A COMPARISON OF THE SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF COSTUME BOOKS FROM RENAISSANCE VENICE AND NINETEENTH CENTURY PARIS

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ABSTRACT

Clothing is universally used as a means for displaying wealth and status. From this widespread interest, the genre of the costume book developed. These books have been written since the Renaissance with the purpose of describing the clothing traditions of different societies. By reading these texts, and exploring the social context out of which they developed, one can gain interesting insights into the driving forces behind their publication. This paper examines and compares Cesare Vecellio’s *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, a costume book written in Renaissance Venice and Charles Louandre’s *Les arts somptuaires: histoire du costume et de l’ameublement et des arts et industries qui s’y rattachent*, a French costume book written in 1857. By analyzing these two texts, we see many similar catalysts for their creation, such as changing economic patterns and increases in national pride.
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INTRODUCTION

In the discipline of Western History since the Renaissance, the study of clothing has rarely achieved the status of topics such as literature, history, or painting, but the traditions of costume and dress have remained a persistent topic of scholarly pursuit. This is because throughout the different histories of cultures, clothing, more so than any other type of material culture, has been a ubiquitous and universal marker of social identity. The material produced when one culture studies the costume of another, or the costume of its own past, can give significant insight into the mores of that group.

The practice of systematically recording and categorizing the costume of different nations and time periods was strongly emphasized during the Italian Renaissance. The rapid expansion and exploration that occurred at this time resulted in a desire to classify and categorize the cultures of the inhabitants of unfamiliar lands. The genre of costume books was born out of an interest in exoticism, combined with a number of other factors, some of which include the growing status of clothing after the introduction of the Sumptuary Laws in Venice and other areas of Europe, the tradition of depicting foreign peoples on explorer’s maps, and the patterns provided by tailor’s sample books.1 One of the earliest and most famous examples of the costume book genre is Cesare Vecellio’s Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo, which was published in 1598. It is predated only by a similar, but anonymous text written in 1572 entitled

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Omnium fere gentium nostraeque. Since its publication, numerous other authors have created texts which provide descriptions, often accompanied by attractive illustrations depicting the typical attire of a certain culture or era.

Because the study of costume has such strong ties to the study of class and status, it is interesting to explore the social context from which costume books were created, specifically that of Vecellio’s Habiti as well as Les arts somptuaires: histoire du costume et de l’ameublement et des arts et industries qui s’y rattachent, a French book from this genre that was written in 1857 and serves as the focus of this study. Acting as the first of an extensively reproduced typology, Vecellio’s writings provide a basis for comparison when examining Les arts somptuaires. Looking at these two texts, which were written nearly three centuries apart, allows us to examine how the influences, purposes, and audiences of the European costume book have evolved.

Despite the many years separating these two works, we can identify several similar underlying cultural trends that helped lead to their creation. One of these elements is the strong sense of regional and national pride felt by Renaissance Venetians and mid-nineteenth century Frenchmen. Vecellio and Louandre express this pride clearly in their writings. Additionally, both cultures were witness to a decreased visual stratification between social classes; determining a person’s wealth by looking at their clothing was more difficult.

For both Vecellio and Louandre, these cultural characteristics lead to the creation of costume books. The authors of these books did not merely outline popular styles of clothing; they also bolstered the civic pride of the nations with which they identified. At the same time,

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2 Elizabeth Rodini and Elissa Weaver, A Well-fashioned Image: Clothing and Costume in European Art, 1500-1850 (Chicago, IL: David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, 2002), 14.
these texts also acted as a reaction to the social changes that their authors were witness to, such as a mingling of social classes or a resurgence of interest in unfamiliar cultures, from faraway places or faraway times.
VECELLIO AND THE RENAISSANCE COSTUME BOOK

The mid-fourteenth century marks the beginning of modern costume, which has been defined by the emergence of a sharp contrast between the styles of men and women’s clothing. During this time, both genders moved away from long flowing garments. Men’s tunics became shorter, and women’s floor length dresses became more form fitting. Increasingly capitalistic economic conditions such as the growth of commercial city centers, as well as the early influences of Renaissance humanism’s emphasis on the individual are credited for the progressively complex styles of costume that developed at this time. Beginning in this period, inspirations for clothing designs tend to be less functional and became more focused on regional trends. At the same time, people became more conscious of the use of clothing as a means of social expression.

Prior to the mid-sixteenth century and the publication of Vecellio’s Habiti antichi et moderni, the majority of studies in costume were either instructional pattern books, or writings providing information to the public on how to follow the fashions of the court. The designs worn at court were usually the result of collaboration between the nobles that wore them, the designers that planned them, and the tailors that constructed them. Some examples of this are the costume studies drawn by the court artist Pisanello in the mid-fifteenth century (Figure 1).

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The driving force behind the creation of these garments was usually the desire of the wealthy to be in possession of the most luxurious and stylish garments. Thus, these drawings of costumes were a product of the competitive nature of the wealthy and noble classes.
In the fifteenth century, Italy began to experience increased interaction with France and the rest of Europe through trade. This exploration inspired a more homogeneous style of dress across Europe, and also sparked an intense interest in the material culture of foreign lands that
were being discovered by Portuguese and Spanish. Some of the first depictions of newly discovered peoples and their exotic dress appeared as decorative illustrations on maps. At this time, maps were often owned by the elite to show their knowledge of foreign lands, or by wealthy merchants to show the extent of their trade routes. The illustrations of exotic peoples on these maps show the fascination that faraway lands held for the Renaissance viewer.

The ability to quickly produce and disperse printed material sparked the emergence of books that sought to catalogue and categorize. This movement may be observed in many areas of study in the Renaissance. For example, in the field of botany, herbals, or illustrated books describing the properties of plants were created. Similarly, anatomists like Leonardo da Vinci increased scientific and artistic knowledge by recording his dissections of different parts of the human body. Like Vecellio, the authors of these texts created their books out of a personal interest in the subject matter, and to share information with their contemporaries, who were principally the wealthy and the well-educated.

The interest in clothing as a visualization of social status, combined with a taste for the exotic, and the tendency of Renaissance scientists to create categorizing studies all combined to provide a platform for the creation of Vecellio’s *Habiti*. The major catalyst that set this book apart from its predecessors; however, can be attributed to the period’s burgeoning interest in humanism. At the time of Vecellio’s writings, humanist thought was well established; it had spread out of Italy and into other areas of Europe including France, Spain, Germany, Budapest,

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Prague and Vienna. Humanist thought was based on the premise that the study of classical ideas could provide an important means through which ideas on current cultural, civic, and personal questions could be improved. Vecellio’s text can be considered a product of humanism because it used ancient Greek and Roman models as a basis for its studies, it examined the morals and virtues of a culture through their clothing, and it served as a means to promote civic pride.

Vecellio’s reverent attitude towards ancient Rome is an indicator of his humanist tendencies. He begins his study of different cultures with Rome, explaining that this is because Ancient Rome is the “noblest of subjects.” In describing his research methods, he states that his descriptions of ancient Roman clothing come from what he has found in written descriptions, but also includes some examples that have been seen in contemporaneous statues. This aspect of Vecellio’s writing follows humanist thought in that he first characterizes ancient Rome as the ideal, and then employs the use of ancient texts and artifacts to examine the perfection of this civilization.

Humanist thought encouraged virtuous living and strove for moral perfection. It was understood that a person’s dress and outer ornamentation could act as an indicator for their inner virtue. This idea was a driving force behind the works of portraitists who attempted to create a union between their sitter’s inner beauty and external beauty. In the Habiti, Vecellio iterates the same concept by explaining how his figure’s clothing is representative of their nature. In most of his descriptions, he includes commentary on behavior in addition to dress. Some of the reoccurring themes he addresses include women’s virtue and the male’s bravery. For example, in describing the dress of a Swedish bride, he states, “And such brides wear lovely little boots

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10 Elizabeth Rodini, and Elissa Weaver, A Well-fashioned Image, 14.
and they are very chaste.”¹¹ His focus on the internal as well as external character of his subjects reveals the close relationship between the two that was perceived at this time.

The Humanists studied subjects such as rhetoric, history, poetry, and philosophy with the ultimate goal of creating a better society. Civic duty and pride were highly valued in Renaissance Italy. Vecellio’s text has strong undertones that promote this through the depiction of the clothing of his subjects. In the section describing the costumes of Venice, where Vecellio lived, he fosters a sense of civic pride by using clothing to valorize the strength of the city’s economy, as well as the beauty and taste of its women. In the text, Vecellio states, “Quite unlike any other city, the illustrious city of Venice, because of its location, size, and magnificence, is one of the miracles of the world.”¹² Through this type of description, Vecellio’s own pride for his city is revealed.

In the Habiti, Vecellio includes drawings of Venetian citizens from varying socioeconomic strata including merchants, shopkeepers, boatmen, and even prostitutes or courtesans. This differentiates his text from its predecessors that were focused solely on the fashions of the courts. The practical clothing of working class citizens acted as a representation of the strength of the economy of the industries to which they contributed. In this way, the Habiti would have bolstered its Venetian reader’s sense of civic pride by showing their city as a well-oiled economic machine full of happy (and sometimes immoral) workers.

Vecellio’s pride for Venice is also shown through his description of the women of the town, such as those of the brides at Ascension time. The Ascension was a particularly important feast day for Renaissance Venetians because during this religious holiday they hosted a large

¹¹ Vecellio, The Clothing of the Renaissance World, 381.
festival that celebrated their close ties with the sea.\textsuperscript{13} Many would visit the city to see the spectacle that would take place there. Vecellio states, “The brides set about inventing and adorning themselves in the greatest luxury and elegance they can, because they will be seen not only by their fellow citizens but also but the many foreigners of all ages and sexes who come…to see that splendid display of merchandise.”\textsuperscript{14} Because beauty was so closely tied with virtue at this time, the elegant costume of the women became a vehicle for portraying to visitors the moral perfection of the city, and thus became a point of civic pride. Venetians drew such a strong parallel between the elaborate clothing of women and the honor of their city that in 1459, Venetian women were given dispensation from sumptuary laws regulating the ornamentation of their clothing for the express purpose of impressing foreign visitors.\textsuperscript{15}

In addition to illustrating the virtue of certain areas, costume books also conveyed political and social ideas through the world view of their authors and illustrators. This is especially true in the \textit{Habiti}, in which Vecellio’s prejudices are often clear through his opinionated descriptions of other cultures and religions. For example, in describing the men of Peru, Vecellio states, “But since they have adopted the religion of Spain, they have begun to live in a different way, and now that they are Catholics, they have abandoned their idols and worship the true God.”\textsuperscript{16} Through comments such as this, it is clear that although Vecellio can admire the uniqueness of some aspects of these foreign people’s culture, such as their clothing, he is convinced that other aspects, such as their religion, benefits from the influence of more civilized European countries. This attitude was the standard for Renaissance Italians.

\textsuperscript{14} Vecellio, \textit{The Clothing of the Renaissance World}, 181.
\textsuperscript{16} Vecellio, \textit{The Clothing of the Renaissance World}, 554.
Vecellio relied heavily on the descriptions of others in creating accounts of each culture described in the *Habiti*. Because Venice was a major center for trade, Vecellio was sometimes able to talk to travelers who had visited the lands he describes; he cites these interactions as the source for some of his information.\(^{17}\) Through his descriptions of cultures, it is clear that his accounts are not always accurate and are often heavily tainted by Vecellio’s own culture. When describing the clothing of married women and girls of Virginia and several other American cultures, he states that the people, “…greatly enjoy hunting and fishing.”\(^{18}\) Here, he presents this activity as a pastime, as it would have been for a wealthy Venetian such as himself and his readers. He disregards the notion that these activities acted as a means of survival. To Vecellio’s credit, he does claim in his introduction that he cannot guarantee the accuracy of all of his information, given the immense range of his subject matter.

In his introductory note to the reader, Vecellio states his intent for creating the *Habiti antichi et moderni* as “both entertaining and pleasing anyone interested in my profession through my art and industry…”\(^{19}\) Cesare Vecellio descended from a long line of wealthy and prominent noblemen, who were often also artists. Being a wealthy Venetian, Vecellio would have been concerned about costume and aware of its ability to convey social meaning to others. Prior to *Habiti antichi et moderni*, Vecellio wrote *Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne*, which was a collection of lace patterns. This costume text, like others of its time was primarily practical and not an intense cultural study like Vecellio’s later *Habiti antichi et moderni*.

In addition to writing and illustrating books, Vecellio also worked as a painter. At the time when he wrote his extensive text on costume, he was employed in the workshop of his


\(^{19}\) Vecellio, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World*, 52.
cousin Tiziano Vecellio, better known as the artist Titian. As a member of an artist’s workshop, Vecellio would have been interested in clothing’s ability to convey social status, because this was an important function of Renaissance portraiture. Having knowledge of the material culture of foreign cultures would have also been important for him because it was fashionable to display exotic goods in paintings. Additionally, the study of exotic costume would have aided him in the depiction of exotic figures in Biblical and Ancient scenes. Vecellio’s own works, such as his Portrait of a Family (Figure 2), show these two elements very clearly. In the painting, great attention to detail was given to the costume of his subjects. Like his book, this painting shows the clothing that was typical of varying genders and ages. Additionally, Vecellio’s concern with the exotic is prominently shown in the intensely patterned Oriental rug which runs the length of the painting.

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Vecellio’s interest in describing the current tendencies of fashion was shared with, or at least acknowledged by his cousin, Titian. Some of the changes in fashions that Vecellio describes in his text manifest themselves in the costume worn by figures in Titian’s paintings. For example, Titian’s Portrait of a Patrician Woman and her Daughter, which was painted in 1550, shows its subject wearing a garment with detachable sleeves (Figure 3). This was a trend that Vecellio had described in an early 1550 publication of Habiti antichi et moderni. Vecellio’s text tells us that elaborate detachable sleeves were popular at the time the portrait was painted. Titian’s inclusion of these styles in his painting gives credence to the idea that Titian

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was painting from real life. It also confirms that noble women chose to be painted in the most current styles as a representation of their wealth and status. All of these conclusions help to show us why a costume book would have been viewed as an important text by a member of Cesare Vecellio’s circle.

Figure 3: Titian, Portrait of a Patrician Woman and her Daughter. c. 1550. JSTOR. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3100527
LOUANDRE AND THE RE-EXPLORATION OF THE COSTUME BOOK IN THE ERA OF ROMANTICISM

In comparison with the copious documentation regarding Vecellio, much less is known about the life of Charles Louandre, the creator of Les arts somptuaires: histoire du costume et de l’ameublement et des arts et industries qui s’y rattachent, which was published in 1857. His father, François César Louandre, had authored a substantial history of their hometown, Abbeville, entitled Histoire ancienne et moderne d'Abbeville. In reading the texts written by Louandre and his father, it becomes clear that both generations of the family were very well educated. Charles, however, vastly exceeded the scholarly success of his father, publishing a far greater number of treatises on a variety of topics.

Described as a journalist and savant, Charles Louandre authored texts on a rich array of subjects across the liberal arts arena. The titles of his works, which include La Sorcellerie (Witchcraft) and Histoire Agricole de la France (A History of French Agriculture), give a sense of the vast scope of his authorship. Perhaps inspired by the work of his father, many of Louandre’s texts focus on the history of the French people. From 1842 to 1879, he contributed more than fifty articles to La Revue des Deux Mondes, a leading French periodical that discussed politics, literature, philosophy and the fine arts. His inclusion in reputable

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publications such as this shows us that he was considered to be a knowledgeable and credible
writer by his contemporaries.

As both a writer and a commentator on costume, Louandre was influenced by both
contemporary literary movements, as well as popular social attitudes towards clothing. In the
first half of nineteenth-century France, when Louandre was writing his earlier works, the
dominant literary movement was Romanticism. Socially, the development of the Second Empire
in France saw the rise of a powerful bourgeoisie who, lacking titles and other concrete
mechanisms of social stratification, used clothing as a means of conveying status. At this time,
the driving force behind clothing trends switched from the nobility to the bourgeoisie.

Louandre’s writings were created during the waning decades of the Romantic movement
in literature. Through his work in La Revue des deux mondes, which published the work of
authors such as Balzac, Hugo, Dumas, Vigny and Sand, it is clear that he was working
alongside or at least in tandem with many notable authors of the Romantic movement. Through
his association with these authors, as well as through his own studies in literature such as his
book, Littérature français contemporaine: XIXe siècle, it is apparent that Louandre possessed
significant awareness of trends in literature during the nineteenth century.

The influence of Romantic literature can be seen in many of Louandre’s works. Two
major topics being explored in Romantic literature at this time were folk culture and the sublime
and supernatural. The interest in the supernatural is most clearly seen in the works of authors like
Poe and Hawthorne. Evidence for Louandre’s interest in the topic is shown through the
publication of his book La Sorcellerie, which explored the idea of witchcraft. His interest in folk

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25 “Revue des deux mondes, La,” The Oxford Companion to English Literature, Edited by Dinah Birch,
culture of France is apparent through some of his writings in *Les arts somptuaires* concerning France’s more ancient cultures. These include the early Romans and Christians, as well as the Gauls. Not only does he discuss their material culture in *Les Arts Somptuaires*, but he also wrote a text which analyzed Julius Caesar’s writings on the Gallic wars.

Louandre lived during a time when many writers were concerned with documenting France’s history. These influences range from the more scientific studies in history, like those done by his father, to more romanticized works like Victor Hugo’s *Notre Dame de Paris*. Historical novelists like Hugo, were characteristically interested in creating nostalgic sentiment about France’s past. Louandre’s costume book is closer to the writings of his father in its nonfiction and informative nature. Despite this, a sense of sentimentality may be sensed in this book, which documents the history of France’s material culture starting from the time of the Gauls.

Louandre’s introduction to *Les arts somptuaires* communicates very strong humanist undertones through his frequent references to cities and figures of Ancient Rome. This is especially evident when Louandre details several different topics through whose study one can gain a clearer understanding of a culture’s history. These topics include science, mathematics, politics, art, and industry. This list acts as an Industrial Revolution-era reinterpretation of the liberal arts subjects studied by Renaissance scholars to gain a better understanding of the culture of antiquity. Louandre includes science, mathematics, politics, and art — which were major topics in Renaissance and Antique studies of the Liberal Arts — but adds to this traditional list

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the study of industry, which was a topic of rapidly increasing importance during his own time, the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

To further emphasize the influence that culture of antiquity had on Louandre’s writing, in his introduction, he relates the difficulty of studying these topics to the struggles of figures from ancient Greek mythology. For example, he states, “En Politique, les théories bouillonnent et s’évaporent comme les métaux dans le creuset d'Hermès...”27 Additionally, he relates problems in the study of science to the Greek god, Proteus, by saying, “La science, qui creuse à perpétuité les mystères de la nature, échappe sans cesse, comme la protée antique, aux mains croyaient la fixer.”28 These continual references demonstrate that Louandre, in addition to Vecellio, saw Ancient Greece and Roman as important early influences in their studies of the history of costume.

In the mid-nineteenth century, we see a blurring of the roles of the antiquarian and the historian as a result of debates on whether the most accurate understanding of history was gained through the study of written accounts from that culture or through the study of the remains of those cultures such as art, religion and trade. Prior to the eighteenth century, historians studied the political histories of cultures, such as their wars and leaders; while antiquarians focused on their quotidian matters, by learning about their religion, customs, and material culture. Starting in the eighteenth century, historians began to see the value of the subject matter of antiquarians and began incorporating those methods into their research.29 While Louandre’s Les arts somptuaires aligns more closely with the antiquarian’s technique of describing history, it is

27 “In politics, theories boil and evaporate like metal in the crucible of Hermes.”
28 “Science, which perpetually explores the mysteries of nature, constantly eludes the hands that are thought to capture it, like Proteus of antiquity.”
worth noting that in this era his material culture based study would have been held in higher academic regard due to the nineteenth century historian’s recognition of this type of exploration of history.

The genre of costume books became popular in France much later than it did in Italy. Louandre notes in *Les arts somptuaires*, “C'est au XVIe siècle qu'on voit paraître pour la première fois des livres qui traitent de la mode, et qu'on s'occupe en France du costume des autres nations.”

Although first seen in the sixteenth century, the French began to publish these books in larger numbers during the late 1700’s, after seeing those produced by Italians and realizing their economic potential. Previous to this, as in Italy, published information on clothing was limited to drawings created by designers to sell their goods to the wealthy, or information given to the general public to inform them about popular court styles. Additionally, clothing designers would often send dolls wearing miniature versions of their designs to wealthy clients. Because the Italians were the first to realize the interest the public had in the anthropological study of clothing, the inspiration for French examples, like Louandre’s *Les arts somptuaires*, is due in large part to them.

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30 “It’s during the 16th century that one can see books that deal with fashion published for the first time, and books that deal with the costume of other nations in France.”
COMPARING THE WORKS

While Vecellio focused mainly on portraying present-day trends in a wide array of countries, Louandre’s text focuses on the costume of one area, France, over a long period of time. Unlike Renaissance writers, who strove to document as many areas of the world as possible in order to better understand humanity, mid-nineteenth century French writers had a more nationalistic attitude that can be associated with post-revolutionary pride. While the desire to obtain an expansive sense of the world was the driving force behind Vecellio’s publication, sentimentality pervades Louandre’s writings on the history of French material culture. Although there was certainly an interest in exoticism in France during this period, Louandre’s interaction with Romantic writers may have led him to focus his studies solely on France.

Although Louandre’s text is limited to the study of French material culture, his introduction presents it as a more grandiose examination. He states, “…voilà le bilan du genre humain ; voilà ce qu’il recueille à l’agonie de chaque génération, pour en sauver ce qu’il peut de l’oubli, cette seconde mort de toute chose, et pour pétrir sans cesse, éternel Prométhée, l’éternel Univers.” Through statements such as these, Louandre promotes his writings as important recordings of the history of the human race, not merely the French people. In a manner similar to that of Vecellio, who showed clear favoritism towards Venice through his descriptions of the costume of his home town, Louandre’s introduction shows a clear sense of national pride.

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33 “…here is the record of mankind; here is what is collected at the agony of each generation, to save what he can from oblivion, this second death of all things, and to mold continuously, Prometheus eternal, the eternal universe.”
Like Vecellio, Louandre depicts not only the dress of the wealthy, but that of working-class citizens as well. In Vecellio’s text, this depiction of a wide range of socio-economic groups serves to promote civic pride. Given the Romantic context out of which *Les arts somptuaires* was born, Louandre’s depiction of the working class may be a product of his awareness of the ideas of socially-minded authors, such as George Sand or Victor Hugo. Hugo had a strong interest in portraying the lives of the base of society, as was shown very clearly in *Notre Dame de Paris*, and later in *Les Misérables*. Thus, as opposed to depicting lower classes as a measure of civic pride, Louandre may have included these figures in order to create an unfiltered representation of French society.

In comparison with Vecellio’s *Habiti*, *Les arts somptuaires* is more strongly influenced by technical writing on clothing, such as the pattern books created by tailors. In addition to showing illustrations of figures, Louandre includes images of samples of fabric patterns that would have been used to make the garments. He limits his study to the examination of the styles of the garments, but does not explore as closely the fabrics used to create them. This difference can be attributed to the significant implications that different types of fabrics held in Louandre’s society. In nineteenth-century France, it was only the wealthy who could afford clothing made of silk. The clothing of the middle and lower class was made primarily of cotton.\(^{34}\) In Venice, the economic growth experienced at this time allowed citizens from many different social classes to wear clothing made of rich materials. Louandre included more detailed information on the types of fabrics used, because fabrics played a greater role in the visualization of social status in nineteenth century France than in Renaissance Venice.

\(^{34}\) Dilys Blum. *Illusion and Reality*, 26.
In the periods that Vecellio and Louandre lived in and described, Renaissance Italy and France in the mid-19th century, respectively, concern was expressed over the inability to discern an individual’s social standing based on their attire. Under the Second Empire, France’s middle class grew and developed a desire to visually differentiate themselves from the lower class. By doing so, their fashions became more similar to the upper class, who in turn also wished to display their higher rank through clothing. Concurrently, Paris witnessed the development of the café-concert culture at places such as the Folies-Bergère, which initiated intermingling between classes. One contemporary account describes the crowd at the Folies-Bergère as “…the most bizarre mixture in all of Paris.” Increased interaction between classes, as well as a constant struggle to visually separate oneself from lower classes through clothing served as the backdrop for Louandre’s studies of costume.

During the Renaissance, sumptuary laws developed in Italy and elsewhere in response to the inordinate wealth that Italian centers of trade experienced at this time. These laws, which regulate the style, color, and type of clothing that can be worn by a certain group of people, have been enacted throughout history with the purpose of clarifying social distinctions, protecting public morals, and preserving public peace. One 1439 account from Brescia states, “I myself saw wives of shoemakers wearing stockings of cloth of gold and dresses embroidered with pearls, interwoven with gold, silver, and silk with marvelous skill.” As a reaction to this clothing styles quickly began to develop increasingly stratified visual hierarchies. In Italy,

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sumptuary laws were put in place to regulate the clothing of different classes. Because Italian society was facing rapid change, these laws were presented as a means to restore social order.\textsuperscript{39} This grew from the opinion that a society would run more smoothly if each of its members were aware of and behaved in accordance to what was expected of their social class.

In \textit{Les arts somptuaires}, Louandre provides a description of similar occurrences in Paris. One account that he shares from 1558 shows the distaste some felt towards the decrease in variation between the clothing styles of different social classes. It states “…les prêtres s’habillaient comme les séculiers, les marchands comme les nobles, tandis que les femmes portaient des habits d'hommes, et que les hommes, de leur côté, se rapprochaient de la mise des femmes.”\textsuperscript{40} Through this we see that the visual differentiation of social classes was important to both the society of Louandre and that of Vecellio. The target audience of both texts was the upper echelons of society, presumably those who were most concerned with showing their rank through their costume. Thus, the inclusion of clothing of different social classes in these works helped Vecellio and Louandre’s readers understand the ways in which these visual signifiers of wealth could be shown. Additionally, unlike the \textit{Habiti}, Louandre’s text may have been created for commercial purposes, so his inclusion of many different social classes may have been the result of an effort to increase the appeal of the book to a broader audience.

\footnote{\textsuperscript{39} Catherine Kovesi Killerby, \textit{Sumptuary Law in Italy}, 80. \textsuperscript{40} “The priests dressed themselves like laypeople, the merchants like nobles, while the women wore men’s clothing and the men, for their part, were close to resembling women.”}
The subject matter of Louandre and Vecellio overlaps in the discussion of France during the 16th century. Vecellio was writing as a contemporary observer, while Louandre is writing about a culture that predates him by several centuries. Despite this, Louandre considers this time period, “…[le] seuil même de la société moderne.” or the threshold of modern society. For the most part the descriptions of sixteenth century France by these two authors is analogous. They both note the white ruffled colors that were popular for women to wear at this time. Vecellio states, “At their necks they wear beautiful camicia ruffles, very wide, white and well formed.”\(^\text{41}\) Louandre who was chronologically further removed from the clothing of this era exhibits a tone of incredulousness when describing these same collars (Figure 4). He also remarks that, “la tête était pour ainsi dire encadre dans une fraise immense soutenue par des fils de fer qui se développaient en éventail ; cette fraise, sous le règne de Henri IV, s’éleva par-dessus la tête à plus d’un pied de hauteur.”\(^\text{42}\) This shows us that, although Louandre doesn’t seem to be very fond of the clothing styles that he describes, his accounts seem to match those of Vecellio. These 16th century fashions were largely inspired by Italian clothing, so large collars such as these would have seemed more ordinary to Vecellio.

Louandre and Vecellio also describe elements of sixteenth-century French dress that would have been worn solely by the upper classes. Louandre notes that outside of the home, French noblewomen would wear velvet or silk veils called loups when outside of their home to promote modesty. The appearance of these veils would vary in accordance with their wearer’s rank.\(^\text{43}\) Vecellio also notes that married noble women would “wear a mask like piece of silk or black satin, with two holes, over their face; when they see a relative, they reveal their face to


\(^{42}\) “…the head was nearly framed in a huge collar that was supported by iron so that it formed the shape of a fan. During the reign of Henri IV, these collars grew to extend over the head by a foot.”

greet them but then cover it back up.” Both of these authors include a description of this garment, as well as its modesty upholding purpose and, in doing so; emphasize the dignity and decency of the upper class that they are describing.

Interestingly, both writers seem to have drawn at least some of their supporting material from the works of Jost Amman, a Swiss engraver. In *Les arts somptuaires*, Louandre provides an illustration which is titled “D’apres Jost Ammon.” In the *Habiti*, some of the drawings that Vecellio provides to illustrate the clothing of French women of this era appear to be near exact copies of those that Amman had used to illustrate the clothing of a matron of Florence a few

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decades earlier (Figure 4). One reason for this may have been that Vecellio though Amman’s labeling of costume was inaccurate, so he sought to correct it by copying the styles and relabeling them in his own book. Another possibility is that Vecellio was striving more for aesthetic appeal than accuracy. He may have chosen figures from Amman’s drawings that he found most beautiful, and labeled them to fit his needs. In doing so he would have decreased the accuracy of his book, but increased its commercial appeal.

It is apparent that Vecellio was borrowing images from the texts of Amman through the similarities between their illustrations (Figure 5). In *Les art somptuaires*, Louandre includes a section that explains each of the plates he includes. He states, “Il a gravé, en outre, une grande quantité de portraits, de chasses, de scènes de guerre et de costume de divers peuples ; c’est à ce dernier genre de composition que sont empruntées nos figures de femmes.” It is through these explanations that we know Louandre used Amman’s work as a model for his figures. Both of the figures included in Amman and Vecellio’s texts share a striking resemblance with the second figure in the right in the illustration from *Les arts somptuaires*.

By comparing the works, we can see that both writers display pride for the cultures in which they live, but also see value in studying and describing the cultures which precede or surround their own. Both included descriptions of varying social classes, but for very different reasons. Vecellio does this as a means for promoting civic pride, while Louandre does it to further outline visual differences between the clothing of social classes. Despite their biases and, in the case of Vecellio, unreliable sources, both come to the same conclusions when describing the costume of 16th century France. One way this can be explained is through both author’s use

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46 “He engraved many portraits, hunt scenes, war scenes, and depictions of clothing of diverse people. It is this last category from which we borrowed our female figures.”
of the same source material, the drawings of Jost Amman, as shown through the illustrations in their texts.

CONCLUSION

Over the course of our exploration of these two texts, we have seen that both were strongly influenced by the social contexts out of which they were created. In some cases, these social contexts appeared to be surprisingly similar. For example, both authors bore witness to the increasing similarities between the costume of neighboring social classes and both were clearly influenced by strong feelings of national pride. At the same time, Vecellio and Louandre emphasize specific items that were relevant to the situation in their own natal lands. For example, Louandre provides more detail about the types of fabrics used because this was an important element in identifying a person’s wealth and class in mid-nineteenth century France. Similarly, Vecellio speaks at great length about the glories of ancient Rome, because as a Renaissance scholar, this would have been expected of him. Despite this, both Les arts somptuaires and Habiti antichi et moderni are valuable not just as descriptions of the costume of different peoples, but also as views into the values and attitudes of the societies of their authors.
Voici un livre créé par l'aristocratie du talent, — au prix de quels efforts, de combien de veilles, d'expériences, de sacrifices, vous le saurez tout à l'heure, — pour ajouter une richesse à l'aristocratie de la fortune, de l élégance et du goût.

Mais que dis-je? Cette œuvre est plus qu'un livre, plus que cent bibliothèques. C'est un monde retrouvé siècle à siècle: monde moins antique, je le veux bien, mais plus profond, plus complet, aussi mystérieux que les fouilles de Ninive, d'Herculanum et de Pompéia.

C'est un immense reliquaire historial, où la religion des grandes choses du passé et le génie patient du travail moderne ont enfin reconstruit, pièce à pièce, pour les rendre par des mains françaises au commun trésor de l'avenir, mille débris d'art exhumés peu à peu du tombeau de treize siècles, et qui retombaient à la même heure au bord du chemin de l'ignorance ou sous l'épitaphe de nos musées solitaires.

Débris de races, débris de sciences, débris de monuments; — naufrage perpétuel de vérités et d'erreurs, d'étroites passions et de larges misères, de créations splendides et d'avortements monstrueux, tout cela poussé par l'infinie révolution des temps vers un abîme sans rive et sans fond; — poussières confuses de couronnes et de trophées, d'oripeaux et d'armures, de pourpre et de haillons, de cirques et de statues, de palais et de chaumines, de livres et de tableaux, de vaniteuses défroques et d'ossements inconnus : — voilà le bilan du genre humain ; voilà ce qu'il recueille à l'agonie de chaque génération, pour en sauver ce qu'il peut de l'oubli,
cette seconde mort de toute chose, et pour pétrir sans cesse, éternel Prométhée, l’éternel Univers.

Quand une époque est finie, son moule éclate, et il suffit à la Providence qu’il ne se puisse refaire; mais des fragments épars sur le champ de la Mort, n’en est-il pas quelques-uns de beaux à contempler?...

Tout ce qui s’est appelé ici bas splendeur de la Forme ou gloire de l’Esprit, chef-d’œuvre de l’Art ou soleil de la Pensée; tout ce qui a élevé les grands hommes au-dessus des grands peuples, tout ce qui a resplendi comme l’éclair dans l’orageuse transformation des êtres disparus, n’aurait-il un moment percé la nuit des âges que pour se recoucher dans son ombre?...

Pourquoi le sublime Architecte dont nous sommes tour à tour les ouvriers, frapperait-il nos œuvres d’une loi jalouse et fatale que les voue tout entières aux gémonies du Néant? Et, si nos facultés bornées sont un reflet de son Verbe, n’est ce pas notre droit et notre devoir de reconstituer, de siècle en siècle, la synthèse de la vie à la surface d’un chaos déblayé?

En un mot, pour évoquer une seule image au foyer des symboles sacrés, l’Ézéchiel des jours bibliques, restituant d’un souffle l’âme à des cendres humaines, n’est-il qu’un mythe oriental, ou fut-il le précurseur, divinement inspiré, d’une plus éloquente et plus vaste résurrection? ...

Grave problème qui agite l’arcane de nos destinées, en roulant aux ténèbres des disputes savantes, et que les plus fortes intelligences poursuivant en vain, les unes dans l’Histoire, les autres dans la Science ; celles-ci dans la Politique ; celles-la dans l’Industrie. Les systèmes pullulent au vent des controverses; mais leurs auteurs, de quelque autorité que les revête un
grand nom, s’égarent tous en chemin vers les hauteurs de l’Absolu; tous retombent tour à tour, comme sous la rocher de Sisyphe, à leur point de départ.

Menteuse par ignorance ou par intérêt, par préjugés ou par servitude, l’Histoire n’est qu’un microscope appliqué aux infiniments petits que nous voyons si grands. Vous y cherchez un spectacle, et vous n’avez qu’une illusion d’optique.


En Politique, les théories bouillonnent et s’évaporent comme les métaux dans le creuset d’Hermès, et quand l’expérience, novatrice ou rétrograde, pense tenir un sceptre d’or, elle ne possède tout à coup qu’une verge de plomb.

L’Industrie, qui aspire à dominer le monde par la magie du capital et par l’audace des tentatives, l’Industrie n’a rien découvert qui ne fût la réminiscence d’un chef-d’œuvre perdu; elle n’édifie rien dont le type n’appartienne au passé; elle ne pressent rien, dans ses contemplations, qui ne soit le reflet d’une réalité d’autrefois.

Pour remettre en lumière les vérités historiques sur lesquelles repose et pivote la succession des êtres, il ne suffit donc pas de creuser sous l’éboulement de l’espace et du temps, puis de crier à tout hasard l’Eurêka d’Archimède. Il faut savoir mesurer, comparer, rajuster et décrire les fragments les plus informes du squelette de chaque siècle. Ces fragments sont les hiéroglyphes d’un livre sans commencement et sans fin, dont Dieu est la préface, l’Univers la matière, et l’Homme le metteur en pages. Pour déchiffrer ces caractères, pour leur assigner date probable, valeur certaine, et pour les dresser en jalons dans le labyrinthe des faits ensevelis,
quel maître irons-nous demander le flambeau qui éclaire, le fil qui dirige, le sentiment qui compare, la raison qui prononce?

Adressons-nous à l'Art, ce suprême organe de la mémoire humaine; à l'Art qui, par le trait, par la couleur, par l'harmonie de l'idéal et du plastique, conserve ou renouvelle, multiplie et perpétue ce que j'oserais nommer l'essence des formes passagères de la vie.
The Sumptuary Arts: Preface : I

Here is a book created by the aristocracy of talent- at the price of great effort, many sleepless nights and great experimentation and sacrifice, which you will soon see- to add richness to the aristocracy of fortune, elegance and taste.

But what am I saying? This work is more than just a book, more than one hundred libraries. It is a world rediscovered century by century. A world less ancient, I admit, but more profound and more complete, as mysterious as the excavations of Nineveh, Herculaneum and Pompeii.

It’s an immense recorded reliquary, where the religion of great things of the past and the patient genius of modern work are finally reconstructed, piece by piece, a common treasure for the future made by the hands of the French people. Thousands of fragments of art, gradually exhumed from their grave of thirteen centuries, and at the same hour fallen onto the path of ignorance or under the epitaph of our deserted museums.

Fragments of race, fragments of science, fragments of monuments, -perpetual wreck of truth and of fallacies, of narrow passions and wide miseries, of stunning creations and hideous aborted projects all driven by the endless revolution of time towards a bottomless and boundless abyss; - confused dust of crowns and of trophies, of faded finery and of armor, of purple and of rags, of circuses and statues, of palaces and cottages, of books and of pictures, of vain cast offs and of bones unknown: -here is the record of mankind; here is what is collected at the agony of each generation, to save what he can from oblivion, this second death of all things, and to mold continuously, Prometheus eternal, the eternal universe.
When an era is finished, its mold shatters, and it suffices Providence; but from the fragments shattered over the field of Death, aren’t there some worthy enough to be interpreted?

All that calls itself here below splendor of Form or glory of Spirit, masterpiece of Art or the sun of Thought, all that has raised great men above great nations, all that has shone like lightning in the storm (that made others disappear), would he for a moment pierce the night that for ages held him in its shadow?

Why would God, to whom we devote all of our works, strike them with a jealous and fatal law that would vow to expose them entirely to the public contempt of nothingness?

And, if our narrow-minded faculties are a reflection of his word, it is not our right and our obligation to recreate, century by century, a summary of life on the surface of a cleared chaos?

In a word, to evoke a single image in the hearth of sacred symbols, Ezekiel of the days of the bible, restored the soul of human ashes with a breath. Is this an oriental myth or is this the divinely inspired precursor of a vaster and more eloquent resurrection?

Grave problem that stirs the mystery of our destinies, rolling in the darkness of scholarly disputes, and that the strongest minds pursue in vain, some in history, others in science, this one in politics, this one in industry. Systems abound in the wind of controversy. But authors of any authority, who assume a great name, wander all the way to the heights of the absolute. All fall in turn, like the rock of Sisyphus, to their starting point.
Lying out of ignorance or interest, prejudice or constraint, history is but a microscope applied to the infinitely small so that we can see the larger picture. You are looking for something spectacular, but you have only an optical illusion.

Science, which perpetually explores the mysteries of nature, constantly eludes the hands that are thought to capture it, like Proteus of antiquity. In the Divine mathematics is the asymptote of human pride.

In politics, theories boil and evaporate like metal in the crucible of Hermes. When experience, novice or retrograde, thinks to hold a golden scepter, it all of a sudden is nothing but a lead rod.

Industry, which aspires to dominate the world through daring endeavors and the magic of capital, has discovered nothing but the reconstruction of lost masterpieces. It edifies nothing whose type doesn’t belong to the past. It does not urge anything in its contemplations that is not a reflection of a past reality.

To bring to light historical truths on which the succession of beings rests and turns, it is not enough to dig beneath the crumbling space and time, and shout at random the Eureka of Archimedes. One should measure, compare, adjust and describe the most formless fragments of the skeleton of each century. These fragments are the hieroglyphics of a book without beginning or end, of which God is the preface, the universe, the master and the director of pages. From which master will we seek the torch that illuminates, the thread that connects, the feeling that equates, and the intellect that articulates to decipher these characters, assign them probable dates, certain values, and establish milestones in this maze of buried facts?
Let us turn to Art, the supreme organ of human memory, to Art, which through trait, color, and the harmony of the ideal and the plastic conserves and renews, multiplies and perpetuates that which I dare to name the essence of transitory life.
Nous voici maintenant au seuil même de la société moderne. La découverte de l'Amérique apporte au luxe, au bien-être, à la fortune publique, de nouveaux éléments de progrès. L'art se transforme et tend à se séculariser chaque jour davantage. Il cherche et trouve les formes nouvelles d'inspiration, et comme toujours, dans le sujet qui nous occupe, la révolution qui s'accomplit dans le costume s'accomplit en même temps dans l'architecture et l'ameublement. La noblesse qui jusqu'alors avait exclusivement vécu pour la guerre, commence à vivre pour les arts. Le caractère triste et sombre que le moyen-âge, ennemi du jour et du soleil, imprimait à ses constructions, tend de plus en plus à disparaître. Les forteresses féodales sont remplacées par d'élégants châteaux. On voit s'élever presque en même temps Madrid dans le bois de Boulogne, la Muette, Saint-Germain, Villers-Cotterêts, Chantilly, Folanbrai, Nantouillet, Chambord. L'Italie, qui nous avait devancés dans les choses de l'art, nous donne ses plus grands artistes, Paul Ponce Trebati, Vignole, Benvenuto Cellini, qui trouvent bientôt quelques rivaux dans nos artistes indigènes.

La bourgeoisie des petites villes, la noblesse pauvre des campagnes, restèrent longtemps encore fidèles aux traditions de goût ancien; mais dans les grands centres de population, dans la bourgeoisie des grandes villes d'industrie et de commerce, dans les rangs supérieurs de l'église, dans la noblesse qui approchait de la cour, et qui occupait les grandes charges, il y eut comme une rivalité de luxe et d élégance.
The Sumptuary Arts: Sixteenth Century

We are now on the threshold of modern society. The discovery of America brings new elements of progress to luxury, wellbeing, and public fortune. Art transforms and becomes more secularized every day. It seeks and finds new forms of inspiration, and as always, in the subject at hand, the revolution that takes place in costume is witnessed at the same time in architecture and furnishings. The nobility, who had hitherto lived only for war, now begin to live for the arts. The dark and gloomy nature of the Middle Ages, the enemy of the daylight and sun, that was given to the designs tends to disappear more and more. Feudal fortresses are replaced by elegant chateaux. This trend is seen growing at the same time in Madrid, in the bois de Boulogne, la Muette, Saint-Germain, Villers-Cotterêts, Chantilly, Folanbrai, Nantouillet, and Chambord. Italy, which had preceded us in matters of art, gives us his greatest artists, Paul Ponce Trebati, Vignola, Benvenuto Cellini, who soon find rivals in our native artists.

The bourgeoisie of small towns and the poor nobility of the countryside remained a long time faithful to the former traditions of taste; but in large centers of population, in bourgeoisie of cities of industry and commerce, in higher ranks of the church, in the nobility close to the court and who held high office, there was a revival of luxury and elegance.
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