

ARTICLES

Covered Women? Veiling in Early Modern Europe

by *Susanna Burghartz*

(*translated by Jane Caplan*)

The veil and the headscarf have become deeply controversial signifiers of identity in recent years. In a conjuncture which is rather too hastily described as ‘a clash of civilizations’, in Christian-secular western Europe wearing the veil or scarf in public has come to epitomize a fundamentalist and antimodern Islamic culture that is opposed to freedom and emancipation. Fierce debates about banning the scarf and veil have taken place in France and Germany, as also in other countries like Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. The way in which this issue has escalated as a theme in the debate about identity politics is nowhere clearer than in the July 2010 decision of the French National Assembly to categorically ban the wearing of the full niqab or burka, in the name of human dignity and equality. In the opinion of many commentators, this amounted to a highly questionable readiness to enforce dignity and equality at the expense of the rights of individual freedom.¹ The vehemence of the debate, and the ease with which the basic rights of individuals were overridden, demonstrate a preoccupation with questions of identity that far exceeds the material question of dress alone. In view of this vehemence, it is not surprising to find an ostensibly stark dichotomy of values in play: tradition as opposed to modernity, progress as opposed to reaction, religion to reason, and emancipation to oppression.

But if we look at how the question of veiling has been negotiated in Europe since the Reformation, it becomes clear how deeply invested the West has been in this history of uncovering and concealing. It also becomes clear just how complex and contradictory are the criteria, and thus also the values, that have been applied to both the enforcement of veiling and its prohibition. This essay will offer a history of veiling regulations in Catholic and Reformed societies of early modern Europe that are often as unexpected as they are stereotypical. The chequered history of the demarcations this has involved will hopefully help us to challenge the false polarization of allegedly sharp distinctions in the current debates about veiling.

In 1827 Johann Georg Krünitz's *Oekonomische Encyklopädie* was still well aware of the volatile history of the female veil in western European societies.

University of Basel

Susanna.Burghartz@unibas.ch



Reproduced by permission of Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg.

Fig. 1. 'Moorish women in the streets of Granada look like this'. From Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch*, 1530/40, p. 97.



Reproduced by permission of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Fig. 2. 'Virgo Veneta': Unmarried Venetian woman, wearing a *cappa*. From Jean Jacques Boissard, *Habitus variarum Orbis gentium*, Köln 1581.



Reproduced by permission of Universitätsbibliothek Basel; UBB EUU III 127.

Fig. 3. 'Turkish woman of middling condition'. From Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, e moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Venice 1590.



Reproduced by permission of Universitätsbibliothek Basel; UBB EUU III 127.

Fig. 4. 'Citella Spagnuola' (Spanish virgin). From Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habiti antichi, e moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Venice 1590.

Under the entry 'veil' (*Schleier*), the encyclopaedia observed that 'In the countries of the east, the veil is a normal part of women's dress; in those of the west, in recent times, it has been alternately worn [and not worn, SB], that is to say it has been fashionable and then not fashionable; at present, it is again ranked among the finery of the opposite sex'.² Here two different treatments of women's head-dress are proposed: the general (and 'permanent') enforcement of veiling in Oriental societies is contrasted with the Western rule of fashion, with its changing vogue for concealment and exposure. This also invokes two lines of interpretation that were characteristic for the perception, evaluation and representation of women's facial and head coverings in early modern Europe. Veils could serve as an explicit ascription of cultural belonging and of an identity that was at least implicitly constituted by differentiation. But they could also be read as an index of social change and moral decline that was the creature of fashion.

The rest of this essay accordingly aims to examine the varied ways in which the veil was addressed in early modern Europe and the changing meanings associated with it. The first part focuses on costume books, a genre new to sixteenth-century Europe. It offers a broad but representative insight into the various types of veil within and outside Europe, and enables us to map out the identities ascribed to these types along regional, national and also confessional boundaries. The focus of the second part is the Reformed city of Basel and its policies on the veil between the Reformation and the early eighteenth century. Basel, along with additional evidence from Zürich, serves as a case study which will allow us to complement the information provided by the highly prescriptive costume books by adding the evidence of normative regulations, travellers' ethnographic observations and reports, and above all court cases with their rich testimonies from everyday life. From this we will be able to achieve a clearer picture of the multifaceted and ambivalent codification of the veil in the European West, and to reveal the unexpected history of its exploitation in terms of identity politics.

Already by the late middle ages, the term 'veil' had considerable semantic reach, denoting different forms of women's hoods.³ The beginning of the sixteenth century then saw a fundamental shift in the history of clothing in specific regions, thanks to the so-called 'hairnet-hood' (*Haarhaube*). This new, net-like hood meant that for the first time, as Jutta Zanker-Seidel has shown in the case of Nürnberg, women's hair was no longer completely concealed. And because the new hairnet was also favoured by fashionable men, like the Saxon elector Friedrich III, the explicitly gendered association of hoods disappeared here too.⁴ However, this did not mean the end of history of the veil in the Christian West, where it had been the customary head-dress since antiquity and then in medieval Christendom and Islam. Even though this is often ignored, the veil was to remain an integral part of religious women's dress. And in the secular realm, too, the history of women's head coverings in subsequent centuries cannot be read simply as a

linear history of unveiling. On the contrary, Krünitz was correct when he referred to the shifting cycles of this item of dress. Its subjection to the vagaries of fashion was by no means a sign that the veil had entirely forfeited its meaning, as the entry in the *Oekonomische Encyklopädie* already shows.

COSTUME BOOKS: (RE)MAPPING THE WORLD OF DRESS

With the advent of costume books, the second half of the sixteenth century saw a growing interest in regional, locally specific cultural differences, characteristics and peculiarities manifested in dress, which were attached to new modes of cartographic knowledge and geographical representation.⁵ This was especially true of illustrated travelogues, compendia of city views, and of atlases and maps with margins in which the various inhabitants were shown in their characteristic costume according to region.⁶ However, the ostensibly fixed boundary between the veiled women of the East and uncovered Western women appears more porous than one might expect. Already in the first half of the century, Christoph Weiditz had illustrated Spanish peasant women with veils covering the mouth, and morisco women from Granada with headscarves that they used to conceal most of their face (Fig. 1).⁷

In the 1560s, Nicolas de Nicolay illustrated his account of his travels in the Ottoman Empire with pictures of heavily veiled Turkish women in the baths or in the street.⁸ But he also showed upper-class Turkish women without veils in various styles of dress. In the attached text on women's baths, he asserted that '[Turkish women] are thus confined indoors without being allowed to go outside or to appear in public, other than to go to the baths, when again they go out with veiled faces'.⁹ Here the Orient and the veiled woman seem to be intertwined. Yet, in the same year, in a costume book published in Paris that inaugurated a whole genre of similar books, François Deserps contrasted unveiled Turkish and 'Oriental' women with a Portuguese woman covered across the mouth, and with Basque and Flemish women wearing headscarves that resembled cloaks.¹⁰ Ten years later, a costume book published by Hans Weigel in Nürnberg showed an aristocratic woman from Meissen in mourning wearing a veil over her face, next to a 'common Turkish woman' with a fully veiled face.¹¹ At the beginning of the 1580s, the two costume books of Abraham de Bruyn and Jean Jacques Boissard both illustrated a heavily veiled unmarried Venetian woman (Fig. 2), an image that was soon to become the virtual trademark of the city.¹² Both these costume books also showed a veiled Turkish woman next to a number of non-veiled Turkish women in different situations, inside as well as outside the house. Veiled women, we can provisionally conclude, could be found alongside unveiled women in the East and in several regions of the West.

This impression of indistinct and permeable boundaries becomes even stronger with Cesare Vecellio's well-known costume book, which appeared in two editions in Venice in 1590 and 1598.¹³ It presented a history of dress

in Venice and was the source of numerous subsequent costume books. After depicting earlier styles of clothing, Vecellio noted a distinct change of fashion, explaining that in the course of his investigations he had discovered that styles of dress in Venice had recently become more modest, less elaborate and less bombastic. As the hallmark of this alteration he noted in particular the 'black veil that falls down the back, just below the shoulders'.¹⁴ Vecellio continued with a description of facial coverings in Venice and elsewhere that offered a more complex account than those of his predecessors; whereas the faces of Venetian women in their traditional costume used to remain uncovered, this situation had now recently changed. As early as 1550, Vecellio tells us, older Venetian women had been wearing a thin, black, transparent veil for church-going or when visiting the bereaved.¹⁵ Now, in the present (1590s), Vecellio praised unmarried Venetian women for being so exceptionally well sheltered by their families. In their adolescence they wore a veil of white silk known as a '*fazzuolo*', big enough to cover face and bosom, and they left the house only to go to church. Once they reached adulthood, they adopted the so-called '*cappa*', a large black cloak-like veil made of choice and costly silk which shielded their face from the gaze of others, but also allowed them to see out. Furthermore, we are informed, noble and upper-class women in particular almost never left the house.¹⁶

This description of unmarried Christian women in Venice is surprisingly similar to the descriptions Vecellio gives of Turkish women: as soon as they left their house, they covered themselves with a scarf from their forehead to below their eyes, enabling them to see without being seen.¹⁷ The 'women of Cairo' were heavily veiled in the same way, with their eyes covered.¹⁸ By contrast, unmarried Persian girls were shown without any kind of veil – but 'Persian matrons', on the other hand, when in public wore a garment which enveloped the body so completely that their head and face as well as their eyes were entirely hidden (Fig. 3).¹⁹

The dress of these last women resembled the costume of the unmarried Spanish maiden, the so-called '*Citella Spagnuola*', whom Vecellio had depicted in his discussion of Spanish dress. These women wore an enveloping cloak, like Venetian women, but could make an opening for their eyes by using their hand (Fig. 4). With this Vecellio broached a new topic: the seductive potential of the veil that linked it directly with licentiousness and thus transvalued its moral significance. Accordingly, Vecellio rated the '*Citelle*' as 'rather' licentious – 'Such Spanish women are quite given to lust' – even if he then went on to judge their other moral qualities more positively: 'but they are moderate in their eating and most often drink water. They usually eat simple food, without much enjoying the delicate dishes made in Italy'.²⁰ Here we can clearly see that the critical discourse of fashion was also part of the critique of luxury, and hence a version of the moral politics that had been gaining in importance since the Reformation period, under the sign of religious fundamentalism.²¹

CRITIQUE OF THE VEIL – MODERNITY – CRISIS OF LEGIBILITY

The depiction of customs of dress and of differences in costume served to map not only the different worlds encountered in the course of European expansion but also the construction of regional, urban, national or confessional identities.²² Vecellio had broached a highly topical issue with his immoral ‘Spanish virgin’: this is illustrated, for example, in an ambiguous figure recorded in Georg Braun’s portrayal of Seville (engraved by Franz Hogenberg), dating from 1599, which showed a ‘*Citella Spagnuola*’ and companion beyond the city gates in a curiously dramatized encounter with two men (Fig. 5).²³ The appearance of this engraving prompted a keen discussion of the figure of the ‘covered woman’ (*tapada*), her head shrouded in a veil which left one eye free, to striking effect. Contrary to what we might expect, this particular form of veiling was not seen as a token of modesty but instead was criticized as seductive, mysterious and rebellious.²⁴

This was a not entirely novel censure in Spain. In 1523 Juan Luis Vives had already disparaged the newly fashionable style of veiling in his famous educational manual for Christian women. He took the traditional view that married women should show themselves less in public than unmarried ones, since their primary duty was to please their husbands. It was for this reason, Vives continued, that the lawmakers of antiquity in Sparta and in many other Greek states, as well as in Persia and the Near East, had obliged women to cover their faces so that they could neither see nor be seen. But in many contemporary European states, so Vives claimed, women now wore veils that allowed them to observe other people unimpeded, without themselves being visible. This needed to be stopped in the name of preventing immorality: women should cover their faces not with veils, but with decorum.²⁵ But despite this kind of moralistic objection, the *tapado* was very popular among Spanish women: the Castilian cortes felt obliged to appeal to Philip II in 1586 to ban veiling on the grounds that it ‘brought offence to God and material damage to the state’,²⁶ and the figure of the *tapada* was simultaneously an object of critical attention among artists and writers.

In this way, as Laura Bass and Amanda Wunder have shown, the veil became a screen onto which could be projected the senses of strangeness and danger that were engendered by the process of urbanization in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spain, a process in which the social legibility of distinguishing signs was destabilized. The fashion for veiling adopted by Spanish women in large towns came to be seen as a sign of modernity and the dangers that it led to, not least in terms of a growing embrace of consumption. Whether this also represented a desire for differentiation from the veiling of Moorish women is harder to judge. At any rate, Antonio de León Pinelo offered such an explanation in his scholarly treatise on the old and new forms of veiling, published in 1641. His ‘true history’ of the Arabic *tapado* in Spain claimed that Moorish, and following them Spanish women had employed this form of veiling with such successfully seductive

Reproduced by permission of Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

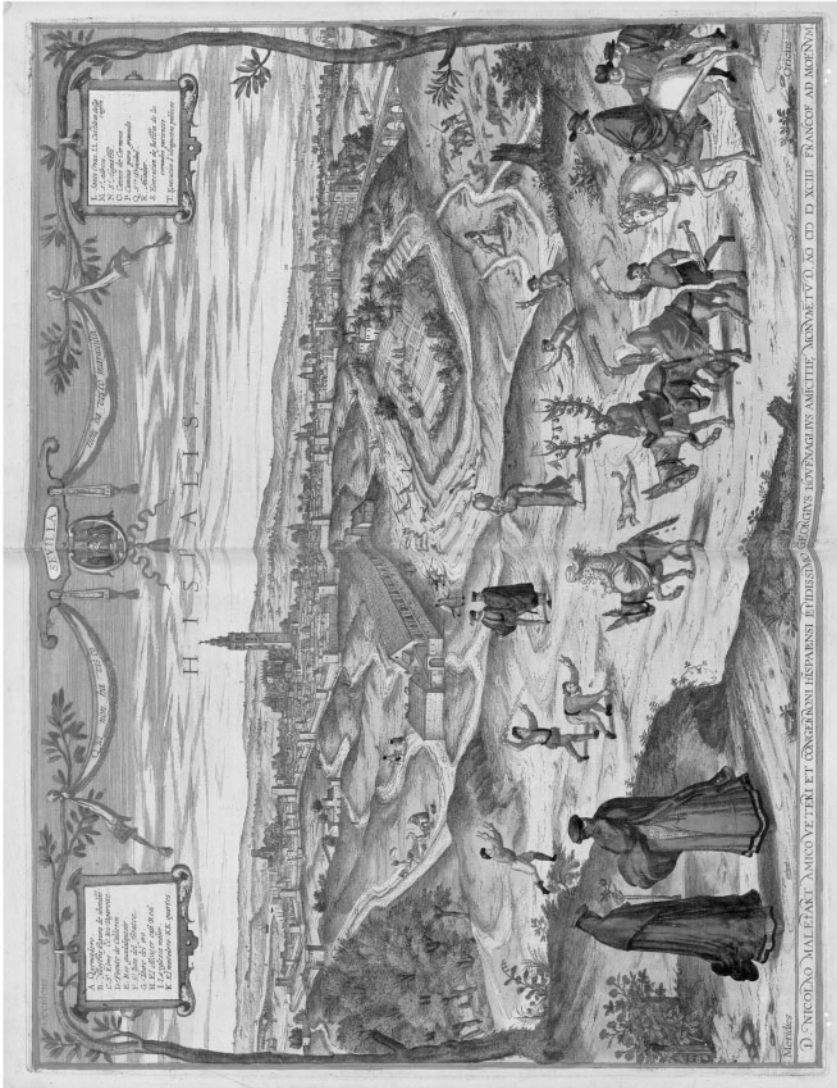


Fig. 5. View of Seville; in left foreground two veiled women (*tapadas*) are observed by two men further back.
From Georg Braun, *Sevilla, Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Cologne 1599.

effect that the distinction between the two groups had entirely dissolved, making the ban issued in 1586 essential.²⁷ This discourse of the veil mixed a critique of fashion with a critique of modernization and an attempt to draw boundaries establishing different religious identities, yet in practice it was not successful in enforcing the ban on Spanish women.²⁸ Quite the reverse: the *tapada* became almost emblematic of Seville.²⁹

AMBIVALENT CODING

The evidence up to this point indicates that veiled women could connote sound, traditional standards of dress and could stand for propriety and decency, for the 'Self'. But they could also be read as a sign of the 'Other' – of lust, disorder and seduction – and carry correspondingly negative connotations. Parallels and differences between the discourses of chorography and fashion led to quite contradictory value judgements; they made headscarves and veils into an ideal screen for the projection of 'images of strangeness and fantasies of danger',³⁰ even if overlaid with different signals. In sixteenth-century Europe, this danger lay no less in the Other's concealment than in the prior absence of veiling; or, by contrast, it could be evoked precisely by the presence of immoral covering among Europe's own. If we look at another costume book from roughly the same period, we can clearly see that it is not only women on the Muslim margins of Europe who wore headscarves and hid their faces behind veils, for it also depicts a woman from Heidelberg³¹ whose heavy veiling resembles that of the Hamburg woman whose mourning dress was illustrated by Heldt (Fig. 6),³² or weeping female members of the patriciate in Augsburg in an illustration dating from 1580.³³ A century and a half later, this time in a printed book on traditional dress (*Trachtenbuch*), a young woman from Strassburg was shown on her way to the burial of a nobleman with heavy veiling but also elaborately dressed.³⁴ So costume books offered up images of scarved and veiled women in quite diverse regions of Europe. Reading them makes it clear that certain images from the *Trachtenbücher* were widely circulated and thus established first and foremost a heavily coded and stereotypical form of knowledge that contributed to mapping a world in the act of expansion.³⁵

Historians have repeatedly questioned whether these books are reliable as accounts of actual habits of dress and changes of fashion.³⁶ Here Basel offers an interesting example. We have various types of source available for the sixteenth century, even more for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sources which support and comment on one another. With their help, we can prise open the one-sided normative visual discourse in the costume books, and make it possible to address normative, idealized and ideological discourses on the one hand and everyday practices on the other, as well as to see their interrelation. This is the more worthy of note given that the women of Basel were never shown as veiled in costume books that dealt with the whole of Europe. And Basel is interesting not only because of its source base, but also because the Reformed city authorities were



Fig. 6. 'Mourning dress of noble women in Heidelberg'. From *Deutsches Trachtenbuch*, 1560–1594, fol. 59.

assiduous in pursuing a fashion policy critical of luxury. Integral to this policy, which was typical of its time, were the repeatedly reissued and amended prescriptions on wearing the veil. This fact comes as something of a surprise, given the reformers' original criticism of the late medieval church for its excessive pronouncements on ritual matters. At the same time, it is not easy to reconcile with the still widely held view of the Reformation as a rationalizing and modernizing movement. Thus it seems that at this point yet another clear line of demarcation in the early modern politics of veiling begins to unravel.

CONCEALING, HIDING, VEILING: BASEL AND CONFESSIONALIZATION

The museum of Basel preserves to this day a three-sided wooden grille from the second half of the seventeenth century (Fig. 7).³⁷ This is an oriel window from the cathedral deanery, a wooden feature which was once to be seen on numerous houses and which allowed Basel's women 'to observe what was happening on the street secretly and protected from wind and rain'.³⁸ These grilles, known locally as '*Guggehyrli*' (peepholes), appear at first sight to have protected the women of Basel along with their curiosity. 'A little opening in the bottom board made it possible to look down vertically', and perhaps, too, to throw alms down to beggars.³⁹ These were probably women of higher estate, living in Basel's posh Rittergasse, who were watching the street and playing the philanthropist in secret.

One may well ask what exactly was being hidden from whom here? Was the aim to keep Basel's women off the street? Or was it rather that privileged women were being protected from the intrusive gaze of others? Or perhaps that only women of high estate had to avoid being seen in public? Was seventeenth and eighteenth-century Basel a city that locked its women away behind grilles, limited their freedom of movement, forced them to conceal themselves and thus excluded them from politics and all public activity, condemning them to invisibility? As late as 1780 the English traveller John Moore described the '*Guggehyrli*' as a highly ambivalent phenomenon which reflected social fears as much as pleasures:

The inhabitants seem to be uncommonly afraid of thieves, most of the windows being guarded by iron bars or grates, like those of convents or prisons. I observed at the lower end of many windows a kind of wooden box, projecting towards the street, with a round glass of about half a foot in diameter, in the middle. I was told this was for the conveniency of people within; who, without being seen, choose to sit at the windows and amuse themselves by looking at the passengers; — that they were mostly occupied by the ladies, who are taught to think it indecent to appear at the windows.⁴⁰



Reproduced by permission of Historisches Museum Basel, HMB Inv. Nr. 1886.134.

Fig. 7. Window grille, Basel, second half of the 17th century.

According to Moore, therefore, the restrictive moral standards of Basel society deterred women from showing themselves in public as observers, and thus made them as much the prisoners of these window bars as beneficiaries of them.

Since 1501 the city of Basel had belonged to the Swiss confederation, and also, thanks to both its trade relations and its status in humanist Europe as a university town with printers and booksellers, it enjoyed close relations with German imperial cities and with France and Italy. In 1529, with the issue of the Reformation ordinance, the Basel authorities officially recognized the new movement and thereby brought the lengthy discussions of reform to a formal close. With the introduction of the new order, the city committed itself to the Swiss Reform movement under the leadership of Zwingli's Zürich. In the years that followed, however, under the leadership of Johannes Oekolampad and his successors, Basel took a middle theological course between Lutherans and Reformers. In Basel, the ecclesiastical and

intellectual reform debates of the intervening years had also turned repeatedly on the question of the relationship between true belief and the external observances that had accumulated, through endless prescriptions, in the course of church history: should these be left to dissolve, or should one rather seek to recover their pristine purity.⁴¹ If one looks at the decrees through which the Basel authorities repeatedly tried to establish and enforce a new social order pleasing in the sight of God, it quickly becomes clear that the questions of the right gender order, the right and universally apparent social order and the godly moral order were tightly entangled with one another.⁴² Despite all the theological rhetoric of renovation and origins, these three orders continued in the subsequent decades and centuries to be closely tied to the regulation of dress and fashion.⁴³ So much is clear from the efforts at dress regulation that were repeatedly included in official decrees in the course of the early modern period, and, equally, in the closely connected battles against luxury, licentiousness and extravagant fashions. Beyond all Reformed criticism of the old church's excessive preoccupation with ceremonial vanities, questions of worldly appearance remained significant markers for the renovated order of Reformed society.

CRITIQUE OF FASHION, SOCIAL DISTINCTION AND THE GENDER ORDER

The Reformation ordinance of 1529 had been especially concerned to ban one target of fierce contemporary criticism, the men's fashion of 'slashed', modishly opulent breeches adopted by mercenaries. But in the seventeenth century, fashion bans and dress codes were increasingly established and prescribed for both sexes along the axes of social status. A particular object of official attention here was the headgear worn by churchgoing women: for betrothed and newly-wed women the bridal wreath and crown, and for married women the full veil. Only when all the various sumptuary regulations are taken together can one properly understand that they were not aimed solely at marking and manifesting social distinctions. Equally important was the issue of a gender order that served, through minutely detailed prescriptions on veiling and through sumptuary laws, to position authority itself in the eyes of God and to demarcate it from other authorities, whether allied or competing.⁴⁴ Basel's official policies on veiling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are an exemplary case in point. The female veil proved to be a convenient screen for the projection of questions of social order, whether this meant differentiating between Self and Other, respectable and dishonourable, rich and poor, married and single – or, not least (although this was never made explicit) for distinguishing clearly between men and women. The discourse of the veil could thus fulfil functions for society that it seems to have taken on in today's debates in Europe, although nowadays with its meaning reversed: the banning of the veil is now seen by most people as a guarantee of a properly emancipated and modern social order.⁴⁵

Traditionally, the ‘*Sturz*’ (literally ‘cover’, a traditional hood of stiff, pleated linen, sometimes mounted on a wire frame) and especially the ‘*Tüchli*’ (a kerchief covering the mouth) were accoutrements worn by all women, as we can see in numerous inventories from different social strata.⁴⁶ The Reformation did not change this. It is true that women could no longer wear the nun’s veil, but veiling of the head and face remained common among married women, since post-Reformation sumptuary laws in the following centuries continued to dictate that women wear the veil in church. Unlike Vives in Spain, the Lutheran reformer and playwright Paul Rebhun, who enjoyed a reputation as an expert on marriage, in an edition of his *Hausfried* (Domestic Harmony) published in Wittenberg in 1585, issued an injunction to Christian matrons to observe Paul’s precepts in 1 Corinthians 11 on wifely submission, with the prescribed sign of ‘the obedience owed by women, namely the veil or hood, or whatever is the customary head-dress of their land’.⁴⁷ The same image of an ideal marital order, of the wifely restraint and modesty dictated by the Reformed gender order, was evoked in Basel by the Falkner family ancestral record (*Stammbuch*), compiled in 1741, which showed miniature portraits of married couples: for example, the dean of St Peter’s, Ulrich Falkner, with his wife Chrischona Wix, or the wine merchant Sebastian Falkner and his wife Ursula Hofman (Figs 8 and 8a). Both couples had married around 1600, and both were dressed entirely in black.⁴⁸ As was then customary, the women were modestly veiled, with the result that their individual features disappeared behind the collars, hoods and chin-bands and they simply personified the category of the honourable married woman. In contrast, the young merchant Sebastian Falkner was obviously a pretty fashionable dresser. Thus, these miniatures indicate that married women in Basel wore veils that rendered them invisible as individuals.

STURZ AND VEIL AS REFORMED CHURCH ATTIRE

The first books on traditional dress or local costume in Basel, authored by Hans Heinrich Glaser in 1624 and 1634, show numerous veiled women (Fig. 9). Especially interesting here is the sequence of costumes from 1634, in the middle of the Thirty Years’ War, when the city was a shelter for ever-increasing groups of refugees.⁴⁹ A total of 159 people are shown on seventy-five pages, two-thirds of them women, and among these, only two young women (apart from an image of Eve as shield-bearer) are shown with their hair exposed, without any head-dress. Of the remaining sixty-five women and girls, fourteen – about a fifth – are veiled, most of them women who are shown on the way to church for various reasons: widows on their way to a wedding, women of higher estate on their usual way to church, or women at a baptism. Consistent with the official stipulations of Reformation ordinances and sumptuary regulations, all are shown with veils. One conspicuous image shows a noble woman from the region with citizen status in Basel in mourning dress, wearing a veil-like robe covering her entire body: this is the

(a)**(b)**

Reproduced by permission of Historisches Museum Basel; HMB 1916.94.

Figs 8a and 8b. Ulrich Falkner und Chrischona Wix (a), Sebastian Falkner und Ursula Höfmännin (b). Ancestral record of Falkner family in Basel, pp. 36 and 38.



Fig. 9. 'Upper-class women on the way to church with their maidservants'. From Hans Heinrich Glaser, *Basler Kleidung aller hoh- und nidriger Standts-Personen: nach deren grad auff ietziige art fleissig corrigiert und auf begeren zum anderen mahl gemacht und verlegt*, Basel 1634, no. 33.

sole example of this type of full-body covering in the entire surviving pictorial repertoire of early modern Basel costume (Fig. 10).

However, it is by no means unusual to find a headscarf, chinband or veil as an item of women's mourning dress. Numerous costume books for other German cities – such as Basel's neighbour Strassburg,⁵⁰ and also Frankfurt,⁵¹ Heidelberg,⁵² and Meissen⁵³ – include prominent pictures of women veiled in mourning.⁵⁴ Further investigation of costume books makes it clear that voluminous head-coverings functioned as a sign of status, and in some places were even worn by aristocratic men in mourning dress. For example, a German costume book from about 1600 depicts aristocratic Venetian men wearing a Capuchin cloak and hood as part of their mourning dress,⁵⁵ while the sketchbook of a tailor from Enns in Upper Austria in 1590 includes a pattern for a mourning cowl, the so-called '*Gugel*'.⁵⁶ The types of covering we find in Basel are therefore part of a wider contemporary scene; they are not primarily evidence of any ostensibly stricter moral heritage in Basel, but should be measured against the use of the veil in other cities with which the Basel authorities saw themselves in competition as guardians of a Christian constitution.

The two sequences of costume images by Glaser show that various forms of veil were evidently generally customary for church-going. At the same time, women wore some kind of headgear in almost all their other activities, not only the veil. This might suggest that the women of Basel, unlike their counterparts in other European cities such as Venice, Seville or Granada, were less heavily affected by regulations on veiling and perhaps therefore less restricted in the range of their activities. But further attention to the scope of full veiling – for example, as shown in the case of upper-class and noble women in Vecellio's widely circulated book of 1598 – allows a more nuanced sense of the veil's meaning to emerge. This raises the question whether there was also a *right* to wear the veil – whether forms of social distinction and privilege were also tied into veiling. The Spanish example, in particular, makes it very clear that the symbolic coding of the veil was anything but unambiguous: women might wear the veil as a mark of obedience, but also it might be imposed upon them as a sign of their dangerous sexuality and impurity, as a means of stabilizing a social order conceived in gender terms. But, in addition, it could become a means of women's agency and might function as a sign of social privilege: the right to be veiled expanded women's own sense of agency – in the shadow of the veil, so to speak – and thus became a sign of their power. As the object of this discourse, the veil disclosed the potential of control over women but also its limits and so, too, the fears of urban societies faced with modernization processes and the renegotiation of ostensibly fixed gender boundaries that these involved. The fact that Hans Heinrich Glaser's 1634 costume series offered only one example of a fully veiled Basel noblewoman cloaked in a whole-body veil can thus be read no less as an indication of the social privilege of veiling, and the power of withdrawal it conferred, than as an index of an outlandish



Fig. 10. 'Noble citizens in mourning dress'. From Hans Heinrich Glaser, *Basler Kleidung aller hoh- und nidriger Standts-Personen: nach deren grad auff ietzige art fleissig corrigiert und auf begeren zum anderen mahl gemacht und verlegt*, Basel 1634, no. 36.

fashion: a fashion imported into the city by the numerous foreign women, including some of noble status, who fled to Basel during the Thirty Years' War and no doubt brought their own local forms of dress with them.

THE POLITICS OF ENFORCEMENT AND CONCEALMENT: RE-DRAWING THE BOUNDARIES FROM THE MID SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

It is nevertheless noteworthy that questions of clothing and fashion remained high on the agenda in Basel even in the middle of the Thirty Years War. In 1637, for example, extensive sumptuary regulations were issued as part of a general and unusually comprehensive so-called Reformation ordinance, under the banner of the struggle against abuse, sin, vice and frivolity. Here an explicit argument was being made against luxury and pride and the poverty and indigence it promoted, as well as against the influence of alien fashions; the regulations were highly specific in social terms: older and younger men were forbidden to wear 'the offensive long breeches as currently à la mode', and also 'hair and long tresses [that are] unseemly and unnecessarily ample and long, that hang down over the eyes, as well as artificial hair and hairpieces (known as wigs [*Perruquen*])'. They were recommended to wear 'clothing in the old confederal (*eidgenössisch*) patriotic German mode; and by contrast to desist entirely from alien foreign styles and costumes'.⁵⁷ In general, costly fabrics, furs, braid and lace were restricted to those of higher estate, and detailed designs were also prescribed for pleated collars (ruffs) for men and women. Certain embellishments were especially suitable for regulating social distinction among women of different strata: these included fringes, braids, ribbons and cords (*Schnürlin*). Bourgeois women and girls were permitted to wear a practical everyday '*Wammes*' (petticoat) at home, but out on the street and on the way to church this more casual type of dress, without an overskirt, was forbidden. Married women in particular were supposed to present themselves for Sunday and Tuesday sermons in the traditional '*Tüchlinen und Schauben*', that is with kerchief and coat. On top of this, all women, whether wives, daughters or servants, had to wear the veil in which they had received communion before that evening.⁵⁸ Here, then, the veil served to attest the honour due to God as well as to mark the special ritual and religious condition of the wearer after she had taken communion. Moreover, it could demonstrate that a pious demeanour and modest conduct were also expected outside the church itself.

An interior view of the Basel cathedral in 1650 by Sixt Ringle shows women wearing finely differentiated head coverings (Fig. 11).⁵⁹ Married women are all shown veiled in scarf and chin-band. But also clearly to be seen are the faces of young unmarried women beneath so called '*Brauenkappen*', fur-trimmed hoods weighing up to a kilo. These had already been explicitly denounced and banned in 1637 as 'monstrous and repugnant', yet evidently they had established themselves as a popular and

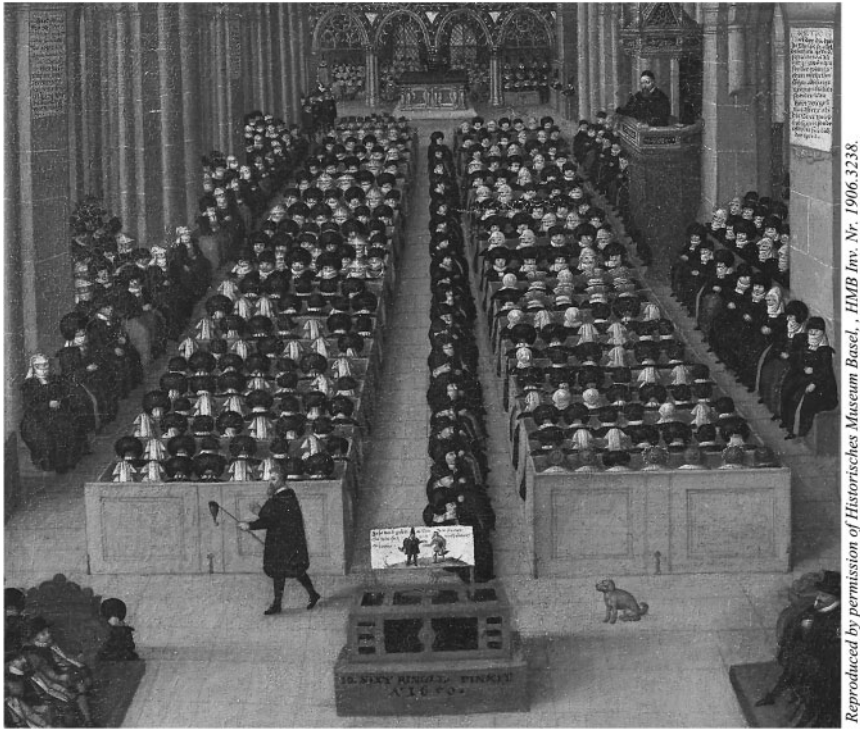


Fig. 11. Interior view of Basel Cathedral, looking towards the choir. The pulpit can be seen on the right. *Brauenkappen* (fur trimmed hoods) and *Sturz* (stiff linen hood) are women's main head coverings, and most wear some version of the *Tüchli* (kerchief covering mouth). From Hans Sixt Ringle, *Innenansicht des Basler Münsters* (detail), 1650.

fashionable form of headgear, even for church.⁶⁰ Also to be seen here and there are the faces of young women without veils but wearing black hats and black and white hoods. While the unveiled wearers of the *Brauenkappen* were probably mainly 'propertied' girls, the unmarried daughters of prosperous families, the second group of women with hats and hoods may have been young unmarried women 'known to be poor', from more modest backgrounds. But the social hierarchy suggested by this stereotypical image is not always as clear as it may seem, given that in the seventeenth century black dress in 'the Spanish fashion' could often be very expensive and valuable.⁶¹ What does meet the eye more obviously is the fact that a woman's civil status – whether she was married or single – could be read from the concealment of her face. It was also true for the brides with their bridal crowns, sitting at the foot of the pulpit. This head decoration worn by betrothed and newly-married women was the target of repeated sumptuary laws directed against luxury and extravagance. More and more detailed regulations were issued in relation to bridal crowns, with the aim of enforcing social differentiation. On top of this, stipulations for brides' head-covering increasingly

enabled the social stigmatization of those women who either could or would not observe the new rules governing premarital sex among the betrothed: these women were forbidden to wear the virgin's ornament, bridal crown or braid for their wedding, so publicly marking 'premature intercourse' as immoral.⁶²

Given the Reformation's new marital anthropology of gender and the intensified efforts at regulation that followed from the process of confessionalization in the seventeenth century, it was not simply the headgear of betrothed and recently married women that was of official concern in Basel. The correct form of veiling for married women also became the object of controversy and ongoing attempts at regulation in the second half of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century. Traditionally, the *Sturz* and especially the *Tüchli* were integral to women's dress, but they came under particular scrutiny from the middle of the seventeenth century. An example is the depiction of *Sturz* and *Tüchli* in the costume series published by Johan Jakob Ringle (Sixt Ringle's son) in the 1650s, in which the heavy veiling that women were required to wear during church services is conspicuous (Fig. 12).⁶³

This makes the regulations issued in Basel in 1665, at a time of 'intensified Reformation', all the more noteworthy. For the first time, a distinction was drawn between the *Sturz*, the *Tüchlin* and the '*Umschläglin*' (a kerchief covering forehead, mouth, chin and neck), and a new age-limit was laid down for wearing the *Sturz*. Unless they had just been bereaved, married women below the age of forty were forbidden to wear it as a head-dress in church or for baptisms and weddings: a provision that aimed at distinguishing funeral services more clearly from other forms of church service. This group of women now were now to wear *Tüchli* or *Umschlägli* as the required form of veil, other than for burial services; wearing the more elaborate *Sturz*, now also freighted with social meaning, was restricted to women 'of the age of forty or older'.⁶⁴ Thus the authorities extended their critique of women's luxury in the matter of the traditional but costly habit of the *Sturtz*, and thereby tried to change the behaviour of younger women at least, who were nevertheless instructed to be 'assiduous in their cultivation of respectability and to refrain wholly from all novelties'. They also used the same set of regulations for a critique of fashion that was directed against married men, though hardly a new one: they were specifically prohibited from wearing 'the shameful so-called *à la mode* or rather *Jüppen-Hosen* (skirted breeches)' and at the same time commanded to wear 'patriotic' or 'national dress'.

The new veil policy differentiating by age was reaffirmed in 1672,⁶⁵ but only two years later, in the ordinance of 1674, age was no longer mentioned.⁶⁶ In November 1690, as the first signs appeared of the political unrest that was to overthrow the Basel government and initiate a long-lasting constitutional crisis,⁶⁷ new provisions were issued. Women in mourning were prohibited from wearing the so-called '*Schwenkel*', a long, narrow linen band that hung



Fig. 12. Left: 'The headgear of a woman on the way to church who is not in mourning'; right: 'This is how a woman appears when in mourning'. Both wear *sturz* and *tüchli*. From Johann Jakob Ringle, *Amictus*, 17th century, no. 19 (detail).

down over the back and was described as 'a highly pernicious excess', and were only permitted the '*nidergelitzten Stürtze*' (turned-down veil).⁶⁸ Two years later, following the suppression of the revolt, the women of Basel were once again, in 1692, explicitly forbidden to appear at early sermons on weekdays or for evening prayers in their 'petticoat' (*Underrock*) without *Sturz* and *Tüchlin*; instead, they were enjoined to 'dress and appear in the hitherto customary and honourable church garb'.⁶⁹ There was no longer any mention of banning the *Sturz*. Nevertheless, a new sumptuary ordinance issued in 1704 permitted prosperous women who wore the *Sturz* to attend communion to open their scarf (*Tüchlein*) when they wished:

For holy communion women should appear decently and honourably clad in entirely black clothing and collars Women of means in *Sturz* and veil [*Hauptstücklein*], but the needy in hood and scarf [*Umbschläglein*], whereby, however, women in church can and may open their *Tüchlein* or *Sturz* as they wish, in order to receive communion more easily.⁷⁰

This regulation mentioned quite explicitly the enforcement of veiling in church, but it also took account of the practical difficulties that spoke for a more workable procedure for the taking of communion. Once again and above all, it also showed that the veiling regulations drew distinctions according to social and civil status.

THE CONFLICT AROUND THE VEIL AND WOMEN'S RESISTANCE

Despite these social and practical concessions in the ordinance of 1704, the following years saw numerous contraventions of its stipulations on compulsory veiling. On 7 October 1705, for example, the 'Reformation magistrates', a morals court composed of the Basel superior guild master [*Oberstzunfmeister*], three members of the Little and four members of the Great Council (all male), heard the case of seven women from Kleinbasel, the part of the city on the right bank of the river, who had appeared in church without wearing the *Sturz*. In the first of their depositions, the wife of Walter Merian explained that 'she could not wear the *Sturz* to church, her constitution did not permit this, and they could do with her what they wished, but she just could not wear the *Sturz*'. Two of the other accused claimed not to have had any knowledge of the ordinance but declared themselves willing to observe it in future, while the other women excused themselves on the grounds of 'poverty', which 'made them unable to make a *Sturz*'. The judgement of the guardians of Basel's morals followed existing policy, according to which 'in the matter of the *Sturz* a distinction' should be made between rich and poor; 'the poor should be forgiven the observance of the ordinance concerning the *Sturz*, but Merian's wife should receive censure on account of her excessively loose tongue'.⁷¹

This decision, which retained the principle that wearing the *Sturz* in church was mandatory for 'prosperous women' (Fig. 13), did not put an end to women's resistance to it. Four years later, on 13 September 1709, fifteen married women were called to account for their failure to wear the *Sturz*; some of them appeared in person before the court, others were represented by their husbands. The spokesman for these malcontents was the wife of Master Ulrich Passavant; she declared that 'she just would not wear the *Sturz*. It was an expensive and very uncomfortable outfit that was required neither by the honour due to God nor by the public; she would rather avoid going to church than wear the *Sturz*, and prayed that she be exempted from both punishment and the *Sturz*'.⁷² Although this can be understood as a collective act of resistance by women to this type of veiling, two of the husbands present undertook to ensure that their wives wore the veil in future. The Reformation magistrates cautioned all involved that they should observe the ordinance's stipulations, or alternatively submit a petition if 'they were unable to procure [that is, could not afford] a *Sturz*'.⁷³

One month later, on 12 October 1709, the authorities issued another Reformation ordinance in the campaign against 'the great multiplicity of

sins, vices and frivolities that have insinuated themselves'. Its aim was to eliminate 'all the abominations, ostentations, and passing fashions [*Aliamodereyen*] prohibited herewith', and at the same time it again explicitly decreed that the wives of 'men of degree' (*Standespersonen*) must be veiled with the *Sturz* when in church: 'By the same token, on Sundays and festivals women, especially persons of degree, [should] wear the *Sturz* to church and thus present others with an example of decent respectability'.⁷⁴ Yet even this decree could not settle the argument. Just over a month later, on 27 November 1709, the Reformation magistrates had yet again to deal with violations of the veiling regulations by a total of twenty-eight women. It was now clear that wearing the heavy, restrictive *Sturz* had detectable consequences, perceptibly affecting the body of the wearer. The notary Hofmann declared that:

he could say not only for himself but also drawing on the witness of physicians that his wife could in no way wear the *Sturz*, on account of her skinny chest, and often when she was in church she disturbed her neighbours with her coughing and fell victim to many illnesses [and he] requested that she be exempted from wearing the *Sturz*.

Here medical reasons were explicitly invoked as grounds for not having to wear this type of compulsory veil. However, the authorities rejected this argument, and sentenced the woman concerned to a fine of twelve *Batzen* (silver coins). The same thing happened to the next accused woman, whose maid appeared on her behalf to excuse her on grounds of her ignorance. On the other hand, the butcher Rudolf Biermann managed to get the fine reduced to six *Batzen* by promising that his wife would in future wear the *Sturz*, and so too the miller Oswald Ritter, who pleaded for mercy and explained that his wife had always worn the *Sturz* 'until recently, since she thought the *Sturz* was on the way out'. Jacob Mechel apologized for his wife who was heavily pregnant 'and on this occasion could not wear the *Sturz*'; this cost him a fine of six *Batzen*. The apothecary Paul Ritz explained that his mother had not worn a *Sturz* for five years 'and could no longer wear the *Sturz* to holy communion'; his request for an exemption from punishment was allowed. A court official, Beck, had to vindicate the reasons why the wives of Alderman Passavant, Master Geymüller and Mr Heinrich Müller, had not worn the *Sturz* to church: for the first he cited 'her known sensitivity', for the second her skinny chest and for the third an ailment 'that caused her great terror'. The penalty for Frau Geymüller was twelve *Batzen*, while the other cases were dismissed. On the other hand, when the wife of Alderman Stehelin explained through her maid that 'she would wear the *Sturz* if other people did so', this avowal won her a fine of twelve *Batzen*, 'the same as for others of her estate'. Poorer women excused themselves as 'common folk', which got them a reduced fine; several artisans' wives were



Reproduced by permission of Historisches Museum Basel, HMB Inv. Nr. 1987.701.

Fig. 13. Woman dressed for church wearing *sturz* and *tüchli*. From Barbara Wentz-Meyer, Anna Magdalena de Beyer, 'Eigentliche Vorstellung Der Kleider Tracht Lob. Statt Basel...', Basel c. 1700.

not fined, but only warned that in future they should observe the Reformation ordinance.⁷⁵

These various cases make it clear that, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *Sturz* was no longer accepted without question by the women of Basel. But the Reformation authorities proved themselves implacable guardians of morality in response to women's attempts to dress more fashionably or comfortably, including for church. The various medical arguments advanced by women of high or bourgeois estate were rarely accepted, but were treated in much the same way as declarations that betrayed a more fundamental discontent with the regulations among the women of Basel. However, the authorities were more inclined to credit the economic concerns of artisans' wives and lower-class women, who claimed that they could not afford the costly *Sturz*. These women were not exempted from the duty of wearing the *Sturz*, but they usually escaped an additional fine.

'TÄCHLI-TÜCHLI': ENFORCING THE VEIL IN ZÜRICH

In the early Enlightenment, Basel was not the only city in which the church veil was made into a politically charged symbol of identity, which the authorities used to enforce their concepts of order on their own women. In Zwinglian Zürich, too, the veil came to be a moral touchstone, and here again the question of the church veil was intertwined with condemnations of fashion and changing vogues in dress.

When the exiled Scottish theologian Gilbert Burnet visited Switzerland in 1688, he was especially fulsome in his praise of Zürich's moral standards: 'One sees here the true ancient Simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with Luxury or Vanity'.⁷⁶ Burnet attributed this moral order directly to the non-existent presence of women in public; as he went on to say, 'Their Women not only do not converse familiarly with Men, except those of their near Kindred, but even on the Streets do not make any Returns to the Civility of Strangers'. Yet despite this praise of traditional modesty, Zürich, exactly like Basel, saw a vigorous campaign at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries against alleged deformities of fashion. Council bans 'on the excessively large and vexatious corners on *Tüchli*' were repeatedly issued between 1650 and 1708.⁷⁷ Headgear in the form of the *Tüchli* was mandatory for church attendance; so-called '*Tüchlerinnen*' – veil women – went from house to house on Sundays before services to help women 'to fix their *Tüchli* properly'.⁷⁸ *Tüchli*, hoods, mourning veils, linen bands (*Schwenkel*) and many similar forms of head-dress could be found in great numbers in women's wills. Ordinances, regulations and images give the impression that in Zürich the mandatory wearing of the veil in church had persisted unchanged for decades, if not for centuries. However, a picture sequence by David Herrliberger from the mid eighteenth century – his *Heilige Ceremonien*, the German version of Bernard and Picart's *Cérémonies et coutumes de tous les peuples du monde* – tells a different story. The Zürich authorities campaigned fiercely against the wearing of

fashionable veils in church, and successfully banned a large fur-trimmed hood that had become fashionable in the seventeenth century, the so-called '*Hinderfür*', or in Basel (as we have seen) '*Brauenkappen*';⁷⁹ nevertheless, a striking change of fashion can be observed in the head-dress of upper-class women in Zürich (Fig. 14). In 1750/1, Herrliberger depicts Zürich women in a tall conical hood, the so-called '*Tächli-Tüchlein*', and comments:

The church dress of aristocratic or other upper-class women or girls consists of a towering fine white head-dress, pointed at the top, called the *Tächli-Tüchlein*; but at funerals the noblewomen are distinguished from others by a so-called '*Schwängel*', or long bands of the same stuff... bourgeois women and daughters who take communion wear a broad *Tüchlein*... Both these forms of dress are these days only worn in church. They are old-fashioned and how they are to be judged can be checked in the relevant part of the *Mahler der Sitten* [a 1745 work by Enlightenment philosopher Jacob Bodmer]. But they now have a much more acceptable appearance, and look just as good as the headscarves and dress of certain Lutheran women in Germany; especially since the excessively low and shapelessly wide *Tüchlein* and the monstrous pleated overcoat [*Husäcken*], which looks like a pastor's robe with long sleeves falling to the floor, was abandoned in Zürich. An unmarried daughter who has not yet taken holy communion wears no special kind of dress to church; and it can be seen from the normal churchgoing garb of Zürich women, depicted here, that their head-dress [*Kopf-Gerüst*] is unusual compared with what is worn abroad, even though these days it is much smaller than previously, when lofty piles of ribbons etc. were worn.⁸⁰

One could not wish for a clearer statement than this: David Herrliberger shows convincingly that issues of dress and fashion served to mark the social distinction between rich and poor. But they were equally useful for the authorities to denigrate what was seen as prideful and licentious conduct by giving a positive connotation to the traditional and old-fashioned. Last but not least, they served the ongoing competition between the different confessions, so that what was particular to one helped to emphasize its distinction from the others.

FROM COMPULSION TO PRIVILEGE?

In Zürich as in Basel, the fight against vice and luxury lost none of its relevance for the authorities in subsequent decades. It is true that there were few references to the *Sturz* as the correct head-dress for prosperous married women following the contests over morality in Basel at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But the authorities continued to resist, with some energy, the obsession with novelty and outlandish fashions up to the end of the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment philosopher and garden



Reproduced by permission of Zentralbibliothek Zürich.

Fig. 14. Zürich woman wearing *Tächli-tüchlein*. From David Herrliberger, *Eigentliche Beschreibung der außwendigen Gotts-dienstlichen Kirchen-Gebräuchen und Gewohnheiten der Christen welche unter dem Namen der Protestanten, Reformierten und Augspurgischen Confession vorkommen*, Zürich, 1738, no. 8, ZB Zürich Res 46.

theorist Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld in 1776 characterized the dress of women in Basel as 'hideous', and declared that there even the 'most agreeable young women...dress uniformly and in an ancient style'.⁸¹ And indeed, in a new Reformation decree entitled 'Women's dress, outlandish outfits and introduction of new styles', issued in 1780, the authorities were still insisting:

As we see the introduction of new styles of dress as one of the greatest of evils, we prohibit these under pain of a fine of twenty pounds. And we desire that all plumes (other than for sledging), and anything resembling a plume... and also the wearing of veils in church, and the wearing of hoop petticoats other than those that are part of Basel costume, are to be prohibited, under the same penalty.⁸²

The battle against fashion and novelty was thus continuing, but with this difference: that the veil had become an article of fashion for female churchgoers, and therefore had to be *banned*. This change in the meaning of the veil – from compulsion to privilege – becomes even more evident in Hirschfeld's report from Bern:

The ladies of Bern have been reproached for sequestering their faces from the profane gaze of men by means of veils, just as the fair sex does in Turkey. As far as I have seen, the veil, made usually of white muslin [*Flohr*], is worn only in the summer. The advantages that a woman may gain against the sun, air and flying pests would be recommendation enough, were it not that the desire to please adds yet another one. Everyone knows that a pretty face, of which Bern has so many, looks even more charming under muslin; half-concealed beauty emerges so charmingly, like the dawn rays of a day in May through a light mist; and the agreeable impatience to see more is worth more than an unobstructed gaze that offers immediate satisfaction.⁸³

As we saw at the beginning of this essay, Krünitz positioned women's veils between 'normal wear' and 'finery', thereby suggesting two lines of interpretation that seem diametrically opposed: a permanent sign of identity in the east, as against a changing fashion in the west. Closer investigation of the history of head-covering during the periods of the Reformation, confessionalization and Enlightenment has allowed us to see more clearly that the potentials and constraints of covering and concealment entailed by these articles of dress were not always judged positively. At first, veiling seems to denote restriction and subordination. But that view must be modified when we compare the different regions of Europe around 1600 and if we look more closely into the volatile history of official policies on veiling in Reformed Basel in the early modern period: this shows that the veil could also become a privilege that served to distinguish social status. But precisely

at that point, the *Sturz*, which had originally been a sign of married women's obedience and collective duty, imposed on them by the male authorities, not only lost its control function over the women of Basel but was no longer esteemed as a privilege even by those whom it privileged.

Returning to the present day, this historical perspective on the western veil since the Reformation allows us to draw a twofold conclusion. On the one hand, western society, notwithstanding its current vilification of mandatory veiling, has been deeply entangled in a centuries-long argument about the veiling of its 'own' women. On the other hand, the ostensibly unambiguous social and moral-political attributes and values attached to the veil turn out to have been anything but stable, and in practice have been subject to repeated processes of recodification and transvaluation. For this reason, exploiting such a highly charged question as the veil for identity politics will be no less unstable and conflict-laden if it relies on spurious claims that the veil carries a single, unequivocal meaning. As we have seen, it does not.

Susanna Burghartz is professor of Renaissance and Early Modern History at the University of Basel. She is the author of *Zeiten der Reinheit-Orte der Unzucht. Ehe und Sexualität in Basel während der Frühen Neuzeit* (1999). Since 2012, together with Lucas Burkart and Christine Goettler, she has conducted the University of Basel PhD Programme *Sites of Mediation: Connected Histories of Europe, 1350–1650*. Her article *Competing Logics of Public Order: Matrimony and the Fight against Illicit Sexuality in Germany and Switzerland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* will appear in 2016 in *Marriage in Europe, 1400–1800*, ed. Silvana Seidel Menchi (Toronto University Press). Currently she is working on a book-project about *Worlds on Paper around 1600*, concerning voyages, expansion and colonial rivalries.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

For their assistance in my research I would particularly like to thank the staff of the Lipperheideschen Kostümbibliothek in Berlin and the Historical Museum in Basel.

1 Christian Joppke and John Torpey, *Legal Integration of Islam: a Transatlantic Comparison*, Cambridge and London, 2013, pp. 21–47.

2 'Schleier', in Johann Georg Krünitz, *Oekonomische Encyklopädie*, vol. 145, Berlin, 1827, p. 379.

3 Jutta Zanker-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 C. Schwinges and Regula Schorta, Basel, 2010, pp. 37–43, gives concrete evidence for 'veil' (*Schleier*) as a synonym for 'Gebende', hoods with chinband, and 'Kruseler', hoods with ruffled or pleated edges.

4 Zanker-Seidel, "'Haubendämmerung'", p. 39f.

5 Eugenia Paulicelli, 'Mapping the World: Dress in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books', in *The Fashion Reader: Global Perspectives*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Peter McNeil, London, 2010, pp. 138–59; Giulia Calvi, 'Gender and the Body', in *Finding Europe: Discourses on Margins, Communities, Images ca. 13th – ca. 18th Centuries*, ed. Anthony Molho and Diogo Ramada Curto, New York, 2007, pp. 89–113; Bronwen Wilson, *The World in Venice: Print, the City, and*

Early Modern Identity, Toronto, 2005; Ulrike Ilg, 'The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in *Clothing Culture, 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson, Aldershot, 2004, pp. 29–47; Margaret F. Rosenthal, 'Cultures of Clothing in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39: 3, fall 2009, pp. 460–81; Eugenia Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire*, Aldershot, 2014.

6 Susanna Burghartz, 'Mimetisches Kapital und die Aneignung Neuer Welten: Zur europäischen Repräsentationspraxis um 1600', *WerkstattGeschichte* 37, 2004, pp. 24–48; Susanna Burghartz, 'Aneignungen des Fremden: Staunen, Stereotype und Zirkulation um 1600', in *Integrationen des Widerläufigen*, ed. Elke Huwiler and Nicole Wachter, Münster, 2004, pp. 109–37.

7 Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch* (ms., 1529), Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, pp. 40, 97.

8 David Brafman, 'Facing East: the Western View of Islam in Nicolas de Nicolay's "Travels in Turkey"', *Getty Research Journal* 1, 2009, pp. 153–60.

9 Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et pèrègrinations orientales*, Lyon, 1567, vol. 2, p. 72.

10 François Deserps, *Recueil de la diversité des habits*, Paris, 1567.

11 Hans Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum, tam virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti*. *Trachtenbuch*, illustr. Jost Ammann, Nürnberg, 1577, nos 34, 208.

12 Abraham de Bruyn, *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Africae atque Americae gentium habitus*, Joos de Bosscher, [Antwerpen, 1581], Bibliothèque Nationale de France; and Jean-Jacques Boissard, *Habitus variarum Orbis gentium* [Köln/Mecheln], 1581.

13 Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habitati antichi, e moderni di diverse parti del mondo*, Venice, 1590.

14 Vecellio, *De gli habitati antichi*, p. 92; English version: *Cesare Vecellio's Habiti Antichi e Moderni. The Clothing of the Renaissance World*, ed. Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, London, 2008, p. 144.

15 Vecellio, *De gli habitati antichi*, p. 101.

16 Vecellio, *De gli habitati antichi*, n.p., Q 4, Plate, 'Donzelle'.

17 Vecellio, *De gli habitati antichi*, p. 390 and also 400; see also Eugenia Paulicelli, 'From the Sacred to the Secular: the Gendered Geography of Veils in Italian Cinquecento Fashion', in *Ornamentalism: the Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. Bella Mirabella, Ann Arbor, 2011, pp. 40–58.

18 Vecellio, *De gli habitati*, p. 482.

19 Vecellio, *De gli habitati antichi*, p. 448.

20 Vecellio, *De gli habitati antichi*, n.p., Plate, 'Citella Spagnavola'.

21 Susanna Burghartz, 'Ordering Discourse and Society: Moral Politics, Marriage and Fornication during the Reformation and the Confessionalisation Process in Germany and Switzerland', in *Social Control in Europe, 1500–1800*, ed. Herman Roodenburg and Pieter Spierenburg, vol. 1, Columbus OH, 2004, pp. 78–98.

22 The issue of constructing identity through the perception of difference is discussed in Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*, Oxford, 2010, p. 149.

23 Georg Braun, *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum quintum* [Köln] [1599], no. 13.

24 Laura R. Bass and Amanda Wunder, 'The Veiled Ladies of the Early Modern Spanish World: Seduction and Scandal in Seville, Madrid and Lima', *Hispanic Review* 77: 1, winter 2009, pp. 97–144.

25 J. L. Vives, *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (1524/1538), Liber Secundus & Liber Tertius (Latin and English), ed. Charles Fantazzi and Constantinus Mattheussen, Leiden, 1996, chap. 8, no. 93, p. 113.

26 Cited in Bass and Wunder, 'Veiled Ladies', p. 98.

27 Antonio de León Pinelo, *Velos antiguos y modernos en los rostros de las mujeres: sus conveniencias y daños*, ed. Enrique Suárez Figaredo, *Rivista electrónica Lemir* 13, 2019, pp. 235–388, here p. 314.

28 In detail, interpretations of the history of veiling in early modern Spain, especially with respect to Moorish women, have been quite varied; see Bass and Wunder, 'Veiled Ladies', p. 101.

29 Bass and Wunder 'Veiled Ladies', p. 122; cf. the etching of Braun/Hogenberg (Fig. 5 above) in *Urbium praecipuarum mundi theatrum*, no. 7.

30 Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil*, Princeton, 2007, p. 10.

31 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Lipp-OZ 1, Trachtenbuch deutsch 1560 bis 1594, fol. 59.

32 Heldt, *Abconterfäitung*, fol. 205v.

33 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Lipp-OZ 2, Trachtenbuch, probably Augsburg, 1580, p. 142.

34 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Dfa 6, *Eigentliche Vorstellung der heutigen Straßburgischen Mode und Kleydertrachten* . . . , Strassburg, 1731, fol. 14.

35 See also Valerie Traub, 'Mapping the Global Body', in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse, Philadelphia, 2000, pp. 44–97.

36 Wilson, *World in Venice*, pp. 70–90; Ann Rosalind Jones, "'Worn in Venice and Throughout Italy': the Impossible Present in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39: 3, fall 2009, pp. 511–44.

37 Historisches Museum Basel, Inventarnummer 1886.134.

38 <http://www.hmb.ch/de/sammlung/moebel-und-taefer/23003-fenstererker-von-der-domprobstei.html> (consulted 14 Jan. 2014).

39 As note 38.

40 John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Germany*, vol. 1, London, 1781, pp. 351f.

41 See for example an essay published by Erasmus in 1522 on violations of fasting rules in Basel, 'De interdicto esu carnum'; also Susanna Burghartz, *Zeiten der Reinheit – Orte der Unzucht. Ehe und Sexualität in Basel während der Frühen Neuzeit*, Paderborn, 1999, p. 46.

42 Susanna Burghartz, 'Competing Logics of Public Order: Matrimony and the Fight against Illicit Sexuality in Germany and Switzerland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century', in *Marriage in Europe 1400–1800*, ed. Silvana Seidel Menchi, Toronto, 2016.

43 Martin Dinges, 'Der "Feine Unterschied". Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 19, 1992, pp. 52–4.

44 See Susanna Burghartz, 'Frauenscheier und Fenstergitter. Reformationsmandate, Modekritik und Geschlechterordnung in Basel vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert', in *Als habe es die Frauen nicht gegeben. Beiträge zur Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte*, ed. Sabine Braunschweig, Zürich, 2014, pp. 21–37.

45 See Scott, *The Politics of the Veil*.

46 Katharina Simon-Muscheid, *Die Dinge im Schnittpunkt sozialer Beziehungsnetze. Reden und Objekte im Alltag (Oberrhein, 14.–16. Jahrhundert)*, Göttingen, 2004, p. 92.

47 Paul Rebhun, *Hausfried, Was für Ursachen / den Christlichen Eheleuten zu bedencken / den lieben Hausfriede in der Ehe zuerhalten*, cited from the edition published in Wittenberg, 1585, fol. L v.

48 Historisches Museum Basel (HMB) 1916.94 Stammbuch der Familie Falkner zu Basel. Von Bürgermeister Emanuel Falkner aus früheren Stammbüchern zusammengestellt 1741. Although the compilation dates from 1741, it shows the married couple from around 1600, wearing the dress of that period.

49 Robert Stritmatter, *Die Stadt Basel während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges: Politik, Wirtschaft, Finanzen*, PhD thesis, Faculty of Humanities, University of Basel, 1977 (ISBN 3-261-02911-0), pp. 61 ff..

50 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Dfa 2, *Strasburger trachtenbüechlein darinnen von Man und Weibs personen außgangen ihm jhar [sic] 1668*.

51 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Lipp Oz 2, *Trachtenbuech, Darinnen viller Volckher vnnd Nationen Claidung vnnd zier begrüffen weliche nit allain lustig zu sechen, Sonderen auch Nutzlich zue aller zier zu gebruchen Mit groser müehe vnnd arbeit zuesamen getragen vor Nie gesechenn volendet. Anno 1580. Primo May*, probably Augsburg, p. 131.

52 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kuntsbibliothek, Lipp-Oz 1, Trachtenbuch deutsch 1560–1594, fol. 59.

53 Weigel, *Habitus*, no. 34.

54 On veiling of women in mourning, see in general Britta-Juliane Kruse, *Witwen. Kulturgeschichte eines Standes in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Berlin and New York, 2007, pp. 165–81, in particular the illustration of the funeral procession of a noble widow with a hood, the so-called 'Mummel', probably from Nürnberg.

55 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Lipp-OZ 131, fol. 14.

56 Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Lipp-OZ 114, p. 22.

57 *Basler Kirchenordnungen. 1528–1675*, ed. Emidio Campi and Philipp Wälchli, Zürich, 2012, pp. 353f.

58 *Basler Kirchenordnungen*, p. 357.

59 Johann Sixt Ringle, *Innenansicht des Basler Münsters mit Blick gegen den Chor* (interior view of Basel Cathedral looking towards the choir), Oil Painting, Basel 1650, Historisches Museum Basel Inv. 1906.3238.

60 Emanuel Grossmann, 'Die Entwicklung der Basler Tracht im 17. Jahrhundert', *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 38, 1940, pp. 1–66, here p. 33. Glaser has illustrations of numerous women wearing hoods, although the Reformation ordinance had prohibited the wearing of *Brauenkappen* other than by upper-class women; see *Basler Kirchenordnungen*, ed. Campi and Wälchli, p. 358. This fashion established itself with remarkable success: already by 1650 Johann Jakob Ringle depicted a woman 'of no high estate' wearing a *Brauenkappen*, while in Sixt Ringle's interior of the Basel cathedral the *Brauenkappen* seems to be the predominant type of women's headgear.

61 On black as a fashionable colour in the seventeenth century, see Bianca A. Mortier, 'Features of Fashion in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century', in *Riggisberger Berichte 19: Netherlandish Fashion in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Johannes Pietsch and Anna Jolly, 2012, pp. 32–9.

62 Burghartz, *Zeiten der Reinheit*, p. 94; see also Silke Götsch "'... sie trüge ihre Kleider mit Ehren...". Frauen und traditionelle Ordnung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in *Weiber, Menscher, Frauenzimmer. Frauen in der ländlichen Gesellschaft 1500–1800*, ed. Heide Wunder and Christina Vanja, Göttingen, 1996, pp. 199–213.

63 Paul Leonhard Ganz, 'Die Basler Miniaturenmalerei Ringle', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 61, 1961, pp. 109–130, here p. 126.

64 Campi and Wälchli, *Basler Kirchenordnungen*, p. 446.

65 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Bf1, Ordinance of 22 June 1672.

66 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Bf1, Ordinance of 4 November 1674.

67 For a brief account of these events and the significance of the 1691 disturbances in terms of gender, see Susanna Burghartz, 'Frauen – Politik – Weiberregiment. Schlagworte zur Bewältigung der politischen Krise von 1691 in Basel', in *Frauen in der Stadt*, ed. Anne-Lise Head-König and Albert Tanner, Zürich, 1993, pp. 113–34.

68 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Bf1, Ordinance of 19 November 1690.

69 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Bf1, Ordinance of 29 March 1692, repeated on 3 April 1695 and 13 February 1697.

70 Cited from Grossmann, 'Entwicklung der Basler Tracht', pp. 19f.

71 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Protokolle E 13,1, Reformation, 18 November 1674 to 17 January 1714, entry on 7 October 1705.

72 Cited from Grossmann, 'Entwicklung der Basler Tracht', p. 24.

73 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Protokolle E 13,1, entry on 13 September 1709.

74 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Bf 1, Reformation ordinance of 12 October 1709, A3.

75 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Protokolle E 13,1, entries on 27 November 1709.

76 Gilbert Burnet, cited after the English translation: *Bishop Burnet's Travels Through France, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland*, London 1750, p. 48.

77 Julie Heierli, 'Das "Tächli-Tüchli"', die Kirchenhaube der Zürcherinnen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, new series 13: 3, 1911, pp. 190–7, here p. 192.

78 Heierli, 'Das "Tächli-Tüchli"', p. 192.

79 Heierli, 'Das "Tächli-Tüchli"', p. 195.

80 David Herrliberger, *Heilige Ceremonien, Gottesdienstliche Kirchen-Uebungen und Gewohnheiten der heutigen Reformirten Kirchen der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, Zürich, 1750/51 pp. 41f.

81 Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, *Briefe die Schweiz betreffend*, neue und vermehrte Auflage, Leipzig, 1776, p. 244.

82 Staatsarchiv Basel-Stadt, Protokolle E 13/4: 9 March 1767 to 8 February 1796, printed Reformation decree of 1780.

83 Hirschfeld, *Briefe*, pp. 245f.