505 Augsburg and Leipzig broadsheets. Historians and anthropologists agree that nowhere in the pre-Columbian Americas was such a garment worn. However the feather skirt was not completely conceived in fancy. It appears to have derived from the misinterpretation of Tupi feathered capes and headdresses circulating in Europe collections (fig. 169). It is easy to imagine how the correct function of these items might have been lost on Europeans, who, confronted with an unworn cape laid out flat, could have thought the shoulder strings were intended to tie around the waist.

Burgkmair’s two watercolour drawings of the youth modelling New World artefacts confirm this idea (figs. 163-64). The artist’s confident naturalism glosses over the many ethnographic inaccuracies which, besides dressing up a model of distinctly African physiognomy in a mixture of Brazilian and Mexican items, includes a Tupi feather cloak being worn around the waist, awkwardly exposing the

Figure 169: Tupinambá feather mantle, (feather, cotton, vegetable fibres, glass beads, 117 x 108 x 10 cm), 16th century. Inv. Nr. 71.1917.3.83 D, Musee de Quai Branly, Paris.

49 Sturtevant, “First Visual Images of Native America,” 418.
51 Mason, Infelicities, 3.
model’s left thigh.\textsuperscript{52} Massing argues that Burgkmair’s sketches represent ‘… a transitional stage in the depiction of American natives in which artefacts are rendered more or less exactly but often without a proper awareness of their function. The effect is often composite, a mixture of elements from different cultural contexts’.\textsuperscript{53} Despite the naturalistic detail of the depicted garments, Burgkmair’s sketches demonstrate a composite New World iconography fused from circulating items and pre-existing visual archetypes. The potency of this imagery seems to have laid in its non-specificity. Multifarious feather garments came to embrace all of the Americas and were duly used to counter limited sources and seal over gaps in knowledge.

The ambiguous, feather-skirted character was installed into a handful of imperial visual projects commissioned by Charles V’s predecessor, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. The emperor had a prayer book lavishly decorated with pen illustrations in the years 1513 to 1515. These were executed by the finest southern German artists of the day, including Albrecht Dürer, Hans Burgkmair the Elder, and Lucas Cranach the Elder.\textsuperscript{54} Alongside a psalm beginning ‘The earth is the Lord’s and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell within’, Dürer made use of the archetypal New World character and inserted a figure wearing a feather skirt, collar, and hat and holding a bristled Tupinambá war club (\textit{tacape}), (fig. 170-71).\textsuperscript{55} The inclusion on the same page of an escutcheon bearing the Habsburg double-headed eagle, and overleaf a Turkish figure leading a camel, intimates that peoples from each corner of the earth fell under the jurisdiction of not only God, but also his representative on earth, Christendom’s prevailing promoter and defender the emperor Maximilian. An even bolder claim was asserted in the monumental woodcut frieze of Maximilian’s \textit{Triumphal Procession}, worked on by several of the same esteemed artists that produced the emperor’s steady stream of visual propaganda. This time a company of feather-skirted Indians (fig. 172) were to supplement the planned verse:

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 46; Hill Boone, “Seeking Indianness,” 53.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 517.
\item \textsuperscript{54} Other contributing artists were Albrecht Altdorfer, Jörg Breu the Elder, and Hans Baldung Grien.
\item \textsuperscript{55} Translated and cited in Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 515.
\end{itemize}
The Emperor in his warlike pride,
Conquering Nations far and wide,
Has brought beneath our Empire’s yoke
The far-off Calicuttish folk.56

Maximilian had specified to his secretary that these Calicut people were to be depicted ‘naked like Indians or dressed in Moorish fashion’.57 The European conflation of peoples encountered and explored in the East and West Indies was not an uncommon response to depicting the new and the exotic. As Hill Boone explains, Brazilian and Calicut identities were muddled from as early as Cabral’s 1500 voyage, which navigated first to the American continent and afterwards eastward, around the Cape of Good Hope and up to Calicut in India.58

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56 Translated and cited in Ibid., 516.
58 Ibid.
Maximilian’s global ambitions to bring the peoples discovered in these European sea-faring expeditions more broadly under the thumb of a Christian, Habsburg Empire were continued by his grandson Charles V. The relationship of new peoples to the imperial project was about more than blind supremacy and military clout. Joan-Pau Rubíes argues that a philosophical, Christian universalism was beginning to crystalize in the sixteenth century once the ‘old, sterile vision of the unreachable antipodes’ was replaced by a modern consciousness of earth’s global habitability.\(^{59}\) To create a global human community, thus realizing ‘the moral and religious unity of mankind by means of travel, trade, and colonization’, became a European philosophical project that Rubíes explains was shared and contradicted by competing nations.\(^{60}\) Consequently it was important for the Habsburg imperial cause to demonstrate a supreme right to this Christian universalism and therefore the visual depiction of ‘new’ peoples marked out by the feather motif and incorporated into a common, global community was an important propagandistic assertion. Functioning precisely for this cause, Maximilian’s

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\(^{60}\) Ibid., 58.
vast *Triumphant Procession* and its parade of people representing diverse social and cultural groups in Europe and across the ocean was anticipated to be disseminated to Habsburg subjects and noble allies.\(^{61}\)

**THE NEW WORLD ARRIVES AT COURT**

When Christoph Weiditz encountered subjects from New Spain, it is quite possible that his mind was already filled with a notion of what an Indian ought to look like, based on circulating items and pictorial information that had reached him in Augsburg through artistic, intellectual, and commercial channels. It is crucial to keep this in mind when viewing his series of Mexican figures in the *Trachtenbuch*, to review the extent to which he embraced a different vision of the New World character, based on his own observations, or fell back onto existing ideas. Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* is a mediated work which, like other travel accounts, was ‘constructed after the fact’ – in this case, potentially up to a decade after his return to Augsburg in 1532.\(^{62}\) The album’s imagery could therefore have been affected by influencing factors in the years after his travel, which might have filled in gaps in his memory and details missing from his original sketches. Nevertheless, we can be certain that these costume figures represent members of the delegation of Nahua travellers who accompanied Cortés to Spain in 1528. The caption above one of the thirteen figures reads ‘These are Indian people whom Ferdinand Cortez brought to his Imperial Majesty from India and they have played before his Imperial Majesty with wood and ball’.\(^{63}\) Moreover, the only female of the group is captioned ‘In this manner the Indian women go. Not more than one of them has come out’.\(^{64}\) These descriptions confirm the figures’ identity as the party paraded before Charles V by Cortés, and assert Weiditz’s insider knowledge of the various members and their activities. Before pursuing a close visual analysis of the figure series, I will

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\(^{61}\) Hill Boone, “Seeking Indianness,” 44.


\(^{64}\) “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 1. Translated and cited in Ibid., 28.
reconstruct the minutiae of the Mexican group’s visit in order to situate Weiditz’s encounter within the environment of the Spanish Habsburg court.

The Mexican group travelling with Cortés departed New Spain in March 1528, reaching Spain in mid-May. The party included seven nobles, twenty-nine lesser but named elite, and an unspecified number of indigenous performers assembling a combined total of approximately seventy people. The named individuals, who had been baptized and taken Christian first-names, were treated with gifts at court. They provided evidence of their vassalage to the Spanish crown as well as their loyalty to Cortés, who delighted in appearing in front of the emperor as their lord and superior. Cortés took great pleasure from forming his own courtly entourage complete with a troupe of entertainers sizeable and exciting enough to rival any prince’s. In 1524 he marched to Honduras with a substantial procession that included musicians, a buffoon, and a juggler who, Díaz del Castillo notes, amused Cortés’s men with puppet shows. But what gains did the 1528-29 Spanish trip offer for the Mexicans who took part? While the performers probably had little choice, the visitors of noble birth took the opportunity to obtain privileges from their new sovereign. In 1525 two Aztec nobles named Don Rodrigo and Don Martín, relations of Moctezuma, had travelled to Castile to pay obeisance to the emperor. They were invited to school themselves in Christian doctrine at a monastery in Talavera, and as well as receiving an annual income of one hundred ducats, they were granted encomiendas: dominion over native communities for the collection of tribute payments. It may well have been these two who the Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero saw in Seville in March 1526, and who he described as appearing to possess good intelligence and liveliness.

Recent research refutes the long-held assumption that, unlike Don Rodrigo and Don Martin, none in Cortés’s party of 1528 sought or received privileges or concessions

65 Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 71.
66 Ibid., 70, 71 & 84.
69 Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe, 84.
70 Andrea Navagero, Il Viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia dal magnifico M. Andrea Navagiero, fu oratore dell’illustrissimo senato veneto alla Cesarea Maestà di Carlo V (...) (Vinegia: Appresso D. Farri, 1563), 16r. “... mostravano di esser di buono ingegno, & vivi in ogni cosa.”
and were simply motivated by the ceremonial value of meeting the emperor.\textsuperscript{71} In Mexico’s national archives, R. Jovida Baber has unearthed evidence that Tlaxcalan elite drafted a petition to the crown requesting that they and their subjects be protected from being granted as an \textit{encomienda} to a third party, and that their autonomy as free vassals of the crown, with jurisdiction over their subjects and lands, be ensured. Five Tlaxcalan noblemen were tasked with presenting this petition to the emperor and took advantage of Cortés’s sailing in 1528.\textsuperscript{72} The Tlaxcalan took very seriously the role they had played as allies to the crown, a relationship that had contributed to the conquest of Tenochtitlan and their Aztec rivals. The visit of their representatives to the Spanish court sought to remind Charles V not only about this crucial military service, but also of their faithful adoption of Christianity, proof of their civilised status and capability for self-rule.\textsuperscript{73} During the Tlaxcalan travellers’ stay in Iberia, Charles V gathered a group of advisors to discuss how the natives of New Spain ought to be administered. On 10 August 1529, they decided to prohibit the ‘Tlaxcalans, their Indians and the Indians of their City’ to be granted as an \textit{encomienda} and allowed them rather to be self-governing and collect tribute for the crown.\textsuperscript{74} Such a relationship was mutually beneficial and put in place a bureaucratic system of rule that was not subject to military force. This incident reinforces what was at stake for the Nahua nobles as a whole, representatives from diverse ethnic groups and realms including Mexico-Tenochtitlan, Tlaxcala, Cempoala, Texcoco, Tabuca, and Culhuacan. These groups vied to safeguard the emperor’s favour in order to negotiate their new political reality. For the nobles at least, their presence in Spain meant much more than performing as Cortés’s curios.

Is it possible to see anything of their serious agenda in the \textit{Trachtenbuch} images? Weiditz renders four males who appear not as performers in action but who are depicted

\textsuperscript{71} For this interpretation see Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 81. and Johnson, \textit{Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe}, 85.


\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 22–23. The nobles of Tlaxcala had been baptized and had welcomed into their fold twelve mendicant friars in 1524.

\textsuperscript{74} Translated and cited in Ibid., 24.
individually and posed to demonstrate their costume. These men may have been among the thirty-nine named members of the party, high-status male individuals of the aforementioned realms of Mexico. Although their emotional well-being and sense of purpose at the Spanish court is obscured in these images, Weiditz nevertheless portrays the four with a depth of dignity appropriate to their station. They maintain an air of gravitas in their bodily postures and facial expressions. Portrayed as individuals, they demonstrate palpable differences in facial features and hair styles, skilfully captured by the portrait medallist. Weiditz’s respectful depictions conform to the complimentary treatment the Spanish crown offered the high-status members. Part of this was treating their guests not as a uniform conquered ‘Other’ but acknowledging and maintaining indigenous hierarchies.

Crown records titled the seven most notable among them ‘Don’, three of whom were sons of Moctezuma. They were to be set apart from the others through visible distinctions in the sumptuousness of their apparel. About four months after the group’s arrival into Castile, Charles V dispatched a royal cédula commanding that Seville’s House of Trade furnish the cost of clothing Cortés’s guests. The seven principals were to be gifted a yellow damask doublet, breeches of fine scarlet with a matching cape, and a blue velvet coat and cap. Additional to this they were to be given two shirts, leather gaiters, and a pair of ribboned shoes. Those of lower rank were to be distinguished from their superiors by receiving white fustian doublets, ‘regular’ breeches and gaiters, a sleeveless coat of yellow cloth, a mulberry-coloured cape, and a scarlet cloth cap.

Differences in the Nahua group’s rank were thus intended to be visually expressed in a sartorial language interpretable by Spanish courtiers. While they were granted this courtesy, the crown was also quick to ensure that the New World visitors were put into their place as attendants of the empire as opposed to princely rivals.

Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 85–87. Cline’s article includes a table of the thirty-nine named members of the group, all who he identified appearing in various documents from the Casa de Contratación. Another three members of the party were mentioned but unnamed. Cline suggests that the ‘native entertainers’ – described by López de Gómara and Bernal Díaz del Castillo – may have numbered around thirty, making the total Nahua about seventy.

Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe, 85–86.


Ibid. They were also to be presented with two shirts each, plus ribboned shoes.
points out that descriptions of courtly, ceremonial dress in contemporary accounts confirm that the seven principals wore outfits corresponding to that which was typically worn by lower-ranking courtiers, city councillors, and judicial officials. Through their wardrobe, they were thus inserted into an existing Spanish hierarchy. The crown appears to have taken relative care of the thirty-nine named members of the party and made sure that they received not only wardrobe provisions but food and lodging during their stay, as well as a financed return voyage to New Spain.

Weiditz’s illustrations do not illuminate any of the group wearing their wardrobe provisions or any other Spanish-style apparel. The decision to record them wearing clothing that represented their indigenous identity instead tallied with the majority of Weiditz’s costume figures which, unlike the portrait of Cortés, were treated as representative of a locality and a particular social identity as opposed to individuals. By European standards, the indigenous clothing of Nahua people, which for men typically consisted of a mantle and breechcloth (tilmatli and maxtlatl), was fairly scanty and unlikely to have been accepted as appropriate daywear in a Christian courtly society, highlighted by the crown’s labours to order new, suitable livery. Moreover, the practice of properly outfitting the wardrobes of courtly attendants was commonplace in early modern courts, including the Habsburg court. Despite this, there was no swift delivery on the outfits. In March 1529, seven months after the royal cédula commanded their supply, and after the emperor had ordered the group depart court and await passage home, the principal Nahua were still lacking their promised clothing. Documents from Seville’s House of Trade record that by April blue velvet had been purchased for their coats and caps, but that the outfits’ construction was only just being organised. Three members from the wider group had been missed off the initial order moreover, and a related notice issued in May regretted that these three were going about naked. It is

79 Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe, 86.
80 Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 82. A cédula dated 15 March 1529 was sent to Seville’s House of Trade from Toledo and instructed the royal officials there to prepare the return journey of the Nahua group’s named members.
82 Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 84.
83 Ibid., 82.
uncertain whether any in the Nahua party ever received the brightly-coloured ensembles custom-ordered for them, but it is assumable that in the interim they were supplied with Spanish garments of varying description in and around court.

The possibility also remains that some members of the party had adopted Spanish fashions in New Spain and arrived at the imperial court already appareled in the manner of their hosts. The Nahua chronicler Chimalpahin (1579-1660) recounts the case of Don Juan Velásquez Tlacotzin, the Aztec leader Cortés placed in charge of Tenochtitlan upon his leave of the city in 1523. Tlacotzin was said to have ‘dressed as a Spaniard’, carried a steel dagger and sword, and ridden a white horse.\(^8^4\) The Spanish Christianization of his name is indicative of baptism, while his accoutrements completed the spectacle of his transformation into a Spanish vassal. The account is suggestive of the pace with which the adoption of Spanish habits was taken up in New Spain in the post-conquest years as indigenous rulers sought to solidify their positions through expressions of allegiance to the Spanish crown. In any case, it is reasonable to expect that during their shared month at the Castilian court, the Nahua group were observed by Weiditz wearing Spanish garments more often than not. There is even the possibility that Spanish garments were worn in tandem with indigenous items of dress, a mode pictured in Christoph von Sternsee’s album, in which three Nahua men wear white skirted shirts underneath their indigenous cloaks (fig. 193).

The likelihood that the Nahua group mostly went around the Spanish court either in total or partial Castilian dress does not preclude the probability that Weiditz observed certain members of the group dressed in indigenous clothing, providing models for his figures in the Trachtenbuch. The five Totonac men and women that voyaged to Spain with Cortés’s representatives in 1519 were recorded to have been presented with ‘Spanish costumes and the best of clothes’ by the emperor.\(^8^5\) Nevertheless, the Archbishop of Cosenza Giovanni Ruffo da Forlì was able to relay details about the

Indians’ native dress and appearance with such depth that he seems to have not merely inspected such garments and accoutrements, but observed how they were worn in practice. In his letter to Petrus de Acosta dated 7 March 1520, Valladolid, he recounted:

The bodies of the men were pierced and cut all over, especially the lower lip which they pierced next to the chin and which, when pierced, they deck out with a sort of ornament wrought of stones of mosaic work which they wear or lay aside at pleasure … Their clothes are of linen and cotton decorated all about with feathers of parrots and vultures; these they gather at the shoulders, and when they let them down they cover the whole body. The genitals also they cover with similar cloth; as for the rest, they go naked.

Indigenous apparel may have been adopted for ceremonial occasions or for performative demonstrations. Peter Martyr d’Anghiera, a court humanist and official of the Spanish Council of the Indies, recorded the encounter he had with a native Nahua slave who arrived at the Spanish court in 1522 aboard a ship laden with gifts from Mexico. The slave, introduced at court by Cortés’s secretary Juan de Ribera, was summoned to perform for d’Anghiera. ‘He had dressed himself in my room’, d’Anghiera narrated, and wore a ‘robe of woven feathers’ and cotton trousers. Once the first blood-curdling display of feigned human sacrifice was over, d’Anghiera notes that the slave was escorted to another room to change into his ‘gala costume’ before performing a musical piece. This account makes clear that the slave was not habitually wearing the indigenous apparel he was expected to change into for a court performance. It also stresses that courtly audiences anticipated the connection between costume and native custom, even demanded it. Once this cultural demonstration was finished, the slave’s indigenous garments were presumably put aside as a curio until the next such performance was commanded. It is possible that the 1528-29 Nahua group donned indigenous fashions under comparable circumstances at the Spanish court, for example when called to give an official display or to attend a ceremonial event. Unfortunately,

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86 Ibid., 362.
87 Giovanni Ruffo da Forlì translated and cited in Ibid.
89 Ibid., 2:203.
no comparable written testimony describes the dress or appearance of this group, and
Weiditz’s images in the Trachtenbuch provide the richest evidence of their presentation
at court.
3.1. Untangling Weiditz’s New World Corpus

The *Trachtenbuch*’s series of New World Indians consists of six static costume figures, and a further seven portrayed mid-performance. There is just one female in the group who wears a headband, dress, and feather mantle (fig. 173). Three other standing figures are outfitted with this style of mantle, one bearing a wooden jug, another bearing a dish, and another turned and viewed from behind (figs. 174-76). Two other male figures are depicted almost naked and wearing just a breechcloth. One of these is announced to be ‘a nobleman of their kind’, who poses with a colourful parrot and a feather standard (fig. 177). The other appears as a warrior, holding a circular, feathered shield and a spear (fig. 178). Of the active Indians, three figures depict a sequence of movement demonstrating the juggling of a large wooden log with the feet (figs. 179-81), another pair demonstrate the Aztec ball-game *tlachtli* (fig. 182), and the final pair play the board game *patolli* (fig. 183). Scholars have been largely enthusiastic about the care Weiditz took to render the idiosyncrasies of the Nahua group.90 Massing and Rublack, for instance, have praised Weiditz’s ethnographic observation.91 Mentges has drawn attention to the group’s precision, nuance, and detail, and argues that their lively portrayal as ‘complex and varied’ signifies Weiditz’s ‘tactile gaze’, conducive to the approach of stranger.92 She contends that his observation of their clothing integrates the group into a European system of cultural representation, at once a formalising and universalising process but also an ethnographic one.93 Although it is easy to assume direct links between close observation, naturalism, and ethnography, I would argue caution over assuming that ethnographic accuracy is assured in Weiditz’s images of the group. In fact, there is much that is contrived about these figures.

If we take for granted that the images closely resemble Weiditz’s original sketches, which we estimate to have been faithful records of his eye-witness

90 Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 517–18.
91 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 187; Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 517.
92 Mentges, “Pour une approche renouvelée des recueils de costumes de la Renaissance,” 11.
93 Ibid., 13.
Figure 173: ‘In this manner the Indian women go. Not more than one of them has come out’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 1.

Figure 174: ‘This is also the Indian manner, how they have brought wood jugs with them out of which they drink’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 5.

Figure 175: ‘Thus the Indians go, have costly jewels let into their face, can take them out when they want to and can put them in again’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 2.

Figure 176: ‘This is also an Indian man’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 3.
Figure 177: ‘This is also an Indian, a nobleman of their kind’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 4.

Figure 178: Thus they go in India with their arms two thousand miles away, where gold is found in the water” from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 7.

Figure 179: ‘This is an Indian, he lies on his back and throws a block of wood around on his heels, is as long as a man and as heavy, he has on the earth a leather under him, is as big as a calf skin’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 8.

Figure 180: ‘Thus he throws the wood above him with his feet’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 6.

Figure 181: ‘Thus he again catches the wood on his feet as he has thrown it up’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 9.
Figure 182: In such manner the Indians play with the blown-up ball with the seat without moving their hands from the ground; they have also a hard leather before their seat in order that it shall receive the blow from the ball, they have also such leather glove, fols. 10-11.

Figure 183: ‘These are Indian people whom Ferdinand Cortez brought to His Imperial Majesty from India and they have played before His Imperial Majesty with wood and ball’, ‘With their fingers they gamble like the Italians’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 12-13.
observation, precisely how the members of the group were presented to him was almost
certainly manipulated by courtly manoeuvres. There is every chance that members of
the Nahua group were dressed up at the behest of others into apparel which did not
belong to them personally and may not have reflected their ethnic or social identity
accurately. Secondly, we must account for artistic intervention. The figure groups’
various accoutrements are painted with a uniform colour palette of matching blue, green,
and crimson, meriting a rethink of the images’ supposed naturalism. In dissecting the
figures’ portrayed garments and accessories, it will be shown that Weiditz appears to
have conflated New World cultural markers – something which has recently been
highlighted by Elizabeth Hill Boone.

Hill Boone’s study of Weiditz’s Indians marks a radical new approach and seeks
to unpick what she sees in the images as the ‘visual entanglement of diverse objects from
and images of the Americas whose trajectories brought them together in early sixteenth-
century Europe’.94 Identifying discord between Weiditz’s illustrations and the group
who visited the Spanish court, she argues that the challenge to recognise and understand
the diverse ethnic, cultural, and social variables among the indigenous people of the
Americas not merely affected Renaissance Europeans, but also concerns modern
scholars.95 Scholarship has been largely blinded to a host of niggling discrepancies
because the groups’ bodily adornments do resemble identifiable items indigenous to pre-
Columbian Mexico. However, the gulf between ethnographic fact and the
Trachtenbuch’s visual fiction has been easily bridged. It is Hill Boone’s contention that
only the figures performing Aztec games were based upon members of the Cortés
contingent, while the others represent an ‘exoticized concept of Indianness’, neither
specifically Aztec nor Brazilian Tupinambá.96 She argues that because the
Trachtenbuch’s folios have been shuffled and rebound, it is questionable whether all
thirteen figures identified as ‘Indian’ were even meant to pertain to each other.97 This
interpretation is not without value. However, above Weiditz’s female character, whose

95 Ibid.
96 Ibid., 50.
97 Ibid.
appearance is possibly the least trustworthy of the lot, the note ‘not more than one of them has come out’ suggests that the whole corpus of Indian characters were part of the 1528-29 group visiting Spain. The uniform colour palette used across the thirteen figures also suggests the intention that they were part of one representative set. I would suggest then, that the ethnographic dissonances Hill Boone refers to are better explained as the combined outcome of the group’s contrived presentation at court and Weiditz’s artistic interventions when he drew up the Trachtenbuch in the years following his encounter.

THE PERFORMANCE TROUPE

The naturalism and ethnographic observation Weiditz’s group have been celebrated for is most evident in the seven Indians portrayed in action. Indeed, much about these figures concords with written testimony about the games and diversions formerly practiced in the Aztec empire and described by European arbiters. Considering the lively and fastidious visual record Weiditz produces of the log-juggling and the games tlachtli and patolli, it is reasonable to assume that the artist witnessed these performances in action at the Spanish court. There is plenty of evidence suggesting that Cortés put the group’s performers to task in Europe. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, noting the anticipation Cortés had when compiling his native entertainment in Mexico, explained his opinion that the jugglers who used their feet surely ‘in Castile and in all other places would be a thing worth seeing’. Before even reaching court in Toledo, Cortés is said to have showed the ‘dexterous’ jugglers off in Guadalupe in front of the female attendants of Francisco de los Cobos’s wife. To ‘give entertainment to those ladies’ the jugglers ‘passed the stick from one foot to the other, a thing which pleased them and caused them wonder to behold’. Two of these jugglers were even dispatched to Rome with Cortés’s representative Juan de Herrada, to visit Pope Clement VII and relay gifts and stories.

100 Ibid., 4:144.
about the conquests. The master jugglers performed in front of the pope and his cardinals, who were said to have ‘delighted at the show’.\textsuperscript{101} Writing around 1532, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés also marvelled at the dexterity of these jugglers who performed to accompanying music.\textsuperscript{102} Weiditz must have also observed the jugglers in action and was not satisfied to portray the diversion with one image. To demonstrate precisely the movements in which the log was handled and tossed into the air, he depicts the act over a sequence of three figures who ‘throw’ and ‘catch’ the log, which is ‘as long as a man and as heavy’ (figs. 179-81).\textsuperscript{103} He also takes care to note the protective leather mat ‘as big as a calf skin’ under which the performer lies.\textsuperscript{104}

Weiditz’s ball-players concord with contemporary accounts of \textit{tlachtli}, a game noted by Oviedo to have been demonstrated by a dozen Indians from Tlaxcala using a large ball made ‘from the milk of certain trees’ (rubber).\textsuperscript{105} Weiditz renders the pair with their backs turned to the ball, depicting what he describes as the manner in which it was tossed into the air by the buttocks (fig. 182). He details the leather coverings worn over the buttocks and the hands for protection, and the rule that hands must be left on the ground when receiving the ball.\textsuperscript{106} These observations demonstrate what Rublack has described as Weiditz’s fascination with ‘costume as part of a practice of life’.\textsuperscript{107} It is clear, in this instance, that the information he provided was supported by his first-hand knowledge of how the games and the material specificities of the accompanying costume and accessories functioned in practice.

Weiditz scrutinises these cultural details. Nonetheless, the \textit{Trachtenbuch}’s images of the performers have been mediated through a number of channels worth mentioning. Firstly, the influence of pre-existing visual models is apparent. Several of

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[101]{Ibid., 4:153.}
\footnotetext[102]{Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, cited in Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 70.}
\footnotetext[103]{\textit{Trachtenbuch},” fol. 6, 8, 9. Translated and cited in Hampe and Weiditz, \textit{Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance}, 28.}
\footnotetext[104]{“Trachtenbuch”, fol. 8. Translated and cited in Ibid.}
\footnotetext[105]{From Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, \textit{Historia general y natural de las indias} (1535-1557) translated and cited in Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 70.}
\footnotetext[106]{This game, called \textit{Tlachtli}, was extensively detailed in 1610 by the Franciscan chronicler and resident of colonial Mexico, Fray Juan de Torquemada. He similarly describes the use of the buttocks to propel the ball and the wearing of leather protections. Ibid., 75.}
\footnotetext[107]{Rublack, \textit{Dressing Up}, 188.}
\end{footnotes}
the performers, and others of the Indian corpus for that matter, have colourful stones or jewels inserted into their cheeks, chins, foreheads, and noses at random. The log-jugglers wear colourful feather anklets – a garment nowhere seen in Mesoamerican codices as typical of the Mexican region. Although they might have represented an accessory specific to the juggling and designed to draw attention to the feet, both the facial jewels and the feather anklets are prominently featured in the influential Augsburg woodcut published by Johann Froschauer in 1505 (fig. 167). The woodcut’s feather collars are also recycled by Weiditz, and one is worn by his warrior figure holding a spear and shield. The woodcut similarly shows colourful stones dotted all over the figures’ faces and chests, and while Aztec men did wear lip- and ear-plugs and nose rods, these adornments were not akin to the small and flat, stud-like shapes seen here, nor were they placed into the cheek or forehead. These features ‘Brazilianized’ Weiditz’s figures, argues Hill Boone, and were motifs purposefully marshalled by the artist to ‘satisfy expectations of how Amerindians should look’.

It is curious that the three diversions Weiditz paints into the Trachtenbuch also happen to be the most conspicuously described in Francisco López de Gómara’s account of Moctezuma’s court. Gómara describes these acts in five adjoining paragraphs. First mentioned are the ‘jugglers who use their feet as ours do their hands’, who toss a log ‘as big as a girder’. Next Moctezuma ‘would watch the game of patolli … It is played with broad or split beans, used like dice, which they shake between their hands and cast upon a mat, or upon the ground, where a grid has been traced’. In this game ‘gamblers will wage all their goods’, a theme repeated by Weiditz who describes the players as gambling with their fingers ‘like Italians’ (fig. 183). Gómara then turns to the ball-game tlachtli, and goes into great depth detailing the rubber ball, the ball court, the rules of the game, and the leather protective apparel of the players.

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109 Ibid., 55.
111 Ibid.
113 López de Gómara, Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary, 145–46.
Cortés sought to mimic before the eyes of Charles V the splendour of his conquered foe’s court, ensuring that these key Aztec diversions were recontextualised under the helm of a new ruler. Gómara did not experience New Spain personally, but was from 1540 the private chaplain of Cortés and obtained information through Cortés and other returned conquistadors, archived records, and maps.\textsuperscript{114} It is plausible that Gómara partially based his account of Moctezuma’s court on the Nahua group’s performances in Spain in 1528 and 1529, relayed to Gómara and combined with other second-hand information to form a picture of Aztec culture. The permeability of information between these channels makes it hard to locate the exact source of cultural knowledge. The connecting thread between Gómara’s account and Weiditz’s images is Cortés himself, who mustered up a vision of the Aztec court in Spain. This vision was a manufactured one, designed to strike European observers with wonder. If Díaz del Castillo is to be believed, Cortés hand-picked his travelling entourage with purpose, choosing that which would be ‘well worth seeing’ in Castile.\textsuperscript{115} For this reason we might question how much the conquistador manipulated that which was shown to his Spanish audience.\textsuperscript{116}

‘CORTESIAN’ OBJECTS

Alessandra Russo develops an interesting argument about Cortés’s influence over the material goods reaching Spain. She points out that he appears to have designed and commissioned objects from local artisans.\textsuperscript{117} In his second letter of 1520, he tells Charles V that Moctezuma ‘had made in gold’ various things Cortés had designed and drawn, including ‘images, crucifixes, medals, jewels, collars, any many other things of ours’.\textsuperscript{118}

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
He also ‘had the natives make’ plates, bowls, cups, and spoons’. In his two shipments of 1524, Cortés again refers to the commission of certain pieces. Such items, which Russo deems a response ‘to the artistic world introduced by the Spaniards’, are neither ‘pre-Hispanic’ nor ‘colonial’. These ‘Cortesian’ objects, as she terms them, warrant reconsideration regarding the emblematic and political function they performed in creating the enterprise that was New Spain.

Russo identifies two objects in Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* held by the Indian figures which might fall into this category. The first, the warrior’s shield with a blue cross design, recalls the crosses on banners borne by Cortés’s ships when they first sailed to the Mexican coast (fig. 178). The entrance of Christian symbolism into this feather shield aligns it with other Christianized items reportedly shipped from (and supposedly manufactured in) New Spain in 1526, including ‘a rosary with sixty beads threaded on a string and between them two big fishes with wings and a big grasshopper’ and ‘a large crucifix with a twisted cross with three chalchus on the back of the cross and forty-eight beads like small bells’. Russo wonders whether certain objects were produced especially to be paraded at court ‘in order to convey an ideal and harmonious image of the territory overseas’. This might explain, she argues, why the wooden jug one of Weiditz’s figures holds shares with his mantle a corresponding blue, red, and yellow horizontal stripe pattern (fig. 174). Could specific items have been produced in custom-made sets in New Spain for the purpose of ceremonial demonstration at the Spanish court? Gómara explains that in 1528 Cortés brought to Spain a quantity of ‘feather and hair mantles, fans, shields, plumes, stone mirrors, and the like’, and bearing in mind Cortés’s readiness to have Tenochtitlan’s artisans create special pieces for him, it is possible that the 1528 items included custom-designed and matching pieces fit to be paraded. Although Russo’s suggestion could explain why Weiditz’s New World
figures wear garments of corresponding styles and colours and sport matching accessories, it is more likely, as she also acknowledges, that this represents Weiditz’s artistic interpretation as opposed to a naturalistic depiction of paired artefacts. In any case, Russo rightly warns that it is ‘risky’ to count Weiditz’s illustrations as truly ethnographic records.

I would also urge caution over taking for granted that the clothing worn by performers of ‘cultural displays’ at court, such as the slave d’Anghiera witnessed in 1523 or members of Cortés’s Nahua group, truly represented their wearers’ social, cultural, and ethnic identity. Emily Umberger points out that a lot of clothing was obtained as tribute in the Aztec empire. The luxury mantles and accessories Cortés obtained from Moctezuma and plundered more generally were very likely to have been a combination of Tenochtitlan-produced and tribute goods. Umberger explains that Mesoamerican gifting practices prioritised presenting the wearer with regalia that matched their status, and that as such, high-ranking notables would customarily receive and wear clothing produced by other tribal groups. Further de-contextualised; plundered, gifted, and collected artefacts at European courts may have been presented for performative function by New World Indians with little regard given to ethnic and cultural authenticity on the part of the wearer.

FURTHER ANOMALIES

Across Weiditz’s corpus of Indians are further signs of disjointed cultural knowledge. Weiditz appears to have observed and had some understanding of Nahua garments and

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128 Russo, “Cortés’s Objects,” 244.


130 Ibid.

131 Ibid.
artefacts, whether Pre-Columbian, ‘Cortesian’, or colonial in style. Nevertheless, this knowledge was ethnographically skewed. To begin with, articles of clothing are worn incorrectly in several cases. Patricia Rieff Anawalt affirms that the two corners of the rectangular mantle, the *tilmatli*, were normally knotted over the right shoulder, while priests and nobles could wear the knot in the centre of the chest.\(^\text{132}\) Every one of Weiditz’s mantle-wearing figures wears the knot differently – to the left, to the right, over the chest, and around the back of the shoulders. This last position was certainly inaccurate but serves to demonstrate the back of this figure’s breechcloth. Only one of the figures wears the *mäxtlal* breechcloth correctly, with the garment’s distinctive large knot tying in front of the crotch (fig. 175).\(^\text{133}\) On the other figures, Weiditz depicts it knotted at the hip in a manner totally at odds with the visual evidence from pictorial codices. The sole female figure is strangely dressed altogether. She is one of the *tilmatli*-wearers; however, this garment was strictly male. Her triangular-pointed dress bears no resemblance at all to the *huipil* (sleeved blouse), *cuētīl* (skirt) and *quechquemitl* (slip-on dress), the chief female garments worn across the Mexican region. She also wears a knotted headband, which was not typically an Aztec garment but Tlaxcalan, and was not worn by women in any case.\(^\text{134}\) Massing and Hill Boone agree that the serrated, tasselled spear held by Weiditz’s warrior figure is not Mesoamerican in origin and is possibly even European.\(^\text{135}\) A more accurate object may be the feather standard with circular plumes wielded by the figure labelled as a nobleman (fig. 177). This possibly represents a *quetzaltonatiuh*, a war standard signifying the sun, encircled by quetzal feathers. Normally mounted onto a frame and born on the back of a warrior, Weiditz portrays it attached to a wooden pole.\(^\text{136}\) It also strongly resembles an extant feather fan dated to *ca.* 1540, known to have been in Austrian collections since the 1590s (fig. 184). The striking, circular configuration of the feathers is also matched in an illustration from the *Florentine Codex*, compiled by Spanish Franciscan Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, in


\(^{133}\) Hill Boone, “Seeking Indianness,” 47.


\(^{135}\) Hill Boone, “Seeking Indianness,” 54; Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 518.

which Cortés receives this item as a gift from Moctezuma’s messengers in 1519 (fig. 185).

These examples draw attention to the entangled mix of exotic artefacts circulating at the Spanish court that derive from different ethnic groups across Mexico and Brazil, including feather-work costumes, arms and armour, jewellery of gold, turquoise, jade and precious stones, helmets, and headdresses. The anomalies that emerge when analysing how Weiditz’s group are adorned suggest, following d’Anghiera’s testimony of the slave at court in 1523, that the images may represent an occasion for which members of the Nahua group, both elite representatives and the non-elite performers, changed out of their adopted Spanish-style garments and put on, in the minds of their European hosts, their native costume. As models for a courtly display, they were perhaps made to wear items which they would not have normally worn (as seems to be the case with the female figure) and which did not represent their variable

137 Ibid., 52.
indigenous identities. The solemnity with which the Nahua leaders took up their diplomatic mission at court was not necessarily diminished by this act of ‘dressing up’. An obliging cultural display was a tactful means to cloak themselves in the splendour of their pre-contact courtly societies, making a convincing case of their authority to uphold political power in their local territories.

**VISUALISING THE NEW WORLD’S ICONIC MATERIAL**

At this point I would like to shift focus onto the feather mantles worn by four of the *Trachtenbuch*’s figures. Closer analysis of their unusual portrayal exposes the emblematic primacy of the feather, and the effect this had upon Weiditz’s pictorial approach. Describing the function of dress in Aztec society, Anawalt explains: ‘In the lands to which Cortés had come, dress was identity; even a God had to don his appropriate attire … An individual’s clothing immediately signaled not only cultural affiliation but rank and status as well.’\(^{138}\) Clear social stratifications were moderated by sumptuary customs and law, just as was commonplace in Europe.\(^{139}\) This was less dictated by the form of garments, than by their material and ornamentation. Such was the case with the *tilmatli*, the chief male garment worn in the pre-Hispanic Valley of Mexico (fig. 186). The rectangular mantle was worn draped over one arm and tied at the opposite shoulder, a design recognisable in the mantles worn by Weiditz’s four Indians. Although not defined in the descriptive text, these mantles are portrayed as though made from feathers, which have been formed into rows of alternate colours. The *tilmatli* was an item worn by both high- and low-ranking members of society, laypeople, and clerics, but despite being uniformly worn, it marked out social stratifications.\(^{140}\) As Anawalt explains, ‘every aspect of the *tilmatli* conveyed meaning to members of Aztec society.

\(^{138}\) Anawalt, *Indian Clothing Before Cortés*, 3.

\(^{139}\) Ibid., 27. These are described by Fray Diego Durán, writing in Mexico between 1576-81.

Not only was control exercised over the material, design, and length of these mantles but also the manner of wearing them was prescribed.141

*Tilmatli* spun from cotton were reserved for those of noble rank, while commoners typically wore mantles produced from maguey-, yucca-, or palm-fibre. Along with other luxury accessories, cotton mantles were imbedded into a reward system where rulers encouraged valour on the battlefield in exchange for the right to wear such splendour. But even if he ‘be the king’s son’, a warrior who avoided war would ‘have to wear the clothing of the common man … He will not wear cotton garments, he will not wear feathers … like the great lords’.142 Luxury *tilmatli* – spun from cotton, interwoven with feathers and rabbit fur, and decorated with colourful dyed or embroidered patterns – were likewise incorporated into gift culture. Umberger calls attention to regalia of varying sorts being presented during diplomatic negotiations,143 while various accounts detail the Spanish receiving gifted mantles as they edged further towards Tenochtitlan. López de Gómara retells how in the city of Cotaxtla, Cortés’s party were gifted ‘rich and beautiful presents: many mantles and garments of white and coloured cotton, embroidered in their fashion’, while in Cempoala the local lord and his nobles brought

142 Translated and cited in Ibid., 27–28. Recounted by Fray Diego Durán, this extract recalls the sumptuary reward system established by Tlacaélil, one of the fifteenth-century founders of the Aztec Triple Alliance.
143 Umberger, “Art and Imperial Strategy in Tenochtitlan,” 102-03.
the soldiers ‘many cotton mantles (which were knotted at the shoulder, like gypsy women)’. Gómara went on to explain that Moctezuma,

... never wore the same garment twice. His used garments were saved and given as rewards and presents to servants and messengers, or, as a token of favour and privilege, to soldiers who had fought and captured an enemy. The many and beautiful mantles that he sent to Cortés were of such.

Because splendid mantles were high-status gifts, both received and plundered by Spanish troops, a fair quantity made their way to the Spanish court and may have included mantles worked with feathers, listed in Cortés’s shipments of Mexican goods to Spain in 1522.

The variable value of tilmatli came to be understood on the European continent as information carried by returned soldiers accompanied these and other goods. It was noted by Gómara for instance, that the most valuable goods in New Spain were salt and cotton mantles, but that there were ‘also mantles of maguey fibre, palm fibre, and rabbit fur, which are good, esteemed, and worn, although those made of feathers are better’. Information of this kind contributed to the ‘quite specific knowledge concerning the social coding of Aztec feathered garments’ that Mark Meadow identified in the painting of Esther and Ahasuerus in Schloss Ambras, originally produced in Augsburg in the mid-sixteenth century. The painting’s two figures adorned in tilmatli have been recycled from Weiditz’s series (figs. 187-88). The German painter seems to have understood, Meadow suggests, that feathered mantles were a high-ranking garment and thus suitable courtly attire for these figures who appear alongside courtly elite from myriad nations in the imagined palatial scenes of Ahasuerus’s court. He attributes this knowledge to the flow of information making its way out of the Spanish court to

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144 López de Gómara, Cortés: The Life of the Conqueroor by His Secretary, 59, 72.
145 Ibid., 143.
146 Russo, “Cortés’s Objects,” 241. Russo notes, however, that although the inventories of the 1522 shipments survive, these particular goods appear to have not made it to the Spanish court and were intercepted by pirates.
147 López de Gómara, Cortés: The Life of the Conqueroor by His Secretary, 161.
149 Ibid., 353.
Augsburg via commercial and intellectual networks. However, the value feather-work was praised to have in a European context may have been more a reflection of the awe such work inspired in local viewers who had previously never encountered the idea that feathers could be woven into such beautiful textiles. Certainly, the novelty of feather-work led it to become among the most prized type of good sent by Cortés to Spain.

Intricate feather-work accompanied not only the most splendid mantles but myriad other objects, weapons, and shields. Reviewing the surviving responses to such items, a clear pattern emerges in which the items’ materiality and craftsmanship inspired the most fascination and was routinely compared with familiar European materials and processes. The depth of detail European admirers went into when describing feather-work demands a reconsideration of Weiditz’s images of feathered tilmatli. Writing from

150 Ibid., 349.
Cuba on 14 November 1521, the Spanish jurist Alonso de Zuazo reported the material winnings of his compatriots who had ventured further into the Yucatán peninsula: ‘I saw many doubled-faced mantles, made with turkey feathers so smooth that in drawing the hand across the grain, they seemed nothing but a well-tanned sable marten skin. I had one of these weighed and it weighed no more than six ounces’. The so-called Anonymous Conqueror’s narrative, written by an unknown companion of Cortés’s, recounts ‘Their dress consists of cotton mantles like sheets … In winter time they cover themselves with cloaks woven of tiny feathers. They are similar to red silk or woollen cloth, and like our fur hats’. The materiality and make of Mexican garments sent by Cortés to the emperor and presented at court by Juan Ribera concerned Peter Martyr d’Anghiera above all else. Recalling his observation of the garments, he wrote:

The people of that country only use three materials for their clothing; that is to say, cotton, birds’ feathers, and rabbits’ hair. They make the feathers and the hair into a pattern upon a foundation of cotton, working them with such ingenuity that we are unable to comprehend their methods of fabrication … They mix plumes with the woofs of cotton, and also skilfully employ rabbits’ hair…

D’Anghiera, who went on to discuss the courtly performance of the aforementioned native slave, observed that his shield ‘had coloured feathers resembling our raw silk’. His acquaintance Gaspar Contarini, the Venetian ambassador to Spain, also had the opportunity to view Cortés’s latest shipment, and reported back to the Venetian senate on 15 November 1525: ‘Never have I seen embroidery so lovely and delicate as some examples of this (feather)work’.

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152 Translated and cited in Anawalt, Indian Clothing Before Cortés, 30. The full narrative is reproduced in Icazbalceta, Colección de documentos para la historia de México, 1:368–99.
154 Ibid., 2:198.
155 Gaspar Contarini, translated and cited in Keen, The Aztec Image in Western Thought, 64–65.
Just as these testimonies describe, Mexican feather-workers produced finely-woven, smooth surfaced fabrics that disguised individual feathers, demonstrated by an extant shield in the Museum of Ethnography, Vienna (fig. 189). This knowledge confronts and contradicts the *Trachtenbuch*’s illustrations of the mantles. Weiditz depicts the plumage with downward-facing feathery wisps, implying that each feather is fixed onto the mantle at the base of its shaft and otherwise left loose. The only comparable depiction I have sourced is found in the *Florentine Codex* depicting feather-artisans at work (fig. 190). Here a textured cloak organised into overlapping layers of petal shaped feathers descends from the workers’ loom. However, the *Florentine Codex*
was a colonial product compiled in Mexico by Fray Bernardino de Sahagún over the years 1545-90. Although probably illustrated by indigenous students of Sahagún’s Franciscan college, the illustrations in the Florentine Codex exhibit a European figural style. These artists and Weiditz possibly surrendered a more naturalistic portrayal of featherwork in order to visually stress the principle material of the mantles. Hill Boone suggests a different and not implausible interpretation. She argues that Weiditz’s feather mantles represent ‘an amalgam’ of Brazilian Tupi feather capes, collars, and bustles, combined with Mexican mantles. If this is so, then Weiditz’s mantles were not items he would have observed, but artistic creations inspired by a mix of visual and material stimuli. When Mexican artefacts streamed into Europe, explains Hill Boone, they joined collections of Brazilian Tupi treasures to create ‘a rich and entangled mix of wondrous items from afar’. That Weiditz conflated these two ethnographic cultures, whether intentionally or unintentionally, explains the rectangular shape and shoulder knot of the mantles (inspired by tilmatl) as well as the rows of bushy, unencumbered feathers more akin to the texture of extant Tupi cloaks such as this pre-Columbian example from the Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire Brussels (fig. 191).

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156 Ivo Kamps, Karen L. Raber, and Thomas Hallock, Early Modern Ecostudies (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 169. Sahagún’s Florentine Codex, a twelve-volume series held by the Biblioteca Medicea-Lorenziana, Florence is the most complete edition of his work, entitled Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España.


159 Ibid., 52.
Weiditz’s mantles might have represented feather-worked *tilmatli* seen at court for which he felt the need to pictorially overemphasise their feathery surface. Alternatively, they might constitute a conflation of (cotton) *tilmatli* and the feather-work of Brazilian capes. In either case, it is striking that the feather merited visual manipulation, and highlights just how canonical it had become as the principle marker of New World culture. In a fascinating reappraisal of the inventory lists of Cortés’s multiple shipments of goods to Spain, Russo has drawn attention to the prominence of the term ‘*pluma/plumaje*’, which contended with more familiar valuable materials such as gold, silver, and precious stones for paradigmatic weight in the European taxonomy of treasure.\(^{160}\) In Cortés’s first shipment sent from Vera Cruz in July 1519, the term is used fifty times within the inventory of 180 items, and is connected to nearly every sort of object. He prepared three more shipments in May 1522, described by d’Anghiera as the ‘spoils of war’ following the fall of Tenochtitlan. One of the circulated inventories listed ‘plumage and jewels’ to be distributed to the crown and throughout Spain to churches, monasteries, and notable persons.\(^{161}\) Out of its 116 items, including many shields, the list is almost entirely composed of feather-work objects. Russo contends that the Cortés inventories are not simply ‘repetitive, ambiguous and boring, the enumerative character of the lists’, but

\(^{160}\) Russo, “Cortés’s Objects,” 236.

\(^{161}\) Ibid., 241. *The Memoria de los plumajes y joyas que enviaba Hernán Cortés a iglesias, monasterios y personas de España.*
ought to be acknowledged as spatial narratives capable of making physical spaces of indeterminate geographic reality visible to readers. ‘These inventories and their objects’, Russo argues, ‘helped to craft what can be called the very ‘idea’ of New Spain: as presents and war trophies, they constitute the ‘tutelary signs’ which in effect gave birth to a new political territory yet presented in close interdependence with the Iberian Peninsula’.162

The feather played an important role in the myth of New Spain’s foundation; it related Cortés’s exploits to previous expeditions in the Caribbean and Brazil, after which descriptions of exotic birds and natives in feather costumes proliferated in Columbus’s and Vespucci’s texts, as well as in maps and broadsheet illustrations. Because the feather was already transformed into the principal material synonymous with new worlds, Cortés’s shipments and their inventories, packed as they were with feathered goods, thus evidenced the remoteness of the new territories encountered and proved that they were ‘part of that same Mundus Novus’.163 For Cortés and his associates, the feather was a symbol of commodified wealth and material abundance. The harvesting of feathers for the production of ‘rich mantles, tapestries, shields, plumes, fly-flaps and many other things’ captured the attention of Cortés and his biographer Gómara.164 The latter recalled that Moctezuma’s bird menagerie assigned three hundred persons to take care of the birds, while others ‘had the important duty of plucking them’.165 The abundant variety of birds for sale in Tenochtitlan thrilled Cortés, who described seeing ‘chickens, partridges and quails, wild ducks, flycatchers, widgeons, turtledoves, pigeons, cane birds, parrots, eagles and eagle owls, falcons, sparrow hawks’ – in sum, ‘birds of every species found in this land’.166 Cortés even had a stake in this industry himself, and entreated Moctezuma to set up a farm in his name in the province of Malinaltepec. Here, alongside crops of maize, beans, and cacao, the emperor’s men constructed a water tank

162 Ibid., 231.
163 Ibid., 236.
164 López de Gómara, Cortés: The Life of the Conqueror by His Secretary, 150.
165 Ibid.
166 Cortés, Letters from Mexico, 103.
for ‘five hundred ducks, which here they value highly, and pluck them every year, because they use their feathers to make clothes’.  

Cortés was participating in the vogue for foreign birds and the admiration of colourful and iridescent feathers that had come to be associated with exotic worlds. Able to be owned, understood, and exploited, there was cultural capital to be gained from demonstrating mastery over distant commodities and resources of this kind. Owning live parrots became a coveted sign of such capital. The parrot was the symbol par excellence of New World exoticism. A bright green and red parrot is depicted by Weiditz perched on the hand of a proud Indian ‘chief’, tamed by his master (fig. 177). The figure’s breechcloth and feather standard are painted in precisely the same hues, suggesting that they all derive from the same environment. This posed and contrived display cannot depict an eye-witness observation, although Weiditz may have seen live parrots at the Spanish court. Brightly plumed parrots were among the animal specimens Cortés gifted to the emperor’s menagerie.  

Parrots circulated in Germany too. The Nuremberg merchant Michael Behaim (1510-69) appealed to his brother in Lisbon to obtain one for him, declaring ‘I don’t care whether it can talk or not’. In the correspondence between Konrad Peutinger and Sebastian Brant (1457-1521), the ownership of a parrot allowed the former to boastfully remark ‘I want you at some point to see my parrots (Papageios) speaking like humans’. The prestige of the parrot and the European sentiment exhibited by Wunderkammern that to own nature was to elevate one’s position in the world, may explain the correlation between the chiefly figure and his possession of the parrot.

The feather continued its ascendancy as the dominating symbol of the New World and exoticism more broadly. At some point after the sixteenth century, a new hand tampered with the Trachtenbuch’s illustrations and used a transparent watercolour

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167 Ibid., 94.
170 Konrad Peutinger, translated and cited in Ibid.
to paint long, red and blue feathers to the Indian figures’ breechcloths. 171 The owner of this new hand decided that the figures needed to don feather skirts to be truly Indian, a conclusion buoyed by early and enduring ‘Tupinambization’. 172 This alteration demonstrates that time and the transmission of recycled visual imagery enabled the circulation of increasingly stunted first-hand knowledge, and solidified the feather skirt as the garment that had come to epitomise exotic costume. Tailoring the illustrations to include the skirt only extended the doctoring of imagery that Weiditz himself had practiced when preparing his Trachtenbuch. The artist was unlikely to have observed Mexican visitors in Spain wearing cheek jewels, or feather collars, or anklets – fashions conjured from circulating pictorial tropes derived from Tupi culture. If he witnessed feather tilmatli, the feathers would probably have been tightly woven into a two-dimensional surface, and not wavy and voluminous, although this style might have been inspired by observed Tupi feather cloaks. His animated portrayal of Mexican entertainment suggests he did witness cultural demonstrations first-hand. However, these were not neutral displays, but artificially put together by and for Habsburg courtiers who cared little for accuracy, perhaps resulting in garments and accessories to have been erroneously worn by models drawn from the Aztec, Tlaxcalan, or other Nahua ethnic groups known to have travelled in Cortés’s party.

Weiditz’s New World illustrations satisfied the notion of what constituted Indian character as it was constructed in Europe through circulating visual stereotypes, assorted and sundry apparel and artefacts, and the intervention of courtly practices where demonstration and ceremonial performance was a valuable means of asserting mastery over new, global knowledge and capital. They nonetheless capture with dynamism the meeting of ‘the desires and trajectories of Weiditz and the Aztecs’ at Charles V’s court, where, notes Hill Boone, ‘both parties hoped for royal privilege and enhanced influence upon their journey home’. 173 Important historical sources, they elucidate practices and

171 This interference probably did not occur in the sixteenth-century because not one of the copies after Weiditz’s designs to appear in later sixteenth-century costume manuscripts reproduce these feathers.
172 This new owner was evidently concerned with modesty too. With a brown, watery pigment, the groin region of the log-juggling performers and the décolletage of many of the female figures in the Trachtenbuch have been painted over.
processes of dealing with new cultural knowledge in the Habsburg Empire, and show that constructing autoptic, credible pictorial accounts of such knowledge called not merely for eye-witness observation, but also for engagement with familiar and accepted knowledge.
The album commissioned by Christoph von Sternsee provides another intriguing example of the impact of Habsburg court culture upon the circulation and reception of cultural knowledge about New World peoples. It contains eight figures described as from India and ‘newly-found’ India. The first set depicts a couple and a small child bedecked in the feather cloaks, skirts and leg-bands popularised by the earliest woodcuts of Tupinambá (fig. 192). Described as from India more generally, their feathered appearance is shown as the representative look of these new and multifarious lands. However, over the page, the album shows figures from ‘newly-found’ India (figs. 193-94). In contrast to the other three Indians, their impressively specific costume marks these figures out as Mexican inhabitants of New Spain.

Figure 192: ‘Indian family group’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 61.

174 “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 17v-18r. ‘IN DEN NEY GEFUNDEN INDIA’.
Figure 193: ‘Men from “Newly-found India” from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 17v.

Figure 194: ‘Women from “Newly-found India” from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 18r.
As these descriptive terms suggest, it was a challenge to digest and respond to ethnic and cultural difference among the vast and various territories being discovered in the Americas and reported about across Europe. The following will concentrate on how Sternsee and his Brussels-based artist, perhaps from the workshop of Jan Vermeyen, obtained cultural knowledge and visual information to prepare these images. A web of sources connected by the networks of empire ensured that Sternsee’s album could incorporate these ‘newly-found’ peoples into the imperial vision of a global community built upon, Rubiés argues, ‘the moral and religious unity of mankind by means of travel, trade, and colonization’.¹⁷⁵

Although Sternsee’s album sourced some of its imagery from Weiditz’s earlier compositions, its New World costume figures are entirely novel and, in the case of the Mexican figures, incredibly sophisticated. This is surprising firstly because Weiditz’s corpus of New World Indians was popularly recycled by other costume books due to its exciting subject matter. These later imitations, decontextualized from Weiditz’s courtly encounter, loosely wielded his imagery. For example, in two anonymous southern German costume albums from the second half of the sixteenth century, Weiditz’s ball-

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¹⁷⁵ Rubiés, “The Discovery of New Worlds and Sixteenth-Century Philosophy,” 58.
players and jugglers have come to be identified as Moors (figs. 195-96). In two other costume books from the collections of the Bavarian State library, the ball-players are rendered with fair skin, despite the mantle-wearing nobles on surrounding pages having darker brown skin.\footnote{“Kostüme der Männer und Frauen in Augsburg und Nürnberg, Deutschland, Europa, Orient und Afrika”, fols. 183v-184r. Augsburg, 4th quarter 16th C. BSB Cod. Icon 341, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; “Römer MS”, fols. 8r-9v.}

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In an etched costume book produced in Augsburg in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Weiditz’s \textit{tilmatli} are portrayed with narrow, dagger-shaped feathers that draw attention to each individual plume, underscoring the mantle’s material even more dramatically than the original (fig. 197). In an uncoloured version of this work, the line-drawing for the mantle lacks the dagger-shaped individual feathers; however, it is outlined in curling strokes that suggest the soft, downy surface of Mexican feather-work (fig. 198).

Unlike these costume works, Sternsee’s album introduces entirely new and remarkably ethnographic Mexican costume imagery. However, its three figures from ‘India’ are once again accustomed to the archetype conjured from Vespucci’s description of Brazilian Tupinambá and Froschauer’s accompanying illustrated pamphlet (fig. 167). The woodcut might not have provided the direct source however. The long cloaks the couple wear are very different from the shorter, spikier capes of the woodcut. Sternsee’s artist carefully painted the cloaks’ individual feathers while the inclusion of a parrot stresses their materiality. It is possible that knowledge of Tupi mantles contributed to this image. They bear a far greater resemblance to an extant Tupinambá mantle in the Musée de Quai Branly (fig. 169) than to the feather capes and
collars of the earlier German woodcut. The mantles appear similar in length and correspondingly show feathers configured into horizontal rows pointing downwards. The album’s description that these people ‘stick jewels in their faces’ is undoubtedly derived from Vespucci. Although they lack the monumental headdresses worn in the Froschauer woodcut, the depicted couple similarly hold onto a small, feather-skirted child and appear with jewels painted as colourful dots protruding from the face. The woodcut frames its subjects as belonging to the king of Portugal. Before Charles V’s reign, Augsburg’s involvement with Portuguese navigations and trading activities was, as examined earlier, a source of pride for humanists like Konrad Peutinger. The costume album’s possessive note claiming these people for the Habsburg emperor recontextualises the figures in the 1540s, demonstrating the fluidity of imagery in the support of ideological ambitions and global hegemony.

177 Froschauer’s text was taken directly from Amerigo Vespucci’s *Mundus Novus* (1502).
The five costume figures belonging to ‘newly-found’ India wear patterned, tailored clothing in stark contrast to the ambiguous feathered garments of the ‘Tupinambized’ figures preceding them. The source of the images’ remarkable cultural knowledge cannot be decisively pinned to a moment of cross-cultural encounter like Weiditz’s series. Sternsee’s diary does not allude to such a meeting for one. In fact, he does not speak of the Americas or its subjects at all. This is somewhat surprising; however, Sternsee’s narrative largely revolves around the political power struggles and battles he was immediately involved with or witnessed personally, which in his case were firmly rooted on European soil with the exception of the campaign in Tunis. As someone so well-travelled who spent his career hopping from one Habsburg court to another vis-à-vis cities and towns in imperial territories, he was surely exposed to circulating news and goods coming from the New World. Although not at the centre of colonial sea-faring expeditions, the important imperial court of Brussels participated in the exchange of cultural items from across the Atlantic, and it was here in 1520, that Albrecht Dürer stood spellbound in front of Aztec treasures originally exhibited in Seville and Valladolid.178 It is most likely in this city, that Sternsee’s artist was able to compile the pictorial information needed to produce these costume figures.

Comparing the costume figures with examples from the vibrant pictorial culture that existed in Central American cultures prior to and during Spanish colonisation, it is evident that much attention has been paid to the specificities of Mexican garments. Before the arrival of the Spanish, codex-making was a common cultural practice. Screen-folded codices were made with long strips of bark-paper or animal skin and contained brightly painted imagery, both figural and symbolic.179 Following contact with the Spanish, codices were produced as manuscript books. They often contain both Nahuatl script and Spanish translations, and grouped together replicas of multiple

178 Massing, “Early European Images of America,” 515.
indigenous works. These composite, colonial projects bear witness to the involvement of the Spanish over the continued production of codices. Their purpose was, argues Eloise Quiñones Keber, to ‘render pictorial compendia of the beliefs, practices, and history of the “New World” for a curious European audience’. As such, most of these productions were sent off-shore, as contemporary correspondences and the dominance of present-day holdings in Europe reveal. Meanwhile, the disappearance of most pre-conquest codices in Central America suggests these ‘pagan’ books were systematically destroyed. Although the content of these books must have been considered by missionaries and colonisers to be a danger to the native population, removed from this context, they became curiosities and collectors’ items.

Surviving post-contact codices continued to be produced by native scribes and artists, but under the supervision of Spanish masters. The *Codex Mendoza*, for example, is thought to have been commissioned by Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of New Spain (1535-50) at the behest of Charles V. Mendoza is recorded to have been organising a ‘relation of the things of this land’ in 1541, and to have paid a visit to the house of a native maestro de los pintores. Supervised by Spanish friars, experienced native artisans were called upon to record pre-conquest Aztec life. Some of the content was copied from pre-existing native codices and some was devised afresh. The authors of *The Essential Codex Mendoza* state that the pictorial style mostly followed ‘indigenous artistic canons’, however occasional attempts at perspective, and the fact that it was made on European paper, demonstrate the influence of European visual styles and techniques. The portrayal of costume may be considered authentic, and serves as a good example from which to compare Sternsee’s album’s figures.

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180 Ibid., 231.
181 Ibid.
182 Ibid.
184 Translated and cited in Peter Mason, *The Lives of Images*, Picturing History (London: Reaktion, 2001), 102. The codex is now held by the Bodleian Library in Oxford and is a 71-folio work that consists of three parts: Aztec Rulers, Tribute lists and Customs of Mexica-Aztec people.
185 Berdan and Anawalt, *The Essential Codex Mendoza*, xii.
186 Ibid.
The album’s three male figures wear white and patterned *tilmatli* made of fine cloth and knotted at the shoulder. These conform precisely with the style of mantles depicted in the *Codex Mendoza*, which also portrays the principal female articles that appear in Sternsee’s album: the blouse (*huipil*) and skirt (*cuéitl*) (fig. 199). Portrayed in

Figure 199: ‘Teenage boys receive training in the military or priesthood; teenage girl gets married’ from the Codex Mendoza.
both is the small, rectangular decorative panel sitting below the *huipil*’s V-shaped neckline. An extant *huipil* dated to around 1700 held by the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico demonstrates this same feature (fig. 200), which Anawalt suggests served to strengthen the ‘V’ slit and prevent tearing.\textsuperscript{187} Hairstyles are also comparable. Male figures in the codex and the album sport a short, square haircut ending at the jaw-line. Following the codex’s depiction of the punishment and chores of children, girls wore their hair long while married women had theirs tied up in a bun at the neck, with two horn-like tufts protruding from either side of the crown (fig. 201). This style may have been misinterpreted in Sternsee’s album, which instead depicts two tufts of hair emerging from a knot in the centre of the head. Although the Codex Mendoza ended up in Europe, its path was not as it was anticipated. Upon its voyage to the Spanish court, the codex’s vessel was attacked by French privateers and, as part of the spoils, it was transported to the court of Henri II of France.\textsuperscript{188} Although this particular codex would not have been seen by Sternsee’s artist, other similar works may have been commissioned and produced to send to the Brussels court.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{huipil.jpg}
\caption{Huipil ‘La Malinche’, (cotton and feathers), c. 1700. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{187} Anawalt, *Indian Clothing Before Cortés*, 52.
\textsuperscript{188} Berdan and Anawalt, *The Essential Codex Mendoza*, xii. The codex remained in France and ended up in the hands of the king’s cosmographer André Thevet whose name appears five times in the work, where it is dated twice to 1553.
Whatever manner Sternsee’s artist found their source material, it is clear through further analysis with surviving codices that the cultural knowledge it presents has been preserved without much distortion. Post-conquest codices became more influenced by European painting traditions as the decades progressed, and a three-dimensional, naturalistic style slowly displaced the flattened, stylised manner of pre-Hispanic pictorials. Sahagún’s *Florentine Codex*, a project that preoccupied the friar during his time in Mexico between 1545 and 1590, richly illustrates native dress.189 The twelve books of the Codex provide, argues Ellen T. Baird, ‘visual testimony to the pre-Hispanic Mexican past, the post-conquest Spanish presence, and the reciprocal interaction between Sahagún and his Indian collaborators’.190 Indeed, Sahagún accumulated Nahuatl texts and pictorial sources from elite informants which he then passed on to native students who reworked it into his manuscripts.191 Sahagún tutored the sons of indigenous nobility who attended the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco, an educational institute founded in 1536 by the Franciscans.192 The European humanist education given to the students is demonstrated in the *Florentine Codex*’s mixture of

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Nahuatl and Spanish text, and its engagement with both pre-Hispanic and European artistic traditions.¹⁹³

Key features of dress seen in Sternsee’s album dominate the Florentine Codex’s illustrations such as the white leather sandals with crimson ties worn by the album’s male figures (fig. 202). Beautifully-patterned *huipil* and *cuēitl* demonstrate the accuracy of the geometric motifs and colourful stripes seen in the costume album’s female dress (fig. 203). Fray Diego Durán (1537-88), Dominican friar and author of *The History of the Indies of New Spain* (c. 1581), wrote of the lavishness of indigenous women’s skirts and blouses, which were ‘enriched with wide borders embroidered in different colours, and designs and feather work on the front’.¹⁹⁴ These were constructed with assorted designs and materials. In the Florentine Codex for example, Sahagún describes *huipil* with ‘yellow parrot-feather decoration’, ‘large embroidered figures at the throat with reeds’, ‘coyote fur’, ‘duck feathers’, ‘dyed rabbit fur’, ‘overspread with dahlias’, and an ‘eagle head in a setting done with flowers’.¹⁹⁵ Durán even described embroidered imperial eagles appearing alongside flowers and feather-work.¹⁹⁶ As with the ‘Cortesian’ objects, it would seem that native construction techniques were combined with colonial imagery and ideas to produce new, hybrid forms. The costume album portrays a

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¹⁹⁵ Fray Bernadino de Sahagún, translated and cited in Ibid.
¹⁹⁶ Fray Diego Durán, translated and cited in Ibid.
comparable hybrid look in its depiction of white shirts worn beneath traditional *tilmatli*. The pre-Hispanic mode, which persevered for some time, was instead to wear the *maxtlal* breechcloth. The introduction of undergarments of a European style, assumedly for modesty, is also charted in the *Florentine Codex*. In the work’s illustration of a feather artisan for example, the traditional *tilmatli* is paired with a simple linen or cotton tunic (fig. 204).

As with the *Codex Mendoza*, the provenance and dating of the *Florentine Codex* means it could not have provided direct source material for Sternsee’s album; it was recorded to have been sent to Philip II of Spain in the late 1570s.¹⁹⁷ It is difficult to be more than speculative about what materials may have been at the disposal of Sternsee’s artist. Another couple of surviving colonial-era Mexican codices contain single-figure costume studies which resemble those of European costume books. They are remarkably similar to the Sternsee album figures, although none are an identical match. These costume figures feature in the *Codex Tudela* (Museo de América, Madrid) and the *Codex*

¹⁹⁷ Quiñones Keber, “Collecting Cultures: A Mexican Manuscript in the Vatican Library,” 232. Other less complete versions of Sahagún’s project were equally not upon European soil until long after the 1540s manuscripts would have been compiled. See Kamps, Raber, and Hallock, *Early Modern Ecocultures*, 169.
Ríos (Vatican Library, Rome), compiled alongside the cosmological and religious content that is usually seen in such codices (figs. 205-07). Because these works were colonial constructions, Keber notes that the codices relay to historians which elements of indigenous culture were harnessed with the intent to arouse interest for their European audience. These costume figures must have been included by the compiler to fulfil hunger for ethnographic information, tallying with the general popularity of the costume book in the sixteenth century.

198 The Codex Ríos (Codex Vaticanus 3738 A) could not have been a direct source for Sternsee’s album because much of its content can be confidently dated to the 1550s and 1560s. The manuscript was produced either in Mexico or in Italy after copies, and its illustrations are accompanied by Italian text. Carrasco, Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire: Myths and Prophecies in the Aztec Tradition, 29–30.

The Codex Tudela (c. 1530-54) is attributed to Fray Andrés de Olmos, a Franciscan friar who arrived in Tenochtitlan in 1528. It is thought to represent a portion of the missing ethnographic history Olmos was commissioned to put together in the early 1530s. Olmos completed his project Tratado de antigüedades mexicanos somewhere between the late 1530s and early 1540s, and had several copies of the manuscript sent to Spain. All of these original manuscripts are lost today, and it is uncertain whether the costume figures of the later, surviving copy of the Codex Tudela were included in the earlier content, which was dated to the mid-late 1530s. If they were included, this visual information would have entered Habsburg court networks and might even have reached Brussels. Although its costume figures are not identical to the Sternsee album figures, they contain many of the same striking features including the depiction of a European-style undergarment worn beneath the tilmatli, distinct white sandals with crimson ties, and the striped and patterned huipil and cuēitl of female dress. The Codex Tudela and the Codex Ríos were among an enormous number of Mexican codices being

sent to and copied within Europe during the decades following Spanish conquest. Although these examples cannot be directly linked to Sternsee’s album, others now lost may have contained similar costume studies, and they, or copies after their images, may have circulated in Habsburg networks.

Sternsee’s ‘newly-found’ Indian images do not merely indicate knowledge gained and copied from visual sources. Deeper cultural knowledge about the textural but somewhat flat surface of Mexican feather-work, for instance, reveals itself in the descriptive text regarding the female huipil. ‘In newly-found India’, it explains, ‘the dresses are made with parrot feathers’. The artist does not outline observable feather shapes and the colourful patterns rather appear smooth, as is the case in Mexican pictorials. Without the album’s caption, it would be impossible to transmit to the viewer that the colourful stripes and shapes were not produced simply by colourful woven threads. The album’s artist and scribe appear to have understood the Mexican feather-work’s unique construction in which individual feathers were finely manipulated into shapes and designs (fig. 194). Because the complex materiality of huipil were not usually distinguishable in pictorial codices, this cultural knowledge reveals that Sternsee and his artist very likely sourced their information from an encounter with and handling of such a garment, perhaps in a courtly setting.

Another material cue is found in the album’s explanation that the male figures, the ‘first and richest Indians’, go about dressed in silks. The very first news reports of Tenochtitlan that reached Europe impressed on their readers the wealth and sophistication of the city and its inhabitants. Cortés’s second letter to Charles V stressed the complexity of this civilisation, describing enormous cities with stone buildings, temples, plazas, and markets filled with goods and services, finely dressed citizens, abundant food, and sophisticated agriculture. Printed pamphlets responded to and distributed this news. A news tract of eight leaves printed in Nuremberg in 1520 reported that this land’s inhabitants ‘clothe their nakedness in vari-coloured garments and cover

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202 “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 18r. ‘IN DEN NEY GEFVNDEN INDIA SEN DIE RECK MIT PAPIGEY FEDER GEMACHT.’
203 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 62.
their whole bodies with coloured cloaks’, while ‘the nobles are dressed in great silken
shirts’. In a German broadsheet of 1522 depicting the city of Tenochtitlan, Moctezuma greets Cortés wearing the fur-lined gown of a wealthy burgher in front of a
cityscape no different from any prosperous European town (fig. 208). The ‘first and
richest’ marker of distinction in the album positioned these figures in comparison to the
previous folio’s generically feathered, nearly naked Indian couple, who were instead
representative of the cannibalistic lands earlier purported by Vespucci. The reference to
silk is less clear. It was not a material that existed in Mexico before Spanish encounter,
however following its introduction, Marta V. Vicente claims that silk rapidly surpassed
cotton as the ‘luxury fabric’ of the cities of Spanish America. Silk fabrics began being
produced in Mexico City as early as 1533. The adoption of silken garments by the
native population was so prominent that Archbishop Juan de Zumárraga
(1468-1548) decried, ‘silks are so common here (in Mexico) that low-
class journeymen and servants of both sexes … go about laden with silken
capes, tunics, petticoats and mantles…’ It is probable that the
album’s mention of silk refers to the tunics worn beneath their native

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208 Juan de Zumárraga, translated and cited in Ibid.
tilmatli, garments which had become part of everyday dress in New Spain.

Cultural knowledge about the dress of New Spain’s inhabitants in the 1540s was possibly obtained through personal encounters too. Although Sternsee does not describe such an event, nor is there any pictorial evidence from Vermeyen’s oeuvre suggesting he met such people, high-ranking Nahua continued to make the journey to Spain in the decades following the famous 1528-29 party, while as many as two thousand indios were forcibly taken to Iberia over the course of the sixteenth century to live out their days as slaves or free labourers.209 Not all of Cortés’s entourage returned to New Spain in 1529. A handful of the named noblemen remained in Spain until the mid-1530s, while records about what happened to the unnamed entertainers fall flat altogether.210 The movements of visiting Nahua were not necessarily restricted to Spain either, following the example of the jugglers who visited the pope in Rome and who were accompanied by the Mexican nobleman Benito Matatlauqueny.211 Encounter with Mexican natives was therefore conceivable for those who participated in Habsburg court culture.

The Sternsee album’s ‘newly-found’ Indians constitute a sophisticated visual crafting of cultural information about Mexican inhabitants in the 1540s. These images even highlight the intervening influence of Spanish court culture upon indigenous dress habits. Knowledge about the materiality of feather-work and the bright patterns of huipil is rendered with extraordinary care. Although pin-pointing the costume album’s exact sources of information is challenging, it is clear that the artist was exposed to a court culture in which pictorial codices, collected artefacts and articles of dress, and even Indian visitors were in circulation and available for observation to those with the right connections. The images probably represent a clever amalgamation of various sources. They highlight the extent to which Sternsee’s artist was informed about and determined to acknowledge cultural difference across the Americas at a time when evidence about diverse ethnic groups across manifold new lands was steadily mounting.

211 Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 82.
CONCLUSION

The costume albums of Christoph Weiditz and Christoph von Sternsee encounter the New World with open eyes. While Hill Boone argues that Weiditz ‘could not recognize, or chose not to portray, real distinctions of indigenous ethnicity and class’ in a pursuit to ‘fabricate an exotic Indianness’, I would suggest that the *Trachtenbuch*’s approach instead marks a committed effort to document the Nahua group he witnessed at the Spanish court in 1529.\textsuperscript{212} The group were presented in a contrived manner however, which cannot be expected to have represented ethnic and cultural distinctions accurately. On top of this, Weiditz’s finished watercolours were probably produced several years after his encounter. In the meantime, popular visual tropes of the New World Indian may have skewed his memory and been drawn upon to firm up the trustworthiness of his pictures. Although full of anomalies, his images speak of the way cultural knowledge was acquired and recontextualised into a European sphere of ethnographic understanding supported by visual cues and descriptive terms. Weiditz’s comparative method for understanding cultural difference through dress was picked up on by Sternsee and his artist. Neither responding to nor commemorating a cross-cultural meeting but compiling a vision of the new global community at large, his album’s illustrations of the New World sought to report knowledge of diverse populations that could be set into a hierarchy of civility. The material and ornamental specificities of Mexican apparel, along with the way garments were worn, fascinated the album’s artist. While the New World Indian of European visual culture popularly remained a ‘Tupinambized’ character, this album instead took notice of real and available cultural knowledge about impressive civilisations in the Mexican region.

\textsuperscript{212} Hill Boone, “Seeking Indianness,” 56.
Christoph von Sternsee identified himself as a German soldier. Like other contemporaries, he referred to his kinsmen as part of the ‘German Nation’, a descriptor that originated in the writings of late medieval humanists. It described not a singularly governed, bordered land. Rather, within the sprawl of independent principalities and free imperial cities, the ‘German Nation’ imagined a population united across an indeterminate geography who shared an ethnic identity grounded in a mutually-intelligible language, a shared legal system, and a common culture amongst other things. Charles V’s empire brought together many so-called nations, ‘self-conscious ethno-political communities’ that since the Middle Ages had been variably termed nationes or gentes. This chapter undertakes a comparative study of the costume figures in Christoph Weiditz’s and Christoph von Sternsee’s costume albums that characterise the nations and territories in Charles V’s empire. It will be divided into two parts, firstly addressing fashions in Spain and its diverse communities, followed by an investigation of the dress of populations in the Low Countries, Germany, and the Austrian Habsburg borderlands. Focusing on these subjects specifically will draw attention to the surprisingly nuanced way sartorial difference was negotiated across Habsburg imperial networks. The confrontation of kin groups allied to the imperial cause increased interest in defining each other’s appearance and manners. It had never been more important to

recognise what made someone Spanish as opposed to German for instance than during Charles V’s reign, when interaction between these national groups was more spirited than ever. Because this chapter examines how sartorial identity was formulated amid relationships of empire, I will not turn my attention to English, French, or other non-imperial costume figures. It is important not to construct a false narrative suggesting there was something different about how the albums constructed the sartorial character of ‘imperial’ subjects compared to those who were not, something which is not observable.

Neither costume album is especially systematic in the development of a Spanish, Flemish, or German sartorial character. The interest of the albums is fixed on local populations and their heterogeneous clothing customs and motley styles. Contemporary perceptions of national dress could be a lot more heavy-handed however, and in the minds of moralist critics, styles deemed associated with foreigners were ideally avoided. Baldassare Castiglione, author of the famous conduct book *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (1528), made this point when the character of Giuliano de’ Medici denounced the dress habits of his fellow Italians: ‘…some dress after the French style, others like the Spaniards and others again like the Germans; and there are also those who dress in the manner of Turks’.⁵ Contemporaries were also content to apply national or civic markers to garments. Designed to condemn the donning of foreign apparel through ridicule, Florentine Antonio Francesco Grazzini’s 1566 comedy *La Strega* conjured the following humorous image of sartorial eclecticism:

These lords of yours, they wear a German cap, a French hat; their tunics are in the Florentine style, with a Spanish collar over the top. Their breeches are from Gascony, their shoes are Roman. Their faces, mind you, are characteristic of Fiesole and their brains are Sienese...⁶

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This chapter highlights the tension between perceived national modes and the reality of dress habits across the empire which, as Castiglione suggested, gravitated towards culturally hybrid tastes.

When approaching the sixteenth century, dress historians have conventionally stressed Spain’s leading influence on European courtly fashion during this period, characterising the Spanish aesthetic as severe and dominated by dark colours and manipulated shapes. Meanwhile the spread of the popular fashion for slashed clothing is commonly attributed to the bands of Swiss and German mercenary soldiers employed by foreign armies. These characteristics are somewhat observable in the costume albums. Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch demonstrates dominant fashions of the Spanish elite that made their mark on wider European tastes. A Spanish predisposition for the colour black, as well as a general proclivity for precise, tight, and restrained garments on the bodies of courtiers surfaces in the illustrations of Sternsee’s album. By contrast, the album emphasises the love of puffed, slashed, and voluminous clothing by Germans, and the sobriety of the dress of Netherlanders, whose use of trimmings and ornamentation is markedly sparse.

In both costume albums however, these general observations on national styles are tempered somewhat by the clothing of the rural peasantry and the urban poor, ethnic minorities, and marginal territories. Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s albums do not dismiss plebeian, provincial, or peripheral styles, but strongly feature them, making room for all sections of society in their geographies of national character. The Trachtenbuch shows its fascination with the sartorial and cultural habits of the Morisco population in Granada and the various and unique trappings of Basque and Cantabrian communities living in Northern Spain. The Sternsee album follows Weiditz’s example and examines Spain’s

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Basque populaces with intense scrutiny, as well as other localised, frontier communities including Friesland in the northern Netherlands and the Hungarian and Croatian populations at the border of the Habsburg Empire who were affected by Ottoman advancement. The albums’ dedication to the dress of these communities demonstrates a genuine interest in clothing customs and the curious shapes and cuts of garments adopted from one land to the next. This chapter stresses that provincial communities were pivotal in the vision of foreign national character, something which has hitherto been overlooked in the scholarship of costume albums.

CULTURAL HYBRIDITY IN THE HABSBURG EMPIRE

Compelling work has been done recently in the field of dress history to understand the driving force behind the upsurge in the transmission of fashion forms across early modern Europe. The collaborators of the project ‘Fashioning the Early Modern: Creativity and Innovation in Europe, 1500-1800’ isolated the appeal of innovation and novelty, driven by technical expertise. New-fangled shapes were crafted with stuffing, wiring, supportive undergarments, and clever tailoring, while complex surface patterns were created with textural slashing, pleating and gathering, fanciful trims, spangles, and embroidery. Clothing that was deemed novel caught the attention of curious dressers, as a surviving letter from one of Henry VIII’s sisters alludes to. Thanking her aunt for sending her a Flemish dress pattern, which she had had made up locally, she gratefully acknowledged, ‘I have long desired to know how the attire and the dresses which are worn there (in Flanders) would become me and now that I have tried them on I am delighted with them.’

As Welch explains, decisions around what styles to adopt could have complex repercussions in courtly circles, weighted as they were in ‘political and diplomatic

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8 Welch, Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles, and Innovation in Europe, 1500-1800.
9 Ibid., 6.
overtones, indicating kinship, friendship and clientage as well as fashionability'. The sociability of dressing then, meant that the dress of stylish and important aristocratic men and women was closely watched and imitated. Welch has demonstrated for example, how the hairstyles and headwear of courtly noblewomen in the courts of Milan, Mantua, and Florence engaged with an attentive network of female interest, keen to emulate the latest styles. Isabella d’Este, the marquess of Mantua, subsequently gained a reputation as an innovator of fashions. In 1509, the Countess of Coreggio wrote to the marquess expressing her desire to adopt ‘a new type of silk headdress’ that she had seen noblewomen wearing in Milan and which she had heard was ‘a notable invention of your ladyship’. The emulation of elite trendsetters was, however, just one side of the story. The invention and diffusion of styles was connected to a much wider network of groups that supplied the materials and produced the accoutrements with which style was made, consequently involving players from across the social spectrum who inhabited both courtly and urban zones. Merchants, tailors, and haberdashers connected the fashionability of the court with innovations taking place in urban centres, enabling the latest garment styles and technical ingenuity to diffuse across Europe.

For this reason, cutting-edge fashions did not stay local for long. Connectivity between European centres of power intensified the dissemination of styles. The networks of Charles V’s empire stimulated these transfers of course, as did princely intermarriage and the political alliances forged to meet turbulent challenges wrought by religious reform and Ottoman expansion into Europe. As these influences caused fashions to change with remarkable rapidity, curiosity and concern over the ‘national’ origins of fashions grew, examined at length in the introduction to this dissertation. The appearance of one’s kinsmen was placed in contrast with allies and enemies of foreign parts. Imitating styles associated with foreign enemies was particularly troubling, as doing so was regarded to demonstrate subordination or misaligned political allegiance.

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12 Ibid., 244.
13 Translated and cited in Ibid., 250.
14 Ibid., 256.
15 Ibid., 268.
16 Ibid., 254.
Frequently lambasted by moralising humanists of the period, the infiltration of foreign fashions into local attire was a threat and a reality passionately debated. Concerned this would disrupt clear expressions of the dressed body politic, critics across Europe, argues Elizabeth Currie, ‘anticipated and fought against the loss of the immediately identifiable citizen’.17 But the idea that a national ‘look’ was predetermined and could be untainted by foreign styles was, of course, a fiction. As the cultural critic Homi Bhabha has argued, ‘the act of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given or original culture […] all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity’.18 The more clothing styles circulated, the more they transcended a supposed origin point. Although the costume book as a genre may appear to have sought fixed origin points and unambiguous cultural associations, such was the innate hybridity of sartorial forms that Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s costume albums unwittingly draw attention to intercultural exchange and the unfeasibility of truly national fashions. It is insufficient moreover, to describe the recurrence of certain silhouettes, garments, styles, and techniques across the costume albums as the result of foreign influences. Instead it is more satisfying to understand this phenomenon as the entanglement of hybrid cultural forms, fuelled by the allure of the novel and the swiftness with which styles were adopted and discarded.

Within Charles V’s Habsburg Empire, courtiers and soldiers flooded into foreign host cities introducing novel and innovative modes that piqued local tastes. In the Netherlands, most of Charles’s Spanish representatives resided in Brussels and mingled with the local Catholic aristocracy who also participated in governance and life at court. It is estimated that at its peak, the Spanish court at Brussels maintained the salaries and sumptuous lifestyles of around 500 courtiers, who had arrived, no doubt, with lavish wardrobes.19 There were ample opportunities for local Flemings to become familiarized

with the clothing of the Spanish, especially because in addition to courtly spaces – which were served by native staff – the city was teeming with Spanish military officers stationed in various rented quarters. Elsewhere when Charles accepted his Spanish crown in 1517, he arrived in the peninsula equipped with advisors and officials from the Low Countries. To the notorious dismay of the cortes in the various kingdoms of Spain, these foreigners proceeded to be assigned lucrative positions within a court modelled after the Burgundian tradition. Charles’s multifarious populations were no longer the sole masters of their own affairs. Like politics, cultural forms and dress styles were susceptible to change in this heated environment, as the appeal for that which was innovative proved irresistible.

Habsburg cultural arbiters like Mencía de Mendoza were crucial to this hybridization process. She is among a group of Spanish aristocratic ladies who have been identified by Bianca du Mortier to have popularised Spanish fashions in the 1530s and 1540s through their influential marriages and the persuasion of their social standing and public persona. Of comparable importance was Eleanora de Toledo (1522-62), the daughter of the Spanish nobleman Don Pedro Álvarez de Toledo. Her father was elevated to Viceroy of Naples by Charles V in 1532 and ruled the southern Italian peninsula with an iron fist. With his daughter’s marriage to Cosimo de’ Medici in 1539, the elegance of the Spanish sartorial example was impressed upon Florentine society as it had been in the south and the north, where Milan remained a bastion of Spanish Habsburg power. Her marriage had been authored by the emperor, whose stake in the union was based upon the need to safeguard Florentine loyalty vis-à-vis an alliance between the relatively new and precarious Medici dukedom and Spanish aristocracy.

20 Ibid.
21 Blockmans, Emperor Charles V, 47–48, 127.
How Eleonora dressed was of immediate interest to commentators in Tuscany including the Florentine ambassador to Charles V’s court, eager to report on the venture; meanwhile, the duke’s steward Pierfrancesco Riccio was astonished that for her first public appearance in Pisa, Eleonora wore a sumptuous black satin gown garnished with gold embroidery, exuding the finest Spanish Renaissance taste. The maintenance of image and apparel were, as Roberta Orsi Landini and Bruna Niccoli argue, a political duty. As Eleonora kept abreast of the latest Spanish and Florentine fashions as well as those from other European cities, she developed a hybrid look that brought about change in the dress of locals. Her wardrobe comprised dozens of zimarra, a Spanish-derived over-garment previously unknown in Florence. Locally described as a ‘Spanish vest’, Eleonora had brought several with her in 1539 and actively pursued their advancement in the city by placing regular orders for this garment from her Florentine tailor Master Agostino. She nevertheless wore articles of dress cut and shaped by Agostino according to local tastes, the latter who interpreted her orders with tailoring styles familiar to him. By resisting outright conformity to Spanish garments and adopting local styles with equal measure, Eleonora avoided stirring memories of the Habsburg siege of Florence of 1529-30 and yet dressed so as to recognise ‘the dawn of a new political climate in Florence’. Mencia de Mendoza’s wardrobe is less well documented. Although extensive inventories of the various palaces and castles she maintained illuminate her vast collection of paintings, murals, tapestries, and other rich furnishings, no inventories of her wardrobe are known to have survived.

collections is anything to go by however, it is very likely that she mixed Spanish fashions with adopted Netherlandish modes after she moved to the Low Countries with her husband in 1530. Her German husband’s holdings in Brabant had elevated Henry of Nassau into the Flemish aristocracy and Mencía soon became an enthusiastic patron of Netherlandish art. She was, argues Noelia García Pérez, a ‘cultural ambassador’ whose international prominence had important repercussions on her mediation between Spanish and Flemish culture.\(^{32}\) Spanish taste dictated some aspects of the decorative programme she employed in the Nassau palace at Breda. She installed, for instance, majolica tiles, and gilded and polychromed leather hangings called Ghadames or Guadamecis, originally a Berber method of leatherwork popular in Andalusia.\(^{33}\) After Henry’s death Mencía returned to Spain in 1539 and remarried Fernando de Aragón, Duke of Calabria and Viceroy of Valencia. Mencía brought her enthusiasm for art, culture, literature, and music to her new residence at the Royal Palace of Valencia, wasting no time installing Flemish tapestries and paintings and purchasing new pieces with the assistance of intermediaries based in the Low Countries, including her close ally, the humanist Juan Luis Vives.\(^{34}\) She was, argues García Pérez, ‘another cog in the wheel of aristocratic diplomacy that Charles V constructed throughout his wide territories, thus ensuring their control’.\(^{35}\) Participating in the cultural customs and tastes of their host countries, imperial ambassadors like Mencía de Mendoza, Henry of Nassau, Eleanora de Toledo and countless others are examples that Habsburg networks constructed a cosmopolitan aristocratic community that was receptive of foreign artisanal techniques, luxury goods, and clothing styles.\(^{36}\) Being internationally-minded had its rewards, and personalities like these are paragons of the wealth and standing that imperial favour could achieve.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., 95.  
\(^{34}\) García Pérez, “Mencía de Mendoza: An Art Collector in Sixteenth-century Spain,” 646.  
\(^{35}\) Ibid., 645.  
\(^{36}\) Ibid.
Alongside the dress of elite courtiers and wealthy patricians, the costume albums present sartorial tastes that emerge from the margins of empire. Their taste for regional particularism must be examined by reference to a dated scholarly argument that posits the relationship between ‘national’ modes and immobile communities, and ‘international’ modes and progressive, outwardly-engaged societies. The dress historians Max von Boehn (1860-1932) and James Laver (1899-1975) considered national costume to have declined in sixteenth-century Europe. The emergence of costume books was evidence, argued Von Boehn, of the lively interest in how other nations dressed.37 According to Laver, this was encouraged by the period’s fresh emphasis on personal taste and idiosyncrasy, and aided by ‘increased means of communication’.38 Consequently the adoption of foreign fashions soon followed, as curious dressers sought ‘satisfaction in imitating the pleasing or striking features of strange wear’.39 This practice of imitation in turn led to the loss of national distinctions in dress, making way for what Von Boehn describes as ‘international modes’.40 Laver described it as a pan-European costume, reserved for ‘the majority of civilised men and women’.41 Shifts in fashions are best analysed as the result of temporal change Laver stressed, because regional change in costume was no longer relevant except among the peasantry.42 For Von Boehn, national costume clung on where cultured, international modes were resisted. National costume, by his definition, was made up of traditional styles and old-fashioned garments, and was less susceptible to change than the fashions of high society.43

This argument is problematic. If anything, sixteenth-century contemporaries invented, fortified, and advocated the notion that clothing styles could be national.

37 Von Boehn, Modes and Manners, 1:110.
39 Von Boehn, Modes and Manners, 1:110.
40 Ibid.
41 Laver, Early Tudor, 1485-1558, 5.
42 Ibid., 6.
43 Von Boehn, Modes and Manners, 1:110–13.
Commentators throughout the century continued to lament their countrymen’s adoption of foreign garments, while the costume book as a genre reached its zenith with Cesare Vecellio’s publication of 1590, proving that there remained an acute sensitivity to both subtle and pronounced differences of ‘national’ dress. Moreover, it is not sensible to suggest that time made little impact upon national styles that were preserved, as Von Boehn and Laver suggest, by the rural poor. These communities were not immune to time, nor were they indifferent to tempting fashions. Von Boehn’s and Laver’s claims exemplify an outdated style of ‘costume’ history that was above all interested in charting change in fashionable styles across time and place. This approach to dress history normally paid little attention to the lower classes of society, convinced, as these historians were, that only the ‘civilised’ elite and bourgeoisie participated in fashionable dressing. But a new breed of dress historians have shown that dress displays ‘were about much more than elite men wanting recognition’.\(^\text{44}\) In *Dressing Up*, Ulinka Rublack calls out the French historian Fernand Braudel (1902-85) for suggesting that rural dress was ‘virtually immobile for centuries’ and that only aristocratic dress was subject to the vagaries of fashion.\(^\text{45}\) Fashionable change occurred ‘even outside courts’ Rublack stresses, who notes that people from across the social spectrum proved to be ‘ingenious rather than inert in displaying themselves’.\(^\text{46}\)

Although not without its flaws, Von Boehn’s and Laver’s argument does highlight that the clothing styles of rural and marginal populations might act as potent markers of national sartorial character because they were more idiosyncratic, perhaps, than widely disseminated courtly fashions. While fashions that spread among Europe’s courtly elite remained associated with their place of origin and often maintained a national connotation, styles that barely diffused from their place of origin were arguably just as important bearers of national distinction precisely because they had not become prevalent elsewhere. The costume albums recognise that regional particularism distinguished national character as much as the fashion trends of the centralized

\(^\text{44}\) Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 260.

\(^\text{45}\) Fernand Braudel cited in Ibid., 262.

\(^\text{46}\) Ibid., 263–64.
aristocracy. However, the clothes and accessories of outlying communities were neither stagnant nor resistant to change. Their clothing was often dynamic and sparked palpable interest in the artists of the costume albums.

Their illustrations show that it is often small-scale items like headdresses, footwear, and detachable garnishes like jewellery and trimmings that are the most idiosyncratic in appearance. However, courtly figures are as much marked out in their clothing by these small-scale accessories existing ‘on the margins of the body’ as rural and ethnic minority characters. Welch has put this idiosyncrasy down to these items’ versatility when compared to larger garments that consumed greater amounts of costly textiles. Moreover, she argues, accessories protecting the head, hands, and feet were more susceptible to wear and tear. Replaced more often, they motivated specialist industries and frequent creative exchanges between clients and craftsmen. As the example of Isabella d’Este’s ‘invented’ silk headdress shows, innovation often flourished at the hands of dressers, and a great deal of ingenuity must also be ascribed to home-made goods and cottage industries.

A valuable framework through which to approach innovation and taste from the margins is to outline the importance of peripheral communities within larger frames of nation and empire. Henry Kamen has investigated this idea, opposing a traditional narrative regarding Charles V’s reign that emphasises how international politics undermined local oligarchies:

Historians agree that bit by bit all over western Europe the urban elites were being forced to recognise that their future lay with larger entities; in the process they began to identify with those entities, rather than with their local roots. The same situation occurred, as we know, with the nobility, who began to drift away from their local origins, and sought their fortunes in the national state.

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48 Ibid., 243.
49 Ibid.
By contrast Kamen proposes the endurance of the local community, advancing its ‘serious contribution … to the creation of the larger world that we often associate with the centralised state’.\textsuperscript{51} Power structures were certainly being modified, but in spite of the disintegration of unmitigated political autonomy, the intense localism of community belonging persisted and even infiltrated the upper levels of state hierarchy.\textsuperscript{52} As Kamen explains, the loyalty of the average person was first and foremost to their kin and to their community, forming a challenge to centralised power.\textsuperscript{53} Regional particularism, he suggests, subsequently delayed the formation of firm national identities in the Netherlands and in Spain. It also resulted in the resistance Charles faced in 1520 during the popular revolt of the Spanish \textit{comuneros}, and the Ghent rebellion of 1540.\textsuperscript{54} The Castilians were wary of their young king’s Burgundian retainers, and both groups were deeply resentful of the emperor’s taxation for perceived foreign benefit.\textsuperscript{55}

However, like other early modern states, Charles’s empire did not actively strive to undermine local communities since its power rested upon what Sharon Kettering has described (using the example of seventeenth-century France) as a system of clientage reliant on local authority.\textsuperscript{56} Wealthy families in the provinces participated in the mechanisms of centralised power and contributed to its growth and success. Kamen suggests that although autonomous local communities assisted the formation of the nation ‘by accepting its part in a system of linkages that operated upwards’, they nonetheless preserved a local identity:

Europeans were capable of advancing towards nationhood while still preserving all the characteristics of firm local allegiance. Most Europeans continued to identify themselves with the town or community into which they were born. Thereafter any sense of “belonging” came into existence through a series of linkages that operated upwards, through allegiance to lords and to institutions. Nations in this way created themselves

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 65.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 63.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{55} te Brake, “Charles V and His Contentious Subjects,” 144.
not by pursuing goals that might allegedly serve to unify them … but by accepting a series of disparate yet shared linkages.\textsuperscript{37}

The maintenance of local, communal identities did not impede national or international affinities it must be noted. Even the rural poor were integrated to some extent through their local gentry, who went between central government and their countryside estates raising taxes and troops.\textsuperscript{58} Wider spheres of belonging were also affirmed, among other things, through trade and the economy, which linked communities through the marketplace. Consequently, the populaces of autonomous communities were often alert to a shared sense of the nation, whether those bonds were formed by politics, religion, language, geography, or culture.

Kamen’s interpretation offers a framework for understanding why peripheral, provincial populaces play such a compelling role in the costume albums. It was accepted that the nation (and the governing state) was contingent upon smaller communities each with their own concerns and characteristics, but which were integral to the support of centralised power. These centres of power could not presuppose cultural hegemony moreover, as ‘national’ styles were as likely to flourish in peripheral populaces where courtly shapes and cuts were less likely to take a firm hold. It is important to note however, that Kamen’s analysis does not address ethnic or religious minorities, or those members of society who were disenfranchised or destitute. But as well as villagers, peasants, servants, and slaves, Weiditz’s \textit{Trachtenbuch} embraces the oppressed Morisco community and their clothing customs, exhibiting their dress as an essential aspect of the Spanish visual landscape. As Javier Irigoyen-García has recently identified in his impressive 2017 study \textit{Moors dressed as Moors}, ‘Iberian Moorish clothing’ was a truly national style embraced by Christian Spaniards throughout the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{59} Both costume albums demonstrate the marked taste for Moorish-derived garments and cultural forms maintained in Christian Spain after the final defeat of Al-Andalus by Isabel of Castile’s forces in 1492. As Barbara Fuchs’s seminal work on Christian Spain’s

\textsuperscript{37} Kamen, “Expanding Worlds: The Gains and Losses for Local Communities,” 66.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{59} Irigoyen-García, \textit{Moors Dressed as Moors}, 8.
‘Maurophilia’ has demonstrated, the endemic and ‘habitual recourse to what were originally Andalusi forms’ was part of a sustained and complex cultural hybridization that the following section seeks to untangle.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{60} Fuchs, \textit{Exotic Nation}, 67, 70.
4.i. Dress in Spain

THE SPANISH AESTHETIC

At the time of Weiditz’s travels, the severe and restrained Spanish aesthetic traditionally discussed at length by dress historians was only beginning to emerge. Carmen Bernis summarises this era of Spanish dress as especially receptive to foreign styles, particularly Flemish and German, which ‘reached its apogee between 1520 and 1535 approximately’, propagated by the court of Charles V.⁶¹ Combined with local clothing customs, the result was a national look that was ‘joyful, daring, light-hearted, [and] of splendid colour’.⁶² It was, affirms Bernis’s former student Amalia Descalzo, a period when Spanish clothing was characterised by rich colours, variety, and personal expression, emphasising ‘the individuality implicit in both Renaissance dress and humanist ideals’.⁶³ However, after 1535 or thereabouts, they argue that fashions in Spain took a turn towards the rigidity, solemnity, and fitted-ness that characterised modes popularised in the reign of Philip II, losing some of the liberty and diversity that had featured in Charles’s earlier rule.⁶⁴

The Trachtenbuch shows off the rich, playful, and unrestrained forms of dress identified by Bernis and Descalzo to have been predominant in the 1520s and 1530s. The urban elite embraced capacious garments that used unreserved amounts of vibrant textiles. It was fashionable for clothing and especially sleeves to be puffed, shaped, slashed, and truncated, often giving visibility to linings (figs. 209-10). These innovations originated in the German lands, perhaps intimated by Weiditz’s illustrations of ‘the manner of the noble German clothing some years ago’ in which a couple model paneled, puffed, pinked, and slashed garments through which swollen shirts and linings are

⁶¹ Bernis, Indumentaria española, 23–25, 32.
⁶² Ibid., 32.
⁶⁴ Bernis, Indumentaria española, 32; Descalzo, “Spanish Male Costume in the Habsburg Period,” 17.
exposed (fig. 211). The male of the pair wears an outfit closely resembling the outlandish garb of *Landsknecht* soldiers of around a decade earlier, such as the soldier

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Because this couple are the only German characters aside from Weiditz and Helmschmid gracing the pages of the *Trachtenbuch*, their presence perhaps serves a comparative function. If Weiditz had, by contrast, wished to scrutinise German sartorial habit with the same intensity as his foreign subjects, he would have amassed more examples including contemporary figures. Instead this couple’s ‘noble’ dress demonstrates modes that in the intervening years had arrived in Spain, exposing the role Germans had played as trend-setters within the imperial community.

Spain’s exposure to German military styles predated Charles’s reign. Philip the Handsome (r. 1482-1506), Charles’s father and the first Habsburg ruler of Castile, toured Spain accompanied by 3000 German soldiers – pikemen and harquebusiers – all of whom were reported to have been clothed in yellow livery.  

When Charles made his first tour of Spain in 1517, his chronicler Laurent Vital recounts that the young king was attended by an entourage of Flemish lords and 100 German cavaliers dressed as was their custom. He also records that the audience at a tourney in Valladolid were exposed not only to festival drummers dressed in the Moorish fashion, but also ten German drummers who wore particoloured yellow and white hose in the fashion of the *Landsknechte*. Charles’s habit of combining his infantries on the battlefield, spectacularly so in the Italian wars of the 1520s, popularised the innovations of German military fashion. These modes were themselves a response to craft innovations and technical fluency emerging in prosperous urban centres spurred by new consumer

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67 Ibid.
68 Laurent Vital cited in Ibid.
markets and commercial opportunities. Matthäus Schwarz’s experimental playfulness in the crafting of his outfits exemplifies this trend towards material innovation. In 1523 for example, he ordered a fustian doublet complete with 4800 delicate slashes through which a white velvet lining was visible. In his own Book of Clothes, Schwarz’s son Veit Konrad pointed to his collaboration with specialist makers across Augsburg, with whom he ‘invented’ many ‘cuts of hose, doublet[s], shoes, and bonnets’.

Civilian dress in Spain appears to have embraced this trend for personal expression and audacious design, eagerly playing with form and texture through the patterning of slashes. Sleeves were ample and formed into novel shapes that involved tiered puffs, descending in volume (fig. 213), and those which were shaped into complicated patterns held together by ribbons such as those worn by a stylish woman from Valencia (fig. 214). The Sternsee album records the gradual shift towards stiff and severe garments that came to characterise the sartorial style of the Spanish elite from the 1540s. In one of the album’s most animated images, a group of men and women are

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69 Matthäus Schwarz, reproduced in Rublack and Hayward, The First Book of Fashion, 12, 111.
70 Veit Konrad Schwarz translated and reproduced in Ibid., 332.
engaged in a rousing dance (fig. 215). They raise their arms and snap their fingers in a brisk, spirited motion, not at all dissimilar to the movements of the Morisco dancers in Weiditz’s *Trachtenbuch* who ‘dance with each other, snapping their fingers at the same time’ (fig. 216). A taste for dancing the lively Moorish *zambra* had long flourished amongst Spain’s elite Christian population. It was specifically requested at the royal Castilian court in Valladolid in 1429 by the princess Eleanor of Aragon (1402-45), for example. *Zambra* continued to be commissioned by Christian authorities for civic and religious festivities in the sixteenth century, where its popularity impacted on the tastes and dance forms of both Old Christian and Morisco communities. The album’s dancers appear in courtly garb; the men wearing *cueras*, tight-fitting leather cuirasses derived from military wear, made to be worn over the doublet. This narrow garment was characterised by its long tail-skirts and the elongated vertical slashes that were cut into its dyed leather surface. As the contemporary historian of Seville Luis de Peraza observed in 1552, men of the gentility had a habit of wearing *cueras* to look more

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74 Reynolds, *In Fine Style*, 204.
ferocious and to appear like soldiers.\textsuperscript{75} Indeed these garments closely resemble the \textit{cueras} worn by Spanish soldiers in the Sternsee album and in Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen’s cartoons for the battles at Tunis (figs. 217-18).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{image1.png}
\caption{‘In this manner the Moriscos dance with each other, snapping with fingers at the same time’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 107-08.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{image2.png}
\caption{‘Spanish soldiers’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 23.}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4\textwidth]{image3.png}
\caption{Vermeyen, (detail) ‘Spanish soldiers’, cartoon from the Conquest of Tunis tapestry series.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{75} Luis de Peraza, cited in Bernis, \textit{Indumentaria española}, 86.
The women wear bell- or cone-shaped *verdugado* petticoats dyed in brilliant colours, exposed by their hitched-up skirts. The *verdugado* was a farthingale developed in Spain in the fifteenth century and came to be one of the most conspicuous fashions of female Spanish dress. It was constructed by sewing horizontal hoops, often made of reeds, into an underskirt to create a rigid, conical frame (fig. 219).\(^76\) Weiditz performed a visual study of this eye-catching undergarment, depicting an unworn *verdugado* with a wide, wheel-shaped waist within a scene of slaves drawing water in Barcelona (fig. 220). Weiditz’s study and the hitched skirts of the Sternsee album’s dancers lift the veil on the *verdugado*, demonstrating precisely the technical features of this normally concealed frame. Its conical contour allowed skirt hems a great, round width. This helped to emphasise a narrow waist formed by stiffened, quilted bodices, also a fashion associated with Spain otherwise termed a ‘Spanish body’.\(^77\) The *verdugado* encouraged tailoring techniques that enabled the fabric of overskirts to fall flat and wrinkle-free. Skirts begun to be cut with flared, wedge-shaped gores as opposed to gathered in around the waist. This resulted in a smooth and fluid hour-glass silhouette. The *verdugado* was a popularly exported courtly fashion, and by 1501 it was noted in England that the newly arrived Catherine of Aragon wore ‘beneth her wastes certayn rownde hopys beryng owte ther gownes from ther bodies aftir their countray maner’.\(^78\) In 1507 authorities in Treviso were so concerned about the vogue for this fashion that they passed a statue to prohibit

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\(^{76}\) Alceg and Nevinson, *Tailor’s Pattern Book*. 65.  
\(^{78}\) Cited in Hayward, “Spanish Princess or Queen of England?,” 19.
the wearing of ‘foreign’ dresses with hoops.\textsuperscript{79} Although it was taken up across Europe, it remained distinctly and recognisably Spanish in origin and features in the costume albums as an exclusively Spanish taste.

Figure 220: ‘In this manner they bring fresh water in Barcelona to the ships and galleys so that it may be done more rapidly when they provision the ships or otherwise need water’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 73-74.

Although the Sternsee album introduces the courtly affectations of the \textit{cuera} and the \textit{verdugado}, many examples from its Spanish series adapted models from Weiditz’s corpus, particularly the \textit{Trachtenbuch}’s depictions of rural peasants and Basque communities. Several of its Spanish figures are additionally analogous to characters featured in Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen’s visual output from his pre- and post-Tunis periods in Spain (1533-35 and 1537-39).\textsuperscript{80} The Sternsee album thus presents a picture of Spain that is slightly outmoded due to the dictates of working from older source material. As a result, the series better captures the Spain that was experienced by Vermeyen and Sternsee in the company of the imperial entourage during the 1530s. This was a version of Spain marked by the presence of its king and his foreign servants; a dynamic that was

\textsuperscript{79} Anderson, \textit{Hispanic Costume}, 209.

\textsuperscript{80} Horn, \textit{Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen}, 25–26. Horn points out that although some of Vermeyen’s later etchings feature Spanish subjects, especially several made in 1545, these must have been based on sketches made during his earlier Iberian travels because from 1540 Vermeyen appears to have remained in the Netherlands.
irrevocably altered after Charles left Castile in 1543, not to return until after his abdication in 1556.  

CAPES AND MANTLES

The costume albums thus develop a vision of Spanish taste as it was marked during the period of Charles V’s presence. From out of this vision emerges a particular proclivity for mantles and cloaks that came in a variety of styles. The ‘national wrap of the Spaniard’, according to Carl Köhler, the capa was preferred over other types of outerwear like cassocks (for example, the German Schaube) that substituted the mantle in other parts of Europe. Such was the prominence of the capa that it was the first item remarked to have been adopted by Charles not long after arriving into Spain to take up his patrimony. Considered a foreigner not only because of his language and upbringing but also in his appearance, Charles adopted hispanic styles during this period in Spain. Laurent Vital, his Flemish chronicler in these early years of his reign, recounted that he wore a costly and very rich Spanish cape draped in gold to a tournament in Valladolid.

Affection for the mantle was an enduring characteristic of Spain’s sartorial taste. Around the same time Weiditz embarked on his trip, the fashionable German traveller Hieronymus Köler left Seville for Rome, proceeding with his new ‘Spanish mantle’ accompanied by a modish black doublet and hose, and cut leather shoes. At Charles’s 1530 coronation moreover, ‘Castilian cloaks’ were reported to have been worn by at least three different Spanish noblemen.

Mantles and cloaks are ubiquitous in the Trachtenbuch’s pictures of Spaniards. Men’s cloaks tended to be worn shorter. In Castile, officers including a beadle and a

81 Tracy, Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War, 248.
82 Bernis, Indumentaria española, 21.
84 Vital cited by Bernis, Indumentaria española, 22.
85 Rublack, Dressing Up, 194.
sheriff go about on horseback wearing mid-length colorful mantles wrapped around the torso and pulled over one shoulder (figs. 221-22). This look is also exhibited by riding noblemen (fig. 223). The capa castillana or the Castilian cloak noted to have been present at Charles’s coronation was a hooded cape and a particularly Spanish contrivance.\footnote{Bernis, *Indumentaria española*, 22, 83.} Hoods could come in a variety of shapes, as the *Trachtenbuch* pays attention to.\footnote{Köhler, *A History of Costume*, 225.} They could be softly rounded, seen on the cloaks of urban dwellers (figs. 224-25). A Castilian peasant meanwhile is shown in a flamboyant ropa (surcoat) with hanging sleeves and a round hood from which extends a sequence of green tassels, while a town crier wears a hooded coat with a long and narrow, pointed tail (figs. 226-27). This style of hood is also attached to a Basque peasant with his crossbow (fig. 228).

Just as a taste for slashing and puffing developed in Spain with the visible presence of German mercenary soldiers, the hooded cape seems to have been appropriated by inventive Landsknechte to create eccentric, hybrid outfits. In a woodcut print by Hans Burgkmair the Elder dated to c. 1525-30, a Landsknecht pikeman wears a cloak with a long, capacious hood featuring jagged braiding and a cord bow (fig. 229).
Figure 224: ‘In this manner the citizens in Valencia ride with their wives in their parks’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 64.

Figure 225: ‘In this manner one conducts the noblewomen when they mourn in Catalonia’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 43.

Figure 226: ‘This is a Castilian peasant as he goes into a city to market or rides upon an ass’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 19.

Figure 227: ‘This here is a preganther or crier in Castile, who goes ahead and cries when an evildoer is punished’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 29.

Figure 228: ‘In this manner the peasants go about with their arms in Biscay’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 24.
Another curious example is found in a southern German painting in the collection of Waddeson Manor. Within a civic procession, a black mercenary soldier wearing a flamboyant puffed and slashed white outfit is dressed in a tasselled, hooded cloak trimmed with black ribbon (fig. 230). Both cloaks are embellished with ribbon trims and have an opening that extends halfway down the centre-back seam secured by ties. These design features also characterise the hooded *capa castillana* – known as a *capuz* if worn longer in length – garments worn by several rural Spanish folk in the Sternsee album (figs. 231-33). These hooded cloaks are also prevalent in the Italian engraver Enea Vico’s series of Spanish costumes figures (ca. 1557) in which no less than nine characters, by and large described as peasants and labourers from across the peninsula, wear hooded cloaks with trims, braids, and tassels (figs. 234-36), each varying in shape and ornamentation. A garment that caught the attention of Vico and Sternsee’s artist as especially representative of the Spanish sartorial character, it was, it must be stressed, not associated with *de rigueur* Spanish court society but with country
folk (peasants in Castile), ethnic minorities (Vico’s noble Moor), and regional communities (the Basques). It nevertheless was a style that through cultural exchange was embraced by German Landsknechte, whose reputation for showy dress was eagerly consumed by printmakers across Germany. The capa castillana then, was raised from being a marker of a peripheral identities to being another new-fangled fashion for modish dressers.
Mantles were also a universal article of Spanish womenswear. Women in Castile, such as the wife of a Valladolid nobleman, are shown in the *Trachtenbuch* wearing long mantles of ample fabric called *mantilla*, held in place by the distinctive brimmed *sombrero*, oftentimes decorated with colourful tassels (fig. 214, 237). Examples from Catalonia show that the *mantilla* could be worn over the shoulder and separate from the *sombrero* (fig. 238). It could also be dyed a range of colours such as pink, and could be worn as a mourning garment in an enveloping, voluminous style that draped over the forehead (figs. 239-40). This was a fashion designed for protection against the elements as well as for the protection of modesty. In almost every case it is shown by Weiditz to be worn by women venturing out and about in the escort of male companions. The Spanish *mantilla* was also depicted at length by Vermeyen. In two etchings deriving from his pre-Tunis years in Spain, women among the bypassing residents at the aqueduct in Segovia and in front of the
castle at Madrid are portrayed blanketed in long mantles that reach to their lower calves, held over their hair by large brimmed hats (fig. 241). His drawing of the bullfight staged at Ávila in July 1534 also shows two women with this mode in the crowd, and who appear to have been the direct visual model for the Sternsee album’s demonstration of this inimitable fashion (fig. 242).

Figure 238: ‘This is how the rich women in Barcelona or in the Kingdom of Catalonia look’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fols. 71-72.

Figure 239: ‘In this manner the Catalans conduct their wives across country’ fol. 52.

Figure 240: ‘Thus the women in Castile wail and also violently cry out wherefore he died, for they certainly were beautiful and rich and pious’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 27.
This most-Spanish of female garments was not without its external influences. Unravelling its development draws attention to the hybridity of sartorial forms, destabilizing the possibility for garments to be strictly of one nation or another. Bianca du Mortier has recently investigated the influence of Spanish mantilla on the development of the huik, a long black mantle adorned with a hat or beak-like protrusion that was popularly taken up in the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\(^{89}\) I will return to this point in the section addressing sartorial taste in the Low Countries. It is first relevant to note that

\(^{89}\) Du Mortier, “In Search of the Origins of the Huik.”
the Spanish *mantilla* was derived from the *haïk* (also spelled *haïk*, *hahyk*, *heik* or *haick*), a long, white cloak worn over the head and around the body that had been in use across Northern Africa for centuries before its arrival in Iberia after the Moorish conquest. Here it was introduced by its Arabic name *Al-milhafa* and became known as an *almalafa*.<sup>90</sup>

When the German physician Johannes Lange travelled to the imperial palace at Granada in 1526, he was astonished that around half the population, in his estimation, were ‘white moors’ or Moriscos.<sup>91</sup> The women, he recounted, all wore a white cloth over their head and body ‘as do our village shepherds’. <sup>92</sup> It reached to their calves, he continued, and was gathered up in the front to leave only half of their face visible. A few years later, Weiditz was also fascinated by how Morisco women drew this garment across themselves in displays of concealment and revealment. He lingers on a woman in Granada painting her three times from the front, side, and rear as she bundles her mass of gathered, white drapery under her elbows and across her mouth to reveal only her eyes (figs. 243-44). Veiling practices like these were taken up by Christian women across Europe as Susanna Burghartz has shown, and often incited the attention of suspicious legislators.<sup>93</sup> In 1513 for instance, Queen Juana of Spain passed a law targeting the wearing of *almalafas* by Christian women in Granada, who it was thought disguised their immoral conduct behind the generous veil of the fabric.<sup>94</sup> This practice of concealment was transferred to the *mantilla*, indicated by a set of decrees published in the city of Baza in 1524-25 that prohibited women from using their mantles to cover their faces.<sup>95</sup> In 1523 the humanist Juan Luis Vives and tutor of Mencía de Mendoza, wrote a guide book that recommended women’s faces to be ‘free of veils, but veiled with modesty’, enflamed as he was by women who made themselves ‘unknown and unseen’

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 66.
<sup>91</sup> Hasenclever and Lange, “Die tagbuchartigen Aufzeichnungen des pfälzischen Hofarztes Dr. Johannes Lange,” 421. ‘… das haubt und leib mit einem weyssen tuche, vast wie bey uns die dorfhirten, beclaydet…’
<sup>92</sup> Ibid.
<sup>94</sup> Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 157.
<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 71.
under their mantles. It was a custom that was to eventually result in the late sixteenth-century trope of the *tapada*, the mistrusted and seductive veiled lady who passed through the streets unidentified.

IBERIAN MOORISH CLOTHING

The *almalafa* equally drew the ire of legislators in early sixteenth-century Spain. Johannes Lange noted for instance, that the wearing of this garment was under threat of being banned and Morisco dressers were compelled to pay a fee of one ducat every Sunday to their local priest to clothe themselves freely in their traditional habits. This was part of a wider action Charles V took in 1526 to systematically prohibit all signs of Morisco cultural heritage including the use of the Arabic language, burial customs,

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97 Examined at length by Wunder and Bass, “The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World.”
98 Hasenclever and Lange, “Die tagebuchartigen Aufzeichnungen des pfälzischen Hofarztes Dr. Johannes Lange,” 421.
music, and bathhouses.\textsuperscript{99} However, the implementation of the emperor’s decree was postponed for forty years in exchange for a levy of the sort Lange identified.\textsuperscript{100} Part of the problem was the favour that the almalafa and other originally Moorish items of dress achieved from within Spain’s Christian community.\textsuperscript{101} This stemmed from long-held associations of Moorish forms and modes with luxury and social standing, as noted by several scholars.\textsuperscript{102} ‘Old Christians’, a term used to make a distinction with ‘new’ Christians, the forcibly converted Moriscos, did not simply hold on to a cultural remnant of a bygone Islamic era; but, in the midst of sustained attempts at cultural cleansing, the social value of Moorish clothing was sanctioned as part of the practice of class identity formation.\textsuperscript{103} The convention of participants dressing in Moorish apparel at juego de cañas or game of canes tournaments for instance, was not a case of trivial, exotic dress up; but harboured more complicated allusions to ceremony and social status. The sumptuousness associated with Moorish textiles and accessories, moreover, remained highly prized. Listed in the 1479 inventory of the deceased Duchess of Albuquerque, Doña Mencía Enríquez, were numerous garments of Moorish origin including a dark red almalafa of silk and gold thread, a marlota (a close-fitting tunic) of crimson satin embellished with pearls, as well as a couple of gauze head coverings – alfareme and almaizar – ornamented with crimson trimmings.\textsuperscript{104} It is interesting to note that these garments were known by and recorded with their Andalusian Arabic names. The popularity with which Christian Spanish women took up Moorish garments did not vanish in the sixteenth century, and even in 1542 the Duchess of Medinaceli’s wardrobe was recorded to have contained an almalafa morisca bordered in purple and worth three ducats.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{99} Irigoyen-García, \textit{Moors Dressed as Moors}, 106-07.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{101} Fuchs, \textit{Exotic Nation}, 62–63.
\textsuperscript{103} Irigoyen-García, \textit{Moors Dressed as Moors}, 99–100.
\textsuperscript{104} Castro, \textit{The Spaniards: An Introduction to Their History}, 258–59.
\textsuperscript{105} Bernis, \textit{Indumentaria española}, 75.
Spanish menswear preserved originally-Moorish garments through the tradition of the game of canes. These items of dress were not fetishized costume pieces, Irigoyen-García urges, but highly prized, opulent livery that imparted social distinction upon the wearer.\textsuperscript{106} Irigoyen-García has unearthed accounts that expose the energy, time, and inordinate sums that noble and aristocratic Spaniards, as well as civic authorities, spent on the textiles and tailoring fees for game of canes livery. In 1527 a game of canes was celebrated in Valladolid for which Charles V gifted his noble participants Moorish clothing branded with his royal insignia, while Philip II’s son Charles spent 1,367 \textit{ducados} to apparel twenty riders in a game of canes held in Toledo in 1559.\textsuperscript{107} The Sternsee album’s illustration of game of canes’ participants emphasises the richness of their azure and crimson silk livery, consisting of fringed \textit{marlota} tunics and \textit{capellar} mantles of patterned brocade (fig. 245). ‘Thus ride the nobility in tournaments,’ the description of the left-hand participant explains.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{106} Irigoyen-García, \textit{Moors Dressed as Moors}, 38.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., 45–46.
\textsuperscript{108} “\textit{Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album}”, fol. 7.
While a parti-coloured blue and yellow marlota is worn by a Moriscan woman in the Trachtenbuch (fig. 246), Weiditz’s male Moriscos do not wear clothing that is distinctively a la morisca, as the game of canes livery was often described. Irigoyen-García is quick to point out that Spain’s Morisco community lived in, indeed were part of, a Castilian-dominated culture and that their clothing customs were just as receptive to changing modes. Evidence abounds that Moriscos did not wear so-labelled ‘Morisco’ clothing on a daily basis, and even tended to consider such items not ‘an element of cultural identity, as traditionally argued, but an opportunity for social advancement’ in the same manner as their ‘Old Christian’ peers. Ultimately class distinctions were at stake. There is no evidence that Moriscos were included as participants in the game of canes tournaments where magnificent silk capellar and marlota could be freely donned outside of the normal prohibitions, meanwhile the actual clothing of the Morisco population was popularly characterised by satirists as miserable. As Irigoyen-García concludes:

The juxtaposition of the cultural persecution of Moriscos and the promotion of clothing a la morisca among Christian nobles looks like an ideological contradiction … [but] we overlook how “Iberian Moorish Clothing” is closely related to the sumptuary laws regulating the use of luxurious garments across social lines […] in 1567 Moriscos were not only prohibited from wearing “Morisco clothing,” but also silk. Thus Philip II did not necessarily prohibit Moriscos from wearing clothing a la morisca because it was associated with the practice of Islam, but because it was considered a sign of high social status in Iberian society. Meanwhile, Moorish clothing served Old Christians as a way of circumventing the restrictions on the use of silk imposed by sumptuary laws, which

109 Irigoyen-García, Moors Dressed as Moors, 101.
110 Ibid., 142.
111 Ibid., 157, 162–63.
often granted exemptions precisely for chivalric performances – among them, the game of canes.\textsuperscript{112}

Irigoyen-García’s important work stresses that Moorish garb was not a trivial exoticism in the sartorial landscape of sixteenth-century Spain. As chapter 3 examined, game of canes tournaments were significant displays of power in Spain. They were an aristocratic spectacle beloved by Charles V, the ‘Moorish’ garments of which were worked by ‘Old Christian’ tailors and treasured by elite wearers.\textsuperscript{113}

Iberian Moorish clothing enters the pages of the costume albums as essential garments shaping the sartorial character of the nation. In some instances, these items were no longer specifically recognised as \textit{a la morisca}, bearing witness to acculturation and the hybridity of cultural forms in Spain. Chief among these were chopines, platform clogs with thick, cork soles and prolific in the \textit{Trachtenbuch}. In sixteenth-century Spain, \textit{chapíns} were those with soles several inches high requiring at least three layers of cork. It was this elevation that made them distinctly feminine, while similar slip-on shoes with lower soles and fewer layers of cork, also worn by men, were called \textit{pantufos} or \textit{alcorques}.\textsuperscript{114} Elizabeth Semmelhack’s meticulous study of the chopine has stressed that it was an article of dress prone to cultural hybridism, a result of the fluidity of fashion.\textsuperscript{115} The cork-based platform clog in fact dates to antiquity. Brought to Spain by the Romans, the manufacture of cork-soled footwear was an industry that was incorporated by the eighth-century Moorish conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula.\textsuperscript{116} Unsurprisingly, there is evidence that wealthy Christian women wore the fashionable \textit{aqraq} – \textit{alcorques} in Castilian – in \textit{Convivencia} Spain: a pair were unearthed in the grave of Doña Teresa Petri (d. 1187) for example, the wealthy lay patron of a Cistercian monastery in León (fig. 247).\textsuperscript{117}

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 11.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 120–22.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 121.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 123.
Like other Moorish fashions, the chopine thrived in the reign of Charles V because of the splendour and luxury that was associated with Andalusi-derived garments, making them prized in the dress of the elite. According to crown legislation of 1515, chopines and silk shoes were not permitted to be worn by artisans or labourers, and appear to have been intended as a fashion for the privileged. Indeed, there was no limit to their sumptuous ornamentation. The cork soles could be covered in expensive silk textiles like brocades and velvets, while the uppers could be made of gilded and tooled kid-skin leather – a specialty of Valencia – and laced with silk or velvet ribbons and bows (figs. 248). Thus decorated, they were items of immense cost and prestige. Semmelhack points to the chopines worn by the Infanta Isabela, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella I, on her wedding day in 1490, which reportedly costed more than three-quarters of the price of a team of mules. They were treasured articles of an aristocratic trousseau, passed down through generations and adopted by young woman at the time of their betrothal. The phrase ‘to put into chopines’ (ponerse en chapins) had even

118 Fuchs, Exotic Nation, 62–63.
119 Bernis, Indumentaria española, 75.
121 Ibid., 124.
come to refer to marrying off a daughter. As Semmelhack explains, the phrase was also used to jest about social mobility and marrying up, as brides could literally elevate themselves with these shoes.\footnote{Semmelhack, “Above the Rest,” 131.} Worn in combination with long mantilla when women were outdoors, chopines offered an opportunity to glimpse the wealth of the wearer and suggest the otherwise concealed splendour of her attire.\footnote{Ibid., 130.} Vermeyen’s drawings of women enveloped in mantilla in front of Madrid castle capture just how engulfing these mantles were, allowing for just a few inches of hem and the brilliant chapíns to be on display.

In Weiditz’s illustrations, the highest chopines are also the most ornamental, with successive layers of geometric patterning (figs. 237-38). Their high-status wearers are shown supported by attendants. Although these ponderous items elevated the social status of their female wearers – both physically and metaphorically – they crucially also grounded women’s movement and comportment, demanding personal assistance and the adoption of controlled, gliding motions.\footnote{Cirnigliaro, “Touching the Ground,” 110.} A cumbersome, block-shaped pair from around 1540, measuring a height of 21 cm, is today housed in the collection of Schloss Ambras, Austria (fig. 249). The chopines’ leather surface has been carefully tooled to produce swirling arabesque designs much like those painted in the Sternsee album on the feet of elite, fashionable women wearing farthingale-supported gowns (fig. 250). Vermeyen published an etching in 1545 of a Spanish lady with her embroidery sat near a balcony (fig. 251). She has removed her ribboned chapíns, which take pride of place in the right-hand foreground. These shoes also feature arabesque designs, and highlight the lingering taste for
Andalusian style and ornamentation across the peninsula. The woman may in fact be a Morisco, as the forehead cap from which her mantle is attached seems to identify the garment as an *almalafa*. Despite her prominent, but crinkled farthingale, the woman is not a gentlewoman but most likely a courtesan, indicated by the cats at her feet – an animal motif long associated with libidinous, female sexuality – as well as the flowers, flowing curtains, and the *vihuela* in the corner, a Spanish stringed instrument resembling a small guitar or viola.

Figure 250: ‘Women in Spain upon their chopines’ from the “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 12.

Figure 251: Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen, A Spanish Courtesan on a Balcony (etching, 247 x 173 mm), 1545. Graphische Sammlungen Albertina, Vienna.

Lower and less ornamented chopines, *pantufos* and *alcorques* readily appear in the *Trachtenbuch* as items for a diverse section of society. Cork was an excellent insulating, water resistant material that, along with a bit of elevation, meant chopines were useful as protection against dirt and wastewater on the street.\(^\text{126}\) Consequently, these shoes took on the role of pattens, or protective overshoes, that could be slipped on over more delicate stockings and shoes. Weiditz, whose illustrations derived from the

\(^{126}\) Semmelhack, “Above the Rest,” 123.
perspective of outdoor observation, portrays these versatile shoes on a gentlewoman of Seville with her splendid crimson and silver damask gown (fig. 209), and on a humble spinner-woman of Galician and her Basque compatriot in the mountains of Navarre (figs. 252-53). A plain pair is worn by a peasant woman with a grain sieve while a fine, red pair with gilded ornamentation adorns a woman in mourning in Zaragoza (figs. 254-55).
It is not only these observations that begin to complicate the idea that dress articles of Moorish origin prospered in post-Convivencia Spain because they were analogous with luxury and social distinction. Certainly, many features of dress worn by Moriscos in the Trachtenbuch were humble items made of inexpensive materials. Several Morisco women are depicted wearing their distinctive zaragüelles (from the Arabic sarawil) – wide linen trousers tucked into wrinkled knee-length stockings, paired with short linen jackets (fig. 256). These items caught the attention of several curious travellers. They were classed as ‘fantastic’ by the Venetian diplomat Andrea Navagero in 1525 and ‘very strange’ by the Burgundian nobleman Antoine Lailang when he visited Granada in 1502.\(^{127}\) Lailang commented that the cloth trousers appeared like those worn by sailors, a notion repeated by Johannes Lange who described the zaragüelles as sailors’ trousers (Schiffhosen).\(^{128}\) In their cheap material and wide fit at least, they are not dissimilar to the sailor’s trousers worn by Weiditz and his comrades when they set sail from the Low Countries. A humble garment, the Spanish satirist Antonio de Torquemada praised the Moorish fashion of zaragüelles in 1553 on the basis that they

\(^{127}\) Lailang and Navagero cited by Bernis, Indumentaria española, 12.

\(^{128}\) Cited by Ibid., 72; Hasenclever and Lange, “Die tagebuchartigen Aufzeichnungen des pfälzischen Hofarztes Dr. Johannes Lange,” 421.
did not reduce estates to ruin. But like other garments of Moorish origin, they were not exclusively confined to Spain’s Morisco population and were also habitually worn by labourers and rural Christian dwellers across Iberia. Indeed, the *Trachtenbuch* demonstrates similarly wide, white breeches of varying lengths worn by labourers and slaves in the docks of Barcelona (fig. 257).

![Figure 257: ‘In this manner the slaves carry fresh water to the galleys’ from the "Trachtenbuch", fols. 53-54.](image)

Neither were Morisco individuals all confined to a miserable condition as popular literature and satire deigned to stress. Weiditz classifies one of his Morisco women as a ‘noblewoman’, her bright-coloured silk marlota appearing from underneath her almalafa, while her peer wears decorative albeit flat alcorques and an outfit made from an array of bright dye-stuffs that could only have been produced at considerable expense (figs. 244, 246). While Weiditz was eager to depict a neatly-attired Morisco couple on a leisurely ride to Granada’s ‘beautiful gardens with all kinds of unusual fruit’ (fig. 258), he was apparently just as delighted to show a woman with her zaragüelles

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129 Bernis, *Indumentaria española*, 73.
untied and drawn down at her feet, rudely exposing her naked body (fig. 259). Although oppressed, the Morisco community maintained their own social hierarchies, producing and wearing garments that upheld social cues of wealth or hardship. Fuchs recites a poem by the Castilian playwright Gabriel Lasso de la Vega (1555-1615) in which blue and silver damask marlotas are taken from captured Morisco slaves and peddled for a nice price, while their turbans are sold to a man who will rent them as costumes pieces. The slaves are rendered all but naked, apart from their rope sandals (alpargatas) and burlap zaragüelles.

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132 This image is no longer in the Nuremberg Trachtenbuch but preserved in the Waldburg-Wolfegg collection’s copy after the Trachtenbuch in Schloss Wolfegg, Upper Swabia. This exposed woman is the only costume figure included in this material which has not been preserved in any other copies after Weiditz, probably down to its risqué nature. She can be compared to other ‘vulgar’ characters he includes such as the persecuted criminals in various stages of undress and the crippled Castilian shepherd. Her action also seems to demonstrate a plausible interest in the technical construction of zaragüelles, which concords with other illustrations whereby Weiditz repositions his figures with intent to show various angles of clothing.

133 Translated and cited in Fuchs, Exotic Nation, 78–79. See Gabriel Lasso de la Vega ‘Quien compra diec y seis moros’.

134 Ibid.
Alpargatas and their closely-related cousins abarcas (rope sandals which laced up around the ankle) are styles not only worn by the Morisco men of the Trachtenbuch but also by Christians outside of Andalusia such as the Castilian peasant who ‘goes into a city to market’ (fig. 226). These sandals are prominently worn by peasants and labourers in the Sternsee album too and appear to have been associated with a meagre condition (fig. 260). Passing through Zaragoza in 1548, the Italian traveller Carbonio Besozzi was struck that the principal members of society dressed so sumptuously while the ‘miserable’ plebeian classes and villagers wore only coarse cloth and shoes made of knotted cord.\(^{135}\) However, the Nuremberg patrician Stephan Praun III (1544–91), who famously took a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in 1571, returned to Germany with a pair of his very own hemp alpargatas (fig. 261). An earlier German traveller, who had his own pair made by Spanish rope makers, described in 1533 that they were

\(^{135}\) Carbonio Bessozi, cited by Bernis, Indumentaria española, 11.
‘good for walking through tough mountains, heat and water’. Meanwhile, one of the Sternsee album farm labourers who wears a pair laced up to his knees is described as a ‘rich peasant’ (fig. 233). With his hooded cape trimmed with crimson ribbon and his turban edged with red embroidery, this farmer is anything but destitute. These rope sandals, strikingly representative of rural Spanish life to German observers travelling the countryside, may have been of humble material but they were nonetheless hardy items requiring specialist craftsmanship.

The turban (toca de camino) worn by these farming figures is also depicted as part of quotidian rural wear. It was not an exclusively male garment and reappears as part of the costume of a Spanish mother threshing corn on a device pulled by two donkeys (fig. 262). The toca de camino was adopted in Spain around the mid-fifteenth century, and became widespread among ordinary country folk, regardless of ethnicity. Acculturation had muted this headdress’s exotic connotations with the Islamic or Eastern

138 Fuchs, Exotic Nation, 63.
world that were conversely palpable to observers from outside of Iberia. When Laurent Vital wrote of a meeting between Charles and an envoy of the Marquis of Villena in 1517, he noted that he wore a ‘Saracen’ headdress of coiled linen and thus resembled ‘one of the three kings who came to adore our saviour Jesus’.\(^{139}\) Vital observed that he had witnessed many country folk in Castile wearing these turbans, but that ‘it is now largely abandoned, except for the old people’.\(^{140}\) But as Fuchs highlights, the toca was not necessarily as outmoded as Vital suggests, nor was it simply reserved for rural dwellers. Turbans remained an important accoutrement of game of canes livery, demonstrated by the Sternsee album’s ‘noble’ riders (fig. 245). It is tempting to wonder whether Sternsee drew a connection between the turbans donned by his album’s Tunisian Moors and those worn by Spaniards. Differences between the

\footnotesize{139} Vital translated and cited by Ibid. ‘… sembloit estre l’ung des trois roys qui vindrent adorer nostre sauvour Jésus…’

\footnotesize{140} Ibid.
designs of wrapped cloth are subtle but perceptible, just as they are with the turbans worn by the album’s Turks. The album does not force the comparison, and accentuates the toca as one of the distinctive garments that coalesce with others to form Spain’s unique sartorial character.

A striking example of the toca’s enduring fashionability in the era of Charles V is found in an illuminated album from New Spain, the Codex Yanhuitlán (1550s). Inside lies an intriguing portrait of Don Gonzalo de las Casas, heir to an encomienda in Mixteca, who addresses his father wearing a stylishly slashed doublet and a turban of artistically-curled cloth (fig. 263). In her dissertation of 2004, María Judith Feliciano Chaves has interpreted the so-called Mudéjar (or Moorish) aesthetic as it emerged in colonial Mexico, arguing that in this context, such items were ‘visible signifiers of Iberian-ness and common tools in the acculturating process of the local population’. De las Casa’s headwear was a status marker, a sumptuous item that differentiated Spanish colonial elite like him from the indigenous population. Feliciano Chaves’s study acknowledges ‘the uniqueness of the colonial situation as a fertile ground for the production of new meanings out of old forms’, and stresses the significance of the Mudéjar aesthetic in colonial power relationships and cultural construction, where it ‘emerges not as a popular expression of Iberian art, but rather as a visual tool employed at all social levels.

Figure 263: ‘Portrait of Don Gonzalo de las Casas with his father’ from the “Codex Yanhuitlán”. Biblioteca Histórica José María Lafragua, Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Mexico, fol. 4r.

141 Ibid., 65.
143 Fuchs, Exotic Nation, 65.
and in multiple geographies’. A taste for Moorish forms permeated all levels of Iberian society in the first half of the sixteenth century and was central to the construction of a Spanish sartorial identity that permeated at home and abroad.

These examples urge us to take a multilateral approach to the costume albums’ images of Spain. Moriscos are not merely portrayed as poor, second-class citizens, nor are ‘Old Christians’ the only subjects to display wealth and fashionability. Feliciano Chaves urges against the notion of Christian ‘appropriation’ of Moorish forms and insists upon a ‘well-established, pan-Iberian aesthetic’ that had long been accepted by Castilian elites. As Irigoyen-García notes, neither were ‘Moorish garments’ merely associated with the exoticism of a conquered enemy but were ‘closely related to the discourses of nobility and class distinction that affected Moriscos and Old Christians alike’. It was precisely this feature of dressing a la morisca that so offended legislators, he argues. I wish to add that these forms were not only enduring because of associations with class and luxury, however. Examples from the costume albums demand our acknowledgement of the humble, rural class in the development of a sartorial model for Spain that embraced a taste for its Andalusi past. Both albums present a variegated society contrasting Spain’s wealthy dressers with its labourers, beggers, and slaves who, it has been examined, were not neatly divided down the lines of ethnic origin or religious identity.

THE TOCADOS OF NORTHERN SPAIN

The costume albums make a feature out of another article of clothing dispersed in the northern regions of Spain. The artful tocados (headdresses) worn by women in Biscay, Navarre, and Cantabria are studied over twenty-two pages of the Trachtenbuch, while

146 Irigoyen-García, Moors Dressed as Moors, 11.
147 Ibid.
the Sternsee album extends its stretch further west and south to include women and their tocados from Asturias, Galicia, and the ‘frontiers of Castile’. The veritable enthusiasm of the albums’ artists to chart the exquisite folds, tucks, twists, and twirls of these cloth headdresses demonstrates how attuned they were to the bearing this garment had on the peninsula’s sartorial character. Compared to women’s headwear in other parts of the continent, they were remarkably conspicuous in their great height and unusual shape and instantly caught the eye of foreign travellers. Here they drew divergent opinions. As Antoine Lailang passed through the Basque lands in 1502, he described the beauty of the women who, instead of wearing bonnets, wore headdresses made from many folds of cloth. On 18 September 1517 Laurent Vital landed in Asturias with Charles V’s entourage and was struck by the habits of the women whose ‘headdresses are strange, and so high and long … quite pagan in fashion’. The fanciful tocados witnessed by the emperor’s Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa in 1526 elicited an imaginative analysis of their crane-like shape:

In this region the women wear a very capricious headdress: they wrap it with cloth almost in the Turkish style, but not in the shape of a turban, but a hood, and they make it so narrow by twisting it to the tip, and make it resemble the chest, neck and beak of a crane; this same headdress is spread all over Guipúzcoa where types of crests are made in a thousand whimsical shapes, making them resemble different things.

Vital’s interpretation of the shape of tocados he saw in Ribadesella, Asturias was even more colourful: ‘…it seemed as if they had planted on their heads … those things with

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150 Navagero cited by Bernis, Indumentaria española, 71. ‘En esta region las mujeres llevan un arreglo de cabeza muy caprichoso: se envuelven ésta con una tela casi a estilo turco, pero no en forma de turbante, sino de capirote, y van adelgazándolo tanto que le tuercen despues su punta y hacen que resulte parecido al pecho, cuello y pico de una grulla; este mismo tocado está extendido por toda Guipúzcoa y especie de cresta hacen mil formas caprichosas, haciéndola semejar cosas diversas.’
which men make children, and it is the most devilish adornment of women that has even
been seen’.  

The costume albums were no less impressed with these curious headdresses,
which had long struck the attention of foreign observers and artists. Although in the
sixteenth century the north coast of Spain was not a centre of international power as
Castile was, it was by no means an isolated area. Although politically peripheral, the
area was exceptionally well-trodden by foreign and domestic travellers because it
crucially formed the route to the popular pilgrimage site of Santiago de Compostela in
the far north-west. Compostela reserved the fullest spiritual benefits for its visitors after
the Holy Land. It held jubilee years whenever the feast of St James fell on a Sunday,
offering pilgrims coveted plenary indulgences. Between 1451 and 1557 Compostela
offered plenary indulgences on average every seven years, outdoing Rome in this
regard. Consequently, pilgrims from all parts converged on Compostela. They came
from England, Ireland, and the Netherlands by sea, either sailing directly to La Coruña
or, as was common for ships leaving from Dover, making the short crossing over the
English Channel where pilgrims could then commence the long journey over the
Pyrenees passing through the route’s many second-tier shrines.

The English physician Andrew Boorde (c. 1490-1549) took this second option
in 1532 when he joined a band of nine English and Scottish pilgrims in Orléans. In
Burgos and in Compostela, he wrote, the women have ‘thinges standeth vpon t
heyr hed, 
within ther kerchers [kerchiefs], lyke a codpece’. Plenty of Germans also made the
visit, travelling overland. Arnold von Hauff from Bedburg stopped at Compostela in

151 Vital cited by Menéndez de la Torre and Quintana Loché, “Indumentaria popular asturiana en el siglo
XVI,” 214–15. ‘... parecía que se hubiesen plantado sobre sus cabezas ... esas cosas con las que los
hombres hacen los niños y es el más endiablado adorno de mujeres que jamás se haya visto’.
152 Plenary indulgences are the full remission of temporal punishment for sin.
153 David Ditchburn, “‘Saints at the Door Don’t Make Miracles’? The Contrasting Fortunes of Scottish
Pilgrimage, c.1450-1550,” in Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch (Leiden;
Boston: Brill, 2008), 75.
154 Ibid., 87–88.
155 Ibid., 88.
156 Andrew Boorde, The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge Made by Andrew Borde, of
Physycke Doctor. A Compendious Regyment; Or, A Dyetary of Helth Made in Mountpyllier, ed.
Frederick James Furnivall (London: N. Trübner, 1870), 199.
1499 on the way home from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, travelling by way of France. In the historically Basque-inhabited province of Gascony, just north of the frontier, Von Hauff observed that ‘the women ordinarily wear a twisted horn with cloths of canvas on their heads, longer than two hand-spans’.

Other prominent German pilgrims who left behind travelogues of their experiences include the Nuremberg burghers Hieronymus Münzer and Sebald Örtel, who journeyed to Compostela in 1494-95 and 1521-22 respectively. Stephan Praun III, also from Nuremberg, preserved fascinating souvenirs and travel apparel from his pilgrimage in 1571, now stored in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Such was the pull of this pilgrimage site that when Sternsee was granted a holiday in the autumn of 1538, he immediately went forth to St James’s shrine. On 23 September, he set off from Valladolid. Travelling as the crow flies, he journeyed inland via Ponferrada and bypassed the coastal route leading through Biscay, Cantabria, and Asturias. Consequently he probably missed, on this occasion, the most representative demonstrations of the toca do that other travellers noted, and regrettably makes no reference to the local fashions in his diary in any case.

There is no shortage of evidence however, of just how captivated foreign observers were by the ponderous tocados. They not only wrote about, but systematically illustrated costume series to capture the shifting shapes sported from one village to the next. Weiditz was one among many, in this regard. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France holds several collections of fascinating costume watercolours produced throughout the sixteenth century that rival Weiditz’s in the scale of attention paid to the tocad o in Cantabria and the Basque territories either side of the Spanish and French frontier. An anonymous painter probably from southern France designed the series entitled Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées probably before Weiditz ever ventured into the peninsula in 1529. This series features female costume figures from

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157 Von Hauff cited by De Urquijo, “Sobre el tocado corniforme de las mujere vascas,” 570. ‘Item alle dese lanschaft bis zo Saluaterra heischt Jasconien, die vrawuen gemeynlich dragen eyn gewonden horn mit lijnen duecheren vur recht vss vff yeren hueffder, tzeweyer spannen lanck ind man ind vrawuen gaynt in deser gestalt.’


France, Spain, Italy, Greece, and Sardinia whose dress dates to the late fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{160} Earlier versions of the \textit{tocado} than those pictured in the \textit{Trachtenbuch} are worn by ladies from Asturias to Bayonne. Neither exclusively ‘Spanish’ nor ‘French’, the fashion appears to have originated and spread outward from the Basque-speaking communities occupying the Bay of Biscay and the border lands of the western Pyrenees. Linen projections moulded into curious shapes extend upward from the head. A lady from Irun in coastal Guipúzcoa wears a \textit{tocado} with a bulbous protuberance, while further inland, the \textit{tocado} of a lady from the village of Saint Pée-sur-Nivelle sets in place several conical extensions that jut out at different angles (figs. 264-65). Later costume series produced in France, Italy, and Germany were similarly captivated by the architectural forms these headdresses devised and mapped out the designs changing from one town to the next (figs. 266-68).\textsuperscript{161} Costume imagery from this region comparable to that seen in Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s albums was in wide circulation, and the resourceful costume enthusiast, the Nuremberg patrician Sigmund Heldt (1528-87), was able to amalgamate a lengthy sequence of archetypal Basque characters in his costume album, numbering approximately fifty figures.

What emerges in all these series is the close observational detail paid to the \textit{tocado}’s specific shape from one small community to the next. It seems to have been meaningful to demarcate each design and its associated local identity. As David Vassberg has pointed out, approximately eighty percent of Spain’s population in this period lived in self-governing rural villages, which fostered a strong sense of loyalty to

\textsuperscript{160} Maria Elena Arizmendi Amiel, \textit{Vascos y Trajes} (San Sebastián: Caja de Ahorros Municipal de San Sebastián, 1976), 64. Although no firm date of attribution to this series has been proposed, the pictures are thought to have been completed at least before 1560. If they were painted in the decades after Weiditz journeyed to Spain, then they were very likely based on a lost, earlier series that was produced in the early sixteenth century and which recorded contemporary styles.

\textsuperscript{161} These include “\textit{Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées}”, c. 1550. \textsc{RESERVE 4-OB-22 & 4-OB-23}, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; “\textit{Anciens costumes coloriés: Italie, Espagne, Ecosse, Allemagne et Hollande, Pays orientaux et les Indes}”, 1572. \textsc{RESERVE OB-11-PET}, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; Enea Vico, \textit{Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus}, ca. 1557; Sigmund Heldt, “\textit{Abcounterfütting allerlei ordenspersonen in iren klaidüngen…}”, Nuremberg, 1560-1580. Lipp Aa 3, Lipperheidesche Kostümbibliothek, Kunstdibliothek Berlin.
Figure 264: ‘Woman from Irun’ (coastal Guipúzcoa) from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, mid-sixteenth century. RESERVE OB-55-4, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 265: ‘Woman from Saint-Pée-sur-Nivelle’ from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, RESERVE OB-55-4.

Figure 266: ‘Woman from Saint-Jean-de-Luz’ from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, c. 1550. RESERVE 4-OB-22, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 267: ‘Woman from Saint-Vincent’ from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, RESERVE 4-OB-22.

Figure 268: ‘Woman of San Sebastián’ from “Costumes de femmes de diverses contrées”, RESERVE 4-OB-22.
the community and weariness towards outsiders. Competitive rivalries between the neighbouring populations of small towns and villages may have encouraged the design of increasingly complex and distinctive *tocados*. Weiditz and Sternsee are less precise in the designations they give their *tocado*-wearing figures than some of the French-designed series, however, lacking the local knowledge of how a *tocado* from Saint Jean-de-Luz might compare to one from Saint Jean-de-Pied-de-Port, for example. Nevertheless, evocative and distinctive styles and shapes are delineated. Weiditz portrays a woman from Santander, Cantabria wearing a *tocado* modelled into three-tiers (fig. 269). Women from Navarre, including the city of Pamplona, are shown in both costume albums to wear a style which instead of forming a point, extended upwards into a wide rectangular shape from which a tail drooped down the back (figs. 270-71). The Sternsee album shows women from Galicia to Biscay wearing immense, towering *tocados* of folded and bundled cloth which concord somewhat with Vital’s description of the headdresses in Villaviciosa, Asturias that appeared like beehives or

![Figure 269: 'In this manner the old women dress in Santander in Biscay’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 117.](image)

![Figure 270: ‘In this manner the women also go about in the kingdom of Navarre or Pamplona’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 110.](image)

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Figure 271: ‘Mourning women in Pamplona’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 13r.

Figure 272: ‘Woman of Astorga’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 10v.

Figure 273: ‘Women of Astorga’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 10r.

Figure 274: ‘Men and women in Biscay’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 11v.
Figure 275: ‘Women of Navarre’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 12v.

Figure 276: ‘This is the common costume (manier) on the frontier and mountain in Biscay (going alone?)’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 112.

Figure 277: ‘In this manner the women go in the mountains in Biscay’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 115.

Figure 278: ‘In this manner they also go about on the frontier in the mountains in Biscay’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 130.

Figure 279: ‘In this manner the women in Biscay go about on holidays in the house and on the streets’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 120.
large baskets of cherries (figs. 272-75). He recounted that these were ‘very painful to wear and very expensive for the large amount of fabric they use in them’. Meanwhile the *tocados* that sport a long, twisted horn, often curling over from the weight, are designated in the *Trachtenbuch* to be a fashion most particular to Biscay, which Weiditz several times describes as a mountainous, frontier region (figs. 276-79). This was the style described by Andrea Navagero in Guipúzcoa as especially crane-like in shape, and which Laurent Vital considered rather phallic.

Vital was so horrified by this cumbersome headwear that he sought the explanation of locals to understand it. One old man in Ribadesella recounted a myth about their origin, proposing that they were introduced in the distant past by the reigning king and bishop of Castile as punishment for the resistance women had shown to being converted to Christianity compared to their obliging menfolk. According to the old man, the painful adornments hanging over their foreheads made it ‘known that they are women’. Vital also sought the opinion of his hostess in Ribadesella, who explained ‘that they [the local women] carried these ornaments with regret’ not only because of the expense of the large amount of cloth they required, but also because ‘in times of great heat, [the *tocado*] weighs them down and greatly fatigues them’. Vital was convinced by his hostess of the necessity to intervene. He explained the women’s situation to Charles V and his Flemish lords, who apparently ‘burst out laughing, saying that the ornaments were cheerful and of great novelty and that anyone who saw them in Brabant, Flanders or its surroundings would have to laugh’. It is difficult to assess whether the disillusionment expressed by Vital’s hostess was widespread or not. The costume books certainly capture how unwieldy these *tocados* could be and it is not hard

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164 Ibid., 42.
165 Vital cited by Ibid. ‘... por donde se conoce que son mujeres’.
166 Vital cited by Ibid., 41. ‘Entonces oí, en las pláticas con mi huéspeda, cuando llegamos a hablar de eso, que llevaban ellas esos adornos con pesar, a causa de que, por la gran cantidad de tela que es necesario emplear, eran muy costosos también en tiempos de grandes calores, les pesa y fatiga mucho; y se quejaba mucho mi huéspeda...’
167 Vital cited by Ibid., 42. ‘...se echaron a reir, diciendo que los adornos resultaban allegres y de gran novedad y que quien los viera en Brabant, Flandes o en sus alrededores, tendría de que reir’. 
to imagine how heavy and uncomfortable they must have felt after prolonged wear. On the other hand, their wearers went to extraordinary lengths to twist and shape enormous amounts of cloth with pins and wire supports, creating all kinds of novel, new-fangled guises. These women surely also took pride in their *tocados*, relishing the creative process of constructing them. Although some foreign commentators like Navagero, Vital, and Andrew Boorde bawdily mocked the curious shaped *tocados*, they were clearly revered within their own communities. Not merely a provincial quirk, they were ubiquitous from Galicia to Gascony. Following Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s descriptive texts, they were worn by rich and poor, old women, and young married women. They were worn to church, to celebrate holidays, and simply to conduct everyday tasks such as spinning.

Analysing the role they played in the construction of a larger sartorial identity for Spain must additionally take into account the importance of the northern regions of Spain in the nation’s historical memory. As José Ramón Díaz de Durana has recently examined, a curious social phenomenon existed in the northern Spanish coastal regions in the late medieval and early modern period whereby a disproportionate number of the population were members of the lower nobility (the *hidalguía*). These figures not only overwhelm those from elsewhere in Iberia, but also abroad, wherein it is striking to note that the highest concentration of nobility anywhere in Europe at the time was to be found in the land that stretched between Asturias, Cantabria, and the Basque provinces of Guipúzcoa and Vizcaya. In 1497 the Castilian royal secretary Alonso de Quintanilla recorded that 57.3 percent of the kingdom’s *hidalgos* resided in the northern mountains. He noted that about half of Cantabria’s population were *hidalgos*, while further east in Guipúzcoa this social distinction was essentially universal. By contrast, Galicia and middle Spain registered few *hidalgos*, while in Andalusia they numbered

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169 Ibid., 1–2.
170 Ibid., 15.
171 Ibid.
only 1.5 percent of the population. Hidalguía was founded upon having known ancestry, a pure Catholic bloodline, and came with useful legal privileges such as tax exemption. The complex process by which Vizcayan and Guipúzcoan inhabitants had a universal right to hidalguía stemmed from the granting of hidalgo status in return for services rendered to the crown of Castile since the thirteenth century. As frontier territories of the realm, their history of military service against the kingdoms of France and Navarre, including the successful annexation of Navarre in 1512, had been duly rewarded. The universal hidalguía of Viscayans was avowed by Charles V in 1527 when he ruled that those who were unable to prove their noble status in court would be prohibited from residing in Viscaya. This ruling followed Juana of Castile’s earlier decree of 1510, which prevented New Christians and converts from settling in Guipúzcoa for fear that the pure lineages of the area’s hidalgos would be muddied. As such the purity of blood and religion of these Basque populations became a fiercely-held reputation, to the point that the term vizcaíno – a native of Biscay – came to be understood as a synonym for Old Christian. In spite of the honour the title granted, its widespread use in the northern coastal regions necessarily diluted visible social distinction. This situation meant that few northern hidalgos were genuinely powerful; many were little more than free peasants and in contrast to the urban-dwelling hidalgos further south, many lived in rural areas. Their condition did not escape the notice of Vital, who recounted that in Asturias:

… the majority are of noble rank even though they are poor, and they all claim to be so by virtue of certain privileges which they acquired from the kings of Castile through certain services which in the past their mountainous ancestors lent to the kingdom of

172 Ibid.
173 Ibid., 1.
176 Ibid., 208.
177 Waite, Exile and Religious Identity, 1500-1800, 137.
178 Ibid.
179 Ibid.
Castile against the pagans … Now, in order that their service be rewarded, the kings of Castile have made them … free of any tax or tribute as though they were noble. But, although they have become ennobled, they have hardly been enriched.181

Although wealth was not guaranteed, hidalgos nonetheless enjoyed privileges that propelled them into the crown’s military and administrative hierarchy. Many state secretaries and ambassadors came from the Basque provinces for instance, as did a great number of high-ranking colonialists in the New World territories.182 For these northern hidalgos then, the doctrine of blood purity – an increasing preoccupation for Golden Age Spain – shored up claims to a noble ancestry that had not been tainted by mixing with or being colonised by other populations. It was a nobility that was distinctly tied to the land, and an idea that resisted the very real impact of acculturation. Although hidalguía and the tocado cannot be argued to have gone hand in hand, sixteenth-century costume imagers may have fixated on the preponderance of tocado designs from the village communities of northern Spain and its frontiers because in these areas flourished distinct, localised identities founded upon a sense of innate nobility, vigilant to the contaminating threat posed by outsiders.

181 Vital cited by Gomez-Tabanera, “Del tocado ‘corniforme,’” 40–41. ‘Ahora bien, a fin de que su servicio lo quedase sin ser recompensado, los reyes de Castilla los han tenido y tienen por francos y libre de todo pecho y tributo como si fuesen nobles. Pero, aunque se hayan ennoblecido, apenas se han enriquecido.’
4.ii. Dress in the Netherlands and the German-speaking Lands

THE NETHERLANDISH AESTHETIC

The costume albums’ portrayal of Netherlandish women depict a wide variety of mantles, veils, hoods, and hats. These enliven otherwise comparatively plain clothing consisting of full-skirted gowns, aprons, and laced, high-neck bodices in unpatterned textiles. In contrast, their German peers are depicted wearing pleated, puffed, and slashed textiles, often involving expensive damasks, and trimmed with colourful ribbons. The Trachtenbuch’s few illustrations of Netherlanders introduces a couple of mantle styles that reappear in the Sternsee album. The first of these is the falie, and enveloping dark-coloured mantle worn over the head like the Spanish mantilla. Falie were pinned to a haircap and bunched outwards on either side of the face in a rounded fashion. In the Trachtenbuch a calf-length falie is worn by a Flemish woman on her way to church (fig. 280). A protective garment worn outdoors, it is shown in the Sternsee

![Figure 280: ‘In this manner the Flemish women go to church’ from the “Trachtenbuch”, fol. 150.](image1)

![Figure 281: ‘Young women in the Netherlands’ [‘Thus the maids go dress’d in manteels to church, and other places’ in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 25r.](image2)

album worn by young women on their way to church or to the market (fig. 281). The album’s strategy to present figures turned in towards each other in social groups gives the artist the opportunity to demonstrate how the falie was bundled up at the upper, centre-back creating cascading folds that encircle the shoulders. A cropped version of this garment was also worn, possibly during milder weather.

The huik meanwhile makes its appearance on a Frisian woman in the Trachtenbuch (fig. 282). This mantle was also taken up in dark colours and was worn over the head attached to a haircap. A beak-like protrusion of creased, stiffened fabric juts out from the forehead, functioning to keep rain and wind off the face during the region’s harsh winters. Although it was not a garment particular to Friesland, the beak-style mantle was, Du Mortier argues, a design that was most popular in the northern Netherlands. In Sternsee’s album however, we see this style worn by women from Brussels to Amsterdam. In Holland, one caption explains, the women look thus ‘when they go to church, or on a visit’ (fig. 283). In another picture of women from Holland, the album demonstrates what was worn beneath the huik by women attending a funeral. The women’s elaborate hoods are described as ‘white kerchiefs [worn] under their caps, and a bit of black cloth, wherein sticks an iron plate, from which hangs down a black tail’ (fig. 284). Girls from Amsterdam and Waterland meanwhile are depicted in various degrees of concealment to demonstrate that underneath all these layers they wear their ‘hair parted in the forehead, under a kerchief’, plaited and pinned

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184 Ibid., 70.
185 Ibid.
186 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”.
187 Ibid.
into two neat buns (fig. 285). The huik was so ubiquitous in the visual landscape of the Netherlands that it did not fail to draw the attention of Albrecht Dürer when he travelled there in 1520-21. In a sketched study of a woman from Goes, who Dürer records having drawn ‘in her costume’ on 3 December 1520, he depicts the crinkled, upright beak and gathered volume of her huik (fig. 286). Earlier, while in Antwerp, the Genoese silk merchant Tommaso Bombelli had gifted Dürer’s wife 14 ells of ‘good thick Arras’ from which to make a ‘höcken’. The receipt of this fabric and its intended purpose sharpened Dürer’s eye to the make of this singular garment. He included in his travel sketchbook a pattern for its construction with notes expressing that the ‘hoik’ was a women’s ‘kirchliches’ (church) mantle that laid over the top of one’s head (fig. 287). That the huik was appropriate for church-wear means that it must have served to veil modesty as well as to protect against the elements.

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188 Ibid.
190 Cited in Du Mortier, “In Search of the Origins of the Huik,” 69. A unit of measurement for cloth, the Augsburg long ‘ell’ was equivalent to 24 inches while the short ell was 23 and-a-half inches. See Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book of Fashion*, 399.
Figure 285: ‘Clothes in Utrecht’ ['Thus dress the women at Amsterdam, and the girls in Waterland, wear their hair parted at the forehead, under a kerchief’ in the Stibbert MS] from the ‘Madrid MS. Sternsee Album’, fol. 29r.

Figure 286: Albrecht Dürer, Woman of Goes and Bergen (silverpoint drawing), 1520-21. Musée Condé, Chantilly.
The Sternsee album does not demarcate the social standing of its *huik*-wearing women, however in another illustration specifically portraying noblewomen of Ghent, the women are depicted wearing fancy French hoods with the flaps folded up onto the crown or rounded off into a latticed bonnet (fig. 288). Du Mortier’s investigation into inventories of the period nevertheless suggests that *huiken* were not low status garments but worn by women from across the social spectrum. These mantles were in the collections of noblewomen and the wives of wealthy burghers, farmers, and humble bakers. Among the most expensive items in the female wardrobe, they were often bequeathed to family and friends. The *huik* and the *falie* became the motifs *par excellence* in future costume series to depict the dress of women from Flanders to Holland. The extraordinary circulation of Enea Vico’s Flemish woman with her monumental, circular-shaped *falie* for instance, bears witness to the role that representative garments had in the creation of emblematic sartorial characters (fig. 289-92). But as emblematic as these mantles became as a motif of Netherlandish dress, Du Mortier insists that they were in fact an item that emerged from ‘Spanish influences in Dutch dress and fashion’, closely resembling the Spanish mantilla. Since no garment like the *huik* existed in France, she argues, its appearance in the Netherlands must be attributed to exposure to the courtly fashions of Spain, a result of the Habsburg connections forged between the two lands. The Spanish mantilla, itself a derivation from the Moorish *almalafa*, shared with the *falie* and the *huik* certain characteristics including its dark colour, enveloping volume, and, most specifically, the manner in which it was worn over the head. Attached onto a cap, these mantles could additionally be held down by a wide-brimmed

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192 Ibid., 72.
193 Ibid.
Figure 288: ‘Noblegwomen in the Netherlands’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 24r.

Figure 289: Enea Vico, ‘Woman of Flanders’ from Diversarum gentium nostrae aetatis habitus, ca. 1557.

Figure 290: François Deserps, ‘Maiden of Flanders’ from Recueil de la diversité des habits qui sont de présent en usage tant ès pays d’Europe, 1562.

Figure 291: Hans Weigel, ‘Woman of Flanders’ from Habitus præcipuorum populous, 1577.
hat, a mode readily seen in Spain in the first half of the century that by the end of the Du Mortier’s argument and its emphasis on these cross-cultural associations is tempting, but not without its problems. In the Netherlands, the huik does not appear to have been paired with the brimmed hat until sixty to eighty years after it was depicted in this manner in the Weiditz and Sternsee albums (fig. 293). Although this look seems to have remained a Spanish mode into the second half of the century and is seen in Joris Hoefnagel’s designs of tapadas in the 1560s in Braun and Hogenberg’s map of Seville (fig. 294), we must question why it took so long for the style to catch on. Du Mortier’s identification of the convincing linguistic connection between the Netherlandish huik and the North African haik is fascinating, and leads the argument back to the supposed Moorish origins of the mantilla. On the other hand, this garment was known in Al-Andalus as the almalaifa while Du Mortier herself notes that the huik developed from the medieval heuque, which suggests that any connection to the north African haik may stretch back long before Habsburg Spaniards settled in the Netherlands. What emerges here is the problematic nature of assigning sartorial forms to a single culture.

194 Ibid., 66.
195 Ibid.
The notion of national sartorial character must contend with the concept of hybridity because, as sixteenth-century women’s mantles exemplify, garment styles were never stable but always in flux, and open to change from outside stimuli. They typically had more in common with foreign garments than not. The *huik* and the *falie* were both
discussed in the travel diary of Antonio de Beatis (1517-18), chaplain to the Cardinal Luigi of Aragon, as comparable to items of dress he was familiar with in Italy:

[In Flanders] … some of the old women wear long mantles pleated over the head and with a lappet on the forehead very much like the ones worn by our women in the region of Bari. And married women and gentlewomen also wear long cloaks of black serge gathered across the back like the Italian tertiaries; it is a fine and decorous garment.196

But such was the drive to make sense of ever-shifting fashions that garments like the Netherlandish *huik* or the Spanish *chapín* were eagerly consumed by costume imagers as emblems of national identity. This was particularly done by those who, unlike Weiditz and Sternsee, were not well travelled and had been less exposed to the nuance of real-life dress practices in all their diverse forms.

**FASHIONS IN FRIESLAND**

In the Sternsee album, costume figures from West Friesland delineate a new set of sartorial features expanding the boundaries of Netherlandish dress. To begin with, the album pictures the region’s historical dress. ‘Such were the ancient habits of the noblemen and bachelors of West Friesland’, the caption explains, describing two men adorned entirely in tight-fitting black ensembles, fifteenth-century in cut (fig. 295).197 One holds an ornate drinking horn of gold, while the other wears a gold belt with hanging ornaments. Their female equivalents are adorned with an even richer array of gold trimmings. One woman’s dress bears lavish golden sleeves of silk damask and an apron of green moiré silk. Her companions garnish their bright costumes with pieces of gold jewellery: thick cummerbunds, strings of gold coins that fall from the shoulders, forearm bracers studded with colourful gemstones that reach from wrist to elbow, and round jewels hanging from the waist and around the neck. Gold adornment is shown to have

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197 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”.

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remained a feature of contemporary women’s dress, although much reduced (fig. 296). Two women wearing bodices looped with silver chains escort a third, whose dress features ribbons of gold circles and who wears a large gold brooch upon her chest. A delicate hairnet with dangling pieces of gold completes the look. This figure group and the fifteenth-century men from West Friesland reappear in a series of costume drawings in the Voralberger Museum in Bregenz, dated to the end of the sixteenth-century (fig. 297).198 In this work the women are described as a bride and her maidens, explaining the richer and more adorned dress of the central figure. The men, meanwhile, are identified as from Harlingen, the town Sternsee received governorship of in 1546.199 Their ornate drinking horn, from which they appear to have become rather merry, was a high-status object in Frisian society; the Leeuwarden Fries Museum holds nine drinking horns from the early modern period, each set with precious metals. A final drawing in the album depicts three decorous Frisian women with full, layered skirts of purple and black (fig.

198 Sternsee’s artist and the artist of the Bregenz drawings must have worked from the same, now unknown, source material.
Figure 296: ‘Wedding party in Friesland’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 31v.

Figure 297: ‘Frisian women’ from a series of costume paintings, end of the sixteenth-century. Voralberger Museum, Bregenz.
Apart from their girdles of precious metals, these women lack the copious amount of jewellery their countrywomen were previously displayed wearing.

To attend to the differences displayed in the album’s three depictions of Frisian women, I must first introduce a remarkable series of costume figures from East Frisia that appears in the *Hausbuch* of the Frisian nobleman Unico Manninga (1529-88). Manninga’s costume drawings, which appear alongside his account of the history of East Frisia, demonstrate a comparable taste for elaborately jewelled clothing that existed further up the North Sea coast. Manninga, a reformed local chieftain of Emden, had studied at Wittenberg and undertaken diplomatic missions to England and France. His worldly adventures seem to have underscored to him the singular dress habits of his homeland. Alongside an illustration of a gentlewoman positively dripping in gold jewels (fig. 299), he wrote ‘since I feel that the old Frisian jewellery and clothes are vanishing,

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200 See Stracke and Manninga, *Tracht und Schmuck Altfrieslands*.
and our descendants will not know how our ancestors appeared, I have had it all drawn down and the jewels are like those which my own grandmother handed down to me. From elaborate tiaras and jewel-encrusted hairpieces to earrings, necklaces, brooches, buckles, girdles, and precious metal ornaments stitched into garments, the dress habits of Manninga’s costume figures could hardly make more explicit the richness of his grandmother’s jewels. Even shoes and hair-braids could be embellished with pearls, gems, and metal ornaments, as one of his illustrations exhibits (fig. 300). A more refined use of jewellery is shown adopted by women of lesser rank. Over their bodices, middling women wear gold trimmings festooned with acorn-shaped baubles, possibly scented like pomanders (fig. 301). Rural peasant-women, holding baskets, whips, and pitchforks, lack these gold chest trimmings (figs. 302-03). However, even they are depicted going about their farming duties wearing gold-set baubles, girdles, and hair-braid jewels. Because the Frisian chieftains had never instituted feudal rule, the local commoners had traditionally been ‘free’ peasants. As Rublack notes, the region’s ‘elaborate form of dress clearly informed a sense of regional pride in wealth and its more equal distribution’.

Figure 299: ‘Frisian noblewoman’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, ca. 1561, fol. 170.

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203 Rublack, Dressing Up, 162.

204 Ibid.
Figure 300: ‘Rear-view of a Frisian woman and her accoutrements’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, fol. 174.

Figure 301: ‘Frisian woman of middle rank’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, fol. 175.

Figure 302: ‘Frisian peasant woman carrying a basket’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, fol. 177.

Figure 303: ‘Frisian peasants’ from Unico Manninga’s Hausbuch, fol. 180.
The unusual sartorial customs practised by the kinsfolk of Sternsee’s in-laws must have been striking to the German of Laibach. Elsewhere in Europe, such lavish quantities of luxury textiles and precious jewels were strictly regulated to maintain social distinctions. In Leipzig for instance, sumptuary legislation of 1550 prohibited artisans from wearing silks or golden bracelets and necklaces, and maidservants from wearing velvet or golden trimmings. In Augsburg legislation of 1582, the council even measured out the precise amounts of luxury textiles, furs, precious gemstones, and metals that could be worn by certain sectors of society. While merchants’ wives were permitted to wear up to one-and-a-half ell of velvet trim on their bodices, artisans’ wives and other female commoners were restricted to only half an ell. Discussing sumptuary legislation in Renaissance Italy, Welch points out that ‘the desire for luxuries could cut across social boundaries’. Indeed aspirational dressing affected rich and poor. Manninga’s *Hausbuch* captures the freedom Frisians had had to drape themselves in jewels and silks which would have attracted the unwanted attention of the authorities elsewhere on the continent. How strange this must have seemed to mainland Germans. This is indicated by the reappearance of Manninga’s illustrations in the *Thesaurus Picturarum* or picture album of the Heidelburg jurist Marcus zum Lamm (1544-1606). Zum Lamm, who Rublack suggests probably came across Manninga’s images through the latter’s connections to Heidelburg’s reformed community, re-appropriated the illustrations of Frisian women and transformed them into oriental Phrygians ‘who inhabit part of Asia’ (fig. 304). Zum Lamm continued,

This landscape is famous for and distinguished by its amount of gold and silver. But the people there have a wild mind and enslaving stupidity … Their gods are the stars, which they worship. This is why they tend to decorate their clothes with figures of cosmic signs, which they artfully engrave in gold.

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207 Cited by Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 162.
208 Marcus zum Lamm, translated and cited by Ibid.
To justify the ornateness of Frisian clothing and its abundance of gold, it seems that Zum Lamm was compelled to remove them from their position on the frontiers of northern Germany to a safely pagan land somewhere in Asia.

The so-called Frisian Freedom, or the absence of feudalism that stretched from West to East Friesland, came to end in 1499 when the stadtholder-general of the Netherlands, Albert, Duke of Saxony, was invited to subdue West Friesland. As a newly-held province of the Netherlands, the traditional habits and lifestyles of its inhabitants faced the threat of disruption and change. The reverberations of this appear in the Sternsee album’s picture of the Frisian women who, in contrast to the jewel-encrusted ‘ancient dresses’ of their forebears, wear outfits in which the only trace of gold is to be found on their girdles. The picture of the female wedding party suggests that gold trappings had been reduced to ceremonial attire, worn to weddings and other festive events, but not taken up as daily wear, and certainly not worn out in the fields. The women in their black and purple clothes meanwhile, are appareled in modes that the album also presents worn by the women of Flanders and Holland: high-necked, collared bodices, laced at the waist, and hair braided around the crown, like the girls in Amsterdam and Waterland (fig. 285). The Sternsee album approaches the Frisian tradition of wearing gold as a charming and fascinating sartorial custom, but one which

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209 Warring Frisian factions the Vetkopers and the Schieringers had been engaged in a civil war throughout the fifteenth century. In 1498 Schieringer members met with Duke Albert, a successful war commander, in the hopes of securing the territory. Once Friesland was conquered, Maximilian I appointed Albert the hereditary governor of the province. See Maarten Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 11.
had been tempered by time and political transition. Discussing Zum Lamm’s troubled take on the subject, Rublack explained that ‘visual representations of regional particularities, which did not fit national stereotypes, in turn could be re-categorised to avoid confusion’. Sternsee by contrast, embraced the curious, regional styles of this peripheral community and its complicated relationship with the Habsburg Netherlands.

THE GERMAN AESTHETIC

Apart from that worn by the Frisians, the dress of Netherlanders in the Sternsee album appears relatively humble in its minimal uptake of luxury textiles and trimmings. The German lands of the Holy Roman Empire are quite the opposite in this regard, although as mentioned, these sumptuous fixtures faced regulation as local governments sought to manage the distressing trend for expense and luxury. Rublack has identified Lutheran values in post Reformation-era Germany as driving early attacks on extravagant dress. In his Address to the German Nobility (1520), Luther had called for laws against costly clothing in response to the perceived obsession Germans had for importing luxury textiles. Costly fabrics associated with Catholic Italy and Spain were especially mistrusted, considered symbols of perilous, popish decadence. Velvet and silk were the worst offenders, inspiring jealousy amongst people who all wished to look as good as each other. Luther lambasted imported textiles for being a burden on local economies, arguing that foreign silks had ‘no use other than splendour and suck money from land and people’. And yet, as the example of Augsburg’s 1582 clothing ordinance demonstrates, legislators hoped to stifle immoderate excess but not to stamp out luxury altogether. Decorous dress fundamentally projected the honour and wealth of one’s citizens. For those who could afford it, the aspiration for sartorial finery knew no limit.

210 Rublack, Dressing Up, 62.
211 Ibid., 107.
212 Ibid.
213 Martin Luther, translated and cited by Ibid.
The tension between unrestrained and carefully moderated finery is perceptible in the Sternsee album’s illustrations of German dress. In a folio depicting dress worn by unspecified German noblemen and women, expensive damasks are trimmed with velvet ribbons arranged into horizontal bands, and tailored into complex designs of layered puffs (fig. 305). In another display of ostentation, an elaborate cloth-of-gold dress is worn by a German noblewoman at a dance (fig. 306). This textile, spun from gilt-wrapped silk threads, would have sparkled in a candle-lit hall. Only the wealthiest members of society could afford to have entire garments made from cloth-of-gold and other expensive silks. In 1542 the Antwerp merchant Pieter van der Molen wrote to his Genoese client Jeronimo Azeretto di Vivaldis to relay the news that, in the Netherlands, ‘the court [Charles V and governess Mary of Hungary] has promulgated a new law: nobles or those who act like nobles who wear garments made of velvet, satin or damask, have to keep two horses of fifteen hands high to serve the court when necessary’.214 Such a demand ensured, Van der Molen supposed, ‘that it will be too difficult for most to pay

for silk garments and [the] keeping [of] two horses'. Finances as well as the law circumvented most from having entire gowns, mantles, and other large-scale garments constructed wholly from luxury textiles, and most consumers had to content themselves with narrow fringes and ribbons of velvet, damask, and cloth-of-gold. Thus, even the

Figure 306: ‘German nobles at a dance’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 37v-38r.

Figure 307: ‘Nobles of Jülich and Cleves’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fols. 42v-43r.

\[215\] Ibid.
princely nobility of Jülich and Cleves are shown to have confined their use of cloth-of-gold to slim ribbons that encircle the skirt and a small, tapered insert defining the bodice (fig. 307). Burgher women from Bavaria demonstrate that the Gollar, a German shoulder cover that resembled a short cape or untucked partlet, was an ideal garment to be tailored from expensive textiles (fig. 308). Not requiring gratuitous amounts of fabric, and yet worn in a prominent position near the face, the Gollar was an eye-catching but modest article of dress that allowed non-elite women to express a taste for luxury.

Decorative hairpieces, being smaller in scale, were also comparatively inexpensive and enabled women of diverse social rank and wealth to participate in the stylization of the self.\textsuperscript{216} In Augsburg, even maidservants were permitted in the

\textsuperscript{216} Rublack, \textit{Dressing Up}, 248–52.
legislation of 1582 to wear velvet hair bands, for example.\textsuperscript{217} The album’s German women take up a rich variety of bonnets, veils, hoods, caps, and hairbands. The wearing of these items was tied up in socially coded hair-dressing practices that revolved around defined classifications of womanhood determined, above all, by age and marital status. As Welch notes, it was the Christian norm for married women to cover their hair with a veil or other sort of headdress.\textsuperscript{218} This followed St Paul’s advice to the Corinthians that veiling signalled a wife’s subservience to her husband and a respect for God. Lyndal Roper has demonstrated just how much of an impact the Reformation had upon the increased value of marriage. New evangelical ideals concerning the domestic lives of ordinary people placed fresh emphasis upon disciplined family structures headed up by a male authority and supported by a wife.\textsuperscript{219} Instead of prostitutes, widows, and clergywomen – transgressive women who were particularly challenged Roper argues, by reformed evangelical moralism – Sternsee’s album prioritises virginal young maidens, virtuous, modest wives, and blushing brides. Placed into a neat picture of domesticated society, these categories of womanhood were made legible through encoded styles of dressing the hair that reflected contemporary understandings of female hair and sexuality.

A wedding ordinance released by the Augsburg council in 1599 nicely illustrates German ideals, outlining how female guests’ hair ought to be dressed, ornamented, or concealed to visually perform age and marital status when entering the wedding procession.\textsuperscript{220} Following custom, young, unmarried women could wear their hair uncovered, while those who were married were expected to conceal their hair with bonnets. The ordinance then mentions the old women who ‘normally wear veils’ and lastly the bride, who wore her hair loose and bare, atop which could sit a bridal crown or wreath signifying her virginal status.\textsuperscript{221} In the album’s portrayal of a bridal party in Nuremberg, the bride and her two bridesmaids signify their virginal status through their

\textsuperscript{217} Tlusty, Augsburg during the Reformation Era, 72.
\textsuperscript{218} Welch, “Art on the Edge,” 246.
\textsuperscript{219} See Roper, The Holy Household.
\textsuperscript{220} Tlusty, Augsburg during the Reformation Era, 76.
\textsuperscript{221} Tlusty, Augsburg during the Reformation Era, 76; Roper, The Holy Household, 143.
unconcealed hair (fig. 309). The patrician bride wears a golden bridal crown decorated with pearls, while the bridesmaids wear delicate headbands showcasing their flowing locks and fashionable braids. Beautiful, but with the potential to be dangerously sexually-alluring, long and uncovered hair worn by unmarried women was considered socially acceptable. However, intrinsically associated with virginity, the right to wear loose, uncovered hair was denied for example, to the unmarried pregnant daughter of a northern German farmer. The unfortunate woman’s parents were instructed to forbid her to leave the house without wearing a hood for fear that she might be wrongly mistaken for a chaste maiden. Uncovered hair as a signifier of maidenhood is further exemplified by a mandate issued in Nuremberg in 1582, in which the city council decreed that women who were known to have indulged in pre-marital sex were obliged to wear a hood over their hair on their wedding day instead of the bridal wreath or crown. The Sternsee album, whose female figures are presented as paradigms of a moral social order, does not demonstrate discord of this nature.

The album’s illustration of three Augsburg patrician women and a maidservant captures how hair adornment shifted more with one’s stage of life than with one’s social status (fig. 310). A young maiden, probably unmarried, walks in front in a striking crimson gown with her hair bundled into a transparent, golden

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222 Jutta Zander-Seidel, “«Haubendämmerung». Frauenkopfbedeckungen zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit,” in Fashion and Clothing in Late Medieval Europe / Mode und Kleidung im Europa des späten Mittelalters, ed. Rainer Christoph Schwinges, Regula Schorta, and Klaus Oschema (Riggisberg; Basel: Abegg-Stiftung; Schwabe Verlag, 2010), 37.
223 Ibid.
224 Ibid.
hairnet. Next follows a woman whose adoption of black and a fashionable beret on top of her hairnet suggests greater modesty and indicates that she could be married. Behind them follows an older woman in black whose outmoded hanging sleeves do not match the fashionable puffed silhouette of her companions. Her hair is concealed entirely by a coif veiled with a beautiful, translucent gauze textile. Finally, a young maidservant pulls her hair into a transparent hairnet that leaves strands of hair exposed around her face.

Despite prescribed standards for modesty, hair-dressing practices remained subject to the whims of fashion. Women expressed their personal agency through creative engagement with their headwear, much the same way the women in northern Spain did with their elaborately shaped tocados. Welch’s study into the culture of feminine hair-styling in the northern courts of Italy has demonstrated that the allure of innovation bound fashionable observers into relationships of dialogue and creative exchange. In a letter of June 1523, Isabella d’Este was again praised for being an
inventor of hairstyles by queen Bona Sforza of Poland. Delighted to have received from
the marquess ‘six silk and gold snoods in the latest fashion’, she implored her
 correspondent to ‘let us know when some new style of binding the head happens and to
send us something that is pretty and pleases you, for we are sure you never miss anything
as Your Ladyship is the source and origin of all the loveliest fashions in Italy’.225

Headwear was highly mutable, Welch argues, a characteristic that was not exclusive to
the courts.226

Sternsee’s album shows women of all social ranks in the German lands wearing
an assortment of fluctuating shapes and styles. Coifs and veils (Haube and Schleier)
could be embroidered with gilt threads, garnished with ribbons, and constructed from
eye-catching textiles, demonstrated by the headdresses of women from Cologne to
Bavaria (figs. 308, 311). Cloths were folded, wired, stuffed, and steamed into place.
Artful shapes were achievable through the skilful manipulation of fabric and the careful
application of pins. The beauty of the headdresses of women from southern and central
Germany was striking to the curious Italian Antonio de Beatis, who described their

226 Ibid., 256.
construction at length in his travel diary: ‘Wealthy and upper class women wear a sort of very wide folded cloth on their heads, and over this a closely woven veil of delicate samite of the purest white over it which is secured and arranged in certain folds giving a most majestic appearance.’

He also noted a new trend that was beginning to emerge; namely, that veils, coifs, and hoods were being supplemented by the sixteenth-century women’s fashion for berets and bonnets, which consequently allowed more hair to be on display. In Innsbruck he recorded that he saw the young Mary of Hungary, only around ten years old, wearing ‘a man’s cap of black velvet’.

One of the album’s maidens of Bavaria pairs such a bonnet with long hair braids dyed a startling pink (fig. 308). Similar pink braids are also worn by a young girl from Regensburg (fig. 312). Colourful, artificial hair braids or Zöpfe were a popular trend in the German lands throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dyed, plaited cords or loose coloured ribbons were interwoven with women’s natural hair to give a splash of colour and were supplied by specialist vendors in a striking range of rainbow hues (fig. 313-14).

The 1639 inventory of a deceased Zöpfe merchant records 609 pairs of linen braids in all colours plus 280 in wool and 21 in silk. Dyed red, green, purple and other artificial shades, women could colour-coordinate their braids to match their outfits as the Bavarian maiden in Sternsee’s album has done with with her pink purse and pink Zöpfe. The aesthetic creativity this enabled must have been the source of their enduring appeal. Moreover, they could be picked for their symbolic value and expressive function. In one case noted by Rublack, a woman chose to wear a green silken pair of Zöpfe on her wedding day as a signal of hope. Coloured Zöpfe then, could be as interchangeable and expressive as one’s moods, feelings, or desires. They were also relatively inexpensive and spanned social divides. The Nuremberg patrician Sigmund Heldt’s costume album (c. 1560-80) for example, presents peasant women of the

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228 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 248.
230 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 252.
231 Ibid.
232 Green is worn for instance by Matthäus Schwarz in his Little Book of Clothes when he was actively seeking to find love and marriage. See Rublack and Hayward, *The First Book of Fashion*, 13.
233 Rublack, *Dressing Up*, 265.
Nuremberg countryside as well as the city-dwelling patrician women and their maidservants wearing coloured braids (figs. 315-17). Their appeal to wealthy women therefore had nothing to do with their material value but their capacity for playful, artistic expression.

Figure 312: ‘Women in Swabia’ [‘Thus go dress’d, the girls and the housemaids at Regensburg’ in the Stibbert MS] from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol.39v.

Figure 313: Zöpfe or artificial hair-braid, fifteenth/sixteenth century. Allgäuer Landesmuseum, Kempten.
Figure 314: ‘Zöpfe-maker Hanns Zauscher (d. 1655)’ in the Hausbücher der Mendelschen Zwölfruderstiftung. Amb. 317b.2°, Stadtbibliothek Nuremberg, fol. 152r.

Figure 315: ‘Patrician maiden and servant of Nuremberg’ in Sigmund Heldt’s “Abconterfaitting allerlei ordenspersonen in iren klaidüngen...”, Nuremberg, 1560-1580.

Figure 316: ‘Patrician maiden and servant of Nuremberg’ in Sigmund Heldt’s “Abconterfaitting allerlei ordenspersonen in iren klaidüngen...”.

Figure 317: ‘Rural peasant woman in Nuremberg countryside’ in Sigmund Heldt’s “Abconterfaitting allerlei ordenspersonen in iren klaidüngen...”.
Even nuns appear to have had some freedom to express sartorial ingenuity. The Sternsee album’s single illustration of nuns depicts six ‘cloister women’, described as noble nuns of Cologne (figs. 318-19). One of the folios depicts how the nuns go dressed before midday when they go to church. In the afternoon, the description continues, they may quit the convent and go dressed in ‘worldly’ clothing. These ‘noble’ nuns are depicted as pious and honourable, clutching prayer books and coral rosary beads with neatly folded hands. Their hair is concealed by veils, as would be expected, however three of the nuns also wear fashionable, blonde hair braids, possibly artificial Zöpfe, looped up at the ears. Their veils are artfully composed into varying shapes. Hoods of pleated linen were known in the German-speaking lands as Sturz (meaning ‘cover’) and could be mounted onto wire frames to support extra heavy designs. Using the example of reformed Basel, Susanna Burgharz has shown how the Sturz grew in popularity in the post-Reformation era to become not merely a marker of modesty and piety, but also of

234 “Stibbert MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 120.
fashionability and social prestige.\textsuperscript{236} Not confined to nuns, these garments thrived as laywomen’s church apparel at a time when sumptuary laws continued to enforce women’s veiling in church.\textsuperscript{237} Burgharz demonstrates that the increasing outlandishness and novelty of Sturz designs and their associated costs meant that they became signals of personal agency and wealth, however like the tocados worn by Laurent Vital’s Spanish landlady and her kinswomen, they could be exceptionally heavy and burdensome.\textsuperscript{238}

Folded and padded, steamed and starched, the Cologne nuns express their tastes and social standing through the artful manipulation of cloth. The influence of fashion, innovation, and the expression of taste draws attention to the secular influences German nuns were exposed to, even encouraged to adopt, by reformed societies. However, as Bob Scribner has examined, Cologne remained steadfastly Catholic and was the

\begin{figure}[h]
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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure319.png}
\caption{‘Noble nuns of Cologne’ from the “Stibbert Ms. Sternsee Album”, fol. 120.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{236} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{237} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{238} Ibid., 20, 23.
exception among the imperial cities of Germany for having ‘never experienced a crisis of faith, nor deviated from the path of Catholic orthodoxy’. The Sternsee album’s nuns are nevertheless evocative of the changes that nuns experienced across Germany as the Reformation took hold and attempted to reintegrate nuns into lay communities. Roper has drawn attention to the example of Augsburg where, during the 1530s and 1540s, a reformist campaign gained traction to abolish the city’s seven convents. In 1537 the reformed council forced its nuns to put aside their convent habits and supplied, at their own expense, ‘honourable worldly clothing’ for those at St Katherine’s convent, the largest and most elite in the city. Because wearing distinctive habits internalised the nuns’ unique feminine identity and membership to a particular religious order, the decree was met with resistance, and the women were subsequently granted the freedom to wear their habits underneath their new, secular clothing. The reformists’ attempts destabilized a category of female identity that, as Roper points out, resisted the sexualisation of women ‘in a society in which marital and social status were coded in clothing’. Even in the staunchly Catholic bastion of Cologne, it seems that the nuns were encouraged to lay aside their habits when out in the community ‘after midday’. This freedom, or perhaps restriction, might have stimulated the nuns’ experimentation with fashion, and contributed to the fanciful and individual arrangements of their veils.

DRESS IN THE AUSTRIAN HABSBURG BORDERLANDS

At the frontiers of empire, populations in Hungary and Croatia are presented in the Sternsee album demonstrating a sartorial taste that was entangled in the region’s history of proximity to and conflict with the Ottoman empire. These populations were only newly incorporated into the Habsburg Empire. The Ottoman army’s victory at the Battle of Mohács in 1526 had proved a decisive moment for the region and led to the partition

241 Cited in Ibid., 209, 240.
242 Ibid., 239–40.
243 Ibid., 240.
of Hungary. King Louis II of Hungary (r. 1516-26), the husband of Charles V’s sister Mary, had been killed in the battle. In the turmoil of defeat, the divided Hungarian nobility elected as his successor both Ferdinand I, the current ruler of the Austrian Habsburg territories, and the military leader and nobleman John Zápolya (c. 1490-1540).244 Croatia and the north-western portion of Hungary that was not under Turkish control were consequently annexed by the Habsburgs.

The album depicts women of Hungary and Croatia wearing relatively humble apparel (figs. 320-21). Instead of German slippers like the Kuhmaulschuhe (Cow’s muzzle shoes), recognisable by their narrow and square-shaped toes, these women wear unassuming boots, while their high-necked shirts, aprons, and cloth headdresses are not vastly different from the sorts of garments worn by their German neighbours. The men of Hungary on the other hand, sidestep the padded doublets, puffed and slashed hose, and broad-shouldered Schaubé (mid-length coats) that were popular throughout the German-speaking lands (fig. 322). The Hungarian garments they wear include the dolmány or dolman, a fitted jacket worn over the shirt that fastened in the front with buttons, had a small, stand-up collar, and was often decorated with braids.245 As well as narrow trousers, they wear over their shoulders the mente, a Hungarian overcoat. With its slim hanging sleeves, it resembles Western European overcoats like women’s zimarra for instance, but is set apart by its tall collar.246 Fur caps embellished with plumes, typically including egret, crane, and ostrich feathers, complete the ensemble. As Lilla Tompos has identified, female fashion in Hungary remained receptive to styles originating in Western Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly the dominant modes of Spain, while men’s dress steadfastly held onto the dolman and

246 Ibid.
mente (fig. 323). However, even these patriotic styles were hybrid garments in many respects.

Figure 320: ‘Women of Hungary’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 56v.

Figure 321: ‘Men and women of Croatia’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 57v.

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Figure 322: 'Men of Hungary' from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 57r.

Figure 323: Anonymous painter, Engagement Portrait of Count Pál Esterházy and Countess Orsolya Esterházy (oil on canvas, 185 x 115.5 cm), 1650. Esterházy Privatstiftung, Eisenstadt, Esterházy-Ahnengalerie, Burg Forchenstein.
To begin with, the dolman and the *mente* derived their shape and construction from the Turkish kaftan and were cut to have the sleeves extend up from the side seams.\(^\text{248}\) Moreover, those belonging to the elite were typically crafted from imported silks such as damasks and velvets from Italy and brocades from Turkey. The Hungarian Museum of Applied Arts have two *mente* in their collection that demonstrate this well. The first, a *mente* from the early sixteenth-century once thought to have belonged to Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-90), King of Hungary and Croatia, is tailored from an Italian *brocatelle*, a heavy brocade patterned with pomegranates and acanthus leaves (fig. 324). Its wide collar and metal-thread braided buttons are typically Hungarian. The collection also holds a child’s *mente* dated to the second half of the sixteenth century, which features a large, turned-down collar. It is made from splendid silk lampas (*kemha*), an expensive Turkish court silk interwoven with gold and silver-gilt threads (fig. 325). The universal allure of imported luxury textiles is epitomised in the example of the garments gifted to the Habsburg ambassador Siegmund von Herberstein at the court of Suleiman I in 1541 and recorded in a woodcut illustration (fig. 326). These robes of honour, tailored according to Turkish modes, included a ceremonial surkaftan (outer mantle) made from lavish Italian cut-pile velvet, a textile of considerable distinction at the Ottoman court.\(^\text{249}\)

\(^{248}\) Cone, *The Imperial Style*, 80.

The Hungarian and Croatian borderlands in the Balkans had long constituted a porous frontier through which the exchange of goods and ideas flowed. Since the fourteenth century, Hungarian troops had been important military rivals of the Ottomans, and as Pál Fodor and Géza Dávid stress, the frontier proved not only a space for confrontation, but also for mediation and linkage. This undoubtedly impacted upon sartorial tastes. In the album’s depiction of Croatian figures, a nobleman wears a high-collared dolman with gold clasps, a long blue mente, trousers, boots, and a cap with magnificent white egret plumes (fig. 327). A noblewoman next to him wears a mente with long hanging sleeves. It is noteworthy however, that this garment is not especially distinguishable from the zimarra, the long and loose over-gown also characterised by its

250 Dávid and Fodor, Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe, xiv.
open hanging sleeves that was favoured by Eleanora of Toledo and taken up by courtly
women across Europe; seen for example, in the album’s illustration of a German
noblewoman (fig. 305). Her headwear consists of intertwined lengths of cloth and could
be compared to the turban. As was noted earlier in response to the tocas de camino or
turban headdresses of rural Spaniards, centuries of cross-cultural contact and interaction
with antagonist rivals blurred the cultural distinctions of styles that became items of
shared taste across cultural and geographical frontiers. Fashions were necessarily
entangled and as cultural markers it is seen that they can be remarkably imprecise.

Figure 327: ‘Noble couple of Croatia’ from the “Madrid MS. Sternsee Album”, fol. 58r.

The Sternsee album’s portrayal of Hungarians and Croatians renders its
illustration of nobles from Carniola (Krain), Sternsee’s homeland, even more interesting
(fig. 328). Carniola had been incorporated into the Holy Roman Empire from the early
middle ages and had from 1276 become a hereditary domain of the Austrian Habsburgs.
Crucially, it directly bordered Croatia to the north, and was particularly vulnerable to
the Ottoman threat. This threat was well established before the Battle of Mohács. It is estimated that between 1470 to around 1530, parts of Carniola were so beset by Ottoman raids that they lost nearly half of their inhabitants to migration. And while Carniola was spared Ottoman occupation after Mohács, the territory was still obliged to assist with the Habsburg regimen of Türkenhilfe and take responsibility for the Croatian/Ottoman frontier. James F. Tracy notes however, that the duchy’s estates were more concerned with protecting their inner frontier with Croatia and stationed troops at Laibach (Ljubljana) instead of at Zagreb, where they were most needed. Carniola’s ruling class closed themselves off from their ill-fated Croatian neighbours with whom, it appears, they felt little solidarity. Echoes of this sentiment reverberate in

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251 James D. Tracy, *Balkan Wars: Habsburg Croatia, Ottoman Bosnia and Venetian Dalmatia, 1499–1617* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 40. These statistics mirror the situation in Croatia, which also lost nearly half of its population due to immigration driven by Ottoman assaults.

252 Ibid., 166.

253 Ibid.
the costume album, which depicts its Carniolan nobles and kinsmen of Sternsee’s in the sort of fineries exhibited across the German cities and principalities to the north: trimmed *Schaube*, plumed bonnets, golden hairnets, and puffed and slashed sleeves. Sternsee’s kinsmen are presented in accordance with an identity that the imperial guard performed for himself; that is, an elite who was part of the ‘German Nation’ and who was fiercely protective of his homeland’s cultural and historical ties to the Habsburgs and the German-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire.

**CONCLUSION**

What constituted Sternsee’s ‘German Nation’ was open to interpretation. Indeed, the borders of the Habsburg empire kept expanding, as new and diverse peripheral populations continued to be incorporated into Charles’s sovereign domains, complicating national identity construction. As this chapter has explored, a nation’s sartorial character could not be adequately captured by looking simply to a state’s centre of power and the dress of its elite. In fact, where the ‘state’ operated from in this era was complicated by the itinerant rule of an emperor who had no single court residence, and was shadowed by foreign soldiers, courtiers, and bureaucrats. The dress habits of frontier communities, rural populaces, and ethnic minorities fell under the spotlight of travelled imperial servants for whom it was clear that national characteristics negotiated a diverse range of sartorial identities. But considering the shared, hybrid styles that criss-crossed cultural communities, what precisely constituted these identities was up for analysis. The perimeters of sartorial character were not set firmly by the costume albums but were as porous as the political and cultural boundaries of empire. Consequently, they celebrate peculiar, unique, and ubiquitous clothing customs, building a nuanced geography of sartorial taste.

For many moralist commentators, the exciting variations in clothing styles seen from one place to the next was not seen as conducive to the construction of a solid national identity. Writing near the end of his life in 1555, the Spanish historian Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés bemoaned that,
... from the time when I was thirteen to this year of 1555, I could attest to many changes and costumes, for I have lived for 77 years; and although I travelled for some time through kingdoms beyond Spain, among no other nation did I see costume change so much or so often as among ours.\textsuperscript{254}

Oviedo’s perspective contrasts with the celebratory tone of Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s costume albums, but his agenda was also vastly different. As the Spanish court’s official historian of the Indies and its colonisation, his work has been read by Joan-Pau Rubiés to promote unequivocally ‘a Castilian-centered discourse of imperial legitimacy’.\textsuperscript{255} Oviedo was firm in his thinking that since the Spanish nation and its Catholic monarchs had sponsored the first discoveries, only Spain should retain any rights to dominion over these territories. For Oviedo, Charles V’s ‘empire of the Indies’ was only founded on his being the current king of Castile, his other sovereign titles irrelevant to this claim.\textsuperscript{256} Oviedo also adhered to the notion that Indians were naturally and morally deficient, in contrast to Weiditz and Sternsee’s artist, whose respectful curiosity for their New World subjects is palpable.\textsuperscript{257}

Oviedo’s nationalist persuasion and sense of cultural superiority – his few woodcuts of American natives show them naked and entirely devoid of cultural trappings, for instance – were traits that would have conspired against the careers that Weiditz, Sternsee, and other imperial retainers like Jan Vermeyen fashioned for themselves, reliant as they were on forming positive relationships with foreigners from throughout Charles’s empire and not just their own countrymen. Their ambitions meant that Charles of Habsburg was not only relevant as the sovereign of their kinsmen’s territory, but represented the pinnacle of hegemony that stretched across Europe and offered new opportunities for self-empowerment. The costume books navigate the ebbs and flows of national difference through the rich varieties of dress that thrived throughout Europe in these decades of unique cultural exchange. In the imperial system of exchange and dialogue it was not problematic to picture the entanglement of foreign-
influenced styles. Neither was it immaterial to embrace the curious, peripheral modes of minor communities. In the opinion of Oviedo and like-minded nationalists, these examples diluted a firm and fixed national, sartorial paradigm. But national dress was interesting to Weiditz and Sternsee for other reasons: chiefly, to tease out and pay homage to their cross-cultural experiences which represented the global reach and aspirational opportunities that Charles’s empire had forged.
Conclusion

The costume albums of Christoph Weiditz and Christoph von Sternsee narrate itineraries inextricably woven into the life and times of Charles V, and illuminate a world fashioned out of imperial agency, values, and memory. They were also the first European works to comprehensively picture global clothing cultures. This dissertation has endeavoured to tease out the links between these two features of the albums, demonstrating that the sixteenth-century vogue for the collection of comparative costume figures arose out of heightened experiences of cross-cultural encounter which, in the case of the Trachtenbuch and the Sternsee album, were supported by the structures and relationships of Charles V’s empire. The empire was maintained by courtiers, bureaucrats, and military officers from diverse foreign territories, whose careers serving their itinerant sovereign were inescapably mobile. Consequently, the embrace of travel and transnational exchange was crucially important for aspirant imperial servants. Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s biographies, materialised to a certain degree in their costume albums, exemplify the opportunities that this milieu proffered.

Above all, it was the opportunity to understand more about the world and the assorted customs and cultures of its people that drove the albums’ creation. In a period in which European merchants were trading in new and exotic resources, and colonialists were venturing into uncharted territories at an unprecedented rate, there was a distinct prestige to be knowledgeable about foreign worlds. Ethnography shifted from the dusty pages of classicist cosmographies to the diaries and sketchbooks of travellers from diverse social backgrounds. The costume imagery found in Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s albums constituted a new way of approaching human diversity that relied on first-hand cultural interaction and observation. This is what makes the albums’ illustrations so beguiling. Lively and authentic, their representations of the dress and appearance of foreign places transport viewers to other lands. As personal and commemorative works, they enabled their German owners to re-live and share with others their past itineraries,
while simultaneously demonstrating their worldly knowledge and the associated prestige of imperial favour.

This dissertation began by prioritising the biographies of Weiditz and Sternsee in a bid to understand how their social networks and working lives impacted upon the production and contents of their costume albums. It is through these biographical findings that the fundamental impact the Habsburg empire had upon their costume albums was measured. Chapter 1 plotted Weiditz’s social and cultural interactions, observing his early career influences, the patronage he received from imperial favourites, and his connection with Kolman Helmschmid. The armourer’s relationship to the Trachtenbuch was re-evaluated following new evidence including the lost Helmschmid portrait, preserved in previously unstudied copies. This evidence suggested that Helmschmid was positioned as the original protagonist of the album’s travel narrative. Further inquiry into whether the Trachtenbuch was, in this case, commissioned by the Helmschmid family has unfortunately been beyond the reach of this study, for at present, archival evidence that might confirm this is has not yet arisen. Helmschmid’s and Weiditz’s travel itinerary was newly charted with the most up-to-date sources of information, confirming that they sailed to Portugal from the Low Countries and reached the Spanish court in Castile in February 1529. Subsequently it has been possible to observe in the Trachtenbuch the sights that captured the artist’s attention from the road. These images constituted an affirmation that Weiditz and Helmschmid were traversing Spain in the company of the imperial entourage, reinforced through the inclusion of portraits of Hernán Cortés, Andrea Doria, and Mencía de Mendoza. The Trachtenbuch locates its displays of cultural knowledge as the outcome of participation within the networks of empire. Although Theodor Hampe’s study in 1927 brought Weiditz’s journey to the imperial court and his relationship with favourites like Dantiscus to scholarly attention, successive scholarship has been surprisingly reticent about the significance of this. A tendency to view Charles V’s empire as simply the background context to the work has hampered appreciation of the empire’s role in actively staging it.
Christoph von Sternsee and his costume album were introduced to the current literature on costume books in chapter 2. Unlike the *Trachtenbuch*, this album was composed for Sternsee by a secondary artist to commemorate not one burst of travel, but to retrospectively commemorate the abstract diversity of communities and cultures the military officer had experienced over nearly thirty years’ service as a Habsburg soldier and guard. Despite the obvious differences between his album and the *Trachtenbuch*, it too was engineered by the structures of Charles V’s empire, which launched imperial servants like Sternsee and Jan Vermeyen across vastly spread territories, courts, and foreign lands. The album shares with the *Trachtenbuch* a self-reflexive quality, insisting that its cultural knowledge, captured in the fashions and appearances of diverse populations, was obtained through exchange and dialogue supported by imperial relationships. Agendas and ideology significant to Charles V and the wider empire thus receive ample recognition in the album’s contents; namely, the folios relating to the Tunis campaign, the imperial title, the Order of the Golden Fleece, and the subjects of the New World.

These subjects must be seen as relevant to the ‘symbolic-ritual forms’ Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger has identified as externalising and making manifest the hegemony of the empire.¹ The ritual ceremonies of Charles’s chivalric order and his imperial coronation insisted upon the political and theological supremacy of the Habsburg emperor, as did military displays of martial strength, and courtly exhibitions of conquered subjects and exotic objects. But these external forms needed to be pictorially recorded if they were to reach the audiences required to prop up such a vastly-spread empire. This is why Stollberg-Rilinger’s circumvention of visual and material culture needs to be revised, as the example of the costume albums demonstrates that embodiments of empire were also made manifest through pictorial culture. Moreover, my study urges that even intimate and diminutive objects of visual and material culture can illuminate and uphold the workings of empire, a characteristic normally attributed to grandiose and publicly-displayed works of art such as tapestry series and large oil paintings. Formulated by collaborative relationships between diverse foreign nationals,

¹ Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor’s Old Clothes*, 1–2.
these costume albums orchestrated the type of cross-cultural exchange that actively sustained Charles’s empire.

Consequently, my analysis has positioned the costume albums in a framework that rejects the ‘culturally divisive’ national borders constructed in the mainstream nationalist tradition and embraces, as Leitch advises, a Renaissance period ‘grounded in exchange, and exemplary of complex connections between cultures that perhaps even invited relativistic assessments of each other’. The implications of my research have equally contributed to Walter Cupperi’s call for scholars to re-evaluate the national cultural boundaries often applied to the study of visual and material culture. The point has not been to de-localise cultural forms and traditions. It has been seen, for instance, that the costume albums responded to visual practices newly flourishing in southern Germany and in the Low Countries that encouraged ethnographic observation, experimentation with new media and pictorial genres, and the collaborative exchange of ideas and knowledge. Instead, I have sought to emphasise what Cupperi has described as the ‘profound agency of the imperial court’ in the German-speaking lands, Charles’s Netherlandish territories, and in Iberia, which prompted the mobilization of persons and objects, and facilitated cross-cultural exchange. This, in turn, impacted upon art production, as knowledge and ideas flowed across geographic borders. The costume albums are paradigmatic of this transculturality. Consequently, what their contents have to say about diverse foreign types becomes increasingly subtle and complex.

The second half of the dissertation was concerned with the albums’ costume imagery and construction of cultural identities. How they approached human subjects from the Americas warranted especial attention, providing a platform from which to unpick the ways visual information and cultural knowledge was obtained and negotiated. It is well-accepted that Weiditz’s corpus of Mexican nobles and entertainers was based on his first-hand observations of the party of Nahua who accompanied Cortés to Spain.

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3 Cupperi, “Beyond the Notion of German Medals,” 2013, 81.
4 Ibid., 87.
in 1528, documented at length by Howard F. Cline and Carina Johnson. As a result, this set of images are frequently considered to be wholly objective and naturalistic, a notion recently overturned by Elizabeth Hill Boone. Although Hill Boone insists that Weiditz’s palpable engagement with pre-existing sources of knowledge demonstrates an inability ‘to recognize real ethnic, cultural, and indeed, social distinction among the indigenous people of the Americas’, I have suggested a middle ground. As Surekha Davies has explored through her study of Renaissance maps, it was not only the authority of the eye-witness that inspired the trust of viewers or readers in this period, but also familiar frameworks of knowledge, which retained their epistemological value. My research has reassessed the New World figures of the albums with this important point in mind. It has identified that the costumes albums exhibit a tension between eye-witness naturalism and cultural knowledge separately acquired through prints, indigenous pictorial codices, news reports, and circulating artefacts. However, this characteristic exemplifies how cultural information was dealt with in the early modern period; that deeper truths were arrived at through an artful synthesis of all available evidence. This technique created ‘socially acceptable knowledge’, as Davies terms it, exemplifying the period approval of dialogue and exchange.

Any appraisal of culture and identity must be careful not to essentialise or homogenise its forms. Alessandra Russo’s example of the so-called ‘Cortesian objects’ makes the valid point that cultural forms are open to change. Fashions and styles do not remain static, but adapt to new concepts and novel techniques delivered, amongst other methods, through cross-cultural interaction. The production of mantles, jewellery, and other accoutrements in post-conquest Mexico for instance, unsurprisingly responded to tastes brought to the continent by Spanish soldiers and priests. This example problematises the ability of clothing, and by extension the costume albums, to isolate clearly defined ethnic, cultural, or national identities. The hybridity of sartorial tastes

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5 Cline, “Hernando Cortés and the Aztec Indians in Spain,” 72–73; Johnson, Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe, 84–89.
7 Davies, Renaissance Ethnography, 13.
8 Ibid.
and customs means that it is less useful to try to assess the ethnographic accuracy of the costume albums’ images, and more interesting to look for the moments in which costume figures demonstrate the impact that cultural encounter had upon developing modes. This was the task of chapter 4, which investigated how the costume albums loosely formulated sartorial characteristics for the empire’s Spanish, Netherlandish, and German subjects, negotiating the effects of cultural transfer across contact zones and navigating the styles of peripheral communities. It has been seen that the influx of foreign courtiers and soldiers into the various courts and territories of Charles V’s empire sharpened awareness of cultural difference and motivated efforts to understand and compare the people of these ‘nations’. Cultural mediators from among the imperial elite helped to spread fashionable innovations from one centre to another, assisting the transfer of garments styles like the verdugado petticoat, chopine platforms clogs, and the long mantle or mantilla for example. Meanwhile, the vogue for slashing and pinking textiles transcended its supposed origin in the flamboyant dress of Germanic mercenaries.

A wealth of novel and idiosyncratic garment styles also thrived in outlying communities, rural populations, and the dress of ethnic minorities. The costume albums’ eagerness to pay attention to these styles curtailed the portrayal of unambiguous, representative national costume figures, a quality that sets them apart from many costume books published in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Weiditz and Sternsee albums were less focused on establishing precise national archetypes for epistemological comparison, nor were they concerned with promoting those dress habits that were morally upright and critiquing those which were overly sumptuous or lascivious. Neither did their owners and composers fixate on how to ensure their kinsmen dressed as paradigms of a virtuous nation, as Ulinka Rublack, Ann Rosalind Jones, and Margaret Rosenthal identified in the costume books of Hans Weigel (Nuremberg, 1577) and Cesare Vecellio (Venice, 1590).9 Instead, they generated an impression of the exciting and diverse populations that travel and imperial service had exposed Weiditz and Sternsee to. They delighted in the eccentric and highly distinctive

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headdresses of women from the northern and frontier regions of Spain, the Moorish-derived *toca de camino* turbans still worn in the Castilian countryside, and the extravagant quantities of gold ornaments beloved in the recently acquired Habsburg territory of Friesland. This is an important component of the costume albums, which firmly roots the emergence of costume books and their interest in comparing sartorial character in a context of personally-experienced travel, encounter, and dialogue. Their charting of dress habits was not an exact science. What it meant to be Spanish instead of German was imprecise and full of enchanting variables, as the impact of transnational interchanges across the empire stimulated the circulation of novel clothing styles and shone a light on the dress customs of marginal communities.

The findings of this dissertation imply that the effects of political and imperial aspiration need to be pursued in other contemporaneous ethnographic and cartographic works. This has been achieved by Carina Johnson, whose 2011 study *Cultural Hierarchy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* unpacked the imperial court’s relationship to the culture and peoples of the Aztec and Ottoman empires. My dissertation has contributed to this line of enquiry by analysing how individual and imperial enterprises produced an appetite for ethnography and the study of sartorial habits that importantly linked with earlier news reports, maps, and illustrated broadsides that documented encounters in the Americas for instance, recently investigated by Johnson, Surekha Davies, and Stephanie Leitch.\(^{10}\) This appetite developed into a taste for the collection of comparative costume figures that reached its apogee with encyclopaedic printed costume books such as Cesare Vecellio’s, which itself relied on the assistance of a German interlocutor, the printmaker Christoph Krieger, who cut the woodblocks for the work’s 1590 edition.\(^ {11}\)

I would maintain that Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s costume albums were predecessors of this genre. I have therefore provided a much-needed re-evaluation of the *Trachtenbuch*, which in the last couple of decades has been the subject of studies resolutely distrustful of its traditional classification as a costume book. Andrea


Satterfield preferred to relate it to ethnographic and cosmographical works, while Albrecht Classen and Dennis Conrad considered it akin to the travelogue.¹² José Luis Casado Soto and Carlos Soler d’Hyver de las Deses also emphasised Weiditz’s travels, and tried to fit his images into a plausible route.¹³ These scholars’ considerations were all merited of course, however they each ended up de-emphasising dress habits and sartorial communities as the central subject of Weiditz’s work. I have shown that Weiditz’s eye-witness observations were highly compatible with his intention to compare and contrast sartorial customs. As Jones has stressed, costume was custom.¹⁴ Daily lives and socio-cultural identities were lived out in the dressed body and it was precisely the confidence in this notion that caused travellers to be attuned to see clothing as a means to understand and size-up the foreign populations they encountered. This is not only exemplified by the observations of travelling artists like Weiditz and Vermeyen, but also in the travel accounts of contemporary courtly writers like Laurent Vital, Andrea Navagero, and the English pilgrim Andrew Boorde.

The value of introducing Sternsee’s album to the secondary literature of costume books cannot be overemphasised. It is an essential work bridging the gap between Weiditz’s Trachtenbuch and the vogue for printed and painted costume books that multiplied in number in the second half of the sixteenth century. It therefore contributes to our understanding about how the commemorative travel drawings of an artist interested in clothing cultures might develop into a genre that shrewd publishers could sell to arm-chair travellers. My study of the album pays attention to the purposes an imperial military official might have to finance a work that associates the experiences of its owner with the assorted subjects and communities of Charles V’s empire and beyond. These findings have implications for the motivation behind the commission and purchase of later printed books, warranting a renewed appraisal of the business of travel, career ambition, and cultural politics. This dissertation has also injected the individual back into the period’s drive to compile costume books. My interdisciplinary approach,

¹³ Casado Soto, Soler d’Hyver de las Deses, and Weiditz, El Códice de los Trajes: libro studio.
¹⁴ Jones, “Habits, Holdings, Heterologies,” 93, 100.
which has combined the study of visual culture and pictorial practices with biography and political and cultural history, has shown that Weiditz’s and Sternsee’s costume albums combined personal and public politics, cultural experiences, and history to form highly novel, early examples of the costume book.

This dissertation has also highlighted that ethnography was not a subject reserved for humanist scholars, court ambassadors, and astute print-publishers for instance, but struck the interest of people from manifold backgrounds. Weiditz and Sternsee, as well as Jan Vermeyen and Hans Römer show that soldiers, artists, and craftsmen, when exposed to the stimulus of travel and cultural experience, grasped the benefits of understanding more about the world and the diversity of humankind. These figures are also a case in point that relationships between foreign nationals within the networks of empire had a profound impact on cultural production. Walter Cupperi and Mark Meadow began the process of exploring this subject with their focused studies on portrait medals and the Augsburg painting *Esther and Ahasuerus*.15 I have contributed to this conversation with the example of the costume albums; however, there are many more compelling items of visual and material culture that would profit from this sort of analysis. Such an approach would continue to emphasise dialogue, exchange, and collaboration as essential to creative life in the sixteenth century.

15 Cupperi, “Beyond the Notion of German Medals,” 2013; Meadow, “The Aztecs at Ambras.”
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