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Artisans and dress in Denmark, 1550–1650

A preliminary exploration

Anne-Kristine Sindvald Larsen

In 1581, an inventory was made up to divide the property of the smith Pouil after his wife, Kirstinne, had died.¹ Before her death, Kirstinne had arranged for some of her belongings to go to her daughter Seigne, including ‘some silver wares, buckles and spoons’.² The inventory further specified that Seigne could keep Kirstinne’s clothes and the chest they were stored in.³ This is a valuable example of the transmission of clothing and accessories, because it relates to ordinary artisans, a social group often overlooked by dress historians in favour of the elites.⁴ One issue that challenges the study of ordinary people’s dress is that the lives and possessions of this group are often poorly documented. Only a few studies, in the European context, have concentrated on the culture and dress of ordinary people. In Scandinavia, no one has conducted a detailed study of the clothing of people at artisanal levels, such as the shoemakers, butchers, bakers, tailors and barbers living in Danish trading towns.⁵ This chapter will introduce and discuss the range of sources that are available for the study of dress among artisans and shopkeepers in Denmark in the period 1550–1650, including inventories, town court books, sumptuary laws, travel accounts, personal accounts and tracts, as well as visual culture and extant garments. It will demonstrate that a cross-examination of different types of evidence can provide a clearer understanding of how artisans dressed and the meanings they attributed to clothing in the early modern period.

The discussion will focus on the Kingdom of Denmark, which, in this period, contained around 100 towns with small populations of only a few hundred people (Figure 8.1). The larger towns included Viborg, Ribe, Aarhus (Århus), Odense, Roskilde, Elsinore (Helsingør), Aalborg, Malmoe (Malmø) and the capital Copenhagen (København).⁶ Despite the small size of the towns, Denmark was already part of a global commercial network by the end of the seventeenth century. Copenhagen, Malmoe, Elsinore and Elsingburg (Helsingborg) in particular were thriving centres of trade, where both everyday goods and luxuries circulated among a wide range of consumers.⁷ The sources presented in this chapter are mainly from the trading town of Elsinore, but examples from other towns will be included.

A key source for the study of dress are probate and post-mortem inventories – lists of personal property and possessions drawn up after a person died.⁸ Probate inventories



Figure 8.1 Johannes Janssonius and Nicolaus J. Piscator, *Map of Denmark*, 1629–30, engraving, Copenhagen, Royal Library of Denmark, KBK 1111-0-1629/3. Image in the public domain.

survive in Denmark from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, from towns such as Elsinore, Malmoe, Randers, Kalundborg, Odense, Ribe, Vordingborg, Køge and Nakskov.⁹ The records used here are from Elsinore, and represent all layers of society, including people from the artisanal level. The purpose of inventories, which were legal documents, was to ensure that the heirs received the share of the estate that was rightfully theirs. When a person died, the home would be sealed, and a number of appraisers would be appointed by the town to value the property and household goods.¹⁰ Although post-mortem inventories are the most common type, inventories were sometimes drawn up for other reasons as well. For example, on 5 March 1596, the bailiff and the town clerk of Elsinore, together with two burghers, gathered in the house where the goods of tailor Jens Skreders were kept. The reason for their inventory of his estate was not because he had died, but because he had ‘escaped, having stabbed and killed’ tanner Jørren.¹¹

Inventories are useful sources because they not only illustrate the kind of clothing that people kept in their home but also provide further information about what fabrics the clothes were made of, the colours they had, what condition they were in and how valuable they were. The documents, moreover, often give insight into the owner of the clothes, informing us about family relations, occupation and where the owner lived.¹² For example, the inventory of the deceased brewer journeyman Pouell Pedersen, dated

27 May 1630, shows that he had lived and worked in Elsinore (Figure 8.2). His clothing and fabrics included 'One dark brown fustian attire with two lines of embroidered trimmings'; 'one pair of black breeches of [woollen] cloth with three rows of trimmings, one fustian jacket and one pair of multi-coloured kersey breeches'.¹³ In addition, his wardrobe included two hats (one of them old), one lined cap, an old nightcap, a pair of blue stockings, a pair of white hose, a pair of gloves, a new brush to dust off his clothing and thirty-five silver buttons.¹⁴ He also owned items made of linen, including 'two old shirts and two pairs of linen hose, together with three old pleated ruffs'.¹⁵ Furthermore the brewer possessed 3.5 ells (ca. 2.19 m) of kersey fabric, which was valued at 1 rigsdaler 8 skilling, and could be sewn up into a new garment.¹⁶

For all their usefulness, inventories also present historians with challenges. In the first place, although inventory descriptions of dress often contain estimations of monetary value and terms that indicate the condition of the item, we cannot be sure when, how or in what state the items were originally acquired and how much they had cost. Secondly,

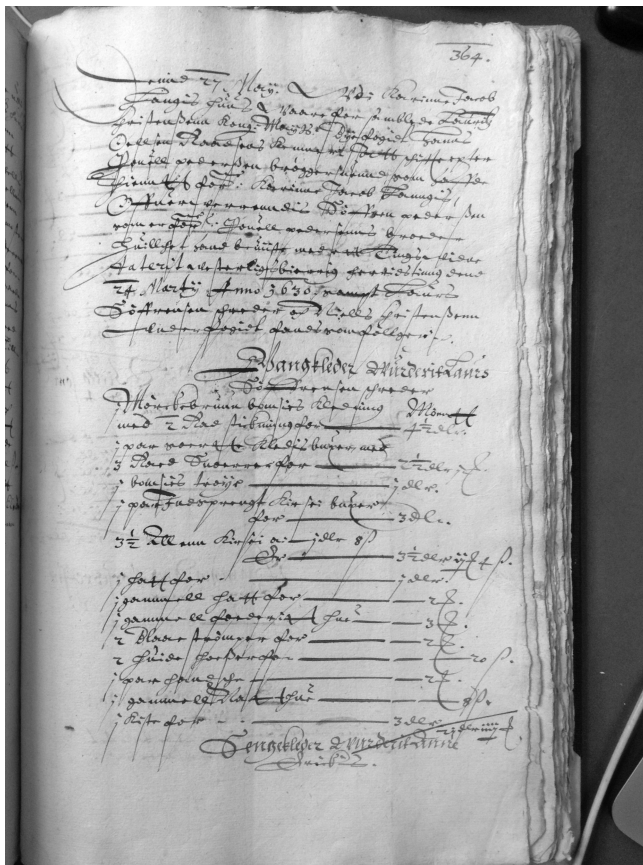


Figure 8.2 The brewer journeyman Pouell Pedersen's inventory, 27 May 1630, Helsingør byfoged, Helsingør Skifteprotokol p 364 r, Copenhagen, The National Archive of Denmark. Photo: author.

we must consider who compiled the inventory and the accuracy of that person's knowledge about the clothing recorded. This is especially important when we interpret the descriptions of clothing and translate terms from one language to another. Thirdly, we do not know what the garments looked like and how they differed from each other. Thus, while documentary sources such as inventories often provide lively descriptions of clothing worn by townspeople in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, it is hard to picture the clothing without visual evidence and remaining objects. Therefore, to obtain a better sense of dress and fashion in the period, we must turn to visual evidence.

Although visual representations of artisanal groups are rare, some relevant paintings, prints and engravings survive. Other useful images include objects related to craft guilds. One such image is a stained-glass window, originally from the shoemakers' guild house in Odense (Figure 8.3).¹⁷ The stained-glass window was presented to the



Figure 8.3 Danish, stained-glass window depicting a shoemaker's workshop, 1583, Odense, City Museums.

Shoemakers' Guild Hall in Odense in 1583, by the master shoemaker Jens Pedersen, and depicts a shoemaker's workshop with a journeyman and an apprentice, flanked by portraits of the master shoemaker Jens Pedersen and his wife. By comparing the image with documentary evidence, we can form an idea of the kind of clothing shoemakers wore in Denmark, and how garments were used to express hierarchies. In the workshop scene, the two workers are dressed in modest, white linen shirts, black aprons and pleated neck ruffs, whereas the master is depicted in relatively fine clothes, including a tight-fitting doublet and hose decorated with buttons, and what seems to be yellow lining, or a ribbon, alongside the buttons. He also wears black stockings, black shoes, white cuffs and a yellow ruff that matches the lining or trim on his doublet. On his head he wears a tall black hat.

In working with visual sources we must bear in mind that images were often idealized and they do not necessarily depict the actual clothes worn by the person portrayed – or worn in the context in which they are shown (e.g. a shoemaker may not have worn his finest clothes while at work in his shop). Therefore, a comparison with documentary evidence is needed. For example, according to an inventory from 1592, the shoemaker Steffen from the town of Kalundborg owned, among his clothing, a 'black leather doublet' and 'two [pairs of] breeches made of English [wool]', confirming, at least, that shoemakers did indeed own black clothing.¹⁸ We also have to take into consideration who painted or commissioned the image. A master shoemaker commissioning a representation of himself and his workshop to be donated to the Shoemakers' Guild Hall in Odense, where it would have been seen by everyone passing by, would probably have wished to show himself and his family in a style of clothing that would present them in the most respectable way. A critical analysis of images, examined together with documentary evidence, gives us information on what artisans owned and what garments could have potentially looked like. Yet, while written and visual evidence can communicate, to a certain extent, what artisans owned and what garments looked like, it does not give us a sense of the quality and tactility of the fabrics, or how the garments were cut and constructed. To gain an understanding of these aspects, we must look at remaining objects from the time.

In general, it is almost impossible to link surviving garments in museum collections directly to images or written descriptions. Nonetheless, these actual items of clothing and fabric add a material layer to our understanding that may support the information given by the written and visual sources. Generally, textile evidence from the lower social orders is sparse, and little has survived. But the National Museum of Denmark and the Museum of Copenhagen host important collections of early modern archaeological textiles from Copenhagen (Figure 8.4). Many early textiles were discovered in the course of a metro excavation during 2011 and 2012, when more than 2,000 textile fragments, mainly of silk and wool, were excavated from a seventeenth-century moat that had surrounded Rådhuspladsen, the town hall square.¹⁹ A study of 370 textile finds from Rådhuspladsen, carried out by the archaeologist Charlotte Rimstad, sheds light on the clothing of ordinary residents of Copenhagen in the seventeenth century. Although the clothing was found in the moat, making it impossible to connect the items to a specific neighbourhood or family, Rimstad's study shows that the textiles



Figure 8.4 Danish, knitted hats, Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark. Photo: Paula Hohti.

represent the kind of dress items worn and used by the broader population of early modern Copenhagen.²⁰

As challenging as it may be, by including these material objects in the study of dress and connecting them with documentary and visual evidence, we come closer to understanding how the clothing of ordinary people was made and used, and what materials were employed to make various dress items, from skirts and jackets to ribbons and hats. Knowing what kinds of clothing ordinary artisans owned and what their garments may have looked like helps us to begin to ask broader questions about the meanings, attitudes towards and functions of clothing at the lower social levels.

Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the nobility's desire to spend money on luxury goods and dress increased, especially on special occasions such as weddings, confinements and funerals. A similar trend can also be detected among town populations, engendering social competition. Sumptuary laws were designed to define and regulate appropriate levels of consumption according to social status and position in society, allowing the elite to distinguish themselves from commoners. The laws separated the lower orders from the higher ranks of society, and set apart the king and the nobility from the burghers through restrictions and privileges. Additionally, the laws were designed to enforce religious morals and to control the national and the household economy of ordinary people from being ruined by over-consumption.²¹

In December 1606, new legislation on dress and appearance was issued in Elsinore. In relation to wedding dresses, the laws contained instructions on how brides of high

and low status could adorn themselves. The bride or daughter of a mayor, council man or merchant could embellish herself with two gold necklaces and a piece of jewellery around her neck. In her hair, she could wear a string of pearls and a *garnidt*, a hair decoration that could be made out of fake hair.²² By comparison, women from artisan families who were about to marry an artisan or a commoner were only allowed to wear one gold necklace and a string of pearls in their hair.²³ Of course, such sumptuary laws are not necessarily a reflection of the items the lower orders actually wore and owned. The legislation, however, gives an insight into a number of issues such as how the higher ranks of society perceived the status of artisans and small shopkeepers, what types of dress were considered appropriate for the lower ranks to use and wear, which clothing items and accessories were perceived as luxury and which attitudes existed towards novelties and new fashions. Crucially, the laws do not inform us as to whether or not people kept to the regulations, although the frequency with which new laws were issued or old ones restated can give an indication. The Swedish historian Eva Andersson has investigated the effects of sumptuary laws in Stockholm in this period, suggesting that most of the clothes owned by ordinary people were made of the materials that were permitted for their rank such as different wool and silk fabrics such as damask and satin. However Andersson found systematic breaches in the case of smaller items, such as caps and jackets made out of velvet, possession of which is regularly recorded in inventories from the lower tiers, despite being forbidden to these strata of society.²⁴

Another source that highlights the role of clothing in society are town court books, which survive from several towns in Denmark and provide information about issues that were brought before the local court. Importantly, the books give an idea of the many other functions clothing and textiles had, besides being worn.²⁵ For example, in 1550, in Elsinore, Jørgen Henrichsen, a carpenter who was born in *Lybke*, stole a red piece of silk camlet worth 20 rigsdaler from the council man Henrick Moensen.²⁶ The theft occurred on the evening before Easter, and the thief later resold the fabric to a man called Anders, from the town of Landskrona. To be precise, Jørgen bartered the fabric in exchange for some wax. The source indicates that the town court sentenced Jørgen to death, but the people present at the town court begged Henrick, the original owner of the silk camlet, to spare his life sending him to prison instead.²⁷ This example illustrates the significant financial value of fabrics and clothing. Textiles were not just necessities, but they also represented a valuable part of people's private possessions that could be used to store wealth – so much so, in fact, that some would risk their lives to appropriate them illegally.²⁸

Traveller accounts give us an idea of which aspects of Danish dress style stood out in the eyes of foreigners. There are several surviving accounts of travellers who visited Danish towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which we find evidence regarding clothing. Even though dress and appearance are not the main themes of the accounts, travellers occasionally commented on the people they met on their journeys, including observations on the fashion of their dress, or its individual components. The interest in foreign fashions is also apparent from costume books and descriptive accounts that were published in the same period, documenting the sartorial customs of urban and rural populations across Europe and in newly discovered parts of the world.²⁹

In an account from 1593, the English gentleman Fynes Morrison comments broadly on the style of dress he encountered in Denmark:³⁰

Women as well married as unmarried, Noble and of inferiour condition, weare thinne bands about their neckes, yet not falling, but erected, with the upper bodies of their outward garment of velvet, but with short skirts, and going out of the house, they have the German custome to weare cloakes.³¹

An account by the Frenchman Charles Orgier, who visited in 1634, records his thoughts about the people of Elsinore. Orgier was the secretary to a French diplomat, and visited Denmark on the occasion of the wedding of Prince-Elect Christian to Magdalena Sybilla of Saxony.³² Among other things, Orgier marvels about people's ability to acquire certain types of fabric that were not produced locally. On 12 August 1634, he wrote:

Everywhere you see the finest linen, and I wondered how even in stalls of the Barbers I found fine and costly towels which artisans and day labourers use, though there is no abundance of flax and hemp in the country. In no other country have I seen such large and beautiful bed sheets as here.³³

The visitors inform us on the type of dress that people wore out in public, and on how German style and culture affected the dress of Denmark.³⁴ More importantly, they indicate that working people could acquire fine imported linens, and that people of 'inferior condition' could wear the same style of clothes as the wealthier groups of society. This is confirmed by inventories from Elsinore. For example, the butcher Troels had 5 shirts, 5 ruffs, 2 handkerchiefs and 3 pillowcases. Moreover, he kept a pair of flax linen sheets, 8 pounds of flax yarn, and also 1 cloth, 1 pair of sheets and 21 pounds of the coarser quality of linen known as *blågarn* among his household linens.³⁵

Personal accounts, such as diaries, and public pamphlets and tracts equally give us a picture of clothing habits and the mentality regarding dress. Diaries written by ordinary artisans or shopkeepers are extremely rare, but the diary of a butcher family from Elsinore describes the everyday life in the trading town from 1607 to 1677.³⁶ In the diary, there is no direct information about the dress of the diarists and their families, but in 1617, the father, Tue Jensen, writes about the birth of a child with an abnormal appearance. He describes a child 'with a peaked skull what looked like a half round circle similar to one of those metal threads they put in front of their forehead and through their ears', probably referring to a type of hairstyle or headdress worn by women.³⁷

In 1625, another misshapen baby came into the world in the area of Mørkøv, outside of Copenhagen (Figure 8.5); this was commented upon by the local vicar Hans Nielsen, who, in the pamphlet *Tragic Spectacles and Warnings* (*Sørglig Spectacel oc Vndertegn*), explained how the baby was born with:

A high and wide bow of flesh, quite high and pointed . . . [like] the mourning hats raised with metal thread, and the other similar offensive caps that the female gender noble and ignoble, poor and rich wear, without thought or consideration towards the many signs that Gods uses every day to express His wrath.³⁸



Figure 8.5 Misshapen baby from Mørkøv, from Hans Nielson, *Sorglig Spectacel oc Vndertegn*, woodcut, 1625, Copenhagen, Royal Library of Denmark. Image in the public domain.

According to the vicar, the child's deformity was a punishment for the mother having ignored God's word.³⁹ The commentaries by the butcher Tue Jensen and the vicar from Mørkøv place luxury dress in the centre of discussions about immorality. Even though the sources do not talk about the costumes of individuals directly, they nonetheless present ideas about dress and highlight the social, cultural and religious significance of clothing. They show how dress style was closely linked to religion and contemporary morals, and they highlight a connection between dress, body, religion and beliefs. Although we must consider that some of the accounts may be exaggerated or fictional, the sources may help to explain why people did, or did not, dress in a certain way.

Even though sources concerning the lives and appearance of ordinary artisans in Denmark from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are sparse, it is possible to study ordinary people's dress by cross-referencing documentary, visual and material evidence. Each category of sources on its own has different strengths and weaknesses, but used together they can provide an insight into the role of dress at different social levels and in various contexts, and will be a starting point for a more detailed study of dress among the lower levels of society in Denmark and elsewhere in Scandinavia and Europe.

Chapter 8

- 1 This chapter is part of my forthcoming PhD Thesis, with the preliminary title *Artisan Dress in Denmark 1550–1650*. The research for it was carried out as part of the ‘Refashioning the Renaissance’ project, funded generously by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 726195).
- 2 Michael Dupont, *Helsingør Skifteprotokol 1571–1582* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 2014), 209–10: ‘nogenn sølff whare, spennde oc skeder’.
- 3 Dupont, *Helsingør Skifteprotokol*, 210.
- 4 See, for instance, Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Elizabeth Currie, ‘Clothing and a Florentine Style, 1550–1620’, *Renaissance Studies* 23, no. 1 (2009): 33–52; Elizabeth Currie, *Fashion and Masculinity in Renaissance Florence* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016); Susan J. Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers, 2003).
- 5 For Italy: Patricia Allerston, ‘Clothing and Early Modern Venetian Society’, *Continuity and Change* 15, no. 3 (2000): 367–90; Paula Hohti, ‘Dress, Dissemination, and Innovation: Artisan Fashions in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century Italy’, in *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles, and Innovation in Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Evelyn Welch (Oxford: Oxford University Press and Pasold Research Fund, 2017); and especially the ongoing ‘Refashioning the Renaissance’ project at <http://refashioninrenaissance.eu>. For England: John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007). For Germany: Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). For Scandinavia: Camilla Luise Dahl, ‘Dressing the Bourgeoisie: Clothing in Probate Records of Danish Townswomen, ca. 1545–1610’, *Medieval Clothing and Textiles* 12 (2016): 131–93; Camilla Luise Dahl, ‘Klædt i Rigets – Stand, Status og National Identitet Udtrykt i Borgerkabets Dragt i Reformationstidens Danmark-Norge og Sverige’ (Oslo: Forelæsningsserien Norsk institutt for bunad og folkedragt, Norsk folkemuseum, 2015); Eva I Andersson, ‘Swedish Burghers’ Dress in the Seventeenth Century’, *Costume* 51, no. 2 (2017): 171–89; Eva I. Andersson, ‘Women’s Dress in Sixteenth-Century Sweden’, *Costume* 45

- (2011): 24–38; Charlotte Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger fra Voldgraven: Klædedragten i 1600-Tallets København, Baseret På Arkæologiske Tekstiler fra Københavns Rådhusplads' (PhD Thesis, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, 2018); Vivi Lena Andersen, 'Mellem Brosten, Knyst, Skolæst og Mode. Sko fra 1300-1800 fra Arkæologiske Udgravninger i København' (PhD Thesis, University of Copenhagen and Museum of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, 2016).
- 6 Grete Jacobsen, *Kvinder, Køn og Købstadslovgivning 1400-1600* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige bibliotek and Museum Tusculanums forlag, 1995), 99; Ole Degn and Inger Dübeck, *Håndværkets Kulturhistorie. Håndværket i Fremgang. Perioden 1550-1700*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Håndværkerrådets Forlag, 1983), 11–13. In this chapter, I use the term 'Denmark' to refer to the Kingdom of Denmark, which in the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries included Skåne (until 1658), Blekinge and Halland (until 1645). I have chosen not to include other provinces ruled by the Danish king, including the Kingdom of Norway together with the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland and the duchies Schleswig and Holstein in what is now northern Germany.
 - 7 Camilla Luise Dahl and Piia Lempiäinen, 'The World of Foreign Goods and Imported Luxuries: Merchant and Shop Inventories in late 17th-Century Denmark-Norway', in *Fashionable Encounters: Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early Modern Nordic World*, ed. Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), 11.
 - 8 On the use of inventories, Giorgio Riello, 'Things Seen and Unseen: The Material Culture of Early Modern Inventories and Their Representation of Domestic Interiors', in *Early Modern Things: Objects and Their Histories, 1500-1800*, ed. Paula Findlen (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2013), 125–50; Jan Kuuse, 'The Probate Inventory as a Source for Economic and Social History', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 22, no. 1 (1974): 22–31. Other inventory based dress studies are Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Isis Sturtewagen, *All Together Respectable Dressed: Fashion and Clothing in Bruges during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (PhD Thesis, University of Antwerp, 2016).
 - 9 Dahl, 'Dressing the Bourgeoisie', 133; no inventories from Norway survive from this period.
 - 10 Dahl, 'Dressing the Bourgeoisie', 133–4.
 - 11 HBS: 1592-1598, 521v: 'Vndvigt fra for Jørren Skinder, Hand hafde stuckett och får gjord'.
 - 12 Dahl, 'Dressing the Bourgeoisie', 133–4.
 - 13 HBS:1628-1631, 364r: '1 Mørckebruun bomsies kledning med 2 Rad stickninng, 1 par soertte kledis buxer med 3 Raed Snoerrer, 1 bomsies troye, 1 par Indsprengt kirsei buxer'. The cloths are not described in detail, but they are probably of wool. <https://mothsordbog.dk/ordbog?select=Klæde,e&query=klæde> (accessed 13 February 2019).
 - 14 HBS:1628-1631, 364r: '1 hatt, 1 gammell hatt, 1 gammell foederitt hue, 1 gammell Natthue, 2 Blaae strømper, 2 huide hoser, 1 par handshe'. <https://mothsordbog.dk/ordbog?aselect=Klæde-byrste&query=klædebørste> (accessed 2 October 2018).
 - 15 HBS:1628-1631, 364v: '2 Gamle skiortter, 2 Linnhoesser, 3 gamle Ruekrauffuer'.
 - 16 HBS:1628-1631, 364r, In 1683, one ell was 62.81 cm. The currency in this period included the rigsdaler, mark, ort and skilling.
 - 17 Troels Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det Sekstende Aarhundrede*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen and Kristiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel and Nordisk Forlag, 1914, 4th edn), 174–5.

- According to Lund, the custom of making gifts of stained-glass panels was common when a new house was built, and according to him the example discussed here is representative of this custom.
- 18 Camilla Luise Dahl, 'Skifter fra Kalundborg 1541-1658', no. 11: 'Dend sorte leertrøie, 2 sorte engelst boxer'. https://ctr.hum.ku.dk/research-programmes-and-projects/previous-programmes-and-projects/earlymodern/postdocproject/extracts/skifter_fra_kalundborg_udvalg.docx.pdf (accessed 15 September 2019).
 - 19 Literature on archaeological finds from Copenhagen includes Andersen, Mellem Brosten, Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger Fra Voldgraven', 10-12, Charlotte Rimstad, 'Hgåndtryk fra fortiden. Om strikkede handske og vanter fra 1600-tallet', *Dragtjournalen* 11, no. 15 (2017): 69-74; Maj Ringgaard, 'To par strixstrømper oc en nattroe naccarat'. *Filtede og strikkede tekstiler fra omkring år 1700, fundet i Københavnske byudgravninger – og sammenhænge mellem tekstilers farve og bevaring* (PhD Thesis, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, 2010); Maj Ringgaard, 'Hosekoner Og Sålede Strixstrømper', *Dragtjournalen* 8, no. 11 (2014): 4-12; Lise Warburg, 'Strik i de Københavnske jordfund', in *Textila tekniker i nordisk tradition. Rapport från nordiskt symposium om textila tekniker*, ed. Bengt Wittgren (Uppsala: Etnologiska Institutionen 1986), 79-93.
 - 20 Rimstad, 'Dragtfortællinger fra Voldgraven', 10-12, 403.
 - 21 Leon Jespersen, 'At Være, at Ville og at Have. Træk af Luksuslovgivningen i Danmark 15- 1600-Tallet', *Temp. Tidsskrift for Historie* 1, no. 1 (2010): 31-6.
 - 22 <https://kalkarsordbog.dk/ordbog?aselect=Garnete&query=garnidt>, https://ordnet.dk/ods/ordbog?entry_id=6014615&query=garnet (accessed 7 January 2019).
 - 23 V. A. Secher, *Forordninger, Recesser og Andre Kongelige Breve, Danmarks Lovgivning Vedkommende 1558-1660*, vol. 3, 1596-1621 (Copenhagen: G.E.C Gad Nielsen & Lydicke, 1891), 210-13; http://kalkarsordbog.dk/ordbog?entry_id=67137002&query=perlelad&hi=perlelad (accessed 7 January 2019).
 - 24 Eva I. Andersson, 'Foreign Seductions: Sumptuary Laws, Consumption and National Identity in Early Modern Sweden', in *Fashionable Encounters: Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early Modern Nordic World*, ed. Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 15-29, esp. 28.
 - 25 I use the English phrase 'town books' collectively for the Danish terms *stadsbøger*, *rådstueprotokoller*, *bytingsprotokoller*, and *rådstuedombøger*. Published town books include Einar Bager, *Malmø Stadsbog 1549-1559. Rådstuerettens, Bytingets og Toldbodrettens Protokol* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for udgivelse af kilder til dansk historie, 1972); Erik Kroman, *Malmø Rådstueprotokol (Stadsbok) 1503-1548* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1965); Leif Ljungberg and Einar Bager, *Malmø Tingbøger 1577-83 og 1588-90* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til dansk Historie, 1968); Erik Kroman, *Ribe Rådstuedombøger 1527-1576 og 1580-1599* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til dansk Historie, 1974); Karen Hjorth and Erik Kroman, *Helsingør Stadsbog 1554-1555, 1559 -1560 og 1561-1565. Rådstueprotokol og Bytingbog* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1981); and Erik Kroman, *Helsingør Stadsbog 1549-1556. Rådstueprotokol og Bytingbog* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1971).
 - 26 *Lybke* probably refers to the German town of Lübeck.
 - 27 Kroman, *Helsingør Stadsbog 1549-1556*, 52-3.

- 28 See also Beverly Lemire, 'The Theft of Clothes and Popular Consumerism in Early Modern England', *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 2 (1990): 255–76; Vibe Maria Martens, 'The Theft of Fashion: Circulation of Fashionable Textiles and Garments in 18th-Century Copenhagen', in *Fashionable Encounters: Perspectives and Trends in Textile and Dress in the Early Modern Nordic World*, ed. Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 157–71.
- 29 Lou Taylor, *Establishing Dress History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 4–6.
- 30 W. R. Prior, 'Et Engelsk Rejseindtryk Af Danmark Fra 1593', *Fra Arkiv Og Museum* 5 (1912-1915): 45–58.
- 31 Fynes Morrison, *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmer- Land, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland & Ireland*, vol. 4 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1908), 215.
- 32 Julius Clausen and P. Fr. Rist, *Det Store Bllager I Kjøbenhavn 1634* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel and Nordisk Forlag, 1914), I–XIX.
- 33 Ibid., 15: 'Allevegne ser man det fineste Linned, og jeg undrede mig over selv i Barberernes Bod at finde fine og kostbare Haandklæder til Brug for Haandværkere og Daglejere, skøndt der ingen Overflod der i Landet er paa Hør og Hamp. I intet andet Land har jeg set saa store og smukke Sengelagener som her'.
- 34 The German style also dominated dress in Sweden, Andersson, 'Foreign Seductions', 24–5.
- 35 HBS:1632-1635, 9r: '5 shiorter, 8 sky kraffuer, 2 tørreklæder, 3 pudes vor, 1 par horgarns lagen, 8 pd Horgarn, 1 bloegarns dug, 1 par bloegarns lagen, 21 pd bloegarn' *Blågarn* is coarse linen made from the waste fibres of spinning: <https://mothsordbog.dk/ordbog?query=blår> (accessed 9 February 2019).
- 36 The diary is transcribed and published by Torben Bill-Jessen and Lone Hvass.
- 37 Torben Bill-Jessen and Lone Hvass, *Liv Og Død, Tro, Håb Og Mirakler i 1600-Tallets Helsingør* (Helsingør: Helsingør Kommunes Museer, 2017), 48: 'med en høj top for[an] i panden var ret lige som et halvt rundt cirkel som skulle være lignet [ligne] som et af hine staaktraadsbøjler de sætte i for panden og har igennem øren.'
- 38 Hans Nielsøn, *Sørglig Spectacel oc Vnder tegn* (Copenhagen: Henrich Waldkirch, 1625), 4: 'høj bred rund Bue aff Kiød, noget I Høyden spizactig, eller med Staaltraae opreiste Sørgehatte, och andre saadanne forargelige Huer som nu aff Quindekiønet Adel oc V-adel, Fattig oc Riig, fast vbetenctet oc modvilligen imod mange saadanne Guds vredis Tegn oc daglig Formaning Brugis'.
- 39 Nielsøn, *Sørglig Spectacel*, 5–7.